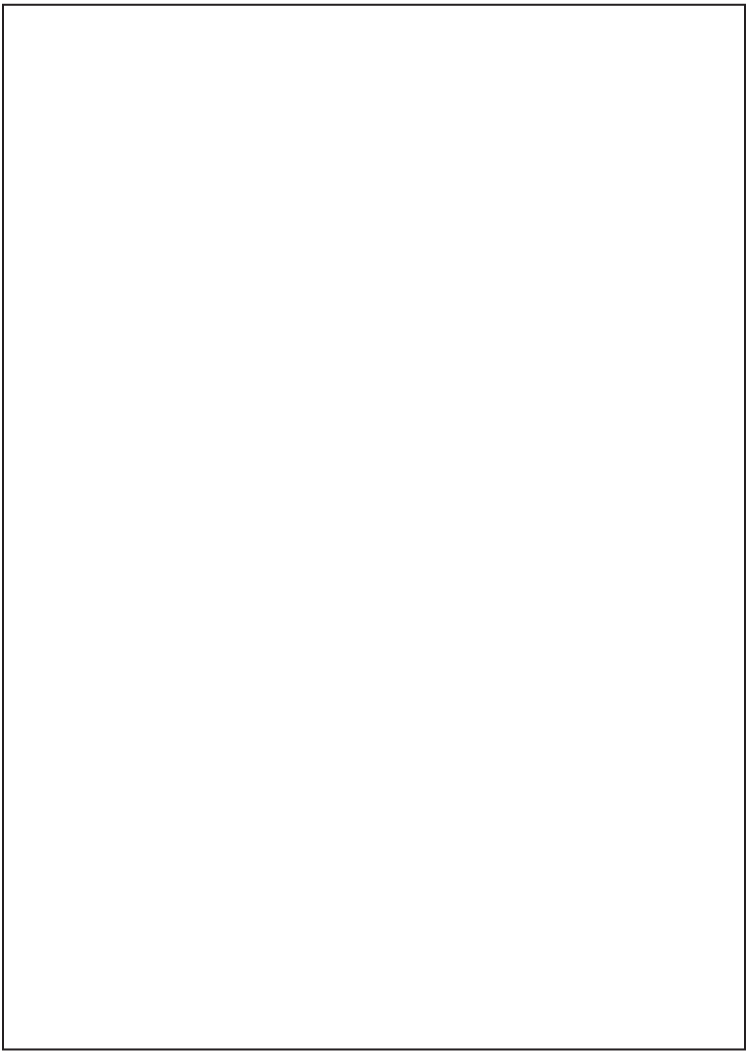

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Journeys in Church History Essay

A Story of Gifts: Becoming a Historian of American Catholicism

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Not long after Christmas, I was seated next to Nelson Minnich, editor of this publication, at a Washington dinner party. "How's the essay coming?" was practically the first thing he said to me. Now, it's true that I'd missed several deadlines for this particular assignment, although my excuses were impeccable, given that I was finishing a book manuscript and preparing it for publication. But Nelson had correctly intuited that my heart wasn't in this particular assignment. "It's rather like writing your own obituary," I pointed out. "One can view it that way," he responded. "But I prefer to think of it as an opportunity to express gratitude for the gifts one receives over the course of a long career." Duly chastened, I agreed to meet the upcoming deadline. That I managed to do so is largely due to Nelson's reframing of the project, the valedictory aspects of which were indeed inhibiting me. So I thank him for his typically gracious counsel. Mine has in fact been a story of gifts, and it has been good to acknowledge it. This is perhaps especially true with regard to the gifts that arrived oddly packaged.

I came to the University of Michigan in the fall of 1963 as an exceedingly green but eager freshman. I had no firm ideas about a major, although I opted with genuine excitement for Sociology 100 as my lone first-semester elective. The subject had not been taught at my excellent suburban high school, which was probably part of its attraction. It was also something of a natural for someone with parents like mine—both of them

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veterans of the labor movement and long-time political activists. All such electives, however, required the approval of the honors program's director, then a formidable professor of German literature. "Oh no, my dear," he said as he drew a thick line through "Sociology 100" on my course election card. "You belong in History 101"—which in those days was the first half of Western Civ. Although I would be community organizing with a radical student group by the following summer and acquiring fluency in rights-talk, I was capable in the moment of nothing but meek assent. History 101 it was. I quickly fell in love with the subject and, after an appropriately lengthy interval, also with the instructor, a brand-new assistant professor by the name of Thomas Tentler.

My passion for the history of late medieval and early modern Europe quickened in subsequent semesters. So did my taste for political activism. I remember a hurried journey south in the spring of my sophomore year to participate in civil rights demonstrations in Montgomery, Alabama, then at the epicenter of the struggle over voting rights. I heard Lyndon Johnson propose the 1965 Voting Rights Act in a speech before a joint session of Congress while sitting with fellow marchers on a darkened Montgomery street that had troopers on horseback at both ends. They too were listening via transistor radio, and when Johnson said "we shall overcome" in his inimitable Texas drawl, those hitherto terrifying troopers sagged visibly in their saddles. The experience, still vivid in memory, helped to shape the historian I became, not just in terms of my interpretive biases but in a more immediate sense, as well. Shortly after my return, I enrolled for the following semester in a section of the junior honors seminar devoted to the Renaissance. The class, as it happened, was oversubscribed, which prompted the presiding professor to query each student as to his or her extracurricular activities. Upon hearing my account, in which the Montgomery experience figured, he promptly ejected me from the class and assigned me to an inexplicably under-enrolled section on the U.S. Civil War.

My assent to this second instance of professorial high-handedness was something less than meek. But as in the case of the earlier instance, this one proved to be a gift. It was in Professor William Freehling's splendid class that I both conceived a passion for American history and learned to engage historical texts in a genuinely critical way. Revisionist scholarship was already transforming the study of slavery and the Reconstruction era, and, fueled by my political passions, I entered into the debate with a life-transforming zeal. It was also in Freehling's seminar that I quite literally found my voice. In previous classes, even in discussion sections, I rarely spoke, conditioned at least in part by cultural assumptions that equated

loquaciousness in females with foolishness—or worse, aggression. But I was so talkative, indeed so combative, in Freehling's seminar that I was often sick to my stomach after class was over, fearful that I had talked too much or been less than acceptably deferential to my male fellow students. Throughout my college years, I should note, I experienced nothing but respect and support from the Michigan history faculty, all but one of whom were men. For me, the enemy lay within and the Freehling seminar marked the outset of a long internal struggle.

Michigan history honors students, then as now, devote their senior year to researching and writing a senior thesis. Thoroughly committed by this time to politically relevant scholarship, I chose as my subject the racial dimensions of the United Auto Workers' campaign to organize the enormous Ford Rouge complex in 1940 and 1941. Roughly 10 percent of Rouge workers were African-American, all of whom had ample reason to distrust the labor movement when it came to protecting workers like them. How, then, did the union strive to ensure that, in the event of a strike, black workers would honor the picket line? The thesis introduced me to archival research, by which I was immediately entranced, and also to its frustrations—given that the archives in question consisted of the mostly unorganized papers of the UAW's local 600, which happened to be voluminous. Still, I was supremely happy rifling through those documents at local 600's headquarters—happy enough to ensure that I would follow through on my still-tentative plans to apply to history graduate programs and aim for an academic career. That my completed thesis won a prize seemed to validate aspirations that I still could not help but regard as audacious.

Against all advice, I decided to stay at Michigan for my graduate studies. I was romantically involved with someone already enrolled in a Michigan graduate program, which helps to explain this almost certainly unwise decision. But my choice had more fundamentally to do with an almost crippling lack of self-confidence, a problem with which I was wrestling but had far from overcome. And yet even this unwise decision brought major gifts in its wake. The first, in order of time, was my introduction to the field of urban history in the person of Sam Bass Warner, Jr., a recent addition to the Michigan faculty. I can still remember my excitement at learning in Warner's seminar about new—to me—sources of evidence like city directories and manuscript census schedules, and their applicability to research into the history of everyday life. A second gift, received primarily from my fellow graduate students, was exposure to the then-radical notion that gender should be a critical variable in our reconstruction of the past. Michigan's climate was hardly unique in this regard. But the university's

tradition of student activism meant that interest in women's history and related gender issues was unusually strong in my graduate school cohort. The best gift of all was eventual marriage to fellow historian Tom Tentler, most unlikely to have come about had I left Ann Arbor.

The next several years were so eventful that even in memory they retain something of a frenetic quality. Between 1973 and 1979, I finished my degree, took my first academic job, gave birth to three children, and published my first book. I also became a Catholic, which partly explains a subsequent reorientation of my research agenda. Coming of professional age in the mid-1970s, I was something of a pioneer in terms of the academy: my generation of female PhDs was the first to seek university teaching jobs in significant numbers. Many of us did not survive professionally—hence the dearth, until quite recently, of senior female faculty in a great many fields. My own experience suggests why this was so. Marriage to a fellow academic, especially one with tenure, radically limited my employment prospects. I was supremely fortunate to find a tenure-track job within commuting distance of Ann Arbor. Had I been consigned to adjuncting, as might easily have happened, I would almost certainly have gone into another line of work. The demands of child-care were often overwhelming. I remember years of chronic exhaustion, accompanied by deep anxiety about my children's well-being. Convinced that I had to be home for dinner every single night, I refused in those early years to attend any conference that would have taken me away from Ann Arbor. Bad for my professional prospects, to say the least. But I will concede—this is meant as encouragement for today's young scholars—that having children did teach me to work with laser-like concentration. Prior to the birth of my first child, I hadn't realized how leisurely the rhythms of my graduate-school existence had been.

Despite the innumerable obstacles, I managed to publish my revised dissertation, which appeared in 1979 as *Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900–1930*.[1] Born of my interests in labor history and the nascent field of women's history, the book analyzed women's employment in the broader context of working-class life. What did employment—I looked specifically at factory and retail work—mean for women's understanding of the possibilities open to their sex, given a sex-segregated labor market, persistently low female wages, and the fantasizing about romance and marriage that typically dominated workroom

1. Published in New York by Oxford University Press.

life? It was quite possible, I concluded, for paid employment to be both a transformative experience for a young woman, causing her to seek and achieve a far greater independence in her social life than her mother had enjoyed, and one that prompted her to see her natural destiny as marriage and non-employed motherhood. It was time, in short, to reassess the persistent notion that paid employment was an unambiguous force for women's emancipation. The book sold surprisingly well—it was controversial in its argument, which made it a natural for teaching, and fed a growing hunger for texts on American women's history. Indeed, it has to date outsold any of my subsequent offerings in American Catholic history.

I made scant mention of religion in *Wage-Earning Women*, although probably a majority of my subjects were Catholic, given that my sources dealt mainly with New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, and a significant minority were Jewish. Nothing in my graduate training had prepared me to think of religion as a significant category of analysis, much less a subject of interest in its own right. But by 1979 I had converted to the Catholicism with which I had flirted in adolescence, and that development—let me be frank—made it easier for me to grasp religion's salience for the kind of history I wished to do. I had hoped in *Wage-Earning Women* to probe the nature of family and community life in the urban working-class—to write "labor" history in the broadest and most generous sense. My sources, however, rich though they were, mostly told me about life on the job. How might I construct a fuller picture of the contexts in which my subjects lived and made their choices? Religion was obviously a piece of the puzzle, given that I was dealing with the United States, where religious institutions have historically played a central role in many working-class communities. This was evident on my frequent forays into Detroit, about which I was then teaching a course along with several colleagues. The city was still a bastion of organized labor, but its churches and synagogues vastly outnumbered its union halls.

It was in conjunction with one of those Detroit forays that I stumbled onto my next research project, which led in turn to what can only be called a reorientation of my career. Visiting a magnificent, if gently decaying, Polish church near the city center, I was engaged by its historically-informed pastor in a long conversation about the church's origins. (Since the church in question was located just two blocks from another enormous Polish church, I was already curious. Could this now-mostly-empty piece of urban wilderness have ever been so densely populated as to have supported two Catholic churches in such close proximity?) The church I was visiting, as I learned, had been born in schism in the 1880s, the result of a

bitter dispute in the neighboring congregation over a priest who had been summarily dismissed—for ample cause, in all likelihood—by the local bishop. The ensuing conflict had been episodically violent: a young man was fatally shot, two priests were assaulted by female parishioners and forcibly prevented from saying Mass, and women were prominent too in confrontations with the police. Knowing almost nothing at this juncture about the history of American Catholicism, I was both stunned—could Catholics really be capable of such behavior?—and hungry to learn more.

A bit of digging confirmed the pastor's account and prompted me to a fuller investigation, during which I began to explore the existing literature on American Catholic history. I soon discovered that the conflict which had drawn my interest was anything but an aberration. Catholics were in fact capable of extreme behavior when it came to defending what they typically described as their rights in the church. Those putative rights nearly always centered on two issues: the ownership of parish properties and the hiring and dismissal of parish clergy. (My schismatic Detroit congregation vested ownership of its church and school in an elected board of lay trustees, who at least in theory both hired the pastor and defined the reach of his authority.) No bishop, needless to say, was willing to cede either "right" to the laity—hence the bitter and protracted nature of the conflicts that sometimes resulted. Earlier generations of Catholic historians had had little to say about such conflicts. It was otherwise with my contemporaries in the field, who were frequently partisans of the "new" social history. Eager to understand lay experience and perspectives, they saw in such breaches of the usual order a means of exploring communal values and the assumptions that undergirded life in the immigrant enclaves. Since little work had yet been done on parish rebellions among the Poles, my research made a modest contribution to this particular mode of reassessing the Catholic past.

It was in the course of my "Polish" research that I first visited the archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit, which were then in what might charitably be called a primitive state. The archives were open only one day a week, tended by a devoted but decidedly part-time archivist, and had space for a single researcher. I could reserve that single seat in advance, but in the event of a priest's needing to use the archives, I would have to surrender it. (Would a woman religious have similarly outranked me? I never did find out.) The archivist, Father—later Bishop—Leonard Blair, was kindness itself on the days we shared his miniscule workroom, and he clearly hoped to persuade his superiors to take the archives more seriously. But research under these conditions was exceedingly difficult and I was

grateful that my project was of limited duration. Did historians of American Catholicism regularly confront such obstacles, I wondered. And what about the linguistic demands of the field? It had not been difficult to cope with the relatively few Polish-language documents relevant to my project, given that I had studied Russian in high school and college; a semester's worth of Polish classes brought me up to speed. But researching the polyglot Catholic past would presumably require a greater linguistic facility than I thought I possessed.

My "Polish" research was hampered by more than limits on archival access. I had three young children at home—a daughter and twin sons—and a heavy teaching load. Finding time for research was hard and I was experiencing symptoms of acute emotional exhaustion. My socially-conservative department chair proved in this instance to be a gift, if an ironic one. Open about his conviction that the mothers of young children should not be employed, he readily agreed to my teaching a reduced load after the birth of the twins and was willing to grant me an unpaid leave for a subsequent academic year, when my husband's sabbatical took us to England. We were poor as proverbial church mice during that sabbatical year, but it was a life-saver. London is where I took Polish classes and turned my mass of "Polish" research into a journal article.[2] It was also where our family life re-gained a measure of serenity. I include these domestic details for a reason, although some may object to their presence in what is supposed to be a form of intellectual biography. To ignore them would be to collude with a powerful bias in our national culture, which is faithfully reflected in the various professions—that parenthood is a private choice, the consequences of which should be borne by the choosers alone. No need, then, for the various professions to accommodate parents at the outset of their careers by modifying expectations as to productivity or extending time to tenure. The University of Michigan, at a branch of which I was then teaching, did eventually embrace the latter reform some twenty years after my children were born.

I returned from the year abroad with new energy, although my research agenda appeared to have run aground. My "Polish" research had indeed provided new insight into the life of a working-class population that mainstream labor historians had tended to neglect, if only because relatively few Polish-Americans in the past have been prominent labor activists. But, for

2. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Who is the Church? Conflict in a Polish Immigrant Parish in Late Nineteenth-Century Detroit," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25:2 (April 1983).

the reasons cited above, further research on American Catholicism seemed impractical. Then I received an unexpected phone call. The caller was Father Blair, late of the archdiocesan archives and now secretary to the archbishop, who conveyed surprising news. The archdiocese had hired a full-time professional archivist and space had been designated at the chancery for a commodious reading room, which would be open to researchers a full five days a week. The archbishop, moreover, wanted to commission a professionally-researched history of the archdiocese to commemorate its upcoming sesquicentennial. The writer of this history would have full access to the archives, Father Blair assured me, and be free of ecclesiastical vetting—there would be a "no censorship" clause in the contract and the completed manuscript was to be published by a university press rather than the archdiocese itself. Would I be interested in applying for the job?

Of course I said yes. But in retrospect, there were good career-linked reasons not to. At least among Americanists, diocesan history was—then, as now—barely recognized as an acceptable professional genre. As for ecclesiastical sponsorship in any form, it was and is definitely beyond the bounds of professional propriety. By committing myself to the Detroit project, moreover, I risked being permanently identified as a historian of American Catholicism rather than a labor historian or a historian of immigration—never mind that I would still be dealing with many of the same human subjects—and American Catholic history at that juncture was hardly describable as a genuine sub-field. It boasted no prestigious journals, its practitioners seldom featured at major professional conferences, and the jobs available to specialists were—save at certain Catholic colleges—close to non-existent. At this point in my career, however, my connections to the profession were sufficiently tenuous that all I could see in Father Blair's offer was intellectual salvation—three whole years away from teaching, an archive within commuting distance, the chance to write a second book. I did not expect to move from my current academic job, where my superiors were in fact supportive of the project, less because of the Catholic angle than its Detroit connections, which were thought to be good for public relations.

Thus began three of the happiest years of my entire professional life. Save for the antebellum decades, the Detroit archives were wonderfully rich, as were those of its principal teaching order. At least some of the missing documents from the diocese's early years, moreover, had been long ago rescued by an enterprising archivist at Notre Dame, and I had the funds to travel there. True, the archdiocesan archives had been organized according to episcopal priorities, which are not necessarily those of the researcher. But I had sufficient time in the archives to satisfy my own pri-

orities and to accumulate—slowly, painstakingly—a fair amount of information about both the laity and the local clergy, in addition to seemingly endless details about what is best described as ecclesiastical housekeeping. In the end, I read almost everything. I compiled a collective biography of the diocese's priests between the mid-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, which revealed important changes over time, especially when it came to career patterns. Thanks to mandatory parish reports, I learned a good deal about changing sacramental practice and trends in devotional offerings. The diocesan newspaper, with which I spent untold purgatorial hours, provided generous insight into parish social life, as I had rather expected it would; it was also an unanticipated source of information about changing funeral customs and the place of death in Catholic consciousness. I had not expected to find much about sexual discipline and its contestation in either the archives or the paper, but by the end of my research I had uncovered a surprising amount of provocative data, some of which would have eluded a more hurried researcher. Trudging through a particularly dreary cache of letters from and to a late-nineteenth century bishop, I encountered one from an itinerant mission preacher detailing the startlingly large number of abortions—"actual or intended"—that had been confessed to him at a recent mission in Kalamazoo. Nothing in the missive suggested surprise on the part of the writer.

The diocesan archives were much less rich when it came to such "secular" topics as politics and social movements, save where explicitly Catholic issues were directly at stake. (This is much less true of the records that date from the 1960s and after, but at the time these were closed even to me.) Supplementary collections elsewhere sometimes helped to fill the gap, as with the papers of the Detroit Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, housed at Wayne State University, where the papers of a prominent labor priest were also to be found. Serendipity led me to the privately-held papers of another priest known for his social activism and broad local contacts and to what remained of the archives of the local Catholic Worker, which had close ties to the labor movement. (The founder's widow was a fellow parishioner.) But as my research progressed, it gradually dawned on me that I was in fact compiling evidence that was "secular" in its implications despite its apparent "churchiness"—evidence that spoke directly to such matters as the course of Detroit's development, directly affected for a number of years by the Chancery's decisions about where to plant new parishes. Detroit was a city that shouldn't have worked, given its ethnic heterogeneity, explosive growth, and the brutality of its industrial regime. That it more or less did was attributable in part to the social glue provided by the Catholic Church with its network of parishes, schools, colleges,

hospitals, social service, and cultural organizations. I did not doubt, by the time my book was published, that I had things to say to my colleagues in urban, labor, and immigrant history.[3]

My erstwhile colleagues evidently disagreed: despite positive reviews, *Seasons of Grace* sold anemically. Nor did I help my cause by turning almost immediately to a research focus that smacked of the ecclesiastical—to wit, the Catholic diocesan clergy in the United States. I had been surprised, in the course of my previous research, at how little attention this decidedly interesting population had received from historians of American Catholicism. Understanding the clergy—their training, modes of life, self-understanding, and self-presentation—seemed to me essential to a full reconstruction of the Catholic sub-culture at the various stages of its evolution. Given that priests were often communal as well as religious leaders, moreover, studying the clergy also seemed key to a fuller understanding of the Church's role as a mediating institution. I did intuit that, for many of my colleagues, the clergy represented an outmoded way of doing Catholic history—one that focused on clerical elites rather than the laity. And I knew from experience that studying the clergy meant serious problems with sources, which were apt to be thin and, all too often, hard to access. If Catholic priests in the past kept diaries or wrote personal letters, as some must have done, few diocesan archives have bothered to collect them. I was lucky in Detroit: two successive bishops had required regular letters from seminarians studying in Europe and from chaplains serving in the Second World War, and those letters—some of them surprisingly candid—were archived. Other than that, however, priests' correspondence in the archives dealt mostly with grievances of various sorts, many of them petty, and with the occasional scandal—useful up to a point but hardly providing a balanced picture of clerical life. A good deal of relevant information about Detroit's priests, moreover, was filed in collections that I strongly suspected were off-limits to research. (I knew better than to ask.) With free access to the archives' vault, I could access that material. Most researchers could not.

Nevertheless, I persisted, focusing initially on the French-speaking clergy so prominent in the Great Lakes region in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Happily for me, they proved to be letter-writers, and some of their letters had been rescued by the aforementioned archivist at Notre Dame, to whom I continue to be grateful. I also had useful scraps

3. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

from my Detroit research, most notably a rich collection of documents from an experiment in rural ministry in the Michigan Thumb in the 1920s. Several articles resulted.[4] I knew, of course, that I would eventually have to broaden the geographic scope of my research. Ideally, I would compile a collective biography of the priests in three additional dioceses, to supplement what I had found in Detroit. I would certainly need a generous grant, given the time away from home such an endeavor would require. But would I ever again enjoy the kind of access I'd had in Detroit, without which such a project might not be possible? Doubts nagged at me in my vulnerable moments. With a sabbatical on the horizon, however, I continued to think in terms of a book-length study. Surely there were dioceses whose leaders would grasp the importance of a project like mine and agree to cooperate.

Although priests were my principal preoccupation over the course of the 1990s, the most significant article that I published then—significant, at least, in terms of its readership—had little to do with the priesthood. Titled "On the Margins: the State of American Catholic History," this article challenged the assumptions that undergirded what I saw as the persistent marginalization among American historians of scholarship on Catholicism.[5] Why, for example, were labor historians so dismissive of the communal achievements embodied in Catholic parish founding and working-class support of parochial schools? Did such achievements have nothing to do with the gradual development of class consciousness? Why were my colleagues in women's history so indifferent to women's religious orders, given their significance as a socially-sanctioned alternative to marriage and motherhood and the professional attainment they made possible for their members? Why did even those historians of ethnicity who emphasized the role of Catholicism in the immigrant community tend to ignore it as they dealt with more assimilated ethnic populations in the decades after the First World War? Historians of American Catholicism, I think, were grateful for such questions. Most of us knew the sense of marginality on which the article was premised. A "state of the field" article, moreover,

4. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "'A Model Rural Parish: Priests and People in the Michigan Thumb," *Catholic Historical Review* 78:3 (July 1992); Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "'How I Would Save Them All:' Priests on the Michigan Frontier," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 12:4 (Fall 1994); Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Reluctant Pluralists: Catholic and Reformed Clergy in Ante-Bellum Michigan," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 15:2 (Spring 1997); Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "'God's Representative in Our Midst:' Toward a History of the Catholic Diocesan Clergy in the United States," *Church History* 67:2 (June 1998).

5. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "On the Margins: the State of American Catholic History," *American Quarterly* 45:1 (March 1993).

is almost bound to attract a larger-than-usual readership, if only because none of us can keep up with current scholarly output.

The 1990s also brought a deeper involvement on my part with the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at Notre Dame—a gift indeed for someone whose research interests were not shared by her immediate colleagues. Through Cushwa conferences and seminars, I met other historians of American Catholicism and was encouraged to think in bolder ways about my research agenda. Of particular significance was the "Twentieth Century Project," generously funded by the Lilly Foundation, which aimed to spur research on American Catholicism between the earliest days of the century and the turmoil that followed Vatican II. Surprisingly little had been published on this period. Was the church in the immediate pre-conciliar decades too centralized administratively, too aggressive when it came to sexual discipline, too reflexively patriotic, and too complacent intellectually to appeal to a cohort of historians who had valorized the variety and rambunctiousness of the immigrant church? I rather suspect that this was the case. Too many of us, whether we acknowledged it or not, were deeply invested in providing a kind of scholarly imprimatur to post-conciliar American Catholicism. The "Twentieth Century Project," which spawned a number of excellent monographs, resulted in a more nuanced understanding of the decades under study and a new appreciation of the Council's complex roots.

Although I participated in the Twentieth Century Project, I did not use the opportunity to produce a history—or, chronologically speaking, a partial history—of the American diocesan clergy. But priests still figured, given that my project entailed a history of Catholic pastoral practice with regard to marital contraception and the variety of lay responses to this particular mode of sexual discipline. What accounts for the sudden shift in my research focus? I think, in retrospect, that I was exceedingly anxious about the problem of archival access were I to embark on a book-length study of the clergy. How many bishops were likely to grant me the freedom I had enjoyed in Detroit? Better, perhaps, to defer the problem—to assume that it could be resolved at some point in the conveniently hazy future. But it's also true that I'd long been fascinated by the birth control question, which had occasionally surfaced in the course of my earlier research. I was particularly intrigued by its link to the recent history of confession—to the rapid spread of frequent confession in the middle decades of the twentieth century and the near-collapse of the sacrament in the decades following Vatican II. That near-collapse signaled a radical shift in lay understanding of ecclesial authority and I strongly suspected that birth control played a

major role in this regard. Given my long-standing interest in the Catholic politics of gender, moreover, the subject was a natural. Then, too, I could remember a time in the not-terribly-distant past when Catholics themselves seemed obsessed with the subject. Growing up in a heavily Catholic neighborhood, I knew that Catholics couldn't practice birth control even before I knew precisely what birth control was.

Having found a congenial subject did not solve my source problems. I knew that plentiful sources existed for the 1950s and '60s, when birth control was increasingly a topic of public policy debates and, ultimately, of intra-Catholic contention. But how many of these sources addressed the specifics of pastoral practice, especially in the confessional? I had no idea. Nor did I know whether much was available, by way of relevant documents, for earlier decades in the twentieth century. Indeed, I began my research assuming that the resulting narrative might well begin in 1945. But I was in for a happy surprise—or, perhaps more accurately, a series of happy surprises. Sources proved to be abundant, albeit somewhat less so for the earliest years of the century. Pastoral literature was particularly informative, even for the late nineteenth century. My earliest document was a set of teaching notes produced in 1875 by a Passionist missioner, who was tasked with instructing his neophyte confreres on how to preach about sex. Catholic couples resorted to birth control "more commonly than many suspect," he informed them, although the subject had of necessity to be "HINTED AT PRUDENTLY," lest ignorant members of the congregation be schooled in sinful behavior.[6] Few of the mission sermons I found, whether printed or in manuscript form, deviated from this counsel prior to the First World War. Only the Redemptorists regularly preached on the subject with clarity and vigor.

Mission sermons were among the richest of my archival sources. (I was graciously welcomed and assisted at the archives of the Passionist Fathers, the Paulists, and the Redemptorists.) But other sources surfaced, too. By the 1920s, with the advent of a vociferous movement to promote birth control for the married, relevant documents appeared in the papers of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and at each of the six diocesan archives that I visited. With the promulgation in 1930 of *Casti Connubii*, effectively the first papal encyclical to denounced contraception as a grievous sin, the documentary flood-gates were opened. *Casti Connubii* had

6. Fr. Gaudentius Rossi, C.P., "Some Instructions about the Sermons, Meditations, and Catechisms Delivered by Our Fathers, in Our Missions," April 1875. Passionist Provincial Archives, Holy Cross Province, Chicago.

summoned priests to abandon their hitherto reticent ways and be proactive as confessors when it came to marital birth control. But how to do so in the context of a world-shattering depression? Both printed and archival sources wrestled with this question, and particularly with the problems posed by the advent of a physiologically-plausible mode of family limitation based on periodic abstinence. Under what circumstances was the use of "rhythm" licit? Sources grew even richer following the Second World War, with the rise of family life ministries and a more positive theology of marital sex. The early 1960s brought a veritable explosion, with sources now marked by a new frankness and, increasingly, a lay perspective.

Although sources proved to be gratifyingly numerous, I decided early on to incorporate oral history into the project—specifically interviews with priests. The decision raised eyebrows among a fair number of my colleagues. Why priests, they wanted to know, rather than lay men or, especially, women? The answer was easy: because priests played such critical roles as apologists for and enforcers of church teaching, most notably as confessors. But if I was sure about priests as my subject, I was deeply uneasy about oral evidence, being old enough by then to understand the fallibility of memory. I had serious doubts, moreover, about whether my interviewees would speak frankly or, indeed, whether I would find many interviewees at all. I did, in fact, find a goodly number of willing subjects—56 priests, nearly all of whom spoke with remarkable candor. (Casting the interviews as life histories helped to jog the memories of the many men who initially professed not to remember much about what was now the distant past; by the time my respondent had told me about his family, childhood parish, seminary experience, and preparation as a confessor, he was typically off and running.) I used the resulting evidence cautiously. But it did assist me toward a more nuanced view of my documentary sources and a more sympathetic orientation to the sometimes reluctant enforcers of a sexual discipline that most Catholics came to reject. My book[7] was the richer for those interviews and so was I. Nearly every man with whom I spoke was thoughtful, gracious, and intelligent; most evinced a pastoral sensitivity that lent them a kind of radiance. Their testimony was a gift; so were their persons.

Catholics and Contraception was published in 2004, at the height of the sex abuse crisis. Like other Catholics, I responded to that crisis with shock and dismay; indeed, I came close to leaving the church. My scholarly self

7. *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

was thrown off-balance, too. How, in the present circumstances, could I possibly continue my research on priests? More than access to sources was at issue, although such access had obviously become much more difficult. Blindsided as I was by the scandals, I lost confidence in my ability to understand my subjects. How to account for the apparent extent of the scandals and the willingness of both bishops and the perpetrators' fellow priests to look the other way? I simply did not know. Read through the lens of the escalating scandals, moreover, even seemingly innocuous evidence came to seem suspect. Michigan's priests, for example, had for many decades been permitted to house teen-aged boys at their rectories either as domestic workers—unattached older women were often in short supply in rural districts in the nineteenth century—or when an aspiring seminarian needed tutoring in Latin, a subject that many rural schools did not teach prior to the 1920s. Such arrangements, I'd initially thought, probably worked to lessen the distance between priest and people, permitting the priest to be seen as a quasi-paterfamilias. Should I now regard them as inherently sinister? And what did such arrangements suggest about the dominant Catholic mentality with regard to the nature and incidence of homosexuality?[8]

Paralyzed by doubt and residual anger, I decided to abandon my long-deferred "priests" project. I did manage one additional article, this one based on archival sources too rich to ignore, but otherwise put my notes in storage, where they remain to this day.[9] For roughly the next decade, I devoted my scholarly energies to the years surrounding the Second Vatican Council and the radical changes in Catholic thought and practice that emerged in this turbulent time. Issues of sex and gender loomed large—a natural outgrowth of my work on contraception.[10] I grew curious about the shape of such conflicts in other western nations, most notably those where Catholic practice pre-Council had been robust. Funding from the Lilly

8. I explore the subject in greater detail in "Evidence and Historical Confidence," a contribution to "Forum: Writing Catholic History After the Sex Abuse Crisis," *American Catholic Studies*, 127:2 (Summer 2016).

9. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "'To Work in the Fields of the Lord': Roots of the Crisis in Priestly Identity," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 29:4 (Fall 2011).

10. Representative publications include Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Souls and Bodies: The Birth Control Controversy and the Collapse of Confession," in Michael J. Lacey and Francis Oakley, eds., *The Crisis of Authority in Catholic Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Breaking the Silence: Sex, Gender and the Parameters of Catholic Intellectual Life," in James L. Heft, SM and Una M. Cadegan, eds., *In the Logos of Love: Promise and Predicament in Catholic Intellectual Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Foundation underwrote a conference I organized at Catholic University, to which institution I had moved at the end of the 1990s, which in turn gave rise to an edited book: *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholicism Since 1950 in the United States, the Republic of Ireland, and Quebec.*[11] Although I could hardly call myself a comparativist, that book resulted in several invitations to participate in similar projects, where scholars from various countries contributed expertise to a larger conversation about religious change.[12] My graduate teaching at Catholic University began to incorporate a comparativist dimension, too—something that proved surprisingly energizing. Reading about the recent religious history of locales as disparate as Sweden and Italy, I felt like a student again.

Interest in comparative history was also flourishing at the Cushwa Center, with which I remained closely involved. It was under Cushwa's auspices that in 2012 I returned to Detroit to immerse myself in newly-opened archival records from the episcopate of Archbishop, later Cardinal, John Dearden (1959–80). My work in Detroit was part of an ambitious comparative project which examined the implementation of Vatican II reforms in a number of dioceses around the world—in Europe, Mexico, Latin America, and India as well as Canada and the United States.[13] As one would anticipate, the post-conciliar story varied—sometimes quite dramatically—depending on local circumstances. In Detroit, the immediate post-Council years were marked by rising racial tensions, which culminated in 1967 in what was then the worst urban rioting in the American twentieth century. Local Catholic leaders, most notably Archbishop Dearden, worked in unprecedented fashion to facilitate integration of Catholic schools and heavily Catholic neighborhoods—efforts that many Catholics admired but that others deeply resented. Polarization was the result—something that at least some Catholics attributed to the Council's reforms. Others lamented what they saw as a failure of post-conciliar nerve—a

11. Published in 2007 by the Catholic University of America Press, Washington, DC. I was the editor and also wrote the introduction.

12. See, for example: Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Sex and Sub-Culture: American Catholicism Since 1945," in Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, eds., *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945–2000* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013) and "How Exceptional? U.S. Catholics Since 1945," in David Hempton and Hugh McLeod, eds., *Secularization and Religious Innovation in the North Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

13. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Through the Prism of Race: The Archdiocese of Detroit," in Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Timothy Matovina and Robert A. Orsi, eds., *Catholics in the Vatican II Era: Local Histories of a Global Event* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

reluctance on the part of Catholic leaders to preach social justice with sufficient vigor or embrace what these critics saw as the Council's mandate of continual reform.

Detroit was approaching bankruptcy as I returned to do research and the Catholic Church in the city is fairly described as being by then in a moribund state. Three draconian rounds of church closings since the late 1980s had seen to that. The archdiocesan archives, housed now at the seminary, were located in what had been in my youth an upper middle-class neighborhood. Much had changed, and not for the better. Abandoned houses dotted nearby streets; lost souls drifted through vacant lots; a once-thriving parish church stood empty—window gaping, fixtures stripped, saplings sprouting from the roof. To drive these mean streets and then to read the excited plans of Council-era Catholic activists was almost unbearably painful. (Among the most energetic of these activists, many of whom were clergy, was the former pastor of the abandoned church just mentioned.) They had so much hope for the city they loved, so much faith in the Church as an agent of racial healing. On certain days in the archives, those documents almost reduced me to tears. This level of emotional engagement was, I suppose, a gift of sorts; the heart has a place in our scholarly work, although its promptings must be thoughtfully monitored. Working on so recent a time period, moreover, was a kind of return to Sociology 100—that freshman-year elective so abruptly snatched from my plate. I even found survey data among my abundant sources.

I was still at work on the Cushwa project when I retired from teaching. That involvement did much to ease the transition, which seemed at the time like embarking on an extended research leave. But soon enough the question loomed: what would I do with my retirement? Ever my activist parents' daughter, I had moments when continued scholarly work seemed a self-indulgent option. With the country in so parlous a state, surely it would be better to devote my energies to politics or advocacy? Material considerations also entered in: travel to archives costs money and I was growing weary of the super-economy lodging and meals such travel invariably entailed. (Low-cost quarters at a duck farm on a partially-deserted street in Detroit proved to be good fun, although the neighborhood was daunting.) Then came a wholly unlooked-for query from Yale University Press: might I be interested in submitting a proposal to write a new survey of American Catholic history? The prospect was irresistible. Depending as I would have to do on the scholarly work of others, I would be able to work from home. I would also be able to use at least some of the archival leftovers that were cluttering my study. And after years of work on American

Catholic history, how difficult could such a project be? Not one to look a gift-horse in the mouth, I said yes immediately.

Five years later, as I write, the resulting book is on the verge of publication.[14] Writing it was the hardest thing I've ever done, at least in a scholarly sense. I discovered huge gaps in my putatively vast knowledge of the American Catholic past. I had been aware of how little I knew about the colonial centuries in North America, especially the work of French and Spanish missionaries. I expected to have to read extensively on this period and assumed—correctly, as it happened—that this would prove to be a gift. I had not expected, however, to have to read extensively on the years of American nationhood and certainly not on the Catholic history of the period since the Civil War. But extensive reading was definitely called for, given how little I actually knew about the specifics of the Catholic past, especially those many specifics with which my previous research had not dealt. Even more vexing were interpretive questions—what to include, what to omit, what meaning to impose on a narrative that ultimately spanned close to five hundred years. Even matters of style were a challenge, since I assumed an audience primarily made up of non-academics who nonetheless merited a serious scholarly offering. Small wonder that the book went slowly, despite my freedom in retirement to plug away at it daily.

For all these reasons, I had some black times as the book proceeded. Had I not signed a contract with the publisher, I would almost certainly have abandoned the project mid-stream. But as I slowly came to realize, even this time of scholarly trial was also a time of gifts. There was the satisfaction of seeing a coherent narrative emerge from the welter of evidence I had accumulated—a narrative that came to possess a plausible degree of thematic coherence. There was the always-renewable joy of learning new things. Best of all was my growing appreciation for the collective nature of historical scholarship. I had to read widely for this project, including older books and articles of the sort often dismissed as dated or scorned as excessively pious and lacking in imagination. Rather to my surprise, I learned a lot from such sources. Even dated or unimaginative scholarship, after all, can rest on scrupulous research. I would venture to guess, moreover, that many of our scholarly predecessors, perhaps especially the priests among them, were more formidable linguists than most students of American Catholicism today. Not many of us, alas, can do research in multiple languages. (I confess to knowing only enough Latin to flag a relevant source,

14. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *American Catholics: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

which I then convey to my medievalist spouse for translation; I do the same with sources in German.) Humility is a gift, or so it is said, and my reading induced good stores of humility. But most of all, it made me grateful. Our scholarly labors, my reading reminded me, are part of something larger, no matter how dated or unimaginative our own publications may eventually come to seem.

Nearing the end of my career, I have long since come to regard myself as a historian of American Catholicism, although much of my undergraduate teaching was devoted to courses in urban, labor, immigrant, and women's history. Perhaps I simply gave up on the notion that historians of labor or immigration would accept work like mine as relevant to their pursuits. Positive developments, however, have played the major role. The field of American Catholic history has grown and matured, with bright young scholars bringing new energy and long-time practitioners producing work of admirable breadth and sophistication. Who would not be pleased to regard such a lively community as one's own? I don't much like the balkanization so evident among historians of the American past and sometimes fear that presenting myself as a historian of American Catholicism simply contributes to the problem. I am grateful, after all, for my years of teaching courses on subjects other than religion, which helped me to situate my research in broad historical context. But most of us need a scholarly community and participation in such a community almost invariably bestows identity. The trick is to keep that identity from limiting our vision, even as we remain grateful for the many gifts it brings.

"Beautiful Like Helen": A Study in Early Medieval Theological Method

Owen M. Phelan*

Paschasius Radbertus authored a massive Commentary on Matthew during the middle decades of the Ninth Century amid the intellectual blossoming of the Carolingian Renewal. Inspired by an episode from Cicero's De Inventione, *Paschasius likened his effort to that of a great artist painting an image of Helen of Troy. In light of his explanation, an exploration of Paschasius' use of the image illumines his theological method, particularly the importance of tradition and of* mimesis *both to his biblical exegesis and to his theological work more generally. Further, the study highlights Paschasius' individual genius while also pointing to his representativeness among early medieval theologians. The essay concludes by noting Paschasius' connection to and influence on pivotal later medieval and modern theological enterprises.*

Key words: Paschasius Radbertus, Cicero, Biblical Exegesis, Gospel of Matthew, Carolingian, historical theology

Toward the end of his life, from his retirement at the royal monastery of St. Riquier, Paschasius Radbertus (c.790–c.860) put the finishing touches on his massive commentary on Matthew's Gospel.[1] Paschasius was an intellectual titan astride the Carolingian Ninth Century. As a boy he benefitted from a rich theological education at the female religious community of St. Mary's in Soissons under abbess Theodrada, to whom he remained devoted throughout his life.[2] Theodrada was an engaged and

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1. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri xii*, ed. Beda Paulus, [Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (hereafter CCCM), 56–56B] (Turnhout, 1984).

2. Hannah W. Matis, "The Seclusion of Eustochium: Paschasius Radbertus and the Nuns of Soissons," *Church History* 85:4 (2016), 665–89.

curious thinker, as evidenced not only by Paschasius' writings but also by surviving correspondence with one of Charlemagne's chief court intellectuals, Alcuin of York, who composed for her an important treatise on the nature of the soul.[3] As a young man, Paschasius entered the famous and influential royal monastery of Corbie where he quickly established himself as a rising star with great intellectual potential. In the early 820s, he served among the monks tasked with launching the daughter monastery of Corvey, part of a larger initiative to missionize the Germanic-speaking peoples of Saxony. He returned to Corbie to become its chief catechist and then, in 843, was elected abbot. While abbot he actively engaged in wider intellectual and reform conversations swirling around Carolingian Europe, including participation in the Council of Paris (847). When time allowed, Paschasius composed ambitious works in support of his friends, patrons, and colleagues. While he is primarily known in the modern world for his writing on the liturgy, having composed the very first Latin treatise dedicated solely to the Eucharist, he was also a prolific biblical commentator.[4] He wrote commentaries on the Psalms and on Lamentations as well as on Matthew.[5] He was a legal scholar, perhaps even playing a role in compiling the Ps-Isidorean Decretals.[6] He authored catechetical treaties, composing short works on the theological virtues and explana-

3. James J.M. Curry, "Alcuin, *De ratione animae*: a text with introduction, critical apparatus, and translation" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1966). See also Paul E. Szarmach, "A Preface, Mainly Textual, to Alcuin's De ratione animae," . . .
Wandered Full Many Ways . . . Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak, eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest, 1999), 397–408.

4. Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Beda Paulus [CCCM, 16] (Turnhout, 1969). On the treatise see, Owen M. Phelan, "Horizontal and Vertical Theologies: 'Sacraments' in the Works of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie," *Harvard Theological Review* 103:3 (2010), 271–89; Patricia McCormick Zirkel, "The Ninth-Century Eucharistic Controversy: A Context for the Beginnings of Eucharistic Doctrine in the West," *Worship* 68 (1994), 2–23; and Josef Geiselmann, *Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik* (Paderborn, 1926), 267–81.

5. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Psalmum XLIV*, ed. Beda Paulus [CCCM, 94] (Turnhout, 1991); Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, ed. Beda Paulus [CCCM, 85] (Turnhout, 1988). On Psalm 44, see Alf Härdelin, "An epithalamium for nuns: imagery and spirituality in Paschasius Radbertus' 'Exposition of Psalm 44(45)," *In Quest of the Kingdom*, ed. Alf Härdelin (Stockholm, 1991), 79–107; on Lamentations, see E. Ann Matter, "The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus," *Traditio* 38 (1982), 137–63.

6. See, most recently, the literature review and negative judgment in Mayke de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era: Politics and Rhetoric in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, UK, 2019), 199–205. The seminal article is Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, "Ein Blick in Pseudoisidors Werkstatt: Studien zum Entstehungsprozess der falschen Dekretalen. Mit einen exemplarishcen Editorischen Anhang," *Francia* 28/1 (2001), 37–90.

tions of Marian doctrines.[7] He also penned political/cultural criticism, crafting fascinatingly idiosyncratic lives of two predecessors at the helm of the monastery of Corbie.[8]

Paschasius' weighty exposition of Matthew, whose modern critical edition fills three substantial Corpus Christianorum volumes, was written in stages over more than twenty years, with the first several books completed already by 831. In the prologue, Paschasius sets out to explain what he sees himself accomplishing, why, and how. Attention to Paschasius' deliberate, sophisticated, and self-reflective discussion as well as its resonance across his *opera* bears two fruits. First, and most specifically, it brings into sharp focus Paschasius' individual genius, his broad erudition and powerful synthetic ability and thus helps locate Paschasius in the Christian theological tradition. Second, and more generally, it grinds a lens through which to view the broader significance of Carolingian theological enterprise and its integration of the Christian tradition, one in which Paschasius is exceptional in his sophistication without being unusual in his methodology. A reappraisal of Paschasius Radbertus' work, along with his Carolingian contemporaries, is of special significance to historical theology, which, with the exception of period specialists, has long been overwhelmingly dismissive or even scornful in its assessment of the efforts of Carolingian theologians.[9]

After some prefatory comments, including Paschasius' own interest in the Gospel and his disappointment in the general state of Matthew studies, the Prologue inaugurates a discussion of methodology with a striking men-

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7. Paschasius Radbertus, *De fide, spe, et caritate*, ed. Beda Paulus [CCCM, 97] (Turnhout, 1990); Paschasius Radbertus, *De partu Virginis. De assumptione sanctae Mariae Virginis*, eds. E. A. Matter and A. Ripberger [CCCM, 56C] (Turnhout, 1985). On Paschasius' Marian teachings, see the comments in Henry Mayr-Harting, "The Idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West, 800–1200," *The Church and Mary*, ed. R.N. Swanson [Studies in Church History, 39] (Woodbridge, 2004), 86–111, esp. 86–89 and, more broadly, the earlier Leo Sheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerzeit* (Leipzig, 1959).

8. Paschasius Radbertus, *De uita sancti Adalhardi* [Patrologia Latina (hereafter PL), 120: 1507C–1556C]; Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1900). For context, see principally, De Jong, *Epitaph for an Era*.

