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Scots at the Council of Ferrara-Florence and the Background to the Scottish Renaissance

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This article represents the first study of the Scottish presence at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, which included three bishops and over forty other named Scots whose purpose in attending the council is reconstructed in as much detail as the surviving evidence permits. It also aims to show that educated and well-connected Scots were present in one of the premier cultural centers of the early Renaissance, such that the flowering of classicizing culture in Scotland a generation later comes as no surprise. It thereby underlines that ecumenical councils were important moments in the longer history of European cultural integration.

Key words: Scotland; Council of Ferrara-Florence; Ecumenical Councils; Renaissance; European Integration

In 1435 a Scottish Benedictine named Alexander Keith bought a missal from the market near the episcopal curia in Florence. We know nothing more of Alexander whose missal had another owner by 1452, except that the presence of a Scot in Florence during the fifteenth century was not an

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isolated incident.[1] This is in spite of the contemporary image of Scotland among many Italians, if such a distant place crossed their minds at all, that had many parallels with the ideas of Ptolemy, Cicero, and Caesar about the inhabitants of the farthest regions of the Britannic Isles who were considered violent, transgressive, and lacking in every trace of continental culture. As the famous cartographer Fra Mauro put it: "the people are licentious and cruel to their enemies, preferring death to enslavement." This was a view confirmed by Italians who visited Scotland, like the famous Sienese humanist and future Pope Pius II, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who described his time there as "seven months outside the civilized world," and later complained in his autobiography that it was "rough, wild, and untouched by the winter sun," a negative impression that may have been compounded by the terrible frostbite he suffered there, which would leave him with pain in his feet for the rest of his life.[2]

Notwithstanding such contemporary stereotypes and reports, Scotland was in many ways not that remote nor lacking in continental culture. Indeed, the connections between Scotland and continental Europe in general, and Italy in particular, in the fifteenth century were considerable.

Andrews (1418–1443), ed. James Houston Baxter (London, 1930); *ACSB = The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices*, ed. Annie I. Cameron (London, 1934); *CEPR = Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Papal Letters*, ed. J. A. Twemlow et al. (London, 1893–1960).

1. This is discussed in: Charles Burns, "A Scottish Benedictine in Florence in 1435," *Innes Review*, 18 (1967), 59–61.

2. *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. Rudolf Wolkan, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1909), 1:41: "sed fui jam septem mensibus extra terrarum orbem in regno Scotie, quo me dominus meus, cardinalis sancte crucis, transmiserat, quo ex loco nec scribendi facultas erat, nec opus erat scribere, cum nihil ibi ageretur ad vestram rem publicam pertinens." His description of Scotland in his *Commentaries* has also become famous. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Commentaries*, ed. Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta, 2 vols. (London, 2003), 1:20–26 (1.6.1–7): "Civitates nullos habere muros, domos magna ex parte sine calce constructas, villarum tecta de caespitibus facta, ostia rusticana corio boum claudi; vulgus pauper ei incultum carnes et pisces ad saturitatem, panem pro obsonio commendere […] vinum non haberi, nisi importatum […]. Ibi primum figuram orbis et habitabilem terrae faciem visus est revisere; nam terra Scotia et Angliae pars vicina Scotis nihil simile nostrae habitationis habet—horrida, inculta, atque hiemali sole inaccessa." On his trip to Scotland, see Rosamund J. Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara: Pope Pius II 1458–1464* (London, 1962), 65–69; William Watson Buchanan, "Frostbite Arthritis Consequence of First Papal Visit to Scotland," *Clinical Rheumatology* 6 (1987), 436–38. *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, ed. D. Tullia Gasparrini Leporace (Rome, 1956), 60: "la gente è liçiera e feroce e crudel contra i nimici e piutosto eleçeriano la morte cha la seruitù." On ancient views of Britain, see Peter C. N. Stewart, "Inventing Britain: The Roman Creation and Adaptation of an Image," *Britannia*, 26 (1995), 1–10.

These in turn facilitated an important early modern transformation: the rise of a classicizing Renaissance culture in literature, philosophy, and the arts that shaped Scotland into the seventeenth century and beyond.[3] This was a constituent part of the larger European and global Renaissance that has received relatively little attention in mainstream scholarship.[4] Even in Scotland itself, it has only recently begun to receive the attention it deserves, especially in its fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century incarnations. This is due to the longstanding practice in Scottish universities of seeing the Reformation as the event of primary cultural importance in the early modern period, a majoritarian confessional trend that meant that the Scottish Renaissance was for a long time the almost exclusive preserve of members of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association.[5]

This is despite the undeniable and early influence of the Renaissance in Scotland. In architecture, we know that the fifteenth century saw a revival of the Romanesque style of Scotland's "ancient" churches, while already in the early 1430s the Florentine glazer Francesco Domenico Livi da Gambassi was working at the court of James I before returning to Florence to assist in the completion of the Duomo.[6] In the plastic arts, the 1485 silver groat of James III was the first coin issued outside of Italy to include a lifelike Renaissance portrait of a ruler, and from the 1530s onwards Scottish sources speak of a new style affecting painting.[7] In edu-

3. The final gasp of the Renaissance in Scotland was arguably seen in the scholarship of Thomas Ruddiman (1674–1757), although the shadow of classicism is of course much longer: Douglas Duncan, *Thomas Ruddiman: A Study in Scottish Scholarship of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1965).

4. See the various surveys of Renaissance culture in national context published from the 1990s onwards, e.g. Roy Porter and Teich Mikuáš, *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, UK, 1992). This was to some extent rectified by Tom Rutledge, "The Development of Humanism in Late-Fifteenth-Century Scotland," *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, David Rundle, ed. [Medium Aevum Monographs; new ser., 30], (Oxford, UK, 2012), 237–64. On the global Renaissance, see Peter Burke, Luke Clossey, and Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "The Global Renaissance," *Journal of World History*, 28 (2017), 1–30.

5. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson, "Ficino in Aberdeen: The Continuing Problem of the Scottish Renaissance," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 1 (2009), 64–87; Stephen Mark Holmes, "Historiography of the Scottish Reformation: The Catholics Fight Back?" *Studies in Church History*, 49 (2013), 298–311.

6. Johann Wilhelm Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV–XV–XVI*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1840), 2:441–45; Ian Campbell, "A Romanesque Revival and the Early Renaissance in Scotland, c. 1380–1513," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 54 (1995), 302–25.

7. Ian Stewart, "The Heavy Silver Coinage of James III and IV," *The British Numismatic Journal,* 27 (1952), 182–94; Michael Bath *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003).

cation, the revived classical curriculum appeared in Scottish universities from the early sixteenth century and was also being taught in the Cistercian Abby of Kinloss by the Italian humanist Giovanni Ferrerio in the same period. In parallel to this, almost every genre of humanist text is to be found in at least some form in Scotland beginning in the 1480s.[8] In history, Hector Boece's *Historia gentis Scotorum* (1527) combined a Livian style, local antiquarianism, and Tacitus' account of Caledonia in the *Agricola* to create an expansive humanist vision of Scotland's past, not forgetting the prolific and much maligned scholarship of Thomas Dempster who became the official historian of the de' Medici family and a founding figure in Etruscology.[9] In poetry, George Buchanan holds pride of place among the authors collected in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1627). Oratory too was not lacking, from its first tentative steps in Archibald Whitelaw's oration for Richard III (1478) to the rhetorical excesses of Walter Ogilvie's panegyric of Henry VII (1501) on the occasion of the betrothal of Margaret Tudor to James IV, which drew heavily on the classical texts found in Ogilvie's personal library, parts of which are preserved at the University of Glasgow.[10] There were also Scots with a knowledge of Greek, such as George Dundas, a colleague of Erasmus at Montaigu College in Paris, and in 1538 Archibald Hay advocated the foundation of a trilingual (Latin-Greek-Hebrew) college on the model of similar institu-

8. John Durkan, "Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations," *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. John MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), 123–60; *idem*, "Giovanni Ferrerio, Humanist: His Influence in Sixteenth-Century Scotland," *Studies in Church History,* 17 (1981), 181–94; Stephen Mark Holmes, "The Meaning of History: A Dedicatory Letter from Giovanni Ferrerio to Abbot Robert Reid in His *Historia Abbatum De Kynloss*," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 10.1 (2008), 89–115; John MacQueen, "Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 3 (1967), 201–22; *idem*, "The Renaissance in Scotland," *The Celts and the Renaissance: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Glanmor Williams and Robert Owen Jones (Cardiff, 1990), 41–57; Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Farnham, UK, 2011); *idem* "A Latin Renaissance in Reformation Scotland? Print trends in Scottish Latin literature, c. 1480–1700," *Scottish Historical Review*, 95 (2016) 1–29; Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2013); Ronald D. S. Jack, *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh, 1972).

9. Robert Leighton and Celine Castelino, "Thomas Dempster and Ancient Etruria: A Review of the Autobiography and de Etruria Regali," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 58 (1990), 337-52.

10. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, adv. ms 33.2.24; Tom Rutledge, "The Development of Humanism in Late-Fifteenth-Century Scotland," 244–45; Sarah Carpenter, "'Gely Wyth Tharmys of Scotland England': Word, Image, and Performance at the Marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor," *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, eds. Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derek McClure (Newcastle, 2013), 165–77.

tions in Paris and elsewhere.[11] Moral philosophy is also represented by Florens Wilson, tutor to the son of Cardinal Wolsley, neo-Stoic philosopher, and author of *De animi tranquillitate dialogus* (1543).[12] Finally, vernacular humanism in Scotland is well represented by Gavin Douglas who translated the *Aeneid* into Scots and who was well aware of contemporary humanist controversies, such as the philological feud between Lorenzo Valla and Poggio:

> And Pogyus stude with mony gyrn and grone
> On Laurence Valla spyttand and cryand "Fy!"[13]

This wide-ranging cultural transformation clearly affected Scotland as much as any other part of Latin Christendom, and arose due to Scots studying at European schools and universities, taking part in diplomatic missions to princely courts, as well as in the wake of the slow but steady stream of continental intellectuals and artists northwards. These were, in turn, part of a longer history of connectedness between Scotland and Europe that stretches back into the Middle Ages, and ensured that the remote kingdom was never truly isolated from larger European trends.[14]

There is, however, one particularly important episode in the long history of travel and exchange that prefaced the Scottish Renaissance that has been almost entirely overlooked: the Scottish presence at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (often referred to simply as the Council of Florence) convoked by Eugenius IV in 1438 to remedy internal divisions within the Catholic Church and to put an end to the Great Schism with the eastern churches. This stands in stark contrast to the Scottish delegation at the

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11. Colin M. MacDonald, "The Struggle of George Dundas and His Rivals Patrick Panter, James Cortesius, and Alexander Stewart for the Preceptory of Torphichen," *The Scottish Historical Review*, 14 (1916), 19–48 (23); Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 18.

12. Dominic Baker-Smith, "Florens Wilson and his Circle: Émigrés in Lyon, 1539-1543," *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France*, eds. Grahame Castor and Terence Cave (Oxford, UK, 1984), 83–97.

13. "Palice of Honour," *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, 2nd ed. [Scottish Text Society, 5th ser., 2], (Edinburgh, 2003), lines 1231–33. On Douglas' European context, see Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Doulgas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh, 1976), 23–46

14. David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560*. Volume 1*: Religion, Culture and Commerce, 1214–1545* (East Linton, 2001), 36–37; Annie I. Dunlop, "Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century," *Historical Association Pamphlet*, 124 (1942), 1–24; Allan I. MacInnes, "Early Modern Scotland: The Current State of Play," *Scottish Historical Review*, 73 (1994), 30–46, at 43–45; Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism," *Italica* 39 (1962), 1–20.

competing Council of Basel (1431–1447), which has received monographic treatment because of the latter's reforming zeal and championing of a conciliar model that foreshadowed the Reformation in the eyes of many.[15] The presence of six clerics from England has also been recognized, to which this article can add one more. Two of the seven were Carmelite *periti* (invited theological experts), while there was really only one individual of note, Andrew Holes, the English diplomat and book collector praised by the Florentine book merchant, Vespasiano da Bisticci.[16] As regards the numerically superior Scottish presence, there is no study, although Joseph Gill in his seminal work on the Council noted in passing the presence at various sessions of the bishop of Brechin and the abbot of Culross without taking the matter further.[17]

This is a pity as there were present at the papal court at Ferrara and Florence during the high point of the Council (1438–1440) three Scottish bishops (two with close links to European royalty), a Scottish abbot who signed the decree of union with the Greeks and the Armenians, and at least forty other named Scots, including several doctors of canon law, one of whom went on to found Scotland's second fifteenth-century university. In other words, a significant number of notable Scottish prelates were in Florence as the future of Christendom hung in the balance, and while the great humanist scholar Leonardo Bruni was chancellor of Florence, the finishing touches were being put to Brunelleschi's Dome, and Italian Hellenists were entertaining the visiting Byzantine Platonist, George Gemistos Plethon. This, then, is an important moment in Scottish ecclesiastical history, Italo-Scottish relations, and part of a larger pattern of trans-European connectedness that facilitated the spread of Renaissance culture.

This article will therefore reconstruct the Scottish presence at the Council in as much detail as the surviving evidence allows. This said, its aim is not to show that the Council of Florence was the *fons et origo* of the Renaissance in Scotland, although the Council's foundational importance for the development of Hellenic studies in Renaissance Italy and beyond is

15. James H. Burns, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basel* (Glasgow, 1962). The Scottish presence at Florence is mentioned only in passing in Donald E. R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Bloomsbury, 2000), 157.

16. Margaret M. Harvey, "England, the Council of Florence and the End of the Council of Basel," *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/9–1989*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Leuven, 1991), 203–25; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, 2 vols. (Florence, 1970–76), 1:311–13. For the additional English visitor, see *CEPR*, 8:266.

17. Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, UK, 1959), 95-98.

well-known.[18] Rather, it aims to show that educated and well-connected Scots were present in one of the premier cultural centers of the early Renaissance, such that the flowering of classicizing culture in Scotland a generation later comes as no surprise. Of particular importance in this regard were two Scottish churchmen whose sons went on to play important roles in the revival of ancient learning in the kingdom. The Council of Florence therefore set the stage for a generational shift in cultural norms.

The Background to the Scottish Presence at the Council of Ferrara-Florence

The presence of Scots at the Council is on the face of it rather unexpected considering the ambivalent relationship between Scotland and the papacy in the early fifteenth century. Taking advantage of their close friendship with the French monarchy, during the Avignon Papacy the Scottish crown and nobility had retained a high level of control over local ecclesiastical affairs, which they were not willing to give up when, following the election of Martin V in 1417, the papacy gradually began to play a more assertive role in the Scottish Church. In retaliation, in the early 1430s anti-papal laws were promulgated that restricted the flow of clerics and funds to the pope. Around the same time, a significant number of Scots made their way to Basel where the Council had begun to challenge the authority of Eugenius IV, claiming conciliar jurisdiction even over the pope.[19] Just as the ecclesiastical situation came to a head in 1437, leading a year later to Eugenius transferring the Council to Ferrara without its consent, Scotland was plunged into chaos by the murder of James I and the ensuing blood feud between the supporters of the very young James II, and those of other claimants to the throne. Unfortunately, the year 1439 also saw a significant rise in the price of grain that resulted in civil unrest, "so violent, that thar deit ma that yer than ever thar deit ouder in pestilens or yit in ony uthir seiknes in Scotland."[20]

Although some in the papal curia were glad to see the death of James I who "had arrogantly and tyrannically crushed ecclesiastical liberty," in

18. Stuart M. McManus, "Byzantines in the Florentine *Polis*: Ideology, Statecraft & Ritual during the Council of Florence," *Journal of the Oxford University History Society*, 6 (2009), 1–23. <https://sites.google.com/site/jouhsinfo/issue6(michaelmashilary2009)> [accessed 5/5/2020].

19. W. Stanford Reid, "Scotland and the Church Councils of the Fifteenth Century," *Catholic Historical Review* 29 (1943), 1–24; *idem*, "The Origins of Anti-Papal Legislation in Fifteenth-Century Scotland," *Catholic Historical Review* 28 (1944), 445–69, at 447.

20. *The Auchinleck Chronicle*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, 1819), 34.

the months before his death he had nonetheless repealed the anti-papal laws and invited the pope to send a legate to reform the Scottish Church, perhaps influenced by similar pro-papal movements on the part of his ally the French king, with whom he and his kingdom had a longstanding though unstable relationship. In the week before his murder in late February 1437, James was even officially reconciled with the pope following either a parliament or a General Council of the Three Estates.[21] This was not an isolated event, but part of a larger trend. England was similarly moving increasingly towards Eugenius, withdrawing its official delegation from Basel in 1435 once its immediate objectives had been achieved following the successful conclusion of the Congress of Arras (1435) and after the Council began to take a more overtly anti-papal position that was deemed unsustainable.[22] Among the Scottish elite, there also seems to have been support for rapprochement with the papacy, as is clear from a document dated March 23, 1436 at the curia in Florence, in which John Methven, William Croyster, and Sir Walter de Ogilvie pledged to persuade the king to repeal the anti-papal laws.[23] Incidentally, this particular Ogilvie was also the father of the humanist orator of the same name described by Erasmus' friend, Hector Boece as: "possessing such a flood of eloquence that you would say he not only enjoyed, but (as it were) also reveled and luxuriated in the richness of words, expressiveness of speech, and lavishness of expression."[24]

Back in Scotland, the supporters of James I's successor, James II also adopted the pro-papal stance of the other monarchies in the region, while the baronial faction, later spearheaded by the young earl of Douglas, chose to recognize the authority of Basel, backing their cause with force of arms.[25] It would only be in 1443 that the royal party gained the ascendency, and the Scottish Parliament proclaimed that "ferme and fast obedience be kepit til

21. Quoted in Roberto Weiss, "The Earliest Account of the Murder of James I of Scotland," *English Historical Review* 52 (1937), 479–91, at 490: "Libertatem quoque ecclesiasticam superbe ac tyrannice conculcaverat." *CEPR*, 8:229–30; Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland*, 155–57. On Charles VII of France and Eugenius see Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 133-34, 142, 318–19.

22. Alfred N. E. D. Schofield. "England, the Pope, and the Council of Basel, 1435-1449," *Church History*, 33 (1964), 248–78.

23. *CPS*, 369–72.

24. *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. and tr. James Moir (Aberdeen, 1894), 88: "Gualterus Ogilvius, singulari exundans eloquentia, adeo ut hominum verborum copia, sermonis venustate, ubertate sententiarum, non modo delectare, sed (ut ita dicam) lascivire et luxuriare diceres."

25. *CSSR*, 4:468; *CPS*, 322–24.

our haly fadir the pape Eugene."[26] This said, the fact that so many Scottish clerics chose to attend Florence and not Basel suggests that, by 1438 at least, not only the view of the royal faction, but Scottish ecclesiastical opinion in general had tipped in favor of Eugenius.[27] Thus, it was in the wake of growing pro-papal sentiment abroad, though instability and persistent factionalism at home that had taken on an ecclesiastical dimension, that the Scottish clerics made their way to Ferrara and Florence.

Individual Scots at the Council of Florence

Surveying the Scottish presence at the Council as a whole, the primary objective for the vast majority of Scots who traveled first to Ferrara and later Florence was either to settle debts or advance their careers in the Church. Of those recorded present, most were of relatively low standing (canons, parish priests, deacons, and clerks) who came to the curia either to pay the costs incurred by taking up a benefice, or to petition regarding further benefices at home and abroad, which ranged in value from a few florins to quite significant sums. A minority of Scots at the curia also seem to have been more than a little wild. Indeed, one Scottish cleric, John de Camera, was accused of murdering a layman while in Florence![28] Most, however, seem to have kept their heads down. After their arrival, some even took up permanent residency in the papal curia where they continued to petition the pope regarding benefices for themselves, as well as acting as intermediaries for other Scots both at the curia and *in partibus*, no doubt gaining some small recompense for their efforts.

One notable petitioner was William Elphinstone, father to the eponymous humanist founder of King's College, Aberdeen, who studied law at Louvain in the 1430s.[29] In Florence, Elphinstone Sr. successfully suppli-

26. "1443, 4 November, Stirling, General Council," *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. Gillian H. MacIntosh, Alastair J. Mann, Pamela E. Ritchie, and Roland J. Tanner, <https://www.rps.ac.uk> [accessed 5/5/2020].

27. Of the sixty-three Scottish prelates at Basel between 1431 and 1447, the majority were present before 1438, with no cleric of any note arriving after this: Burns, *Scottish Churchmen*.

28. *CSSR*, 4:562, 598.

29. Robert Feenstra, "Teaching the Civil Law at Louvain as Reported by Scottish Students in the 1430s (Mss. Aberdeen 195–97) with Addenda on Henricus De Piro (and Johannes Andreae)," *Tijdschrift Voor Rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue D'Histoire Du Droit / The Legal History Review* 65 (1997), 245–80. Neil R. Ker, "'For All That I may Clamp': Louvain Students and Lecture-Rooms in the Fifteenth-Century," *Medium Aevum* 39 (1970), 31–33; Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1985), 16–18.

cated for several benefices in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow, although in 1443 his excessive enthusiasm for collecting benefices was to come back to haunt him when he was forced to apologize *in absentia* for seeking incompatible benefices through an English or Irish cleric who incorrectly claimed that Elphinstone was from the diocese of St Asaph in Wales.[30] Another intriguing case is that of Laurence Piot who spent some time in a papal prison for reasons unknown.[31] We also know that Piot was involved in a lengthy battle for the deanery of Ross with Thomas Tulloch who was also present in Florence. In the end, Tulloch was not only successful in obtaining the deanery, but on September 26, 1440 was raised to the bishopric of the same diocese, perhaps as the only claimant capable of challenging the Council of Basel's preferred choice, John Innes, in the rough and tumble of highland ecclesiastical politics.[32] In this way, Tulloch became the Council of Florence's third Scottish bishop after James Kennedy and John de Crannach, more on whom in a moment.

Perhaps surprisingly, however, the Scottish cleric who was present most frequently at official sessions of the Council was not Tulloch nor any of the other Scottish bishops, but the mysterious Laurence of Lindores, a monk of Balmerino, minor penitentiary, and papal chaplain whose career before arriving in Ferrara is obscure apart from an anathema on the cartulary of his home monastery that may be attributed to him.[33] Indeed, Laurence's attendance is recorded at the very first session in Ferrara's cathedral of San Giorgio on January 8, 1438 when the Council was officially declared open, as well as at the sixth session on February 11 when measures to be taken against Basel were discussed.[34] Unfortunately, the Latin Acts of the Council are lost, and so the next traces of Laurence's activities at the Council are his signatures both on the decree of Union with the Greeks,

30. *CSSR*, 4:363, 599, 625, 630.

31. *CSSR*, 4:530, 630; *ACSB*, 24, 118, 120–22, 125; Burns, *Scottish Churchmen*, 38, n. 69.

32. Donald E. R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638. 2nd Draft* [New Series (Scottish Record Society), 1], (Edinburgh, 1969), 268, 272; David Kyle Cochran-Yu, "A Keystone of Contention: The Earldom of Ross, 1215–1517" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016), 165–72.