9. On biblical studies, for example, see the supremely influential—and still in print—judgment of Beryl Smalley, who devotes only ten pages of her four hundred page study of medieval exegesis to the Carolingians and concludes "when original exegesis began again towards the middle of the eleventh century. . ." Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN, 1964), 46. An example of a focused study of Carolingian exegetical excellence, with a chapter devoted to Paschasius, is Hannah W. Matis, *The Song of Songs in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2019); for an example of period specialists digging into early medieval biblical studies in a variety of ways, see *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout, 2003).

tion of Cicero.[10] Specifically, Paschasius recounts an episode from the second book of Cicero's *De Inventione*, where Cicero offers an apologetic analogy for his treatment of rhetoric by telling the story of a famous artist's depiction of Helen of Troy. The Corbie monk sees this episode as recommending a classically inspired approach to *mimesis* which not only guides his approach to his exegetical work on Matthew, but also informs his overarching theological method. Sometime around 90BC, Cicero began a treatise on Latin rhetoric that he abandoned after two books.[11] The work is

10. While the Gospel of Matthew is frequently engaged by early Christian writers, long-form commentaries are rare. Throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the most popular and widely consulted commentary is that of Jerome. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matheum libri iv*, eds. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen [Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (hereafter CCSL), 77] (Turnhout, 1969). For some introductory context and comment, see Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck (Washington D.C., 2008), 3–47. Multiple Carolingian authors lament the dearth of material addressing the whole of Matthew and offer something of a flurry of work on the first gospel. Bishop Claudius of Turin (780–827) completed a commentary on Matthew in 815. A modern critical edition remains to be published, although an edition of the prefatory letter, addressed to Justus, abbot of Charroux in the diocese of Poitiers, is printed as Claudius of Turin, *Epistola* 2, [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae (hereafter MGH.Ep), Ep. IV], ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1895), 593–96. A partial edition of the opening sections was completed by Bruce Alan McMenomy, "*The Matthew Commentary of Claudius, Bishop of Turin: A Critical Edition of the Sections Pertaining to Matthew 1–4*" (PhD. Dissertation, UCLA, 1993). In 820, Hrabanus Maurus dedicated a commentary to Archbishop Haistulf of Mainz as part of a broader program promoting clerical reform, Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt [CCCM, 174-74A] (Turnhout, 2000). On this text and its significance, see Owen M Phelan, "Prompting a Conversation about Reform: The Carolingian Renewal in Early Medieval Europe through Hrabanus Maurus' *Commentary on Matthew*" (forthcoming). Sometime shortly after, another commentary, the Pseudo-Bede commentary on Matthew, appeared. It lacks a modern critical edition, but an early modern edition can be found in PL, 92.9–132. On the relationship among Claudius, Hrabanus, and Ps.-Bede, see Brigitta Stoll, "Drei karolingische Matthäus-Kommentare (Claudius von Turin, Hrabanus Maurus, Ps. Beda) und ihre Quellen zur Bergpredigt," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 26 (1991), 36–55. In mid-century, from the community of Irish scholars working out of Liège, Sedulius Scottus (fl. 850) gathered a *Collectaneum* on Matthew. Around 865, Christian of Stavelot composed a commentary on Matthew for his Benedictine community, Christianus Stabulensis, *Expositio super Librum generationis*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, [CCCM, 224] (Turnhout, 2008). For some introduction and context, see Matthew Ponesse, "The Instruction of Monks in Christian of Stavelot's Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18:2 (2008), 24–35.

11. Cicero, *De Inventione*, intro. and trans. H.M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA, 1960). For basic background, see John O. Ward, "The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Commentaries and Contexts," *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, eds. John O. Ward and Virginia Cox (Leiden, 2006), 3–75, and also the earlier works: George A. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton, 1972), 103–48 and idem, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), 90–96.

notable for being the only prose work Cicero composed in his youth, and presumably, for reflecting the education he received as a young man in the late Roman Republic. Later in life, he looked back on the work and found it disappointingly "unfinished and rough" and recalls it largely as the product of school notebooks compiled during his late teens.[12] Of course, it becomes the most common rhetorical textbook of the Latin Middle Ages, much more popular than his mature works on rhetoric and is cited continually from the first century, by authors like Quintilian (c.35–c.100) and Victorinus (fl. 4th C), through the end of the Middle Ages.

Cicero begins Book Two with a story in defense of the eclectic sources he claims to have consulted in constructing his work.[13] He recalls that once upon a time the citizens of the very wealthy Italian city of Croton contracted the famous artist Zeuxis of Heraclea to help decorate their opulent temple of Juno. For one panel, the artist wished to depict the celebrated beauty of Helen of Troy, but would need models. The citizens then took him to their gymnasium so that he could review the beauty of the town's young men. It was not what he was looking for. They then assembled all the town's young girls before the artist. He selected five because he saw that while no one girl possessed all the perfections of female beauty, each had perfections lacking in the others, and drawing on the best features of each he proceeded to fashion his image of Helen. Cicero's example teaches readers how to think about imitation, or *mimesis*.[14] Crucially, the imitation advocated by Cicero is multi-faceted, that is, it is not strictly a matter of reproducing faithfully what one receives—or in this case sees. Rather, Cicero's idea contains a notion of copying something before one, but also requires a development or reformation of what one receives. Thus, *mimesis* means imitation, but an imitation that not only transmits but also transforms in a positive way whatever is being imitated, directing it toward an ideal end. In Cicero's story, artistic imitation of the female form provides an analogy for his rhetorical textbook, which ideally draws on the very best instances of rhetoric from earlier sources in order to craft a more perfect example of the subject.

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12. Cicero, *De Oratore* I.ii.5, intro. and trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 4. "*inchoata ac rudia.*"

13. Cicero, *De Inventione* II.i.1–3, 166–68.

14. On *mimesis* and its influence on ideals of reform in Christian history, see the brilliant Karl F. Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton, 1982), which includes a chapter on Paschasius' view of history at 121–35. More generally, in the background sits the provocative Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis:*
Literature, trans. Willard Trask (New York, 1953).

Paschasius' mention of the painting of Helen in the Prologue to his *Commentary on Matthew* reveals a careful and sensitive reading of Cicero's *De inventione*, one that adopts Cicero's analogy, and puts it into the service of biblical studies and the broader Carolingian Renewal of Paschasius' own Ninth Century.[15] The monk of Corbie, himself a young man, recognizes that Cicero's mimetic activity entailed both copying of and improving upon his models. Paschasius explains

> Certainly one should not be called a 'plunderer of the ancients' when Cicero, the king of eloquence, records that he himself copies a certain Zeuxis, who from all the girls of Croton selected five more beautiful than the others set before his eyes, while painting a picture of Helen for those seeking a marvelous work. To this end he brought together in a whole of greater beauty what aspects were beautiful individually in each of them.[16]

Thus Paschasius begins somewhat defensively, reaching for an authority to ward off criticism—perhaps by students—of his engagement with sources, a problem faced by more than one prominent Carolingian monk and teacher.[17] The monk of Corbie then seizes upon Cicero's double point that while Zeuxis would imitate or copy the beautiful features he found in his models, his final product would be superior to his models and fitting for the ideal of beauty by bringing together one girl's lovely arms with another girl's comely legs and so fashioning a more perfect image of female beauty.

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15. On the Carolingian Renewal, see the recent analysis in Janet L. Nelson, "Revisiting the Carolingian Renaissance," *Motions of Late Antiquity: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Society in Honour of Peter Brown*, eds. Jamie Kreiner and Helmut Reimitz (Turnhout, 2016), 331–46. On educational efforts, see John Contreni, "Learning for God: Education in the Carolingian Age," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 24 (2014), 89–129 or, more broadly, idem, "The Carolingian renaissance: education and literary culture," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, UK, 1995), 709–57. On concern for renewal in clerical life, see Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe* (Berlin, 2016) and Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007). For general orientation, see the older but still useful essays in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, UK, 1994).

16. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* Prologue, 6: "*Nec ideo profecto* compilator ueterum *appellandus quando ut Tullius refert ipse rex eloquentiae quondam Eleusynum est imitatus qui ex omnibus Crotoniensium uirginibus quinque delegit pulchriores quas statuit coram oculis dum Elene imaginem illis petentibus mirabile opus pingeret ut quod uni earum minus esset pulchritudinis ex his decorosius quicquid singillatim in se pulchrius exprimerent totum picturae suae coloribus conferret*."

17. Mayke de Jong, "From Scholastici to Scioli: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Elite," *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1998), 45–57.

For Paschasius, Cicero's example of Zeuxis capturing the beauty of Helen suggests the way an exegete ought to capture the beauty of the Christian tradition. Moreover, Paschasius marshals tradition into the service of reform by applying to contemporary challenges a text crafted from the resources of tradition, very often drawn out of their original contexts and re-formed for a new specific audience. In order most beautifully to interpret the Scripture, the exegete must be familiar with the Christian (and classical) tradition so as to be in a position to select the most apt texts and work them into a commentary fitting for a contemporary audience. His is not an abstract exercise, but a concrete pedagogical and pastoral effort. Across the pages of his commentary, Paschasius takes up themes and topics of the moment.[18] He focuses attention on perennial pastoral concerns he believes to be featured in Matthew's Gospel, especially the care of sinners and the fostering of true conversion.[19] He also tackles technical textual and literary issues like variant readings, scriptural style, and the difficulties of translation.[20] Finally, he addresses burning contemporary controversies, such as the Felician heresy (Spanish Adoptionism), predestination, prayer to the saints, and the mission to the Danes.[21] The *mimesis* modeled by Paschasius is not simply a transmission of data, it is a profound renewal, making new again and applying to his Ninth Century circumstances the wisdom and knowledge of tradition found in the works of his predecessors.

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18. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 209, n. 22.

19. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* Prologus, 2: "*Quem si recte inspicimus per totum textum euangelii curam peccatorum specialius gerit unde et mores instituit atque fontem uerae conuersionis patenter ubique ostendit*."

20. E.g. Paschasius touches on variant manuscript readings in trying to explain the cry of the multitude at Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mt. 21:9). Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* IX, 1020: "*Sed quod in nostris codicibus habetur* Osanna filio Dauid *iuxta hunc sensum quibusdam uisum est esse latinius ut dicatur* Osanna fili Dauid *uocatiuo casu et sit sensus: Obsecro Domine fili Dauid saluum fac quod et plures in suis codicibus emmendare iam ausi sunt. Quod non inmerito temerarium esse uidetur cum et Greci codices et Latini quoscumque inspicere potui datiuum habeant casum*."

21. Felix of Urgel and his heresy are mentioned at Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* IX, 954. For context, consult John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993). Paschasius remarks on predestination at Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* XII, 1386–1387. For more, consult Matthew Bryan Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent in the Carolingian Empire:*
Orbais (Oxford, 2017). Relics and the intercession of the saints appear at Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* XI, 1206–07. For general orientation, see Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1994). The mission to the Danes is addressed at Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* XI, 1165. On the origins of the Danish mission see Eric Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen* (Burlington, VT, 2011).

For his *Exposition of Matthew*, Paschasius gathered model passages from earlier writings and in fine mimetic fashion brought them together so as, in some ways, to exceed the example of his inspiration, Cicero, and his inspiration's inspiration, Zeuxis with his five models. Paschasius draws from more than 130 separate authorities in crafting his work.[22] Among the impressive breadth of resources available to and used by Paschasius are the usual patristic luminaries, such as Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, as well as more recent thinkers like Adomnan of Iona and the Venerable Bede. He consults Latin translations of influential Greek writers like Origen and John Chrysostom, and incorporates opinions of contemporary and near contemporary authors like Alcuin, Hilduin of St.-Denis, Hincmar of Rheims, Paul the Deacon, and Paulinus of Aquileia. Woven among the contributions of such an impressive run of Christian authors are insights gleaned from an array of classical authorities, both those who pre-date Christianity and those who do not, Latin authors as well as Latin translations of Greek authors. Among such figures are Cicero, of course, but also Virgil, Livy, Lucan, Ammianus Marcellinus, as well as Homer and Josephus.

Paschasius, perhaps sensitive to contemporary criticism, not only tries to justify his process through a retelling of Cicero's famous story, he also promises to the reader that he will leave signposts to help the reader navigate the many and varied sources from which he draws his insights. After mentioning special debts he holds to Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Bede, the Corbie monk adds: "I undertook carefully to add the letters of their names to the margins of this work so that from these the steadfast reader is able to advance, or quickly to recognize from the section in whose footsteps I follow."[23] This indication of plans for source marks sets Paschasius in a sophisticated early medieval scholarly tra-

22. The exact number will depend on how one wants to count texts now known to be pseudonymous. See Beda Paulus, "Introduction" to Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo*, xxxix–lxi. Also, as he worked on the Exposition over the decades, his catalogue of authors grew. He cites more different authors and works in the later books than in the earlier ones. See David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 208, n. 18.

23. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* Prologue, 7: "*horum nominum litteras in huius operis margine diligenter apponere curaui ex his ut possit lector securus incedere uel cuius sequar uestigia e regione mox cognoscere*." No evidence survives of source marks in the manuscript record, and at least one early medieval corrector recognized the issue and crossed out this line in Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 67. Einleitung, Paschasius Radbertus *Expositio in Mattheo*, ix. The significance of the lack of source marks is only highlighted by the fact that this manuscript was produced at Corbie in the third quarter of the ninth century, either during Paschasius' lifetime or shortly after his death. Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunders,* Vol. 2: *Laon-Paderborn*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger (Weisbaden, 2004) #2058, 22–23.

dition that established conventions for research and references guides. Source marks allowed early medieval intellectuals to signpost their applications of tradition in ways that allowed for contemporary debates not just over theological points, but also over theological sources. Bede's advocacy of source marks is well-studied, and by no means a unique effort.[24] Paschasius' contemporary, Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), explains his use of the convention, including in his own *Exposition on Matthew* and his commentary on the Books of Kings.[25] In a preface to the latter, addressed to Hilduin (775–840), abbot of the royal monastery of St. Denis and archchaplain to Emperor Louis the Pious (778–840), Hrabanus explains that he used works of Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Bede, and that he either transcribed their thoughts or rephrased them for the sake of brevity. "I set down all of their opinions either just as written by them or I briefly explained their meaning in my own words."[26] Moreover, he used source marks to identify his authorities, whether ancient or contemporary, including himself.

> And where their own words are, I noted down in the margins of the pages the names of some of them. Where I express their sense in my own words or where I composed anew a likeness of their sense, just as divine grace deigned to grant to me, I took care to note down the letter 'M' representing the name of Maurus—which Alcuin my teacher of happy memory imparted to me—so that the careful reader knows what each offers from his own or determines what ought to be understood in each.[27]

Hrabanus reveals his understanding of his editorial authority by explaining that he identifies his textual authority when he transcribes a passage verba-

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24. See M.L.W. Laistner, "Source-marks in Bede Manuscripts," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 34:136 (1933), 350–54 and more recently, Michael M. Gorman, "Source Marks and Chapter Divisions in Bede's Commentary on Luke," *Revue Bénédictine* 112:3–4 (2002), 246–90.

25. More generally on Hrabanus and source marks, see Sita Steckel, "Von Buchstaben und Geist: Pragmatische und symbolische Dimensionen der Autorensiglen (*nomina auctorum*) bei Hrabanus Maurus," *Karolingische Klöster: Wissentransfer und kuturelle Innovation*, eds. Julia Becker, Tino Licht, and Stefan Weinfurter (Berlin 2015), 89–130.

26. Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistola* 14, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH.Ep, Epistolae V (Berlin, 1899), 402: "*Quorum omnium sententias aut, sicut ab ipsis conscriptae sunt, posui aut sensum eorum meis verbis breviando explanavi.*"

27. Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistola* 14, 402–03: "*Praenotavique in marginibus paginarum aliquorum eorum nomina, ubi sua propria verba sunt; ubi vero sensum eorum meis verbis expressi aut ubi iuxta sensus eorum similitudinem, prout divina gratia mihi concedere dignata est, de novo dictavi, M litteram Mauri nomen exprimentem, quod meus magister beatae memoriae Albinus mihi indidit, prenotare curavi, ut diligens lector sciat, quid quisque de suo proferat, quidve in singulis sentiendum sit, decernat.*"

tim, but sources himself when he paraphrases or refashions his evidence. The Fulda master would continue the practice for some years, as seen in his mention of source marks in an introductory letter to Lupus (805–62), the deeply learned abbot of Ferrières, for his commentary on the Pauline Epistles, sent around 840.[28] Paschasius hopes such a convention would help sophisticated readers move knowledgeably through the work and pick up on the contexts and authorities of the different texts consulted. In fact, at moments he finds particularly crucial, his deliberate and self-conscious use of authorities includes identifying his sources by name within the text of his work. Early in Book One of the Matthew Commentary, for example, when unpacking the genealogy, Paschasius explains that Jechoniah is counted twice because he marks the Babylonian captivity, which is both the end of one narrative arc and the beginning of another. Paschasius summarizes: "Indeed, according to Augustine one and the same Jechoniah is twice enumerated just as if positioned in a corner."[29] Thus, this king of Judah is like a corner where two walls come together and reckoned as the end of one and beginning of another. Throughout the book, both in the margins and in the text, the Corbie monk planned carefully to note the authoritative examples to which he is indebted as he fashions his beautiful commentary on Matthew.

The explanatory thrust of Paschasius' introduction reinforces the importance of *mimesis*. Even as he wants to offer an original masterpiece, he does not seem to want to offer original material. He acknowledges both a concern for humility in the present time and deference to the wisdom of older traditions when he writes "I do not love the arrogance of boasting, so I promise that I reached for their knowledge and their merits, but also rejoice that I laid hold of that truth and faith which they taught, and I was nurtured by their teachings."[30] The transmission here hinted at by Paschasius is not a mechanical and external handing on of something fixed or static. He did not merely pass along what he found in earlier authorities; rather, he absorbed what he discovered, internalized it, and re-presented to his readers the results of his careful research and reflection. Paschasius'

28. Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistola* 23, 429–30.

29. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* I, 1, 10–11, 2014–15, 68: "Secundum uero Agustinum *unus idemque* Iechonias bis *quasi in angulo constitutes ad*numeratur." Cf. Mt. 1:11–12 and Augustine, *Sermo* 51, *Sermones in Mathaeum I* (sermons LI–LXX), ed. F. Dolbeau, [CCSL, 41a] (Turnhout, 2008), 22–24.

30. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* Prologue, 4: "*non adeo fastum iactantiae diligo, ut me ad eorum scientiam aut merita attigisse polliceam sed quod fidem quam ipsi docuerunt et ueritatem adprehendisse ipsorumque doctrina enutritum me esse gaudeo*."

inquiries into the knowledge and merits of earlier authorities is transformative for the author himself, who then joyfully passes on that with which he was nourished, leaving him reformed for the better and inviting others also to benefit.

As has long been recognized by some scholars and editors, Paschasius did not merely copy the authorities he consulted, but rather altered, edited, or otherwise added to them.[31] In the introduction to the modern critical edition of the *Commentary on Matthew*, Beda Paulus, the editor, remarks that it is often difficult to identify the specific sources upon which Paschasius depends. After a perhaps unnecessary swipe at Hrabanus Maurus, the Benedictine editor lauds Paschasius for not following his sources slavishly and for his independence in how he incorporates them into his effort.[32] Paulus then offers descriptions and examples of ways in which Paschasius routinely engages his sources with varying degrees of editorial intervention. Sometimes he just plain changes his sources, rewriting what he read with similar language to a similar point, perhaps showing his memory of an authoritative text. For example, in a comment on Jesus' baptism in the Jordan, Paschasius cites Augustine of Hippo from his *Agreement among the Evangelists*. Augustine reflects upon the different words used by the synoptic writers to record what happened at Jesus' baptism in the Jordan. The Corbie monk uses words similar to his source in order to convey a similar point. Augustine concludes that "in no way does one deem this [different language in Mark or Luke] to be a difficulty who wisely understands that these thoughts are necessary to know the truth, with whatever words they were expressed."[33] In commenting upon John the Baptist's words (Mt. 3:11), Paschasius echoes Augustine's thought and words in writing "but in no way does anyone deem this [Luke's different language] to be a difficulty, who wisely understands that these thoughts are necessary to know the

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31. Paschasius' exceptional profundity is praised in M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500 to A.D. 900*, 2nd edition (Ithaca, NY, 1957), 303–05. In the context of the history of biblical exegesis, such praise is echoed by Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris, 1944), 46 and the formidable Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Vol. 3:* , trans. E.M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009), 147–55.

32. Einleitung, Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Mattheo*, xxi: "*Er fügt nicht wie etwa Rabanus Maurus Zitat an Zitat aus den Kirchenvätern und verbindet diese mit eigenen Kommentierungen, sondern Radbert benützt seine Quellen ganz frei und selbständig*."

33. Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum II*, 12.xxvii, ed. Franz Weihrich [Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (hereafter CSEL), 43] (Vienna, 1904) 127: "***nullo modo hinc laborandum** esse **iudicat qui prudenter intellegit ipsas sententias esse necessarias cognoscendae ueritati, quibuslibet uerbis** fuerint **explicatae**." Bold text identifies identical language in Paschasius and his source. Regular text shows changes and adjustments.

truth in whatever words they are expressed."[34] Paschasius agrees with Augustine that different words, rather than confuse and contradict, complement each other in order to paint a fuller picture.

In a similar move to a slightly different end, Paschasius turns to Bede's *Exposition on the Gospel of Luke* further to unpack the genealogy with which Matthew opens. Bede connects the genealogy to Jesus' baptism in the Jordan and remarks "coming in the flesh, by the washing of baptism He opened to us the doors of heaven."[35] Paschasius likewise links the genealogy, though this time that of Matthew, to Jesus' baptism in the Jordan in nearly the same words, changing only the case of *lavacrum* and substituting a synonym for the verb. This has the effect of rendering the washing of baptism and gates of heaven both open to us by virtue of the incarnation, as opposed to Bede's formulation in which baptism occupies a middle position between the incarnation and the opening of the gates of heaven. Paschasius writes "coming in the flesh, he made open to us the washing of baptism and the gates of heaven."[36] Besides applying Bede's exegesis of Luke to Matthew's Gospel, Paschasius' minor changes show him using words similar to those of his authority in order to make a different point.

Paschasius will also alter his sources to clarify a passage's interpretation. He examines Jesus' instructions to his followers that they should travel lightly to evangelize and not carry with them two coats, or shoes, or a staff (Mt. 10:10). For interpretation, the Corbie monk turns to the allegorical exegesis of Gregory the Great, who in Homily 17 of his *Forty Gospel Homilies* considers a similar instruction found in Luke (Lk. 10:1–7). The pope preaches that the shoes in the passage are dead works, which is pointed to by the fact that shoes are made from dead animals. Insofar as shoes conceal feet, wearing shoes is then trying to protect one's own foolish works, in not heeding the Lord's commands, with the dead works of others. Gregory concludes that "there are indeed many who defend their own wickedness by the wickedness of others, for because they consider that others have done such things, they think that they are free to do them."[37]

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34. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* II, 3, 11, 202: "*Sed* ***nullo modo hinc laborandum iudicat quisquis prudenter intelligit ipsas sententias congnoscende ueritati necessarias esse quibuslibet uerbis explic****entur*."

35. Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio* I, iii.38, ed. David Hurst [CCSL, 120] (Turnhout, 1960), 92: "***aduenies in carne baptismi nobis lauacro caeli ianuas*** *pandit*."

36. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo I*, 1, 16–17, 78: "**aduenies in carne, baptismi nobis lauacra et caeli ianuas** patefecit."

37. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia* 17.5, ed. Raymond Étaix [CCSL, 141] (Turnout, 1999), 120: "***Sunt*** *etenim multi* ***qui prauitatem suam ex alienis prauitatibus tuentur****. Quia enim* ***alios talia fecisse*** *considerant, se haec facere licenter putant*."

Paschasius finds Gregory's instinct helpful and reproduces it for the most part, but clarifies his teaching in three respects. First, he is more optimistic than Gregory in assessing just how many succumb to wickedness of this kind and opts for "some" instead of "many." Second, he emphasizes that such attempts at justification are thin and ineffectual as he characterizes such people not as defending their behavior, but as trying to defend it. Third, by swapping adjectives and verbs, he removes the legal resonance of Gregory's pronouncement and connotes rather a role for belief and free will. The monk of Corbie explains, "There are some who try to defend their own wickedness by the wickedness of others, since they see that others have done such things, they believe that they can freely do them."[38] Thus Paschasius clarifies and refocuses the insights of the great church father.

Sometimes Paschasius goes beyond his source, expanding a teaching to add a significant element or dimension. In a passage expounding a forty-day and forty-night fast, the Corbie monk again turns to the great North African bishop, Augustine, for some theological mathematics. But, on this occasion he expands Augustine's teaching to add significant content. Paschasius reflects upon Augustine's *On Eighty-Three Separate Questions*, specifically question eighty-one where the bishop of Hippo explains the symbolism of the forty days of Lent and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. Augustine breaks down the forty days of Lent into ten and four "because the number ten, which suggests the whole of teaching" is multiplied by four, which is the number of bodily activities in service, to arrive at the number forty.[39] He explains that he arrived at the number ten by adding God in his three persons to the whole of creation made in seven days. Paschasius likes the math, but wishes to be more specific and concrete about the teaching indicated by the number ten and explains that "because this teaching of the Ten Commandments for our sluggish laziness is often not fulfilled as it should be, it is ten which expresses the whole perfection of this religious teaching."[40] Paschasius reproduces Augustine's sacred math, but imposes a specific significance on the number, connecting his discussion to the concrete commands of the

38. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo VI*, 10, 10, 584–85: "***sunt*** *nonnulli* ***qui prauitatem suam ex alienis pruitatibus*** *conantur* ***tue****ri dum* ***alios talia fecisse*** *conspiciunt,* ***se*** *ea perficere liberius credunt*."

39. Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus LXXXI*, I, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher [CCSL, 44a] (Turnhout, 1975), 240: "*quoniam* ***denarius*** *numerus,* ***qui totam*** *insinuat* ***disciplinam***."

40. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* III, 4, 2, 243: "*quia haec disciplina decim mandatorum pro nostra torporis ignauia quam saepe ut oportet non impletur,* ***denarius qui totam*** *huius religionis* ***disciplina****<e> exprimit perfectionem*."

Decalogue. Thus, he expands Augustine's thought by adding a specific dimension to his content.

Sometimes an expansion changes a text's meaning to render a positive injunction in place of a negative criticism. In Book Ten, Paschasius treats Jesus' criticism of the Pharisees late in Matthew's Gospel. Matthew depicts Jesus as critical of the scribes' and Pharisees' understanding of Mosaic Law. Jesus charges that the Pharisees require others to do what they themselves are unwilling to do and craft for themselves ostentatious signs of their own observance of the Law (Mt. 23:3–5). For interpretation, Paschasius turns to a Latin translation of Origen's *Commentary on Matthew* in which Origen concentrates on the pastoral consequences of the Pharisees' actions. "Therefore He [Jesus] blames these teachers [the Pharisees], who not only teach what they do not do, but also do so cruelly and without mercy, and not according to a determination of the strength of each one who listens. But in fact they impose greater things by their own power!"[41] Origen understands Jesus to criticize the Pharisees for making themselves models of observance of the Law. There are at least three problems with this tactic as far as Origen can see. First, the Pharisees themselves do not well observe the Law. Second, they show no judgement about the individuals, no discretion about how observance of the Law might require different responses from different people. Third, they wind up burdening their followers with obligations beyond what the Law requires. Paschasius relies on Origen's insights, but expands and alters the focus, transforming Origen's criticism of what the Pharisees failed to do—act with mercy and take into account the capability of the listeners—into a lesson for his readers about what Carolingian pastors ought to do. Paschasius writes, "all things are to be treated mercifully by good and discreet men lest they be blamed by the Lord along with teachers of this sort, so that they first fulfill the greater and not disregard the lesser. They should arrange, bind, and impose individual things according to a determination of the strength of each one listening."[42] Thus does Paschasius absorb Origen's analysis, but turns it in a new direction, which encourages reform among the clerics who comprise his own primary audience.

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41. Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* 10, ed. Erich Klostermann and Ernst Benz, [Origenes Werke 11: Origines Matthäuserklärung II: Die Lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum Series] (Leipzig: 1933), 17: "***Reprehend****it ergo* ***huiusmodi praeceptor****es, qui non solum quae docent non faciunt, sed etiam crudeliter et sine* ***misericordia****, et non* ***secundum aestimationem virium uniuscuiusque audientis****, sed maiora virtute ipsorum iniungunt*."

42. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* X, 23, 4, 1107: "*Omnia a bonis et discretis uiris* ***misericordi****ter sunt tractanda ne* ***reprehend****antur a Domino cum* ***huiusce modi preceptor****ibus ut primum ipsi maiora compleant et minora non omittant. Deinde* ***secundum estimationem uirium uniuscuiusque audientis*** *singula dispensent et alligent et inponant*."

Still other times Paschasius corrects what he views as an error in his source. Working with an anonymous Irish redactor's eighth century commentary on Matthew, Paschasius emends and then further nuances his source's remarks. On the first verse of Matthew, chapter twenty-three, which runs "then Jesus spoke to the multitudes and to his disciples," the commentary records only that "then Jesus spoke to the multitudes." The redactor explains that the significance of the verse lies in to whom Jesus spoke: "to the multitudes, not to the scribes because they were unworthy."[43] Paschasius corrects, redirects, and elaborates when he writes "but now he said these words not to the Pharisees, but to the multitudes and to his disciples because they were unworthy. Yet he did not wish entirely to condemn the Pharisees on account of their sound teaching."[44] Paschasius recognizes that the verse includes the disciples with the crowd as Jesus' audience, but then suggests that the contrast be drawn with the Pharisees and not the scribes. While perhaps he recognized that scribes belonged to something of an office whose practitioners were found both among the Pharisees and the Sadducees, his comment primarily serves to focus attention on the distinction between the Pharisaical teaching, which was not necessarily a problem, and the Pharisees' living out of their teaching, which was most definitely a problem. The Corbie monk then proceeds to moderate the implied criticism in the contrast by interpreting further significance in the Gospel's description of Jesus speaking "to" a group and not "against" a group.

On occasion Paschasius will reimagine his source. In Book Seven, he takes up a discussion of Jesus' parable of the mustard seed (Mt. 13:31–32). For inspiration, the Corbie monk turns to a homily delivered by Peter Chrysologus on the same topic, though not on the same text. Peter explores the parable as told by Luke (Lk. 13:18–19). He explains that the seed grows into a large tree which is characterized by its greatness and that this greatness is the Kingdom of God's greatness in its expansion through our lives. Peter summarizes "as the text says, the kingdom of God is like a grain of mustard seed, because the kingdom is brought by a word from heaven, is received through hearing, is sown by faith, takes root through belief, grows by hope, is diffused by profession, expands through virtue,

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43. Mt. 23:1. Anonymous, *Liber questionum in evangeliis* 23, 1–3, ed. J. Rittmueller [CCSL, 108F] (Turnhout, 2003), 359: "***AD TURBAS. Non*** *ad scribas* ***quia indigni erant***."

44. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* X, 23, 2.3, 1105: "*Sed hos sermones iam* ***non*** *ad Phariseos loquitur sed* ***ad turbas*** *et ad discipulos* ***quia indigni erant****. Nec tamen penitus propter eos sanam eorum doctrinam uult contemni*."

and is spread out in branches."[45] Paschasius takes Peter's conclusion, but prunes and shapes it to highlight how the Kingdom flourishes in individual Christians through the three theological virtues that fructify one's life. He writes "Therefore [what was planted] with assurance is received by hearing, takes root by faith, grows on high by hope, is extended and increased by charity, is spread out into branches by profession, and every day turns green in virtues."[46] Such a decision reflects how Paschasius focused pedagogical concerns to pastoral ends. This particular organizational instinct, a cultivation of the three theological virtues, is also evident in his three books of instruction written to help his friend, Abbot Warin of Corvey, as a model for the formation of young Saxon monks gathered at Corvey.[47]

Other times, Paschasius will juxtapose multiple sources, enriching his exegesis by weaving together insights from different authorities. In a passage explaining the Sermon on the Mount, Paschasius draws from both the anonymous Irish commentary on Matthew and from Augustine's books on the Sermon on the Mount. After delivering the Beatitudes, Jesus instructs the crowd that salt which has lost its flavor is good only to be trodden by men (Mt. 5:13). In glossing the vocabulary of this verse, the anonymous Irishman comments: "[Such a person] is trodden by pursuers. So, who suffers persecution is not trodden, but he who is afraid is trodden, for he is able to be trampled. Although a holy one puts up with many things in the world, his mind is fixed on heaven."[48] Paschasius also draws on Augustine's reflections on the same passage, where the North African Church Father remarks, "he who suffers persecution is not trampled therefore, but he who fears persecution is made a fool by fear. For he is not able to be trampled unless he is below, but he is not below who however many things he may suffer in his body on earth, nevertheless has his heart fixed on heaven."[49]

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45. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 98.4, ed. Alexandri Olivar [CCSL, 24a] (Turnhout, 1981), 603: "*Granum sinapis, sicut dicit, instar est regnum dei, quod de supernis adfertur uerbo,* ***suscipitur auditu, fide*** *seritur, credulitate* ***radicatur, spe crescit, confessione diffunditur, uirtute tenditur et dilatatur in ramos***."

46. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* II, 13, 32, 712: "*Idcirco confidenter* ***suscipitur auditu, fide radicatur spe crescit*** *in altum caritate* ***diffunditur et dilatatur in ramos confessione extenditur uirtut****ibus cotidie uirescit*."

47. Paschasius Radbertus, *De fide, spe, et caritate*, ed. Beda Paulus [CCCM, 97] (Turnhout, 1990).

48. Anonymous, *Liber quaestionum in euangeliis*, 5, 13. 103: "*CONCULCETUR. 'A' persequentibus. 'Non' ita 'calcatur qui patitur persequutionem, sed qui timet.* ***Calcari*** *enim* ***potest*** *inferior';* ***sanctus*** *autem,* ***'quamuis in terra multa sustineat', mente 'tamen fixus in caelo*** *est'*."

49. Augustine, *De sermone domini in monte libros duos* I, 6, 16, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher [CCSL, 35] (Turnhout, 1967), 16: "*Non itaque calcatur ab hominibus qui patitur persecutionem,*

Paschasius combines the two sources and teaches: "the holy and true minister of Christ, although he puts up with many things in the world and the wicked make fun of him, nevertheless is not able to be trampled because in his mind he remains fixed on heaven."[50] Paschasius preserves Augustine's original emphasis on the Christian who is **not** able to be trampled, even as he adopts the anonymous author's characterization of the untrampled one as holy, along with the subtle change from heart to mind as what remains fixed on heaven. More dramatic is Paschasius' narrowing of the teaching's subject from all Christians to clergy specifically, which highlights the Corbie monk's reframing of Augustine's characterization of the passage's threat as a question of derision and not of persecution. Paschasius shapes his exegesis for Carolingian pastors active in pursuit of reform.

Paschasius' deep reflection on tradition can point him to innovative and groundbreaking conclusions about the biblical text. In fact, sometimes, Paschasius' instinct to think creatively with authoritative words is so strong that only echoes survive of an authority's formulation of an otherwise unconnected idea. In Paschasius' interpretation of Matthew 25, where Jesus speaks about the coming of the Son of Man in judgment, he primarily engages Jerome and Origen to craft his interpretation, but—strikingly—offers an interpretation of "the least" found in neither Jerome nor Origen and not known to modern scholarship from other antique or early medieval exegesis.[51] The Corbie monk identifies "the least" as the Apostles and other Christians who preach the Good News. He further explains that they will be present at the Last Judgment neither among those who are saved nor among those who are condemned, but rather alongside Christ in judgment. Paschasius concludes: "Those who left behind all their possessions and even themselves for the sake of Christ will therefore be with the Lord at the same judgment, not that they might be judged, as I said, but that they might judge."[52]

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sed qui persecutionem timendo infatuatur. ***Calcari*** *enim* ***non potest*** *nisi inferior; sed inferior non est qui,* ***quamuis corpore multa in terra sustineat****, corde tamen* ***fixus in caelo*** *est.*"

50. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* III, 5, 13, 308: "***sanctus*** *et uerus minister Christi* ***quamuis in terris*** *multa sustineat et derideant eum mali* ***tamen*** *conculcari* ***non potest*** *quoniam* ***mente fixus in caelo*** *manet.*"

51. I would like to offer special thanks to my colleague Bill Bales for bringing this text to my attention. See William A. Bales, "'These Least Brothers of Mine': A Reappraisal of the Great Judgment Scene as Apocalyptic Retribution in Matthew 25:31–46," *Letter & Spirit* 9 (2014), 51–75; Sherman W. Gray, *The Least of My Brothers: Matthew 25:31–46, A History of Interpretation* (Atlanta, 1989), 163-66.

52. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo* XI, 25, 40, 1252: "Idcirco et ipsi in eodem iudicio erunt cum Domino. Ergo non ut iudicentur ut reor sed ut iudicent qui sua omnia etiam et semet ipsos pro Christo reliquerunt."

The cumulative effect of Paschasius' exegetical efforts—to engage, to present, to alter, and to move beyond his sources—operates according to a mimetic logic inspired by Cicero. Paschasius crafts the most beautiful commentary he can envision based on the models he has in the monastic libraries of the Carolingian world.[53] The resulting commentary manifests a beauty that can only come from taking the best of each of his sources and bringing them together into a new and more perfect whole dedicated to clerical reform in furtherance of the Carolingian Renewal.

Paschasius' mimetic instinct extends beyond his biblical insights and directs his wider theological approach to interpreting life. Cicero's story appears to have quite forcefully struck Paschasius; it appears at least three times in his surviving works. In addition to its appearance in the prologue to the exposition of Matthew, a robust account is featured in the *Vita Adalhardi*, a biographical apology for Paschasius' predecessor as abbot of Corbie modeled on the Late Antique memorial treatises of Ambrose and Jerome.[54] He probably composed the work shortly after Adalhard's death in 826, near the time—or likely shortly before—he began his work on the Gospel of Matthew. In writing the *vita*, Paschasius recounts that "Cicero, the king of Latin eloquence, writes in the second book of the *Invention of Rhetorical Art* that when the people of Croton flourished with wealth . . . they summoned a certain Zeuxis who apparently excelled all other painters in skill."[55] He proceeds to recount the full story from Cicero with all its details. Careful attention to the framing of the story shows both how critical it is to Paschasius' mind, and hints at its flexibility as an interpretive lens. In both recollections, Paschasius identifies Cicero as the "king of rhetoric" and so authorizes the story's analytic value. On the other hand, whereas in the *Commentary on Matthew*, Paschasius deploys the story to shield himself against charges of cribbing his material, here he focuses on how masters vet models. He asks rhetorically "If our ancient also entered the gymnasium of this life after he had been purified in the font of baptism,

53. On monastic libraries in the Carolingian world, see Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006); Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Michael Gorman (Cambridge, UK, 1994); Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*.

54. See De Jong, *Epitaph for an Era*. See also Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 103 and idem, "The *Epitaphium Arsenii* and Opposition to Louis the Pious" *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, eds. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 537–50; Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform*, 121–35.

55. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi* 20, [PL, 120: 1518D]: "*Scribit namque Tullius, rex eloquentiae Latinae, in libro secondo de inventione rhetoricae artis, quo tempore Crotonienses florerent opibus… vocasse Zeuxim quemdam, qui omnium pictorum ingeniis videbatur excellere*."

after he had renounced the world, how did he with pure intent of mind gaze upon different [youths] paying attention to different things?"[56] Thus the author wonders just which are those perfections that matter. In this case, they are not aesthetic perfections, but rather moral ones. A litany follows, in which Paschasius imagines the moral implications of peoples' preoccupations, both wicked and holy. Some pursue luxury, others pursue justice. Some follow lusts of the flesh and others chase future blessedness. Interestingly, Paschasius' mind in interpreting Cicero does not seem to stray far from Matthew's Gospel. Adalhard is here likened to a master artist choosing for emulation those like the five virgins, but rather than the five physically beautiful virgins from Croton, Paschasius proffers the five morally praiseworthy virgins from Matthew's Gospel, who vigilantly awaited the wedding party (Mt 25:2–10). "From all those, he [Adalhard] chose those whom he could understand as the five virgins who unfailingly trim their lamps with the holy oil of charity and prepare to go forth to meet the bridegroom and bride."[57] The working concept is again one of *mimesis*. Adalhard's study of the saints led him to select the excellences that each of them possessed to model in himself in such a way that he imitates them and improves upon them in order to become more Christ-like, who is the most beautiful, morally speaking. "From all these he reformed himself into the one image of Christ."[58] Through the emulation of virtues found in earlier exemplars, a more perfect moral life is painted. The theological vision behind Paschasius' use of the Helen analogy in his study of Adalhard is only emphasized by the fact that he could have used the analogy in the same way he used it in his commentary on Matthew in so far as his biographies, first of Adalhard and then of Wala, are strewn with quotations from, references to, and echoes of biblical, patristic, and classical texts.[59]

Paschasius turns to Cicero's analogy a third time, about ten years after writing about Adalhard, at the beginning of the *Epithaphium Arsenii*, a dia-

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56. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi* 21, [PL, 120: 1519B]: "*Ita si quidem et senex noster ingrediens palaestram hujus vitae, postquam ablutus est baptismi fonte, post abrenuntiationem saeculi; quo puro mentis intuitu conspexit diversos ad diversa tendentes?*" Note also a suggested connection between the gymnasium and a baptistery. Like many Carolingian authors, Paschasius viewed the ontological and educational effects of baptism and baptismal formation as crucial to a proper worldview. See, Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: Carolingians, Baptism, and the* Imperium Christianum (Oxford, 2014).

57. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi* 21, [PL, 120: 1519B]: "*Elegit tamen ex omnibus quos potuit intellegere quinque virgines, quae pio charitatis oleo suas indesinenter ornant lampadas, et parant exire obviam sponso et sponsae*."

58. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi* 21, [PL, 120: 1519C]: "*ex his omnibus unam in se Christi reformavit imaginem*."

59. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 103–20.

logue in two books discussing the life of Wala of Corbie (755–836). Wala was another of Paschasius' recent predecessors at the helm of Corbie and Adalhard's immediate successor. A strong proponent of imperial unity, Wala supported Louis' the Pious' eldest son Lothar during the rebellions of the 820s and 830s, which helps explain Paschasius' need to defend Wala and tell his story from a particular apologetic point of view.[60] At the outset of the work he responds, within the dialogue, to an interlocutor who "proposes that in the manner of Zeuxis, [Paschasius] depict as a memorial for the ages an image in outline of the character of our Arsenius."[61] Arsenius, a late antique tutor turned holy man (c. 350–c. 440), is the pseudonym Paschasius assigns to Wala.[62] Like the longer reference in the *Vita Adalhardi*, this mention of Cicero's story points to a double mimetic concern, with imitation and with improvement. And also like the passage from the *Vita Adalhardi*, the focus of the mimetic concern is on moral exemplarity, although rather than placing the focus on the subject's efforts, as with Adalhard, the focus returns to Paschasius himself, who like his position with respect to Matthew's Gospel is that of an artist looking to craft the most beautiful portrait. Paschasius must select the truest and best examples from Wala's life in order to fashion the most beautiful image of a holy man.

While Paschasius' oeuvre is exceptionally rich and complex in its innovative engagement with earlier traditions, it is not unusual in its processes. Predecessors and contemporaries laboring under the broad intellectual impulses characterizing the Carolingian Renewal engaged texts in similar ways with similar consequences. For example, already at the end of the eighth century, the previously mentioned Alcuin of York plumbed the depths of patristic advice and commentary for material he would shape into a number of works addressing contemporary concerns. The York master shows that the methodology employed by Paschasius was well-known both

60. De Jong, *Epitaph for an Era*. See also, Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, UK, 2009), 102–11; Courtney M. Booker, *Past Convictions: Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), 42–50.

61. Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii* I, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1900), 18: "*rogat Arsenii nostri morum liniamentis imaginem saeculis in memoria more Zeuxi pingere*."

62. Generally, on Carolingian court culture and nicknames, see the study of Charlemagne's court in Mary Garrison, "The Social World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and the Carolingian Court," *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1998), 59–79. Certainly, Paschasius was familiar with this courtly convention and remarks at one point that Alcuin addressed Adalhard by the name Antony while others called him Augustine. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi* 21, [PL, 120: 1519C]: "*Ob hoc autem ab aliquibus, ut epistolae magistri Albini ferunt, Antonius vocabatur; a nonnullis vero, ut supra dictum est, Aurelius Augustinus*."

for biblical expositions and for more thematically designed theological investigations. Sometime around the year 800, Alcuin put the finishing touches on a seven book treatment of John's Gospel which had been requested by Charlemagne's sister, Gisla, the abbess of Chelles, and Charlemagne's daughter Rodtruda, also at the monastery of Chelles.[63] Throughout the work, Alcuin draws mostly from Bede, Augustine, and Gregory, but also from Caesarius of Arles, Hilary of Poitiers, and Ambrose. In his prefatory letter, Alcuin does not cite Cicero's story of Helen, but offers a pharmacological analogy.

> Physicians are accustomed to compose out of many different kinds of ingredients a certain kind of drug for the health (*salutem*) of someone seeking it, but they do not consider themselves to be the creators of the herbs and other kinds of things from whose combination the health (*salus*) of the one suffering is brought about, but rather they are servants (*ministros*) who collect and mix the ingredients into one body.[64]

Though shifting from an artistic to a medical paradigm, Alcuin's understanding of his theological work corresponds to Paschasius'. The point of the analogy is even clearer in the Latin, where the world for health, *salus*, also means salvation. The great Anglo-Saxon scholar makes something new and useful to his current situation out of ingredients from the tradition. Moreover, rather than merely pass the ingredients on to his patient, he gathers specific examples and blends them together in order to promote improvement in his subject. Also, as with Paschasius, a theological instinct for engagement with tradition informs not only Alcuin's exegetical works, but also his thematic works. In 802, Alcuin completed his most influential theological exploration, *On the Faith of the Holy and Undivided Trinity*.[65]

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63. Alcuin, *Commentaria in S. Joannis Evangelium*, [PL, 100: 743–1008]. On the commentary itself, see Michael Gorman, "Rewriting Augustine: Alcuin's Commentary on the Gospel of John," *Revue Bénédictine* 119:1 (2009), 36–85. On Gisla's influence and the importance of Chelles, see Janet Nelson, "Women and the Word in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990), 53–78.

64. Alcuin, *Epistola* 213, [MGH.Ep IV], ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1895), 357: "*Solent namque medici ex multorum speciebus pigmentorum in salute poscentis quoddam medicamenti conponere genus, nec se ipsos fateri praesumunt creatores herbarum uel aliarum specierum, ex quarum compositione salus efficitur aegrotantium, sed ministros esse in colligendo et in unum pigmentaria manu conficiendo corpus*."

65. Alcuin of York, *De fide sanctae trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi*, eds. Eric Knibbs and E. Ann Matter, [CCCM 249] (Turnhout, 2012). For more treatment on Alcuin's creative engagement with patristic tradition, see John C. Cavadini, "A Carolingian Hilary," *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout, 2003), 133–40; idem, "The Sources and Theology of Alcuin's 'De fide sanctae et

He composed the work as an aid for bishops and priests tasked with transmitting the faith to the Saxons recently conquered and converted by Charlemagne.[66] Throughout the work, Alcuin's primary interlocutor is Augustine from whom our author cites at least eleven separate works, but especially *On the Trinity* and the *Enchiridion*. Other figures engaged include Arnobius, John Cassian, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Gennadius of Marseilles, Isidore of Seville, Leo the Great, and Marius Victorinus. The general tactics employed by Alcuin are now familiar. On some occasions he rearranged clauses and sentences from a single source, at other times he combined words from two different sources. As John Cavadini explains, "Alcuin takes over units or modules of tradition, so to speak, but they are, however, finally as divisible as Alcuin wants them to be."[67] He also freely adds his own words of clarification or appends a further point to a text, and also often summarizes an authority's point in order to move along a bit more quickly.