33. William Barclay David Donald Turnbull, *The Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores* (Edinburgh, 1841), viii: "Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach. Qui eum alienaverit fit ipse alienatus a regno Dei. Scriptum est hoc per fratrem Laurencium predicti loci. Anno Domini M° CCCC° sexto X°. Amen."

34. *Fragmenta protocolli, diaria privata, sermones*, ed. Georg Hofmann (Rome, 1950), 3–4, 16–17: "Actus notarilis de prima sessione conciliari Ferrariensi, die 8 ian. 1438 . . . comparuerunt . . . Laurentius de Cultos . . . Actus notarilis de sexta sessione conciliari Ferrariensi, die 11 febr. 1438 . . . Comparuerunt . . . Laurentius de Londonis de Curlos."

Laetentur caeli from July 6, 1439, and on the decree of Union with the Armenians, *Exsultate Deo* from November 22, 1439. The fact that he is not mentioned in the other accounts of the sessions means that either he was absent from the Council from February 1438 to July 1438 or that he played no significant role during the remaining sessions and so went unnoticed by chroniclers.[35]

The question remains, however, why Laurence was such a frequent feature of the official sessions. From the perspective of the other attendees, he may have benefitted from having the same name as a notable Scottish scholastic philosopher who died in 1437.[36] In terms of his own motivations, although evidence is scant, it is hard to think that it had much to do with any particular wish to see unity between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, or even to halt the developing schism in the Western Church, although this cannot, of course, be entirely excluded. Rather, it was probably a function of his main objective in visiting the curia, namely to obtain confirmation of his benefice. In 1436 he had been provided to the Cistercian monastery at Culross, which had fallen vacant upon the death of John Peplis in 1435. On June 8 of the same year Eugenius IV sent letters to the convent and vassals of Culross informing them that since the monastery had been reserved by the pope from before the death of John, he was exercising his right to provide Laurence to the position. Eugenius also wrote to the abbots of the neighboring monasteries of Kinloss, Cupar, and Balmerino, informing them that since Laurence feared that he might be hindered in taking control of the abbey, they were ordered to secure and defend his claim and to invoke, if necessary, "the aid of the secular arm," presumably a reference to the use of force. Following normal procedure, on Christmas Eve 1437 Laurence was at the papal treasury in person to pay the debts due for his provision.[37] There, he also chose to attend the Council, perhaps as a strategy to gain recognition of his appointment. However, around the same time Robert Wendale, the "hindrance" Laurence had foreseen and the preferred choice of the abbey convent, petitioned Basel

35. Fantino Vallaresso, *Libellus de ordine generalium conciliorum et unione Florentina*, ed. Bernard Schütze (Rome, 1944), 100: "[Decree of Union with the Greeks] Ego Laurentius, abbas de Culores, me subscripsi." *Epistulae pontificae ad concilium Florentinum spectantes*, ed. Georg Hofmann (Rome, 1946), 2:224: "[Decree of Unions with the Armenians] Laurentius abbas de Culros Imiblanensis [*rectius* Dunblanensis] diocesis." Note that the so-called "acta Latina" are not the acts of the Council but rather an account written by Andrea da Santacroce: Gill, *The Council of Florence*, x–xi.

36. *CPS*, 383; James Houston Baxter, "The Philosopher Laurence of Lindores," *The Philosophical Quarterly,* 5 (1955), 348–54.

37. *CEPR*, 8:613, 639; *CSSR,* 4:321, 407, 602; *ACSB*, 22, 23–4.

for confirmation of his election as abbot. Robert's petition was also accompanied by a letter, which described the unanimous election of Robert and begged the Council to approve the abbey's choice.[38] In this way, the sometimes violent struggle for the small Scottish Abbey of Culross became part of a wider European ecclesiastical confrontation, with each claimant seeking and receiving support from a different side.

In the end, however, despite all his efforts and initially winning papal support, Laurence was unsuccessful in gaining permanent control of the monastery. Indeed, in June 1441 he was on the verge of losing everything, as can be deduced from a petition of that date. In it, he supplicated that Bishop Kennedy (who had been given powers to absolve previous adherents to Basel now loyal to Eugenius and reinstate their benefices) should not, by absolving Robert Wendale, unintentionally recognize the former schismatic's claim to Culross.[39] Despite his best efforts and paying off his debts to the *camera apostolica* for the provision, in 1443 Laurence was effectively deprived of the abbey by Eugenius and ordered to be put on trial and to come to the curia to seek absolution. Ironically, the reasons given for this change of heart were that Laurence had imprisoned Robert in a tower and unlawfully taken possession of the monastery, calling on the aid of the same "secular arm" that Eugenius had ordered be put at his disposal in 1436! This said, Robert's cause may also have been aided by the influence of powerful friends, as he seems to have had close links to the Scottish court.[40] After his fall from papal favor, we lose all trace of Laurence, the sole Scot to sign the decree of Union who received no further benefices.

The Brechin Party

The only other Scottish cleric recorded at the official sessions of the Council is a far more well-known figure, John de Crannach, bishop of Brechin, described in the *Auchinleck Chronicle* as "a gude, actif, and vertuis man," who was accompanied to Ferrara by his chaplain, David Reid and a retinue of unspecified size that included a canon of the cathedral of

38. *CPS*, 375: "Devoti ecclesie filii, prior, conventus et monachi ipsius monasterii per viam sancti spiritus devotum ecclesie filium fratrem Robertum de Widale, religiosum professum ipsius monasterii, in ipsorum et ipsius monasterii abbatem et pastorem concorditer et unanimiter elegerunt." Burns, *Scottish Churchmen*, 58–59.

39. *CEPR*, 9:207–8.

40. Robert Wendale was a witness to a charter of King James II in 1442: William Douglas, "Culross Abbey and its Charters," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland* 60 (1925), 67–94, at 89; *CEPR*, 9:349–50; Annie I. Dunlop, *Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950), 47, n. 7.

Brechin named John Steil.[41] Incepted as Master of Arts at Paris in 1406, Crannach taught for over 10 years at the university where he was several times the procurator of the English Nation, and once even elected rector, before being appointed bishop of Brechin in 1426. Considering this background, his arrival at Ferrara may have been an answer to the pope's call in October 1437 for European *studia* to send those with the titles of doctor or master to the Council, although, if this was the case, it would have brought him into conflict with the pro-conciliar Parisian *studium*.[42]

At the Council, Bishop John's presence is recorded at the sessions in Ferrara on February 15 and April 3, 1438, where the bull *Exposcit debitum* was read and conciliar protocol discussed respectively.[43] Although not in Brechin on June 13, 1439 when a complaint was lodged against the rector of Lethnot, he was back in his diocese in late June 1439. This said, it is unclear whether he travelled from Ferrara to Florence with the other Latin prelates in early 1439, although his chaplain (who was in Brechin with the bishop in late June) was certainly still in Florence on February 27, 1439, suggesting a relatively direct and swift return journey for the Brechin party.[44]

While at Ferrara and perhaps also Florence, John took advantage of his presence *in curia* to supplicate both on behalf of his diocese for an indulgence for pilgrims to Brechin cathedral, and for benefices on behalf of his relatives, including his brother David de Crannach who had visited Rome with John in the 1420s and was present at Ferrara with him in March 1438. Despite this, David along with his other brother Robert chose to support Basel after 1438, a surprising move which either underlines the continuing division within the Scottish Church during the period of the Council, or suggests that the Crannachs were hedging their bets. After the victory of the papal party in Scotland, it was only the intercession of their influential brother who was made "conservator of the privileges of the Scottish Church" in 1445, that saved David and Robert's ecclesiastical careers.[45] Unfortunately, despite his successes both at home and on the continent, we

41. *The Auchinleck Chronicle*, 56. See Appendix.

42. Burns, *Scottish Churchmen*, 48; *CEPR*, 8:265; Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 319.

43. *Fragmenta Protocolli,* 22-24: "Generalibus magistris et doctoribus in duabus ultimis sessionibus [i.e. February 11 and 14] nominatis, ac ultra illos . . . Iohanne Bracanensi . . . Iohanne Brechensi."

44. *CSSR*, 4:520; *Registrum episcopatus Brechinensis*, eds. Patrick Chalmers and John Inglis Chalmers (Aberdeen, 1856), 85–86: "instrumentum protestationis nomine episcopi contra Rectorem de Lethnot […] in absentia dicti domini episcopi."

45. *CEPR*, 8:256; *Registrum episcopatus Brechinensis*, 85–86, *CSSR*, 4:442; Burns, *Scottish Churchmen*, 46–47, 58–59.

have no further information about John's activities at the Council, about the reasons for his early departure from Florence, or regarding the fallout from his split with his brothers. However, the Council was soon to be visited by another Scottish bishop about whom much more is known.

Bishop Kennedy and the Scottish "Delegation"

James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, led the most significant party of Scots to arrive at the Council, which included such notable figures as William Turnbull, the future bishop of Glasgow, and Robert Drydane, chaplain to the king of Scots.[46] Indeed, Kennedy was a towering figure in Scotland. He was the grandson of King Robert III and cousin to King James I, and received his MA in 1429 from the recently founded University of St Andrews, before studying law at Louvain. Alongside John de Crannach who had close links to the French court and with whom Kennedy would later cooperate extensively in improving the standard of learning in Scotland through the foundation of St Salvator's College at St Andrews, Kennedy then escorted the daughter of James I, the Lady Margaret, to France in March 1436 to marry the dauphin, before, thanks to the intervention of his cousin the king, being elected to Dunkeld in January 1437, for which he had to be quickly raised from subdeacon, to priest, and then bishop. Scottish humanist authors also attribute to him various Latin works, although none of these survive.[47]

Despite the prominence of its leader, the exact date of the Kennedy party's arrival is not recorded. However, we know that on September 24, 1439 Kennedy himself supplicated that he and his "familiars and continual commensals" should receive the benefits reserved for those who had been present at the papal court for six months, despite only having been resident

46. Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 27 n. 2; Michel Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), 203–07.

47. Annie I. Dunlop, *Acta facultatis artium universitatis Sanctiandree 1413–1588*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1964), 1:xxii–xxvi; *eadem*, *James Kennedy*, 1–19; David Buchanan, *De scriptoribus Scotis libri duo*, ed. David Irving (Edinburgh, 1837), 88: "Tria reliquit suae magnificentiae et liberalitatis monumenta egregia, scholas publicas ad Fanum Andreae maximis sumptibus aedificatas, et magnis proventibus ex ecclesiasticis tamen fructibus locupletatas, Collegium S. Salvatoris, in quo juventus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari poffit; marmoreum sepulchrum, structura mirabili confectum; simulque et ingentem et admirandae molis navem onerariam, Bargiam dictam. Vulgo autem creditum, horum trium unumquodque similis prorsus fuisse pretii et valoris. Porro quod ad hominis eruditionem attinet, inter alia literaria monumenta haec sequentia sequenti posteritati reliquit: *Epistolas varias ad diversos viros doctos in Gallia et Italia, lib. I*; *Orationem pro cura publica mulieribus non mandanda*; *De boni episcopi officio, lib. i.* Caetera ad nostram non pervenerunt notitiam."

for twelve weeks. Thus, Kennedy was claiming to have arrived around July 2, a few days before the magnificent celebration of Union on July 6.[48] This mission has been called a "delegation" by one modern historian.[49] However, this terminology is problematic, firstly, because we have no record of them having been officially sent, and, secondly, because they did not take part in any conciliar discussions, which were effectively over by this point.[50] Nevertheless, the Kennedy party may have been among the various "ambassadors of the princes," before whose arrival the humanist and General of the Camaldolese Order, Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), urged Eugenius to conclude Union on June 1, 1439.[51] Furthermore, given the close affinity between Kennedy and the Scottish crown, and the presence of the king's chaplain, as well as one of his counsellors, Hugh Kennedy, in his retinue, it is reasonable to presume that the bishop could in some way speak for the Kingdom of Scotland, and so his mission may be considered a "delegation" at least in a loose sense. This said, their objective in coming to Florence was probably not to take part in the Council *per se*. Rather, their aim was likely to cement papal support for the royal faction in Scottish ecclesiastical politics, as in any case the individual Latin delegations played relatively minor roles in the Council, since the Greeks' acceptance of Catholic doctrine was the main focus proceedings.

While the details of Kennedy's remit in Florence and exactly what was discussed are not known, it was in all probability related to the dynastic situation and the ongoing persistence of the conciliar faction in Scotland. It is also clear that whatever Kennedy proposed, it was well-received by the curia. In September 1439, Kennedy was awarded Scotland's richest monastery at Scone *in commendam*, meaning that he could draw a revenue from it while delegating his obligations.[52] After a pilgrimage to Rome in late 1439, Kennedy then returned to Florence, where, after receiving news that the incumbent had died, Eugenius transferred him to the premier diocese of Scotland, St Andrews.[53] In so doing, the pope was ensuring that a

48. *CSSR*, 4:620.

49. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe,* 1:37.

50. On the definition and limits of the term "delegation" today, see: John Beal, James A. Coriden, and Thomas J. Green, *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law* (New York, 2002), 188–92.

51. Ambrogio Traversari, *Latinae epistolae*, ed. Lorenzo Mehus (Florence, 1739), col. 66: "Adveniunt, ut audio, Legati Principum, et vehementer cupio, ut inveniant confectum negocium." *CSSR*, 4:623.

52. *CEPR*, 270; Burns, *Scottish Churchmen*, 64.

53. John Fordun and Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon,* ed. John MacQueen, Winifred MacQueen, and Donald E. R. Watt, 9 vols. (Aberdeen, 1995), 3:412–v14: "In sequenti xxii

well-connected and loyal prelate occupied the foremost see in Scotland. The fervor with which Kennedy pursued pro-papal policies upon his return is a testament to the faith placed in him by Eugenius who gave Kennedy the power to rehabilitate former schismatics, thus helping to bring the Scottish Church back under papal control.[54]

Another member of the Kennedy's circle in Florence was William Turnbull, canon of Glasgow and papal chaplain, who also enjoyed Eugenius' favor during his brief stay in Florence. Like Kennedy, he too was a learned figure of some renown in Scotland, having studied law at Louvain in the early 1430s, before entering papal service and being sent as a nuncio to Bologna for Eugenius in 1433. Back home, James I constituted him as royal proctor at the court of Rome, after which he returned to the curia in Florence and later travelled around Tuscany in the pope's entourage. He then traveled to Pavia in June 1439 to receive his doctorate in canon law before making his way to the Council, arriving around a week before the main body of Scots.[55] Almost immediately upon his arrival, Turnbull also began to receive papal patronage, being granted the right to hold three incompatible benefices as well as a papal exception. Whether this was from episcopal jurisdiction, or simply from papal taxes, the records do not say, but the curia's favorable attitude towards him is undeniable.[56]

Choosing not to accompany Kennedy on his pilgrimage to Rome, Turnbull left Florence for Scotland in the autumn of 1439. Neither his reasons for coming to Florence (except to join Kennedy), nor for leaving Italy are known. However, having already spent extended periods in Rome as a trusted member of the papal *familia*, a pilgrimage to the eternal city may have been a less attractive option. Furthermore, as arguably the leading expert in canon law in the mission he was perhaps chosen to return home to begin the process of resolving the divisions in the Scottish Church. Indeed, we know that once in Scotland he played a significant role in ecclesiastical affairs, eventually overseeing the excommunication of adherents to Basel in

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die mensis aprilis anno domini MCCCCXL postulatus est nobilis vir magister Jacobus Kenedi, nepos domini regis Jacobi primi ex sorore sua comtissa de Angus episcopus Dunkeldensis, per viam Sancti Spiritus. Qui tunc erat cum domino Papa Eugenio Florentiae in curia; a quo anno prededente consecutus est monasterium de Scona in commenda. Sed antequam pervenirent ad curiam decretum eleccionis et litere regales commendatitie, provisum est sibi de episcopatu Sanctiandr."

54. *CEPR*, 8:238–39.

55. John Durkan, *William Turnbull Bishop of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1951), 11–16.

56. *ACSB*, 317; *CSSR*, 4:565.

1442.[57] Later, he would become bishop of Dunkeld and then of Glasgow, although his lasting legacy would, of course, be the University of Glasgow, which he founded in 1451 on the model of the *studium* at Bologna.[58] His life was, therefore, a perfect example of how deeply imbricated Scotland was in ecclesiastical politics and western European culture as a whole.

Scots and Byzantines in Renaissance Italy

Despite their relatively large numbers, as far as can be ascertained there is no mention of the Scottish presence in Italian accounts of the Council, which tend to focus on the Greek, Armenian, Ethiopian and other delegations. However, there may be a reference to the party of Scots led by Bishop Kennedy in the *Memoirs* of Sylvester Syropoulos, the anti-Union grand ecclesiarch of the Hagia Sophia. This represents the most detailed Byzantine account of the Council, and contains a second-hand report from August 1439 of a Greek deacon stopping at a Bolognese hostelry on his return to Venice where he met a mysterious group of travelers:

> When they were just about to leave Florence, he [the Emperor] sent his chaplains on ahead, among whom there was the aforementioned deacon Philip. These men travelled and each night took shelter in hostels, as is the custom in those parts. Thus it happened that they spent the night in Bologna in a hotel where there were also ambassadors sent from *Anclitera* to visit the pope.[59]

The unknown ambassadors then asked what had happened at the Council and the Byzantine deacon responded that they had indeed achieved Union.

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57. *Rotuli Scotiae in turri Londonensi et domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati*, ed. David Macpherson, John Caley, and William Illingsworth, 2 vols. (London, 1814–19), 2:315: "Similis salvus conductus pro Willelmo Turnbull . . . xxiij die Novembrij 1439." Christine McGladdery, *James* II (Edinburgh, 1990), 27.

58. *Munimenta alme universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. Cosmo Innes, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1854), 1:4: "Ac venerabilis frater noster Willelmus Episcopus Glasguensis ac successores sui qui pro tempore fuerint Gasguenses Episcopi prefati Studii Glasguensis sint rectores Cancellarii nuncupati habeant super doctores magistros et scolares ac alios de Universitate Studii huiusmodi similem facultatem et potestatem quam habent rectores scolarum dicti Studii Bononiensis."

59. *Les "mémoires" du grand ecclésiarque de l'église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439)*, ed. Vitalien Laurent (Paris, 1971), 514: "Μέλλων δ' ἐξιέναι τῆς Φλωρεντίας ὁ βασιλεύς προαπέστειλε τοὺς τοῦ κλήρου αὐτοῦ κληρικούς, μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ προδηλωθεὶς διάκονος ὁ Φίλιππος, οἳ διερχόμενοι καὶ ἐν πανδοχείοις καταλύοντες καθ' ἑκάστην νύκτα, ὡς ἔθος ἐκεῖσε, ἔφθασαν καταλύσαντες καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολονείᾳ εἰς πανδοχεῖον, οὗ καὶ εὑρέθησαν πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Ἀγκλιτέρας ἀπερχόμενοι εἰς τὸν πάπαν."

The foreigners then asked how it happened, and which doctrine had prevailed. He responded that the Council had agreed that both the Greek and Latin views on the Creed and the Eucharist were correct. The travelers then exclaimed that this was not Union at all, but agreement in division!

That Syropoulos took some rhetorical liberties in attributing to the unknown foreigners a view that closely mirrored his own is clear. Yet, there is no reason to believe that the meeting was entirely fictitious. What remains difficult to ascertain, however, is the actual origin of the group Philip met. The leading historian of the Council, Joseph Gill, was not entirely certain, but decided that they were most likely English, interpreting "Ἀγκλιτέρα" as a transcription of the Italian *Inghilterra* in the sense of "England." On the other hand, the editor of Syropoulos' *Memoirs* was not so sure: "[Gill] might have been mistaken about the nationality of travelers who for that matter may well have been Irish or Scottish."[60]

While it is impossible to be certain, there are several compelling reasons why the group may have been from Scotland, rather than England or Ireland. First, there is vanishingly little evidence of an English presence at the Council of Florence in this period on the scale of the Scottish, making the chances higher that Philip met the latter rather than the former. Second, the turn of phrase used by Syropoulos to denote the origin of the ambassadors ("ἐκ τῆς Ἀγκλιτέρας") departs from contemporary Byzantine usage when referring to the Kingdom of England. Indeed, rather than transcribing from contemporary vernaculars late-Byzantine writers tended to follow classical usage and refer to England as "Britannia" (*Βρετανία*). This was certainly the case when the Emperor Manuel Palaeologus visited England in 1400 when he referred to Henry IV as "the king of Britannia" (*ὁ τῆς Βρετανίας ῥήξ*) despite presumably knowing that the island was divided into separate kingdoms.[61] Third, since the summer of 1439 saw the arrival of a large number of Scots, it is not impossible that Syropoulos was

60. Ibid. 515, n. 7: "qu'il [Gill] se soit trompé sur la nationalité des voyageurs qui au demeurant pourraient bien avoir été irlandais ou écossais." Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 300, n. 10.

61. Manuel Palaeologus, *Lettres*, ed. Emile Legrand (Amsterdam, 1962), 52. I have found only one other instance where the classical terminology is not used, and this too appears to be a transcription from a vernacular, a clarification rather than anything else. *Patrologia cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Series Graeca*, 167 vols. plus 2 vols. of Register (Paris, 1857–66, 1928–36), 139, col. 784D: "καὶ ὁ τῶν πελεκυφόρων δὲ κατάρχων Βρεττανῶν, οὕς νῦν φασιν Ἰγγλίνους." Britain is not to be found on Byzantine lists of ancient and modern place names: Aubrey Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Amsterdam, 1983), 279–94.

referring to latecomers from Kennedy's party since we know that some Scots did travel via Bologna.[62] Fourth and finally, while it is likely that English clerics would have been just as likely to strike up a conversation with a Byzantine deacon as anyone else, late medieval Scots potentially had an additional motivation. In contrast to contemporary English historians who traced England's origins back to Brutus of Troy, Scottish historians saw Scotland as a joint foundation of the Greeks and the Egyptians, a fact that would almost certainly have been known to many if not all of the Scots present in Italy during this period, and may have added to the appeal of such an encounter.[63] Of course, without further evidence all this must remain merely an interesting conjecture, although the mere fact that members of the Byzantine delegation may have encountered Scots while in Italy for the Council is at the very least a poignant reminder of the extent of connections between Scotland and the beating heart of Catholic Europe.

Conclusions

While many of the stereotypes fifteenth-century Italians had about Scotland were not entirely without foundation, the extensive Scottish presence at the Council of Florence further undermines the myth that it was quite so removed from the larger European context as many contemporaries thought. Indeed, not only were over forty clerics from Scotland present at the papal court in Florence at the highpoint of the Council of Union, but among them was the cream of contemporary Scottish ecclesiastical and intellectual life. In particular, figures such as James Kennedy and John de Crannach stand out as men who not only shaped the political landscape in their distant homeland, but were also players at a European level. Furthermore, the sheer number of lowly Scottish clerics at the curia underlines if not the ease of travelling from Scotland to Italy, then the desire or necessity for Scots to be present in person, with the case of Laurence of Lindores showing that papal favor could be tremendously valuable, although there was always the risk that such support might be short-lived. Looking at the activities of the Scots at the curia during the Council as a whole, it is clear that most were motivated to make the journey to advance their own, their family's, or their political faction's interests back in Scotland, although for some, such as John de Crannach and William Turnbull, the picture is not so clear. However, this is not to say that their objectives were any more

62. *ACSB*, 123; *CSSR*, 4:620.