Such instincts are not confined to Paschasius' predecessors. His contemporary, the aforementioned abbot of Fulda and then archbishop of Mainz, Hrabanus Maurus works the same way throughout his biblical exegesis and thematic theological works. For his own *Exposition on Matthew*, Hrabanus sifts through an impressive catalogue of authors available to him in Fulda's substantial library.[68] Earlier authors who worked on Matthew are frequently cited: Hilary of Poitiers, Victorinus, and especially Jerome, whose *Commentary on Matthew* is singled out for criticism (perhaps unnecessarily, although more modestly) even as it is often used.[69] But Hrabanus

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individuae trinitatis,'" *Traditio* 46 (1991), 123–46; idem, "Alcuin and Augustine: *De Trinitate*," *Augustinian Studies 12* (1981), 11–18.

66. For a brief synopsis of Charlemagne's problems with the Saxons, see Paul Fouracre, "Frankish Gaul to 814," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, UK, 1995), 85–109, at 102–05. On the theological significance of the Saxons, among others, to the Carolingians specifically, see, for example, James Palmer, "Defining paganism in the Carolingian world," *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), 402–25. For a broader discussion of Alcuin's concern for mission, see Owen M. Phelan, "Catechising the Wild: The Continuity and Innovation of Missionary Catechesis under the Carolingians," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61:3 (2010), 455–74, esp. 464–67.

67. Cavadini, "The Sources and Theology," 135.

68. See the introduction in Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, [CCCM, 174-174A] (Turnhout, 2000).

69. Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum* Prologus, 2: "*Scripsit quoque praedictus uir beatus Hieronimus petente Eusebio in hoc euangelium commentarium, sed pro breuitate temporis, ut eius sermonibus dicam, omissa ueterum auctoritate, quos nec legendi nec sequendi facultas sibi data est, historicam interpretationem digessit breuiter et interdum spiritalis intellegentiae flores miscuit, perfectum opus reseruans in posterum.*"

casts his net widely and gathers insights from various works by Origen, Eusebius, Theophilus of Antioch, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Theodore of Heraclitus along with Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Orosius, Leo, Gregory the Great, and others. Beyond his massive collection of biblical studies, Hrabanus uses the same theological strategy in his thematic works. In the second decade of the Ninth Century, the then schoolmaster at Fulda completed a program for priestly formation to address the most urgent concerns of Ninth Century Carolingian reformers. In *On the Formation of Clergy*, Hrabanus frequently turns to the ideas and words of his authorities even as he develops new and different points for his audience.[70] The result is a sophisticated, yet practical guide with concrete and easily accessible instruction for young clerics who want effectively to minister to their congregations. Across the third book of the work, Hrabanus primarily combines Augustine's strategies for biblical exegesis in *De doctrina christiana* with Gregory the Great's pastoral advice in the *Regula pastoralis*. But throughout the whole work, Hrabanus engages many different voices from the tradition and makes them his own. In one charming example, while emphasizing the importance of content for the preacher, that it not be sacrificed for clever rhetorical artifice, Hrabanus appropriates a pithy observation found in one of Jerome's letters. Jerome instructs his interlocutor that "of two imperfect things holy rusticity is much better than sinful eloquence."[71] Amid a discussion of rhetoric and substance, Hrabanus teaches his students that "of these two imperfect things, I rather choose holy rusticity over sinful eloquence."[72] Even this brief scan of Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus shows that the engagement with tradition found throughout Paschasius' *Commentary on Matthew* is notable more for its exhaustive breadth and sophistication than for its uniqueness among Carolingian authors.

Analysis of the appearance of Helen of Troy in the writings of Paschasius Radbertus draws attention not only to Paschasius' erudition, it also illumines his theological method: a process of *mimesis* working with tradition. He scours authorities for insights and suggestions applicable to his contemporary circumstance, but more than just identifying and copying, he engages his sources, creatively applying them to the questions or prob-

70. Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. Detlev Zimpel (Frankfurt am Main, 1996). For a fuller discussion, see Owen M. Phelan, "New Insights, Old Texts: Clerical Formation and the Carolingian Renewal in Hrabanus Maurus," *Traditio* 71 (2016), 63–89.

71. Hieronymus, *Epistula* 52.9, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, [CSEL, 54] (Vienna, 1996), 431: "*multoque melius est e duobus inperfectis rusticitatem sanctam habere quam eloquentiam peccatricem*."

72. Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 3.27, 487: "*ex duobus imperfectis magis eligo sanctam rusticitatem, quam eloquentiam peccatricem*."

lems at hand. Throughout his work, he strives to draw on the best examples from tradition and juxtapose them to fashion a most helpful, most inspiring, and most beautiful masterpiece. From this study hopefully we can draw three conclusions which prompt deeper engagement within the Christian tradition and with Carolingian theologians and their biblical exegesis. First, we recognize that Paschasius Radbertus is an exceptional intellectual whose broad erudition and self-reflective work reveals a sophisticatedly analytical and powerfully synthetic mind. His careful repurposing of authorities applies the riches of tradition to contemporary problems, from theological controversies to pastoral conundrums, for contemporary audiences, especially the clergy so central to the project of Carolingian reform. Second, we acknowledge a provocative and perhaps widespread trend in ninth century theological approaches to tradition and, moreover, in how tradition saturated early medieval approaches to reform. While Paschasius, without doubt, is extraordinary in the fineness of his interaction with his sources and the sheer abundance of sources engaged, he is not all that atypical in his approach. Carolingian intellectuals viewed tradition as a precious resource to be guarded, admired, engaged, and applied. Particularly for Carolingian authors invested in cultural reform and especially ecclesiastical reform—figures like Paschasius, but also many others like Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus—Cicero's story of Helen of Troy is both an example of the fitting use of tradition and a compelling explanation of tradition's importance. This is to say, Cicero's *exemplum* points intriguingly to a central conceptual and pedagogical concern for promoters of the Carolingian Renewal and to the solution: *mimesis*—to copy and to improve—the process of bringing tradition into the service of reform. Third, while theologians like Paschasius shaped reform efforts in the Ninth Century, their impact does not end with the Carolingian Empire. They become both sources and shapers of later tradition as reformers from the high Middle Ages to the modern world look back not only to them, but through them to their predecessors. In the twelfth century, for example, Carolingian authors populate influential school books. They are well represented in the *Glossa ordinaria*, where Ralph of Laon, the main author of the section on Matthew's Gospel, features Paschasius' Matthew Commentary. Similarly, Hrabanus's commentary on the Book of Kings is the most frequently cited source for the *Gloss* on Kings.[73] And, Alcuin of York is the single most

73. In the twelfth century, for example, Carolingian authors figure prominently in the *Glossa ordinaria* see, E. Ann Matter, "The Church Fathers and the Glossa ordinaria," *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irene Backus (Leiden, 1997), 83–111, on Paschasius at 105–06, on Hrabanus at 89.

important source for the *Gloss*' comments on John's Gospel.[74] Eight centuries later, in the twentieth century, Carolingian writings inspire and inform the efforts of the influential *ressourcement* theologians. *Ressourcement* pioneer Henri de Lubac's first two books lean heavily on Carolingian authors. Early medieval figures litter the footnotes of his groundbreaking 1938 study, *Catholicism*.[75] Moreover, the preface to the second edition of de Lubac's second effort, 1944's *Corpus Mysticum*, explicitly identifies Carolingian theologians as its inspiration. De Lubac recalls examining a dissertation on Florus of Lyon which inspired him further to explore Paschasius Radbertus, Ratramnus of Corbie, Gottschalk of Orbais, and Hrabanus Maurus.[76] The influence of Paschasius Radbertus, along with his confreres, on the Christian tradition is deep and long and—perhaps—underappreciated and underexplored.

74. Alexander Andrée, "The *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of John. A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts with a Presentation of the Text and its Sources," *Revue Bénédictine* 118:1 (2008), 109–34, at 120–23.

75. Henri de Lubac, *Catholicisme: les aspects sociaux du dogma* (Paris, 1938).

76. Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: Corpus Mysticum: Essai sur L'Eucharistie et l'Église au moyen âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Aubier, 1949) 7.

Webs of Conversation and Discernment: Looking for Spiritual Accompaniment in Sixteenth-Century Spain

Lu Ann Homza*

This article borrows a paradigm from a 2003 essay by theologian Mercedes Navarro Puerto to gauge spiritual priorities in sixteenth-century Spain. Spanish Catholicism in the early modern period very often is construed as averse to horizontal ties, individual judgment, and the free construction of religious communities, but Navarro's concept of "spiritual accompaniment" helps us to grasp the presence of conversation, reciprocity, and non-confrontational discernment in early modern Spanish Catholicism. The evidence assessed here broadens our understanding of what Spanish Catholicism would tolerate and even support in the sixteenth century, and deepens the way we portray religious dissent.

Keywords: Spanish Catholicism, accompaniment, conversation, discernment, reciprocity

When historians of medieval and early modern Europe study the past, they usually prefer to start from the position that the past is a foreign country, in the hope that expectations of difference will help them understand their historical subjects on their own terms.[1] Still, sometimes historians can be encouraged to ask different questions of their evidence by considering hypotheses raised by contemporary academics, which is how this investigation began: its inspiration comes from a 2003 essay by Spanish biblical scholar, Mercedes Navarro Puerto. A member of the Mercedarian

*Lu Ann Homza, Professor of History, William & Mary, lahomz@wm.edu. This article is dedicated to the memory of Monica Brzezinski Potkay, whom I was privileged to accompany before she died of cancer in April 2018. All translations are my own. Readers will notice that the primary sources quoted in the notes in original Spanish differ in their diacritical markings and orthography: those differences are due to decisions on the part of their editors. The research for this article was generously supported by Kate Conley, Dean of Arts & Sciences at William & Mary.

1. For trenchant comments on historical distance, Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8 (1969), 3–53, and especially 11–15, 25–28.

Order of Charity [*Mercedarias de caridad*], Navarro co-founded the *Asociación de teólogas españolas*, and acted as general editor for a twenty-two-volume series on *Women and the Bible*; in 2017, she shared the Herbert Haag Foundation prize for "Liberty in the Church." Translated into English, the title of her 2003 article is "Shared Adult Accompaniment: A Psychological and Biblical Perspective;" it was inspired by an eclectic group of sources, including the Christian Gospels and the 1995 film, *Leaving Las Vegas*.[2] *Leaving Las Vegas* portrays a companionship between a male alcoholic and a female prostitute, who first pities him and then attempts to draw him back into the circle of life. The alcoholic resists direction. His autonomy—which comes down to his will to destroy himself—ultimately matters more to him than the affinity he clearly has with the woman. Yet even at the end of the film, neither character has forsaken the other. Instead, there is an enduring, clear-eyed, but non-judgmental bond between the two as the prostitute accompanies the alcoholic on his deathbed.[3]

For Navarro, *Leaving Las Vegas* raises a barrage of questions about "the complexity of accompaniment and human company, vis-à-vis liberty, destruction, and the autonomy of the human subject."[4] Whereas Christianity has a long tradition of accompaniment, Navarro finds that the phenomenon tends to be defined in three ways: as pertaining to the growth of young people, as being present at particularly special life events, and as spiritual direction. Accompaniment in this sense turns on "what"—a stage, a critical situation, an experience.[5] Instead, Navarro thinks the Christian Gospels transmit a different, deeper modality of accompaniment among adults, one that turns on horizontal, egalitarian, and reciprocal relationships, in which "who" matters more than "what" or "when."[6] In her read-

2. Mercedes Navarro Puerto, "Acompañamiento adulto compartido, una perspectiva psicológica y bíblica," *Testimonio* 196 (2003), 81–99.

3. A provocative analogue to Navarro's idea of accompaniment may lie in Jesuit prison ministry in early modern Europe, although that process was necessarily limited by time: Frank Sobiech, *Jesuit Prison Ministry in the Witch Trials of the Holy Roman Empire: Friedrich Spee, SJ, and His* Cautio Criminalis *(1631)* (Rome, 2019). Tara Soughers has explored possible spiritual friendships with saints in "Friendship with Teresa of Ávila: Spiritual Companionship across Time and Space," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 14 (2014), 166–86, in which reciprocity and a willingness to be transformed are crucial. Though not indebted to Navarro's work, Soughers' is complementary to it.

4. Navarro Puerto, "Acompañamiento adulto compartido," 81.

5. Navarro Puerto, "Acompañamiento adulto compartido, 81–82.

6. Navarro's spiritual accompaniment thus turns on sharing, searching, and being present: "Acompañamiento adulto compartido," 87. Obviously, spiritual direction as practiced and experienced in the medieval and early modern period could involve intensely emotional and enduring relationships between priests and penitents, even though it operated hypothet-

ings, Jesus not only accompanies, but asks to be accompanied; He creates a group of equals, which expands constantly. It is not a closed system, just as Jesus never closed His community. Furthermore, Jesus teaches his followers in ways that allow them to discover wisdom. Their spiritual accompaniment is active and searching. Ultimately, Jesus and his followers together are creating the Kingdom of God.[7]

It turns out that Navarro's model of spiritual accompaniment helps to draw together certain religious threads in sixteenth-century Spain. Those threads of conversation, reciprocity, and constant, but non-confrontational discernment were endorsed by both upper and lower echelons of Spanish Catholicism in the sixteenth century, including bishops, Dominican friars, founders of religious orders, and laymen and women. These individuals did not conceal their priorities. They talked about their values to their friends, as well as to Spanish inquisitors; they put their preferences into manuscripts and printed texts, written in the vernacular and in Latin, from the 1520s through the meetings of the Council of Trent. These individuals' recommendations refine our understanding of religious dissent in early modern Spain. Important scholarship has demonstrated that a number of Spanish intellectuals in the early modern period were inspired by the Pauline epistles to champion the charitable, fraternal correction of religious error, a stance that contrasted mightily with the Spanish Inquisition's system of secret denunciation and public infamy.[8] Navarro's model

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ically on a vertical plane. Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca, 2005); Owen Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity: Early Jesuits and their Female Patrons," *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001), 328–53; Ruth Manning, "A Confessor and his Spiritual Child: François de Sales, Jeanne de Chantal, and the Founding of the Order of Visitation," *Past and Present* 2006 supplement (vol. 1), 101–17. In *Related Lives*, chap. 4, Bilinkoff found abundant evidence that early modern priests and penitents were equally searching for spiritual soul mates.

7. Navarro Puerto, "Acompañamiento adulto compartido," 88–94.

8. In *Il vangelo e la spade: l'inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome, 2003), Stefania Pastore uncovered a network of inquisition critics who derived their spirituality from the Pauline Epistles, and who emphasized charity, Christian equality (despite religious conversions), the abandonment of ceremony and gesture, and a dynamic relationship between the Old and New Testaments. In *Il vangelo*, 142–51, 229–44, Pastore treats two figures investigated here, Domingo de Valtanás and Bartolomé Carranza. Pastore emphasizes Valtanás's refusal to sanction discrimination against *conversos*, and highlights Carranza's preference for fraternal correction. My treatment of both figures is more multifaceted. Massimo Firpo has found some Italian clerics who match Pastore's vision in the decade after 1527: *Juan de Valdés and the Reformation in Italy* (Burlington, 2015), 2–5. I have argued that Pastore overlooked a key component—historical consciousness—in the spirituality she was examining: Homza, "'Local Knowledge' and Catholic Reform in Early Modern Spain," *Reforming Reformation*, ed. Thomas J. Mayer (Burlington, 2012), 81–102.

includes charitable, fraternal correction, but it also allows us to chart other elements that could go along with that principle. The result heightens our awareness of the nuances in Spanish Catholicism in the sixteenth century, including the line between orthodoxy and heterodoxy.[9] Ultimately, applying the model of spiritual accompaniment to Spanish Catholicism challenges the standard depiction of it as averse to horizontal spiritual ties, individual judgment, and the free construction of spiritual communities.[10]

The figures under investigation here often were well-known to their contemporaries and to each other. Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco, known as Dr. Bernal (d. 1556), was a canon lawyer, an episcopal vicar for the bishop of Salamanca, a member of the Council of the Indies, the bishop of Calahorra, and a member of the Spanish delegation at the first sessions of the Council of Trent.[11] In 1530 and 1543, Dr. Bernal published vernacular treatises that addressed the care of souls.[12] Domingo de Valtanás Mejía was an Andalucian noble and a Dominican friar who became a renowned preacher and spiritual advisor. Between 1516 and 1553, he founded eleven convents; from 1525 to 1558, he expounded the New Testament in print and wrote an *apologia* on controversial topics.[13] Bartolomé de Carranza (d.

9. The Spanish Inquisition thrived on the dichotomy of orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy, and that binary was transplanted, albeit unwittingly, into the pivotal study of Catholic culture in early modern Spain, as Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (Mexico City, 1950) contrasted partisans of Erasmus with followers of scholasticism. Bataillon's dynamic survives in more recent scholarship: Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía española: conversos, alumbrados, e Inquisición (1449–1559)* (Madrid, 2010), 21–22, who nonetheless aims to overcome inquisitorial categories in her investigations: 32–35. Work on Catholic culture in early modern Italy has long been bound by a division between groups of *spirituali* and *intransigenti*: Firpo, *Juan de Valdés*, 17, 26. William V. Hudon challenged the *spirituali* and *intransigenti* model in "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy: Old Questions, New Insights," *American Historical Review* 101 (1996), 783–804. For a rejection of dichotomies in the study of Spanish religion, Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, "On the *Alumbrados*: Confessionalism and Religious Dissidence in the Iberial World," *The Early Modern Hispanic World: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches*, eds. Kimberly Lynn and Erin K. Rowe (Cambridge, 2017), 121–52.

10. The Black Legend continues to affect historical scholarship on Spain: Frances Luttikhuizen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: a Much Ignored Side of Spanish History* (Gottingen & Bristol, 2017).

11. José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *El Obispo ideal en el siglo de Reforma* (Rome, 1963). Tomás Martín Martínez, "El 'Catalogus sanctorum episcoporum' del Obispo Bernal Díaz de Luco," *Miscelánea conmemorative del Concilio de Trento (1563–1963): estudios y documentos* (Madrid & Barcelona, 1963), 373–459.

12. *Instrucción de perlados* (Alcalá, 1530), and *Aviso de curas* (Alcalá, 1543). Dr. Bernal substantially enlarged the latter with practical advice in its next two editions. The edition of *Aviso de curas* used here is Alcalá, 1551.

13. *Confesionario muy provechoso con el Vita Christi* (Toledo, 1537); *Doctrina christiana* (Seville, 1555); *Exposición de los Evangelios con sermons* (Sevilla, 1558); *Epitoma y sumario de la*

1576) was also a Dominican friar, as well as an advisor to Philip II and the confessor of retired Holy Roman Emperor Charles V; he would become the archbishop of Toledo, a member of the Spanish contingent at Trent, and the most famous victim of the Spanish Inquisition. Between 1547 and 1552, Carranza wrote Latin treatises on clerical residence and the duties of the clergy; in 1558, he published in Antwerp his *Comentarios sobre el catechism christiano*.[14]

Meanwhile, Ignatius de Loyola (d. 1556) had a conversion experience after a war wound in 1521; in retreat in the village of Manresa, he formulated the core of the *Spiritual Exercises*, which he would continue to revise for twenty years. He and his friends meditated and preached; in 1537, they began to identify themselves as belonging to the "Company of Jesus," and Ignatius and five others were ordained to the priesthood the same year. Members of the Society of Jesus engaged in life-long networks of correspondence.[15] Their supporters eventually included Dr. Bernal and Valtanás, with the former attempting to install them in his diocese, and the latter publishing a defense of their order.

Significantly, from 1526–27 Ignatius was investigated by Spanish inquisitors, who then turned over the case to the archbishop of Toledo: in the sentence of July 1, 1527, Ignatius was prohibited from teaching for three years.[16] In 1559, Carranza was arrested by the Spanish Inquisition and, in 1561, inquisitors also began to scrutinize Valtanás.[17] Yet Ignatius,

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vida y excelencias de treze patriarchas del Testamento Nuevo (Sevilla, 1555); *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales en que hay opinion, y Apología de la communion frequente*, ed. Álavaro Huerga, O.P., and Pedro Saínz Rodríguez (Barcelona, 1963), which contains a biography. That biography should now be cross-referenced with Gianglaudio Civale, "Domingo de Baltanás, monje solicitante en la encrucijada religiosa andaluza: confesión, inquisición, y Compañia de Jesús en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro," *Hispania Sacra* 59 (2007), 197–241.

14. Carranza's *Controversia de necessaria residentia personali episcoporum et aliorum inferiorum pastorum* (Venice, 1547), has been translated by Tellechea Idígoras (Madrid, 1993). Also see Carranza, *Speculum pastorum. Hierarchia ecclesiastica in qua describuntur officia ministrorum ecclesiae militantis* (1551–52), ed. Tellechea Idígoras (Salamanca, 1992); and *Comentarios sobre el catechism christiano*, ed. Tellechea Idígoras (Madrid, 1972), 2 vols.

15. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 1.

16. Javier Burriez Sánchez and Manueal Revuelta González, *Los jesuitas en España y en el mundo hispánico* (Madrid, 2004), trace the arc of Spanish opposition to the Society of Jesus in the early modern period, 58-70. See too the important article by José Luis González Novalin, "La inquisición y la Compañia de Jesús," *Anthologica Annua* 37 (1990), 11–56.

17. Tellechea Idígoras has published eight volumes of historical documents relating to Carranza's arrest and trial. On Valtanás, Civale, "Domingo de Baltanás," proves that Valtanás's arrest was due to the heresy of solicitation of nuns, not Lutheran sympathies. On the Jesuits' hands-off approach to Carranza after the latter's arrest, O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 317–20.

Carranza, and Valtanás publicized their ideas for decades—through followers, letters, sermons, and print—before, after, and despite their arrests. The fact that the Spanish Inquisition pursued them had practically no impact on their intellectual weight or public esteem for them.[18]

The individuals at the lower end of the religious hierarchy in this investigation also suffered inquisition trials, and they too spread their ideas for more than a decade before they were deemed suspicious. An ordained priest, Antonio Medrano, was prosecuted intermittently for thirteen years.[19] He was investigated by the inquisition tribunal in Valladolid in 1519, and banished from that city in 1522 and 1523. In 1524, he was scrutinized by the episcopal vicar-general in Salamanca—who at that time was Dr. Bernal—and then exiled from that city as well. In 1526, a new inquisition case was launched against him by the tribunal in Calahorra, which oversaw Navarre: in that instance, Medrano abjured a light suspicion of heresy. In 1530, he was seized by the inquisition tribunal in Toledo for prosecution, where a number of his friends were already on trial. In 1532, after having confessed under torture, Medrano abjured a grave suspicion of heresy and was secluded perpetually in a Navarrese monastery, where he continued to cause trouble.[20] His acquaintance, wife and mother María de Cazalla, had dozens of followers around Toledo from throughout the 1520s, and was prosecuted for heresy by Toledo's inquisition tribunal from 1532 to 1534[21] (Figure 1). She withstood torture and ultimately was absolved for lack of proof, though she had to abjure a light suspicion of heresy for having communicated with friends in the tribunal's secret jail. Both Medrano and Cazalla were officially tried for the heresy of *alumbradismo*. *Alumbrados* claimed to receive spiritual enlightenment directly from God. They downplayed clerical intercession to reach salvation, abstained from hollow works, and believed they had the ability to understand scripture, even if they were

18. Civale has found that only two of Valtanás's works were placed on indices of prohibited books: "Domingo de Baltanás," 235 n. 123. For perspectives and actions of individual inquisitors on the Carranza case, see Kimberly Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional: the Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (Cambridge, 2013), 64–76, 128–30.

19. Medrano's appearances before the inquisition have been edited by Javier Pérez Escohotado: *Proceso inquisitorial contra el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano (Logroño 1526–Calahorra 1527)* (Logroño, 1988), and *Antonio de Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo (Toledo, 1530)* (Madrid, 2003).

20. Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio de Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 440–41, where the prior of the monastery in which Medrano was enclosed begged the inquisitors to move him elsewhere.

21. Milagros Ortega-Costa, *Proceso de la inquisición contra Maria de Cazalla* (Madrid, 1978).

Figure 1. María de Cazalla Public domain. From nuevotestamentojohnpmeier.blogspot.com/2017/02/maria-de-cazalla.html

female. Modern scholars have stressed that the *alumbrados* believed their vocation could not be created or enhanced by human effort, but the fact remains that these figures were surrounded by friends and followers all the time.[22] Medrano and Cazalla's inquisition trials have survived, and are our only sources for their beliefs and practices.[23]

22. In *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, Massimo Firpo emphasizes that Valdés believed divine illumination had to precede all spiritual progress, and that such enlightenment varied according to God's plan: 36–49. Pastore, *Una herejía española*, 36–37, describes *alumbradismo* as consonant with the values she has uncovered in sixteenth-century critics of the Inquisition. Her comment that Spanish visions of reform in the 1520s involved the "teaching and re-catechization of the faithful" would seem to presuppose conversation and a flexible, optimistic approach to community: *Una herejía española*, 279. The six figures who appear in her book on *alumbradismo* do not include the two examined here, María de Cazalla and Antonio Medrano.

23. We consequently cannot assess whether Medrano and Cazalla meant what they said while they were under interrogation, since we have nothing with which to compare their testimonies. Importantly, deciding that certain of their statements were sincere while others were insincere is a fruitless strategy, since it all too easily turns them into reflections of what we think they should have been. Skinner warns about such "mythologies of coherence" in "Meaning and Understanding," 16–22, while Mercedes García-Arenal cautions us to beware of romantic ideas of authenticity: "Religious Dissent and Minorities: the Morisco Age," *The Journal of Modern History* 81 (2009), 898.

After close readings of their works, correspondence, and trials, these six figures—Ignatius, Dr. Bernal, Carranza, Valtanás, Medrano, and Cazalla—appear to express values that correspond to Navarro's paradigm of spiritual accompaniment. They pursued conversation, emphasized horizontal and reciprocal relationships, practiced discernment, and maintained an open attitude toward the potential composition of spiritual communities. Yet three cautions are in order. First, not one of the six used the phrase "spiritual accompaniment" in their work or their depositions: in fact, that phrase occurs nowhere in Latin or Spanish religious treatises from the sixteenth century. Second, early modern Catholic writings frequently carried a message about clerical responsibility which would seem to have inhibited any sort of reciprocal relationship between the clergy and the laity. Ezekiel 33:2–9 explained that a watchman who failed to warn the community of impending danger would be culpable if that community perished; by extension, a priest who neglected to denounce sin, mend quarrels, and watch over the spiritual and physical needs of his congregation would be similarly liable. By combining the verse from Ezekiel with Jesus' remarks in John 10:1–16 and John 21:15–17—wherein Jesus said that he knew his sheep, and told Peter to feed them—clerical authors in Spain in the sixteenth century believed they had a clear mandate for priests to reside in their parishes. So did the fathers at the Council of Trent, who debated fiercely whether residence was a *jus divinum* (divine law), and who ultimately agreed that bishops had a divine command (*preceptum*) to know their sheep (Session 23, 1563, Canon 1). Third, in no way did the figures assessed here think of themselves as belonging to a codified *movement* of spiritual accompaniment, nor were their values unique in Spanish society. Voluntary Catholic congregations in the late fifteenth century, such as the Oratory of Divine Love, recognized in 1497, espoused conversation, mutual spiritual support, prayer, and charity among its associates. Cooperation among its members was a given, as was their discernment and advice toward each other.[24] In short, early modern Catholicism involved a continuous balancing act between the requirement of a clerical hierarchy—and the need for those religious authorities to be

24. Nicholas Terpstra comments that confraternal membership offered "[m]utual support and mutual discipline": *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge, 1995), 40, and finds that residents of fifteenth-century Bologna did not distinguish between lay and clerical piety except by degrees of intensity: 41. Terpstra has also noted how compelling early modern Europeans found such brotherhoods, which were "semi-autonomous, lay, voluntary, charitable, [and] mutually disciplining:" "Confraternities as Modes of Spiritual Community," *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* (Toronto, 2001), 163–82, here 177.

educated and effective—and an egalitarianism that presumed collaboration could assist in spiritual growth.

As it turns out, Dr. Bernal, Carranza, Valtanás, and Ignatius voiced spiritual priorities that handled both poles of that equation. All four trumpeted the importance of practical measures in the world. The idea of movement, whether physical or mental, undergirded their advice. If their readers were going to administer the sacraments, they had to do so in a virtuous manner; if priests were ignorant, they should seek out Scripture and books. In a similar way, laypersons also had to work toward their salvation, even if they first had to be pressured by a priest into foregoing sin or educating their children in the faith.[25] Sometimes, recommendations were expansive and specific. In *Controversia de necessaria residentia* (1547), Carranza told bishops and clerics with the care of souls not to rest on the dignity of their position; instead, they were charged to take up "the pure administration of the Gospel," a duty that was truly apostolic.[26] Administration of the Gospel turned on teaching, but significantly, the objective could not be reached through books: instead, Carranza said the clergy could only teach in an apostolic way if they visited, observed, and pondered the people in front of them.[27] Their success was contingent upon recognizing their parishioners "face to face"[28] (Figure 2).

Writing in the vernacular, Dr. Bernal was perhaps even more adamant in his demand for clerics to be on the move, and again, personal contact was key. In his *Instrucción de perlados*, he criticized episcopal visitors who traveled but still spent so little focused time in the parishes that "very seldom what they should do is actually done, whether regarding the property of the Church, or in the correction of public vices."[29] In his more popular *Aviso de curas*, he told priests to extend as much care to the parish churches as to their own households. He advised them to read books and establish schools. Notably, because Dr. Bernal imagined priests as fully engaged with every aspect and level of their community, he expected them to try to rectify material misfortunes as well as spiritual ones, such as aiding

25. Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas* (Alcalá, 1551), f. 26r.

26. Carranza, *Controversia*, 54.

27. Carranza, *Controversia*, 74. As he cited the usual analogies for the episcopal office, Carranza again implicitly highlighted activity: bishops were inspectors, caretakers, doctors, and guardians, 121.

28. Carranza, *Controversia*, 51.

29. "Y porque con lo poco que se detienen los visitadores en los pueblos, muy pocos vezes se haze lo que se devría hacer, ansi en la hazienda de la iglesia, como en la correción de los vicios públicos." Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Instrucción de perlados* (Alcalá, 1530), f. 13v.

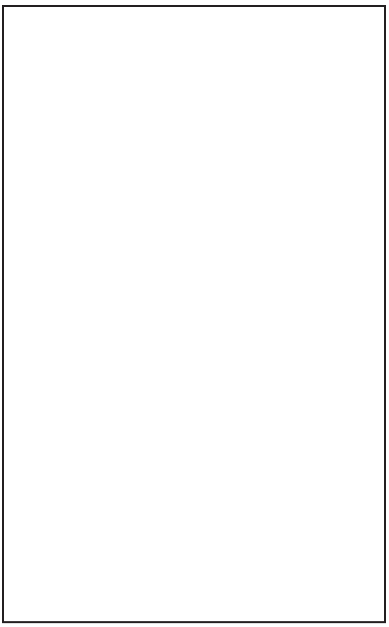

FIGURE 2. Portrait of Bartolomé de Carranza (1503–76), from *Retratos de Españoles ilustres* (Madrid: Real Imprenta, 1791) Public domain. Courtesy of Wikimedia.

the poor by pressuring the rich into acts of charity.[30] He too knew that the laity was made up of individuals, and advised the clergy to pay attention accordingly. Priests should know "the age, profession, and way of living of each person, in order better to counsel and help everyone, according to what each one needs."[31] This clerical obligation held true even if the parish was lucky enough to have monasteries nearby[32] (Figure 3).

Valtanás also was blunt about the need for action. He wrote, "the flock is in a risky place when its pastor does not walk with it . . . a bishop is not elected to walk at court, but to preach, confess, and administer the sacraments, and provide for the churches."[33] The proper function of a prelate was

30. Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas*, f. 149r.

31. "sabiendo la edad, estado, y manera de vivir de cada uno para major aconsejar y socorrer a todos, conforme a lo que cada uno oviere menester." Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas*, f. 68r.

32. Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas*, f. 69r.

33. "A mal recaudo está el ganado cuando el pastor no anda con él. . . . El prelado no es elegido para andar en las cortes, sino para predicar y confesar y administrar los sacramentos

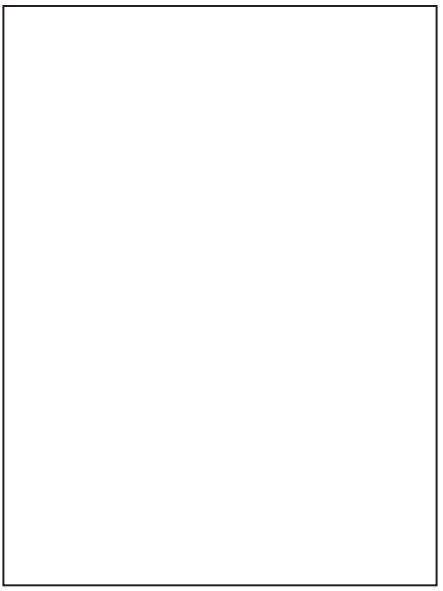

FIGURE 3. Juan Bernal Diaz de Luco (1495–1556), *Aviso de curas muy provechoso para todos los que exercitan officio de curar animas* (Alcalá de Henares: Casa de Ioan de Brocar, 1551). Courtesy of Wikimedia.

to feed [*apacentar*] his flock with doctrine and material sustenance [*mantenimiento*].[34] A vicar could not perform adequately this duty, because "the office of a bishop is a personal obligation," and the same held true for ordinary parish priests. To earn their tithes, bishops and priests had to be diligent; their work might be onerous, but to neglect it was worse, since clerics who "neither walked with their sheep, nor watched over them," spawned heretics, however unwittingly.[35] The remedy was to be on the ground in person, and to follow Jesus' example, who had known the names of all His sheep.[36]

As for Ignatius, given his counsel about the proper ministries for the Society of Jesus, and his release of his brethren from reciting the Divine

y proveer sus iglesias." Valtanás, "Apología de la residencia de los obispos en sus iglesias," *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales*, 161–62.

34. Valtanás, "Apología de la residencia," 163.

35. Valtanás, "Apología de la residencia," 162.

36. One of the counter-examples behind Valtanás's advice may have been Archbishop and Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés, who notoriously refused to go to his diocese of Seville even when persons were accused of Protestantism there in the 1550s.

FIGURE 4. Portrait of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), considered an early authentic portrait dating from 1598–1600, preserved in the private chapel of the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Wikimedia.

Office as a community, as well as from the parish—he obviously imagined that his brethren would be moving through the world.[37] Certainly the Jesuit practice of "fishing" was all about activity, discernment, and conversation: here, members and supporters wandered the streets, looking for individuals who might wish to converse about spiritual topics and pursue a more vivified faith. As part of casting their verbal "nets," the Jesuits were expected to notice circumstances and personalities, and alter their language accordingly.[38] The most frequent phrase in Jesuit documents was "to help souls," whether emotionally, practically, or intellectually.[39] Souls could not be assisted or consoled unless their particular circumstances at a specific moment were known[40] (Figure 4).

37. For these emphases, O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 91–133, and 74: "mobility was intrinsic to their theory about their calling."

38. Ignatius laid out in detail the need to observe and accommodate one's interlocutors in his 1541 instructions to Fathers Alfonso Salmerón and Paschase Broët, who were being sent to Ireland: *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, ed. Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.I. (Madrid, 1963), 642–43; also see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 111–14.

39. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 18–19.

40. We can see the Jesuits' attention to circumstances in their prison visitations, as well as their interactions with children and teenagers accused of witchcraft: Sobiech, *Jesuit Prison*

The same awareness of individuality was obvious in the *Spiritual Exercises*, which could be minutely altered to suit personal needs. Throughout his correspondence, Ignatius sought to match individuals with objectives, as when he told Francis Xavier that he was best qualified to explain and promote missions in India, thanks to his long time in Goa: ". . . it is so important that the Apostolic See has certain and complete news about India, coming from a person who is reliable and has a reputation for being such. . . . You would be more appropriate for this role than the others there, both because of the information you have, and the information that is known about you."[41]

These men not only hinted at the value of face-to-face communication, but explicitly urged humans to talk to one another. Valtanás asserted that human conversation could have spiritual benefits:

> . . . among the wise and virtuous, great familiarity and conversation should not be discounted; rather, the more you talk with a person, and the more virtue and perfection you become aware of in that person, the more you esteem and honor them, and the more credit you give to everything they say. . . . The angels, who always interact and talk with God, do not hold Him as less, but rather revere, honor, and hold Him in greater esteem.[42]

Valtanás did not worry about over-familiarity. He believed the virtuous would improve each other.

Ministry, and see the example of Hernando de Solarte in Homza, *Village Infernos and Witches' Advocates: the Witch-Hunt in Navarre, 1608–1614*, chaps. 2 and 4, forthcoming, Penn State University Press.

41. "Después, importando tanto que la Sede Apostólico tenga información cierta y entera de las cosas de las Indias, y de persona que tenga crédito para con ella . . . también vos para esto seríades más a propósito que otro de los que allá están, por la noticia que tenéis y la que se tiene de vuestra persona." *Obras completas*, 818. Ignatius did not realize that Xavier had died months earlier.

42. "Entre los sabios y virtuosos, la mucha familiaridad y conversación no es causa de tener en poco; antes, cuanto más conversan con una persona y más virtud y perfección conocen de ella, tanto más la estiman y honran y dan más crédito a todos sus dichos. . . . Los ángeles, por tratar y conversar siempre con Dios, no por esto lo tienen en menos, antes lo reverencian, honran, y tienen en más." "Apología de la frecuentación de la sacrosanta eucaristía y comuníon," *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales*, 208. Valtanás's positive view of language is implied by the number of works he composed in the vernacular for a secular audience; see his bibliography in *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales*, 114–29. He portrayed the sort of conversation that he deplored in his critique of gambling: "No ha ejercicio en que más se gane el infierno y pierda el paraíso que con el juego: allí se blasfema Dios y los santos; hay perjuros y juramentos en vano a montones; hay rencilllas y cuestiones; hay palabras de afrenta, amenazas, y codicia de tomar lo ajeno y enganar. Y esto no sólo de parte de los que juegan, más aún de parte de los que miran y están presentes al juego." "Apología de los juegos," *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales*, 166.

In Dr. Bernal's case, he expressed anxiety about friendship before he endorsed it. In his treatise on the duties of parish priests, he worried that casual conversations between clergy and laity could lead to too much intimacy, which could have a negative sequence of effects. Such closeness might diminish the dignity of the priest's office, "and also cause penitents to not confess their sins with the appropriate shame to the priests with whom they have laughed or talked informally."[43] Yet immediately thereafter, he wrote that he would never sequester the clergy from secular environments:

> My intention is not to make clerics so alone and removed from conversation with their subjects that they live in sadness and great solitude, and lose the fruit that good persons very often produce in friendly conversations, talking about upright and useful matters about souls, lives, virtues, or estates of the persons with whom they communicate.[44]

Thus Dr. Bernal ended up in the same place as Valtanás: both envisioned a network of upright people who sustained and corrected each other, no matter what their status.[45]

The two men were quite explicit about human spiritual gifts. Valtanás wrote, "we faithful are a mystical body, whose Head is the Son of God made human. And just as the limbs of a natural body communicate their operations among themselves . . . so a faithful person can communicate to other Christians what he gains in works done in service to God."[46] Dr. Bernal told parish clergy to create a confraternity to console the dying,

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43. Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas*, f. 43v. Like Ignatius, Dr. Bernal was nervous about hearing the confessions of women: *Instrucción de perlados*, f. 34v.

44. "Ni por esto es mi intención hazerlos [los clérigos] tan solos y apartados de la conversación de sus súbditos que ellos bivan en tristeza y gran soledad, y se pierda el fruto que muchas vezes los buenos hazen en las conversaciones familiares, tractando materias honestas y provechosas a las ánimas, vidas, o honrras, o haciendas de las personas con quien communican." *Aviso de curas*, f. 44r–v.

45. Dr. Bernal recommended that clerics always talk to "personas doctas y de buena vida y zelo, para que les avisen de lo que deven hazer," and yet never stipulated that those "personas doctas" had to be members of the clerical estate: *Instrucción de perlados*, f. 9r. In *Aviso de curas*, f. 60r, Dr. Bernal wrote that parish priests should verify that their congregations knew the liturgy of baptism and would carry it out in their homes, lest a newborn be put at risk while waiting for the priest to arrive.

46. "Somos los fieles en un Cuerpo Místico, cuya Cabeza es el Hijo de Dios humanado. Y como los miembros del cuerpo natural se comunican las operaciones . . . así lo que un fiel gana en las obras que hace en servicio de Dios, puede comunicar a sus cristianos." Valtanás, "Apología de los méritos," *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales,* 140. Valtanás defended the ability of individuals to make appropriate religious decisions based on their experiences: Homza, "Local Knowledge," 98.

whose members would assist the priests with their responsibilities. Every member of that confraternity was equally valuable:

> And because it will not be possible for the priest to be there the whole time the ill person is dying, he should make sure that some good friars or other good persons from the *pueblo* accompany the sick person, and console him. And those persons always may say devout things to the sick person, on a topic which they feel would be most helpful, in order to increase his devotion or receive more consolation. . . .[47]

Here, Dr. Bernal not only used the verb "to accompany," but implied that laypersons as well as clerics had the ability to nurture spiritual growth through conversation.

Ignatius endorsed a similar vision. In a message from 1549, he told a fellow Jesuit that "human talents and efforts, learning, eloquence, skill, and even the weapons of the powerful" had been deployed in the primitive Church for the glory of God. Persons who carefully used their natural gifts in the service of God were acting righteously, so long as they understood that God had no need of their gifts, which He had bestowed in the first place.[48] In his instructions for Jesuits bound for Trent, Ignatius spelled out an analogous message:

> For the greater glory of Our Lord God . . . [you shall] preach, confess, and read; teach children; give the Exercises; visit the poor in hospitals; and exhort neighbors, according to the talents that each one has, in order to move persons toward devotion and prayer, so that all of them shall pray, and we shall pray, to God our Lord, that His divine Majesty shall find it worthwhile to infuse His Holy Spirit in all those who handle matters that pertain to the Council. . . .[49]

Valtanás, a supporter and contemporary, understood that the work of the Jesuits was tied inescapably to human contacts:

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47. "Porque no podrá todo el tiempo que el enfermo estuviere en su agonía estar el cura presente, deve procurar que algunos buenos religiosos o otras buenas personas del pueblo lo acompañen y consuelen y le digan siempre cosas devotas en lo que sintieren que él tiene más devoción o recibe más consuelo. . . ." Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas*, ff. 111v–12r.

48. *Obras completes*, 719–21.

49. "A la mayor Gloria de Dios N.S. . . . predicar, confesar y leer, enseñando a muchachos, dando ejercicios, visitando pobres en hospitales, y exhortando a los prójimos, según que cada uno se hallare con este o con aquel talento para mover las personas que pudiéremos a devoción y oración, para que todos rueguen y roguemos a Dios N.S. que su divina Majestad se digne infundir su espíritu divino en todos los que tractaren las materias que a tan alta congregación pertenecen. . . ." *Obras completes*, 669.

> I see in [the Jesuits] a great deal of charity with their neighbors. . . . They do not recite the Divine Office [as a community], because there [already] are many who do so in the Church of God, and the Apostles did not do so either, in order to be at greater liberty to preach and confess and read, and to address the other works of charity, in which they were fully occupied.[50]

Gauging inclinations, speaking with people, and then acting were cornerstones of the Society of Jesus.[51]

If Ignatius repeatedly told his brethren to encourage the spiritual gifts of their interlocutors, Dr. Bernal went further and publicly recognized the importance of the laity's discernment. Throughout the *Aviso de curas*, which easily could have ended up in the hands of secular readers, he was very conscious of the *pueblo*'s opinion.[52] The *pueblo* could sink a cleric's reputation in a matter of minutes if that ecclesiastic were so foolish as to acquire a concubine or to gamble. Dr. Bernal wrote as if the ecclesiastical and the secular contingents of the parish were capable of correcting each other.

Dr. Bernal openly welcomed lay sagacity when he wrote to his diocese from Italy in 1549. Trapped while the Council of Trent was suspended, and not knowing when he would be able to return home to Calahorra, Bernal asked his congregation for their prayers. He told them that he was continually thinking of their spiritual welfare, and urged them to use their own judgment to find good confessors and good literature.[53] Significantly, he had his letter to his diocese published in 1553 after he returned to Spain, which demonstrates his willingness to put his affection and trust into print.

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50. "Veo en ellos mucha caridad con los prójimos. . . . No tienen coro, porque hartos hay en la Iglesia de Dios, y los Apóstoles no lo tuvieron por estar más desocupados para el predicar y confesar y leer, y para tratar las otras obras de caridad, en que largamente se ocupan." Valtanás, "Apología para la Compañía de Jesús," *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales*, 169–70. In terms of human connections, Carranza's comments on the Last Judgment are also noteworthy: his description of friends, spouses, parents, and children being torn from each other and consigned to a fate in Heaven or Hell was profoundly emotional. Carranza, *Comentarios sobre el catechismo christiano*, 1:323.

51. *Obras completas*, 668–70, 772–75.

52. Bookstore inventories from the 1550's in Burgos and Toledo held multiple copies of Dr. Bernal's *Aviso de curas*, priced at sums that even laborers could afford. The work went through three editions in the sixteenth century. Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2000), 142. On questions of vernacular literacy, Sara T. Nalle, "Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile," *Past and Present* 125 (1989), 65–96.

53. Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Soliloquio y carta desde Trento*, ed. Tomás Marín Martínez (Barcelona, 1962), 200.

To a remarkable degree, then, these religious men expected clerics and laypersons to work together, talk together, pray for each other, and turn their critical acumen toward common spiritual improvement: the textual evidence strongly supports horizontal ties between the clerical and lay spheres. They also evinced an open attitude toward spiritual community. For example, in Valtanás's defense of the frequent reception of the Eucharist, he explained that everyone would benefit from it, e.g, "nuns, or maidens, or married women, or widows, men, or women." He also maintained that the Eucharist could be received with the same spiritual benefits on any day of the year, not just Easter, so long as one's conscience was cleared of mortal sin.[54] Ignatius too endorsed persistent encounters with the Eucharist for everyone, so long as an examination of conscience took place beforehand.[55]

Dr. Bernal never mentioned Spain's *conversos* in his religious works, who were persons who had either personally converted from Judaism to Christianity, or whose ancestors had done so, but Valtanás, Carranza, and Ignatius did.[56] In his *apologia* on lineage, Valtanás contended that Jews and Christians shared responsibility for Christ's crucifixion, with neither group being entirely virtuous or thoroughly wicked. He thought that in certain circumstances, it might be acceptable to exclude from public office any first-generation converts to Christianity, or *conversos* who were the children or grandchildren of persons condemned by the Inquisition for following Mosaic Law. But exclusionary tactics should not be applied to third- and fourth-generation *conversos* who were good Christians:

> regarding those [converts] who come from those people [the Jews] at a distance, such as the third or fourth generation, they must not be excluded from public offices, nor treated differently in any way from Christians who descend from Gentiles. . . . For those virtuous people who descend from Jews and are good Christians, it is only right that Christians who come from Gentiles honor them and treat them as brothers.[57]

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54. Valtanás, "Apología de la frecuentación de la sacrosancta eucaristía," 195, 203.

55. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 152–57.

56. In his *Aviso de curas*, Dr. Bernal did spend several folios on the question of baptizing slaves, a point that may have reflected discussions on the Council of the Indies. He favored the quick baptism of children, and the careful catechization of adults: ff. 60v–62r.

57. ". . . pero a los que vienen de esta gente de lejos, como de tercera o cuarta generación, no se debían excluir de ellos, ni hacer diferencia en nada entre cristianos que descienden de gentiles. . . . A los virtuosos que descienden de judíos y son buenos cristianos, justo es que los que vienen de gentiles los honran y tratan como hermanos." Valtanás, "Apología cerca de los linajes," *Apología sobre ciertas materias morales*, 152–54.

Jesus had suffered for both Gentiles and Jews. Valtanás went on:

> I have favored these people [the *conversos*]. And the reason for it is because it seems to me, that the law of Jesus Christ and charity demand it; and because I know that St. Paul, whom I hold as my father (though I imitate him very badly), did as much; and because I see many of them afflicted without fault.[58]

Valtanás concluded his polemic by noting that the first Inquisitor-General in Spain, Diego Deza, had prohibited *conversos* from entering a monastery he founded in Ávila, while also "ordering that only an average [*mediocre*] inquisition be done, and not the harsh [*exactísimo*] one that currently is in operation." He then listed the illustrious *conversos* who had accomplished so much spiritual good—albeit, Christian good—in their lifetimes.[59]

Valtanás's remarks on the Jews and the Crucifixion matched Carranza's in the latter's *Commentaries on the Christian Catechism*. There, Carranza asserted that men and women from every social stratum had played a role in Christ's crucifixion; he declined to single out the Jews for blame.[60] Meanwhile, Ignatius's actions regarding *conversos* are well known. He refused to insert a purity of blood statute into the *Constitutions*. He admitted a grandson of a Jewish rabbi in Venice into the order.[61] A number of the earliest Jesuits were *conversos*, as were many of Ignatius's friends. Under his leadership, the Society of Jesus "richly, knowingly, and strategically benefitted from their *converso* confreres."[62]

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58. "A esto digo que es verdad, que he favorecido a esta gente. Y el motive que a ello tuve fue por parecerme que la ley de Jesucristo y la caridad asi lo manda; porque sé que san Pablo, a quien yo he tenido por mi padre, y aunque muy defectuosamente he tratado de le imitar, así lo hiciera. Y porque veo a muchos de ellos afligidos sin culpa." Valtanás, "Apología cerca de los linajes," 154. Remarkably, he then wrote that Christians who descended from Jews "surpassed other Christians insofar as the Remedy of the World came from their lineage, and Jesus came personally from their lineage, and from them, Jesus took on humanity;" 152–53.

59. Valtanás, "Apología cerca de los linajes," 157–58. In 1521, Deza had called Valtanás to Seville from Salamanca in order to teach in a college that Deza had founded. After Deza's death in 1523, that college imposed a purity of blood statute and Valtanás, objecting to such, moved to the monastery of San Pablo. Pastore, *Tra il vangelo*, 142–44.

60. Carranza, *Commentarios*, 1:238.

61. On that grandson, Giovanni Battista Eliano, see now Robert J. Clines, *A Jewish Jesuit in the Eastern Mediterranean: Early Modern Conversion, Mission, and the Construction of Identity* (Cambridge, 2019).

62. Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews* (Leiden, 2009), chap. 2. As part of his hagiography of Ignatius, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, S.J., recorded multiple philo-Jewish statements that Ignatius purportedly made, though the fact that Ribadeneyra himself was of *converso* ancestry has caused certain scholars to think he exaggerated; Maryks, *The Jesuit*

All four men endorsed the private, charitable, and fraternal correction of sin. Valtanás wrote, "to correct the faults of a neighbor with a sign of charity is a divine precept, to which all are bound. . . . To afflict the afflicted and not console, even if it might be for the purpose of humiliation, is against charity unless it is done with tact and prudence." Ignatius's instructions of 1551 noted that Jesuit superiors "always [should take] for granted one's good will, and . . . [make] every precaution for the due observance of charity toward neighbor." He then warned that correction would be more successful if it were offered with great affection, and presented without offense.[63] Dr. Bernal urged priests to take particular care in questioning penitents about their faith:

> With a great deal of prudence and care, the priest must ask if penitents feel any sort of weakness toward the faith, or are tempted by any doubt or error. The priest shall try with great charity and diligence to heal the person who feels weak, and to strengthen those who feel tempted, so that they shall persevere in the faith as good Christians. . . . And the priest shall counsel them, that when they have doubts or temptations, they should come immediately to him, or to other discreet confessors, so that they can explain what they don't understand, and [the priest may] console and encourage them.[64]

As for Carranza, it is worth recalling that in the early 1550s, he had talked with Carlos de Seso after learning that Seso had voiced some troubling opinions about purgatory.[65] Later that decade, Spanish inquisitors would categorize Seso as one of the key fomenters of *luteranismo*. In his own inquisition trial, Carranza and his defense witnesses argued that Seso had

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Order, 42–50. Maryks finds a contradiction between Ignatius's affection for *conversos* and his alleged statements about his own purity of blood, but ultimately decides that the latter was a rhetorical device to stall suspicion of the order.

63. *Obras completes*, 764–65.

64. "Y deve con mucha prudencia y cautela inquirir en las confessions muy particularmente si los que se confiessan sienten alguna flaqueza en la fe, o son tentados de alguna dubda o error, procurando con gran caridad y diligencia de sanar lo que en esto hallare flaco, y de efforcer mucho a los que sintieren tentados, para que perseveren en ella como buenos christianos. . . . Aconsejandoles que quando ansi se vieren con dubdas o tentaciones, vayan luego a él, o a otros confessors discretos para que les declaren lo que no saben, y les consuelen y effuercen." Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Aviso de curas*, f. 75r–v. Dr. Bernal went on to stress the love and consolation that confessors should extend to penitents who were being tormented by diabolical temptations: ". . . consolando mucho a los que esto padescen, y animándoles a que por esto no se tengan por malos Christianos, antes por personas a quien Dios quiere hacer merced, de darles materia de trabajo espiritual, y tengan por cierto que aquello viene muchas vezes a personas que dessean servir a Dios, y están apartados de pecar."

65. For details about that conversation and its aftermath, Pastore, *Il vangelo*, 234–41.

not appeared to be a heretic when the initial encounter took place, and hence Carranza was right to give him the benefit of the doubt.[66]

These clerics knew they administered the sacraments. They believed the clergy was invested with spiritual powers through ordination, and their sense of that spiritual responsibility was apparent in their writings. For example, Carranza said that bishops were like mountains because they were immovable and stood out from the other parts of the earth. In the *Instrucción de perlados*, Dr. Bernal employed missionary images to convey how much rustic people needed learned clerics.[67] In early modern Catholicism, it was impossible to ignore the special role that parish priests and bishops played in the process of Christian salvation: that role not only was mandated by the New Testament and Church tradition, but reinforced by the decrees of the Council of Trent. Not surprisingly, in a general letter of instruction for Italy in 1551, Ignatius stipulated the importance of attracting persons to the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist.[68]

Still, awareness of the sanctity of ordination—and cooperation with the Spanish Inquisition—should not cancel out these individuals' sympathy with and endorsement of horizontal bonds.[69] Their promotion of activ-

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66 . Homza, "Local Knowledge," 96–97.

67. Carranza, *Controversia*, p. 78; and Bernal Díaz de Luco, *Instrucción de perlados*, f. 15r. In all fairness, Dr. Bernal portrayed parish priests in remote places as requiring instruction, too; ibid.

68. *Obras completas*, 774.

69. González Novalin amply describes the Society of Jesus' interactions with the Spanish Inquisition in "La inquisición y los Jesuitas," where he alternates between condemnation and empathy regarding the Society's activities. Ignatius refused to allow the Jesuits to act as judges or censors for the Inquisition in Spain or Italy, but members of the order acted as confessors to persons condemned to the stake in Spain and Portugal, beginning in 1553 and continuing through 1560; 26. Such interactions could be seen as private, fraternal correction. Jesuits in Seville also cooperated with the Inquisition's order to submit possibly heretical books in 1559, when they turned in a defective manuscript copy of the *Spiritual Exercises*, 54–55; that action left them grief-stricken. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 312, recognizes that Ignatius and his brethren cooperated with and endorsed the Roman Inquisition, but also notes that they "generally tried to work for the easiest possible reconciliation." The question of horizontal ties with women is more fraught. Carranza wrote that certain women could be trusted with the entire Bible in the vernacular; Valtanás treated women and men interchangeably in his advice; Dr. Bernal wanted priests to be careful in hearing the confessions of females, but Ignatius and the Society famously reduced their involvement with women. Elizabeth Rhodes notes that women mattered most to Ignatius in his early years, when he himself was in transition. Though he entertained founding a company of women in 1546, in 1547 a papal bull freed him and the Society from ever supervising women. Rhodes, "Ignatius and Women," in: Maryks, ed., *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence* (Leiden, 2014), 7–23.

ity, mutual communication, and affection was real and considerable. They did not simply mention spiritual collaboration in the margins of their texts, for their thoughts on conversation and discernment were front-and-center. Notably, those who put their treatises into print often included critiques of *clerical* misbehavior, which gave their publications a certain leveling effect, since the possible sins of priests were now listed for anyone to read.[70] Within the sphere of the Christian sacraments, and the practical process of who administered them to whom, a truly mutual authority was impossible.[71] Yet within other lived experiences—worrying about the poor, consoling the dying, attending to children, aiming at spiritual improvement—this religious elite endorsed pervasive and sincere exchanges and companionship with the laity. In their vision of the best spiritual world, lay people and clerics conversed and worked toward the same sacred end.

These values match to a great extent the qualities of spiritual accompaniment that Navarro sketched out in 2003. Significantly, so do the emphases voiced by Antonio Medrano and Maria de Cazalla, labeled heretics by the Spanish Inquisition. It is worth emphasizing that Medrano and Cazalla had been talking about their views for years before their inquisitorial prosecutions.[72] Like Ignatius, they spoke to people and circulated letters; they conveyed their messages to Franciscan friars, academics at the University of Alcalá, and ordinary women and men.[73] They were quite as well-known as Dr. Bernal, Ignatius, Carranza, and Valtanás, albeit in fewer communities. They only became outliers within Spanish Catholicism over time, and under specific circumstances.[74]

Not surprisingly, given the fact that they were under arrest, Medrano and Cazalla explicitly respected status, as did Dr. Bernal, Carranza, Valtanás, and Ignatius. They valued the Inquisition as an institution, and identified their

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70. Homza, *Religious Authority*, chaps. 4–5.

71. Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 26, came to the same conclusion where spiritual directors and penitents were concerned.

72. Pastore views their arrests as inevitable, a position with which I disagree: Stefania Pastore, "Unwise Paths: Ignatius Loyola and the Years of Alcalá de Henares," Maryks, *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, 25.

73. Pastore lays out the many personal links between Ignatius and the early *alumbrados* in "Unwise Paths," including Ignatius's acquaintance with Medrano, 40. She believes his years in Alcalá had a profound effect on his metaphors and politics, 43.

74. The key development was the arrest of Francisca Hernandez in 1529. Her testimony prompted the arrest (and flight) of many. See Bernardino Llorca, *La inquisición española y los alumbrados (1509–1667), segun las actas originales de Madrid y de otros archivos* (Salamanca, 1980); Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: an Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis, 2006), 80–111.

spiritual gifts as puny. They said they would be happy to share the outlook of the Holy Catholic Church; they cited their Old Christian genealogy if it applied, or mentioned blood relatives who were successful in the Church if their family tree was damning.[75] They also trumpeted classic charitable activities. In 1524, one of Medrano's character witnesses insisted, ". . . I lived with him in an inn for three years . . . and Medrano has so much charity and love for everyone, even for his enemies, that he takes more notice of them than a father would for his own sons."[76] While on trial in 1526 in Calahorra, Medrano listed this question for his defense witnesses, among others:

> (10th question) . . . if they know—besides the fact that I am a very Catholic Christian who is accustomed to follow the Divine Office, as befits a good priest—that I am a very charitable and giving man, who is accustomed to perform many charitable works and give many alms to the poor, giving them what I can, according to my position; and even more than what my position, rents, and patrimony require. . . . [I give] food to eat to the poor, and bring them to eat at my house, and I eat together with them like a very charitable man; and I also visit the poor and sick, taking them things to eat, and looking for them, and giving them food of my own.[77]

Cazalla's character witnesses also stressed repeatedly that she looked out for the poor. Friar Francisco de Vicuña, OFM, asserted, "Every time I went to beg bread and other things from Maria de Cazalla's house . . . she gave it, and I heard other people say that she gave alms to the poor, and I myself saw how she sometimes visited the sick in hospitals."[78]

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75. For Medrano's genealogy, given in Valladolid in 1519, Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 91–95. That volume also contains evidence about Medrano from earlier prosecutions. Cazalla was of *converso* ancestry; she gave her genealogy to Spanish inquisitors in 1525, when she confessed as part of an edict of grace. Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 101–02.

76. "de tres años que estovo dentro de una posada con el….tiene tanta caridad y amor con todos, aunque sean sus enemigos, que hazercase a ellos mas que ningund padre por sus yjos." Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 75–76.

77. "10. Pregunta. Item si saben que'l dicho bachiller Medrano allende de ser muy católico cristiano e como tal seguir como suele y acostunbra seguir sus dibinos ofiçios com buen sacerdote, es hombre muy caritativo e limosnero e suele e acostunbra hazer much caridad y limosna a los pobres, dándoles de lo que tiene según su facultad e aún más de lo que según su facultad, rentas y patrimonio requieren . . . dándoles de comer a los pobres e trayéndolos y conbidándolos a comer a su casa e comiendo con ellos juntamente como hombre muy caritatibo, bisitando los pobres, enfermos, llevándoles y buscándoles de comer e dándogelo de lo suyo." Pérez Escohotado, *Proceso inquisitorial contra el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano*, 76.

78. ". . . dixo que todas las vezes queste t[estig]o yva a pedir pan e otras cosas a casa de la dicha María de Caçalla . . . lo dava e oya dezir a otras personas que hazía limosnas e que así mismo vido este t[estig]o como la dicha María de Caçalla, alg[un]as vezes que yva a visitor enfermos e enfermas e espitales." Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 303–04. For other comments on Cazalla's charity, 286, 288–89, 291.

Medrano and Cazalla also placed themselves within orthodox territory by calling up distinctions in public reputation or *fama*, a category that had explicit legal repercussions.[79] Their defense witnesses invariably reported that they only spoke with upright individuals. In 1524, when Medrano was under investigation by the vicar of Salamanca, his witnesses voiced uniformly positive opinions about him. He was chaste. He was a good Christian. His conversation was so virtuous that he reformed and consoled others: as a female acquaintance noted, he associated with the good and made them better;

> . . . [she] knows many persons of very good life and conversation, and when Medrano interacts with them, he makes them more perfect. . . . And this witness has talked a little with him, and she has felt great benefit in her soul and conscience after she knew and spoke with him, and she only ever saw him interact with persons of very good life.[80]

Diego de Mercado said it was public and notorious that Medrano's spiritual impact had inspired Diego himself to become a Franciscan.[81] In fact, heaven help the individual who was *not* good and tried to talk to Medrano, because his style was to "chastise everyone to serve God, and not offend God in any way." Less virtuous persons would find that they could not endure his conversation, given his "scolding and teaching."[82]

Identical sentiments came from defense witnesses for María de Cazalla: she was a friend to the virtuous, and only associated with honest people. A cleric who had known her for more than twenty years reported that she was "zealous about virtue, and he saw her scold persons who did not live well and behave decently."[83] When Cazalla testified, she noted that she deliberately looked for good confessors for the sake of her own spiritual improvement.

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79. Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423* (Ithaca, 2003).

80. "dixo que conoce este testigo personas de muy buene vida e conversacion e que trantando con ellas, las aze mas perfectas e de buena vida; y questa testigo a conversado algo con el e siente gran provecho en su anima e conçiençia despues que le conosçe e conversa, e que nunca le vio tratar syno con personas de muy buena vida." Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 73. This sort of exchange is exactly what Dr. Bernal would have in mind for parish priests some twenty-five years later.

81. ". . . recibe de su conversacion mucho provecho y consolación; fue él (despues de Nuestro Senor) que le conduxo que fuese frayle, y que ansi es público y notorio." Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 69.

82. ". . . no podía nayde [sic] sufrir su conversación segund su reprehensión e doctrina." Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 74–76.

83. ". . . celosa de toda virtud y la vió reprehender a personas que no bivían bien e andavan desonestas." Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 286; also see 280, 295.

Such evidence might imply that Medrano and Cazalla liked moral pecking orders as much as anyone, and favored only limited circles of social and religious interaction; if such were true, they would seem to violate spiritual accompaniment's emphases on openness and inclusiveness. Yet one of the ambiguities in Navarro's paradigm is how one practices discernment without making hierarchies. If spiritual accompaniment pivots on finding real companions, then distinctions must be part of the process, as individuals measure whom they might find compatible. Those decisions about rapport could alter over time. As was the case with *conversos*, *moriscos* (converts from Islam), Old Christians, and Jesuits, *alumbrados* were not invariably homogeneous or consistent in their preferences, and they changed their friends and allies according to circumstances.[84]

Medrano and Cazalla pursued conversation as part of gauging companionship. For instance, Medrano's interrogatory for his defense witnesses emphasized his own speech: he described himself as practicing something akin to the "fishing" that so characterized the early Jesuits.

> 5th Question. Next, if they know that whether in the village of Navarrete (where Medrano is a native son), as well as in his studies in Salamanca . . . after becoming a presbyter, he celebrated and administered the sacraments, teaching others to pursue a religious, holy, and Catholic way of life, leading and attracting those persons who spoke with him so that they might love and serve God, Our Lord, and despise the transitory things of this world.[85]

The eighth question of the same interrogatory was perhaps even more telling. There, Medrano described how he customarily met with "persons who wanted to hear and converse with him . . . and if sometimes he and other persons separated themselves, in order to speak about devotion, and

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84. As an example among the *alumbrados*, Francisca Hernandez cut off some companions and adopted others in the 1520s: Homza, *Religious Authority*, 7–8. On the variety of preferences within minority communities, Gárcia-Arenal, "Religious Dissent and Minorities: the Morisco Age," 888–920; Sara T. Nalle, "A Minority Within a Minority: The New and Old Jewish Converts of Sigüenza, 1492–1570," *The Early Modern Hispanic World*, 91–120. Events in Portugal in the 1550s prompted Ignatius to recommend the expulsion of some brethren from the order; see his letters to Diego Mirón, *Obras completas*, 799–801.

85. "5. Pregunta. Ytem si saben que así en la v[illa] de Navarrete y Fuenmayor, donde es natural el dicho bachiller Medrano, como en el dicho estudio de Salamanca . . . después de ser presbitero, celebrando y administrando [los] santos sacramentos, dotrinando y enseñando a los otros a religiosa, santa, e católicamente bivir, ynduçiendo y atrayendo a los que con él conversaban a que amasen y sirbiesen a Dios Nuestro Señor y menospreçiasen las cosas transitorias d'este mundo." Pérez Escohotado, *Proceso inquisitorial contra el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano*, 75.

someone else came near, he did not stop talking about holy doctrine, but rather enjoyed the fact that many came close to hear him. . . ."[86]

In Cazalla's case, conversation looks like an even more overt search for fellowship.[87] She seems to have talked constantly to other people; her trial record contains only the faintest allusions to solitude or contemplation. Instead, she was always out and about, reading prayers and the Gospels to other women, and visiting convents; she also communicated through letters. She was as verbally active as Dr. Bernal's ideal parish priest. Witnesses affirmed that she spoke with gusto to men and women of all social classes; when she traveled to Pastrana in the early 1520's, people on the road stopped to see her.[88] The prosecution had a negative view of such talkativeness, thanks to the Pauline dictum that women should be silent in church, and the consequent truism that women could not possess *magisterium*, or the authority to teach. The prosecutor was determined to view Cazalla's speech as instruction, which is why he accused her of *enseñar, doctrinar, and comunicar*. She and her defenders insisted on the possibility of horizontal communication, and described her speech as *platicar, plática, and conversar*.[89]

Significantly, her conversation, discernment, and search for companionship extended to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Witnesses repeatedly described Cazalla as speaking with the clergy.[90] One defense informant after another attested that she publicly grumbled [*murmuraba*] about ecclesiastics who preached coldly [*friamente*], with apathetic, heartless, or dull sermons.[91] Cazalla testified about her own willingness to point out clerical missteps. The priest Diego Hernández was reputed to be a man of little judgment; he was a backbiter [*murmurador*] and a slanderer [*maldiciente*]. He also had very poor eyesight, to the point that he had to hold a text up to his eyelashes in order to read it.[92] When Cazalla saw him reading in this way, she asked if his eyesight bothered him at the altar while he was saying Mass. Hernández replied that he knew the text of the Mass by heart. Cazalla remained unsettled; she told another priest to tell Hernández to be sure "to put himself close to the book when he was at the

86. Pérez Escohotado, *Proceso inquisitorial contra el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano*, 76.

87. Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 404–05.

88. Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 188–89, 292.

89. For the prosecutor's language, Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 132, 161–63, 167, 188–89; for Cazalla's responses, 140, 199–201, 228.

90. Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 300, 292.

91. Cazalla's adjectives for sermons that displeased her also reveal her preference for kindness and charity.

92. Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 343.

altar; and he should draw near where the words of consecration are written; and he should put himself in a well-lighted place so that he can see the remains of the Eucharist and the purification of the chalice."[93] When her counsel reached him, Hernández replied that the matter was none of her business. But he also reassured Cazalla a number of times that it was enough to say the words of the consecration by heart, even if he did not actually read the text. Clearly he cared about her opinion, and she had no hesitation in evaluating him.

Here, then, was a married woman—not a nun or *beata*—who watchfully assessed the competence of a priest as he consecrated the Eucharist. She made sure that her misgivings were relayed to him, and he worried enough about her judgment that he made an effort to reassure her. Her local community, composed of both men and women, had no difficulty at all with her actions, and Dr. Bernal would have recognized here a perfect example of the *pueblo* helping or hindering a cleric's reputation. Significantly, Cazalla openly relayed the incident to inquisitors. None of her defense witnesses thought that she had misbehaved in criticizing Hernández, perhaps because she stressed that her comments had been offered in good will.[94] She did not go to the archbishop of Toledo or Toledo's inquisitors with her complaints; she was pursuing fraternal correction, even though Hernández became her enemy because of it.[95]

Cazalla and Medrano insisted upon their ability to recognize spiritual gifts in both men and women: so did Valtanás, Carranza, Ignatius and, to a lesser extent, Dr. Bernal. These figures understood that they were discerning. Cazalla, for instance, referred repeatedly to her older brother, Juan de Cazalla, a Franciscan friar and episcopal vicar, in her defense: this was a shrewd tactic in terms of attesting her family's orthodoxy and appearing to be under a male's guidance, but it also highlighted her ability to find her

93. "que le aconsejase se junta[se] bien con el libro quando estuviese en el altar e que se açercase bien a dondestán [sic] escriptas las palabras de la consagración e que se pusyese en lugar claro porque viese las reliquias del Santo Sacramento y la purificación del cáliz." Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 343.

94. ". . . pues quella con buena voluntad se avia movido a decir. . . ." Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 287, 324, 344.

95. Though Cazalla's original comments to Hernández might have been charitable in intent, she ultimately tried to recuse him as a witness for capital enmity: Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 215–16. Cazalla repeatedly invoked charity and benefit of the doubt in addressing the prosecution's accusations: Ortega-Costa, 200, 202, 212, 411, 414. Multiple witnesses for Medrano in his various trials spoke about the loving consolation he offered them. For example, Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio de Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 69–70.

own advisors. More dramatically, Medrano had an intense relationship with a younger *beata* named Francisca Hernández, to the point that he ignored, for years, episcopal and inquisitorial directives to stay away from her. From a structural point of view, Medrano might appear simply to have inverted the hierarchy of confessor and penitent, but his preference had larger implications. Medrano was an ordained parish priest, who told everyone that he was being counseled by a younger woman. He explained his attachment in this way: "Putting to one side the blessed, immaculate, Mother of God, what I say is that nothing I have read or seen has come close to what God has done in this woman [Hernández]."[96] Medrano was pursuing a new mode of spiritual existence, one in which individuals chose their companions based on affinity and what they determined to be good results. Commonly recognized credentials were no longer accepted automatically, and public reputation mattered less than individual insight.[97]

According to Spanish inquisitors in the 1520s and 1530s, the heresy of *alumbradismo* turned on the rejection of priestly mediators and external religious rituals. They were partially wrong; in fact, Cazalla and Medrano insisted upon finding their mediators and spiritual companions for themselves, based upon conversation, observation, and discernment. The other figures examined here also elevated the process of spiritual appraisal; they understood that spiritual talents were variegated, and proceeded optimistically. Unlike the inquisitors based in Toledo, Cazalla's friends and acquaintances thought she was capable of expounding scripture. While she purposefully diminished her teaching role and her critical judgment as she defended herself, her defense witnesses—who displayed no indication of wishing her ill—did exactly the opposite in their descriptions of her. Carranza thought there were women as well as men who could be trusted with the entire Bible in translation; he defended the principle of charity as the cornerstone of the care of souls.[98] Ignatius wrote that charity toward neighbors must be upheld at all costs, including suspected heretics.[99] Dr. Bernal

96. Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio de Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 64.

97. Medrano's determined veneration of Francisca Hernandez was taken to even greater lengths by Francisco Ortíz. Lu Ann Homza, "How to Harass an Inquisitor-General: the Polyphonic Law of Friar Francisco Ortíz," in: *A Renaissance of Conflicts: Visions and Revisions of Law and Society in Italy and Spain*, eds. John A. Marino and Thomas Kuehn (Toronto, 2004), 297–334.

98. Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1:111.

99. In 1545, Ignatius wrote to a member of the order in Bavaria, asking him to visit the famous fugitive Bernardo Ochino in the hope of reconciling him to Rome: ". . . you might try to visit Ochino in some way or other. . . . I think it would help to make such a visit, if you think it proper, and learn what you can from him. Assure him that we should be glad to help

and Valtanás urged readers to assess confessors, and told their audiences to be open to spiritual help from all quarters.[100]

Thus figures who moved across the line between heterodox and orthodox in sixteenth-century Spain cherished spiritual conversations and ties across social planes. Their values operated hand-in-hand with an awareness of individuality. They resisted agglomeration; they were actively looking for like-minded souls. All of them valued networks of spiritual endeavor. As for whether the six figures examined here should be classified as dissenters, the leading scholarship identifies Spanish religious resistance in the early modern period as grounded in the Pauline Epistles, charity, and the private correction of religious error. The authors examined here endorsed such priorities (though not all of them explicitly attributed their inspiration to Paul), but they also championed more attributes than this model of protest acknowledges, such as conversation, reciprocity, and discernment.[101] Significantly, four of the individuals assessed here held remarkably high positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but none of them wrote or spoke about their values as if they were contentious.[102] In fact, their firm emphasis on charity was echoed in practically every vernacular confessors' manual in sixteenth-century Spain, which persistently took the First Commandment from Matthew 22:37–39 rather than Exodus 20:2–6.

Searching for the threads of Navarro's paradigm of spiritual accompaniment deepens our grasp of what Spanish Catholicism in the sixteenth

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him, in all charity, in any way possible, if he would only grasp the opportunity of making use of our help in the Lord." Ochino first had been an observant Franciscan, and subsequently became a vicar-general of the Capuchin congregation. He fled Italy for Geneva in 1542. This letter is not contained in the *Obras completas*, but can be found in *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, transl. William J. Young, S.J. (Chicago, 1959), 86–87.

100. Patrick J. O'Banion, *The Sacrament of Penance and Religious Life in Golden Age Spain* (University Park, 2013) has found evidence that families referred each other to favorite confessors for the sacrament of penance, 122-23.

101. Cazalla mentioned her esteem for Paul: Ortega-Costa, *Proceso*, 206.

102. Thus Ignatius's values match Navarro's paradigm even though he focused on obedience to superiors as a core value for the Society of Jesus, and Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés, who reorganized the Spanish Inquisition in 1561, contemplated handing over all his pious foundations to the Society of Jesus upon his death. See González Novalin, "La inquisición y los jesuitas," 31; as well as John W. O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early Modern Catholicism," *Catholic Historical Review* 77 (1991): 177–93. The problem with Pastore's model of Spanish religious dissent is its binary structure, which classifies figures as either/or; it does not allow persons to equivocate, develop over time, or hold what might strike us as conflicting loyalties. For example, Valtanás's friendship with Inquisitor-General Alonso Manrique is explained away by Manrique's not being a typical inquisitor-general: Pastore, *Il vangelo*, 133–42, 149–50.

century would allow and even support. It encourages us to adopt a more generous approach in imagining the religious priorities of our historical subjects.[103] We know that local situations and local preferences routinely outflanked centralized religious initiatives in the sixteenth century in both Spain and Italy, and yet we too often portray this dynamic as a fundamentally vertical conflict. The idea of spiritual accompaniment works instead like latitude: it helps us see ways in which centers and peripheries could move together horizontally across boundaries, in favor of common spiritual goals, mutual conversations, and reciprocal judgments. Thus Cazalla, Carranza, Dr. Bernal, and Valtanás longed for competent and empathetic clergy who could deliver sufficiently deep sermons to move the souls of their audiences, and all six figures examined here understood that human beings had spiritual gifts as well as flaws. Anachronistic though it might seem to apply a modern idea to the sixteenth century, Navarro's vision of spiritual accompaniment helps us to see commonalities that the Spanish Inquisition and modern scholarship have papered over.

103. It is worth mentioning too that Spanish inquisitors could explicitly think of themselves and their judgments as charitable. For example, one inquisitor who was supervising Medrano's last trial in Toledo noted that earlier judgments in Valladolid and Calahorra had been given "con caridad" and "cum caritate fraterna;" Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio de Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo*, 393. For inquisitors who said they were affected by conversation, charity, and discernment, Sara T. Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolome Sanchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville, 2001); Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*, chap. 1; Homza, "'Local Knowledge,'" for Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías.

Agricultural Missionaries: The Trappists and French Colonial Policy under the July Monarchy

Jay Butler*

In the 1840s, the July Monarchy enlisted the Trappists to develop model farms in Algeria and Martinique. The July Monarchy wanted to remedy lackluster agricultural development in Algeria and to support the Martinique economy after emancipation. In contrast, the Trappists viewed their colonial involvement as a moral mission to regenerate an ancient center of Christianity in Algeria and to assist enslaved Martinicans succeed as free people after emancipation. This paper provides a textured picture of Catholic involvement in French colonialism by exploring the commonalities and distinctions between the goals of the Trappist missions and those of the July Monarchy, a picture that brings to light the underexplored prominence of Trappists in mid nineteenth-century France.

Keywords: French Colonialism, July Monarchy, Martinique, Algeria, Trappists

In the 1840s, the initially anti-religious July Monarchy (1830–48) enlisted the aid of a Catholic monastic group it had earlier opposed, the Trappists, to develop model farms that would further colonial ventures in Algeria and Martinique. As will be discussed below, the July Monarchy and the Trappists shared the goal of creating in both colonies a successful agricultural culture independent of enslaved labor, but the purposes each envisioned for doing so diverged significantly.

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The Trappists had led a revival of French monastic life following the dissolution and sale of monasteries during the Revolution and the continued suppression of monastic orders in the Napoleonic era.[1] After the fall of Napoleon, in the decade between 1817 and 1828, Trappist monks and Trappistine nuns re-established eighteen monasteries throughout France, twelve for monks and six for nuns, with the largest of these being Melleray Abbey, which held 175 monks by 1828.[2]

The July Revolution of 1830 threatened this monastic revival. Partly as a result of the meddling of Charles X in religious affairs, the July Monarchy came to power in 1830 on a wave of anti-clerical sentiment that resulted in attacks on church property throughout France.[3] French law made monastic communities particularly vulnerable because it required specific approval for them, which the Trappists did not have.[4] The government during the Bourbon Restoration overlooked this requirement as the Trappists expanded, but the July Monarchy viewed the Trappists, who had become a favorite of the Bourbon Duchesse de Berry, with suspicion. This suspicion bred harsh action.

On September 28, 1831, according to an attorney who came to his aid, Dom Antoine Saulinier de Beauregard "glanced at the neighboring forest and perceived weapons glittering among the trees. He called some of his brother monks to him to assure himself it was not an illusion. But almost immediately they distinctly saw troops deploying and covering all exits from the monastery."[5] Prime Minister Casimir Périer had ordered 600 troops on foot and horseback to close down Melleray Abbey. Dom Antoine resisted, arguing that the monastery constituted a lawful agricultural enterprise. But his arguments did not prevent the dispersal of almost all his monks. The

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1. See Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, UK and New York, 2003), 231–33, 267. Napoleon declared a ban on the Trappists throughout his Empire in 1811. Marie de la Trinité Kervingant, *A Monastic Odyssey*, trans. Jean Holman (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999), 340–41.

2. Dom Antoine Saulinier de Beauregard, *Compte rendu par ordre de Sa Sainteté de l'état des Maisons de la Réforme de la Trappe établies en France,* Sept. 1828 (reproduced in *Revue Mabillon,* no. 111 (Juillet–Septembre, 1938), 134–80. Other contemplative monastic orders re-established monasteries throughout France in the nineteenth century after the Trappists. See Maurice Colinon, *Guides des monastères: France, Belgique, Luxembourg* (Paris, 1983).

3. H.A.C. Collingham, *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France 1830–1848*, (London, 1988), 42, 303–04; Pamela Pilbeam, *The 1830 Revolution in France* (New York, 1991), 103–12.

4. Charles Pouthas, *L'Église et les questions religieuses sous la monarchie constitutionelle, 1814–1848* (Paris, 1961) 162–63, 166–67.

5. M.E. Janvier, *Procès de l'abbaye de Melleray: Plaidoirie de M.E. Janvier* (Paris, 1832), 27. Translations from French are mine unless otherwise noted.

monastery remained suppressed and under government surveillance until October 1838 when it was allowed to receive postulants again.[6]

Melleray was not alone. The July Monarchy also invaded the Trappist monasteries of Mont des Cats, Bellevaux, and La Trappe in 1830, and Bellefontaine in 1832. The monks of Mont des Cats had to take temporary refuge in the Swiss mountains. Bellevaux closed, and the monks there established a new monastery in Switzerland for the next three years. La Trappe and Bellefontaine were searched, and after the Bellefontaine search, the government arrested the Bellefontaine abbot and imprisoned him for a month.[7]

Yet by the 1840s, the July Monarchy was calling on the Trappists to assist it with colonial ventures in Algeria and Martinique. This coincided with what the subprefect of Châteaubriant described in 1843 as "the well known return towards religious ideas."[8] Many scholars have commented on the increase in French religiosity in the late 1830s and early 1840s.[9] By that time, the generation that had grown up during the Revolution and Napoleonic Empire with little religious education and amid a predominantly anticlerical culture gave way to a new generation. After the Restoration, catechism and other forms of religious education became more regularly available to children. A domestic mission movement brought religious instruction and revival to adult populations.[10] The popularity of romantic writers who valued religion helped breed, according to Gérard Cholvy, a "genuine cultural alternative to the Enlightenment."[11] Religious education

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6. Marius Faugeras, *Le diocèse de Nantes sous la monarchie censitaire (1813-1822–1849),* 2 vols. (Fontenay-Le-Comte, 1964), 1:306–34; Jérôme du Halgouët, *Sketches for a History of the Trappist Order in the First Half of the Nineteenth-Century (Collected Articles of Jérôme du Halgouët)*, trans. Fr. John Hasbrouk (Carlton, OR, 1999), 81–83.

7. Casimir Gaillardin, *Les Trappistes, ou, l'Ordre de Citeaux au XIX^e^ siècle: Histoire de la Trappe depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours, 1140–1844*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1844), 2:460–75.

8. Report of the subprefect of Châteaubriant to the prefect dated February 16, 1843, 71–72 V/1, Loire-Atlantic departmental archives.

9. Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine,* 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1985), 1:39–40, 89–98; Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1914* (London, 1984), 232; Adrien Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France*, 2 vols., trans. John Dingle (New York, 1961), 1:219–24.

10. Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism,* 54–55, 228, 250–51; Gérard Cholvy, *La religion en France de la fin du XVIII^e^ siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1998), 28–29; Dansette, *Religious History,* 1:202–12.

11. Gérard Cholvy, "Le renouveau monastique en France au XIX^e^ siècle: Le contexte," *Esprit et Vie*, no. 1 (2 Janvier 1997), 9–13, here 10. See Carol Harrison, *Romantic Catholics: France's Postrevolutionary Generation in Search of a Modern Faith* (Ithaca and London, 2014), 1–9.

and missions along with the rise of romanticism thus set the stage for the religious revival. The July Monarchy reflected this trend when in the late 1830s, Louis-Philippe's new Prime Minister, Count Louis-Mathieu Molé, established an archbishopric in Algeria, allowed the Jesuits to return to France, and increased the state religious budget.[12]

But the turn toward religion in some quarters does not explain why a government still heavily influenced by anti-clerical liberals would call on an unauthorized monastic order it had recently suppressed for help. The threat posed by Trappist alignment with the Bourbons may have evaporated, but the Trappists remained legally unauthorized, and some in government continued to argue that the Trappists should not be tolerated. In the mid 1840s, for example, a former prime minister under the July Monarchy, Adolphe Thiers, called for the Chamber of Deputies to abolish the Trappists along with other religious orders.[13] Nor does the religious revival explain why the Trappists would answer the call from a government that had been, and in some quarters remained, hostile to them. This paradox can best be understood as the convergence of two differing ideologies finding common ground.

The July Monarchy wanted to improve its colonies in Algeria and Martinique with model farms that would valorize manual labor and encourage agricultural development. The Trappists were a perfect fit to implement this goal. Under the sixth-century Rule of Saint Benedict that the Trappists strictly followed, manual labor is central to monastic life.[14] Nineteenth-century Trappists believed that living by the work of their hands served as a morally uplifting form of prayer.[15] They devoted a much larger proportion of their day to manual labor than pre-revolutionary monastic practices had allowed.[16] This suited these monks, many of whom

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12. Iowerth Prothero, *Religion and Radicalism in July Monarchy France—The French Catholic Church of the Abbé Chatel* (Lewiston, NY, 2005), 277–78.

13. Adolphe Thiers, *Discours parlementaires,* 15 vols., ed. Calmann Lévy (Paris, 1880), 6:651–52. As Peter King observed: "The revival of monasticism in the nineteenth century took place against a background of implacable hostility from Liberal government. . . ." Peter King, *Western Monasticism: A History of the Monastic Movement in the Latin Church* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999), 378.

14. Timothy Fry, ed., *The Rule of Saint Benedict in English* (Collegeville, 1982), Chapter 48, p. 69.

15. *Annales de l'Abbaye de Melleray,* 3 vols., unpublished, 2:77 (manuscript copy in Melleray archives, stored at Cîteaux Abbey, Saint-Nicolas-lès-Cîteaux, France) (hereinafter *Annales de Melleray*).

16. Augustin-Hervé Laffay, *Dom Augustin de Lestrange et l'avenir du monachisme* (Paris, 1998), 119–23; Gaillardin, *Les Trappistes,* 2:50–53.

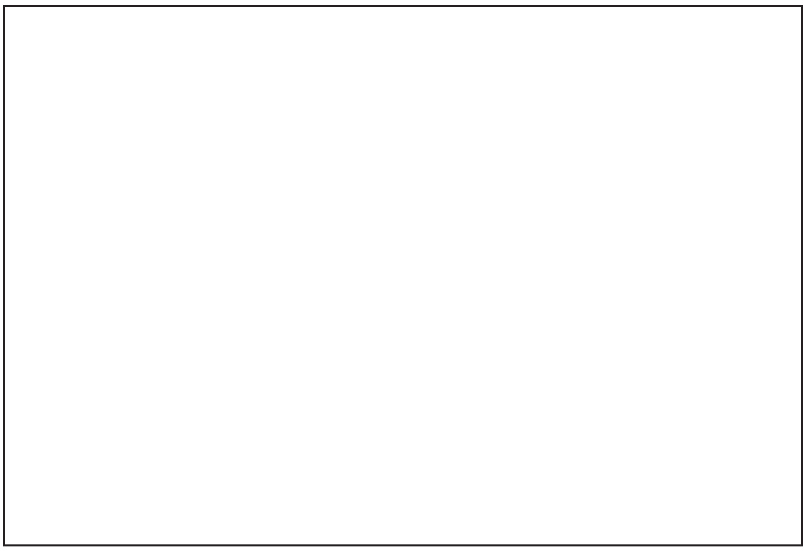

FIGURE 1. Melleray monks at work in the fields with the monastery in the background circa 1840; possibly from the Melleray archives, public domain. Reproduced in Christian Bouvet and Alain Gallicé, *Notre-Dame de melleray: Une abbaye cistercienne de sa foundation à aujioud'hui* (Châteaubriant, 2008).

came from rural working class backgrounds where they had worked as farm hands or skilled artisans.[17] Their monastic labor often took the form of agricultural work, and Trappist success in agronomic endeavors earned them repute in France as agricultural experts.[18]

At Melleray Abbey in lower Brittany, for example, the monks adopted English agricultural innovations in the 1820s that had not previously been tried in western France (Figure 1). Those involved creative and intensive fertilizing and irrigation techniques, use of innovative agricultural tools, creation of artificial prairies, as well as novel crop and grazing animal rotations. With those innovations, the Trappists of Melleray turned into fertile fields land that had been so barren that an agronomist had called it the "Siberia

17. Bernard Delpal, *Le silence des moines: Les Trappistes au XIX^e siècle: France–Algérie–Syrie* (Paris: 1998), 535 (listing socioeconomic origin of Aiguebelle Abbey monks); Dom Hercelin to Director of Colonies, October 10, 1842, côte 115, pièce 10 (listing prior occupations of monks to be sent to Algeria); Founders Register of Gethsemani Abbey, Gethsemani Abbey archives (Trappist, KY) (listing prior occupations of the Melleray monks who went to Kentucky to found a new monastery after the Martinique venture collapsed).

18. Gaillardin, *Les Trappistes,* 2:446–48.

of Brittany." They spread this knowledge through an agricultural school.[19] Their success helped Melleray Abbot Dom Antoine develop the reputation, according to one 1840 newspaper account, as "one of the most illustrious agronomists and horticulturalists in France."[20] According to the prefect of Châteaubriant, this agricultural expertise resulted in a major economic impact on the communities the monks worked in. During the 1820s, the efficiencies introduced by Melleray's agricultural methods had reduced the average cost of a day's labor in the region by at least thirty centimes.[21]

The value Trappists invested in manual labor fit within a stream of early nineteenth-century French thought in which writers from a variety of political persuasions extolled manual labor's creative possibilities and moral power.[22] This viewpoint carried over into schemes for colonial development without slavery considered by the Chamber of Deputies during the July Monarchy. Jules Lechevalier prepared a report to the chamber, for example, that recommended an investment fund to encourage poor laborers to come to the colonies where they could make a living by the labor of their hands.[23] As Trappist impact on the region surrounding Melleray demonstrated, they could serve as valuable role models to such immigrant laborers.[24]

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19. Marius Faugeras, "Les Trappistes de la Melleray, pionniers de l'agriculture moderne dans la première moitié du XIX^{e} siècle," *Enquêtes et documents-Centre de recherches sur l'histoire de la France atlantique,* 3 (1975), 171–210.

20. *L'Ami de la Religion*, no. 3352, Thursday, October 29, 1840, 194. The Minister of the Interior made a similar observation in an 1821 report to King Louis XVIII. Faugeras, "l'agriculture moderne," 201.

21. Faugeras, *Le diocèse de Nantes*, 1:336 and n. 213.

22. The moral power of labor was recognized by writers as varied as Karl Marx and the bourgeois moralist Louis Villermé. William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work & Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, UK, 1980), 222–23. Sewell provided examples of nineteenth-century French socialist poets who "praised [labor] as the height of human creativity and the source of all social order." Ibid., 236. But this attitude was not ubiquitous. While socialists like Benoît Malon, according to Steven Vincent, "extended the Enlightenment ideal of the dignity of laborers" by "amplify[ing] it with a heightened appreciation of the nobility of work," Paul Lafargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx, painted the valorization of labor as a ploy to disempower the working classes. K. Steven Vincent, "Authority, Revolution, and Work: Views from the Socialist Left in the Fin de Siècle," in: *The Human Tradition in Modern France,* eds. K. Steven Vincent and Alison Klairmont-Lingo (Wilmington, DE, 2000), 99–113, here 108–12.

23. François Manchuel, "Origines républicaines de la politique d'expansion coloniale de Jules Ferry (1838–1865)," *Revue française d'histoire outre-mer*, 75, no. 279 (2^{e} trimestre, 1988), 185–206, here 188–90.

24. Claude Prudhomme has explored the relationship between missionaries and colonial economic development in "Les missionnaire et l'entrepreneur dans les colonies françaises," in: *L'esprit économique imperial: 1830–1970. Groupes de pression et réseaux du*

But the purpose the Trappists hoped to achieve by serving as role models diverged from the government's goals. While the July Monarchy sought to rehabilitate lackluster economic development in Algeria and instill a work ethic in Martinican slaves so they would continue to support the colonial economy after emancipation, the Trappists were not focused on colonial economic success. In Algeria, they wanted the example of their monastic life to regenerate Christianity in a part of the world that had been an ancient and vibrant Christian domain. In Martinique, they sought to regenerate enslaved Martinicans spiritually and materially by teaching them through example how to succeed as free farmers after a lifetime of slavery. In both cases, the Trappists must have realized that cooperation with the government could lend them needed legitimacy in light of their tenuous legal status and the continued calls to abolish them. Thus, in addition to accomplishing missionary goals, increasing ties with the state might be seen as a form of self-preservation.

The monastic historian Jean Leclercq has derided the Trappists for allowing themselves to be used as tools of French colonialism in the nineteenth century.[25] This criticism is valid as far as it goes. The Trappists were willing to act in a manner that furthered the government's colonial goals. However, Leclercq's assessment neglects to explore what the Trappists initially sought to accomplish with the July Monarchy beyond being agents of French colonization. People of the past "deserve to be considered on their own terms," as Rosamond McKitterick aptly wrote.[26] The Trappists' reasons for responding to the call of the July Monarchy are, at least from the viewpoint of religious history, as important to explore as the government's goals. Examining the distinction between the goals of the Trappist missions and those of the July Monarchy alongside the mutual goals that brought them together helps to provide a textured picture of Catholic participation in French colonialism, one in which the motives and underexplored prominence of Trappists in nineteenth-century France are brought to light.