63. Maurice Buchanan, *Liber pluscardensis*, ed. Felix J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1877), 80–81: "Postquam de partibus Aegipti et Graeciae progressi fuerunt. Ex quo patet quod antiquissima Scotorum nacio a duobus nobilissimis mundi regionibus principaliter exorta est."

parochial than those of the other visitors to Ferrara and Florence. Indeed, were the Greeks not at the Council effectively in a bid to secure military assistance in a regional dispute that affected their onetime empire, the territorial expanse of which was even less even than that of contemporary Scotland?

Motivations aside, the Council of Florence was a key moment in a longer process of exchange in people and ideas between Scotland and continental Europe that led first to the rise of university culture in the early fifteenth century and from the late fifteenth century onwards classicizing Renaissance art, architecture, literature, and philosophy. While recent attention has focused on the interactions between Scottish humanists and the seventeenth-century European Republic of Letters, the origins of such exchanges can be traced back to the fifteenth century and beyond.[64] Indeed, though the Council's precise influence on Scotland's cultural landscape is difficult to ascertain due to the painfully thin historical record for this period, the number of intergenerational connections (one of the few ways to infer cultural genealogies given the lack of evidence) between those who traveled to Florence for the Council and the first generation of humanists is striking.

Indeed, it is unlikely to be coincidental that the eponymous son of Sir Walter de Ogilvie who visited the curia in Florence went on to become Scotland's most colorful early humanist orator. Likewise, it is probably no accident that the similarly eponymous (though illegitimate) son of William Elphinstone who spent three months in Florence around Christmas 1438 went on to travel extensively in Italy before founding King's College in Aberdeen, which had a decidedly more Renaissance bent than earlier Scottish seats of learning. Indeed, Elphinstone Jr. was not only a close friend of the humanist orator Archibald Whitelaw and a patron of the humanist historian Hector Boece, but was also one of the first Scots known to own a manuscript of Lorenzo Valla's famous handbook of humanist style (*Elegantiae linguae Latinae*) that alongside the texts of civil and canon law owned by his father survives in the library of the University of Aberdeen. Family connections to Italy seem to have foreshadowed interest in Italian cultural exports. As a result of this wide-ranging learning and reforming zeal, in 1521 John Law would later dub Elphinstone a "new Nicholas of

64. "Bridging the Continental Divide. A project led by the University of Glasgow and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council 2012–2015," https://www.dps.gla.ac.uk [accessed 5/5/2020].

Cusa" (*alter Cusa*), a figure who had incidentally played an important role in the Council of Florence.[65]

Finally, as a hitherto unknown moment in the longstanding process of exchange in people and ideas that has to a greater or lesser extent always characterized European history, the Council of Florence is a reminder of the important role of ecumenical councils and the Catholic Church more broadly in an early version of the process that we might today call "European integration" or perhaps even "globalization." While in its intension an opportunity to repair the Great Schism, the presence of the curia in Ferrara and Florence within the context of an ecumenical council called at a moment of crisis for the Church also provided a unique opportunity for Scottish clerics to pursue a range of aims, both large and small, and to experience people, places, and ideas quite different from those commonly found in their native country. The presence of visitors from a land "rough, wild and untouched by the winter sun" is therefore a microcosm of a larger process of Catholic globalization that in the last two millennia has (with inevitable ebbs and flows) contributed to cultural interactions, often verging on integration, between different parts of the world. While hardly the "global Jesuits" that have recently captured the imagination of many historians, the Scottish visitors to fifteenth-century Ferrara and Florence were part of the same larger trend.[66]

65. Rutledge, "The Development of Humanism," 253; Leslie J. Macfarlane, "William Elphinstone's Library Revisted," *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History, and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, eds. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and Ian Borthwick Cowan (Leiden, 1994), 66–81; *idem*, *William Elphinstone*, 290–402; Stephen Mark Holmes, *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship, 1488–1590* (Oxford, 2015), 59.

66. Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York, 2008).

Appendix: Scots Recorded at the Curia During the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438–1440[67]

The Kennedy Mission

Richard Cady, priest of Glasgow diocese
July 8, 1439–September 5, 1439

James Cameron, priest of St Andrews diocese, canon professed of Holyrood
July 8, 1439

Robert Drydane, priest of St Andrews diocese, chaplain to the king of Scots
August 13, 1439

Andrew de Fyf, priest of St Andrews diocese
c. June 18, 1439–June 1, 1440

Hugh Kennedy, canon of St John of Sens, counsellor of the king of Scots
October 10, 1439

James Kennedy, MA BDec, bishop of Dukeld and St Andrews
c. July 2, 1439–September 1, 1440

Donald MacMohan, MA BDec, priest of St Andrews diocese
October 4, 1440

William Turnbull, MA DCL, canon of Glasgow, dean of Moray
June 26, 1439–September 10, 1439

The Brechin Party

John de Crannach, MA, bishop of Brechin
February 15, 1438–July 2, 1438

David de Crannach, clerk of Aberdeen diocese
March 8, 1438

David Reid, priest of Glasgow diocese, chaplain to bishop of Brechin
November 7, 1438–October 15, 1440

John Steil, BDec, canon of Brechin
February 27, 1439

Other Named Scots

John de Balfour, MA, rector of Kyrkforthir
December 17, 1437–February 27, 1440

67. Compiled from *CSSR*, *ACSB*, and *CEPR*.

William Brown, priest of St Andrews diocese
Died while returning from curia between June 20, 1438 and November 3, 1438

John de Camera, priest of Glasgow diocese
June 22, 1439

James Croyser, clerk of Glasgow diocese
August 4, 1440

William Croyser, MA, archdeacon of Teviotdale, papal nuncio, papal acolyte
January 6, 1439–February 28, 1439

Thomas Donyne, MA, clerk of Dunblane diocese
June 30, 1439

Andrew de Dunnovin, BDec, clerk of Ross diocese
Throughout period

William Elphinstone, MA BLeg
c. December 14, 1438–March 14, 1439

William Hog, priest of Glasgow diocese.
July 15, 1439

James Innes, MA, canon of Moray
October 3, 1440

Andrew de Keyth, MA, from St Andrews diocese
January 30, 1439

Robert Ladre, MA BDec, canon of Glasgow, nuncio of the king of Scots
September 1, 1440

Alexander Lichton, MA BUJ, canon of Moray
July 27, 1440

Laurence of Lindores, abbot of Culross, papal chaplain
December 24, 1437–November 22, 1439

Robert de Logton, clerk of St Andrews diocese
c. July 1, 1440–September 1, 1440

John Louthiane, priest of Glasgow diocese
Died travelling from Ferrara to Florence before 28 July 1439

Robert de Lychow, clerk of Glasgow diocese
August 4, 1440

Donald de MacNaughton, DCL, canon of Glasgow
Died returning from curia before October 4, 1440

John Moneypenny, MA, clerk of St Andrews diocese
December 14, 1440

Adam de Montegomerie, MA, priest of Glasgow diocese
March 5, 1439–June 20, 1440

David Ogilvy, priest of St Andrews diocese
July 9, 1440

Thomas Penven, MA Bdec, priest of Glasgow diocese
Throughout period

Laurence Piot, canon of Glasgow
Throughout period

John de Ranwyk, clerk of Glasgow diocese
August 4, 1440

William Sanquhar, clerk of Aberdeen diocese
c. July 4, 1437–July 4, 1439

David Seras, BA BDec, priest of Brechin diocese
August 6, 1440–October 12, 1440

William Scott, rector of the parish church of Cultir
Died *in curia* before June 30, 1439

David Stewart, MA, canon of Ross
October 15, 1440

Walter Stewart, rector of Mynto in diocese of Glasgow
March 21, 1438

Alexander de Thornton, BDec, rector of Benham
June 1, 1439–July 11, 1439

Thomas de Tullach, BDec, bishop of Ross
November 22, 1440

John Wrycht, BDec, priest of Brechin diocese
March 11, 1439

Alexander Young, priest of Aberdeen diocese
November 3, 1440

Whose Restoration Is It? Acrimony and Division in the Fight for Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna (1814–30)

Christopher Korten*

This article examines the administrative decisions in attempting a restoration following 1814 and the defeat of Napoleon, which led to many frustrations and conflicts, especially involving religious orders and their monasteries within the Papal States. Against those who would put a positive spin on the period, this article lays plain the human factors at play and reveals how deeply frustrating and divisive this period actually was for the affected monasteries and the men who ran them. A prominent case study, Sant'Apollinare in Classe, reveals the struggle between the Camaldolese, the municipality of Ravenna, and the Jesuits for control of Sant'Apollinare. This struggle was by no means unique, rather it defined the period.

Key words: Restoration, Catholic Church, Pope Pius VII, religious orders, Camaldolese, Jesuits

In Hubert Jedin's seminal series on the history of the Catholic Church, volume seven discusses the Restoration and is written in part by Roger Aubert. Pope Pius VII and his Secretary of State Ercole Consalvi are portrayed in admirable terms. The pope, Aubert writes, "devoted the final nine years of his pontificate to laying a solid foundation for the rapid rise of the Church. . . . The effort of Pius VII and his successor Leo XII toward the reorganisation of the Church was the prerequisite for the revival of Catholic vitality."[1]

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1. Roger Aubert, "The Catholic Church and the Revolution," in: *The Church between Revolution and Restoration*, eds. Roger Aubert, Johannes Beckmann, Patrick J. Corish, and

Aubert had in mind a more spiritual revival. On the day-to-day aspects of the Restoration, those that concern this study, Aubert devotes a meagre paragraph, on regaining lost properties.[2] As this article will attempt to show, this coverage is disproportionate to the events which unfolded. For the leadership of religious congregations, local dioceses and communities, and the Roman curia, this period was deeply divisive and frustrating. Aubert correctly, though too succinctly, describes the men and women involved as having "disturbed minds." This article will detail how and why this was so.

During the preceding Napoleonic period, the French plundered or pillaged much of what was valuable within religious orders and within the Catholic Church more generally. This left monasteries and their congregations in desperate search of lost income, properties, and movable assets after 1814. The bulk of energy exerted by cardinals was on the minutiae of the Restoration; each cardinal represented—or "protected"—a half-dozen or so ecclesiastical organizations, which necessitated their involvement in lengthy and time-consuming petitions and appeals, most often related to money and property.[3] Therefore, the problems which beset individual organizations were also the problems which occupied the Roman curia.

Concerning the Church's diminished political authority through lost ecclesiastical properties, Aubert suggests that their secularization contained a silver lining, as the Church gradually rallied around its spiritual authority, producing revival. Yet this observation is deduced from hindsight and betrays the feelings of clerics at the time and the desperation that drove them to act as they did. This article will highlight these negative aspects, in order to redress the balance. Aubert's understanding of the loss as catalysing support from European public purses is true, but also misleading.[4] To the extent European governments were financially healthy enough to assist the Roman Church through charitable donations was in large part due to the vast plundering of Church assets by the French Empire in the preceding period to lower or eliminate onerous public debt, strengthen the tax base, and enrich those in positions to act charitably.

Rudolf Lill, [History of the Church, 7, ed. Hubert Jedin], (London, 1981), 1–84, here 83–84. Although dated, the Aubert account has not been substantially overturned and comes closest of any work that this author is familiar with to touching upon the ideas discussed in this article. See also Mario Caravale and Alberto Caracciolo, *Lo Stato pontificio da Martino V a Pio IX*, [Storia d'Italia, 14, ed. Giuseppe Galasso], (Torino, 1978).

2. Aubert, "The Catholic Church after the Congress of Vienna," in: *The Church between Revolution and Restoration*, 85-103, here 88–89.

3. Aubert, "The Catholic Church and the Revolution," 84.

4. Aubert, "The Catholic Church after the Congress of Vienna," 89.

Drawing on original documents from the Vatican Archives and those of the Camaldolese order, this article adopts a novel methodology in analysing the period of the Restoration: it captures the many layers of dissension that existed at the time. The article accomplishes this through a case study of Sant'Apollinare monastery in Classe, prominent enough to capture all of the vexatious nodes that mark the period, but common enough to represent the experiences of many institutions. In showing the multiple layers of disharmony, this article reveals not only how unhappy most—or all—in leadership were, it also reveals the contrasting perceptions of the Jesuits after 1814 and brings understanding to some hitherto unresolved historical questions, surrounding the mis- (or little) understood person of Mauro Cappellari, later Pope Gregory XVI (1831–46) and his relationship with the Society of Jesus. Until now, there has been a nagging inconsistency in the historiography. How was it that Gregory was a reputed opponent of the order in the conclaves of 1829 and 1830/31, but later became one of its biggest proponents during his pontificate? The answer lies in what occurred before 1829 in Ravenna.

General Description of the Restoration

It is by now established fact that the Restoration (1814–30) is a misnomer for the Catholic Church in Italy.[5] For it was impossible to undo everything that the French did. Between 1796 and 1814, too many ecclesiastically-owned properties had been sold to too many important men; too much damage and looting had been done to structures formerly in possession of religious congregations; and too much money had been taken.

The situation was bleakest for religious orders. All were affected, and all had their assets siphoned off; the greatest financial blow was the removal of their non-ecclesiastical properties which had provided the income for monasteries to function. With all forty-six religious orders desperately seeking a return of their properties and accompanying assets, as well as a resumption of revenue, often associated with these purloined assets, the Church was placed in the unenviable position of having to select a percentage of monasteries to reopen and properties to return, unable financially to resuscitate all of them. This created unhealthy competition amongst religious orders and monasteries and spawned division and acrimony in every diocese of the Restoration. In Ravenna, the focus of this

5. On the limits of the Restoration, see Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981), 591–99; and Francesco Traniello, "Restaurazione," in: *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione,* 10 vols. (Rome, 1974–2003), VII (1983), 1690–97.

article, there had been more than twenty monasteries prior to the Revolution; only a handful resumed after 1814. Their previous owners were left embittered, if the feelings of the Camaldolese are any indication.

Sant'Apollinare in Classe, near Ravenna, Italy, was one of those affected. But this was no ordinary monastery, as one of central Italy's oldest and most historical institutions. Thus, it stands to reason that the litigation over who would govern it was as intense as it was during the Restoration. Nonetheless, the particular aspects of contention were commonplace.

Despite its renowned status, the story of the fight for the rights to Sant'Apollinare has never been properly told—and not in the important context of the Restoration.[6] During it, the venerated monastery was eventually awarded to the city and employed as a public library and an educational facility, which the Jesuit order was called in to administer, in lieu of the Camaldolese. Not only had the latter been in possession of Sant'Apollinare for nearly eight centuries, not only was it the order's most important monastery economically, but it was where S. Romualdo, the founder of the Camaldolese, experienced his monastic conversion, and it was where his relics were subsequently kept. City officials, an archbishop, several monastic orders, curial congregations, cardinals, as well as several popes were involved at some stage of this conflict, which endured for more than fifteen years. Emotions ran high, tension was thick, and opinions were deeply divided. What this article will ultimately show are the lingering effects that struggles such as this one had on the institutions and persons involved, and, in the end, on the Church itself. This was, by and large, an unhappy period, especially for the Italian Church, despite Aubert's—and many others'—depiction to the contrary.

Early History of Ravenna and Sant'Apollinare

The city of Ravenna was strategically important during the Middle Ages as a port city. It served as the capital of the western part of the Roman Empire in the early fifth century until its demise in 476. Later, the Ostrogoths, the Byzantines, and finally the Lombards had, in succession, used

6. Alberto Gibelli, *L'antico monastero de' santi Andrea & Gregorio al clivo di scauro sul Monte Celio; i suoi abati, i castelli & le chiese dipendenti dal medesimo* (Faenza, 1892), 183–84, gives a rather laconic account; see also Leonella Coglievina, "Lo 'stabilimento di educazione e di istruzione,'" in: *Ravenna. La biblioteca Classense*, ed. Marco Dezzi Bardeschi (Casalecchio di Reno, 1982), 135–49, here 135; and Giuseppe Croce, "Monaci ed Eremiti Camaldolesi in Italia dal Settecento all'Ottocento," in: *Il Monachesimo Italiano*, ed. Francesco G.B. Trolese (Cesena, 1992), 198–306, here 257n.

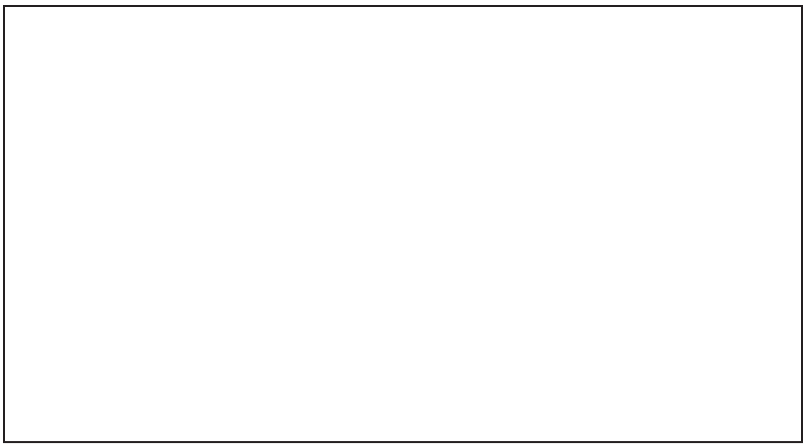

FIGURE 1. Photograph of Sant'Apollinare. by Unknown, Undated. Public Domain

the city for key political purposes, which recent archaeological research has suggested retained its regional importance all the way through the reign of Holy Roman Emperor, Otto III (d. 1002).[7] Sant'Apollinare was also part of the Cluny reforms that took place around the time of S. Romualdo's presence in the monastery in the late tenth century.[8] Still later, popes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries took special notice of the monastery and the Camaldolese order, bestowing upon them various financial and spiritual dispensations, as well as military protection.[9] In the modern era, Ravenna retained its importance in the region, as a first-class city, along with Forlì, in the province of Romagna.[10]

Sant'Apollinare in Classe lay "one league" or nearly five kilometres from Ravenna; this structure should not be confused with the basilica Sant'Apol-

7. Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson, "Introduction," in: *Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange*, eds. Judith Herrin and Janet [Jinty] L. Nelson (London, 2016), 12.

8. Dates differ depending on when Romualdo's birth is given, which is reported anywhere from 940 to 974.

9. Alberto Bellenghi's "Dissertazione sulla Basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe e Monastero anneso" and "Se la Cristianità dovette attittrarsi per il recente infortunio," section A, *cassetta* 6, file 2 (hereafter A.6.2), Archivio storico di Camaldoli, Italy (hereafter AC).

10. See Dante Cecchi, *L'amministrazione pontificia nella 2. Restaurazione (1814–1823)*, (Macerata, 1978), 154–55.

linare *Nuovo* in Ravenna, which was administered by the Observant Franciscans (or Order of Friars Minor), until the Napoleonic suppressions, and is not part of this current investigation. The Camaldolese remained at Sant'Apollinare in Classe until 1515. Following the battle of Ravenna in April 1512, when the abbot was killed by French troops, the monks decided to move to the center of Ravenna and inhabit a new monastery, all the while maintaining the ownership of the former. They restored the *Santa Maria della Misericordia* hospital, which they had held since the early fifteenth century, and refit it as their monastic residence.[11] Annexed to this monastery was the church of S. Romualdo. It was this monastery, the former hospital, which would be the source of contention during the Restoration.

Uncertainty During the Napoleonic Period

One of the immediate problems for monks and nuns during the Napoleonic period was the uncertainty surrounding their status and fate.[12] Rumours of suppression began circulating wherever the French invaded. Following military victories over the Austrians in 1796 and 1797, Napoleon incorporated the north central part of Italy into what became known as the Cisalpine Republic (1797–1802). Ravenna was included in this new political reconfiguration. Monks and nuns were addressed as "citizens" almost immediately, taxed accordingly, and removed from their positions.[13] Also at the beginning of 1797, religious institutions were stripped of their tax privileges and land leases;[14] only allodial properties were guaranteed by French officials, when property was nationalised in August 1798. Also, war booty was extracted from important churches such as San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare, forced to turn over their silver and pay a hefty 6000 scudi. By late 1798, Sant'Apollinare was nationalized.[15]

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11. See Romano Pasi, *La millenaria storia ospedaliera di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 2006), 189–93.

12. Liise Lehtsalu, "Rethinking Monastic Suppressions in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Italy: how women religious negotiated for their communities," *Women's History Review*, 25.6 (2016), 945–64, argues that female orders negotiated their fate with local authorities.

13. Giorgio Porisini, *Il contenuto economico dei rogiti notarili di Ravenna. Le abbazie di S. Vitale, S. Apollinare in Classe, S. Maria in Porto e S. Giovanni evangelista dagli inizi del secolo XVIII al 1815* [Fonti, ricerche, testi, 2] (Milano, 1963), 77, and "Terreni in questo Agro Cesenate," n.d., A.9.7, AC.

14. The rest of the paragraph is from Porisini, *Il contenuto economico dei rogiti notarili di Ravenna,* 77–80.

15. "Libertà Eguaglianza. In Nome della Repubblica Cisalpina una, ed indivisibile questo di 4 Germinale = Anno Sesto Repubblicano [March 25, 1798]," last page, A.9.7, AC; Croce, "Monaci ed Eremiti Camaldolesi," 224.

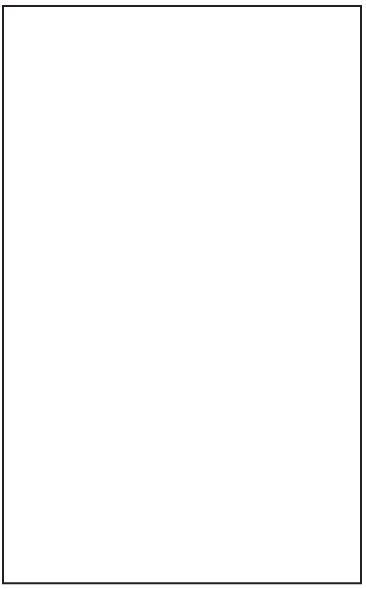

FIGURE 2. Portrait of Mauro Cappellari (1765–1846), 1835. Engraving by R. Dudensing. Public Domain

As Mauro Cappellari, the Camaldolese order's Procurator General (from 1807) and Vicar General (from 1823), reported later, the community of Ravenna's decision to convert their monastery into an educational facility was based on the premise that the Cisalpine government had ceded it control of the monastery.[16] From the city's perspective, this (educational) designation solidified the property's status as public. The Law of 9 Messidoro Anno VI (27 June 1798), passed by the central authorities of the Cisalpine Republic, stated that the establishments of public beneficence and instruction are under the immediate direction of the municipality.

Cappellari later noted that the monks were determined not to abandon their mission at Sant'Apollinare and found many ways to make themselves useful in order to remain there.[17] They exercised all care and vigilance for the conservation and maintenance of the property. At the time, how-

16. "Le ragioni adotte dalla Comune di Ravenna," n.d, G.46.3, AC, and M. Cappellari to the Congr. Della Riforma (1817), *busta* (hereafter b) 22, Congr. Della Riforma, ASV.

17. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," Cappellari's Petition to Pius VII, n.d. (ca. 1817), b. 40, S. Gregorio, Archivio di Stato di Roma (hereafter ASR).

ever, the talk was much less sanguine. The former rector, Apollinare Rasi, spoke often of the obstacles that were placed in his way.[18]

In the years following the initial suppression in 1798, the situation for religious clerics and their monasteries was fluid, mirroring the political uncertainties of the time. In spring 1799 Austria occupied Ravenna and the surrounding area and employed Sant'Apollinare as a prison for captured Frenchmen.[19] According to one account, the Austrians assisted in the monks' recovery of many sacred ecclesiastical paraphernalia [*suppellettili*] taken during the period of "democracy"; at that time, the Camaldolese were commissioned to take custody and reorder the library and museum.[20] Soon after, in June 1800, the French returned and ordered the monks to abandon custody of the Basilica.[21] However, at least two of their number remained at Sant'Apollinare monastery in a secular capacity, cohabiting with diocesan priests, in an attempt to retain a toe hold on their prized possession.[22]

Even though Ravenna experienced relative continuity through the three regime changes—Cisalpine Republic (1797–1802); the Italian Republic (1802–05); and the Kingdom of Italy (1805–14)—and even though Sant'Apollinare remained an educational institution throughout, modifications took place. Initially, Sant'Apollinare was a college of philosophy for local youth. The ex-monks "subjected themselves" to teaching at the college. Unlike the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Piarists, the Camaldolese were not a teaching order, taking up their new responsibilities with some reluctance. Old age and debilitating health restricted the efforts of some and most certainly tempered their enthusiasm.[23]

In 1804 the citizens of Ravenna wanted to transfer the *Patrio Collegio* to Sant'Apollinare monastery, since it was one of the few religious institutions in the city that had been well-preserved and required little or no money for repair and where there were already teachers present; other buildings would have required the city "costly reparations."[24] Rasi com-

18. Apollinare Rasi letter to M. Cappellari?, 19 April 1800, F.2.3, AC. Rasi also signed his name on occasion "Agostino."

19. Rasi letter to Cappellari, 12 December 1800, F.2.3, AC.

20. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR.

21. "Nelle comuni disaventare che nel 1798," n.d., A.2.7, AC.

22. Rasi letter to Cappellari, 25 May 1800, F.2.3, AC; Croce, "Monaci ed Eremiti Camaldolesi," 224.

23. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR.

24. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR.

mented, "The College is destined to open at the beginning of March [1805] in this locale, Sant'Apollinare. But there is so much confusion that I do not understand what is happening, even in view of the imminent changes of the government."[25] It was almost certainly this discouraging state of affairs which provoked the nearly-blind Rasi to petition his superior to allow him to leave the order in 1806: "The Priest Agostino Rasi of Ravenna, monk and Camaldolese abbot in the suppressed Monastery of Classe, no longer seeing any way to be able to return to Religion, implores your Esteemed for absolute Secularization."[26]

In 1808 there were again plans to alter slightly the educational purpose of the monastery and convert it into a boarding school for secondary-level students. The community brought its request to the government, and the viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnais, the adopted stepson of Napoleon I, confirmed their plans, nominating three laymen to run it. By 1809, the situation grew worse for the Camaldolese, who were forced to abandon the premises.[27]

The Restoration

The Restoration of the Papal States came in two stages, depending on the location. Sant'Apollinare belonged to the second period or recuperation, as it is commonly referred to in the Italian literature, being located in Romagna, part of the legations handed back to the Church following the Congress of Vienna in the middle of 1815.[28] The first recuperation com-

25. A. Rasi letter to P. Zurla, 5 February 1805, letter 260, b. 100, Cam. Ben. S. Gregorio, ASR: "Il primo del entrante Marzo è destinato p[er] l'apertura del Collegio in questo Locale di Classe; ma tali e tanti sono li imbarazzi, i contrasti, e le disunion[e] che non so peragirne bene, anche in vista della iminente o mutazione, o modificazione di Governo." On France's politicization of schools in the Republic and Kingdom of Italy, see Alexander Grab, "Secondary schools in Napoleonic Italy (1802–1814)," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 20.4 (2015), 527–46: "Il primo del entrante Marzo è destinato p[er] l'apertura del Collegio in questo Locale di Classe; ma tali e tanti sono li imbarazzi, i contrasti, e le disunion[e] che non so peragirne bene, anche in vista della iminente o mutazione, o modificazione di Governo."

26. Cappellari letter, ca. 10 May 1806, F.I.2, AC: "Il Sacerdote Apollinare Rasi di Ravenna, già Monaco e abate Camaldolese nel soppresso Monro [Monastero] di Classe di detta città, non vedendo oramai più modo di poter tornare in Religione, implora umlmte [umilmente] dalla Sta Vra [Santa Vostra] la sua Secolarizzazione assoluta." He is normaly referred to as Apollinare Rasi.

27. For evidence that they continued officiating at the Church, see: Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR.

28. On the second restoration, see Cosimo Semeraro, *Restaurazione, chiesa e società: la "seconda ricupera" e la rinascita degli ordini religiosi nello Stato pontificio (marche e legazioni, 1815–1823)*, (Rome, 1982); Paolo Alvazzi Del Frate, "Riforme giudiziarie e Restaurazione nello Stato pontificio (1814–1817)," in: *Roma fra la Restaurazione e l'Elezione di Pio IX*, eds.

prised the area of modern day Lazio and Umbria—those areas of the pontifical state—and began in May 1814, following a four-year hiatus.[29] At that time, each religious order was granted the opening of its flagship monastery. For the Camaldolese order that was S. Gregorio al Celio located on one of the Seven Hills of Rome (the Coelian hill). But the order suffered great misfortune, as S. Gregorio was in a state of dereliction, having been pillaged numerous times and the victim of an earthquake.[30] Only two rooms located in the front of the building were inhabitable. The rest would have to wait for renovation and the funds from the Roman Curia to restore it. Their back-up plan was to move temporarily to S. Romualdo, not far from S. Gregorio; this had been the living quarters of the Camaldolese leadership; yet this option was also blocked initially, as the new owner of the property refused to return it.[31]

In the papal legations, part of the second recuperation to which Sant'Apollinare belonged, religious orders could petition the Congregation of Reform to reopen three of its monasteries, reflecting the importance that each held for their order.[32] Sant'Apollinare headed up the trio of monasteries requested by the Camaldolese. The other two included S. Fabiano in the Marches, where the relics of S. Romualdo were kept, after their transference from Sant'Apollinare, and S. Salvatore in Forlì.[33]

Anna Lia Bonella, Augusto Pompeo, and Manola Ida Venzo (Rome, 1997), 55–61; Cecchi, *L'amministrazione pontificia nella 2a Restaurazione (1814–1823)*; Antonio Quacquarelli, *La crisi del potere temporale nel Risorgimento, 1815–1820* (Bari, 1940); and Alfonso Ventrone, *L'amministrazione dello Stato Pontificio dal 1814 al 1870* (Rome, 1942).

29. The best studies on the first recuperation or restoration are: Carmelo A. Naselli, *La soppressione napoleonica delle corporazioni religiose: contributo alla storia religiosa del primo ottocento italiano (1808–1814)*, (Rome, 1986), 199; Maria Moscarini, *La Restaurazione Pontificia nelle provincie di "prima ricupera" (maggia 1814–marzo 1815)*, (Rome, 1933), 62; and Lajos Pasztor, "Per la storia dell'Umbria nell'età della Restaurazione: Organizzazione ecclesiastica e vita religiosa," in: *Atti dell'Ottavo Convegno di Studi Umbri* (Perugia, 1973), 63–99, here 63–64. On the Roman Restoration more generally, see: Massimo Petrocchi, *La Restaurazione romana: (1815–1823)*, (Florence, 1943); Alberto Acquarone, "La restaurazione dello Stato Pontificio ed i suoi indirizzi legislativi," in: *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria*, LXXVIII, (Rome, 1955); Raffaele Colapietra, *La politica economica della restaurazione romana* (Naples, 1966); and Adolfo Omodeo, *Aspetti del cattolicesimo della Restaurazione* (Rome, 1946).

30. Gibelli, *L'antico monastero*, 7.

31. See the article by Christopher Korten, "A house divided: The implications of land expropriated during the Napoleonic years—A case study in the Papal States," *Journal of Modern European History*, 18.2 (2020), 207–28.

32. Letter 35, folder VIII, b. 9, Congr. Della Riforma, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (formerly Archivio Segreto Vaticano), hereafter AAV.

33. Letter 35, folder VIII, b. 9, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV.

The system used to determine which monasteries would reopen encouraged competition—and division—amongst the orders. Perhaps such an outcome was inevitable, given the dire financial conditions; it was inconceivable that all religious houses could reopen. The Congregation of Reform, which had been set up in June 1814 and which was led by its energetic and headstrong secretary, Giuseppe Antonio Sala, devolved power to local bishops, who determined which monasteries would reopen, to whom they should be given, and for what purpose.[34]

The resistance and feuding should have been anticipated, given the tensions historically by religious orders, desiring their independence from local dioceses and governments, as well as bishops, who were eager to control them. The Roman curia became quickly bogged down with appeals to the *Congregazione Deputata* by disgruntled monasteries and religious orders, challenging the decisions of bishops. In the case of Sant'Apollinare, there would be appeals for more than a decade, even reaching the papal office on multiple occasions.

Each bishop had a list of points to consider before making a decision about a particular institution: only one monastery of any given congregation could reopen in a diocese; at least twelve able-bodied members had to be available; repairs for damaged monasteries had to be affordable; and the wishes of the local community were to be given strong consideration.[35] Bishops were also to suggest how to apportion the movable assets which still remained in the suppressed monasteries. In general, bishops (and communities) desired functional buildings to be used to benefit the public, such as for schools or hospitals. As was so often the case, especially in areas such as the Papal States where patronage schemes were strong, politics played a large role. The relationship between bishop and monastery or between monastery and local leaders counted as much as anything and could influence a final outcome, as it did in the case of Sant'Apollinare, to the order's detriment. Most decisions were controversial, even if no appeal resulted from them, since determining to open one monastery meant others remained closed. More troubling, each bishop invariably used a slightly different set of criteria in arriving at his decisions.

Lajos Pasztor highlights the inconsistencies among dioceses, in an article devoted to the bishops in Umbria during the Restoration.[36] Chiefly,

34. Pasztor, "Per la storia dell'Umbria," 63–65, until 2 March 1818; Naselli, *La soppressione napoleonica delle corporazioni religiose*, 199.

35. Pasztor, "Per la storia dell'Umbria," 69–71.

36. Pasztor, "Per la storia dell'Umbria," 69–70.

bishops had vastly different ideas on the limits of restoration: the bishop of Spoleto wanted to close two-thirds of the monasteries in his diocese, while the bishop of Assisi desired all but three to reopen. In a move that mirrored the situation in Sant'Apollinare, the bishop of Todi wanted to replace one religious order with another in one monastery.[37] And while the focus of Pasztor's study is Umbria, similar patterns were found in other regions.[38]

Returning to the curial decision to allow congregations to reopen three monasteries in the legations, the Camaldolese selected two in Romagna. The region was rather small—comprising today's southeast part of Emilia-Romagna. S. Salvatore in Forlì and Sant'Apollinare lay approximately 30 kilometres apart. The Church of S. Salvatore dated back to 1257 with a Camaldolese presence in it almost from the beginning. S. Salvatore's fate also lay in the balance at the beginning of the Restoration, as the order pleaded for its reopening to house what it claimed were many of its thirty-six monks in the region.[39]

At one point, Bellenghi lamented the loss of S. Salvatore, feeling certain that it would be given to the *Congregazione della Missione*:

> the Vicars General and the Camaldolese monks have had the regret of losing all hope of [re-obtaining] the Monastery of Classe, and today they must suffer the mortification of even being threatened with the loss of Forlì, the desire being to assign it to the Congregation of the Mission despite our demanding it, [and despite] many others [demanding it], including the bishop and nobility in Forlì.[40]

Persistent petitions from the order and its Cardinal Protector, Pierfrancesco Galeffi, ultimately reversed the initial decision, and the Camaldolese re-occupied S. Salvatore in 1821.[41] A letter from January 1822

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37. Pasztor, "Per la storia dell'Umbria," 72.

38. See, for example, Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, 594–595.

39. Letter 35, folder VIII, b. 9, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV.

40. Letter 35, folder VIII, b. 9, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV: "il Vicari Generale, ed i Monaci Camaldolesi ebbero il dispiacere di perdere ogni speranza sul Monastero di Classe, ed in oggi debbono soffrire la mortificazione di essere minacciati della perdita anche di quello di Forli volendosi assegnare alla Congregazione della Missione non ostante che prima ancora fosse richiesto dai Camaldolesi, quel Monsignor Vescovo ad istanza. . . , e di molti del . . . Nobile Forlivese per replicate volte lo abbia domandato alla anzidetta S.C. [Sacra Congregazione] per il ripristino dai Camaldolesi."

41. Letter 35, folder VIII, b. 9, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV. See also Cappellari's notes (at the bottom of Bellenghi's undated draft to Consalvi), n.d. but sometime after 1814 (1817?), A.III.5, AC; Cardinal Pierfrancesco Galleffi's letter to Sala, 7 March 1818, folder "Forlì Relazione di Monsig.r Vescovo," b. 28, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV. See also Folder

reveals that relief over the return of Forlì was overshadowed by the loss of Sant'Apollinare, robbing the order even of temporary joy. One of its administrators wrote: "I, along with Cappellari, am to ask for another year in order to consider the resurrected Monastery of Forlì; I have always wanted the revival of Sant'Apollinare, because it had this [financial] subsidy, but since God allowed instead of this, that of Forlì. . . ."[42] While the fate of the order's monastery, S. Salvatore, remained uncomfortably in limbo for more than six years, a Jesuit house in the same town was one of the first to be reopened. But it would be another clash with the Jesuits, involving Sant'Apollinare, which would have more lasting effects on the Camaldolese and the men who led it.

Restoration: Municipality vs. Camaldolese Order

The struggle between the city of Ravenna and the Camaldolese order to secure the rights to Sant'Apollinare was a most acrimonious affair. City leaders wanted the Jesuits to instruct the youth in Sant'Apollinare.[43] The Camaldolese were offered to relocate to a former home of the *Canonici Lateranensi*, most likely Santa Maria in Porto,[44] a decision which outraged them; not only were they being told to leave a monastery that they had occupied for centuries, and where their founder began, but they were being replaced by an order that would be executing the same educational functions the Camaldolese had provided during the French occupation.

The city of Ravenna explained that the public desired the change. It justified the decision legally, claiming that the Cisalpine government had ceded the monastery to it in 1798.[45] The Camaldolese cause was not helped by the fact that they had lived a distinctly separate existence, endowed as the monastery was, with great wealth: the monks were often seen riding in gilded carriages, while the locals lived in miserable conditions.[46] A French

"Lettere dell'arciv. di Ravenna e del vesc. di Forlì al Bellenghi sul ripristino dei monasteri (1817–1822)," A.II.2, AC.

42. Clemente Morigi to Bellenghi, 24 January 1822, folder "Corrispondenza con Religiosi," A.III.4, AC: "Sono poi a pregarla unitamente al P. Revd.o [Padre Reverendissimo] Capellari, per un altr'anno di avere in considerazione il risorto Monastero di Forlì, mentre io ho sempre desiderato il risorgimento di Classe, perche avesse questo sussidio, e giacche Dio a permesso in vece di questo, quello di Forlì."

43. Rasi letter to Cappellari, 26 August 1815, A.III.5, AC.

44. "Lettera diretta d S. E. il Sig. Delegato Apostolico di Romagna," 16 September 1815, G.46.3, AC.

45. "Le ragioni adotte dalla Comune di Ravenna," n.d., G.46.3, AC

46. Croce, "Monaci ed Eremiti Camaldolesi," 217n.

student of art observed in 1715 that "the city is rather big, poor, [and] deserted."[47]

If this were not enough, the order's position had been further weakened by its lack of able-bodied men, a requirement (of twelve) that it did not meet. There were eight Camaldolese "of distinguished merit" still residing in the monastery—holdovers from the pre-revolutionary years—, but most were old or in poor health.[48] The average age was sixty one.[49] And according to an internal memorandum of the Congregation of Reform, the order had no replacements, a problem that was felt by all religious orders at the time: "S. Classe of Ravenna and other historically famous monasteries are running the risk of remaining completely deserted or lying in ruin."[50]

Moreover, the community argued that it, in fact, built the order's monastery with its own (public) funds. Originally designed as a hospital, *Santa Maria della Misericordia* was given to the Camaldolese by the elders of the city in 1433 because the order offered assistance to the "infirm and poor."[51] Therefore, it was argued that since the monastery was originally a gift from the town, it remained an establishment that was to be used for public benefit, and thus, de facto, under its direction.[52]

These legal justifications did little to dissuade Cappellari and his order of their right to the property. Cappellari countered, in an appeal to Pope Pius VII, claiming that after 1515 the order incurred the costs of enriching the library and museum, as well as the building repairs to Sant'Apollinare, which had been damaged during the French sacking of Ravenna.[53] He made an impassioned defense on behalf of his order:

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47. Anne-Claude-Philippe de Caylus, *Voyage d'Italie 1714–1715* (Paris, 1914), 154–59: "La città è abbastanza grande, povera, deserta."

48. "Ravenna Piano di Monsig.re Arcivescovo," in folder "Allegt. A.B.C.D. . . ," b. 34, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV, lists the names and a short description of the eight. This rule of twelve was very loosely and unevenly applied.

49. "Ravenna Piano di Monsig.re Arcivescovo," in folder "Allegt. A.B.C.D. . . ," b. 34, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV.

50. Letter 35, folder VIII, b. 9, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV: "Classe di Ravenna, e così altri monasteri celebri anche nelle storie, correranno pericolo di rimanere affatto deserti, e di andare in ruina."

51. "Ravenna", b. 36, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV; "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe." Gibelli, *L'antico monastero*, 183–184; http://www.lionsravennahost.it/public/ml_attach/Ravenna%20Pontificia.pdf, Section III.17 [August 2019]

52. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR.

53. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR.

> How much praise do the citizens of Ravenna merit, *vivamente* sustaining the supposed title of public benefactor from 1798, in order to keep the monastery of Classe from the Camaldolese? After the return of the Pontifical Government, the community resorted to arguments from past centuries, the base of which never took place. In fact, this [gifting of Sant'Apollinare] might just as easily be called a donation by the Polentani [family]. It is undeniable that the *fondo* [land] became the property of the Camaldolese and is now four centuries removed from being a hospital and whose essence changed into a monastery, with all expenses incurred by the monks. It is certainly most strange, to pretend now to make assessments, in order to deprive the Camaldolese of its monastery; those reasons, the same ones which were adopted under the Cisalpine government to conserve it [the monastery]. They have twisted the meaning of the law . . . to prove the alleged assignment and donation that the Monastery supposedly made to the Community, [and to the] the Cisalpine Government. . . . [But this was] not secession, not donation, but simply administration [on the part of the city] which finished when the Pontifical government regained authority over the province and thus concluded any further rights of the community over the monastery. Did in fact the Cisalpine government ever donate [*donare*] the monastery to the Community? There was no contract of sale on the part of the government, neither was there an acquisition on the part of the citizens of Ravenna.[54]

Cappellari was clearly frustrated with the authorities of Ravenna, and the Roman curia's apparent support of them. On another occasion he penned:

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54. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," ff. 7-8, b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR: "Quanto però di lode meritavano i Sig.ri [Signori] Ravennati nel 1798, vivamente sostenendo il supposto titolo di pubblica benficenza per conservare il Monastero di Classe alli Camaldolesi; [perhaps a question?] altrettanto fuor[i] di proposito dopo il ritorno del Pontificio Governo, si scorge essere il ricorrere agli andati secoli, e il dedurre argomenti che giammai ebbero luogo. Infatti, qualunque fosse la donazione dei Polantani, è innegabile, che il fondo divenne un'assoluta proprietà dei Camaldolesi, e che corre ormai il quarto secolo da che l'Ospedale cambiò natura, colla fabbrica del Monastero fatta a tutte spese dei Monaci. Ed è certamente stranissima cosa il pretendere di far ora valere, per togliere alli Camaldolesi il lor[o] Monastero, quelle ragioni, le quali furono addotte sotto il Governo Cisalpina per conservarnelo. Oltre di che vantano a torto i Sig.ri Ravennati la suddetta Legge . . . per comprovare la pretesa cessione e donazione, che di detto Monastero ne abbia fatta alla Communità il Cisalpino Governo. . . . Dunque non cessione, non donazione, ma semplice amministrazione, fù quella, che da quel Governo ottenne detta Communità. Terminata perciò, col ritorno di quella Provincia sotto il Pontificio dominio, una tale Amministrazione, venne a cessare per conseguenza ogni e qualunque diritto di essa Comunità sopra quel Monastero. Ma e poi, supposto anche e non concesso, che il Monastero di Classe fosse stato dalla Cisalpina donato a detta Communità; che perciò? La donazione, non è già un contratto di vendita per parte del Governo, nè di acquisto per parte dei Sig.ri Ravennati."

> Against these pretensions and schemes [of the city that the building was a gift], the Vicar General [Bellenghi] and Procurator General of the Order [Cappellari] have not neglected to present, in the course of three years, various supplications and reasoned writings . . . without, however, having known until now some result, and without having received any communication on the part of the Community on the precise reasoning adopted in order to succeed in their intent.[55]

Interestingly, the richest man in Ravenna, indeed of all Romagna, was Count Alessandro Guiccioli, who himself had benefited from a Jesuit education.[56] He is best remembered today as being cuckolded by his teenaged wife Teresa with Lord George Gordon Byron, who famously lived in Ravenna (with the Guicciolis) between 1819 and 1821 and actually used the Classense library to write his novels. But the more relevant point is that Guiccioli profited from the confiscation of church lands and subsequent sell-offs, accruing political importance in the process. [57] He was one of the largest proprietors of Ravenna and led the way in dispersing land within the city during the Napoleonic years.[58] In 1797, the French named him President of the Central Administration in Emilia, which also had jurisdiction over Ravenna.[59] He was also involved in the sale of public lands, described by one source as "serious disputes."[60] And he was almost certainly involved in the community's decision to transfer Sant'Apollinare to the Jesuits.

Restoration: The Pope vs. Camaldolese Order

Returning to Cappellari's petition to Pius VII, the reports from within the order depict a receptive pontiff, "inclined" to accept its request. But a "complexity of combinations," or obstacles, meant that these wishes were

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55. Cappellari to the Congr. Della Riforma, 1817, b. 22, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV; Cappellari petition to the Congr. Deputata, "Pretende la Comunità di Ravenna," n.d., b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR, a copy: "Contro siffatti pretensioni e maneggi non mancarono il Vicario Genle [Generale] e il Prore Genle [Procuratore Generale] dell'Ordine di presentare, nel corso di circa tre anni, varie suppliche e ragionate scritture . . . senza però averne saputa finora alcun risultato, e senza che sia stato ad essi comunicato il preciso dettaglio delle ragioni addotte per parte di d.a [detta] comunità onde riuscir nel suo intento."