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patronat colonial en France et dans l'empire, eds. Hubert Bonin, Catherine Hodeir, and Jean-François Klein (Saint-Denis, 2008), 149–65.

25. Jean Leclercq, "Le renouveau Solesmien et le renouveau religieux au XIX^{e} siècle," in: *Centenaire de Belloc* (Urt, FR, 1977), 47–84, here 73–74.

26. Rosamond McKitterick, "Great Light," Times Literary Supplement (May 22, 2009) (quoted in Roger Price, *Religious Renewal in France, 1789–1870: The Roman Catholic Church between Catastrophe and Triumph* (Aberystwyth, UK, 2018), 9.

Algeria

The July Monarchy inherited Charles X's politically expedient invasion of Algeria. But rather than withdraw gracefully, King Louis-Philippe attempted, as Jennifer Sessions has argued, to use Algerian colonization as a means to legitimize his own exercise of power.[27] The July Monarchy, Sessions wrote, "contrasted the Bourbons 'wasteful' political aims for the expedition with a vision of productive, agricultural exploitation."[28] Algerian colonization offered France the opportunity to move beyond outdated notions of mercantilist colonies dependent on slave labor. "Slavery and commercial monopolies," according to Sessions, "were repudiated as economically insufficient and morally corrupting."[29] Instead, the July Monarchy wanted agricultural development that could improve the moral fiber of French colonists coming to Algeria.[30]

To sustain a vision of agricultural exploitation by free workers, however, the Algerian colonists needed to develop productive agricultural ventures. Yet during the July Monarchy, colonists rarely fit the mold of productive farmers. Many came instead for the quicker profit that might be made by keeping inns and taverns or trading in land. The government intended to remedy this problem by granting land concessions to those likely to succeed with cultivation.[31] These intentions were largely frustrated when well-connected metropolitan elites with little interest in long-term agricultural development most often succeeded in securing the land concessions.[32]

In the face of these problems, a Catholic member of the Chamber of Deputies, François de Corcelle, concluded that the Trappists might provide a perfect remedy.[33] Corcelle, together with Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, undertook a parliamentary fact-finding mission to Algeria in 1841.[34] Following that mission, Corcelle wrote a letter to the

27. Jennifer E. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow: France and the Conquest of Algeria* (Ithaca and London, 2011), 2, 65.

28. Ibid., 65.

29. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, 184. See Manchuelle, "Origines républicaines de la politique d'expansion coloniale," 186–88.

30. James McDougall, *A History of Algeria* (Cambridge, UK, 2017), 90.

31. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, 232–247; McDougall, *A History of Algeria*, 90–93; Marc Baroli, *Algéri, terre d'espérances: Colons et immigrants (1830–1914)* (Paris, 1992), 31–32.

32. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, 262.

33. J. Bersange, *Dom François Régis: Fondateur et premier abbé de N.-D. de Staouëli (Algérie)* (Paris, 1911), 70 (originally published in 1885).

34. Delpal, *Le silence des moines*, 152.

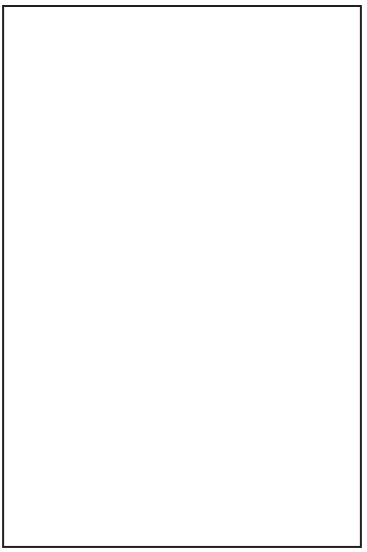

FIGURE 2. Joseph-Marie Hercelin, OCSO (1787–1855), Abbot of Notre-Dame de La Trappe (1833–55), Vicar-General of the Congregation of La Trappe (1834–55). Courtesy of the Zisterzienslexikon.de/wiki/Hercelin-Joseph-Marie.

Prime Minister, Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult, in which Corcelle criticized the morality and work ethic of the colonists. Corcelle singled out the Trappists for their successful agricultural experience as a group that could help remedy this problem.[35] Encouraged by Corcelle's support, and with a strong letter of introduction from Marshal Soult to French colonial officials, the Trappists' Vicar General, Dom Hercelin (Figure 2), together with the abbot of the Trappist monastery of Aiguebelle, visited Algeria to look for a suitable location for a monastery.[36] But soon controversy erupted about providing aid for a Trappist establishment in Algeria. The minister of religion informed Corcelle that the government could not support an unauthorized congregation.[37]

Undaunted, Corcelle bypassed the religion minister and appealed directly to General Bugeaud, then governor general of Algeria. As Bernard

35. F. de Corcelle to Marshal Soult, July 1842 (reproduced in relevant part in Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 152).

36. Marshal Soult to General Bugeaud, June 3, 1842, côte 115, pièce 3, La Trappe archives, Soligny-la-Trappe, France (Soult signed in his capacity as war minister).

37. Bersange, *Dom François Régis,* 80.

Delpal has observed, Corcelle suggested a means of allying the cross with the sword and the plow. The Trappists, Corcelle argued, could, by means of a model farm, assist those former soldiers who were granted land by Bugeaud as compensation for their service.[38] At this time, in 1842, indigenous Algerians were engaged in fierce armed resistance to French colonization with most of the fighting occurring in the interior of the country.[39] Bugeaud believed that effective colonization would help relieve the army's burden in Algeria.[40] As a member of the Chamber of Deputies, Bugeaud had championed agricultural development in rural France for its moralizing effect, and he probably expected the same benefit for Algerian colonists.[41] He also came to appreciate the near military discipline with which the Trappists regulated their lives.[42] Although proselytizing activity in Algeria could heighten the already strong animosity among the Muslim population, an outcome Bugeaud would not want, the Trappists sought to lead by example, not by active evangelization.[43] It was therefore not surprising that Bugeaud wrote back to Corcelle indicating that he would like to see the Trappists come to Algeria and that he would be willing to assist with land.[44]

For the July Monarchy, a successful model farm might attract more colonists to the land, thereby assisting agricultural colonization to take root more permanently. In contrast to the government goal of deepening French colonial roots, Trappist correspondence demonstrates a desire to use the example of their utopian religious community to bring Algeria back into the domain of universal Christianity. As James P. Daughton has observed with respect to a later period of French colonialism, religious missionaries often saw themselves more as "colonizers of souls" than as colonizers for France.[45]

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38. Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 153; Bersange, *Dom François Régis,* 82.

39. McDougall, *A History of Algeria*, 58–72.

40. Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, *Par l'épée et par la charrue: écrits et discours de Bugeaud,* ed. Paul Azan (Paris, 1948), 128.

41. Barnett Singer and John Langdon, *Cultured Force: Makers and Defenders of the French Colonial Empire* (Madison, WI, 2004), 58.

42. General Bugeaud to Dom Hercelin, Aug. 27, 1843, côte 115, pièce 37, La Trappe Abbey archives.

43. The Trappist approach contrasts with the White Fathers, who started in Algeria under the Second Empire twenty-five years after the Trappists arrived and who established active missionary posts. Baroli, *Algéri, terre d'espérances,* 223–24.

44. Bersange, *Dom François Régis,* 86–88.

45. James P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism and the Making of French Colonialism, 1890–1914* (Oxford and New York, 2006), 12–13. See Sarah A. Curtis, *Civilizing Habits: Missionaries and the Revival of French Empire* (New York, 2010). Moral missions were not limited to religious orders. Osama Abi-Mershed, for example, described how colonial administrators in Algeria influenced by the teachings of Saint Simon tried to

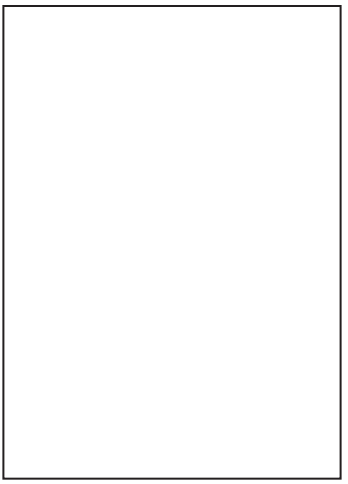

FIGURE 3. François-Régis de Martin–Donos (1808–80), first abbot of Staouëli Abbey, the Trappist monastery in Algeria (1846–54), photograph (ca. 1870). Courtesy of Wikipedia

The Trappists were acutely aware that North Africa had been an ancient center of Christianity, one that Arab conquest had supplanted with Islam. Upon receiving the new Bishop of Algeria in Rome in 1838, Pope Gregory XVI had declared that "'the African church is coming back to life. I hold next to my heart the successor of Saint Augustine.'"[46] Similarly, representatives of the Bourbon monarchy as well as French Catholic writers during the July Monarchy often stressed the significant, if ancient, history of Christianity in Algeria.[47] The Trappists saw an opening in France's 1830 defeat of the Ottomans in Algeria that would allow them to help revive Christianity there.

The governing body of the Trappists, the General Chapter, wrote a letter in 1843 expressing the hope that the Trappists could "reanimate" Christianity in North Africa. They wrote to the leader of the Trappist expedition to Algeria, Père François Régis (Figure 3), that if God will

"birth" their vision of an ideal society: "technological and industrial in its economic enterprises; peaceful and spiritual in its socio-political relations." Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Stanford, 2010), 32. See also Marcel Emerit, *Les Saint-Simoniens en Algérie* (Paris, 1941).

46. Quoted in Curtis, *Civilizing Habits*, at 114.

47. Phillip Naylor, "Bishop Pierre Claverie and the Risks of Religious Reconciliation," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 96, no. 4 (October, 2010), 720–42, here 723; Louis Veuillot, *Les Français en Algérie: Souvenirs d'un voyage fait en 1841,* 4th ed. (Tours, 1842), 92–95.

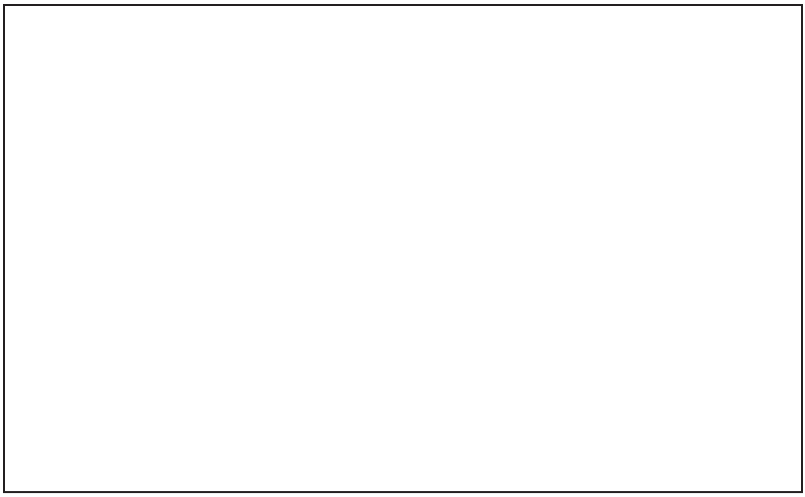

FIGURE 4. Staouëli Abbey circa 1849, from *L'Illustration,* année 7 (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet, 1849), reproduced in Bernard Delpal, *Le silence des moines: Les Trappistes au XIX^e siècle: France–Algérie–Syrie* (Paris, 1998), 177.

"deign to reanimate in Africa the faith of Cyprian, of Augustine, and of Fulgence, that will produce new fruits, maybe even more delicious, more abundant than even those of the ancients."[48] They sought to accomplish this task by example. The Trappists intended to be, as the Baron Charles Dupin later called the Abbey of Staouëli (Figure 4), a "showcase" for Christianity.[49] And it was by model behavior that the Trappists hoped to bring about conversions. "If you are true children of Saint Benedict," wrote the General Chapter to Père Régis, "your example will be for these infidels the most eloquent and the most salutary of all that can be predicted for you. If you make them admire your virtue, grace will perhaps soon lead them to imitate you."[50]

48. *Actes et décisions des chapitres généraux de la congrégation de N.D. de la Trappe en France, 1835–1843, documents supplémentaires du chapitre général de 1843* (reproduced in V. Hermans, "Actes et décisions des chapitres généraux des congrégations trappistes du XIX^e siècle (1835–1891)(I)," *Analecta Cisterciensia* XXVII (Jan.–Jun., 1971), 141–42).

49. M. le baron Dupin, Report to the Senate, Mar. 24, 1863 (quoted in Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 183).

50. *Actes et décisions,* 142. As shown by the choice of the word "infidels" to describe the Muslims, the Trappists, like most nineteenth-century Christians, did not view Islam as a legitimate alternative to Christianity. They hoped to return Algerians to what they considered to be the true faith.

Père Régis, soon to be Abbot of Staouëli with the title "Dom" Régis, confirmed the Trappist goal of achieving Christian conversion when he appeared before the monks of Melleray Abbey in September of 1844 to seek their help. In the first year of Staouëli Abbey's existence, the death rate from dysentery, fever, and other ailments had decimated the monks from Aiguebelle that Dom Régis had brought with him. The abbot needed Melleray's help to replenish the reduced ranks. Even as he described the difficulties encountered in establishing this monastic venture, he told the monks of his "most ardent zeal for the conversion of the Arabs."[51] That was a zeal apparently shared by the Trappists of Melleray. About two dozen responded to Dom Régis's call over the course of a few years despite the known risks. Half of them also succumbed to death in the climate of Algeria within the first few years of their arrival.[52]

In the Trappist view, this was a worthwhile sacrifice. As expressed by a Staouëli monk five years after establishment of the Algerian monastery, the Trappists believed that only the return of Christianity to the land of Saint Augustine could lend legitimacy to the French invasion of Algeria. Only religion, the monk wrote, "could transform the violence of political conquest and occupation into elevated moral education." The return of Christianity could, in his Trappist utopian view, create "a new people."[53]

The July Monarchy and the Trappists had to overcome mutual suspicions to reach agreement on the means of accomplishing their separate goals. When the government proposed Staouëli, not far from Algiers, for a new Trappist agricultural operation, the Trappists agreed. But when their lead negotiator Père Gabriel saw the proposed act of concession, he reported to Dom Hercelin that it contained "conditions so onerous" it would make the Trappists the "vassals of the Director of the Interior," Count Guyot.[54] He described the proposed act of concession as "insulting" and "outrageous."[55] Guyot had, according to Père Gabriel, so continually opposed the Trappists that he "feared the bad faith of the Director."[56]

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51. *Annales de Melleray*, 2:215.

52. *Annales de Melleray*, 2:215–17. In just the three-year period from 1847–1849, eleven Melleray monks died at Staouëli. Necrology of monks departed for Staouëli, Melleray archives.

53. *Notices historiques* from the Staouëli Abbey archives (quoted in Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 158).

54. Père Gabriel to Dom Hercelin, April 10, 1843, côte 107, pièce 8, La Trappe archives.

55. Père Gabriel to Dom Hercelin, April 21, 1843, côte 107, pièce 9, La Trappe archives.

56. Père Gabriel to Dom Hercelin, January 20, 1843, côte 107, pièce 2, La Trappe archives.

Guyot responded with a letter to Gabriel stating that he was surprised and offended by Gabriel's reaction to the proposed act of concession.[57] Dom Hercelin, however, agreed with Gabriel that the proposal left the Trappists at the government's mercy and initially rejected it in a letter to Guyot stating that the restrictions on erecting waterworks without government permission and the extensive planting requirements without the security of an outright land transfer were unreasonable.[58] The government did not relent on the conditions imposed, however, and Dom Hercelin ultimately concluded that the project was worth the risk those conditions presented.[59]

Charles-André Julien has asserted with little support that General Bugeaud, "who wanted to please the Court . . . ceded to all the requests of the Trappists."[60] This included, according to Julien, transforming the land grant from a grant in usufruct (the right to use the land only) to one "*en toute propriété*"; that is, full, unrestricted ownership.[61] But the initial land grant to the Trappists was not a grant *en toute propriété*. On the contrary, the conditions that worried Gabriel and Hercelin were imposed in a July 11, 1843 ministerial order that only conditionally granted 1,020 hectares of land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Plain of Staouëli to a civil society formed by some of the Trappist monks of Aiguebelle Abbey. The land grant stipulated that it would only become "definitive after the accomplishment, within the deadlines hereinafter provided, of the conditions established by the present act."[62] Those conditions required the Trappist civil society to put into cultivation all arable land. At least half of the arable land had to be cultivated within the first five years. The Trappists were required to plant two thousand trees every two years until they had planted ten thousand over the course of ten years. Even then, the government reserved to itself ownership of any water found on the land, crucial for agricultural production, and the Trappists only had a right to that water in usufruct. Waterworks required specific government approval, and other building plans had to be submitted to the government before construction.

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57. Count Guyot to Père Gabriel, April 12, 1843, côte 115, pièce 21, La Trappe archives.

58. Dom Hercelin to Count Guyot, May 2, 1843, côte 115, pièce 22, La Trappe archives.

59. Bersange, *Dom François Régis,* 90.

60. Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Algerie contemporaine,* 1 (Paris, 1964), 243.

61. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algerie,* 243. Section 544 of the Napoleonic Code defined "*propriété*" as the right to enjoy and dispose of things in the most unrestricted manner not prohibited by law or regulation.

62. *Recueil des actes du gouvernement de l'Algérie: 1830–1854* (Algiers, 1856), 247, Article 2.

The 1843 ministerial order also provided the Trappists a 62,000-franc subsidy, but that subsidy only covered half the estimated cost of building initial living quarters and nothing to fulfill the onerous conditions of the order.[63] Bugeaud provided some additional material support, stating in an 1843 letter that the Queen had asked him to look favorably on the Trappists and that he had provided tools and 50 to 60 military prisoners to work with the monks, together with such cash as they might need.[64] But by 1844, the Trappists were out of money. Although the colonial council had agreed to provide Staouëli Abbey a loan of 30,000 francs, the government refused to approve the loan. Dom Régis had to travel to France where he raised 9,000 francs from Society for the Propagation of the Faith and 20,000 francs from Aiguebelle Abbey that it had borrowed to continue the work. Queen Marie-Amèlie, who had personally given 600 francs to support the venture, promised Dom Régis to use her influence to help the Trappists, but that was of no avail.[65] Delpal wrote that in those early years, the Trappists in Algeria were "harassed by the administration and menaced by their creditors," and their requests for further aid were often refused.[66]

The Trappists succeeded in meeting the conditions of their land grant by 1849, a year after the fall of the July Monarchy, and only then obtained full rights to the property.[67] But this success came at great personal cost. From the 1843 foundation through 1857, 107 monks died at Staouëli. Seventy percent of those who died were under sixty.[68]

After the 1850s, however, the death rate abated, and the Trappists turned Staouëli into the model farm that the July Monarchy had wanted to see. The colonial government published official reports on the Trappists'

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63. *Recueil des actes*, 247–48; Frère Gabriel to Dom Hercelin, January 20, 1843, côte 107, pièce 2, La Trappe archives (estimating the cost to build initial living quarters at between 100,000 to 150,000 francs).

64. Bugeaud, *Par l'épée et par la charrue,* 149. Military prisoners were separately housed at the monastery, and by the 1880s were paid 1 franc, 60 centimes for a day's work. Hippolyte Lecq, *L'Exploitation agricole de la Trappe de Staouéli (Algérie)* (Algiers, 1882), 10–11. Bernard Delpal concluded that these military prisoners became "integrated into the life of the Trappists" at Staouëli. Dom Régis maintained a particularly good rapport with the prisoners and sincerely believed, Delpal writes, that the Trappists could "convert" and "regenerate" these men and "even create a new sort of race." Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 171 and n.48.

65. Bersange, *Dom François Régis,* 151–53, 169–80.

66. Delpal, *Le silence des moines*, 170. Delpal makes no reference to the Queen's help in his detailed study of the Trappists in Algeria.

67. Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 169–70; Gabriel Verge, *Monographie du domaine de la Trappe de Staouéli* (Algiers, 1930), 19.

68. Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 164.

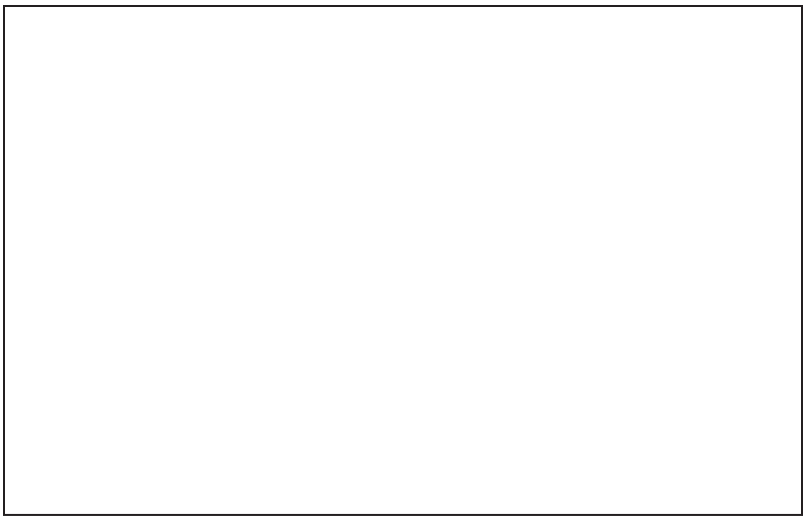

FIGURE 5. Postcard of Trappists harvesting grapes at the Monastery of Notre-Dame de Staouëli, early XX century, Ménard et Blain, Phot. Courtesy of Wikipedia.

agricultural successes at Staouëli. Gabriel Verge wrote that Staouëli had become a "quasi-official center of agricultural development" where other colonists would come to find examples for developing their own land.[69] By 1882, according to a contemporary report, the Trappists had developed at Staouëli forty hectares of woods, 300 hectares of grape vineyards, thirty hectares of geraniums, 120 hectares of wheat, ninety hectares of oats and barley, and thirty-five hectares of vegetable and fruit gardens. The monks manufactured perfumes from the geraniums they grew and produced wines from their vineyards. For half the year, the Trappists supplied enough table wine for all of Algiers and its suburbs with a quality that commanded a premium price.[70] In addition, the Trappists established herds of sheep and cattle and maintained breeding hogs and extensive beehives[71] (Figure 5).

Although the initial occupation of land by the Trappists must have engendered local enmity, by many accounts the Trappists developed a good rapport with their Muslim neighbors. A variety of contemporary

69. Verge, *Monographie,* 20.

70. Lecq, *L'Exploitation agricole,* 18–19, 44. Staouëli wine won coveted gold medals in France in 1878, 1894, and 1895 as well as a gold medal in Liverpool in 1886. Chollet, *Notre-Dame de la Trappe de Staouëli*, 196.

71. Lecq, *L'Exploitation agricole,* 11–14.

chroniclers of Staouëli Abbey recited anecdotes concerning how well received the Trappists were among the surrounding non-European population.[72] Abbé G. Chollet wrote that the Arabs of the region appreciated the asceticism of the Trappists, which he said they compared to "observing a continual Ramadan."[73]

For all the good will they may have generated, the Trappists' initial foray into Algeria failed to achieve its primary goal—the conversion of the Algerian people. From 1843 until Staouëli Abbey closed in 1904, only one Algerian joined the ranks of the monks of Staouëli. All the other monks came from the metropole.[74] Ultimately, it is local people who decide if a foreign mission is to succeed among them, as Troy Feay has observed.[75] Indigenous Algerians may have respected the Trappists, but they retained their attachment to Islam. Even among the European colonists, Catholicism made few inroads.[76] Discouraged by this failure and with implementation of the 1901 law of associations looming, the Trappists decided to close Staouëli Abbey in 1904.[77]

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72. Émile Delaunay, *Staouéli: Histoire du monastère, depuis sa fondation. Suivi de: une excursion à Oran, Misserghin, Biskra, etc.* (Limoges, 1877), 56–57; Chollet, *la Trappe de Staouëli,* 212–18.

73. Chollet, *la Trappe de Staouëli,* 212.

74. Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 168.

75. Troy Feay, "Creating 'The People of God': French Utopian Dreams and the Moralization of African Slaves," in: *In God's Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World*, eds. J.P. Daughton and Owen White (New York, 2012), 60.

76. Baroli, *Algéri, terre d'espérances,* 221–28. Marc Baroli observed that while Staouëli provided a visible presence for the Church, it was more useful as an agricultural model. Ibid. Thus, despite initially having different goals in mind than the government, the Trappists ended up achieving only the July Monarchy's goal of providing a model for agricultural development.

77. Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 192–93; 453. Other factors beyond the failure of the Christianization mission and government policies contributed to the closure. Members of the colonial press, stoked by disgruntled competitors in the perfume industry, had launched increasingly vitriolic anti-clerical attacks against Staouëli Abbey on the one hand, while on the other, the Algerian Archbishop demanded that the Trappists make crippling annual payments to support Algerian seminaries. Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 192–94. These problems resulted, according to Delpal, in "a profound malaise in the community at the dawn of the twentieth century." Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 193. Charles-André Julien asserted that after the death of Dom Régis in 1880, the Trappists neglected agriculture, and Julien suggested this led to the closure. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algerie,* 244. Dom Régis, however, left Staouëli in 1854 to accept a position in Rome (Bersange, *Dom François Régis,* 283–98), and for the fifty years after his departure, Staouëli Abbey continued to succeed as a model farm. Lecq, *L'Exploitation agricole,* 10–45*;* Édouard Gascon, *Une visite à la Trappe* (Algiers, 1896); Chollet, *la Trappe de Staouëli,* 106–98; Delpal, *Le silence des moines,* 176–87.

Martinique

In July 1846, the July Monarchy again approached the Trappists for help with colonial agriculture—this time in Martinique. The inevitability and imminence of emancipation in Martinique increasingly concerned the government, which feared the economic consequences of freeing the enslaved people of the island. Pressure had been mounting in favor of French emancipation since the English abolition of slavery in 1834. Most French abolitionists argued during the 1830s and early 1840s that enslaved people needed to be educated and instilled with an independent work ethic, and that this preparatory work should be done as a prelude to freedom.[78] The July Monarchy, though at best lukewarm to abolition, shared this view, as did Catholic Church leaders in France and Martinique who in the 1840s increasingly called for abolition with a preparatory phase.[79]

Colonial planters used the excuse of needed preparation to convince the July Monarchy to delay any significant moves toward emancipation. The government's delay in drawing up any definite plans for emancipation, however, drove a number of abolitionists from gradualism to calling for immediate emancipation.[80] An 1844 petition drive among workers in Paris and Lyon calling for the freedom of all workers, including the enslaved, sparked debates in the French legislature about the need for emancipation.[81] The July Monarchy answered these debates by proposing more definite preparatory measures known as the Mackau legislation after the Minister of the Navy and Colonies, Ange René Armand, baron de Mackau (1788–1855). This legislation authorized ordinances to regulate the care of slaves, to provide for their education, and to promote marriage, as well as authorizing *rachat*, the purchase by a slave of his or her own freedom.[82]

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78. Lawrence C. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848* (Cambridge, UK, 2000), 71–73, 145–52. Alexis de Tocqueville, for example, took this approach in a series of articles in 1843 supporting the Broglie Commission's parliamentary report that provided for a ten-year preparatory period during which measures would be implemented to "morally improve and civilize the Negroes. . . ." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Writings on Empire and Slavery* ed. and trans. Jennifer Pitts (Baltimore and London, 2001), 224.

79. See Philippe Delisle, *Renouveau missionaire et société esclavagiste, la Martinique: 1815–1848* (Paris, 1997); Troy Feay, *Mission to Moralize: Slaves, Africans, and Missionaries in the French Colonies, 1815–1852* (PhD Diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003), 71–75, 100–02.

80. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery,* 201–02.

81. Seymour Drescher, "British Way, French Way: Opinion Buildings and Revolution in the Second French Slave Emancipation," *American Historical Review* (June 1991), 709–34, here 719.

82. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery,* 218; Rebecca Schloss, *Sweet Liberty: The Final Days of Slavery in Martinique* (Philadelphia, 2009), 208.

In the face of resistance from colonial planters, the government initially accomplished little under the Mackau legislation. As a result, in late 1845 and early 1846, the French abolitionist community denounced the government's slowness in implementing the goals of that legislation and challenged the Navy and Colonies ministry in the legislature. The ministry responded to this challenge by, among other things, issuing on May 18, 1846 ordinances on religious and elementary education for slaves.[83]

Soon thereafter, the Navy and Colonies ministry contacted the Trappists about setting up an establishment in Martinique. The correspondence between the French government and the Trappists on this subject, which has been retained in the archives of the Abbey of La Trappe, shows that the Ministry of Navy and Colonies knew in 1846 that emancipation was inevitable and was making arrangements to maintain the economic productivity of the Antilles after it occurred.[84] With the example of Haitian independence still fresh and in view of past uprisings by enslaved Martinicans, the government must have believed that freedom for slaves had to be granted soon to avoid it being taken without conditions.[85] In 1846, therefore, the government anticipated emancipation by planning to fund a Trappist model farm in Martinique as a means to preserve the economic productivity of its colony following the inevitable end of slavery.

The correspondence in the La Trappe archives, together with private letters from one of the Trappist leaders of the mission to Martinique, demonstrate that the Trappists, just as in Algeria, were not focused on the economic success of the colonies. This correspondence expresses the Trappists' belief that slavery was a moral evil that debased the slave and the slave holding society alike and, in addition, discredited the intrinsic value of manual labor. They wanted to help regenerate the enslaved population by teaching them agricultural skills to succeed as a free people while providing

83. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery,* 233–34.

84. Côte 181, pièces 1–35, La Trappe archives. The July Monarchy had already taken some steps in that direction by issuing directives aimed at preparing the enslaved workers at the government farm in Saint Jacques for freedom and by spending funds aimed at religious instruction it hoped would moralize those workers. Schloss, *Sweet Liberty,* 184, 218.

85. The enslaved people of Martinique had rebelled in 1822 and 1831. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow,* 188. The threat of an imminent slave rebellion in early 1848 helped convince the new Second Republic to emancipate immediately the slaves. Nelly Schmidt, *La France a-t-elle aboli l'esclavage?: Guadeloupe-Martinique-Guyane 1830–1935* (Paris, 2009), 128. Indeed, before the official 1848 decree emancipating slaves even reached Martinique, the slaves there rose up in rebellion and forced the colonial administration to grant their freedom. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery,* 282–83.

enslaved and free Martinicans alike with the example of a radically Christ-centered life in which manual labor functioned as an integral and valued part. To the Trappists, this was a moral mission focused on individual souls rather than a mission to preserve an economy.

The government initially contacted the Trappists by letter dated July 1, 1846 from Henri-Léon Causat de Riancey.[86] Addressed to Dom Hercelin, the Trappists' vicar general of the congregation, it included a memorandum written by G. de Lagrange for the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies.[87] It also attached an extract of what it described as a "completely confidential" report from the Director of the Colonies.[88] The Director endorsed the Lagrange memorandum and stated that "nothing would be . . . more favorable to the success of the government's current views than to see a religious Order . . . specially devoted to agricultural operations establish itself in the colonies and provide all classes an example of useful, fruitful, and intelligent work."[89]

The Lagrange memorandum expressed the government's motivations for calling on the Trappists. It started by declaring that the primary question facing the government was how to "conserve colonial society with all the resources necessary for life and the preservation of that society. That implies work and agricultural work above all." "Everything makes us fear," Lagrange continued, "that the moment slavery is abolished, blacks employed in agriculture will desert in mass." Those who remain, he posited, would not be sufficient to keep the plantations running. This is "a menacing question of life or death for our colonies" where the population primarily consisted of enslaved people.[90]

The government, Lagrange noted, had encouraged the immigration of European laborers, considered preventing workers from moving from one job to another, and tried to enable religious instruction, but he did not judge any of these measures adequate to remedy the threat. Manual labor had become entirely associated with slavery in the colonies and was looked down upon. "The white who is reduced to the necessity of manual labor, like the

86. Riancey to Hercelin, July 1, 1846, côte 181, pièce 1, La Trappe archives.

87. *Note sur le moyen de réhabiliter le travail agricole dans les Colonies*, côte 181, pièce 24, La Trappe archives (hereafter "*Note*").

88. *Extrait d'un rapport presenté au Ministre de la Marine par le Directeur des Colonies le 30 juin 1846*, côte 181, pièce 2, La Trappe archives.

89. Ibid.

90. *Note*, 1–2. Sixty-five to seventy percent of the population in the Antilles colonies lived in slavery before emancipation. Schmidt, *aboli l'esclavage?,* 135.

sailor or soldier, is today profoundly disdained by the blacks. . . . [T]he condition of a white manual laborer in their estimation is below that of a Negro slave."[91] Bringing in more European laborers would not encourage the newly emancipated slave population to work, he thus concluded, especially since the white workers who had come to the colonies to date had poor reputations as reliable laborers. Lagrange dismissed the idea of restricting worker movement (as eventually occurred after emancipation) because that would mean "work would always be characterized by constraint." He feared that such a restriction "would only make agricultural labor more odious."[92]

This discussion led to Lagrange's own proposal. He argued that the introduction of a religious order that engaged in manual labor might attract the admiration of enslaved workers. He recommended the Trappists. "By its Rule, as we know, this Order is exclusively devoted to agricultural work. . . . In a word, [they] take precisely for their own lot the occupation reserved today for slaves. . . ."[93] Lagrange concluded: "Work that is shared by God's elect, in whom [the enslaved] will recognize more holiness in the world, could no longer be seen as something degrading and unworthy of a free man. His prejudice will vanish. This result would appear infallible."[94]

After a visit to Dom Hercelin by ministry employees, Baron de Mackau wrote a note to the Vicar General in which he confirmed that he wanted the Trappists to help "organize free labor and moralize blacks in our colonies."[95] Dom Hercelin replied that the Trappists would be honored with this mission.[96] Dom Hercelin chose Melleray Abbey to lead the Trappist venture, and he sent three Melleray monks to Martinique, at government expense, to explore the possibility of establishing a Trappist monastery at a government farm. Melleray had rebounded with renewed vigor after the suppression of the 1830s. Frenchmen flocked to it, and by 1846, it was reaching its capacity with 150 monks even after its contribution to the establishment of Staouëli.[97]

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91. *Note*, 2–3.

92. *Note,* 4. Newly freed laborers faced a host of restrictions in Martinique after emancipation, including travel restrictions. Schmidt, *aboli l'esclavage?*, 190–91.

93. *Note*, 8.

94. *Note*, 9.

95. Baron de Mackau to Dom Hercelin, July 29, 1846, côte 181, pièce 5, La Trappe archives.

96. Dom Hercelin to his Excellence the Minister of the Navy and Colonies, August 16, 1846, côte 181, pièce 6, La Trappe archives.

97. Jay Butler, "From Melleray to Gethsemani: Spreading Cistercian Spirituality in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2018), 73–95, here 84–92.

The three Melleray monks commissioned to go to Martinique issued a report that recommended the Trappists accept the government's proposal despite the grave risks posed by the "fatal" climate.[98] This report to Dom Hercelin spelled out the Trappist desire to effect a regeneration of enslaved Martinicans. The Melleray monks had toured the Saint Jacques government farm where their project would be centered. All of the colonists and even the churchman they met expressed doubt that the Trappists could successfully instruct slaves to run a farm as free workers. But the three Melleray monks concluded that Saint Jacques could be turned into a "model farm" if one succeeded at moralizing its "fine workers and establishing them in free labor. . . . [T]he black is neither as profoundly corrupted nor as intractable as has been depicted to us."[99] They concluded that the enslaved Saint Jacques workers would follow the guidance of a group who treated them well instead of imposing more of the "cruel, corrupt, and brutal" treatment they had received from their colonial masters.[100]

The Trappists also believed that enslaved workers needed their leadership. They observed that the enslaved worker of Saint Jacques "raised his head all the more proudly now that he saw himself on the point of obtaining that liberty he had sought so long."[101] But given how enslaved Martinicans had been treated, the Trappists, like the July Monarchy, foresaw a mass exodus to the city as soon as emancipation took place. The Trappists expressed concern not for the economic well-being of the colony, but for what they saw as the disastrous effects such an exodus would have on the moral well-being of the formerly enslaved. Trappists valued manual labor, particularly agricultural labor, for its power to strengthen the soul. They viewed city life as morally degrading. The Melleray monks argued that the Saint Jacques workers "must be entrusted without the least delay into the care of a religious group, above all to a congregation of workers who . . . by the example of their work" would lead these workers to value agricultural labor and to succeed as free farmers.[102]

The distinction between the government's goals as set out in the Lagrange memorandum and those of the Trappists as set out in the report

98. Fr. Eusèbe, Fr. Hilarion, Fr. Emmanuel, *Extrait du rapport fait au Général des Trappistes par les trois religieux envoyés à Martinique à l'effet d'examiner s'il y avait possibilité de réaliser un projet d'établissement proposé par le Département de la Marine,* March 15 1847, côte 181, pièce 11, La Trappe archives (hereafter "*Rapport*").

99. *Rapport*, 6.

100. *Rapport,* 8–9.

101. *Rapport,* 7.

102. *Rapport,* 7.

to Dom Hercelin is the distinction between economic colonization and the missionary's concern for individual moral welfare. The July Monarchy hoped to preserve the economic well-being of its colony after emancipation. The Trappists sought to ensure the spiritual well-being of enslaved people so they could succeed in a meaningful way after emancipation.

On May 14, 1847, the foreign minister, François Guizot, wrote to Dom Hercelin asking him to provide a Trappist proposal for Martinique "as soon as possible."[103] Three days later, the ministry drew up a memorandum addressed to Guizot outlining the conditions under which the Trappists' Martinique venture might be undertaken.[104] It started by stating that the Trappists, as in Algeria, would be treated as ordinary priests in a civil association because French law did not authorize the religious congregation itself. It then stated that the government would convey the 439-hectare Saint Jacques plantation to the Trappists "at the price of their sweat" provided they worked toward the "double goal" of initiating blacks as free laborers and improving colonial agriculture more generally. They were also to provide a Christian education in reading and agriculture to boys between 8 and 18 and to establish a hostel for the elderly and infirm. The memorandum encouraged them to invite service orders of priests and nuns already on the island to assist them.[105]

The memorandum provided for the plantation to revert to the state if the Trappists were unable to continue their work after January 1, 1851, and the Trappists would only hold the land in usufruct until then. The memorandum stated that forty monks would move to Martinique, and the government would provide them a 350,000-franc subsidy for the construction of a monastery and all other expenses they might incur in establishing the

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103. Foreign Minister Guizot to Dom Hercelin, May 14, 1847, côte 181, pièce 13, La Trappe Abbey archives. Although Marshal Soult was nominally prime minister in addition to war minister, Guizot actually controlled government direction at this time. André Jardin and André-Jean Tudesq, *Restoration & Reaction, 1815–1848,* trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge, UK, 1983), 128. That Guizot, who was generally no friend to Catholicism, became personally involved in moving the project along seems to indicate a heightened level of government interest in preparing for emancipation.

104. Untitled memorandum, May 27, 1847, côte 181, pièce 17, La Trappe archives (hereinafter "*Memorandum*").

105. The Sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny and the Brothers of Christian Instruction were two leading religious groups already involved in moralizing and educational missions in Martinique. Feay, "Creating 'The People of God,'" 54–56. These orders sought to impart an encompassing Catholicism that impacted all aspects of life, not unlike the Trappist vision for their presence in Martinique. Philippe Delisle, *Catholicisme, esclavage et acculturation dans le Caraïbe francophone et en Guyane au XIX^e siècle* (Matoury, French Guiana, 2006), 38–40.

model farm until 1851. The Trappists were expected to pay back the state at a rate of 10,000 francs per year over thirty-five years. If the Trappists continued the enterprise into 1851, all the slaves that belonged to this state plantation would receive their freedom without further condition.[106]

In July of 1847, the Melleray Abbott appointed one of his monks, Père Eutrope Proud, to lead the expedition to Martinique. Père Eutrope had described the Trappist mission in a December 27, 1846 letter to his brothers and sisters as follows: "The purpose of our foundation then is to bring labor back into honor, to inspire a taste for it in all classes and thus to obtain liberty for these wretched slaves whose condition resembles that of domestic animals."[107] In another letter dated August 1, 1847 to his brother, Père Eutrope wrote that he was in Paris working out final arrangements with the government and informed his brother: "[t]he deal is practically concluded for the trifling sum of 350,000 francs."[108]

Père Eutrope described the conclusion of negotiations in a memoir retained by the Trappist Abbey of Our Lady of Gethsemani in Kentucky. "All we were waiting for before setting out for Martinique in the number of 40 [monks] was the cancellation of the lease of the plantation we were to cultivate." The cancellation "was a long time coming." When Eutrope went to Paris on October 2, 1847, he found the lease cancellation had been received, but the government "was greatly preoccupied at the time with the agitation of those seeking a new government [and] postponed the complete conclusion of the affair for some weeks." He returned to Melleray to wait, and then the February 1848 Revolution brought down the July Monarchy. Having heard nothing from the new government, Père Eutrope went to Paris at the end of March. There a representative of the Second Republic told him it "would take no account" of the arrangements the Trappists had made with the July Monarchy. The new government, at least initially, viewed the Trappist presence as unnecessary since the slaves had already achieved freedom.[109]

Seven months later, without government support, Père Eutrope was on his way to Kentucky leading over forty other Melleray monks to estab-

106. *Memorandum.*

107. Eutrope Proud to his brothers and sisters, December 27, 1846, translator unknown, Gethsemani archives, Trappist, Kentucky.

108. Eutrope Proud to Pierre Proud, Aug. 1, 1847, translator unknown, Gethsemani archives.

109. *From Melleray to Gethsemani 1848*, short undated memoire of Eutrope Proud, translator unknown, Gethsemani archives.

lish the first Trappist Abbey in the new world, Gethsemani Abbey.[110] United States bishops had asked to host a Trappist monastery in order "to inspire love of work in whites" and thus help to pull "the negro race . . . from slavery."[111] Reflecting the Trappists' concern with their security in France, the Melleray abbot also sought to open a monastery in a location outside of French government control in order, according to the *Annales de Melleray*, "to assure the Trappists of France a refuge in the case of a revolution or religious persecution."[112] Although Melleray Abbey had moved on to another project, Lagrange, this time on behalf of the Second Republic, contacted Dom Hercelin in a letter dated July 12, 1849 to reopen discussions of a Trappist monastery in the Antilles. Emancipation had not relieved the need to train formerly enslaved Martinicans in the agricultural arts. The La Trappe archives contain correspondence on the subject through 1850.[113] But with the two largest Trappist monasteries engaged elsewhere, Aiguebelle in Algeria and Melleray in Kentucky, the Trappist Antilles venture never came about.

Conclusion

The Trappists had a utopian vision for the colonies of Algeria and Martinique—utopian in the sense Troy Feay defined well as "the aspiration for a moral mission of social transformation."[114] The Trappists did not share the July Monarchy's interest in the economic development of the colonies. They hoped, instead, that by the moral example of their life of work and prayer they could regenerate Algeria by drawing Algerians back to Christianity and regenerate enslaved Martinicans by teaching them the moral value of manual labor and by giving them the skills to succeed as free farmers. Their utopian vision of regeneration fit within the current of nineteenth-century French utopian ideas displayed by other missionaries as well as by utopian socialists, ideas that made use of colonialism but that were often distinct from the goals of the colonizing government.[115]

The common denominator of these two visions, valorizing agricultural labor, led two formerly opposed groups to work together. The Trappists' nineteenth-century utopian vision failed to bear fruit in Algeria and never

110. Butler, "From Melleray to Gethsemani," 92–95.
111. *Annales de Melleray*, 2:261.
112. *Annales de Melleray,* 2:261.
113. Côte 181, pièces 27–35, La Trappe archives.
114. Feay, "Creating 'The People of God,'" 47; Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*, 32.
115. See Feay, "Creating 'The People of God,'" 51.

had the opportunity to take root in Martinique. France finally authorized contemplative monastic groups like the Trappists in 1853 under the Second Empire, and the Trappists never again felt compelled to embark on a cooperative overseas venture with the French government. But they continued to spread their vision of religious life abroad without such government involvement. Long after the disintegration of French colonialism, the Trappists and Trappistines, now known as the Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance, have established themselves beyond France and Europe throughout the world with twenty-two monasteries of monks or nuns in North America, ten in Asia, eight in Latin America, six in Africa, and two in Oceana.[116] This includes the Abbey of Our Lady of Atlas, a monastery in Tibhirine, Algeria established with a medical mission in mind.[117] In Martinique, at the Benedictine Priory of Sainte-Marie des Anges, descendants of Europeans and descendants of Africans carry on twenty-first century life together under the ancient Rule of Saint Benedict.[118]

116. Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance, Geographical Regions, acc. February 28, 2020, https://www.ocso.org/monasteries/geographical-regions.

117. Seven Trappists at Tibhirine were murdered in 1996 during the Algerian civil war. McDougall, *History of Algeria,* 311. This event inspired a 2010 film, "*Des hommes et des dieux*," which won the Grand Prix at the Cannes Film Festival. New monks have repopulated the Tibhirine abbey, and Trappist life continues in Algeria.

118. Priory of Sainte-Marie des Anges at Carbet, acc. February 28, 2020 https://www.service-des-moniales.cef.fr/en/priory-of-sainte-marie-des-anges-at-carbet.

The Diocese of Savannah and Desegregation, 1935–73

Mark Newman*

During the civil rights era, the Diocese of Savannah faced conflicting pressures from white segregationists and African Americans who were committed to overturning racial discrimination. Diocesan leaders moved cautiously, desegregating schools in tandem with public school desegregation, while taking a leading part in negotiations to desegregate public facilities in Savannah. Some black Catholics participated in the civil rights movement and many objected to the diocese closing black Catholic schools and churches on behalf of desegregation. Bishops paid little heed to African American Catholic concerns; and residential segregation, reinforced by white suburban flight, limited the impact of diocesan desegregation.

Key words: African American Catholics; Civil Rights Movement; Desegregation; Diocese of Savannah

Acting in concert with the bishops of Atlanta and Charleston who issued identical pastoral letters, in February 1961 Bishop Thomas J. McDonough of Savannah announced that Catholic schools in his diocese would admit Catholic children regardless of race no later than public schools desegregated. McDonough's pastoral letter was read in his diocese's churches in the wake of a campus riot when the University of Georgia in Athens admitted two African American students, and the state assembly abandoned massive resistance to desegregation of public education. Mary Bennett, a white Catholic from Savannah, wrote to McDonough that she felt humiliated by his widely reported pastoral letter because her white non-Catholic co-workers "are not only bitter toward my faith, but also toward the negro." Alarmed by the prospect that the diocese would end the long-standing segregation of its institutions, she declared: "I cannot understand why, at this late date, the church feels, because of separate facilities, it has persecuted the negroes." Alluding to the segrega-

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tionist preferences that many white Catholics shared with other southern whites, Bennett asserted that Africans Americans should not go to white Catholic churches and schools because they were "unwelcome."[1]

Adopting a cautious approach conditioned by widespread white support for segregation, the diocese did not desegregate its schools until 1963, acting to coincide with the beginning of federal court ordered public school desegregation in the diocese. McDonough's pastoral letter, Bennett's response, and the diocese's eventual desegregation of its parochial schools illustrate how diocesan desegregation policy depended on secular change, neglected black Catholic opinion, and was conditioned by widespread anti-Catholicism and white support for segregation among Catholics and the non-Catholic majority.