56. Lorenzo Miserocchi, *Ravenna e Ravennati nel secolo XIX* (Ravenna, 1927), 139.

57. See Porisini, Il contenuto economico dei rogiti notarili di Ravenna, 84.

58. Dante Bolognesi, "'Un colosso d'opulenza'. Il patrimonio dei Guiccioli fra Sette e Ottocento," in *Dove visse Byron a Ravenna. Palazzo Guiccioli*, ed. Donatino Domini, (Bologna, 2019), 95–123, 110–12.

59. Miserocchi, *Ravenna e Ravennati nel secolo XIX*, 139.

60. Bolognesi, "Un colosso d'opulenza," 103: "grave vertenze."

never acted upon.[61] This might have been illusory on the part of the order, since by 1820, Pius' support for the community in this matter was known.[62] The Governor of Rome, Tiberio Pacca, delivered the news that the pope backed the public in handing Sant'Apollinare to them. The conflicting feelings of the pope, being pulled by both sides, were indicative of the period and were even experienced by cardinal protectors, whose support the order could normally count on. At the beginning of this affair, the Camaldolese protector was Cardinal Romualdo Braschi-Onesti (d. 1815), the nephew of Pius VI (r. 1775–99). Bellenghi called on him often in 1815 to do the order's bidding;[63] however, Braschi, a native of the province, from Cesena, forty kilometres south of Ravenna, was also the cardinal protector of the region, producing conflicts which ultimately disadvantaged the Camaldolese. While Bellenghi was asking Braschi for support, Pius VII commended the cardinal for his backing of the city, suggesting as well Pius' priorities in this matter:

> We received, and read with pleasure, your letter of 12 July [1815] from the Deputies of Ravenna. The commitment deserves all praise, which Your Eminence shows for the advantages of the aforementioned City of which you are *Regno Protettore*. We desire, to the extent possible, to do the greater good for the Provinces, [which] now return to the obedience of the Holy See [i.e. the second recuperation]; we will distinctly cherish the prosperity of Romagna, and above all of Ravenna, which deserves for itself the same, and for the just care that Your Eminence has [for it].[64]

Pius's take on the matter could have been influenced by the archbishop of Ravenna, Antonio Codronchi (1785–1826), whose relationship with the pontiff had recently been reconciled, following a turbulent period earlier when the pope had denied his promotion to cardinal after Napoleon publicly urged Pius to do so. Codronchi's cosy relationship with the French required forgiveness during an in-person meeting in April 1814, just a year

61. "Camaldolese," folder Giugno 1824, Congr. Episc. E Reg., sez. Reg., AAV.

62. "Ravenna Religiosi Regolari," b. 34, Congr. Della Riforma, AAV.

63. "Supplica del Bellenghi al card. Braschi-Onesti per il recupero di Classe," 1815, A.II.2, AC.

64. Pius VII letter to Braschi, 25 July 1815, fasc. 14, b. 30, Misc. Famiglia, ASR: "Abbiamo ricevuta, e letta con piacere la sua lettera dei 12 Luglio recataci dai Deputati di Ravenna. Merita ogni lode l'impegno, che Vra Emza [Vostra Eminenza] Rimostra pe'vantaggi dell'anzidetta Città della quale è il Regno Protettore. Noi volendo, e cercando, per quanto possiamo, di fare il maggior bene delle Provincie ritornate ora all'ubbidienza della Santa Sede, avremo distintamente a cuore la prosperità della Romagna, e sopratutto di Ravenna, che merita e per se medessima, e per la giusta premura, che Vra Emza ne ha, tutti i nostri riguardi."

or so prior to the Sant'Apollinare petitions.[65] It was Codronchi, who defended the decision to hand the monastery over to the Jesuits.

Restoration: Roman Curia vs. Camaldolese Order

This affair worsened for the Camaldolese when it understood that the Jesuits would be occupying the venerated monastery.[66] The Jesuits had had a prominent place in the city prior to 1773 and its suppression, educating young, aristocratic men in Letters and the Arts.[67]

The reports about the Jesuits in Ravenna from the barely-legible letters of the aging former rector, Rasi, surely aggravated the matter: four or five persons were needed at the college, ten were coming, and all would be living at the monastery.[68] After 1815 his letters to Cappellari are filled with extraordinary rue, suggesting that all of the Camaldolese monks felt similarly. Cappellari certainly did: "*Eccole*, the [Papal] Bull to restore the Jesuits," he wrote in 1814, "[Meanwhile], the affairs of the other orders progress very slowly."[69]

The gush of sympathy for the Society of Jesus and the accompanying favor that they were to receive during the Restoration were no doubt due in part to the perceived injustices, following the order's global suppression by Clement XIV (r. 1769–74). Pius VI (r. 1775–99) was sympathetic to the Society, but not in a position to act on their behalf, given the proximity in time to the actual suppression. His successor, Pius VII (r. 1800–23) was too hampered by French incursions into his territory, his own imprisonment, and the financial concerns of his beleaguered state, to address this issue until Napoleon's defeat. Finally, in 1814, one of his first acts upon his return to Rome was to rehabilitate the Society. Communities throughout

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65. www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-codronchi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ [August 2019]

66. See Clemente Morigi-Cappellari correspondence found in AC.F.II.2 (5 and 14 October 1815) and AC.F.II.3. (19 December 1815). Gibelli, *L'antico monastero*, 183–184.

67. Primo Uccellini, *Dizionario storico di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 1855), 197. Korten's article is the first to point out the Jesuit's role within Sant'Appolinare within the literature on the history of Ravenna.

68. Rasi letter to Cappellari, 1815, A.III.5, AC.

69. Cappellari to Fabio Mutinelli, Venezia, 10 September 1814, f. 101, b. 3205, Cod. Cicogna, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice: "Eccole la Bolla di ripristiniazione dei Gesuiti.—Gli affari degli altri ordini Religiosi vanna assai lentamente." On anti-Jesuit feelings during the Restoration, see Thomas Worcester, "A Restored Society or a new Society of Jesus?" in: *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, ed. Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright (Leiden, 2015), 13–33, here 15.

Italy still remembered their effectiveness as educators and desired their return. The popularity of the Jesuit order was plainly visible, observed Giuseppe Tognon, in his thought-provoking article: bishops of the second recuperation were attracted to the prestige of a Jesuit presence in their local religious schools.[70] Archbishop Codronchi in Ravenna was no exception. And in the milieu of 1814, where the gains of one order represented the losses of another, as the Sant'Apollinare case makes clear, the envy and bitterness which they attracted from other congregations was inevitable.

The Camaldolese remained undeterred. Cappellari and Bellenghi countered with compelling appeals to the Congregation of Reform, along with support from Cardinal Protector Pierfrancesco Galeffi, who replaced the deceased Braschi-Onesti in 1815. But this appeared to matter little. In December 1818, the order made another appeal, this time to the Auditor Monsignor Belisario Cristaldi, who referred the matter to the Congregation of the *Deputata* under the direction of Monsignor Tiberio Pacca, governor of Rome and director general of the police—and nephew of Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca. The narrow-minded and short-tempered Monsignor Pacca was fed up with the persistence of the Camaldolese and with Cappellari in particular, as the matter, to his mind, had already been decided long ago.[71] Cappellari wrote,

> The Governor Monsignor Tiberio Pacca replied with an imperious sound that enough is enough, that the deal passed through his hands when he was a delegate to Forlì, that the community of Ravenna incurred many expenses for the College, that the Jesuits have already been working there for five years, [and] that everything already exists in the Pontifical Chirograph. The Monsignor Governor, with this discourse, silenced everyone; and thus the affair was concluded without any rescript of the congregation.[72]

But Cappellari persisted nonetheless, noting that the chirograph was not yet available. His level of frustration is revealed in the margins of one

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70. Giuseppe Tognon, "La Politica Scolastica nello Stato Pontificio tra Restaurazione e Unificazione (1814–1860)," in: *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia tra Restaurazione e Unificazione* (Brescia, 1994), 681–705, here 686. On Jesuit popularity in educating youth in Umbria, see Pásztor, "L'Umbria nell'Età della Restaurazione," 85.

71. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tiberio-pacca_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [August 2019]

72. Cappellari writing, b. 40, Cam. Ben. S. Greg., ASR: "Monsig.r Pacca Governatore con suono imperioso ha risposto, che è ora di finirla, che l'affare è passato per le sue mani quando era delegato a Forlì; che la communità di Ravenna fece moltissime spese per quell Collegio; che dopo cinque anni vi anderanno li Gesuiti; che tutto è già esiste il Chirografo Pontificio. M.r [Monsignor] Governatore chiuse con questo discorso la bocca a tutti; e cosi fù finito l'affare senza verun rescritto della Congne."

undated draft letter to the Secretary of State, Consalvi: "With respect to S. Classe, [it is] with the greatest grief that one must give up all hope of re-obtaining it."[73]

Such moments provide insight into the quote by Cappellari which summarized not only his feelings, but those of most in ecclesiastical leadership at the time:

> I confess the truth. My small talent is no longer of use. . . . If we were in different times and in circumstances with a more favorable wind, with half of the energy that we have been operating on, we would have obtained much more than what we now ask for. . . . And in fact, neither would there be a need even to ask for it.[74]

Desperate, the order gifted in 1826 the above-mentioned Cristaldi with a relic of S. Apollinare, the patron saint of Ravenna, in what can be understood as an attempt to suborn the future cardinal. Cristaldi was a known collector of relics.[75]

Restoration: Importance of Non-ecclesiastical Property and Other Income

Overlooked in the historiography of the Restoration is how non-ecclesiastical properties impacted the period, creating an additional source of division. Each monastery, as was mentioned earlier, relied on its portfolio of revenue-producing lands to maintain itself. In the case of Sant'Apollinare, the number of properties in its possession was very large—around seventy, a testimony to its longevity and prestige in the region. A portion of these lands had been stripped from the monastery and sold off by the French. Others were administered by the papal government, while the monastery functioned as a college. In cases where property was returned, some pieces were sold to provide a given monastery with liquidity to allow for repairs of other, more important properties, or simply to allow it to meet its monthly financial obligations. Thus, in the archives there are numerous references to documents from assessors, builders, and city offi-

73. Cappellari notes (at the bottom of Bellenghi's undated draft to Consalvi) n.d. but sometime after 1814 (1817?), A.III.5, AC: "Rapport al Monro [Monastero] di Classe, . . . con somme suo dolore . . . di dovere ormai deporre ogni speranze di ottenerlo."

74. Cappellari draft letter to Vanni, 14 January 1818, F.I.1, AC: "Confesso la verità il mio poco talento non mi dà di più. . . . Se fossimo in altri tempi e in circostanze di un più favorevole vento, con la metà di quello che si è operato si sarebbe attenuto molto più di quello che ora chiediamo . . . anzi neppure sarebbe stato bisogno di chiederlo."

75. Anonymous letter, 24 Feb 1826, b. 70, Misc. Famiglia, ASR.

cials, as in the case of one plot of land in the region of Cesena.[76] The order's administrator received 907 scudi, not an insignificant sum.[77] From the context, it appears to be a credit from a local lending agent, based on the land, perhaps used as collateral.

In most cases, a given monastery was dependent on non-ecclesiastical properties for its survival, such as income from wineries or rental properties. In one petition, Cappellari underscored this fact: "meanwhile there remain as well many properties belonging to Classe, those [which] have not been sold, and consist, as best as can be gathered, of sixty-eight farms, a vineyard, and a fishing pond. Those properties are administered partly by diverse congregations of *Carità*, partly by [the treasury]."[78] The income from one unsold property, a factory, formerly in the monastery's possession, totalled 2400 scudi annually, enough to sustain comfortably a monastery of twenty for a year.[79] The problem was, in order to have unequivocal rights to such lands, one needed to be in possession of the affiliated monastery.

In addition to the 2400 scudi up for grabs, and which amounted to a third of Sant'Apollinare's pre-revolutionary income, there was money from earlier unpaid debts.[80] More than 8000 scudi were owed them by debtors when the French arrived in the late 1790s.[81] The matter was more complicated now. Was that money owed to the order or to the monastery, irrespective of who was running it? It would seem that the order was in a stronger position, since, when it came to its own pre-revolutionary debts, it was still on the hook for them. In June 1817, while Sant'Apollinare was occupied by the Jesuits, Cappellari received a notice of payment for 137 lire for grain the monastery had received just prior to its suppression in 1798.[82] In Cappellari's reply, eight days later, he acknowledged the debt and referred the matter to Rasi. This was a period when people earnestly tracked down debtors to collect their money, but, as debtors themselves, they offered up a myriad of excuses for non-payment.

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76. "Segue il tenore della Perizia," n.d., A.9.7, AC.

77. "Terreni in questo Agro Cesenate," n.d., A.9.7, AC.

78. "Pro-Memoria riguardante il Monastero di Classe," f. 9, b. 40, S. Gregorio, ASR: "Oltre . . . vi rimangono ancora molti Beni spettanti a Classe, i quali non sono venduti, e consistono, per quanto si è potuto fin quì rilevare, in sessanta otto Poderi, la Pigneta, e la Pesca . . . i quali Beni sono amministrati parte da diverse Congregni [Congregazioni] di Carità, e parte dalla R.C."

79. Bellenghi writing. "Nelle comuni disaventare che nel 1798," n.d, A.2.7, AC.

80. Misc. Cappellari writings, F.I.2, AC.

81. Rasi to Cappellari, 25 May 1800, F.2.3, AC.

82. G. Casalini to "Generale di S. Gregorio," 20 June 1817 and Cappellari's response on 28 June, A.III.5, AC.

Another fiscal matter involved determining the rightful beneficiary of the deceased. Who should be the benefactor of an inheritance which was pledged to Sant'Apollinare? Should the monastery receive these post-mortem proceeds, even though it was no longer run by the Camaldolese or should the order itself receive them? This was a legal problem, since no one could have envisioned the complications after 1814. The order addressed this matter on at least three occasions to the Roman curia, arguing that they were the rightful heirs.[83]

With the elevations of Camaldolese Placido Zurla to cardinal and Cardinal Annibale della Genga to pope (Leo XII) in 1823, the order renewed its efforts to re-acquire Sant'Apollinare, which was still "of the highest importance." The order offered to reimburse expenses, such as to various architects incurred during this period of litigation, if awarded the monastery. A letter from 1824 recounts how Zurla appealed to Pope Leo personally on the order's behalf.[84] In his plea, he downplayed any discord, though clearly frustrated at the short shrift given to his order, and instead focused on the financial practicalities of the matter. He highlighted the unsold properties which had formerly belonged to them, and which produced enough revenue to cover the costs of refurbishing the monastery, to allow the monks to return:

> It seems strange that in Ravenna, everything [good that happened there] is because of the Monks: . . . [the cleaning up of] the Marshes, the preservation of the forests, the bulwark of public health, which without these, there would be very unhealthy air. . . . The more they [the four great abbeys of Ravenna] do, the more marvellous they perform, the more that there are still many unsold properties due to the above-mentioned abbeys, which would be enough to make a full restoration. . . . In addition to the many farms that remained unsold, but were then applied to other establishments, there is an annuity of 2407 scudi per year, formerly belonging to Sant'Apollinare but under government administration. By agreeing to [give this back to the] Camaldolese, this income would oblige them to repair and restore . . . the grandiose building which was assigned to the College before it was transferred to the Classe, so that it [the Camaldolese] could return to its old premises.[85]

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83. "Donazione," A.9.7, AC. See the article by Christopher Korten, "The fight for inheritances in the Papal States during the Restoration, 1814–1830," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 71.1 (2020), 98–115.

84. "Camaldolese," folder Giugno 1824, Congr. Episc. E Reg., sez. Reg., AAV.

85. Cappellari petition, "Camaldolese," folder Giugno 1824, Congr. Episc. E Reg., sez. Reg., AAV: "Sembra strano, che in Ravenna, che tutto deve alli Monaci, massime pel di pec-

The income from the unsold property which the Church was overseeing since the Restoration totalled an additional 7000 scudi.[86] Revealing the degree to which this matter captured the order's attention, Cappellari, though no longer directly involved, was still discussing it and the efforts being made to re-acquire Sant'Apollinare in August 1828. Zurla's efforts to this extent were even being questioned by some within the order. Cappellari wrote to one confrere, "I read your letter with regret, since no one doubts the commitment of the Eminent [Vicar] General [Zurla] for Classe."[87] Cappellari tried to assuage the monk's concerns:

> I am informed of everything, and I can assure you that he [Zurla] is very busy. I also see, however, that it is not easy to explain this affair by letter, as it is complicated. It would be necessary to speak to each other [in person]. It requires so much [time]! Come to Rome in September, and we [Zurla and I] will explain everything.

By 1828, both Cappellari and Zurla were cardinals and were also two of the favorites of Pope Leo XII (r. 1823–1829), especially Cappellari.[88] But the Jesuits as well were in good stead with the pontiff, thus creating a standstill in this very sensitive affair.[89] In September 1829, Cardinal Vincenzo Macchi communicated the complexity of the case, and that his hands were tied, as the college was now occupying all parts of the mona-

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camento di sue Paludi [bog/marsh], e per la piantaggione [plantation] di Boschi, baluardi della salute pubblica, che la disembono dagli influsso d'un aria la quale sarebbe senza ~~questi di~~ essi del tutto insalubre, di Quattro insigni abbadie[sic], che vi esistevano, non vábbia ora più per cosi divvestigia di Monachismo. Tanto più poi fà ciò meraviglia, quanto che vi rimangono tuttora molti Beni invenditi spettanti alle dette Abadie, i quali sarebbero sufficient onde patornale(?) fare in qualche modo risorgere. . . . Otre i molti Poderi rimasti invendati, ma poi applicati ad altri stabilimenti, vi è una Rendita di annui 2407:10 delle Pinete di ragione del Monro di Classe, ma sotto amministrazione Camerale. Accordandosi ai Camaldolesi questo Rendita si obbligherebbero essi di riparare e ristorare second la Perizia da farsi, la tuttora esistente grandiose Fabbrica che era addetto al Collegio prima che venisse trasferito in Classe, acciò questo ritornare possa nel suo antico locale, e lasciar libero il monro."

86. Observation 4 in "Tasse di Monasteri," F.I.2, AC.

87. Cappellari to Abbot R. Margotti, August 30, 1828, A.X.3, AC: "Ho letta la sua lettera con dispiacere, vedendo che ella ne dubita dell'impegno dell'Emo Gnle [Zurla] per Classe." "Sono informato di tutto , e posso assicurare V. P. Rmo che egli è impegnatissimo. Vedo però anche, che non è facile poternela renderla intesa, e capacitarne la per lettera circa il complicatissimo stato dell'affare. Sarebbe necessario parlarsi a voce. Ci vuol tanto! Faccia una gita a Roma dentro Settembre, e cela intenderemo."

88. See Christopher Korten, "Defining Moments: The Reasons Mauro Cappellari became Pope Gregory XVI," in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 47 (2009), 17–40, here 29–38.

89. For example, see Artaud de Montor, *Histoire du Pape Léon XII* (Paris, 1843), vol. I, 208.

stery; thus, co-habiting was not really an option.[90] Even into 1830, the order clung obsessively to the hope of regaining Sant'Apollinare. It even nominated a titular abbot to their dispossessed monastery.[91] In April 1830, as this long, drawn-out, unhappy affair was winding down, Clemente Morigi, former Camaldolese administrator in the region, in his last days on earth, concluded one letter: ". . . in the name of the Holy Father, kissing his feet [and] praising him [for] my desire for us in Ravenna."[92]

Repercussions from the Divisive Restoration

Proof of the acrimony was to be found not just in the direct fights waged between religious orders and the various entities and persons mentioned above. There were indirect forms of conflict, often personal, which have been overlooked by historians of the Restoration. The recommendations that Cappellari made as consultant for the Congregation of Studies in 1824, highly critical of the Jesuits, desiring to break up their monopoly at the University of Camerino, are likely not coincidental, but were formed as a result of his bitter experiences over Sant'Apollinare and the Jesuit's control of it. After visiting the University of Camerino to provide a complete assessment of it, Cappellari highlighted the need to de-monopolize the departments of Philosophy and Theology and to allow non-Jesuits to teach in them.[93] The frustrating tone of the report in places resembles that found in his letters related to Classe, and is rarely exampled in his other reports as educational consultant: "It is not enough [that the Jesuit have monopolies in Theology and Philosophy]: the Archbishop would like that the Rector *pro-tempore* would always be a Jesuit and that the Jesuits be entrusted with the lower schools as well."[94]

This anti-Jesuit animus was a point of discussion during the conclaves of 1829 and 1830/31, supposedly threatening to derail Cappellari's election. It was reported that some cardinals refused to vote for him because of

90. Card. Vincenzo Macchi letter, 25 September 1829, "Carteggio tra il card. Macchi e don Romualdo Margotti relativo al recupero di locali nel monastero di Classe (1829)," A.9.7, AC.

91. "Ravenna," 1830 letters, A.9.4, AC.

92. Morigi to Bellenghi, 26 April 1830, A.V.2, AC: ". . . n mio nome al S. Padre baciadoli il piede ramentandoli il mio desiderio per noi in Ravenna."

93. "Università di Camerino," 1–2, b. 188, Congregazione degli Studi, ASR.

94. "Università di Camerino," 1, b. 188, Congregazione degli Studi, ASR: "Non basta: Vorrebbe l'Arcivescovo che il *Rettore pro tempore* fosse sempre Gesuita, e che ai Gesuiti fossero affidate anche le *Scuoli inferiori*." Emphasis Cappellari

his opposition to the Society.[95] The English Cardinal Thomas Weld had been told that Cappellari might even suppress the order were he to be elected.[96] It is interesting to note that Cappellari's chief adversary during the conclave was Cardinal Pacca, himself a key Jesuit supporter as well as uncle of Tiberio, who had partly adjudicated against Cappellari in the S. Appolinare affair (discussed earlier).[97]

But yet, as Pope Gregory XVI, Cappellari was known for his great support of the Jesuits. In fact, most accounts portray a seamlessly positive relationship between Gregory and the order, dating back to his childhood, when he was educated by the Society in his hometown of Belluno, unaware of the unpleasant interludes discussed in this article. The Dutch church historian, Frederick Nielsen, made this his main theme, when describing Gregory's pontificate, which was "more and more dominated" by the Jesuits.[98] Superior General of the Society, Jan Roothaan, was known to have the pope's ear.[99] And Cardinal Carlo Odescalchi, close friend and key supporter of Cappellari during the conclave, felt the pull to renounce his cardinalate and join the Jesuits, a wish that Gregory eventually granted him, in 1838.

So how was it that Cappellari felt a degree of enmity towards the Society in the 1810s and 1820s but promoted them during his fifteen-year pontificate? His attitude towards the Jesuits softened the further into the pontificate of Pope Leo XII (r. 1823–29) he went. Cappellari was greatly beholden to Leo for promoting him to cardinal in 1826 and saw him as a spiritual mentor; for his part, Leo admired both Cappellari and the Society and worked to promote both.[100] The concerns at the subsequent conclaves were hangovers of Cappellari's attitudes during the Sant'Apollinare affair and the visitation of the University of Camerino. But by the time

95. David Silvagni (ed.), *Diario dei Conclavi del 1829 e del 1830–31 di Mons. Pietro Dardano* (Florence, 1879), 76; Giorgio Maggioni (ed.), *Il Conclave di Gregorio XVI nel diario di Gaetano Moroni* (Belluno, 1995), 37–38.