Scholars have examined the importance of religion in motivating support and opposition to the civil rights movement and desegregation, but, until recently, their studies focused on Protestantism. An emerging literature on Catholicism and civil rights in the United States between the 1930s and early 1970s has traced the efforts of some clergy and laity to foster interracialism, uncovered evidence of black and white Catholic involvement in the civil rights movement, and documented the opposition of significant white lay and some clergy opposition to desegregation. In the South, bishops implemented desegregation in accordance with their perception of local conditions. However, accounts of Catholics and desegregation in the South and of the civil rights movement in Georgia neglect the Diocese of Savannah. The diocese's experience provides further evidence that some white clergy worked to facilitate desegregation, many African American Catholics participated in the civil rights movement, and Catholic prelates in the Deep South linked desegregation to secular change to deflect or lessen white opposition from within and outside Catholic ranks. In Savannah, as in many other American cities inside and outside the South, many white Catholics also joined white flight to the suburbs and relocated away from African American communities, thereby substantially limiting desegregation of Catholic churches and schools. Studies of Catholicism in some other southern locales have highlighted the civil rights involvement of some members of religious orders and women religious from the North. The Diocese of Savannah, however, also provides

1. Mary Bennett to Thomas J. McDonough, February 20, 1961 (quotations), Thomas J. McDonough pastoral letter, February 15, 1961, 1-4, folder 10, box 24, Archives of the Diocese of Savannah (hereafter cited as ADS); Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950's* (Baton Rouge, 1969), 334–35.

evidence of active support for racial equality from diocesan clergy, and, unusually in the South, the diocese played a leading and effective role, neglected by scholars, in negotiations that secured secular desegregation in the city of Savannah.[2]

The Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta encompassed the state of Georgia until 1956 when the Vatican divided it north and south between the Diocese of Atlanta and the Diocese of Savannah. There were only 30,992 Catholics in the Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta in 1950, comprising just 1 percent of the total population within the diocese's boundaries. There were 33,317 Catholics in the Diocese of Savannah in 1966, or 1.9 percent of the population. Most Catholics lived in the diocese's urban areas, mostly in Savannah, Macon, Augusta, Columbus, Albany, Brunswick, Valdosta, and Waycross. The African American Catholic population was small, numbering an estimated 2,599 in the Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta in 1950, and 3,650 in the Diocese of Savannah in 1965.[3]

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2. Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984); John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago and London, 1996); Karen J. Johnson, *One in Christ: Chicago Catholics and the Quest for Interracial Justice* (New York, 2018); Patrick D. Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge, MA, 2010); Amy L. Koehlinger, *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2007); Shannen Dee Williams, "Black Nuns and the Struggle to Desegregate Catholic America After World War I," PhD diss. (Rutgers University, 2013); R. Bentley Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947–1956* (Nashville, 2005); Andrew S. Moore, *The South's Tolerable Alien: Roman Catholics in Alabama and Georgia, 1945–1970* (Baton Rouge, 2007); Mark Newman, *Desegregating Dixie: The Catholic Church in the South and Desegregation, 1945–1992* (Jackson, MS, 2018); Cecilia A. Moore, "'To Serve Through Compelling Love': The Society of Christ Our King in Danville, Virginia, 1963," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 24 (Fall 2006), 83–103; Paul T. Murray, "'The Most Righteous White Man in Selma': Father Maurice Ouellet and the Struggle for Voting Rights," *Alabama Review*, 68 (January 2015), 31–73; Gary Wray McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah, Georgia* (Knoxville, TN, 1993); Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., "Black Catholics in the Civil Rights Movement in the Southern United States: A. P. Tureaud, Thomas Wyatt Turner, and Earl Johnson," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 24 (Fall 2006), 69–81; Reed Sarratt, *The Ordeal of Desegregation: The First Decade* (New York and London, 1966), 278–81; Stephen Tuck, "A City Too Dignified to Hate: Civic Pride, Civil Rights, and Savannah in Comparative Perspective," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 79 (Fall 1995), 539–59; Stephen G. N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia* (Athens, GA and London, 2001); and Andrew M. Manis, *Macon Black and White: An Unutterable Separation in the American Century* (Macon, GA, 2004).

3. "Diocese of Savannah," retrieved March 10, 2018 from www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dsava.html; *Our Negro and Indian Missions: Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians*, January 1951, 22–23, January 1966, 22, Archives of the Society of Saint Joseph of the Sacred

Until the civil rights era, African Americans who worshiped in predominantly white Catholic churches were relegated to separate pews at the back and given communion after whites. In 1939, "the Rev. Superiors of the Colored Missions in the diocese" established the Colored Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia, which held an annual convention. In areas where the black Catholic population was sufficiently numerous, African Americans attended racially defined special parishes, staffed by white priests belonging to religious orders, especially the Society of African Missions (S.M.A.). The Church operated separate schools for African Americans, which also served as evangelizing agents for their students and their families. Founded by two Benedictine priests in 1874, St. Benedict the Moor Church in Savannah added a school in 1875. St. Peter Claver in Macon began as a Jesuit mission in 1888 before being taken over by the S.M.A. in 1913. Heiress to a banking fortune, Sister Katherine Drexel, founder of the Sisters of Blessed Sacrament (S.B.S.), helped fund St. Peter Claver School in Macon, completed in 1904. The S.M.A., which had taken over the St. Benedict the Moor Church in 1907, opened Immaculate Conception Church and School in Augusta in 1909. In Savannah, the S.M.A. founded the Most Pure Heart of Mary Church in 1907, before adding a school in 1909, and St. Anthony of Padua Church and School in 1909. Enrollment in black parochial schools was largely Protestant, with parents attracted by their educational quality and discipline. Sisters from white orders, such as the Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and the S.B.S., and sometimes African American lay teachers taught in black Catholic schools. Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara of Savannah-Atlanta observed, "The secret of success is the Catholic school. In Georgia it is the principal source of conversion."[4]

Heart, Baltimore, Maryland (hereafter cited as ASSJ); Gillian Brown, "Civil Rights and Sister Mary Julian Griffin," in: Gillian Brown et al. comp., *One Faith, One Family: The Diocese of Savannah 1850–2000* (Syracuse, NY, 2000), 148.

4. A. J. Laube, "Catholic Mission Work Among the Negroes of Georgia," *Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia*, January 1921, 6; F. J. Weiss to G. P. O'Hara, October 12 (first quotation), November 30, 1939, Gerald P. O'Hara to F. J. Weiss, October 16, December 4, 1939, folder 13, box 13, ADS; "Mother Katherine Drexel's Nuns in Macon and Atlanta," *Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia*, January 31, 1936, 8; "Immaculate Conception Church Serves Augusta's Colored Catholics," *Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia*, September 28, 1940, 13; "Colored Catholics of Savannah Have Three Churches and Schools," *Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia*, August 28, 1943, 5; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1940, 13–15, January 1944, 13–14, January 1945, 11–12 (second quotation), January 1948, 9-12, January 1949, 9–13, ASSJ; Rita H. DeLorme, "Grounded in History, Immaculate Conception Catholic School, Augusta, is Still Thriving and Innovating," *Southern Cross*, January 22, 2015; "History of St.

Appointed bishop in November 1935 at the age of forty, O'Hara was born in Green Ridge, Pennsylvania, and raised mostly in Philadelphia. Prior to his installation as bishop in 1936, O'Hara had spent his entire life in Pennsylvania, except for study and ordination in Rome. During his tenure as bishop, O'Hara established the Colored Catholic Clinic in Atlanta and expanded the segregated Catholic school system that he had inherited. He also played a crucial role in the founding of the Catholic Committee of the South (CCS), which, at his invitation, held its first annual convention in Atlanta in April 1940. Supported by many of the South's Catholic bishops, the CCS did not condemn segregation overtly, but its program to address regional problems included a commitment to developing "true political and economic democracy" and bringing "about a Christian understanding among Southerners, irrespective of race or creed." O'Hara served as the committee's episcopal chairman until 1946, and Monsignor T. James McNamara, rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Savannah and another CCS cofounder, was general chairman between 1940 and 1942.[5]

Born in Savannah in 1899, McNamara, a cradle Catholic, had returned to his native city in 1924 for ordination following college and seminary education in Maryland and Rochester, New York. At his urging, and with O'Hara's support, in October 1943 the Savannah

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Peter Claver Catholic Church," retrieved February 28, 2020 from https://www.spcccmacon.com/history-of-st-peter-claver-church.html#; Brown et al. comp., *One Faith, One Family*, 69, 72–73, 82, 215, 252, 254; McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah*, 107, 109-11, 157–66. When sources disagree about the opening date of an institution, the chronology in the diocese's official history has been adopted. There were also some other early black Catholic schools, but they did not endure. McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah*, 107, 111, 338n6–7.

5. *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1948, 9–12, ASSJ; "Church for Colored Catholics Dedicated at Lakeland, Georgia," *Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia*, March 29, 1941, 2A; "Atlanta Catholic Colored Clinic Completes Two Years of Service," *Interracial Review*, 20 (May 1947), 80; untitled biographical sketch of "The Most Reverend Gerald P. O'Hara," folder "Catholic Committee of the South (Paul D. Williams)," box 2, Gerald P. O'Hara to Peter L. Ireton, June 12, 1940, folder 3, box 1, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Bishops of the South," January 29, 1941, 1–4, folder 17, box 2, Gerald P. O'Hara to Paul F. Tanner, February 19, 1946, folder 10, box 2, Catholic Committee of the South Papers, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana (hereafter cited as CCSP); Katherine Ann Martensen, "Region, Religion and Social Action: The Catholic Committee of the South, 1939–1956," Master's thesis (University of New Orleans, 1978), 27–34, 36; Vincent J. O'Connell, "Ten Years of the Catholic Committee of the South," May 10, 1949, 1–16 (quotations on 5), "Have You Met the Catholic Committee of the South," n.d., folder 1, box 4, series 20, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice Records, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (hereafter cited as NCCIJR).

Deanery Council of the Savannah-Atlanta Diocesan Council of Catholic Women adopted a resolution, submitted to the city's mayor and board of alderman, that called for hiring African American policemen to serve in black areas and for city housing plans to relocate African Americans to "war housing projects" away from poor housing. While the mayor was sympathetic regarding housing, city authorities rejected hiring black policemen. Subjected to threatening telephone calls, Deanery president Mrs. John Lyons Jr., resigned her position to protect her family.[6]

McNamara served as the driving force behind the CCS's Race Relations Department. In his report to the committee's annual convention held in Memphis, Tennessee, in April 1944, he denounced segregation and called on Catholics "to be militantly sympathetic with the Negro in his struggle." McNamara declared that Catholic schools should teach a race relations course, labor unions include African Americans, the federal government buy land for blacks, and the United States Congress ensure funding of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.[7]

McNamara joined the Southern Regional Council (SRC), a biracial but largely white organization established in 1944, and served on its board of directors. Headquartered in Atlanta, the council promoted the formation of human rights councils across the South, and it advocated improvements in race relations within segregation. The council's board did not declare support for racial desegregation until 1951.[8]

McNamara was more forthright in his criticism of racial discrimination. In 1946, he told his parishioners at Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, in reference to widespread African American disfranchisement in the South, that it was un-American and un-Christian that "a segment of our country's citizens will be disfranchised simply because of the color of their skin." McNamara argued in a 1947 article in *Interracial Review*, a monthly magazine published by the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, that

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6. "A Brief Sketch of the Life of Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara," folder "Catholic Committee of the South (Paul D. Williams)," box 2, CCSP; "Negro Policeman for City Sought," *Savannah Morning News*, October 25, 1943, 8 (quotation); Rita H. DeLorme, "The Ladies of Savannah Deanery Council of the N.C.C.W. Take on Racism, 1940's-Style," folder "Race Relations," no box, ADS.

7. Martensen, "Region, Religion and Social Action," 44–45 (quotation on 45).

8. Numan V. Bartley, *The New South, 1945–1980* (Baton Rouge, 1995), 29–30; Paul D. Williams, "The Southern Regional Council and Civil Rights," *Interracial Review*, 22 (January 1949), 10.

"the Catholic Committee of the South has no separatist view of the Negro and does not look upon him through segregated eyes."[9]

In 1948, McNamara addressed the Savannah Rotary Club and proclaimed that extensive miscegenation made a mockery of the idea that the South was truly segregated. He argued that most African Americans "would be happy to observe segregation, if the white man would," and "the Negro . . . does not resent segregation as such but he does resent the legal pattern of segregation which stigmatizes him and labels him a second-class citizen."[10]

In May 1949, McNamara led a workshop on race relations, attended by five hundred people, at the CCS's annual convention in Lexington, Kentucky. The workshop called for an end to segregation "in all Catholic churches," admission of African Americans to "the convent, to the brotherhood or to the priesthood," and for the abolition of segregation in Catholic education at every level from schools to colleges. Participants also called for desegregation of Catholic hospitals and their staff. However, the workshop's statement was not binding on the CCS or on southern prelates who enjoyed virtual autonomy over their dioceses.[11]

Although he remained the diocese's bishop, O'Hara had been posted abroad as regent of the apostolic nunciature in Romania since 1946. His prolonged absence ensured that the diocese would make no changes in its segregation policy, although there were no indications that O'Hara had intended to. Committed to Catholic schools as agents of evangelism, the diocese sanctioned the opening of another African American school, Our Lady Queen of Peace, in Lakeland in 1947. In 1950, O'Hara returned to the diocese with the personal title of archbishop. A year later, African American Catholics made public their dissatisfaction with segregation when the Colored Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia decided at its annual convention in Atlanta to remove colored from its title. The organization's officers later explained to O'Hara, "We felt that by using the word

9. "Rights of Negroes," *Interracial Review*, 19 (May 1946), 69 (first quotation); T. James McNamara, "The Catholic Committee of the South and the Negro," *Interracial Review*, 20 (July 1947), 102–04, here 102 (second quotation).

10. T. James McNamara, "Address to the Savannah Rotary Club," *Interracial Review*, 21 (July 1948), 102–03, here 103 (quotations).

11. "Statement of the Catholic Committee of the South, Lexington Convention, 1949" (quotations), folder 5, box 48, Joseph H. Fichter Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Loyola University Library, Loyola University New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana; Martensen, "Region, Religion and Social Action," 56–57.

'Colored' we were segregating ourselves, and we have gone on record as opposed to discrimination and segregation."[12]

The association was not alone among Catholics in rejecting segregation. In January 1951, the CCS's annual convention in Columbia, South Carolina, chose O'Hara as episcopal chairman. An estimated one thousand people, most of them white, attended the convention, which resolved that "we aim at the ultimate integration of all members our Church . . . in the religious, economic, and cultural life of the nation . . . regardless of race, color, or language." However, the resolution had no impact on diocesan segregation policy in Savannah-Atlanta or in many other southern dioceses. O'Hara wrote in June, "It is a fact well-known to all of us that the Catholic Committee of the South has been largely ineffective." The committee held its last convention two years later.[13]

Aware of widespread southern white support for segregation and suspicion of Catholics, O'Hara did not address segregation publicly or take any action against it, which might endanger Catholics. In 1951, he informed the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians in Washington, D.C. of an incident at Our Lady Queen of Peace School. O'Hara wrote: "The Ku Klux Klan is riding again. A few weeks ago some Klansmen in the neighborhood drove around the property [the school] and into the colored quarter of Lakeland. They did frighten the colored people, and we entertained fears that this action would have ill effect upon the enrolment for the present term."[14]

Although he remained the diocese's ordinary, in 1951 the Vatican posted O'Hara abroad for another lengthy spell, leaving Auxiliary Bishop Francis E. Hyland, a fellow Pennsylvanian, to run the diocese. In 1952, Hyland announced that the diocese would build a parochial high school for

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12. Katy Lockard, director of Archives and Record Management, Diocese of Savannah, email to author, January 8, 2020; Nelson J. King, Paul G. King, and E. L. Matthews to Gerald P. O'Hara, September 5, 1951 (quotation), folder 13, box 13, ADS; Sister Mary of Victory O'Brien, IHM, "Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, Ninth Bishop of Savannah (1935–1959)," in: Brown et al. comp., *One Faith, One Family*, 119–24, here 122–23.

13. "The Catholic Committee of the South. Columbia, South Carolina, January 22–24, 1951 Resolutions," 2, 7 (first quotation), folder 1, box 4, series 20, NCCIJR; Gerald P. O'Hara to Peter L. Ireton, June 30, 1951 (second quotation), folder "Catholic Committee of the South," no box, Bishop Peter L. Ireton Papers, Archives of the Diocese of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia; Martensen, "Region, Religion and Social Action," 58, 60–61, 66.

14. Sister M. Julian Griffin, V.S.C. in cooperation with Gillian Brown, *Tomorrow Comes the Song: The Story of Catholicism among the Black Population of South Georgia, 1850–1978* (Savannah, 1979), 63.

African Americans in Savannah, the first such school in Chatham County and the diocese's second black Catholic high school. In 1948, Immaculate Conception grade and high school in Augusta had repaired and expanded its facilities, following a three-year $10,000 fund raising campaign by church members and former students. Similarly demonstrating their initiative, in the 1940s African American Catholic parents in Savannah began calling for and raising funds for a Catholic high school so that their children could continue in Catholic education. Their efforts helped raise some of its $85,000 construction costs that were also funded by the Bureau of Indian and Negro Missions in Washington, D.C. The *Savannah Tribune*, an African American weekly newspaper, welcomed Hyland's announcement of the school as a "very significant move," which "could not have come at a better time." With segregation seemingly entrenched in public and Catholic institutions in the diocese, the paper welcomed the school as an opportunity for a high school education superior to that provided by poorly resourced black public schools. Opened as Blessed Pius X High School in the fall of 1952, the school initially began with the ninth and tenth grades.[15]

Most white lay Catholics in the diocese, like other whites, likely favored segregation, but there were also some who supported integration or were at least ambivalent toward segregation. In 1953, Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh merged an African American and a white Catholic church in Newton Grove despite substantial opposition from whites. He also issued a pastoral letter banning segregation in the diocese's churches. Joseph P. O'Connor, a Valdosta layman, congratulated Waters for his action, writing him: "You have reaffirmed the Lord's teachings."[16]

In the summer of 1953, John J. O'Connor, a member of the faculties of Georgetown and Catholic universities in Washington, D.C., surveyed

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15. Untitled biographical sketches of the Most Reverend Francis E. Hyland, folder 1, box 5, Bishop Francis Hyland Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Atlanta, Atlanta, Georgia (hereafter cited as AAA); "Announce Plans for Catholic Negro High School in Savannah" and "Negro Weekly in Savannah Praises High School Plans" (quotations), *The Bulletin*, April 26, 1952, 20; DeLorme, "Grounded in History"; "St. Pius X High School Alumni Celebrates PiusFest 2017," *Savannah Herald*, August 23, 2017, retrieved October 2, 2019 from http://savannahherald.net/st-pius-x-high-school-alumni-celebrates-piusfest-p11843-1.htm; McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah*, 120. In 1955, Blessed Pius X High School was renamed St. Pius X High School to reflect the late pope's canonization.

16. Joseph P. O'Connor to Vincent S. Waters, June 28, 1953, scrapbook "Ban on Segregation 1953 volume II," Archives of the Diocese of Raleigh, Raleigh, North Carolina. On the desegregation of Newton Grove, see Blake Slonecker, "A Church Apart: Catholic Desegregation in Newton Grove, North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 83 (July 2006), 322–54.

Catholic educational desegregation in the South and border states. He wrote of Georgia, "The feeling here is that until the unjust law of segregation is repealed, it is necessary to maintain separate but unsegregated churches, otherwise the needs of the rank and file of people will not be met. Most people fight shy of disobeying a State law, even though it is an unjust law."[17]

In January 1954, Hyland reported that in the previous year "in a goodly number of places where there are no Negro parishes or missions, I confirmed some colored converts. These colored people attend our white churches and there has been little or no trouble about it. This will continue to be the case as long as our Catholic Negroes remain a small minority." Hyland declared that he had resisted requests to initiate new black missions, reasoning that secular change might make that unnecessary because "It is just possible that the pattern of segregation in the South may change sooner than anyone realizes," and, in any case, recent African American converts were "of a superior type and they are being gradually integrated into our white parishes."[18]

In May 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. In November, Georgia elected Marvin Griffin governor on a promise to resist school desegregation. In 1956, the Georgia General Assembly passed legislation that would deny state funds to any public school that desegregated, and it adopted an interposition resolution that declared *Brown* null and void. A poll in the *Catholic Digest* in the same year found that seventy-six percent of white Catholics (and seventy-five percent of white Protestants) in the South supported segregation and nineteen percent integration, with five percent having no opinion. *Sign* magazine, published by the Passionist Fathers in Union City, New Jersey, reported that in Georgia, "There is much firm opinion in favor of, and in opposition to, continued segregation on the personal level." However, many white Catholics thought that the Church would not need to tackle the issue for "some time to come," and many white parents declared "they would take their children out of parochial schools if integration was ordered." Although African American Catholics wanted segregation completely overturned, *Sign* reported, "they are not trying to force the issue. Catholic Negro leaders, like white leaders, are convinced that progress in this direction will be slow." Consequently,

17. John J. O'Connor, "Catholic Educational Integration," *Interracial Review*, 28 (May 1954), 81.

18. *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1954, 7–12, ASSJ.

"Negroes are working untiringly to better conditions in geographically segregated parishes."[19]

Georgia's Catholic clergy regarded the desegregation issue as "explosive" and the church's position as "most delicate." Consequently, the Catholic Church had "done nothing to push the idea of ending segregation" in its institutions. Hyland had made only one public statement about desegregation, telling a news service that "I regret very much to say that the prospect is not too encouraging for the immediate future, due primarily to the present political climate in Georgia." However, because of "integration elsewhere, including some of the states of the South," he did not believe that "the pattern of segregation can endure too long in this state." Hyland's own sympathies were unequivocal. He declared: "The Church sympathizes wholeheartedly with the Negro people of Georgia and elsewhere in their aspirations to obtain those rights and recognitions to which they have every claim and title."[20]

In July 1956, the Vatican appointed Hyland the first bishop of the new Diocese of Atlanta, while O'Hara, still absent abroad, remained ordinary of the Diocese of Savannah until resigning the position in November 1959 to concentrate on his role as apostolic delegate to Great Britain. Regardless of O'Hara's absence, Georgia's policy of massive resistance ensured that the Catholic Church would not risk inflaming anti-Catholicism by desegregating ahead of secular change.[21]

Entrusted to run the diocese after Hyland's departure, Thomas J. McDonough became Auxiliary Bishop of Savannah in January 1957. Born in 1911, McDonough was a native of Philadelphia, who had not been reared in the Jim Crow South. Unwilling to depart from established practices when militant segregationists dominated state politics, he continued segregation in the Diocese of Savannah[22] (Figure 1).

By 1959, the diocese had eight black churches, three of them in Savannah, and the remainder in Albany, Augusta, Columbus, Lakeland,

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19. Bartley, *Rise of Massive Resistance*, 68–69, 131, 132; Manis, *Macon Black and White*, 171–77; "The White-Negro Problem," *Catholic Digest*, 20 (June 1956), 2–5, here 4; Patrick J. McDonnell, "Georgia: Catholics Must Go Carefully," *Sign*, 35 (July 1956), 18, 70, here 18 (first, second, fourth and fifth quotations), 70 (third quotation).

20. *Ibid*., 18 (first and second quotations), 70 (subsequent quotations).

21. Untitled biographical sketches of the Most Reverend Francis E. Hyland; O'Brien, "Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara," 124.

22. "Biographical Note" in inventory to Bishop Thomas J. McDonough Papers, ADS; "Louisville To Be Third See For New Archbishop," *Southern Cross*, March 2, 1967, 1.

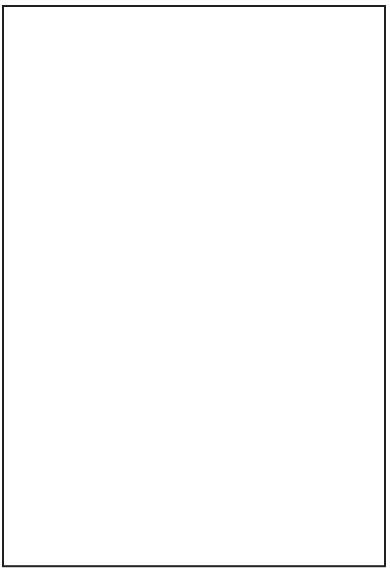

Figure 1. Thomas J. McDonough (1911–98), Auxiliary Bishop of St. Augustine (1947–57), Auxiliary Bishop of Savannah (1957–60), Bishop of Savannah (1960–67), Archbishop of Louisville (1967–81). Courtesy of the Diocese of Savannah Archives & Records Management Office.

and Macon. There were eight black parochial schools: four in Savannah; two in Augusta; and the others in Lakeland and Macon. The white Catholic priests and nuns who taught in black Catholic schools, sometimes along with black lay people, were mostly foreign, recruited from Ireland and Britain. They rejected racial prejudice and demanded the best from their students. Ormonde E. Lewis, who graduated from St. Pius X High School in 1963, recalled that his teachers "did not address race per se." Rather, the school taught its students to develop and value their abilities. Charles J. Elmore, who also graduated in 1963, explained "We were taught not to be racist, and we were taught to have some humility, but also to recognize adversity, and when it's wrong you had to stand up but not screaming and shouting and cussing. Use your intellect to fight racism and ignorance." He added, "we were taught the importance of self-reliance; that you could be as good as you wanted to be" (Figure 2). Although they reluctantly tolerated rather than challenged segregation, teachers in Catholic schools occasionally ran afoul of its strictures. In the late 1950s, two Franciscan Sisters, who were taking a group of children from Savannah's St. Benedict's School shopping, refused to leave a downtown department store

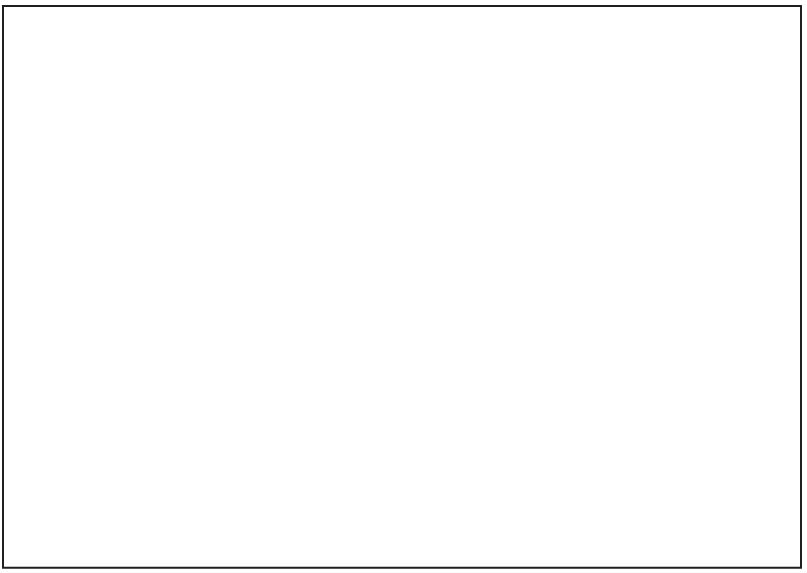

FIGURE 2. Saint Pius X basketball team, c. 1960. Courtesy of the Diocese of Savannah Archives & Records Management Office.

until their charges were fed after lunch counter staff had initially denied them service.[23]

Their expectations raised by the *Brown* decision and the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and 1956, young African Americans in the South were becoming increasingly impatient with the persistence of segregation. In February 1960, African American students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat in at lunch counters that refused them service. The sit-ins quickly spread to many other southern cities, including Savannah in March. Black leaders also organized an economic boycott of lunch counters in downtown Savannah department stores and demanded that they desegregate their facilities, serve black customers lunch, hire black workers, and treat black customers

23. "Report on Negro Work and Application for Aid Presented to Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and Indians," September 21, 1959, folder "Race Relations," no box, ADS; Ormonde E. Lewis, interview by author, August 17, 2005 (first quotation); "Dr. Charles J. Elmore on St. Pius X High School," September 13, 2018 (second and third quotations), retrieved September 1, 2019 from https://omny.fm/shows/ from-the-news-room-savannah-now/listen-dr-charles-j-elmore-on-st-pius-x-high-schoo; Ken Foskett, *Judging Thomas: The Life and Times of Clarence Thomas* (New York, 2004), 64–66.

courteously. Although black Catholic churches did not stage civil rights meetings, in May, St. Pius X High School hosted a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) mass meeting of over 2,500 people. Dr. Carl R. Jordan, a member of Most Pure Heart of Mary Church, was the event's main speaker, and Father Dennis Begley, S.M.A. of St. Anthony of Padua gave the invocation. Students in black Catholic schools generally did not participate in civil rights direct action. Robert DeShay, a pupil at St. Benedict's, recalled, "Most of us in Catholic school, we came from very conservative, nonconfrontational families." However, some of St. Pius X High School's students joined the movement, although they participated as individuals rather than as a Catholic group. Myers Anderson, a Catholic convert and St. Benedict parishioner, was a long-time member of the Savannah chapter of the NAACP and provided bail for demonstrators. The chapter also had other black Catholic members.[24]

In May 1960, two months after the Vatican had appointed him Bishop of Savannah, McDonough met with priests who served in the diocese's black churches and missions. He told them that in speaking to white groups about civil rights they should emphasize that the Mystical Body of Christ, the body of believers with Christ as its head, recognized no distinctions based on race. McDonough stated that while priests could belong to the NAACP, they "should not be too active in it." He indicated that he would make a public statement on civil rights in the fall to be preceded by church pastors spending three or four weeks preparing parishioners for its release.[25]

The statement never came as McDonough waited to see if Georgia would abandon massive resistance and accept the recommendations of the Committee on Schools. Appointed by the state legislature in early 1960 to reconsider the segregation issue, the committee, headed by Atlanta banker John A. Sibley, recommended discarding massive resistance in favor of local option on public school desegregation. The bishop also became convinced that it would be better if he acted in concert with neighboring Catholic prelates. Accordingly, on January 3, 1961, McDonough telephoned Bishop Paul J. Hallinan of Charleston and suggested that they and Bishop Hyland

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24. Foskett, *Judging Thomas*, 43–44, 55, 67–68 (quotation on 68); McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah*, 56–57; [Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.] untitled note "May 20 [1963], Savannah, Georgia," folder 4, box 5, series 33, NCCIJR; Lewis interview; Tuck, "A City Too Dignified to Hate," 542, 546–47; Frederic O. Sargent, *The Civil Rights Revolution: Events and Leaders, 1955–1968* (Jefferson, NC and London, 2004), 46–47.

25. "Bishop McDonough Named to Savannah Diocese," *The Bulletin*, March 19, 1960, 1; "Meeting of Bishop with Priests in Colored Apostolate," May 17, 1960, 5 (quotation) folder 10, box 24, ADS.

meet in Savannah to discuss issuing a joint statement on racial issues. On January 11, the University of Georgia admitted two African Americans, including Charlayne Hunter, a Catholic convert from Atlanta, under federal court order. A campus riot followed. Called into special session by Governor Ernest Vandiver, the legislature responded by adopting the Sibley Committee's recommendations. The *Bulletin*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia, condemned the violence on the Athens campus and praised the state for showing "her determination that the rule of law shall not surrender to the rule of rocks and epithets."[26]

On January 12, Bishop McDonough of Savannah, Bishop Hyland of Atlanta, and Bishop Hallinan of Charleston met in Savannah. In preparation for the meeting, both McDonough and Hallinan had drafted public statements indicating their intention to desegregate parochial schools in their dioceses when they judged conditions safe. Faced, however, with objections from Father John Cuddy, his superintendent of schools, McDonough had abandoned the idea of issuing a statement. Nevertheless, Hallinan persuaded his fellow bishops that they should individually issue identical Lenten pastoral desegregation letters in their dioceses.[27]

Hallinan drafted the pastoral letter, which after incorporating changes suggested by the two Georgia bishops, went to their respective priests on February 15. Read from pulpits on Sunday February 19, the letter cited Jesus' admonition that "you love one another," the Declaration of Independence, and a November 1958 statement by the United States Catholic bishops condemning segregation, before explaining that Catholic schools would desegregate "as soon as this can be done with safety to the children and the schools" and "not later than the public schools are open to all pupils." The letter added, "The Negro schools will be continued as long as there is need for them. Their purpose is to teach and reach the Negro, not to segregate him."[28]

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26. "Catholic Negro Co-Ed Walks Tight Rope In Integration of Georgia University," *Alamo Messenger*, January 20, 1961, 1, 7; Bartley, *New South*, 250, 253; Thomas J. Shelley, *Paul J. Hallinan: First Archbishop of Atlanta* (Wilmington, DE, 1989), 121–22; "The Image of Georgia," *The Bulletin*, January 21, 1961, 4 (quotation).

27. Paul J. Hallinan to Thomas J. McDonough, January 18, 1961, Paul J. Hallinan to Martin C. Murphy, February 7, 1961, folder 720.3, no box, Archives of the Diocese of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina (hereafter cited as ADC); Shelley, *Paul J. Hallinan*, 122.

28. Hallinan to McDonough, January 18, 1961; Hallinan to Murphy, February 7, 1961; Paul J. Hallinan to John E. Kelly, February 15, 1961, folder 720.3, no box, ADC; Francis E. Hyland to Paul J. Hallinan, January 25, February 10, 1961, folder 49, box 036/6, AAA; McDonough pastoral letter, February 15, 1961, 1–4 (first quotation on p. 1; second, third, and fourth quotations on 3).

Two days later, McDonough wrote, "I have already received much abuse because of the statement I made." However, he also received a few supportive messages. Dr. and Mrs. Carl R. Jordan of Savannah, an African American couple, telegraphed McDonough their congratulations and assured him that "You can count on the Jordan family all the way." Hyland and Hallinan also received some support alongside negative responses.[29]

In comments to the *Savannah Morning News*, Cuddy played down the prospects of parochial school desegregation. He argued that because of the quality of black Catholic schools, "it is very possible that no Negro will ever apply to enter a white Catholic school here." Cuddy added that even after public schools desegregated, a Catholic school located in an area undergoing racial strife might not desegregate. He said that his parishioners at St. Michael's, a white church in Savannah Beach (Tybee Island), had "mixed emotions" about the pastoral letter, but there had been "no really violent reaction."[30]

Although the pastoral letter had promised that the Diocese of Savannah would prepare Catholics for desegregation by educating them in "Catholic teaching on racial justice" by means of "Pastoral letters, sermons, study clubs and school instruction," no action followed. By contrast, Hallinan launched an educative program in his Charleston diocese. Atlanta was the only one of the three dioceses facing federal court-ordered public school desegregation. In April 1961, Bishop Hyland claimed that "Due to illness, brought on principally by the racial issue, I have not been able to do anything beyond the issuance of the pastoral letter" including holding "a scheduled meeting with Bishop Hallinan and Bishop McDonough, to compare notes." When Atlanta began public school desegregation in September 1961, the diocese's Catholic schools remained segregated.[31]

The Diocese of Savannah offered no educational program in race relations, but Monsignor T. James McNamara represented the diocese on a com-

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29. Dr. and Mrs. Carl R. Jordan telegram to Thomas J. McDonough, February 20, 1961 (second quotation), Kathleen M. Hardy telegram to Thomas J. McDonough, February 20, 1961, Thomas J. McDonough to Mrs. Francis Percival McIntire, February 21, 1961 (first quotation), folder 10, box 24, ADS; Shelley, *Paul J. Hallinan*, 124–26.

30. "Catholic Bishop Orders Integration Readiness," *Savannah Morning News*, February 20, 1961, 5B (quotations), 8B.

31. McDonough pastoral letter, February 15, 1961, 3 (first and second quotations); Claude Sitton, "Catholic Bishops Vow Integration," *New York Times*, February 20, 1961, 28; Francis E. Hyland to L. J. Twomey, April 3, 1961 (third and fourth quotations), folder 8, box 21, Louis J. Twomey Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Loyola University Library, Loyola University New Orleans; Sarratt, *Ordeal of Desegregation*, 279.

mittee of civic and religious leaders, formed at Mayor Malcolm Maclean's urging by Albert R. Stuart, Episcopalian Bishop of Georgia, to negotiate lunch counter desegregation. An agreement reached in October 1961 made Savannah the first city in Georgia to desegregate lunch counters.[32]

By contrast, the Diocese of Savannah continued segregated institutions. In February 1962, Benjamin Muse, a white Catholic convert from Manassas, Virginia, visited the dioceses of Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah on behalf of the SRC to report on their efforts toward implementing their pastoral letters of a year before. Muse found that "little or no progress had been made in the dioceses of Savannah and Atlanta." Bishop Hyland, he noted, had retired in October 1961 after "a nervous breakdown, in which the failure of Catholic schools to desegregate along with public schools was to some extent both cause and effect."[33]

Muse found that Savannah diocesan school superintendent Cuddy "talked very much like a restrained Southern segregationist and only grudgingly conceded that segregation was wrong and should be ended." Cuddy claimed that no African Americans had applied for admission to white Catholic schools, although Bishop McDonough told Muse that four black students had applied in Savannah and one in Albany. Muse reported that McDonough was "deeply conscious of the wrongness of race discrimination and segregation . . . troubled over his inability to move forward" and "obsessed with the difficulties and 'danger' in this field." When Atlanta got a new bishop, McDonough said the three dioceses' prelates "should get together and see where we are in this matter." In February 1962, the Vatican appointed Paul J. Hallinan as the first Archbishop of Atlanta, and, in June, he announced that the archdiocese's parochial schools would desegregate in September. The Very Reverend Harold J. Rainey, chancellor of the archdiocese, told the press that the decision did not apply to the Diocese of Savannah.[34]

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32. "Mediation—Savannah, Georgia, Summer 1963," 3–4, folder 1, box 25, ADS; Tuck, "A City Too Dignified to Hate," 542–43, 546–47, 552.

33. Andrew J. McDonald to Henry Cabirac Jr., July 30, 1962, folder 15, box 1, Catholic Council on Human Relations Papers, Amistad Research Center; Benjamin Muse, memorandum "The 1961 Desegregation Initiative of the Catholic Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta," March 2, 1962, 1–4 (first quotation on p. 1; second quotation on 4), folder 4, box 5, series 33, NCCIJR.

34. Muse, memorandum "The 1961 Desegregation Initiative of the Catholic Bishops of Charleston, Savannah and Atlanta," March 2, 1962, 3–4 (first quotation on 3; second, third and fourth quotations on 4); "Move Won't Affect Savannah Schools," *Savannah Morning News*, press clipping, June 11, 1962, vertical file "Integration—Chatham County," Savannah

However, in 1963, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Chatham County Board of Education to begin desegregation of at least one grade of public schools in September. In response, McDonough announced in a pastoral letter on June 23 that Catholic elementary and high schools would desegregate all grades in September. The bishop explained that he had consulted "with priests and teachers in all parts of the Diocese over the past few months, [and] they have concurred unanimously with my decision." By informing pastors that "Only Catholic negro children will be accepted" in white schools, McDonough ensured that school desegregation would be limited and less likely to produce significant white opposition.[35]

The bishop told the press, "I am confident that most of our people will receive this decision in good grace." The few extant letters in the diocese's archives from Catholics on the subject are mostly congratulatory. Florence M. Fox of Savannah expressed her happiness and pride, telling McDonough that his action "may even make it a little easier for the other [public] schools to put aside their pride and prejudice and do likewise." Even some Catholics who opposed McDonough's decision were prepared to accept it. White layman Philip R. Viviani of Macon wrote, "I will abide and accept your decision *only* because of my children. Their education and welfare are more important than my feelings in this matter." McDonough replied that he had followed his "conscience" and expressed "deep regret I was unable to announce this decision several years ago."[36]

At the time of the pastoral letter's release, the city of Savannah was experiencing a pause for negotiations after more than two weeks of civil rights demonstrations that demanded desegregation of movie theaters, hotels, motels, and restaurants. Mayor Maclean once more asked Bishop Stuart to involve the city's clergy in efforts to reach a settlement. A meeting in Stuart's office of five white laity, five African American leaders and five white clergymen, including McDonough, designated the five clergy to visit

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Public Library, Savannah, Georgia; Claude Sitton, "Atlanta's Catholic Schools to Integrate in September," *New York Times*, June 11, 1962, 1.

35. Sarratt, *Ordeal of Desegregation*, 188–89, 243–45; Thomas J. McDonough to "Reverend and dear Father," June 21, 1963 (second quotation), folder 2, box 25, ADS; "Diocesan Schools Adopt Open Admissions Policy" and Thomas J. McDonough, pastoral letter, *Southern Cross*, June 29, 1963, 1 (first quotation); "Catholics to Integrate Schools in September," *Savannah Morning News*, June 24, 1963, 6B, 8B.

36. "Catholics to Integrate Schools in September," 8B (first quotation); Florence M. Fox to Thomas J. McDonough (second quotation), n.d., Philip R. Viviani to Thomas J. McDonough, June 24, 1963 (third quotation), Thomas J. McDonough to Philip R. Viviani, July 1, 1963 (fourth and fifth quotations), folder 2, box 25, ADS.

businesses that had not desegregated. At the request of more moderate black clergy, McDonough persuaded Hosea Williams of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters, an offshoot of the NAACP, to call off the demonstrations. McDonough also tried unsuccessfully to get the restaurant owners to desegregate. Negotiations at City Hall between the main parties proved fruitless.[37]

The Catholic Church still enjoyed a degree of trust and influence in Savannah's black community. St. Pius X High School provided one of few places where African Americans could hold mass civil rights rallies. And at least one Catholic priest, Father William V. Coleman, a Connecticut native and rector of Saint John Vianney Minor Seminary in Grimball's Point, attended other civil rights meetings in Savannah.[38]

Renewed civil rights protests brought clashes with police and rock throwing. In response, thirty-one clergy, including McDonough, Stuart, and Bishop John Owen Smith of the South Georgia Methodist Conference, issued an interdenominational statement calling for a return to peace and order, and resumption of negotiations to ensure that "recognition and guarantees be given to the rights of all citizens." The Catholic signatories included Monsignor Andrew J. McDonald, chancellor of the Diocese of Savannah, Monsignor T. James McNamara, Father Raymond Bane, S.M.A., pastor of St. Benedict's, and Monsignor John D. Toomey, diocesan pastor of St. James Church. The *Southern Cross*, a weekly diocesan newspaper started by McDonough in 1963, appealed for "peace with justice for all men" and condemned what it described as "rioting and violence" in the city. With McDonough's permission, Toomey also took action to resolve the crisis by trying to mediate a settlement[39] (Figure 3).

Toomey was a native Georgian, a cradle Catholic who had been born in Augusta in 1914. His insider status as a white southerner, albeit a Catholic, and his awareness of southern white sensibilities enabled him to communicate effectively. Toomey found the city's business community, experiencing falling sales, receptive. After the businessmen appointed two

37. "Mediation—Savannah, Georgia, Summer 1963," 4–6; Henry Cabirac to Jack Sisson, September 20, 1963, folder 7, box 1, series 33, NCCIJR.

38. "Fr. Coleman Named Pastor," *Southern Cross*, January 22, 1970, 1; Foskett, *Judging Thomas*, 73, 76, 78.

39. Tuck, "A City Too Dignified to Hate," 547; "Racial Peace Hopes Grow," *Savannah Evening Press*, July 13, 1963, 1, 8 (first quotation); "Racial Peace Is Everybody's Job," *Southern Cross*, July 18, 1963, 1; "In Search of Peace," *Southern Cross*, July 18, 1963 (second and third quotations); "Mediation—Savannah, Georgia, Summer 1963," 4.

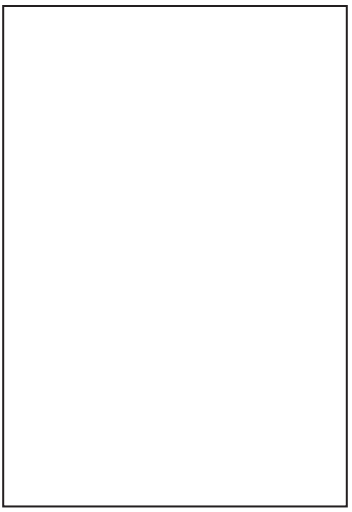

Figure 3. Msgr. John Downy Toomey (1914–70), pastor of Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, Milledgeville (1949–56), pastor of Saint James Church, Savannah (1956–69), pastor of St. Joseph Church, Macon (1969–d. 70). Courtesy of the Diocese of Savannah Archives & Records Management Office.

negotiating committees, they included Toomey as the sole clergyman in the negotiations, which produced a comprehensive downtown desegregation agreement. Implemented by October 1, 1963, the agreement preceded the federal Civil Rights Act desegregating public accommodations by ten months. The *New York Times* credited the Catholic Church with playing "a major role in bringing representatives of the white and Negro communities to the negotiating table" and praised Toomey as "an unsung hero," who had taken the leading role in the negotiations.[40]

In September 1963, twenty African Americans enrolled in the twelfth grade of two white Savannah public schools as Chatham County began school desegregation under federal court order. The fifteen blacks who joined

40. "Death Claims Msgr. Toomey," *Southern Cross*, January 1, 1970, 1; "Mediation - Savannah, Georgia, Summer 1963," 6–7; "Racial Peace Is Everybody's Job," 1; M. S. Handler, "Savannah Truce Shaped by Priest," *New York Times*, August 4, 1963, 64 (second quotation); M. S. Handler, "Savannah is Calm Over Integration," *New York Times*, September 2, 1963, 6 (first quotation); Homer Bigart, " Savannah is Tranquil," *New York Times*, July 19, 1964, p. 1; untitled, August 1, 1963, folder 5, box 1, A. Pratt Adams, Jr., Collection, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia; Thomas J. McDonough to Henry Cabirac, August 2, 1963, folder 4, box 5, series 33, NCCIJR; Tuck, "A City Too Dignified to Hate," 542.

Savannah High School were spat on, attacked, and met with the chant, "Two, four, six eight, we don't want to integrate." At the same time, ten African American children enrolled in formerly white Catholic schools in the city of Savannah, and twenty-seven blacks joined other previously white parochial schools elsewhere in the diocese. McDonough wrote to Hallinan, "The desegregation of our Catholic Schools took place without any unpleasant incident." However, McDonough noted that "Some of our Catholic White parents have withdrawn their children in opposition to our present policy. Thanks be to God, however, the numbers were very few—but very vocal."[41] The largest contingent of African Americans, numbering fifteen, enrolled in St. Teresa School, a grammar school and Albany's only Catholic school with an overall enrollment of five hundred students. Father Martin Bangert, O.F.M., pastor of St. Clare Negro Mission, wrote soon after, "The first P.T.A. meeting has already been held on an integrated basis. Some of the Negro parents have been appointed or elected to head some of the school committees. All the Negro children love the school, feel right at home in it, and seem to be doing well." However, McDonough, Bangert noted, had faced opposition, "Many nasty letters and phone calls were received by him [McDonough]. Some from crackpots, fallen away Catholics, etc."[42]

Despite desegregation of their enrollment, the former white schools that had admitted African Americans did not integrate them into athletics and school dances. While complete integration in schools remained the goal, in November 1963 Cuddy explained, "At the present moment, it seems that our policy is to allow each high school to work out whatever program it can with its own problems in its own community." Cuddy also noted that although the diocese's Catholic Youth Organization "has been integrated for several years . . . it still arranges separate white and Negro dance programs at its annual diocesan convention."[43]

African American and white Catholic adults remained largely separate from one another. In 1964, the newly formed John F. Kennedy Council of

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41. Tuck, "A City Too Dignified to Hate," 539 (first quotation); Handler, "Savannah is Calm Over Integration," 6; Jack [Sisson], memorandum to Matt [Ahmann] "Albany, Ga. (Savannah diocese)," September 8, 1964, folder 2, box 4, series 33, NCCIJR; Thomas J. McDonough to Paul J. Hallinan, September 5, 1963 (second and third quotations), folder 1, box 25, ADS.

42. Father Martin, "Operation Understanding," n.d., 1–2 (first quotation on p. 1; second quotation on p. 2), folder 2, box 4, series 33, NCCIJR; Memorandum, Jack [Sisson] to Matt [Ahmann], "Albany, Ga. (Savannah diocese)," September 8, 1964, folder 2, box 4, series 33, NCCIJR; "Georgia School to Integrate," *New York Times*, September 1, 1963, 41.

43. John Cuddy to "Dear Fleming," November 17, 1963, folder 707.1, no box, ADC.

the Knights of Columbus, the Augusta chapter of a national Catholic laymen's benevolent and fraternal organization whose councils tended to reject black applicants, became the first council in the state to admit blacks and enrolled seven African Americans. However, most Catholic bodies in the diocese remained unwilling to act ahead of secular desegregation.[44]

In May 1964, the *Southern Cross* called on U.S. Congressmen "to stop letting themselves be bullied by racists in the Senate and out" and pass the civil rights bill originally proposed by President John F. Kennedy, which the editorial endorsed as "designed to protect the God-given and constitutionally guaranteed rights presently denied most of America's 20,000,000 Negroes." After the bill's enactment in July, thirty-nine of Savannah's Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergymen published a full page paid statement in the city's two daily newspapers. The statement commended the new law's intention "to guarantee the rights and insure the justice due to every person without discrimination." Signatories included McDonough, McDonald, McNamara, Toomey, Father Francis Donohue, the editor of the *Southern Cross*, and several other Catholic priests.[45]

The Diocese of Savannah desegregated more institutions after the Civil Rights Act, including the Savannah Deanery Council of Catholic Women and the annual retreat for Catholic laymen held at Camp Villa Marie on the campus of Saint John Vianney Minor Seminary. Coleman insisted that the seminary desegregate following the bill's passage. It admitted two African American students, Richard Chisolm and Clarence Thomas, in the fall. However, their experience demonstrated that desegregation was not the same as integration, which presumed a reciprocal relationship among equals. White students refused to sit by their black classmates at meal times, ignored them during the day, and racially taunted them in their dormitories at night. Thomas recalled, "It was hard because it was white. You still had a society that said you weren't supposed to do the same things white people did." White student Mark Everson later admitted, "Some of us were real racist jerks to him." Tired of his treatment,

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44. "K. of C. 'Invites' Qualified Negroes," press clipping, February 1964, SC-1-10-2043, Knights of Columbus Supreme Council Archives, New Haven, Connecticut; "Southern Field Service Report for November 1963 through September, 1964—A Survey of Activities; and General Observations," folder 8, box 4, series 30, NCCIJR.

45. "Civil Rights and the Great Commandment," *Southern Cross*, May 28, 1964, 1 (first and second quotations); John D. Toomey to "Reverend and Dear Father," July 10, 1964, folder 3, box 25, ADS; "A Statement to the Citizens of Savannah and Chatham County" (third quotation), *Savannah Morning News*, July 8, 1964, 8 and *Savannah Evening News*, July 8, 1964, 3A.

Chisolm left at the end of his freshman year in 1965. Thomas, now the seminary's sole black student, graduated in 1967 and left the South.[46]

In June 1965, Coleman, who tutored Thomas, wrote a column in the *Southern Cross* in which he claimed that "the overwhelming majority of their [the civil rights movement's] responsible demands are clearly in line with their dignity as God's children." Reader Philip R. Viviani replied that the movement's demonstrations produced violence and its "constant griping and moaning only alienates many white people." Furthermore, he insisted that the movement was "riddled with Communist elements." Wade M. Simmons, an African American Catholic from Savannah, responded: "The average Negro has never received and is not receiving what he is entitled to legally," and he argued that "demonstrations and violence" were "the only ways, as long as the entrenched White resists the legal and Christian methods which Negro people have used for the past fifty years."[47]

In June 1965, five of the six bishops of the Province of Atlanta, representing the dioceses of Atlanta, Charleston, Miami, Raleigh, and Savannah, and Charles B. McLaughlin, Auxiliary Bishop of Raleigh, issued a joint pastoral letter that supported civil rights. Inspired by the Second Vatican Council, held in Rome between 1962 and 1965, that emphasized the Church's duty to address the world's problems, the letter condemned "The denial to Negroes of decent housing, education and job opportunities, and even the right to vote" and claimed that "Every man is morally due the blessings of liberty and justice."[48]

In August 1965, days after African Americans had rioted in the Watts section of Los Angeles after a clash with police, Monsignor Toomey, a member of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, published an open letter to Martin Luther King Jr. in the *Southern Cross*. Referring to the riot, Toomey wrote, "it is still wrong to dis-

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46. "Villa Marie Retreat," *Southern Cross*, September 3, 1964, 3; John P. Sisson to Francis Donohue, October 9, 1964, folder 4, box 5, series 33, NCCIJR; Foskett, *Judging Thomas*, 73–75, 78–79 (second quotation on p. 79), 81 (first quotation), 83, 85, 87–88.

47. Foskett, *Judging Thomas*, 85; William V. Coleman, "On Courage," *Southern Cross*, June 3, 1965, 4 (first quotation); Philip R. Viviani to the *Southern Cross*, June 17, 1965, 5 (second and third quotations); Wade M. Simmons to the *Southern Cross*, August 5, 1965, 5 (fourth, fifth, and sixth quotations).

48. "Pentecost Statement by Bishops of Province," *Southern Cross*, June 3, 1965, 4. A critic of the civil rights movement, Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley of St. Augustine, the sixth prelate, did not sign the statement. On Hurley's opposition to the movement, see Charles R. Gallagher, "The Catholic Church, Martin Luther King Jr., and the March in St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 83 (Fall 2004), 149–72.

obey the law, to flout authority, to kill, to injure and to steal." He appealed to King to "take your peace mission to Los Angeles immediately," rather than have his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, expend its efforts assisting local civil rights campaigns in Georgia. Toomey did not mention that most of the thirty-four people who died in Watts were African Americans killed by police and National Guardsmen.[49]

In response, Father Timothy O'Dwyer, S.M.A. of St. Pius X High School wrote that in view of the continuance of segregation despite its abolition in law, "Let the white legislators show as much respect for law as they request the Negro to have." W. W. Law, president of the Savannah NAACP, declared that Toomey had been silent about recent civil rights related murders in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, and had not joined civil rights protests in Savannah. Toomey, Laws wrote, should urge Cardinal Francis McIntyre of Los Angeles to lift his ban on clergy involvement in the civil rights struggle or preaching on the issue.[50]

Although Catholic clergy differed in their responses to the civil rights movement, by September 1965 the Diocese of Savannah had reportedly desegregated all of its diocesan facilities. In January 1967, McDonough wrote that "many parishioners who attended formerly so-called Negro parishes are now being identified with so-called white parishes." However, a year later, Monsignor Andrew J. McDonald, acting as diocesan administrator, noted that older African Americans "are not inclined to make changes" and preferred to stay in black churches. The diocese's leaders interpreted desegregation largely as meaning African Americans joining formerly white institutions rather than whites also attending traditionally black schools and churches. The diocese's closure of Immaculate Conception High School in Augusta in 1967 provided the first indication that desegregation would mostly entail the sacrifice of black Catholic institutions.[51]

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49. John D. Toomey, "An Open Letter to Dr. Martin Luther King," *Southern Cross*, August 19, 1965, 6 (quotations); Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1992* (New York, 1993), 185–87.

50. Timothy O'Dwyer to the *Southern Cross*, September 2, 1965, 5 (quotation); W. W. Law to Monsignor John D. Toomey, *Southern Cross*, September 2, 1965, 5; Andria Segedy, "St. Pius X history: Savannah churches, community opened doors to classical education during segregation," September 17, 2018, retrieved March 2, 2020 from https://www.savannahnow.com/entertainmentlife/20180915/st-pius-x-history-savannah-churches-community-opened-doors-to-classical-education-during-segregation+&cd=6&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk.

51. Gerard E. Sherry, "Racial Justice, Racial Progress Divides Georgians," *N.C.W.C. News Service*, September 3, 1965, folder "Georgia," box 45282.02, Subject Files—Hallinan, AAA; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1967, 12–14 (first quotation), January 1968,

While the diocese no longer segregated its institutions as policy, many white Catholics had not accepted the change. In October 1966, the *Southern Cross* noted, "There are many Catholics who have chosen to ignore the Church's clear teaching on the subject [of segregation]." But there was also some degree of acceptance. In 1967, the Savannah Diocesan Council of Catholic Men unanimously adopted resolutions that supported open housing and called for the elimination of de facto segregation in public and Catholic schools.[52]

Much like in other southern cities, such as Richmond, Virginia, and Atlanta, many whites, including Catholics, responded to public school desegregation, fear of crime, and a desire for better homes by leaving Savannah for surrounding areas within commuting distance, such as west Chatham County and growing suburbs in Effingham and Bryan counties. As a result, residential segregation increasingly undermined the diocese's efforts to integrate its institutions.[53]

The issue of how to eliminate de facto black and white Catholic schools fell to Gerard L. Frey, installed as Bishop of Savannah in August 1967. Born in New Orleans in 1914, Frey had spent his life in the Archdiocese of New Orleans and came to his new diocese supportive of civil rights and determined to oversee the completion of diocesan desegregation. Within a few months, Frey began transferring black parishes from religious orders to diocesan priests, hoping, he said, to "make our Negro Catholics believe us when we tell them that no distinctions are made in their regard, as far as the Church is concerned."[54]

12–14 (second quotation), ASSJ; DeLorme, "Grounded in History." Staffed by the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis, Allegany, New York, Our Lady Queen of Peace School in Lakeland closed in 1966, when the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who ran Our Lady Queen of Peace Parish, withdrew. Brown et al. comp., *One Faith, One Family*, 133, 332; Lockard email to author, January 8, 2020.

52. "Perplexing Election," *Southern Cross*, October 27, 1966, 4 (quotation); "Savannah Council Backs Integration and Open Housing," *Georgia Bulletin*, October 19, 1967, 5.

53. Lesley Conn, "A diverse and divided city," *Savannah Morning News*, January 30, 2011, retrieved February 25, 2020 from https://www.savannahnow.com/article/20110130/news/301309894+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk; Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton and Oxford, 2005), 234–51; Robert A. Pratt, *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954–89* (Charlottesville, 1992); Hamilton Lombard, "Richmond's quiet transformation," April 7, 2015, retrieved March 2, 2020 from http://statchatva.org/2015/04/07/richmonds-quiet-transformation/.

54. "Bishop Named to Post," *Savannah Evening News*, November 7, 1972, 15; "Bishop Gerard Louis Frey," retrieved March 2, 2020 from http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bfrey.html; "Bishop Frey to Remove 'Division,'" *Savannah Morning News*, May 18,

Sr. Mary Ursula, provincial of the Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, warned Frey in July 1968 that the order would withdraw from St. Pius X High School "if, after serious efforts have been made to integrate the school, it would continue on a segregated basis or with merely a token form of integration." The provincial suggested that the school be consolidated with white Catholic schools by September 1969. In May 1969, a study by the University of Notre Dame, commissioned by the diocese to examine means of desegregating the city of Savannah's Catholic schools, recommended closing St. Pius X and building a new a "diocesan coeducational" high school centrally in the city, or converting Saint John Vianney Minor Seminary into such a school. The report also called for the closing of two other African American Catholic schools, St. Benedict's and St. Anthony's and the enrolment of their students in other Catholic schools. The report found that St. Benedict's had become a "fire hazard" that was too expensive to repair. The diocese closed St. Benedict's and St. Anthony's schools during the 1969–1970 school year, but took no action regarding St. Pius X, most likely because of determined opposition from the school's faculty and parents, although parishioners had also protested against the closure of the other schools. In Augusta, the withdrawal of the Sisters of Mercy who staffed Sacred Heart, a white school, forced its closure in 1969 as no replacement order could be found amid a general decline in vocations in the second half of the 1960s. Despite objections from some white parents, a special committee decided that Sacred Heart's students should attend Immaculate Conception, an African American grade school.[55]

The state's public schools did not offer a promising alternative for those Catholic parents who wanted to evade desegregation. In January 1970, a federal court ordered public schools in Macon and some other school districts in the diocese to desegregate fully and immediately. Fearing that whites might try to enroll in Catholic schools in order to evade public school desegregation, Frey ordered the diocese's schools to be alert to that possibility and "remain most sensitive to the applicant's motivation." He affirmed that "we certainly do not want any students, Catholic or

1968, 5B (quotation); John P. Sisson to Harold R. Perry, July 23, 1968, folder 9, box 11, series 34, NCCIJR.

55. Sister Mary Ursula to Gerard L. Frey, July 28, 1968 (first quotation), folder 7, box 19, ADS; "Report of Survey of Chatham Catholic Schools," *Southern Cross*, June 5, 1969, 2, 8 (third quotation); "Report of Survey of Chatham Catholic Schools," *Southern Cross*, June 19, 1969, 3 (second quotation); "School Phase-Out To Be Completed," *Southern Cross*, April 16, 1970, 1; Edward J. Cashin, *The Story of Sacred Heart* (Augusta, GA, 1987), 23; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1971, 7–20, ASSJ.

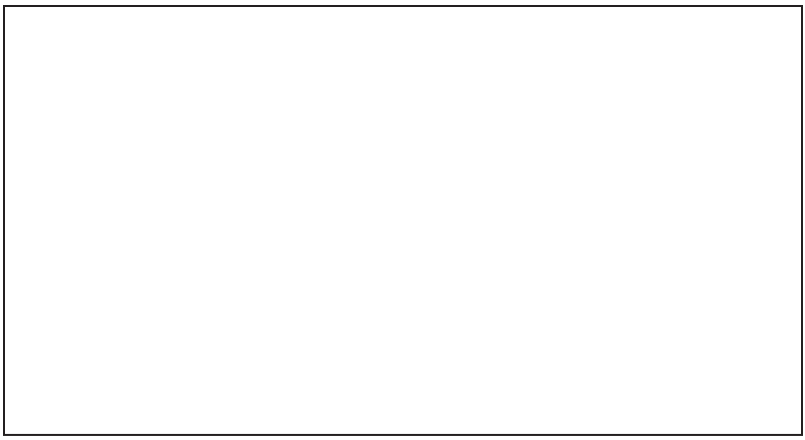

FIGURE 4. Saint Pius X High School, Savannah, Georgia (1952–71). Courtesy of the Diocese of Savannah Archives & Records Management Office.

non-Catholic, who apply simply because of racial reasons." Many whites, historian Andrew M. Manis explains, responded to public school desegregation by relocating to Macon's "northern and western suburbs in Bibb County"[56] (Figure 4).

In February 1970, the diocese announced that St. Pius X High School would be phased out by September 1971 and its students and faculty amalgamated with two white schools, Benedictine Military School, for boys, and St. Vincent's Academy, for girls, "in order to effect more meaningful integration within the Savannah Catholic Schools." All but one member of the St. Pius faculty and the majority of its board responded by issuing a statement of dissent, while agreeing that "integration is the ideal for which the church must strive." A meeting of two hundred St. Pius X parents, faculty, and students objected not to integration but to the closure of their school. They also expressed concerns about higher tuition costs in and transportation to the other two schools, regretted that they were single-sex, and worried that as religious orders ran the schools they were outside diocesan control. A majority of St. Pius X parents and students favored integration, but they objected to its one-sided

56. Gerard L. Frey, "School Enrollment," *Clergy Bulletin*, 4 (January 9, 1970), 221 (first quotation), folder 2, box 18, ADS; "Church Officials Back Chatham Desegregation," *Southern Cross*, June 3, 1971, 1; Manis, *Macon in Black and White*, 8 (second quotation), 311, 315–16.

implementation and felt pride in and attachment to the school. One mother commented, "Has the Bishop noticed that when black students go to white schools, the white students run from them? Let the white students come here. We will accept them."[57]

A poll of St. Pius X's Catholic students found them overwhelmingly against closing black schools to achieve integration immediately. Concern about school closings may have contributed to divided support for integration itself. Forty-seven students supported immediate school integration, with twenty-three against and twenty-four not sure, while twenty-one agreed, sixty-six disagreed and nine were not sure that predominantly black schools should close to facilitate integration. Fear of acceptance in white schools also likely contributed to opposition to and indecision about integration, because a large majority either disagreed or were not sure that St. Vincent's and Benedictine wanted more African American students. Led by four adults, a group of fifty or sixty students from St. Pius X and Most Pure Heart of Mary, a black elementary school, boycotted their classes and marched to the chancery in protest at St. Pius X's closing and to voice their fears that the Most Pure Heart of Mary School might follow.[58]

By contrast, the diocese encountered objections from some white parents when Frey ordered an African American and a white elementary school in Macon, St. Peter Claver and St. Joseph, to desegregate not by compulsory transfer of students from one school to the other, but by filling their vacancies to ensure a racially mixed student body. Some white parents denied that integration was a moral issue and alleged that the plant and teachers at St. Peter Claver were of inferior quality. The bishop and his staff stood their ground, as they did regarding the closing of St. Pius X High School. The two Macon schools opened on a desegregated basis in September 1970.[59]

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57. Consolidation for Catholic High Schools," *Southern Cross*, February 12, 1970, 1 (first quotation); Timothy McLaughlin to the *Southern Cross*, March 5, 1970, 8; Nancy Ancrum, "Church to Close St. Pius High; Move Debated," *Savannah Morning News*, February 13, 1970, 1D (second and third quotations); "Public Statement," attached to Fred Nijem to Gerard L. Frey, February 13, 1970, folder 8, box 19, ADS; "St. Pius Closing Meetings Planned," *Savannah Morning News*, March 8, 1970, 1C, 2C.

58. "William V. Coleman, "A Survey of Student Background and Attitudes at Saint Pius X High School, Savannah, Georgia," 4–5, 7, folder 7, box 19, ADS; "Series of Meetings on St. Pius Amalgamation," *Southern Cross*, March 12, 1970, 1, 7; Ann Marshall, "Parents Asked to Aid in Student Shift," *Savannah Morning News*, March 14, 1970, 12B.

59. "Macon Area School Study Committee Meeting Summary," March 23, 1970, folder 2, box 18, William V. Coleman to "Dear Parishioner," June 3, 1970, folder "Integra-

In almost every other case, parochial school desegregation involved the closing of African American schools, including eventually Savannah's Most Pure Heart of Mary School in 1977. Many of the children who had attended black Catholic schools, most of them Protestant, enrolled in newly desegregated public schools, which often offered better facilities and, unlike Catholic schools, did not charge tuition. In January 1971, Frey wrote, "In parochial life, there is also a tendency to integrate our facilities but not to the extent as the schools." While the diocese sometimes merged black and white churches, in other cases black churches closed, including Immaculate Conception in Augusta, Saint Clare in Albany, Saint Jerome in Americus, and St. Francis in Valdosta. St. Benedict's survived, most likely because of its location in an African American populated area and status as the mother church for African Americans in the city.[60]

In November 1972, the Vatican named Frey as Bishop of Lafayette, Louisiana, where he was installed in January 1973. Frey had completed the formal end of segregation in the Diocese of Savannah started by his predecessor McDonough. Fearful of arousing popular white opposition from within and outside Catholic ranks, both bishops had tied diocesan desegregation to secular desegregation mandated by federal authorities. Implemented overwhelmingly at the cost of black Catholic institutions, diocesan desegregation was one-sided and ignored the wishes of many African Americans for desegregation based on reciprocity that would maintain at least some historically black churches and schools. Many black Catholics felt a lingering resentment and sadness about the way in which the diocese acted. Many white Catholics, for their part, were as opposed to desegregation as many southern white Protestants and, likewise, sought to evade its impact. While white segregationist opposition contributed significantly to bishops implementing desegregation gradually and inequitably, their approach also reflected a paternalist approach to black Catholics that treated them as wards of the Church. The survival of St. Benedict's Church in Savannah, and the existence of five other predominantly African American churches, reflected less prelates' sensitivity to black Catholic aspirations than the persistence of residential segregation, exacerbated by white

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tion of Schools," William V. Coleman, General Chancery Files, ADS; Brown, "Civil Rights and Sister Mary Julian Griffin," p. 149.

60. *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1971, 7–20 (quotation), January 1973, 7–11, ASSJ; McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah*, 127; Joe Heiterer, "3 Churches to be Merged," *Augusta Chronicle*, March 23, 1971, 1; Cashin, *Story of Sacred Heart*, 23–25; Reverend F. J. Donohue, "Holy Trinity Church Re-dedicated," *Southern Cross*, September 13, 1973, 1; Brown, "Civil Rights and Sister Mary Julian Griffin," 149.

flight to the suburbs, and the desire of many black Catholics to attend their traditional parishes even when they moved to other neighborhoods.[61]

The Diocese of Savannah illustrates the cautious approach that Catholic bishops in the South adopted in desegregating their institutions, and the unwillingness of most of the region's prelates to act ahead of secular change, especially regarding schools. In Savannah and other southern dioceses, bishops did not consult with and involve African Americans in decision making about desegregation and its implementation, but black Catholics were not passive. At a time when desegregation was not yet a realistic possibility, they pressured the diocese to open, and helped raise funds for, St. Pius X High School. They later tried in vain to save St. Pius X, when the Diocese of Savannah, like many other southern dioceses, closed some black institutions in the name of desegregation. Like in other southern cities such as New Orleans, African American Catholics were also active participants in the civil rights movement.

Scholars of Catholic desegregation in the United States South have mostly focused on the actions of prelates and noteworthy priests, usually from religious orders, but the experience of the Diocese of Savannah suggests that diocesan priests merit scrutiny as well. More attention is also needed to the contributions of sisters (African American and white), and African American laity both to secular and Catholic desegregation in the South, which will undoubtedly yield further evidence of black Catholic initiative and activism. Building on participant-observer, Terri A. Dickerson's study of New Orleans' Catholic school desegregation, much work also remains to be undertaken on the experience of African American children who desegregated parochial schools. The story of southern Catholicism and racial change is far from complete.[62]

61. "Savannah Bishop Named To Head Louisiana See," *Southern Cross*, November 9, 1972, 1; Sister Mary of Victory O'Brien, I.H.H., "Bishop Gerard L. Frey," in: Gillian Brown et al. comp., *One Faith, One Family*, 145–47, here 147; McDonogh, *Black and Catholic in Savannah*, 61–62, 132.

62. Terri A. Dickerson, "Lambs of God: The Untold Story of African American Children Who Desegregated Catholic Schools in New Orleans," PhD diss. (George Mason University, 2017).

Ujamaa, Small Christian Communities, and Moral Reform in Western Tanzania, 1960s–1990

Salvatory S. Nyanto*

This article examines the efforts of Small Christian Communities (in Kiswahili, Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristo) to carve out a separate space of moral reform and regulation beyond the spheres of ujamaa *and state authority between the 1960s and 1990. These communities served as platforms for expressing ideas and addressing social concerns arising from members. They also controlled converts' demeanors and adjudicated issues related to moral laxity, marriage conflicts, and conjugal relations where* ujamaa *policies and the state had little to do with these issues. Nonetheless, like* ujamaa *villages, Christian Communities faced numerous challenges leading to the collapse of some of these communities in western Tanzania. This study builds on the scholarship which provides a model for understanding historically and culturally constructed institutions within their specific settings to show how sociocultural and political environments shaped Christian Communities, but also to understand the limits of* ujamaa *as well as its influence.*

Keywords: Tanzanian Socialism (*Ujamaa*), Small Christian Communities, Moral Reform, Western Tanzania.

Introduction

On February 4, 2017, the United Republic of Tanzania marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Arusha Declaration that issued the policy document on Socialism and Self-reliance (*Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*) of February 4, 1967. Students, academics, and political parties organized public forums and debates in commemoration of the anniversary to discuss,

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among other things, the principles and relevance of the Arusha Declaration to contemporary Tanzanian society. Nonetheless these public forums hardly discussed the responses of religious communities to *ujamaa* and the anti-sectarian nature of *ujamaa* and the state.[1] This study is not a faithful reflection of *ujamaa* values, but an attempt to demonstrate one religious community's efforts, that is, the Catholic Small Christian Communities (*Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristo*), to carve out a separate space of moral reform and regulation beyond the spheres of *ujamaa* and state authority. Very often, Christian Communities controlled converts' demeanors and adjudicated issues related to moral laxity, marriage conflicts, and conjugal relations where *ujamaa* policies and the state had little to do with these issues. The study uses the Catholic Christian Communities as an illustrative case to understand the limits of *ujamaa* as well as its influence.

To tell this story of the influence and limitations of Small Christian Communities, this article relies on church records deposited in the archives of the archdiocese of Tabora in western Tanzania. Church records include reports and correspondence about the development of communities in missions and village outstations. They provide glimpses into understanding the structure, functions, successes, and challenges Christians encountered in these communities. The article also uses party records of the *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) deposited in the archives of the party in Dodoma, and parliamentary proceedings (Hansard) and the newspapers of the 1960s deposited in the University of Dar es Salaam main library. These sources provide the socio-political and cultural contexts of the 1960s and the 1970s which shaped major developments in Tanzania. This study supplements church records, government records, and newspapers with secondary sources about *ujamaa* and dissident politics in the country in the 1960s. Nevertheless, time and resource constraints hindered consulting sources about the development of Small Christian Communities in Kenya and Uganda. These sources would have provided a comparative overview of Christian Communities in countries which did not experience socialism.

A considerable number of studies have challenged the policies of the Tanzanian *ujamaa* as ambitious projects of nation building and rural development. Their analyses show that the state was at the center of managing,

1. Jackline Masinde, "ACT Yaandaa Kongamano la Azimio la Arusha," *Mwananchi*, Sunday, February 5, 2017, Kongamano la Miaka 50 ya Azimio la Arusha-You Tube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1IQ_led-CY, uploaded by Humphrey Polepole, February 3, 2017.

controlling, and directing the development efforts in rural communities. Accordingly, the centrality of the state makes rural communities objects of political and social control in the spheres of daily life.[2] Increasingly, however, scholarship has departed from focus on the centrality of state authority to examine its failures and the negative consequences in rural communities.[3] A few studies have gone beyond examining the failures of the policies to show how rural communities not only became creative and active intermediaries of global and local political dynamics, but also created a separate space in which families would act beyond *ujamaa* and state authority. In so doing, families offered "refuge from state" and became "a contingent social resource and survival strategy" for household members to forge the "multiple meanings" of *ujamaa*, self-reliance, and development.[4]

This study builds on the existing scholarship about *ujamaa* and state authority to show how Christian Communities carved out a separate space of moral reform and regulation beyond the spheres of *ujamaa*, state authority, and global discourses that were in play in rural communities. By situating the study within the context of the 1960s and 1970s in Tanzania, the study builds on the scholarship on Tanzania and East Africa that provides a model for understanding historically constructed institutions

2. See for instance, Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, *Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader,* Volume 2 (Nairobi, 1973); Cranford Pratt, *The Critical phase in Tanzania 1945–1968: Nyerere and the emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (London, 1976), 172; Jannik Boesen, et.al., *Ujamaa: Socialism from Above* (Uppsala, 1977); Zaki Ergas, "Why did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail? Towards a Global Analysis," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 18.3 (1980), 387–404; and Michael Jennings, "'We Must Run While Others Walk': Popular Participation and Development Crisis in Tanzania, 1961–1969," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41. 2 (2003), 171–86. See also *Surrogates of State: NGO, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania* (Bloomfield, 2008), 60–64; Mathew V. Bender, "'For More and Better Water, Choose Pipes': Building Water and the Nation on Kilimanjaro, 1961–1985," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43. 4 (December, 2008), 842–43.

3. Goran Hayden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkley, 1980), 146; Phil Raikes, "Eating the Carrot and Wielding the Stick: the Agricultural Sector in Tanzania," in: *Tanzania Crisis and Struggle for Survival*, ed. Jannik Boesen (Uppsala, 1986); Leander Schneider, "Developmentalism and Its Failings: Why Rural Development Went Wrong in 1970s Tanzania" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia, 2003), 216–24.

4. James L. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from State in Twentieth Century Tanzania* (Oxford, 2006); Paul Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation: Julius Nyerere and the Establishment of Sovereignty in Tanzania, 1960–1964* (Rochester, 2015); Priya Lal, "Militants, Mothers, and the National Family: Ujamaa, Gender, and Rural Development in Postcolonial Tanzania," *Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 2; "Self-Reliance and the State: The Multiple Meanings of Development in Early Post-colonial Tanzania," *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, 82. 2 (May, 2012), 213.

Map 1. Small Christian Communities in the Archdiocese of Tabora, 1970s–90s

within their culturally and historically specific community settings.[5] Lastly, this study goes beyond the theological interpretation of *ujamaa* villages as "ujamaa village apostolate" and Christian Communities as "societies in miniature" to show how socio-cultural and political environments shaped these communities.[6]

Ujamaa and the Contexts for the Rise of Small Christian Communities, 1963–70

In the early years of independence, Tanganyika was characterized by conflict-ridden politics, debates over Africanization, racial animosity, and bipolar politics which threatened domestic unity and international integrity.[7] President Julius Kambarage Nyerere launched the Arusha Declaration in 1967 and delineated the policy of *ujamaa* as one of the drives for Africanization and as a response to challenges emanating from domestic, regional, and international politics. The policy called for increased agricultural production in settled *ujamaa* villages as the strategy for economic development. President Julius Nyerere envisioned *ujamaa* to mean living together in a village, farming together, marketing together, and collaboratively sharing resources as a community.[8] *Ujamaa* meant eliminating ideological differences, maintaining equality, and getting rid of all forms of injustices and exploitation. It also aimed at designating the roles of men and women within a broader conception of national *familyhood*.[9] To pro-

5. Derek Peterson, "Morality Plays: Church Courts, and Colonial Agency in Central Tanganyika, ca. 1876–1928," *The American Historical Review*, 111. 4 (October, 2006); Lal, "Militants, Mothers, and the National Family," 2.

6. Marie Giblin, "Ujamaa Village Apostolate," eds. Bishop Christopher Mwoleka and Fr. Joseph Healey, *Ujamaa and Christian Communities*, No. 45 (Eldoret, 1976); Wilbert Gobbo, "Critique of the Trinitarian Social Model of Leonardo Boff: Small Christian Communities of the Archdiocese of Tabora, A Case Study" (doctoral dissertation, London, 2016).

7. Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 96; Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation*, 61–130; Ronald Aminzade, *Race, Nation, and Citizenship in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Tanganyika* (New York, 2013), 79–81; James R. Brennan, *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania* (Athens, 2012); Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham, 2011), 6.

8. "Blueprint for Socialism: Mwalimu outlines path for future," *The Standard*, February 6, 1967; Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 98; Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation*, 61–130; Aminzade, *Race, Nation, and Citizenship*, 79–81; and Pratt, *The Critical phase*, 228–48.

9. Julius K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development," in: *Freedom and* Socialism, *Selection from Writings and Speeches* (Dar es Salaam, 1969); idem., *Freedom and Development* (Dar es Salaam, 1973), 7–9; Pratt, *The Critical phase*, 232; Phil L. Raikes, "Ujamaa and Rural socialism," *Review of African Political Economy*, 3 (1975), 38; Donatus Komba, "Contribution to Rural Development: Ujamaa and Villagisation," in: *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, eds. Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari (London, 1995), 32–37; Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and*

mote the people-centered development in the country, the Declaration issued a blueprint of socialism and self-reliance that among other things called for workers and peasants to stop "begging" and to build a "socialist Tanzania through [their] own sweat."[10] For leaders and party members, the Declaration included conditions of leadership on property, directorship of private companies, and other profit-making posts. It urged leaders to denounce commercial posts and demonstrate good and dynamic leadership "to uphold a socialist morality and discipline."[11]

The mode of village life and communal production began in the 1960s with the volunteerism of sixteen villages in the Songea district that formed the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA). The ideals of the RDA of communal production, cooperation, and social equality influenced the government to launch the nationwide villagization program to encourage the people to settle in villages. The program fostered the provision of social services to rural communities such as water, sanitation, and electricity, to mention just a few examples.[12] In consequence of the program, the number of *ujamaa* villages in Tabora region increased from fifty-two in 1970 to 156 in 1974, and the population increased from 16,700 in 1970, and 28,730 in 1974, to 553,770 in 1975.[13]

The policies of *ujamaa* and villagization called for the need to establish cell leaders in villages to act as the link with their people as well as messengers to party leaders. In cognizance of the importance of cell leaders, the government launched a country-wide political orientation campaign in 1967 to equip cell leaders with a thorough knowledge of the creed and objectives of the party—Tanganyika African National Union (TANU)—and the Arusha Declaration that embodied the policies of socialism and

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Socialism (Dar es Salaam, 1968), 233–35; Michael Jennings, "We Must Run," 166; Paul Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation*, 842; and Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 98.

10. "Socialism depends on workers," *The Nationalist*, July 24, 1967; "Sweat will build Tanzania: Nyerere analyses workers' role and responsibility," *The Nationalist*, July 28, 1967.

11. "Implement Socialism: Pro-capitalist party leaders condemned," *The Nationalist*, January 24, 1967; "Arusha Declaration: We won't wait for commission on socialism, says Kambona," *The Nationalist*, January 25, 1967; "Big challenge to leaders: Accept document, Nyerere asks TANU," *The Standard*, February 28, 1967; "Deadline to leaders," *The Nationalist*, March 4, 1967; "Tanu backs declaration: leaders given one year to conform," *The Standard*, March 4, 1967.

12. Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy* (Oxford, 1980), 263–71; Schneider, "Developmentalism," 140–77.

13. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 103; Adolpho Mascarenhas, "After villagization—what?" in: *Towards Socialism in Tanzania*, eds. Bismarck Mwansasu and Cranford Pratt (Toronto, 1979), 152.

self-reliance.[14] Four years later, in 1971, the party (TANU) issued party guidelines (*mwongozo*). The guidelines emphasized the importance of involving the people in decision-making regarding their own problems. The party, accordingly, established the "ten-cells" or "party cells" units, grouping ten homesteads under one leader (*balozi wa nyumba kumi kumi*). Village leaders organized new settlements of ten households. Each one cell-unit could be built along the same street, making it easy to work together and discuss affairs at the grassroot level. The guidelines warned leaders to refrain from arrogance, extravagance, superiority complexes, and all kinds of acts that were contrary to the ideals of *ujamaa*.[15] In urban areas, the guidelines called for the establishment of branches in all the nationalized banks, industries, and companies. It condemned requests of workers for time off to visit their sick relatives and loans for emergency needs of their extended families in rural areas to "reduce the capitalist hold of the country."[16]

Nonetheless, *ujamaa* emerged resolutely as secular and anti-sectarian, and thus was far more welcoming of non-religious communities, especially the Ruvuma Development Association, which had influenced the policy. In 1969, the central committee of TANU disbanded the RDA. But Nyerere drew the core ideas of the policy of *ujamaa* from the RDA and included its leaders in the party of TANU to promote the villagization program.[17] Likewise, *ujamaa* in Tanzania grew into what critics described as anti-religious, and certainly public discussion of *ujamaa* in explicitly Christian terms was forbidden. Nyerere and other TANU leaders discouraged religiously based demands within the party and held back from using religious beliefs in political arguments. The government invariably warned all religious organizations that they should not "mix religion with politics." In consequence, "religion had to be reduced to a private, apolitical sphere."[18] On the other hand, Muslims opposed TANU and *ujamaa* in the 1960s, a few years after independence. They claimed that the government was secretly pro-Christian, and that the secular education system was intended to support Christian domination over Muslims. They also criticized over-

14. "Cell leadership," *The Nationalist*, January 14, 1967; "Course for cell leaders: country-wide political orientation," *The Nationalist*, July 13, 1967.

15. *Mwongozo wa TANU—The Party Guidelines* (Dar es Salaam, 1971), 7–8; CCM *Nyaraka*, Dodoma. *The CCM Guidelines* (Dar es Salaam, 1981), 7, 56–57; Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania*, 329; Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 159; and Lal, "Militants, Mothers, and the National Family," 3.

16. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 159, 161.

17. Schneider, "Developmentalism," 172.

18. David Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini: A Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion in Tanzania, 1961–1977* (Stockholm, 1980), 57–58.

seas scholarships, arguing that they were awarded to Christians to advance the agenda of dominating over Muslims in the country.[19]

Furthermore, Unyamwezi in western Tanzania emerged as one of the regions in Tanzania where several key political leaders, including Christopher Kasanga Tumbo, chief Abdallah Fundikira, Joseph Kasella-Bantu, and James Mapalala, were associated with opposition to Nyerere. Notwithstanding Nyerere's threat to expel government workers on strike, Christopher Kasanga Tumbo, the general secretary of the Tanganyika Railway Workers' Union between 1960 and 1962, made the "strike inevitable" as he was not ready to "sell the independence of workers' unions in the country."[20] He mobilized African railway workers to "go [their] own way" and succeeded to make a complete paralysis of the railway service before handing over "the railway dispute" to the officials of the international trade union in Dar es Salaam "for their mediation."[21] He also criticized Nyerere's government for supporting only nonracial "localization" (in which residents and non-residents regardless of their race could fill out the civil service posts) and called for the racially defined "Africanization" which ideally meant to replace foreign expatriate workers (non-Africans) with Africans.[22] The Prime Minister, Rashid Kawawa, sent Tumbo off as the high commissioner to London, hoping that he would reconsider his radicalism. But in 1962, Tumbo resigned and returned to Tanganyika to form an opposition party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP).[23]

Abdallah Fundikira was the chief of the Nyamwezi and a Muslim leader who remained a powerful political figure after independence, serving as Minister of Justice in the government. He opposed TANU and Nyerere's policies, the treatment of political opponents, and the proposal for a one-party state. Fundikira's opposition to Nyerere and the party led, in 1964, to his resignation from the party and from his post as Minister of

19. Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 93–94.

20. "Nitayari kutembea hata uchi kuliko kukubali senti kuuza uhuru wa vyama-Tumbo," *Ngurumo*, Oktoba 21, 1961; "Sitaki kutishwa kwa migomo: mtumishi serkalini akigoma namfukuza-Nyerere," *Ngurumo*, November 20, 1961; "Wafuasi 16 elfu pamoja na Tumbo wajengewe jela serkali isipowaonya matajiri," *Ngurumo*, November 23, 1961; "Strike almost inevitable on railway: union chief is pessimistic about talks," *Tanganyika Standard*, January 4, 1960.

21. "We go ahead—Tumbo," *Tanganyika Standard*, February 9, 1960; "African rail workers start strike: services not seriously crippled—Leverett," *Tanganyika Standard*, February 10, 1960; and "Rail strike: Tumbo hands over," *Tanganyika Standard*, April 15, 1960.

22. Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation*, 67–69, and 73; and John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge, 1979), 542.

23. Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation*, 83.

Justice after his speech in Tabora.[24] Fundikira continued running his private business until 1990 when he headed, together with other dissident politicians including Christopher Kasanga Tumbo, Prince Bagenda, Mabere Marando, and Ndimara Tegambwage, the debate on multiparty politics in Tanzania. His role in organizing opposition parties led to chairing the first interim structure of the National Committee for Constitutional Reform which became the NCCR-*Mageuzi* party, with social democracy as its ideology. Later, Fundikira formed his own political party called the Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD).[25]

Similarly, Joseph Kasella-Bantu, a member of parliament for Nzega East, opposed Nyerere's policies and the one-party system. In a budget session of the parliament (*bunge*) of July 1968, Kasella-Bantu challenged the party supremacy of TANU and called it "undemocratic" because it did not welcome opposing viewpoints from members of parliament.[26] Consequently, the meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of TANU which was held between October 15 and 18 in 1968 expelled Kasella-Bantu from the Parliament along with other radical members because of their challenging the supremacy of the party. These members were S. M. Kibuga of Mufindi, F. M. K. Chogga of South Iringa, G. R. S. Kaneno of Karagwe, F. L. Masha of Geita East, W. R. Mwakitwange, and J. M. Bakampenja of Ihangiro-Bukoba. The NEC removed these members of parliament "for having grossly violated the party creed both in their attitudes and their actions, and for showing a very clear opposition to the party and its policies."[27] The NEC also expelled Mr. O. S. Kambona, member of parliament for Morogoro East who later went into exile in Britain, and Mr. E. M. Anangisye, member of parliament for Rungwe North, because "they were neither believers of TANU nor believers of the ideology of *ujamaa*."[28]

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24. Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 94, Paul Bjerk, *Building a Peaceful Nation*, 146.

25. "Tanzania loses two stalwart former chiefs," *Tanzanian Affairs*, Issue 88, September 1, 2007, in: https://www.tzaffairs.org/2007/09/tanzania-loses-two-stalwart-former-chiefs/, last accessed on June 20, 2018.

26. *Majadiliano ya Bunge (Hansard): Taarifa Rasmi (Mkutano wa Kumi na Tatu), Sehemu ya Tatu*, Julai 19, 1968.

27. "Minutes za Mkutano wa Halmashauri Kuu ya Taifa Uliofanyika Tanga, Oktoba 15–19, 1968," 8, CCM *Nyaraka*, Dodoma; "Bunge's Supremacy in Multipartyism," *Daily News*, August 27, 1992; "Katiba mpya haikwepeki, viraka ni kujitakia shari III," *Raia Mwema*, Aprili 19, 2012, in: http://www.raiamwema.co.tz/katiba-mpya-haikwepeki-viraka-ni-kujitakia-shari-iii/ last accessed on June 22, 2018.

28. "Katiba mpya haikwepeki, viraka ni kujitakia shari III," *Raia Mwema*, Aprili 19, 2012.

The expulsion of members of parliament from the party meant loss of the parliamentary seats, and, accordingly, Kasella-Bantu returned to Nzega. In the same year, in 1968, Kasella-Bantu lost his post as a member of the secretariat of the party in the Nzega district. The report of TANU executive council marked him as a "person with continuous complaints" (*mtu wa kulaumu laumu tu*) who could not make substantial contribution to the district.[29] In 1969, following the case of the murdering of four men, Kasella-Bantu together with other seventeen suspects spent five years in prison under the Preventive Detention Act of 1962. The Act empowered the President to detain indefinitely without trial any person who acted in a manner that threatened security of the state. Kasella-Bantu was eventually freed in 1978, but went into exile in Germany.[30] Other politicians detained under this Act were Mr. Eli Anangisye—member of parliament for Rungwe North, and Mr. Hamisi Salumu (a Zanzibari, popularly called Hamisi Beni) who were detained for "carrying out subversive activities against the state," while Mr. K. Geugeu, Mr. W.J. Mbwambo, and Mr. J.T. Zangira were detained because they "asked for money and sold their principles, respect, and consciousness."[31]

Like Kasella-Bantu, the dissidence of Mapalala and his kin led to his loss of the position in the party in Nzega district in 1968. The report of the secretariat of TANU claimed that Mapalala "had dissident relatives who could prevent the secretary general [of the party] from exercising his duties in Nzega," which implies that party leaders would find an unwelcome environment to work in the district.[32] In the same year in 1968, three years after the formation of the one-party state and the disbanding of other political parties, James Mapalala began his campaign in Tabora against the one-party state system on what he claimed to be a violation of human rights by leaders from top to bottom in the villages. He had been working in Tabora as a teacher and contributed several articles to the newspaper, *Kiongozi*, which was printed and distributed by the Tanganyika Mission Press in

29. "Minutes za Mkutano wa Halmashauri Kuu ya Taifa Uliofanyika Dar es Salaam, Oktoba 5, 1968," 3, CCM *Nyaraka*, Dodoma.

30. For details about this case and Kasella-Bantu's subsequent exile, see C. J. Georges, "R.v. Kasella Bantu and Other (1969) HCD 170, Crim. Sass. 47-Tabora-1969," April 21, 1969, in: http://criminalverdicts.blogspot.com/2012/12/r-v-kasella-bantu-and-other-1969-hcd-170.html, last accessed on April 25, 2018; Michael Okema, "Why 'Kill' Our Heroes, then Sing their Praises?," *The East African*, Monday, May 5, 2003; "Preventive Detention Act BBC Report," *Tanzanian Affairs*, Issue 15, July 1, 1982.

31. "Two subversives detained," *The Nationalist*, July 22, 1967; "Three more detained," *The Nationalist*, July 26, 1967.

32. "Minutes za Mkutano," Oktoba 5, 1968, 3, CCM *Nyaraka*, Dodoma.

Tabora. His articles demonstrated his dissatisfaction with oppression against the people in the town of Tabora and rural areas.[33] On what appeared to be an order from Nyerere, the regional commissioner for Tabora, Mr. Semamba Makinda, imprisoned Mapalala at Uyui for quite some time. Later, the delegation of bishops and sheiks in Tabora wrote a letter to the President requesting the release of Mapalala. Notwithstanding his imprisonment, Mapalala's demand for multiparty democracy continued in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1992, he became one of the founders of the multiparty movement, and also the Civic Movement. His movement joined Seif Sharif Hamad's Zanzibar United Front (ZUF), to form the Civic United Front (CUF, commonly known as *Chama cha Wananchi*) with "*utajirisho* ideology" (ideology of richness).[34] Similarly, Kasella-Bantu, who had fled into exile in Germany after his release from detention in 1978, returned to Tanzania to form his political party, the United Democratic Party (UDP).[35]

In addition to contentious politics, the 1960s era saw the government's launching of the campaigns to promote national culture. In so doing, the government banned vernacular languages, including Kinyamwezi and foreign languages, and, instead, Kiswahili was used as a medium of instruction in primary education and government duties. In January 1962, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, the second vice-president of Tanzania, declared Kiswahili as the "national language" and called for the use of English to "stop immediately" as a medium of communication because it "was the language of another nation and Tanzanians should not boast of it."[36] Both Kawawa and President Julius Nyerere emphasized the use of Kiswahili as the national language "to revive and improve [national] culture" to "enable people make progress of [Tanzanian] society."[37] The promotion of national culture corresponded to the launching of a campaign to ban "indecent dresses" including miniskirts and tight trousers, wigs, and foreign music. Dar es Salaam, as a center of transnational cultural influence, became the

33. Elias Msuya, "James Mapalala: Mwanzilishi wa mageuzi aliyeishia kwenye mikosi," *Mwananchi*, Ijumaa, Oktoba 12, 2012.

34. Msuya, *Mwananchi*, Oktoba 12, 2012, "Mapalala against national conference," *Daily News*, August 24, 1992; Burgess G. Thomas, et.al, *Race, Revolution, and the Struggle for Human Rights in Zanzibar: The Memoirs of Ali Sultan Issa and Seif Sharif Hamad* (Athens, 2009), 266.