96. "Relazione," 85, Barberini ms. 4662, Biblioteca Apostolica di Vaticano.

97. Moscarini, *La Restaurazione Pontificia*, 63.

98. Frederick Nielsen, *The History of the Papacy in the XIXth century* (London, 1906), vol. II, 72. Earlier, Edward H. Michelsen, *The Popes and the Jesuits of the Present Century* (London, 1890), 91; Nielsen's work is flawed, but he gets this idea right. Most recently, Emanuele Colombo and Marco Rochin, "Ritorno alle missioni. Jan Philip Roothaan, Gregorio XVI e le missioni della «Nuova» Compagnia di Gesù," in: *I gesuiti e i papi*, ed. Michela Catto and Claudio Ferla, (Bologna, 2016), 103–30, here 103-04.

99. Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831–1859)*, (Leuven, 2001), 285.

100. Leo restored the Roman College to the Jesuits in 1824.

Cappellari was elected pope, he shifted his priorities from local affairs involving his order to issues that threatened or affected the Church, such as revolution and the concomitant liberal ideas. There was no bigger champion of traditional Catholic values at this time than the Roothaan-led Jesuit order.

Another overlooked act during Gregory's first year as pope deserves scrutiny, in light of the evidence presented in this article. On 19 August 1831, just months into his pontificate, he closed the Olivetan monasteries in the Papal States and awarded his own order the four monasteries.[101] Unusually, in one case, the bishop of Gubbio supposedly "requested" that the suppressed Olivetan monastery in his diocese be given to the "industrious and exemplary Camaldolese monks." So too, in Ascoli. To describe the Camaldolese, a moderately ascetic order, as industrious was odd and rare at this time. A more likely reason for the bishop's decision was a desire to curry favour with the new pope.[102]

In a conspiratorial manner, the decision about the Olivetan order was made by a committee comprised mainly of Camaldolese. It was determined that the Olivetan monasteries of Gubbio and Ascoli be given over to the Camaldolese order. Valerio Cattana charitably wrote, "without passing judgment, they [the Camaldolese] have good game [*buon gioco*]: a Camaldolese pope, through a cardinal visitor, also Camaldolese, transferred Olivetan monasteries and properties to the Camaldolese order, designated by a third Camaldolese, [himself] almost a cardinal."[103] Merited or not, and the Olivetans did have their problems, this Camaldolese "win" came at the expense of their Benedictine brethren, who, except for four, left the profession following this act. From a distance, it is tempting to view this as compensation for the closure of some of the Camaldolese monasteries during the Restoration, especially Sant'Apollinare. Similar accusations which the Camaldolese hurled at opponents in the Sant'Apollinare affair

101. The next two paragraphs are taken from Valerio Cattana, "Il Declino della Congregazione di Monte Oliveto," in: *Momenti di Storia e Spiritualità Olivetana*, ed. Mauro Tagliabue and Valerio Cattana [Italia Benedettina, 28], (Cesena, 2007), 339–59, here 347–53.

102. Although, interestingly, Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, the bishop of Spoleto and the future Pius IX (1846–78), objected to the plan for the Olivetan property in his diocese. (Cattana, "Il Declino," 350: "richiesta" "operose ed esemplari monaci camaldolesi."

103. Cattana, "Il Declino," 351: "al di là di ogni guidizio di merito, avevano buon gioco: un papa camaldolese, attraverso un cardinal visitatore apostolico pure camaldolese, trasferiva monastery e beni olivetani a camaldolesi designate da un terzo camaldolese, quasi cardinal." and "cabale"; "uomo pio e mansueto." His well-researched account is overly generous towards the Camaldolese.

are found directed towards them on this occasion. One Olivetan abbot accused Zurla of "abuse of power" following his stinging report that suggested a merger as the only way to save the order. And one Olivetan historian even claimed that Zurla never stepped foot in any of its monasteries. This Camaldolese "cabal," as one pamphlet described the affair, exonerated Pope Gregory, who was described as "pious and meek." In hindsight, this might have been an overgenerous assumption.

Conclusion

What has the Sant'Apollinare affair revealed about the Restoration in the Papal States? First, it confirmed that it was indeed incomplete; religious orders were partially restored; lands and properties partially returned; and renovation of damaged property partially accomplished in most cases. Controversies were abundant—shortages of money, men, a devaluing currency, and partially sold properties wreaked havoc on the process of the Restoration.[104] And land that was lost in the legations during the French period between 1796 and 1814 was rarely returned; and if so, with great difficulty, forced to overcome a "labyrinth of obstacles."[105] And the problems encountered by the famed monastery, Sant'Appolinare, were typical of the period, as the (literally) 1000s of petitions found in the Congregation of Regulars and Bishops, the Congregation of Reform, and the Congregation *Deputata* between 1814 and 1818 reveal.

With the exception of the last one, these points have been more or less understood. What this article has revealed are the many layers of dissension and competing agendas present during the Restoration. Religious orders fell into conflict with other orders, especially the Jesuits, bishops, local communities, and the Roman curia, including the pope himself. And there were various ways in which retaliation could be exacted by those in a position to do so, as the University of Camerino and Olivetan affairs reveal. In this sense, the bitterness and loss encountered during this period could easily last a lifetime.

The Sant'Apollinare affair was not just about a monastery, but the affiliated, non-ecclesiastical properties, so valuable for revenue to fund a monastery's operations and finance renovation. The Restoration was in many ways a zero sum game, given the dearth of resources. The Jesuit's inheritance of Sant'Apollinare after 1814 came at the expense of the Camal-

104. See also Pasztor, "Per la storia dell'Umbria," 69–71.
105. "Nelle comuni disaventare che nel 1798," n.d., A.2.7, AC.

dolese. Contrasting terms could be appropriately juxtaposed to capture a truer sense of the Restoration: revived and reviled; renewed and rejected.

Of course, friction between religious orders did not originate in the Restoration. Long-standing feuds are well-documented, as orders jealously competed for papal favur. Most famously, Jesuits and Augustinians were embroiled in doctrinal disputes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the eve of the Council of Trent, the Society of Jesus was officially established and became the self-appointed, personal servants of the pope, a description which itself stoked competition and created hostility amongst other congregations. And during the Restoration, the degree of anti-Jesuit hostility was proportional to the order's popularity throughout communities of Italy.

Ironically, the glossing of or overlooking of the Sant'Apollinare affair in understanding the Restoration has a well-known antecedent. In volume fifty-six of Gaetano Moroni's *Dizionario*, there is an entry entitled "Ravenna." This whole affair is omitted, and instead, when Sant'Apollinare is mentioned, it is in connection with Gregory XVI's ordering of the reconstruction of the Basilica and consecration of the principal nave.[106] About the history of the college, which eventually occupied Sant'Apollinare, Moroni wrote laconically, omitting the controversy: "A magnificent establishment of public education or municipal college is located in the ancient monastery of S. Romualdo . . . which in 1515 had moved there from Classe."[107] Moroni would have certainly been aware of the order's struggle over Sant'Apollinare since he had befriended Cappellari by late 1810s and was his personal assistant from the mid-1820s. Yet Moroni's version, masked the great unhappiness that marked this period for Pope Gregory XVI, his order, and his Church.[108]

106. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1852), vol. 56, 183.

107. Moroni, *Dizionario*, vol. 56, 196.

108. It is even possible that Gregory himself wrote part or all of this entry. One contemporary source claims that Gregory wrote "many" articles in this "excellent work." See S.N.T., *La Vida de Gregorio XVI y anales de su pontificado especialmente en sus relaciones con la iglesia Española* (Madrid, 1846), 29.

Romances of No-Popery: Transnational Anti-Catholicism in Giuseppe Garibaldi's *The Rule of the Monk* and Benjamin Disraeli's *Lothair*

Diana Moore*

Through an analysis of Conservative British politician Benjamin Disraeli's Lothair (1870) *and Italian patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi's* The Rule of the Monk (1870)*, this article highlights the connections between anti-Catholic literature and anti-Catholic politics in Victorian Britain and reveals how a diverse set of transnational actors simultaneously shaped and utilized British anti-Catholic discourses. It argues that not only did anti-Catholicism motivate British support for the Risorgimento, but the actors and events of the Risorgimento and the Papal response to it informed and reinforced popular anti-Catholic beliefs.*

Keywords: Transnational, Anti-Catholicism, Britain, Italy, Literature.

Conservative Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) shared few political goals with Italian patriot and radical republican Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–82). A staunch believer in tradition and established institutions, Disraeli opposed the same revolutions Garibaldi championed and consistently advocated against British intervention in the Italian Risorgimento, the process of liberation and unification of the Italian peninsula. In the spring of 1870, however, the politicians found common ground, both choosing to publish anti-Catholic novels to the British public. In late February, Garibaldi published the English translation of his work *Clelia o il governo dei preti* under the title *The Rule of the Monk; Or, Rome in the Nineteenth Century,* while Disraeli published his own novel, *Lothair,* less than three months later in early May. Both novels included not only standard anti-Catholic tropes and stereotypes, but depictions of recent revolutionary Italian attempts on Papal Rome. While many anti-Catholic Gothic works were set in the distant past, these novels

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offered dramatic renderings of the immediate past, included thinly veiled or fictionalized versions of important political personages as characters, and spoke directly to contemporary political concerns.

By juxtaposing Disraeli's *Lothair* and the English translation of Garibaldi's *The Rule of the Monk,* this article reveals how a diverse set of transnational actors from a variety of political backgrounds simultaneously shaped and utilized British anti-Catholic discourses. Drawing attention to the important connections between anti-Catholic literature and anti-Catholic politics in Victorian Britain, it argues that not only did anti-Catholicism shape British support for the Risorgimento, but the events of the Risorgimento and the Papal response to it from 1848 to 1870 informed and reinforced preexisting ideas of Victorian anti-Catholicism. Moreover, the article shows how Italian revolutionaries themselves actively participated in this culture of anti-Catholicism, making appeals to the British public that reinforced popular ideas about the despotism of the Papal government and the inherent opposition between Catholicism and the modern ideals of freedom and progress.

Despite the inherently transnational status of the Catholic Church and of the resultant attacks upon it, the transnationalism of nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism has only recently received focused scholarly attention.[1] As Timothy Verhoeven argued in his 2014 study on the transatlantic nature of American anti-Catholicism, "historians have interpreted anti-Catholicism within different conceptual frameworks, but these varied approaches share, almost without exception, a rigid focus on domestic circumstances."[2] Those works that acknowledge the transnational nature of anti-Catholicism, moreover, tend to focus on relations between Protestant-majority countries. With his monograph on the connections between American and French anti-Catholicism, Verhoeven was one of the few authors to devote extended analysis to a Catholic-majority country.[3] Exceptions to this trend include

1. Christopher M. Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, eds., *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009); Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard, eds., *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013); Stephen Conn, "'Political Romanism': Re-Evaluating American Anti-Catholicism in the Age of Italian Revolution," *Journal of the Early Republic,* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2016), 521–48.

2. Timothy Verhoeven, "Transatlantic Connections: American Anti-Catholicism and the First Vatican Council (1869–70)," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 100, no. 4 (Autumn 2014), 695–720, here 696.

3. Timothy Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism: France and the United States in the Nineteenth Century.* (New York, 2014).

the works of historian Manuel Borutta on Italian anti-Catholicism and its connections to Germany and an article by Donald MacRaild on the transnational careers of anti-Catholic preachers from Catholic backgrounds.[4] This article adds to these limited studies by emphasizing the role that Italian actors and events played in Victorian anti-Catholicism.

Though studies of transnational anti-Catholicism are relatively sparse, studies of specifically British anti-Catholicism and of the influence of anti-Catholicism upon British Gothic literature are plentiful.[5] Literary scholar Miriam Burstein claimed that anti-Catholic sentiment was so pervasive in nineteenth-century British and American literature, "that one is tempted to call 'anti-Catholic novel' a redundant term."[6] In her study of the Gothic novel, Diane Long Hoeveler similarly identified anti-Catholic plot lines including, "a focus on perverse or frustrated nuns, deceptive priests, dark and dank torture chambers of the Inquisition, and ruined abbeys," as key to the Gothic genre.[7] Though many scholars have associated anti-Catholic fiction with the Gothic novels of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Susan Griffin has demonstrated the popularity of anti-Catholic narratives in Britain and America well into the nineteenth century.[8] By publishing novels that relied heavily on anti-Catholic themes, therefore, Garibaldi and Disraeli were not engaging in particularly unique or transgressive behavior, but were following the standard conventions of mid-nineteenth-century literature.

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4. Manuel Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy," in: *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy*, ed. Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall (New York, 2012), 191–213; Manuel Borutta, "Settembrini's World: German and Italian Anti-Catholicism in the Age of the Culture Wars," in: *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard (Amsterdam, 2013), 43–67; and Donald M. MacRaild, "Transnationalising 'Anti-Popery': Militant Protestant Preachers in the Nineteenth-Century Anglo-World," *Journal of Religious History,* 39, no. 2 (June 2015), 224–43.

5. Irene Bostrom, "The Novel and Catholic Emancipation," *Studies in Romanticism,* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1963), 155–76; Denis G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, CA, 1992); Patrick R. O'Malley, *Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Gothic Culture* (Cambridge, UK; New York, 2006); Maureen Moran, *Catholic Sensationalism and Victorian Literature* (Liverpool, 2007); Diane Long Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology: Religious Hysteria and Anti-Catholicism in British Popular Fiction 1780–1880* (Cardiff, Wales, 2014).

6. Miriam Elizabeth Burstein, "Protestants against the Jewish and Catholic Family, c. 1829–1860," *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 31, no. 1 (2003), 333–57, here 341.

7. Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, 5.

8. Susan Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

These scholarly studies of anti-Catholicism in British literature and popular culture have generally acknowledged the importance of Italian settings but not of Italian authors or actors. Like many other areas of anti-Catholic studies, they retain an overly national focus. Griffin's 2004 work on the connections between British and American anti-Catholic fiction is a notable exception, but does not include actors from Catholic-majority countries like Italy.[9] The lack of inclusion of Italian authors is unfortunate, as Italians were certainly participating in the creation and propagation of shared transnational anti-Catholic tropes.

The nineteenth century witnessed a growing anticlerical and anti-Catholic movement in Italy. Like many other southern European countries, Italy had suffered from a transnational orientalization of Catholicism that cast Catholic countries as left behind in humanity's march towards progress.[10] Italian patriots attempted to both embrace and overcome this discourse by placing the blame for Italy's relative lack of development and political independence on the Catholic Church, both as a spiritual institution and temporal power. Moderate and radical Italians supported not only a separation of church and state, but more far-reaching attacks on religious orders, monasteries, the Papacy, and even aspects of Catholic ritual and practice.[11] In doing so, they participated in the transnational culture wars of the nineteenth-century.

Moreover, it is interesting that works on anti-Catholicism in British literature do not focus more on Italy as numerous scholars have recognized the pivotal role anti-Catholicism played in British support for Italian nationalism among Liberals and Conservatives alike.[12] Historian Danilo Raponi, for instance, claimed that British support for the Risorgimento came as a direct result of a desire to spread Protestantism in the peninsula and was inextricable from British anti-Catholicism.[13] While these authors have clearly

9. Ibid.

10. Borutta, "Settembrini's World: German and Italian Anti-Catholicism in the Age of the Culture Wars," 54–56.

11. Martin Papenheim, "Rome o Morte: Culture Wars in Italy," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher M. Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge, UK, 2009), 202–26.

12. Carl T. McIntire, *England against the Papacy, 1858–1861: Tories, Liberals, and the Overthrow of Papal Temporal Power during the Italian Risorgimento* (Cambridge. UK, 1983); Danilo Raponi, *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento: Britain and the New Italy, 1861–1875* (Basingstoke, 2014); Colin Barr, Michele Finelli, and Anne O'Connor, eds., *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin, 2014); Nick Carter, ed., *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2015).

13. Raponi, *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento*.

demonstrated the importance of anti-Catholicism to British-Italian relations during the Risorgimento, they have largely ignored the role of literature.[14]

Through an analysis of Disraeli's *Lothair* and Garibaldi's *The Rule of the Monk,* this article brings together these historical and literary fields of study and contributes to the growing scholarship on the transnational nature of nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism. The first section provides an overview of the national and transnational sources of British anti-Catholicism before the novels' creation, while the second section examines the immediate impetus for Garibaldi and Disraeli's novels and provides brief plot descriptions. The third section argues that the authors used traditional Gothic tropes of Catholic perversion and seduction but applied them directly to the contemporary Papal government and Catholic population. Continuing the discussion of the novels' connection to ongoing political events, the final section examines the novels' description of the political danger posed by Catholicism and the authors' differing views as to whether Italian radicals represented an appropriate solution to that threat.

Building Tensions:British Anti-Catholicism, the Risorgimento, and Pius IX

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, anti-Catholic Protestantism was an established component of British identity.[15] Though some scholars have argued that British anti-Catholicism reached its peak with the debate surrounding Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the popularity of the Oxford Movement in the 1830s and 1840s kept fears of Catholicism high and led to the formation of groups like the Protestant Association (1835) that supported anti-Catholicism as a defense of Conservatism and the Established Church.[16] An increase in poor Irish Catholic immigrants

14. One significant exception comes in Raffaela Antinucci's brief study of the English-language works of Italian-born author Giovanni Ruffini (1807–81) and the role Ruffini played in winning the British public over to the Italian cause. Antinucci did not, however, focus on the way in which Ruffini played into anti-Catholic stereotypes. See: Raffaela Antinucci, "'An Italy Independent and One': Giovanni (John) Ruffini, Britain and the Italian Risorgimento," in: *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*, ed. Nick Carter (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2015), 104–26.

15. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, rev. ed. (New Haven, 2009), 377.

16. Kyle Hughes and Donald M. MacRaild, "Anti-Catholicism and Orange Loyalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in: *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World: 1775–1914*, ed. Allan Blackstock and Frank O'Gorman (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2014), 61–79, here 61; John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford, 1991), 91.

and the spread of revolutionary Irish nationalism further contributed to Victorian anti-Catholicism.[17] Finally, anti-Catholic Britons were not just reacting to domestic issues but were very much aware of and responding to the actions of Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–78).

Inspired by the outbreak of revolutions in the spring of 1848, some Italian liberals had originally looked to Pius as a potential leader of a reformed and united Italy. It soon became clear, however, that Pius would not support Italian nationalists in the north against the Catholic Austrian Empire. In response, the patriots assassinated the Papal State's Minister of Justice Pellegrino Rossi on November 15, 1848 and began an outright revolution, driving Pius into exile. On February 9, 1849 the patriots declared the formation of a Roman Republic. From his exile, Pius appealed to his Catholic allies and found support from French President Louis Napoleon who sent troops in April to restore Pius's throne. Garibaldi led a valiant but ultimately unsuccessful defense against the French troops and fled Rome in early July 1849.

Pius IX's opposition to Italian unification made it difficult for Italian nationalists to support the Catholic Church as an institution that could be part of a modern Italian future. The kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, which would assume a leading role in unification, began its attack on the Catholic Church through the prohibition of the Jesuit order and the Siccardi Laws of 1850, which called for the suppression of the separate system of church courts and the legal immunity enjoyed by the clergy. In March 1855 Piedmont furthered this legislation with a more general law for the suppression of religious orders. Popular Piedmontese newspapers like *La Gazzetta del Popolo* supported the anti-clerical movement by publishing frequent reports on clerical misconduct including, "sexual excesses, and capital crimes such as the abandonment, sexual abuse and murder of children."[18]

In response to the growing strength of Italian nationalism and the threat it posed to his temporal reign, Pius IX worked to solidify the power of the church establishment across Europe. An early step in this campaign was the

17. Walter Ralls, "The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism," *Church History,* 43, no. 2 (June 1974), 242–56, here 244–46, 253; Saho Matsumoto-Best, *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846–1851* (New York, 2003), 144–45, 149–50; Hughes and MacRaild, "Anti-Catholicism and Orange Loyalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 74–75.

18. Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy," 191–96. When Italy unified in 1861 it generally assumed the laws of the Piedmontese state, including these attacks on the clergy and Catholic Church.

reinstatement of a traditional Catholic hierarchy of bishops in England in 1850, more commonly known as the Papal Aggression.[19] Later in the decade, Pius IX also drew fire for his support of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception (1854) as well as his involvement in the Mortara Affair (1858).[20]

Despite Pius IX's opposition, the Risorgimento received a key victory in the 1859 Second War of Italian Independence, after which the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia received Austria's territory of Lombardy.[21] In the summer of 1860, Garibaldi then achieved his greatest success with his campaign of the Thousand. Garibaldi's small band of volunteer fighters seized control of Sicily and southern Italy from the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and set the stage for Italian Unification on March 17, 1861. To Garibaldi's dismay, however, Rome remained under Papal control and was not incorporated into the new Italian state. Outraged that the historic capital and heart of Italy remained in the hands of a clergy that he viewed as inherently corrupt and oppressive, Garibaldi raised a volunteer army and began a march towards Rome in June 1862. The Italian government, facing harsh pressure from the French and reluctant to allow the radicals to gain more ground, opposed this action and on the morning of August 29th, Italian troops defeated Garibaldi's forces and shot the famed general twice. After his surrender, the Italian state arrested Garibaldi and imprisoned him in the fort of Varignano.[22] British audiences closely followed these events and tensions over his arrest even led to the outbreak of riots.[23]

As Pius IX emerged more and more clearly as a self-described opponent of modern freedoms and national liberty, anticlerical and anti-Catholic popular culture flourished among radical and progressive groups in both Italy and Britain. Italian anti-Catholics attacked "central elements of Catholic piety such as processions, belief in miracles, visions of Mary

19. Ralls, "The Papal Aggression of 1850," 253.

20. In June 1858 Papal authorities seized six-year-old Edgardo Mortara from his Jewish family's home in Bologna after a former servant testified that she had secretly baptized the child as an infant. Despite international outrage, Pius supported this action, citing Papal law, which decreed that a Catholic child could not be raised in a non-Christian home. For more on the international Protestant and Jewish reaction against the Mortara affair, see: Abigail Green, "Nationalism and the 'Jewish International': Religious Internationalism in Europe and the Middle East, c.1840–c.1880," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 50, no. 2 (April 2008), 535–58.

21. Christopher Duggan, *Force of Destiny: A History of Italy since 1796* (London, 2008), 204–05.

22. Ibid., 244–46.

23. Sheridan Gilley, "The Garibaldi Riots of 1862," *The Historical Journal* 16, no. 4 (December 1973), 697–732.

and the pilgrimages," while famed authors like Giosuè Carducci published vehemently anticlerical works, such as the *Inno a Satana* (Hymn to Satan, 1863).[24] In Britain, a new form of anti-Catholicism triumphed by radical Dissent emerged alongside the older movement centered on the Conservative Party and the Anglican Church. Historian John Wolffe has argued that the new anti-Catholic societies of the 1850s, including the Scottish Reformation Society (1850) and the Protestant Alliance (1851), "represented a significant change in the general profile of anti-Catholicism after 1850, from an agitation dominated by establishmentarian concerns to one in which a concern for religious liberty conceived on Nonconformist terms was very much in evidence."[25] This more radical branch, led to some extent by the Protestant Alliance and its founder, Anthony Ashley-Cooper (1801–85), the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, supported anti-Catholicism as an issue of freedom of thought and triumphed "no-Popery" lecturers like Italian former priest Alessandro Gavazzi as well as the Florentine couple the Madiai.[26] Their activities in many ways paralleled that of the older Conservative branch of anti-Catholicism and the Protestant Association, who supported anti-Catholic preachers like Irishman William Murphy and produced pamphlets, books, and posters denouncing Catholic priests, theology, and religious practices.[27] Even popular periodicals like *Punch* participated in the movement and regularly published cartoons lampooning Pius IX and the Catholic Church.[28]

As a self-proclaimed enemy of the Papacy and champion of the ideals of progress and liberty, Garibaldi was incredibly popular among the British

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24. Borutta, "Settembrini's World: German and Italian Anti-Catholicism in the Age of the Culture Wars," 51; Laura Fournier-Finocchiaro, *Giosuè Carducci et la construction de la nation italienne* (Caen, 2006), 155.

25. Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, 253–54.

26. John Wolffe, "North Atlantic Anti-Catholicism in the Nineteenth-Century: A Comparative Overview," in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard (Amsterdam, 2013), 23-41, here 31–32; Bernard Aspinwall, "Rev. Alessandro Gavazzi (1808-1889) and Scottish Identity: A Chapter in Nineteenth Century Anti-Catholicism," *Recusant History,* 28, no. 1 (2006), 129–52; Anne Lohrli, "The Madiai: A Forgotten Chapter of Church History," *Victorian Studies,* 33, no. 1 (Autumn 1989), 29–50. Francesco and Rosina Madiai were Protestant converts imprisoned in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany from August 1851 to March 1853. Their case attracted international outrage from those who believed the couple was persecuted solely for their faith, including Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and King Frederick William of Prussia.

27. Hughes and MacRaild, "Anti-Catholicism and Orange Loyalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 66, 74–75.

28. Eleanor McNees, "'Punch' and the Pope: Three Decades of Anti-Catholic Caricature," *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 18–45.

public. When he visited England in 1864, he was met with huge crowds and near universal acclaim. As historian Lucy Riall has explained, "Garibaldi's stay in England became a political 'moment' an extraordinary demonstration of 'radical chic,' trade union pageantry, popular Protestantism and private passion."[29] He was not entirely without critics, however, and Disraeli famously refused to meet with the patriot, declining "to countenance the orgy of enthusiasm with which he was welcomed in England both by the populace and by Society."[30]

Pius IX also remained unwilling to modify his platform or consider giving up his status as a temporal ruler. Later that year, on December 8, 1864, he issued what was to many his most egregious act yet, the papal encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the accompanying Syllabus of Errors. These argued that no true Catholic could support freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or freedom of religion and must support the temporal rule of the pope.[31] Opponents of the Papacy in both Italy and Britain viewed these acts as signs that the Catholic Church had become a nearly irredeemable tyrannical vestige of a medieval era.

Tensions Sparked: The Creation of Garibaldi's and Disraeli's Novels

After Italy's acquisition of Venice in 1867, Garibaldi believed the moment was right to attempt another attack on Rome. As in 1862, Garibaldi raised a force of volunteer troops and marched into the Papal States in the hopes that his actions would trigger popular or governmental support. Neither materialized and French troops defeated Garibaldi's forces in a minor engagement at Mentana on November 3, 1867. Afterwards, Garibaldi was again arrested and imprisoned in the same fortress of Varignano from November 5 to November 25, 1867.[32]

Frustrated with his lack of military or political success, Garibaldi turned to literature and wrote three novels published during his lifetime, *Clelia, o il governo dei preti* (*Clelia, or the Government of the Priest* [also translated as *The Rule of the Monk*] 1870), *Cantoni il volontario* (*Cantoni the Volunteer*, 1870), and *I Mille* (*The Thousand*, 1874). All three novels refer back to key moments in Garibaldi's political career: *Cantoni* was set during

29. Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, 2008), 331.

30. George Earl Buckle and William Flavelle Monypenny, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, vol. IV: *1855–1868* (New York, 1916), 327–28.

31. David I. Kertzer, *The Pope Who Would Be King: The Exile of Pius IX and the Emergence of Modern Europe* (New York, 2018), 340.

32. Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, 256.

the Roman Republic of 1848–49, *I Mille* discussed his campaign in Sicily and Southern Italy from 1860–61, and *Clelia* covered his second failed attempt to take Rome in 1867. Despite Garibaldi's fame, his novels have garnered little scholarly interest.[33] The lone extensive treatment of Garibaldi's literary career is Paolo Orvieto's 2011 book comparing the novels of Garibaldi with those of the staunch Jesuit Antonio Bresciani.[34]

The Rule of the Monk was a melodramatic tale of Papal villainy, despotism, and libertinism in Rome. Its heroine Clelia was the beautiful daughter of Manlio, a sculptor in the working-class neighborhood of Trastevere in Rome. Her beauty attracted the lascivious attentions of Cardinal Procopio, who schemed to capture and defile her. Another neighborhood artist, Attilio, also fell in love with Clelia and with the help of his compatriots managed to save her at the last moment before strangling Cardinal Procopio and his henchmen. The rest of the novel tracked the actions of these male heroes, Attilio, Muzio, and Orazio, as they planned uprisings against Papal rule, fought under a fictional Garibaldi's leadership in the 1867 campaign on Rome, fell in love with women who supported their dreams for Italy, and died at the novel's conclusion in a failed revolt. Throughout the novel Garibaldi frequently paused to delve into the tragic backstories of his characters to reveal further what he considered the horrors of priestly despotism. Through flashbacks, for instance, he disclosed that Muzio was left an impoverished orphan after his grandmother's confessor convinced her to leave all of her money to the Catholic Church (before murdering her with the help of a nun before she could change her mind).

Although Disraeli composed *Lothair* in secrecy, it is likely that he began work on his novel in early 1869, approximately a year after Garibaldi began his novel.[35] Unlike Garibaldi, Disraeli had previously established himself as a novelist. He had achieved minor literary success with *The Young Duke* (1831) and *Contarini Fleming* (1832), before transitioning into politics and entering Parliament in November 1837. As a member of Parliament, Disraeli then published his most famous works, the explicitly

33. Clive Edward John Griffiths, "The Novels of Garibaldi," *Italian Studies,* 30, no. 1 (1975), 86–98; Daniel Pick, "'Roma o Morte': Garibaldi, Nationalism and the Problem of Psycho-Biography," *History Workshop Journal,* 57 (Spring 2004): 1–33; Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World* (Princeton, 2007); Riall, *Garibaldi*; Alberto Mario Banti, *L'onore della nazione: identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII secolo alla grande guerra* (Turin, 2005), 222-28, 327-35.

34. Paolo Orvieto, *Buoni e Cattivi del Risorgimento: I Romanzi di Garibaldi e Bresciani a Confronto* (Roma, 2011).

35. George Earl Buckle and W.F. Monypenny, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, vol. V: 1868–1876 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 149.

political Young England trilogy, comprised of *Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845), and *Tancred* (1847). He later became a leader of the Conservative Party and in February 1868, following the resignation of Edward Stanley (1799–1869), 14th Earl of Derby, Disraeli became Prime Minister. As a politician, Disraeli was not known for his anti-Catholicism and had participated in an alliance between Conservatives and Catholics in Parliament based on an abstract defense of religion against atheism and secular liberalism.[36] In 1868, however, the alliance fractured when Catholic Archbishop of Westminster Henry Edward Manning (1808–92) switched his allegiance to Liberal leader William Gladstone (1809–98).[37] Disraeli and the Conservatives then lost the general election in December 1868. Blaming Manning for his loss and with more free time on his hands than he had in years, Disraeli returned to literature and produced *Lothair*.

Inspired by the controversial conversion of John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (1847–1900), the twenty-one-year-old 3rd Marquess of Bute to Catholicism on Christmas Eve 1868, *Lothair* followed the eponymous protagonist, a wealthy orphaned Scottish nobleman, through various stages in his young life as he searched for meaning. Discontented with his life among the English aristocracy, he looked for guidance from his formerly-estranged guardian, a convert-turned-prelate Cardinal Grandison (a thinly-veiled Manning), and became involved with a group of English Catholics, including the beautiful and pious Clare Arundel. Lothair contemplated conversion before meeting another woman, Theodora Campion, who inspired him with her fervent devotion to Italian nationalism to follow her to Italy and fight in the Battle of Mentana in 1867 alongside Garibaldi. Theodora tragically died in the battle and Lothair himself was seriously wounded, but was discovered by his old companion Clare Arundel who nursed him back to health before claiming he was saved by an apparition of the Virgin Mary. Disregarding that Lothair had fought against the Papacy, the Catholic leaders in Rome claimed that he had been miraculously saved so that he might convince others to overcome heresy and apostasy and return to the Catholic Church. Disgusted with

36. J.P. Parry, "Disraeli and England," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (September 2000): 699-728, here 714–15.

37. Vernon Bogdanor, "Introduction," in *Lothair*, by Benjamin Disraeli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), vii–ix. Disraeli had tried to solve the problem of the Anglican establishment in Ireland by setting up a Catholic University in Dublin subject to lay control. Manning claimed to support Disraeli in the venture but then the Irish bishops made it clear that they wanted total episcopal control over the institution. At the same time, Liberal Leader William Gladstone proposed full disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland prompting Manning to switch his allegiance to Gladstone.

this perversion of the truth and manipulation of his public image, Lothair fled Rome and spent the final third of the novel largely in Syria and Jerusalem finding peace with his faith. He ultimately returned to England, married Lady Corisande, an Anglican noblewoman he knew at the beginning of the novel, and assumed a comfortably traditional aristocratic country life.

Disraeli's novels, including *Lothair,* have received substantial scholarly attention. Scholars have offered differing interpretations of the novel, claiming that it was less about the threat of Catholicism and more about the hazards of rationalism, skepticism, materialism, and potentially even atheism, while others have argued it was intended as a criticism of the English aristocracy. Some even denied Disraeli's anti-Catholicism, emphasizing his history of cooperation with Catholics, his support for organized religion, including Catholicism, and sympathy for England's traditional Catholic gentry as opposed to new converts.[38]

Anti-Catholic feelings erupted anew in Britain just as Garibaldi and Disraeli were preparing to publish their novels with the 1869 case of *Saurin v. Star and Kennedy,* in which an Irish Catholic nun accused her superiors in a Yorkshire convent of assault, imprisonment, libel, and conspiracy.[39] Public attention surrounding the trial helped Conservative MP Charles Newdegate finally gain support for his 1870 parliamentary inspection of convents, which in itself heighted anti-Catholic tensions.[40] Many British Protestants were also worried by Pope Pius IX's attempts to strengthen his power by calling a Vatican Council for the first time in 350 years. 774 bishops and several hundred other church dignitaries showed up for the inaugural ceremony on December 8, 1869. Pius IX pushed the bishops to support a doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which they voted in favor of on July 18, 1870.[41] Throughout the months of deliberation between December and July, however, the council's proceedings were closed to the public and

38. Nils Clausson, "English Catholics and Roman Catholicism in Disraeli's Novels," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 33, no. 4 (March 1979), 454–74; Michael Ledger-Lomas, "'Glimpses of the Great Conflict': English Congregationalists and the European Crisis of Faith, circa 1840–1875," *Journal of British Studies,* 46, no. 4 (October 2007), 826–60; Megan Dent, "'There Must Be Design': The Threat of Unbelief in Disraeli's Lothair," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 44 (2016), 671–86.

39. Susan Griffin, "Revising the Popish Plot: Francis Trollope's 'The Abbess and Father Eustace," *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 31, no. 1 (2003), 279-93, here 281–82.

40. Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia, MO, 1982).

41. Kertzer, *The Pope Who Would Be King*, 341.

shrouded in mystery.[42] Both Garibaldi and Disraeli's novels were published during this interval when speculation was high and answers few.

The English translation *The Rule of the Monk* appeared in February 1870, less than three months after the beginning of the Vatican Council. While it was just one of many international editions and translations of the novel, it was the earliest and was published almost concurrently with the original Italian version.[43] Garibaldi's magnetic personality and his support from anti-Catholic radicals and republicans drew attention to the novel and ensured its financial success. Less than three months after its initial publication, the novel was into its third edition.[44]

Lothair was published in May 1870 to great acclaim and became the strongest commercial success of Disraeli's literary career. As the first novel ever published by a former prime minister, *Lothair* captivated audiences and sold over 7,000 copies within the first four days.[45] Disraeli's biographers Buckle and Monypenny claimed that, "All the world read the book; every journal reviewed it. It was the principle topic of polite conversation during the London season: a pretty woman was even heard to bet a copy of *Lothair* on a race at Ascot. Horses, songs, and ships were named after the hero and heroine."[46] It was later translated into multiple European languages and was a bestseller in America.[47]

Gothic Accusations of Catholic Perversion in a Contemporary Setting

In their novels both Garibaldi and Disraeli engaged in what historian John Wolffe identified as "socio-cultural anti-Catholicism," a type of anti-Catholicism centered on "a core social-cultural perception of the Roman

42. Verhoeven, "Transatlantic Connections," 716.

43. In 1870 alone translations were published in England, Canada, and America. Garibaldi's biographer Alfonso Scirocco claims that throughout the 1870s additional editions were published in the cities of Paris, Lisbon, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Novi Sad, Pest, Vienna, Prague, and Montevideo. Sergio Portelli, "Anti-Clericalism in Translation: Anti-Catholic Ideology in the English Translation of Giuseppe Garibaldi's Clelia o Il Governo Dei Preti (1870)," *Forum Italicum,* 50, no. 3 (2016), 1099–1108, here 1102; Scirocco, *Garibaldi*, 394–95.

44. "Advertisements & Notices," *The Graphic*, April 30, 1870.

45. Bogdanor, "Introduction," vii; "Latest Commercial News," *Glasgow Herald*, May 6, 1870.

46. Buckle and Monypenny, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, 1920, V: *1868–1876*, 165–67.

47. Over 80,000 copies were sold by October 1870. James Cephas Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (Hartford, CT, 1886), 185.

Catholic Church as fostering immorality, especially in sexual matters."[48] Stemming from their belief that natural sexual desires would turn perverse if denied the proper confines of a family environment, anti-Catholic authors often depicted tales of sexual abuse at the hands of priests, monks, or nuns. As previously discussed, scholars identified Gothic literature's reliance on these stereotypes through their plotlines of sexually abusive clerics and sexually abused nuns.[49] By publishing novels with anti-Catholic tropes of sexual perversion, therefore, Garibaldi and Disraeli were not engaging in controversial or innovative behaviors.

The contemporary setting of the works, however, along with the claims of veracity bolstered by their authors' status as famed politicians distinguished Disraeli and Garibaldi's novels from much of the existing anti-Catholic literature. Many anti-Catholic novels took on a confessional tone and claimed to be memoirs taken from life. Most notably, the best-selling American anti-Catholic novel, Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hôtel-Dieu Nunnery* (1836), claimed to be based on Monk's real experience in a Montreal convent. Monk alleged that her tales of sexual crime and perversion, including accusations that priests and nuns would routinely smother their illegitimate children after birth and throw their corpses in a lime pit, were grounded in truth.[50] Unlike Garibaldi or Disraeli, however, Monk was an unknown figure and her opponents easily dismissed her work as a manipulative fiction.

Garibaldi's novel repeated nearly all of the major themes and plot points of anti-Catholic literature through its numerous minor characters, seemingly added so Garibaldi could tell further tales of priestly horrors beyond Cardinal Procopio's failed seduction of the heroine Clelia. One character, Camilla, was seduced and impregnated by Procopio who had their child killed immediately following its birth. The shame of her fall combined with the murder of her child drove Camilla to insanity and Procopio had her shut away in a mental institution. Another minor character Marzio recounted how he rescued his wife from her forced confinement in a convent. He further revealed that during their escape through the convent's subterranean tunnels, they encountered a corpselike figure hanging

48. John Wolffe, "A Comparative Historical Categorisation of Anti-Catholicism," *Journal of Religious History,* 39, no. 2 (June 2015), 182–202, here 194.

49. Griffin, "Revising the Popish Plot," 281.

50. Sandra Frink, "Women, the Family, and the Fate of the Nation in American Anti-Catholic Narratives, 1830–1860," *Journal of the History of Sexuality,* 18, no. 2 (May 2009): 237–64, here 238, 261–62.

on the walls of a torture chamber. The man, Tito, had been sent to a Roman seminary at age fifteen and was soon indoctrinated into a system of sexual corruption in which the director of the seminary and the abbess of the nearby convent traded off access to young Italian bodies. When the abbess later discovered Tito's preference for the younger nuns, she sent him to the torture chamber in a jealous rage.

While Camilla's seduction or Tito's torture would not be unusual in a Gothic novel, Garibaldi was atypical in that his adamant claims of veracity went beyond literary conceit and were in explicit service of a political platform. The English translators of Garibaldi's novel and authors of its preface, Jessie White Mario (1832–1906) and Esperanza von Schwartz (1818–99), shared Garibaldi's political leanings and aided the patriot in his campaign by emphasizing his reliability as a witness.[51] In the preface, they recounted Garibaldi's history in Rome and called the novel, "fact founded upon fiction, in the sense that the form alone and the cast of the story are fanciful- the rest being all pure truth lightly disguised."[52] After moments that read as more fiction than fact, such as after the outrageous tale of the doomed Camilla, White Mario and von Schwartz again directly appealed to English audiences with claims of truthfulness. Their translation added: "What a wild improbable story, we seem to hear some of our readers remark, as they sit beside their sea-coal fires in free England. But Popery has not been dominant in England since James II's time, and they have forgotten it." It went on to remind readers that Garibaldi had personally searched the convents in Rome during the Roman Republic in 1849 and that, "in all, without an exception, he found instruments of cruelty; and in all, without an exception, were vaults, plainly dedicated to the reception of the bones of infants."[53]

Many newspapers repeated these references to Garibaldi's personal experience with Rome in their reviews of the novel, further spreading the information to those members of the public who had not yet read it.[54] In

51. Though they performed their work anonymously, private correspondence reveals that in December 1867, Garibaldi asked the women to translate and edit the book for a British literary public. Showing a great deal of trust in their judgment, Garibaldi gave the women full control over the content of his work, allowing them take out but not alter any potentially controversial political or religious ideas. Giuseppe Garibaldi, *Epistolario Di Giuseppe Garibaldi*, ed. Emma Moscati, Vol. XII (Roma, 2006), 235.

52. Giuseppe Garibaldi, *The Rule of the Monk; Or, Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1870), xi.

53. Ibid., 1:29–30.

54. "Garibaldi's New Work," *Liverpool Mercury*, February 23, 1870.

their review, *The Belfast News-letter* repeated these claims as part of their explanation for the novel's slightly, "exaggerated and over-coloured" nature. Recognizing that Garibaldi's perfect hatred of the priesthood informed his writing, they argued, "We do not suppose Garibaldi to be impartial *now*. But we should like to hear an advocate of the temporal power explaining the cause which planted so bitter and implacable a passion in so generous and unsuspecting a breast."[55] Their review indicates that at least certain segments of the British public were willing to consider Garibaldi's claims, though this may have been a result of preexisting anti-Catholic bias rather than of any specific work by White Mario or von Schwartz.

Other papers, however, deemed Garibaldi's tale as overly emotional and prejudiced and revealed a struggle to accept that his stories of unending priestly corruption, seduction, infanticide, torture, and murder could be accurate. A letter published in the *Liverpool Mercury* gives some idea of the expected Catholic response. After criticizing the paper and its contemporaries for speaking of Garibaldi's work, "as if it were a veritable history," it questioned why they gave their readers so many details from "the bombastical monomaniac's dish of horrors" without giving their readers "the slightest reason for suspicion that the ingredients are furnished forth from a diseased imagination, or vouched for by lying tongues."[56] Authors who did not specifically identify as Catholic also criticized Garibaldi's novel. A review from the *Athenaeum* called the work, "an impetuous, angry, unwise book, which can produce no good result to Italy."[57] The adjectives chosen by the reviewer echo popular stereotypes of Italian reliance on emotionality rather than reason and illustrate the difficult position Garibaldi occupied in his attempt to overcome negative perceptions of the Italians. Though Verhoeven has argued that Protestant Americans particularly enjoyed reading French anti-Catholic works, believing that the French authors' familiarity with Catholicism gave them an added benefit of authenticity and credibility, this dynamic did not always translate and in this instance did not benefit Garibaldi in his interaction with British Protestants.[58]

In contrast to Garibaldi's dramatic novel, Disraeli's was markedly more subdued and utilized fewer overt Gothic tropes when condemning the seductive and manipulative power of the Catholic Church. Adopting a

55. "Literary Notices," *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 14, 1870.

56. "Good Sound Protestant Lies," *Liverpool Mercury*, March 10, 1870.

57. "Garibaldi's New Book," *The Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet, and General Advertiser*, March 19, 1870.

58. Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism*, 9.

seemingly balanced tone, Disraeli allowed his various characters to express support for not only Anglicanism, but also Presbyterianism, Catholicism, and even a type of Deistic free religion espoused by Theodora. However, these favorable and flattering depictions of Catholicism in *Lothair* arguably reflected a common tactic among anti-Catholic authors in which they would praise the beauty of Catholic art and ritual to draw attention to Catholicism's seductive appeal to the senses.[59] Recognizing this rhetorical strategy, literary scholar Maureen Moran has argued that Disraeli's flattering depiction of Clare Arundel was meant as a comparison to the Catholic Church: though superficially attractive, both lacked substance and would seduce the unwary to their undeserving cause with their physical beauty.[60]

Disraeli also participated in the popular and more overtly anti-Catholic critique against the confessional and the sexual menace it presented to the family. Italian and British authors alike claimed that confession threatened the domestic hierarchy by casting a spiritual father in the role of the biological father and depriving a man of the loyalty he was due from his wife and children.[61] Garibaldi had included his own caution against the power of confession with the storyline of Muzio's grandmother. Disraeli included his own attack on the confessional in a scene between Lothair and one of his guardians, Lord Culloden, on the eve of Lothair's majority. Lord Culloden cautioned Lothair against the Catholic Church, stating,

> A man should be master in his own house. You will be taking a wife some day; at least it is to be hoped so; and how will you like one of these Monsignores to be walking into her bed-room, eh; and talking to her alone when he pleases, and where he pleases; and when you want to consult your wife, which a wise man should often do, to find there is another mind between hers and yours?[62]

Though this is by no means as explicit a reference as those found in Garibaldi's novel, the allusion to the influence of confessors in the bedroom certainly contains sexual undertones.

In the rest of his speech, Lord Culloden then included a more explicit discussion of the dangers of Catholicism's subtle seduction and manipulation claiming that "Popery" was something much more nefarious than "just

59. Verhoeven, "Transatlantic Connections," 715; Hoeveler, *The Gothic Ideology*, 10.

60. Moran, *Catholic Sensationalism and Victorian Literature*, 194–95.

61. Burstein, "Protestants against the Jewish and Catholic Family, c. 1829–1860"; Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy," 199.