35. Michael Okema, "Why 'Kill' Our Heroes," *The East African*, Monday, May 5, 2003.

36. "Use Kiswahili now: national language for all business," *The Nationalist*, January 5, 1967; "Kiswahili 'our language': Kawawa urges use in government," *The Standard*, January 5, 1967.

37. Nyanga O. K., "The use of Kiswahili," *The Nationalist*, January 14, 1967; "We must protect culture-Mwalimu," *The Nationalist*, January 2, 1969.

target of these campaigns. They were meant to "cleanse" the city from "moral decadence" in order to make "respectable urban citizens."[38] These campaigns spread into rural areas after the Arusha Declaration, and efforts were made to make rural areas "an ideal site for the performance of Tanzanian citizenship," drawing an image of the city as morally "decadent" and "unproductive."[39] As the movement to promote "national culture" spread in the rural areas, public debate over marriage, gender, generation, and wealth became intense among men and women in bars, offices, and homes in Dar es Salaam, and, as a result, filtered into the countryside in 1969, after the launching of the Arusha Declaration and villagization.[40] With increasingly divisive politics, the anti-sectarian nature of *ujamaa*, campaigns against moral decadence, and the debates over marriage which had filtered into rural areas, Christian Communities in Unyamwezi carved out a separate space of moral reform and regulation beyond the spheres of *ujamaa*, state authority, and global discourses.

Community's Efforts to Carve out a Separate Space of Moral Reform and Regulation, 1973–90

The need to establish Small Christian Communities began in the 1970s during the Synod of Bishops, that declared the formation of Christian Communities "pastoral priority number one," because they functioned as the smallest unit of the Church next to the family.[41] In Unyamwezi, Small Christian Communities began in 1972 at Tabora, Kaliua, and the Urambo Parishes. They consisted of family members living on one street who could meet to pray, sing, and discuss religious and social affairs. In the same year, the parishes of Makokola and Ipuli established similar communities.[42] In 1974, the Tanzanian Episcopal Council (TEC) circulated the resolutions of the meetings held by all bishops, in which the fifth resolution demanded the dioceses commit themselves to establishing Christian Communities in the next five years.[43]

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38. Ivaska, *Cultured States*, 5–6, 16–17, 60.

39. Ivaska, *Cultured States*, 17.

40. Ivaska, *Cultured States*, 167–68.

41. Archives of the Archdiocese of Tabora (hereafter AAT), Bishop Christopher Mwoleka, "Preparation for Synod of Bishops," T. 64/1977, AAT 325. 013.

42. Barua, Ofisi ya Kazi za Kitume, Jimbo Kuu Tabora, kwa Mwenyekiti wa Baraza la Walei, Tanzania, Oktoba 15, 1976, AAT. 325.013; Bishop Christopher Mwoleka, "Directives on how to establish Small Christian Communities," Presented at the Association of Member Episcopal Conferences in Eastern Africa (hereafter AMECEA) on July 13–23, 1976, AAT 325. 013.

43. Barua, Ofisi ya Kazi za Kitume, Oktoba 15, 1976, AAT 325. 013.

Christian Communities consisted usually of members of groups ranging from five to twelve families. They chose a man or woman in whom they had confidence as their leader. The leader was commonly called the guardian (*mlezi*) because members trusted him or her to lead them in religious and social affairs. Other leaders included the chairperson, secretary general, and treasurer. The primary duty of the *mlezi* was to find and bring into the group newcomers (Christians), to collect and present the tithe from members, and report to the Parish.[44] The guardian had to know all members in the community and where they lived. He or she had to write down into a work book the names of members and the status of their marriages. Other responsibilities of the *mlezi* included encouraging Christians to pay the tithe, advising the chairperson of the community about baptism and funeral arrangements, reporting to the priest about the conduct of seminarians on his or her street, and attending the meetings organized by the chairperson, at least once every two months.[45] The priest in charge of Christian Communities provided advice when needed and visited members to check their progress and address issues that they could not settle as members. Otherwise, matters pertaining to religious and social aspects had to be left to the members of the Christian Communities for discussion and decision.[46]

Indeed, the adoption of cell-like small Christian communities can be shown to resemble the influence of the ten-cell structure and decentralization in *ujamaa* villages. But Christian communities also created a separate space from the state's abolition of workers' vacations and requests for emergency loans to assist their extended families in rural areas. The *esprit de corps* prompted families to establish developmental projects to help them address the mentioned challenges.[47] One type of developmental project designed by members to ensure self-reliance was farming. Mem-

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44. J. Brouwer, W.F., "Participation of the Christians in building a Christian Community: An attempt of building a Christian Community in Tabora Parish," Tabora, March 25, 1978, AAT 325. 013; Fr. J. Brouwer, "Ushirikiano na Jitihada zinazofanywa na Wakristu katika Ujenzi wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristu katika Parokia ya Tabora," Juni 20, 1978, AAT 325. 013; P. Claude, "Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Parokia ya Itaga, Juni 20, 1978," AAT 325.013. Today, Small Christian Communities have four leaders: guardian, chairperson, secretary general, and treasurer.

45 . Fr. J. Brouwer, W.F., "Mpango wa kazi ya Mwenyekiti na Mlezi, Parokia ya Mt. Theresia Tabora," 1977, AAT 325. 013.

46. Barua, Ofisi ya Kazi za Kitume, Oktoba 15, 1976, AAT 325. 013.

47. AAT 325. 013 "Ripoti kuhusu Semina juu ya Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo na Maendeleo iliyofanyika katika Vikundi Vinne, katika Kituo cha Uchungaji Tabora," Juni 6–29, 1978, AAT 325. 013." For the details of the TANU government's abolition of vacations and emergency loans for workers to 'reduce the capitalist hold of the country' see Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 159.

bers cultivated fields, the produce of which had to be sold. The money obtained was spent to pay a little allowance to the local catechist and to address the social problems of members. Catechists had to be sustained by the contributions mainly from the Christian Communities as the majority of parishes were not self-reliant. Their income came mainly from tithes, Sunday collection, and gifts, to mention just a few, which could not sustain catechists in villages.[48]

The group spirit of working and living together to address social and religious challenges further influenced some members of Small Christian Communities to form independent groups called Christian Life Communities (*Vikundi Vinavyoishi Kikristu*). In the 1980s, a few men and women at the Ipuli outstation formed the Christian Life Community as part of an international lay association of the Christian Life Community (*Vikundi Vinavyoishi Kikristu Ulimwenguni*). Members adopted the Ignatian model of spiritual life, which reflected the Church's reforms of the sixteenth century, to reach out to the laity and become a spiritual institution. Ignatius' spiritual model was, apart from education, committed to the pastoral ministries of religious orders, and to ordinary men and women beyond monasteries and convent walls.[49] The community was established in March 1982, with twelve members under the guardianship of a Jesuit priest, Fr. Joseph A. Payeur, S.J. As an obligation, every member had to spend a year on probation to check whether his or her conduct followed the requirements of the group. Nonetheless, three members withdrew after a year of probation. The remaining nine members attracted men, women, and youth to join the community until it had a considerable number of members.[50]

In due course, self-sufficiency and group spirit made Small Christian Communities an important tool in the growth of African Christianity in villages. The contribution of these communities was often reported by the diocesan Lay Apostolate Council, which organized tours in villages and parishes to check the progress of communities, to teach, and to initiate the establishment of Small Christian Communities in parishes and villages

48. Archbishop Mark Mihayo, Archbishop of Tabora, to Secretary General, Catholic Secretariat, Dar es Salaam, Encs. Tabora Archdiocese: Answers to AMECEA Questionnaire, JBK/FAW, March 16, 1979, AAT 325. 013.

49. J. K. Mushi, Kuanzishwa kwa Kikundi cha Vikundi Vinavyoishi Kikristu (V.V.K), Kumb. Na. IPULI/CLC/1, Machi 29, 1983, AAT 325. 013; Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700* (New York, 2012), 25, 33, Ignatius of Loyola, *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of St. Ignatias of Loyola* (Lexington, KY, 2012), 27–35.

50. J. K. Mushi, "Kuanzishwa kwa Kikundi cha Vikundi Vinavyoishi Kikristu," Machi 29, 1983, AAT 325. 013.

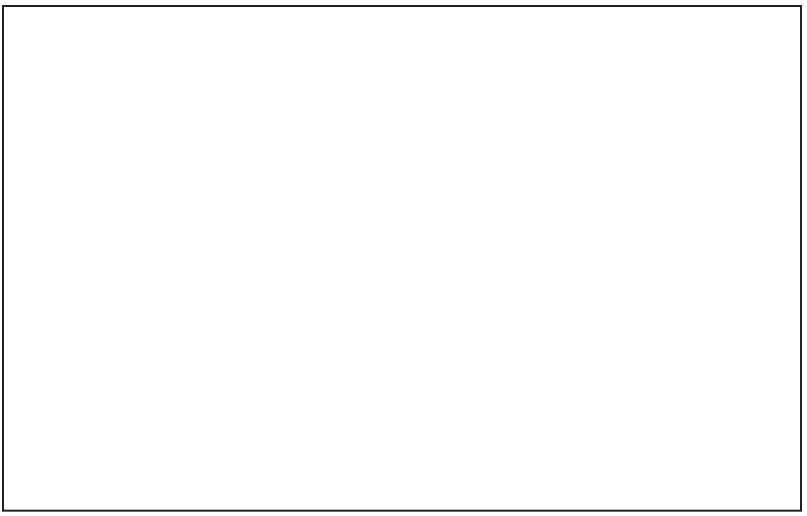

Figure 1. Discussion in one of the Small Christian Communities, Archdiocese of Tabora (undated image). Courtesy of the Catholic Archdiocese of Tabora. The catechist was pictured emphasizing a point to members who had attended the meeting.

where Christians had not yet done so.[51] At Nguruka, for instance, the establishment of Christian communities strengthened the growth of African Christianity in the village. William Kaselle, the deputy director of the diocesan Lay Apostolate Council, called the establishment of Christian Communities in the village a means of adding flavor to Christianity, "*kukoleza ukristo*."[52] The growth of African Christianity, under the auspices of Christian Communities, corresponded to the growth of African clergy, as prayers, discussion, and singing of members during weekly meetings and fellowships influenced girls and boys to consider becoming priests, nuns, and catechists[53] (Figure 1).

51. See for instance, Fr. John Mageda, "Mpango wa Ufuatiliaji wa Kazi za Walei Maparokiani na Semina," Kumb. Na. BLW/J/B/89, Mei 15, 1989, AAT 325. 013; William R. Kaselle, "Uenezi wa JNNK Igunga-Usongo," Kumb. Na. BLW/B/J/89, Septemba 8, 1989, AAT 325. 013; William Kasele, "Ujenzi wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristo Parokia ya Ndala, Kumb. Na. JNN/B/J/90, Februari 19, 1990, AAT 325. 013; and William R. Kaselle, "Ufuatiliaji wa Ujenzi wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristo," Kumb. Na. JNN/B/90, Mei 8, 1990; AAT 325. 013.

52. William R. Kaselle, "Usimikishaji wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristo Kigango cha Nguruka," Kumb. Na. BLW/B/J/89, Septemba 10, 1989, AAT 325. 013.

53. William R. Kaselle, Usimikishaji wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Septemba 10, 1989, AAT 325. 013.

The translation of "Christian Life Communities" as *Vikundi Vinavyoishi Kikristu* indicates accommodation of Christian practices into the settings and lives of the Nyamwezi to make it look more "African." Similarly, the use of term "*kukoleza ukristo*" (to add flavor to Christianity) indicates something akin to Lamin Sanneh's "translating the message" whereby a foreign religious tradition is incorporated into indigenous cultural settings, making translatability a source of success for Christianity in Unyamwezi societies.[54] Thus, by establishing Christian Communities, men, women, and children in Unyamwezi "domesticated" or "appropriated" Christian practices into their culture and "heard the message according to their own needs and existing situations."[55]

Christian Communities created yet another space of "honor," "respect," and "morality" beyond the spheres of *ujamaa*. In fact, *ujamaa* and villagization could be viewed from two vectors: the modernist vectors of *ujamaa* and villagization and the traditionalist vectors of African communities of extended families. The traditional structure of kinship and extended families called for "reciprocity, collective effort, and an open version of community."[56] The penetration of ideas about culture and marriage from urban centers to the rural areas through *ujamaa* and villagization gave the rise to the modernist vector that embodied a principle of extended family characterized by "connection and fluidity."[57] The marriage councils merged the modernist and the traditional trajectories of extended families as they incorporated some of the ideals of the modernist view of *ujamaa* and villagization, while maintaining the traditional view of extended families. By merging the two traditions, marriage councils addressed issues of honor and morality among the members within their cultural specific settings to work "in their own favor," and, accordingly, formed what Andreana Prichard calls "affective spiritual communit[ies]" in which mem-

54. Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture, Revised and Expanded Edition* (Maryknoll, 2009), 51–55. See also *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Maryknoll, 1983).

55. Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain 1799–1853* (Montreal, 2002), 174); Elizabeth Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole* (Oxford, 2010), 6; Gregory Maddox, "The Church and Cigogo: Father Stephen Mulundi and Christianity in Central Tanzania," in: *East African Expressions of Christianity*, eds. Thomas Spear and Isaria Kimambo (London, 1999), 151; and James L. Giblin, "Family Life, Indigenous Culture and Christianity in Colonial Njombe," in: *East African Expressions*, 309.

56. Lal, "Militants, Mothers, and the National Family," 2.

57. Ibid, Ivaska, *Cultured States*, 167–68.

bers expressed their emotions and spiritual connection beyond the spheres of *ujamaa* and state authority.[58]

With clerical approval, families and leaders of Christian Communities were vested with the power to discuss marriage cases, family conflicts, members' dishonesty, clandestine sexual behaviors, and pregnancy outside marriage before they could be presented to the marriage reconciliation board or the diocesan marriage tribunal (Lat. *tribunal matrimonium*) for official hearing and decisions. Leaders also handled cases relating to unstable marriages, broken marriages, and the need to strengthen restored marriages with partners who had buried their differences.[59] These marriage councils seem to have less relation to Michel Foucault's conception of power which deviates from the sovereignty of the state, and instead focus more on power which is understood in terms of the "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate" and which "constitute [people's] organization." Thus, the way these marriage councils monitored and regulated sexuality in western Tanzania functioned as a form of power which crossed paths with state efforts to exercise power through the vehicle of the *ujamaa* village.[60]

In exercising their power to regulate sexuality and the social conduct of members, Small Christian Communities prohibited movements into other Christian denominations and religions. Relations before marriage with non-Catholics were also interpreted as acts of dishonor. At Kipalapala Parish, members and leaders of the Christian community accused Gusia Panda* of having a clandestine sexual affair with a young Moravian Brethren man, Suma Yona*, with whom she had a baby. The chair of the Christian Community, along with Gusia Panda's parents, ordered her to meet the parish priest to settle the case, but the lady never appeared. The parish priest admonished the woman for her disobedience to the Church, her parents, and her Christian Community. In his letter to Gusia Panda, the parish priest condemned her for having painted a negative image of the Church and warned other youth in the parish to rectify their conduct.[61] He said,

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58. Peterson, "Morality Plays," 988; Andreana C. Prichard, *Sisters in Spirit: Christianity, Affect, and Community Building in East Africa, 1860–1970* (East Lancing, 2017), 4, 14–16.

59. Bishop Mwoleka, Directives, July 13–13, 1976, AAT 325. 013; Ripoti juu ya Maendeleo ya Ujenzi wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristu katika Jimbo kuu la Tabora, Oktoba 15, 1976; AAT 325. 013.

60. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la Sexualité 1: La volonté de savoir* (Paris, 1976), 121, *The History of Sexuality,* Volume I*: An Introduction* by Michel Foucault, translated from the French by Robert Hurley (New York, 1978), 92.

61. The names employed here are not names of the real persons. They are imaginary names to maintain their anonymity.

> Kitendo ulichotenda kinaonesha wazi kwamba wewe sio Mkatoliki bali umelipaka matope Kanisa Katoliki . . . Kwa barua hii pia nawaonya vijana wote wenye tabia mbaya Parokia Kipalapala wabadili mienendo yao mibaya. . . . [The Act committed clearly indicates that you are no longer Catholic, as you have painted a negative image of the Catholic Church. With this letter, I also warn all youth at Kipalapala Parish to change their bad behaviors].[62]

This cited excerpt shows that clandestine sexual relations were one of the challenges that Christian Communities, priests, and parents grappled with in their attempt to shape the conduct of unmarried young men and women in western Tanzania. As a form of power and a tool of social and moral reform, Small Christian Communities identified, listened to, and subjected members convicted of adultery and out-of-wedlock pregnancy to achieve what Derek Peterson calls "moral reform."[63]

Besides addressing marriage cases and conjugal relations, leaders and members exercised their power in monitoring the behaviours of catechumens and seminarians living in families belonging to the Christian Community and their social relations with others. A report about the conduct of catechumens had to be presented to the catechist of the outstation, who had to submit it to the parish priest for assessment before the former could be admitted into the church.[64] Additionally, members of the Christian Community discussed, together with their guardian, the character and challenges of raising children in the community in accordance with the doctrines and culture of the Church and society at large. Young boys who aspired to become priests attended seminary education. Their general conduct had to be checked regularly and their participation in the community and the local church had to be closely monitored too. The report of the seminarians' behaviour was presented to the catechist and the parish priest at the end of the holiday before they returned to the seminary. The rationale for this practice was to ensure that seminarians demonstrated a good example to society and members of the Christian Community as a foundation for the growth of a strong African clergy.[65]

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62. Barua ya Fr. Augustine Mringi, kwenda kwa Ndugu Gusia Panda, * Jumuiya ya Mt. Matia, Parokia Kipalapala, Aprili 5, 1990, AAT 325. 013. *These names are not real. They are pseudo names to maintain the anonymity of the person concerned.

63. Derek R. Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and East African Revival: A History of Dissent, c. 1935–1972* (Cambridge, 2012), 173.

64. Parokia ya Mt. Theresia, Tabora, 1977, AAT 325. 013.

65. Maendeleo ya Ujenzi wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Oktoba 15, 1976, AAT 325. 013; Parokia ya Mt. Theresia, Tabora, 1977, AAT 325. 013; and William R. Kaselle, Usimikishaji wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Septemba 10, 1989, AAT 325. 013.

The Collapse of Small Christian Communities in the era of *Ujamaa*, Mid-1970s–90

Although the villagization program succeeded in moving more than two million people to 4484 villages between 1970 and 1971, creating many new opportunities and facilitating the provision of social services, several challenges brought the program to a grinding halt. Various factors accounted for the failure of a number of villages, including the statist nature of the government, whose direct intervention in economic activities, nevertheless, did not give room for popular participation.[66] Other reasons included poor management and leadership at the village level, dishonesty, inefficiency unchecked corruption in the rural cooperatives, poor mobilization, and poor planned settlement that did not take into account "local ecological consciousness," to mention just a few reasons.[67]

Like *ujamaa* villages, Small Christian Communities faced numerous challenges, and these, accordingly, led to the collapse of some of these communities. In western Tanzania, for instance, Small Christian Communities encountered several challenges in initiating the growth of African Christianity in villages beyond mission stations. Strict regulations slowed down and sometimes diminished the courage of members who had to leave the groups or communities. The one-year probation for members of the Ipuli Christian Life Community was an example of regulations that weakened the commitment of some members to remain in the group despite their good intentions.[68] The lack of commitment and competency of some leaders also discouraged members and often caused the progress of communities in villages to dwindle. In some villages, Small Christian Communities fizzled out because leaders could not lead members in finding solutions to religious and social challenges. In his annual report about the progress of Small Christian Communities in the archdiocese of Tabora, the director general,

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66. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*,104, 106, and 114; Jennings, *Surrogates of the State*, 60.

67. Schneider, 'Developmentalism,' 221-22; John S. Saul, "The Role of the Cooperative Movement," in: *Rural Cooperation in Tanzania*, eds. Lionel Cliffe et.al. (Dar es Salaam, 1975), 207–13; "Marketing Co-operatives in a Developing Country: The Tanzanian Case," in: *Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader,* Volume 2, eds. Lionel Cliffe and John S. Saul (Nairobi, 1973), 146; Yusufu Q. Lawi, "Modernization and De-Harmonization of the Man-Nature Relationship: The Case of the Agro-Pastoralist Iraqw of the Old Mbulu District," in: *The Tanzania Peasantry: Economy in Crisis*, eds. Peter G. Forster and Sam Maghimbi (Aldershot, 1992), 55: "Tanzania's Operation *Vijiji* and Local Ecological Consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqwland, 1974–1976," *Journal of African History*, 48 (2007), 69–93.

68. J. K. Mushi, Vikundi Vinavyoishi Kikristu (V.V.K), Machi 29, 1983, AAT 325. 013. As already pointed out, out of the 12 initiators of the group, three members left the group within a year of probation.

Fr. John Mageda, complained about leaders lacking commitment as a root cause for the disintegration of some communities in villages. He said, "*tatizo ambalo hujitokeza hasa pale wachaguapo walezi wasiokuwa na moyo hasa wa kitume na hapo tu ndiyo JNNK hufa*" (the problem becomes apparent when members choose leaders who are not committed to serve; that is the issue which kills the Small Christian Communities).[69]

Lack of commitment to serve as leaders or guardians went hand in hand with unpreparedness in the reading and discussion of Scripture before members of the Christian community. Very often, leaders or guardians of the communities had not done enough preparation for the weekly Scriptures. Thus, discussion and interpretation were characterized by leaders' frequent hesitations, which misled members in comprehending the entire Scripture.[70] Incompetence and unpreparedness were attributable to two factors. The first was the fact that most leaders and guardians of the communities knew only the rudiments of reading and writing. They were not accustomed to rigorous reading and critical interpretation. The second factor, though related to the first, was the fact that most leaders were inexperienced in leading discussions of different interpretations and viewpoints from members. In his report on the achievements and challenges of Small Christian Communities at Itaga Parish, P. Claude summarized the two problems as simply, "*uongozi mbaya*" (bad leadership)[71] (Figure 2).

The use of the Kiswahili language, as part of nation-building and promotion of national culture, disenfranchised members who could not communicate well in that language. This disenfranchisement was apparent in elders who felt ashamed of airing their viewpoints in Kiswahili, a language regarded as a *lingua franca* in reading and interpreting the Scripture, fearing that junior members cognizant of the language would laugh at them. Most elders felt at ease to communicate in the local language, Kinyamwezi, which incidentally was no longer a medium of communication in church services.[72] In consequence, difficulty in interpreting the Scripture raised a problem for many members who were accustomed to praying the rosary and learning by heart and reciting questions from the catechism. Asking questions about the Scripture to which they had listened—which demanded personal interpre-

69. Fr. John Mageda "Taarifa Kuhusu JNNK Katika Jimbo Kuu la Tabora," Kumb. Na. BLW/T/R/87, Mei 10, 1987, AAT 325. 013.

70. P. Claude, "Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo (Parokia ya Itaga)," Juni 20, 1978, AAT 325. 013.

71. Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Juni 20, 1978, AAT 325.013.

72. Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Juni 20, 1978, AAT 325.013.

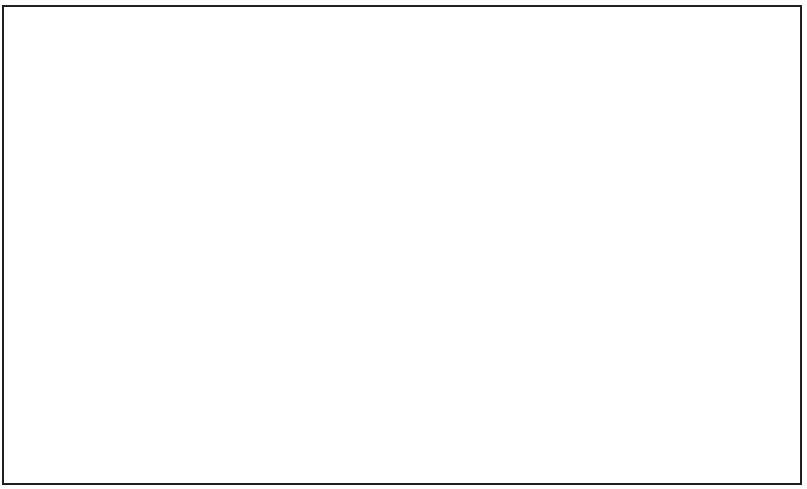


Figure 2. Members of one of the Small Christian Communities in the Archdiocese of Tabora (undated). Courtesy of the Catholic Archdiocese of Tabora. The catechist—in one of his visits to the Small Christian Community—was pictured talking to some of the family members who had attended the meeting.

tation—remained a challenge to many members. Only a few could contribute to the discussion, while the rest remained quiet, hesitant, and unsure of what to say, leading to the decline of weekly attendance.[73]

In addition to the language barrier, the decline in attendance was exacerbated by the preoccupation of men and women in the villages with making ends meet. Members were preoccupied with cultivation, planting, and harvesting, which affected the attendance of men and women and, accordingly, weakened substantially the spirit of these communities.[74] Poor attendance, too, haunted Christian Communities of parishes in the suburbs of Tabora town. At Makokola Parish, located only a few miles from the Cathedral, Christian communities did not have a good start, nor did they attract the attention of many Christians. Christians were not interested in attending meetings, nor did they take charge as leaders. This tendency explains why, despite the many Christians who attended the Sunday Mass, the organizers of the seminar on Christian Communities complained to the parish priest that only twenty-seven Christians (men and

73. Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Juni 20, 1978, AAT 325.013.

74. Fr. John Mageda, "Taarifa kuhusu JNNK katika Jimbo Kuu la Tabora," Kumb. Na. BLW/T/R/87, Mei 10, 1987, AAT 325. 013.

women) attended.[75] Lack of interest, poor attendance, and busy schedules also diminished the efforts of a few determined Christians to establish communities in Tabora and Ipuli Parish in the town. Until the year 1989, there was no Small Community to report in all the three parishes of Tabora town, despite the seminars the diocesan Lay Apostolate Council organized to encourage Christians.[76]

The last, but by no means least, challenge was the growing hatred and poor communication between parish priests and leaders of the Lay Apostolate Council, that weakened the motivation to reinstate Small Christian Communities in western Tanzania. Some parish priests objected to the council's organized program of touring villages to urge Christians to form communities, causing mounting tensions between the parish priests and leaders of the council. Tabora Parish, notwithstanding serving the cathedral jurisdiction with an archbishop who urged priests in parishes to let Christians form communities, until the year 1989 remained at a standstill, with no Small Christian Community to report.[77] Christians of the Kiloleni outstation of Tabora Parish took their own initiative to invite the council to hold a seminar on how to establish Small Christian Communities. The seminar culminated in the founding of the first Christian Community in the parish but the parish priest disapproved of the community because he was not on good terms with members of the council. The disapproval of Christians' efforts to make their own Small Christian community made the parish remain at a standstill in the drive for the making of African Christianity.[78]

Conclusion

The experience of Small Christian Communities in western Tanzania offers an example of the ways in which religious communities and institutions carved out a separate space for morals and regulations outside the spheres of *ujamaa* and state authority. The policies of *ujamaa* and the state created an apolitical sphere for religious communities and discouraged Christians from channeling their religious demands to the party. Thus, the establishment of Small Christian Communities can be viewed both as a

75. Barua, Fr. Augustine Mringi kwenda kwa, Fr. Laurent Saint-Pierre, "Ujenzi was Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristu-Parokia ya Makokola," Februari 11, 1990, AAT 325. 013.

76. Fr. Augustine Mringi, "Ujenzi wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristu Jimbo Kuu Tabora," Aprili 23, 1989, AAT 325. 013.

77. Fr. Augustine Mringi, "Usimikishaji wa Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo za Kikristu-Parokia Tabora," Agosti 28, 1989, AAT 325. 013.

78. Fr. Augustine Mringi, Jumuiya Ndogo Ndogo, Agosti 28, 1989, AAT 325.013.

coping strategy and a response to carve out a separate space of morals and regulations where *ujamaa* policies and the state had little to do with religious issues. In the process of making "affective spiritual community" beyond the spheres of *ujamaa* influence, Christian Communities controlled converts' demeanors and adjudicated issues related to moral laxity, marriage conflicts, and conjugal relations.

The creation of the private space helps us to understand the limits of *ujamaa* as well as its influence on the Catholic Small Christian communities in western Tanzania. While the organizational structure of ten families forming one Christian Community can be shown to resemble the influence of the ten-cell structure and decentralization in *ujamaa* villages, communities, nevertheless, established developmental projects which provided refuge from the state's abolition of workers' assistance to their extended families in rural areas. Nonetheless, the adoption of the Kiswahili language as the national language, which corresponded to the banning of vernacular Kinyamwezi, disadvantaged the elderly, as they could not communicate well in the new language. This challenge, coupled with several others, slowed the progress of Christian communities, and, like *ujamaa* villages, some villages communities were brought to a grinding halt.

Notes and Comments

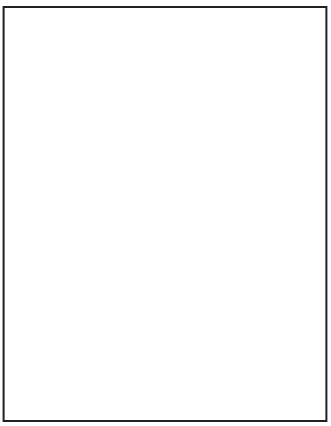
Coronavirus (COVID-19) Impact

Due to concerns to contain the spread of the Covid-19 virus, numerous conferences and events have been cancelled or rescheduled, among them the Spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, originally set for April 17 and 18 at the University of Scranton. Please check with conference organizers regarding extended deadlines for submitting proposals and new meeting dates for other conferences and workshops. The financial strains created by the virus have also led some organizers to cancel permanently their events.

Because of precautionary measures taken by the Catholic University of America, the office of the *Catholic Historical Review* has been temporarily closed. Without the necessary staff to support its operations, the Spring issue does not contain all of its usual features such as the Book Reviews and Periodical Literature sections, and Notes and Comments is drastically reduced. Once operations return to normal, these sections will be restored. Your patience and understanding are much appreciated.

Obituary

Jean Delumeau
(1923–2020)



> It is almost unbelievable that we know so little about the basic elements, the most important and widespread religious practices, and so many of the great pilgrimages themselves. All we have are brief mentions scattered among inaccessible articles and journals, and too often even those are there for non-historical reasons.

These words, quoted by Delumeau near the very beginning of his inaugural lecture delivered at the Collège de France on February 13, 1975, neatly encapsulate the ambitious challenge he had set himself to meet, and which he substantially achieved, over the course of a long, distinguished, and very productive career as the leading Catholic historian of religion in post-war France. The original title of that lecture: "The history of religious mentalities in the modern West" expresses clearly his dual debt to the rich French traditions of religious sociology, on the one hand, and to the history of mentalities over the *longue durée*, on the other.[1] These had been pioneered, respectively, by Gabriel le Bras (1891–1970), author of the two-volume classic *Études de sociologie religieuses* (1955–56) and Lucien Febvre (1878–1956), co-founder of the *Annales* school of historians and author of *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle. La religion de Rabelais* (1947), both of whom are mentioned in the opening paragraph of the lecture; the quotation at the start of this obituary notice being taken from Febvre.[2] Near the start of the lecture as delivered, Delumeau also paid tribute to one of the very first members of the Collège: the humanist, orientalist scholar, and friend of the early Jesuits, Guillaume Postel (1510–81) as: "one of the most ecumenical spirits of the sixteenth century" manifest evidence that the Collège had been concerned with religion from the outset as well as an indication of Delumeau's own self-identification as a liberal Catholic who regarded Vatican II as just the beginning of a new Catholic Reformation.

The revised title of Delumeau's lecture: "'Le Prescrit et le Vécu," which was adopted for other French printings of the text and used for the English translation ("Prescription and Reality"), gets closer to the heart of his project.[3]

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1. « Histoire des mentalités religieuses dans l'Occident moderne. » This text is available to download on Open Access from the website of the Collège de France at: https://books.openedition.org/cdf/732. (Last accessed April 13, 2020.)

2. Lucien Febvre, « La Dévotion en France au XVII[e] siècle, » in Lucien Febvre, *Au Cœur religieux du XVI siècle* (Paris, 1957), 332—although in the text Delumeau dates the quotation to 1932. Subsequent references to this inaugural lecture are to the English, lightly revised translation made by Ian Patterson and published in Edmund Leites, ed., *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), 134–58, at 134.

3. Jean Delumeau, *La Christianisme va-t-il mourir?* (Paris, 1977), 177–211; Pierre Toubert et Michel Zink, eds., *Moyen Âge et Renaissance au Collège de France. Leçons inaugurales* (Paris, 2009), 511–29.

This was to see beyond the traditional, top-down account of Catholic Christianity, couched in doctrinal and institutional terms—religion as a noun—in favour of adopting a bottom-up perspective that sought to offer an account of "'lived religion"—religion as a verb. However, for the very first reprinting of the lecture, it was given yet another title: "Dechristianisation or a new model of Christianisation?"[4] This points the reader to the reseach question that underlay the several thousand pages of print which Delumeau put out in the public domain on religious history, beginning with the publication of *Naissance et Affirmation de la Réforme* (1965, now in its 11th edition, 2012) and its sister volume *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (1971; 7th edition, 2010).[5]

Before the publication of these two titles from the influential Nouvelle Clio series, which have done so much to shape the understanding of successive cohorts of French university students, particularly of the Protestant Reformation, as can be seen by the relative number of editions they have enjoyed, (only the second volume was translated into English, with a preface by John Bossy, in 1977), Delumeau completed two very substantial works, which for any lesser human would have comfortably constituted their life's work.[6] These consisted of his still unsurpassed, two-volume doctoral thesis on the economic and social life of Rome during the second half of the sixteenth century and the pioneering study of the Alum mines in the papal states during the early modern period.[7] The former made exemplary use of the *avvisi* (newsletters) sent to the Duke of Urbino, and now in the Vatican Library, while the second relied on the use of records hidden away in the papal port of Civitavecchia. The connection between these classic works of economic and social history, both supervised by Fernand Braudel (1902–85), leader of the second generation of the *Annales* school and

4. « Déchristianisation ou nouveau modèle de christianisme? », *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, no. 40 (juillet–décembre 1975), 3–20: http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/assr_0335-5985_1975_num_ 40_1_1913. (Last accessed April 13, 2020.)

5. On the later editions of *Naissance et Affirmation de la Réforme,* Delumeau collaborated with Thierry Wanegffelen and Bernard Cottret; and for *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* with the distinguished historian of Jansenism and pupil of Robert Goubert, Monique Cottret.

6. Delumeau also authored a third work of economic and social history, on trade conducted out of the important Breton port of Saint-Malo: *Le mouvement du port de Saint-Malo, 1681–1720 à la fin du XVII^e siècle* (Rennes, 1966) as well as several popular works of general history, including the prize-winning: *La Civilisation de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1967) and *L'Italie de Boticelli à Bonaparte* (Paris, 1974).

7. *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1957–59) and *L'alun de Rome XV^e–XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1962). An abridged edition of this work was subsequently published in paperback: as *Rome au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1975).

famous for his panoramic history of the Mediterranean world in the Age of Philip II, and Delumeau's subsequent, prolific work on religious history is not immediately obvious.[8] What they had in common, in actual fact, was the desire to root behaviour, both individual and collective, in the *mentalité* of the age; one which, furthermore, was very much shaped by the material conditions of life and the anxieties these provoked.

As William H. Williams pointed out in his review of *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire* in these pages (*CHR*, 58/1 [1972], 88–89), Delumeau's central concern was to "demonstrate as myth the conventional concept of a process of de-Christianisation taking place in the 18th century" (88). In other words, we can only evaluate *de*-Christianisation after defining what we mean by "Christianization." As Delumeau put it himself in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France:

> The model of Christianity we normally use as a parameter is not the syncretism of the Middle Ages so much as the austere, unanimist religion of the 17th century, which was far more concerned than the Medieval Church to transform prescription and regulation into reality at the popular level and to turn the ideal of the few [in]to the daily life of all. . . . We must discard the over-simplified linear explanation which sees the eighteenth century as initiating a uniform decline in all the Christian denominations.[9]

Such a view presupposed the "myth" or "legend" of a Christian(ized) Middle Ages and was apparently very different from that of his slightly younger contemporary, John Bossy (1933–2015), as the British historian observed robustly in his preface to the English translation of Delumeau's *Catholicism from Luther to Voltaire*. For Bossy the shift from Christianity being conceived as a community of believers in the Middle Ages to its being understood by both the Protestant and Catholic reformers in terms of rival confessions of belief was to be considered a wholly negative development, since it led to a diminished religious universe, in which Christianity no longer performed the social miracle of ritualized reconciliation, symbolised by the role of the kiss of peace at the Mass. Instead, there was a new stress on the distinction between the godly—represented by seminary-trained priests and dynamic missionaries spouting hell-fire sermons—and the

8. Fernand Braudel, *La Mediterranée et le Monde mediteranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1949; rev. edn., 2 vols., 1966). As he was a member of the Collège de France, who were then not permitted to supervise doctoral students, Delumeau's *de iure* supervisor was the political historian Gaston Zeller (1890–1960), author, *inter alia*, of *La réunion de Metz à la France (1552–1648),* 2 vols. (Paris, 1926).

9. Delumeau, "Prescription and Reality," 149.

majority, for whom printed catechisms reduced Christianity to what could be taught and learned.[10] However, in the course of panoramic evocations of a spiritual world we have lost, beginning with the 2,090-page tetralogy: *La Peur en Occident (XIV^{e}–XVIII siècle): une cité assiégée*, 1978; *La Péché et la Peur. La culpabisation en Occident (XIII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)*, 1983; *Rassurer et Protéger: le sentiment de securité dans l'occident d'autrefois*, (1989); and *L'Aveu et le pardon: les difficultés de la confession, XIII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles* (1990), Delumeau produced a description of the rituals and practices of pre-modern Catholicism of unprecedented range and detail that, in many ways, complimented Bossy's interpretation.[11] Moreover, the French historian's view of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations as parallel attempts at confessionalization surely emboldened his British counterpart to argue the same in his own bold survey: *Christianity in the West*.[12] Furthermore, the sources that Delumeau relied upon extensively—including sermons, songs, catechisms, confession manuals and visitation records produced by and for clerics—were precisely those generated by the top-down pressures of interfering ecclesiastical authorities and missionaries, (more often than not with the connivance and open support of the secular authorities without whom the whole enterprise would have been impossible), which both Bossy and Delumeau thought were responsible for inculcating a mechanical faith that might be seen as the forerunner to the twentieth-century attempts at mass indoctrination attempted, for example, by communist China.[13]

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10. This argument was most fully developed in Bossy's masterpiece: *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985).

11. They were all published in Paris by Fayard and save for *L'Aveeu et le pardon*, they have all been translated—*La Peur en Occident* into no fewer than fifteen languages. However, the only one of these to be translated into English (by Eric Nicholson) has been (to date): *Sin & Fear: the emergence of western guilt culture (13th–18th centuries),* (New York, 1990).

12. Although it should be noted that this idea of regarding the Protestant and Catholic Reformations as structurally parallel in their aspirations to acculturate and discipline the "average soul," rather than merely ideologically opposed phenomena, was also shared by Bossy's doctoral supervisor, H. Outram Evennett in the latter's Birkbeck lectures delivered in Cambridge in 1951 but not published until 1968 (with a postscript by Bossy) as: *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, (Cambridge, 1968), so it is unlikely that Delumeau was aware of this when he independently developed this important insight.

13. In "Prescription and Reality" Delumeau compared, only half in jest, the Roman Catholic Catechism with Chairman Mao's *Little Red Book*: "Putting aside the differences in time and place, there was, I think, a comparable programme of indoctrination on the part of this Christian society: and it was a kind of indoctrination unknown in the Middle Ages, or, at least, unknown in that repetitious, didactic form" ("Prescription and Reality," 147). Elsewhere in the lecture Delumeau gives due credit to the role played by the state in this process: "This new, relentlessly pervasive Christianity ("ce Christianisme de tous les instants") could only become universal if civil authorities provided constant support and reminders" (ibid., 148).

Delumeau had in his particular sights the "pedagogy of fear and guilt" (*surculpabilisation*) which is something he had direct childhood experience of as a boy who spent much of what appears to have been a pretty miserable childhood attending boarding schools run by the Salesians, who were still playing upon the fearful consciences of their pupils in the 1930s. Indeed, in a very personal passage from the introduction to *La Peur en Occident* (27), Delumeau describes the trauma of experiencing, aged 10, the sudden death of a family friend and neighbour, a young pharmacist who had visited his parents, apparently in excellent health, the night before he died, which left him unable to return to school for some three months and then, some two years later, how at his Salesian boarding school he was taught to meditate on the Good Death on the first Friday of every month in the school chapel. For Delumeau, this "pastoral pedagogy," to borrow the term used by Robert Bireley in his thoughtful review essay of *Sin and Fear* and *Rassurer et Protéger* in this journal: "transferred the object of fear from death, which could not be avoided, to [fear of] damnation, which with God's help could."[14] In the same chapter of *La Peur en Occident*, Delumeau agrees with Lucien Febvre that one can understand society and the role of religion from the perspective of its fears. In *Sin and Fear* he draws on Jung and Freud to make a similar argument about the hermeneutic helpfulness of ideas of sin. The first pages of *Rassurer et Protéger* return to Febvre in the allusion to the latter's contention that one could interpret Western civilisation through its pursuit of security. According to Delumeau, therefore, a massive campaign of acculturation on the part of both Catholic and Protestant clergy from the mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century, might well have inculcated "higher religious practice"—the senenteenth century was considered by not only the French historian as the "Century of Saints" in France—but the emphasis on the Justice of God, together with fear of death and Hell—an infernal cycle of fear—was ultimately responsible for the dechristianisation of the West from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.[15] According to Bireley, powerfully evocative as it is, this account is "open to charges of onesidedness." To begin with, Delumeau tended to generalize from France to the whole of Western Europe (focus was on France, followed by Italy; there was very little on Spain and the German-speaking lands and discussion of Protestantism focused overwhelmingly on the British Isles). In his determination to access the "taught" rather than "teaching" Church, Delumeau also directed his attention on the sacramen-

14. Robert Bireley, "Review article: two works by Jean Delumeau," *CHR*, 77/1 (1991), 78–88.

15. Parts III and IV of *Sin and Fear*, considered to be the most original parts of the book, deal specifically with this "Evangelism of Fear."

tals—including benedictions, processions, veneration of the rosary and the cult of saints—rather than on the sacraments which were so central to Tridentine Catholicism. The absence of anything approaching a sustained discussion of casuistry, for example, is noteworthy. As Bireley pointedly remarks at one point: "Where is the Church in all this?"

Delumeau followed up his tetralogy on fear, sin, security, confession, and absolution with a trilogy of books, totalling a more modest 1400 pages, addressing the history of Paradise. The first of these considered the nostalgia felt in the late middle ages and early modern period for an earthly paradise; volume two dealt with the expectation of the earthly millennial kingdom, and volume three concerned the history of hope in perfect joy without end.[16] As might have been expected, for Delumeau, the gradual weakening of belief in the reality of an earthly paradise as described in Genesis could only be a good thing as it removed one of the chief weapons of a vengeful God for whom only the elect could aspire to enjoy its fruits. The best account of Delumeau's writing style, which also goes some way in explaining the author's productivity as well as his prolixity, is given by Robert Bireley in his review of the first volume of this trilogy when he writes:

> Delumeau's purpose is less to analyze than it is to recreate for the reader a bygone mentality; thus he remains close to the documents, often citing extensively so that the reader himself [sic] can savour them and grasp their truth as the author puts it.[17]

In a radio interview he gave in 2016, Delumeau revealed that he only really came alive, intellectually speaking, when he moved from his last single-sex Salesian boarding school to a co-educational lycée in Marseilles for the last two years of his pre-university education.[18] There he fell under the influence of two inspirational teachers, Roger Mehl and Jacques Monod. The latter, who taught Delumeau Latin and Greek, joined the Resistance and was shot by the Germans. Both teachers were also Protestants and, judging from Delumeau's recollection almost eighty years later, it was this, his first meaningful encounter with members of a Church

16. *Une histoire du Paradis: le jardin des délices* (Paris, 1992); *Mille ans de bonheur: l'histoire du Paradis* (Paris, 1995); and *Que rest-t-il du Paradis?* (Paris, 2000). Taken together these books form a trilogy on the longing for a paradise.

17. Robert Bireley, "Book review : *Une histoire du Paradis. Le jardin des Délices,*" *CHR*, 80/1 (1994), 111–13, at 112.

18. Luc Daireaux, Au miroir de Clio avec Jean Delumeau, (itinéraire d'un historien de religieux), 3 July 2016. https://soundcloud.com/luc-daireaux/au-miroir-de-clio-avec-jean-delumeau-itineraire-dun-historien-du-religieux-03072016 (last accessed April 13, 2020).

which his previous education had cast as the "other," that was the "light bulb" moment for him. It set the French historian on his lifelong journey to understand what religious identity actually consisted of and what it meant, both now and in the past, to live not only as a Catholic or Protestant, but also as a Christian.

It also helps explain why, after he enrolled at the élite École normale supérieure in Paris in 1943, he took his high school teaching diploma (l'agrégation) in 1947 in history and geography. After a year at the Lycée Alain Fournier in Bourges, Delumeau won a two-year scholarship to the École française de Rome (1948–50), before he returned to teach at the Lycée Chateaubriand in the Breton city of Rennes (1950–54), which became his home for the rest of his life. He was awarded a one-year fellowship at the CNRS in Paris in 1954 before receiving his doctorate in the following year. From 1955–1970 he taught history at the University of Rennes before becoming professor of history at the Sorbonne where he taught from 1970–1975. He capped his distinguished career by being offered the chair in religious mentalities at the Collège de France which he held from 1975 until his retirement in 1994. In 1988 he was made a member of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. In addition to his academic work, Delumeau played a vigorous role as a public intellectual who championed Vatican II and until his dying day advocated, amongst other liberal causes, married priests. As part of this commitment to reach a wider audience for religious history he fronted forty-six, thirteen-minute episodes on "Les Religions et les hommes" a series on comparative religion which was commissioned by Canale 5, France's first private free-to-air TV network and first broadcast in 1996. Over the course of his long life he received numerous public recognitions for his work including: Officier des Palmes académiques; Officier de l'ordre du Mérite; Chevalier de l'ordre de la Légion d'honneur and Officier de l'ordre des Arts et des Lettres. He died in Brest on 13 January 2020.

Delumeau published his last work, *L'avenir de Dieu* [The Future of God] in 2015. It is a personal reflection on his journey both as an historian and as a practising Roman Catholic. As such it overlaps with much of the content of the *iter* that Delumeau recounted in this review in 2010.[19] However, it also draws attention to the French historian's willingness to relate not only the past to the present, but also to the future. As Delumeau put it in the closing words to his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in

19. Jean Delumeau, 'The Journey of an Historian," *CHR*, 96/3 (2010), 435–48.

1974, discussion of which opened this obituary: "It is not the job of an historian to predict the future. Rather, by refusing to accept over-simplifications, he increases its possibilities."

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