62. Benjamin Disraeli, *Lothair*, vol. II (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870), 169.

the sign of the cross, and music, and censer-pot." He warned Lothair, "but I tell you that if once you embrace the scarlet lady, you are a tainted corpse. You'll not be able to order your dinner without a priest, and they will ride your best horses without saying with your leave or by your leave."[63] With this description of the Catholic Church as simultaneously seductively feminine and potentially emasculating, Disraeli further echoed anti-Catholic critiques that the Catholic Church perverted natural sexuality and led to a confusion of sexual roles and familial hierarchy.

Though Disraeli framed his work as fictional, his status as politician and inclusion of real-life personages as characters provided an air of authenticity to the novel. Audiences saw strong connections between the young Marquess of Bute and the novel's protagonist and believed that the character of Cardinal Grandison was merely a disguised Archbishop Manning. Attentive audiences also noted that Disraeli occasionally failed to disguise sufficiently the inspiration for his characters, as he did in the third volume when he referred to the character Monsignore Catesby by the name Capel, revealing the character's origin in the figure of Monsignor Thomas John Capel (1836–1911), who had overseen the conversion of the Marquess of Bute.[64] Moreover, though Disraeli was less focused on the particular sexual threat posed by the Catholic Church, he certainly intended his novel as a condemnation of the political dangers of Catholicism and audiences received his work as such.

Anti-Catholic Literature and the Political Threat of Catholicism

British audiences recognized these novels as political acts that spoke to the developing situation of the Papacy and Italian peninsula and its possible impact upon Britain. The *Liverpool Mercury,* for instance, published a letter to the editor crediting the popularity of Garibaldi's novel to rising British anti-Catholicism following the opening of the Vatican Council in December of the previous year. It lamented that, "Since the opening of the council our Protestant newspaper correspondents have tasked their invention to feed the hungry English appetite for aught derogatory to Rome, its pontiff, its religion, or the prelates therein assembled from all quarters of the world." The letter argued that this insatiable desire for anti-Catholic content had caused Englishmen to accept Garibaldi's novel without due consideration for its accuracy or literary merit.[65] The Irish Catholic *Free-*

63. Ibid., II:169–70.
64. "The Authorised Version," *The Northern Echo*, May 9, 1870, Issue 109 edition.
65. "Good Sound Protestant Lies."

man's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser similarly condemned *Lothair,* but connected the novel to Newdegate's investigation rather than the Vatican Council. The paper claimed that Disraeli "timed Lothair admirably. It came out when the air was full of Newdegate and Protestant fury against Convents."[66]

The majority of Disraeli's anti-Catholic rhetoric focused on the more traditional Conservative argument that Catholicism politically threatened both national stability and the international order. The heroine of the novel, Lady Corisande, for example, repeatedly described noble British converts to Catholicism as unpatriotic. In one conversation she stated, "I look upon our nobility joining the Church of Rome as the greatest calamity that has ever happened to England," and added, "it is an abnegation of patriotism; and in this age, when all things are questioned, a love of country seems to me the one sentiment to cling to."[67] In another scene, Disraeli depicted the Catholic characters Lady St. Jerome and Monsignore Berwick scheming to obtain global power. Revealing the Catholic Church's aspirations to claim the primary loyalty of not just Britons but all Europeans, Berwick stated, "Let Christendom give us her prayers for the next few years, and Pio Nono will become the most powerful monarch in Europe, and perhaps the only one."[68] By including these scenes, Disraeli played upon longstanding fears that Catholics owed their allegiance to Rome rather than Britain and could not be loyal citizens.

Lothair's most notable criticism of the Catholic Church, however, came after the Church, unable to win Lothair honestly, took advantage of his injured state and publicly claimed him as a convert without his knowledge. Revealing a belief that the Catholic Church was subtle, manipulative, and pernicious, Lothair lamented that he had been unable to recognize the earlier smaller manipulations of his Catholic friends for what they were, namely, "only part of a great and unceasing and triumphant conspiracy." He added that "the obscure and inferior agencies which he had been rash enough to deride had consummated their commanded purpose in the eyes of all Europe, and with the aid of the great powers of the world."[69] In this

66. "Dublin: Tuesday May 3, 1870," *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (3 May 1870).

67. Disraeli, *Lothair*, 1870, II, 145.

68. Benjamin Disraeli, *Lothair*, vol. I (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870), 82–83.

69. Benjamin Disraeli, *Lothair*, vol. III (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870), 78.

scene, Disraeli expanded upon the previously-discussed fears of Catholic seduction and subtle manipulation and showed them playing a role in an international Catholic conspiracy designed to hurt the sovereignty of the British state.

Audiences noted and appreciated this attack on the Catholic Church that revealed its danger to both the British state and to international political stability. *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times* stated that a novel like *Lothair* was necessary at this political moment when "the efforts, often too successful, of Romanism to make, by any possible means, proselytes among all classes in the metropolis were never more unremitting than now."[70] A number of Protestant groups across the political spectrum also favorably received *Lothair*. At a meeting of Orangemen in Liverpool in early May 1870, the speaker Mr. R. Louis Cloquet claimed he had just finished reading *Lothair,* which he "thought an admirable manual for Protestant schools might be compiled out of . . . Such a guide to youth would be invaluable in those days of rampant 'Romanism, Ritualism, and Rationalism.'"[71] Similarly, at a May 23rd meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Binney thanked Disraeli, "for what he would call his extended parable 'Lothair,' which was one of the finest anti-Romanist publications ever written."[72] The frequent use of the terms 'popery,' 'Romanish,' and 'Romish,' in this praise is key as it revealed continued anxiety about the Catholic faith's connection to a foreign autocratic leader.[73]

With *The Rule of the Monk,* Garibaldi similarly attempted to advocate for the Italian nation by exposing the political threat the Catholic Church posed to Italy. Throughout the novel, he included numerous appeals to the young men of Italy to seize the revolutionary moment and participate in further attempts to reclaim the Eternal City for the Italian state. Garibaldi constantly praised the valor of his patriotic heroes and remonstrated against what he viewed as the cowardly diplomacy and lethargy of the moderates. In a scene early in the novel, one of the heroes Attilio gave a speech that allowed Garibaldi to express more directly his views on the political threat of the Catholic Church. Speaking to an assembled band of his patriotic brothers, Attilio claimed, "not only do we aim at freeing our beloved Italy, but at freeing the entire world also from the incubus of the Papacy, which everywhere

70. "Signs of the Times," *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, May 13, 1870.

71. "Dublin: Friday, May 6, 1870," *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, May 6, 1870, 6.

72. "Summary of This Morning's News," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, May 24, 1870.

73. Moran, *Catholic Sensationalism and Victorian Literature*, 6.

opposes education, protects ignorance, and is the nurse of vice!"[74] By emphasizing the restrictions Catholicism posed to liberal freedoms, Garibaldi thus appealed to radicals and moderates in both Italy and Britain.

In order to use this type of argument to gain British support for his conquest of Rome, however, Garibaldi had to convince readers that his vision for Italy would guarantee both political freedom and stability. He did so in part by continually praising the English for their aversion to the priesthood and expressing support for English free government. In one instance he claimed that Catholic priests "hate the English, because they are both 'heretics' and 'liberals.'"[75] Many reviews of the novel liked this strategy and flattering reviews cited his appreciation for English government as evidence that he was not overly radical in his political views. One review stated that, "Much that Garibaldi has written is highly flattering to English pride. He is an ardent admirer of this country and its institutions."[76] The *Liverpool Mercury* similarly noted Garibaldi's appreciation for the English constitution as evidence that he was not "a red republican" and was actually opposed to "those democratic doctrinaires who preach revolution—not as a terrible remedy, but as a trade carried on for their own advancement."[77]

For Disraeli and many other Britons, however, it was difficult to distinguish their distaste for Roman Catholicism from their denigration of Italians in general. They also saw the Italian revolutionary movement represented by Garibaldi as no improvement in stability or order over the Catholic Church. When Garibaldi made his revolutionary attempts on Rome throughout the 1860s, he did so without British state support. Neither Conservatives like Disraeli nor Liberals like Gladstone were likely to risk damaging Anglo-French relations or exacerbating an already fraught Irish political situation by supporting an attack on Rome.[78]

The moral of *Lothair* also cautioned against Italian revolutions. The protagonist spent much of the novel torn between the opposing camps of Roman Catholicism and Italian nationalism before returning to the fold of Anglicanism. Moran has argued that Disraeli was somewhat sympathetic to Garibaldi in *Lothair* due to their shared hatred of the temporal power of the Papacy, but ultimately could not accept that the radical Italians offered

74. "The Rule of the Monk," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, March 17, 1870, 22.

75. Garibaldi, *The Rule of the Monk*, I, 137.

76. "Metropolitan Gossip," *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (19 February 1870), 6.

77. "Garibaldi's New Work," *Liverpool Mercury* (23 February 1870).

78. Deryck M. Schreuder, "Gladstone and Italian Unification, 1848–70: The Making of a Liberal?," *The English Historical Review,* 85, no. 336 (1870), 475–501, here 494–96.

a better solution. She noted that Disraeli described both Catholic and revolutionary powers engaging in transnational movements of conspiracy, secret societies, and foreign agents.[79] In one scene, Disraeli stressed their similarities with a speech by Monsignore Berwick, who claimed, "After all, it is the Church against the secret societies. They are the only two strong things in Europe, and will survive kings, emperors, or parliaments."[80] In doing so, Disraeli revealed his belief that both Catholicism and revolutionary nationalism endangered his preferred mode of government by established authorities. While Garibaldi had tried to draw a clear line between the actions, methods, and failings of the Church and those of the Italian republican nationalists, Disraeli focused on the parallels between them.

Conclusion

As this article has demonstrated, Victorian anti-Catholicism was not solely a response to tensions with Ireland or local economic concerns but was a multi-faceted transnational phenomenon shaped by both events and actors from the Italian peninsula following the revolutions of 1848. Just as anti-Catholicism motivated British support for the Risorgimento, the events of the Risorgimento likewise impacted the development of Victorian anti-Catholicism. Pius IX's intransigent response to Italian nationalism informed and reinforced preexisting ideas about the threat the Catholic Church posed to the modern nation and brought together traditional anti-Catholic Conservatives like Disraeli alongside more radical anti-Catholics like Garibaldi.

By examining these issues through an analysis of Disraeli's *Lothair* and the English translation of Garibaldi's *The Rule of the Monk,* this article also drew important attention to the political uses of anti-Catholic fiction. Though studies of anti-Catholicism in fiction often avoid domestic and international politics, both Conservative leaders like Disraeli and radical leaders like Garibaldi wielded the tools of anti-Catholicism and anti-Catholic fiction in their campaigns. Therefore, these novels also challenge our interpretation of how politics operated in the Victorian era. While Disraeli and Garibaldi were both somewhat atypical in creating novels to promote their political agendas, they were clearly not unique. Their actions thereby prompt a reevaluation of what constituted appropriate or at least feasible behavior for a respected politician in the nineteenth century.

79. Moran, *Catholic Sensationalism and Victorian Literature*, 198–200.
80. Disraeli, *Lothair*, 1870, II, 226.

"We Were All Prejudiced More or Less against Him": The American Bishops' Response to Father Mathew's Temperance Tour, 1849–1851

John F. Quinn*

This article examines Father Theobald Mathew's American tour of 1849–1851. The prospect of a visit from Ireland's famed "Apostle of Temperance" drew an excited response from Whig politicians and abolitionist leaders, two groups not usually linked with Irish Americans. Both groups genuinely admired Mathew, however, and hoped that by tying themselves to him they would be able to draw Irish Americans into their ranks. Far less enthusiastic were the nation's Catholic bishops, who were wary of the priest because of his associations with Protestants and abolitionists and his seeming deference to British authorities. After some initial hesitation, Mathew chose to stay close to the bishops and far from the abolitionists. By so doing, he was able to gain the hierarchy's support for what would prove to be an extraordinarily successful temperance mission.

In the early 1840s, American newspapers reported that Father Theobald Mathew,[1] Ireland's celebrated "Apostle of Temperance," would soon be arriving in the United States.[2] Mathew had enjoyed phenomenal success in Ireland, administering the total abstinence pledge to five million Irishmen

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1. Mathew was long neglected by historians, but there is now a substantial body of literature dealing with him: Elizabeth Malcolm, *"Ireland Sober, Ireland Free": Drink and Temperance in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1986); Paul A. Townend, *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity* (Dublin, 2002); John F. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth Century Ireland and Irish America* (Amherst, MA, 2002); Colm Kerrigan, *Father Mathew and the Irish Temperance Movement, 1838–1849* (Cork, 1992); and George C. Bretherton, "The Irish Temperance Movement, 1829–1847" (PhD diss. Columbia University, 1978).

2. The first notices appeared in the spring of 1843. See *Providence Journal*, April 29, 1843, 2; *Newport Mercury*, May 6, 1843, 2; *The Emancipator*, May 11, 1843, 7.

and women over a five year period.[3] The prospect of Mathew's visit was at first eagerly anticipated by several of America's Catholic bishops; they were hopeful that he would be able to reach much of the Irish immigrant population which was then burgeoning and encountering increasingly sharp opposition from nativists.[4] However, as the bishops learned more about Mathew's liberal attitudes towards Protestants, his association with abolitionists, and his apparent deference to the British Crown, some came to distrust him. In 1849 when Mathew finally set sail for the United States, Bishop John Hughes of New York admitted to Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore that he was sorry to hear that Mathew was "determined on this undesirable visit."[5] Over the course of his stay, though, Mathew was able to win over Hughes and most of the other members of the hierarchy and lay the groundwork for the sizable Catholic temperance movement that would emerge after the Civil War.

A Transatlantic Movement

Temperance came to Ireland in the 1820s by way of America, which was then in the midst of the Second Great Awakening. In 1826 Rev. Lyman Beecher, a Congregationalist minister caught up in the religious revival, helped to initiate the movement with his *Six Sermons* on intemperance. In these fiery addresses, he not only condemned drunkenness in no uncertain terms but also urged his listeners to forego all distilled spirits. Beecher called for the establishment of a nationwide organization to guide the fledgling movement and so the American Temperance Society (ATS) was founded that year in Boston with the backing of a variety of Protestant clergy and laymen.[6]

One of the early supporters of the ATS was Rev. Joseph Penney, an Ulster Presbyterian who had immigrated to Rochester, New York in 1819. In 1829 Penney returned to Ulster for a visit and persuaded a group of Presbyterian ministers there to establish the Ulster Temperance Society (UTS) in Belfast. Like the ATS, the UTS required its members to renounce spirits

3. Malcolm, "*Ireland Sober, Ireland Free,*" 125.

4. For pre-Famine Irish migration to America, see Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), 193–201. For nativism in the 1830s and '40s, see George Potter, *To the Golden Door: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America* (Boston, 1960), 241–316.

5. John Hughes to Samuel Eccleston, April 16, 1849, quoted in Richard Shaw, *Dagger John: The Unquiet Life and Times of Archbishop John Hughes of New York* (New York, 1977), 236.

6. See Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York, 1994), 86–90.

for life. Later in 1829, two Quaker doctors founded the Dublin Temperance Society, which likewise forbade its members from drinking spirits.[7]

In the early 1830s, temperance advocates in Ireland and America began to favor total abstinence. While the temperance leaders of the 1820s permitted the moderate consumption of beer and wine, teetotalers argued that this two-tiered approach did not appeal to the lower classes. Since poorer people tended to be whiskey drinkers, they were being told to swear off alcohol while the wealthy could continue to have wine at their dinners. In 1835, William Martin, an elderly Quaker reformer, set up a total abstinence society in Cork, and in the following year, American temperance leaders dissolved the ATS and replaced it with the teetotal American Temperance Union (ATU).[8]

Mathew's "Miracle"

While the message of total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages was easy to understand and was free of the patronizing overtones of the anti-spirits movement, teetotal activists had trouble drawing many Catholics into their ranks. Martin decided that the society needed a Catholic priest at the helm if he and its other leaders hoped to make inroads in the Catholic community. Consequently, he reached out to his friend Father Mathew, a popular Capuchin friar who had been stationed in Cork for more than two decades. Mathew was an ideal choice. Having grown up on a large estate in County Tipperary with his Anglican cousins, he was more willing to collaborate with Protestants than most of his fellow priests.[9] His attire was sure to put Protestants at ease as well. As one of his admirers noted, "His dress is plain . . . nothing ultra-clerical."[10]

Mathew deliberated over Martin's offer for a few weeks before agreeing in April 1838 to take the pledge and become the president of the Cork Total Abstinence Society (CTAS). Mathew quickly proved himself an articulate and appealing spokesman for the cause. As word spread about him, prospective teetotalers came from neighboring towns to take the pledge at his hands, kneeling before him and swearing to God never to

7. Malcolm, "*Ireland Sober, Ireland Free,*" 61–62.

8. Malcolm, *"Ireland Sober, Ireland Free*," 109–110; Ian R. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860* (Westport, CT, 1979), 144.

9. For Mathew's privileged upbringing, see Bretherton, "The Irish Temperance Movement," 194–96.

10. James Birmingham, *A Memoir of the Very Rev. Theobald Mathew,* 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1840), 26.

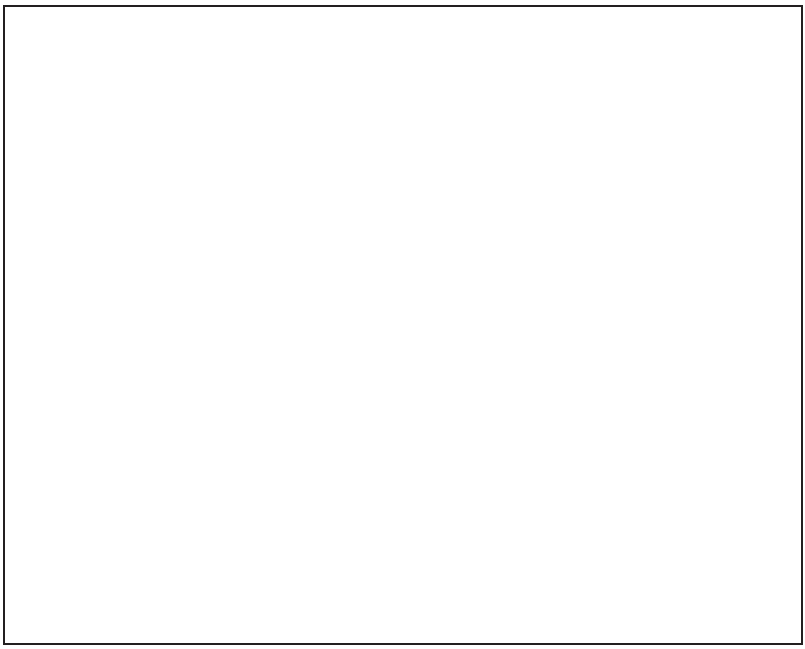

FIGURE 1. A total abstinence pledge card from Father Mathew's American tour, ca. 1850 (Courtesy of the Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library)

touch alcohol again. By the end of 1838, Mathew had enrolled 6000 members, making the CTAS the largest temperance organization in the United Kingdom. By the summer of 1839, the CTAS had grown to 24,000 members and Mathew had established eight reading rooms in Cork where total abstainers could gather to meet their friends, drink coffee and tea, and read newspapers.[11]

In September 1839 Mathew decided to travel to neighboring towns to promote the cause. In each locale thousands came to hear him and take the pledge from him; and when Mathew returned to his home in Cork he found hundreds more waiting to see him. By October almost 5000 people were joining the CTAS per week and Mathew was gaining the attention of Ireland's notables. At a banquet in Cork, the nationalist leader Daniel O'Connell praised Mathew effusively, declaring temperance a "moral and

11. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 60–61.

majestic miracle."[12] Catherine McAuley, foundress of the Sisters of Mercy, was just as enthused. Writing to a member of her community in Cork, McAuley remarked, "It is no longer a laughing matter. All description of persons speak most seriously of his extraordinary success and all wish he could extend his influence to every place."[13]

American Offshoots

Word of Mathew's remarkable success quickly reached America. In November 1839, the *Boston Pilot*, a leading Irish American newspaper, introduced him to its readers: "The success of a Catholic clergyman, the Rev. T. Mathew, who has become an apostle of Temperance in the South, appears to have been extraordinary and unparalleled. The people flock to him in great multitudes, and the number of those whom he has induced to abandon the horrible vice of drunkenness is beyond calculation."[14]

Whig papers, eager to promote moral reforms such as temperance, also picked up on Mathew quickly.[15] The *Boston Courier* ran a story the same week as the *Pilot*, lauding the "wonderful success of a Roman Catholic clergyman in the cause of Temperance."[16] Another Boston journal that was closely following Mathew's activities was William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. A staunch teetotaler as well as an abolitionist, Garrison was thrilled to chronicle Ireland's "temperance reformation."[17] The paper ran a series of articles on Mathew in 1840, claiming in June that he had pledged 800,000 people. Garrison was clearly impressed with Mathew's way of proceeding: "Whenever this extraordinary man administers the pledge he admonishes the people of the nature of the promise that they are about to make, and the inviolability with which it should be observed. . . . He exhorts them also to forget religious animosities, to live in peace with all."[18]

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12. Quoted in Father Augustine, *Footprints of Father Mathew, O.F.M. Cap., Apostle of Temperance* (Dublin, 1947), 107.

13. Mother Catherine McAuley to Sr. M. Josephine Warde, October 18, 1839, in *The Letters of Catherine McAuley*, ed. Mary Ignatia Neumann, RSM (Baltimore, 1969), 173.

14. *Boston Pilot*, November 9, 1839, 340. The Cincinnati-based *Catholic Telegraph* reported on Mathew a few weeks later. See *Catholic Telegraph*, February 5, 1840, 7.

15. For Whig support of temperance, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, 1979), 159.

16. *Boston Courier*, November 11, 1839, 1.

17. *Liberator,* May 29, 1840, 88; For Garrison's teetotalism, see Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York, 1998), 49–50.

18. *Liberator*, June 5, 1840, 92. See also April 3, 1840, 56, April 17, 1840, 64, and May 29, 1840, 88, for stories on Mathew.

In 1840–41 Mathew traveled all over Ireland, adding large numbers to his rolls with each trip. He enrolled 70,000 new members in Dublin, 80,000 in Wexford, and another 80,000 in Ulster.[19] By the beginning of 1841 he claimed to have given the pledge to three million Irishmen and women. While crisscrossing Ireland, Mathew tried to avoid Daniel O'Connell who was then in the midst of his Repeal campaign, which sought an autonomous Irish parliament in Dublin. O'Connell regularly hailed Mathew and Irish teetotalism at his Repeal rallies, but Mathew did not refer to O'Connell out of fear of appearing politically partisan and perhaps alienating the British authorities.[20] Mathew did intervene in politics on one occasion, however. In 1841 he agreed to sign the Irish Address, a letter penned by abolitionists in Dublin which was sent to the Irish in America, urging them to stand against slavery and "treat the colored people as your equals."[21] By signing the appeal, Mathew raised his standing even higher in the eyes of Garrison and other abolitionists.

As news of Mathew's successes spread, priests began setting up temperance societies in several American cities and towns in 1840. When the bishops held their Fourth Provincial Council in Baltimore in May 1840, they took up the question of temperance. While recognizing that intemperance was a "vice [that] has spread wide desolation over many lands," the bishops were unwilling to endorse teetotalism. Although welcoming "abstinence from ardent spirits," the bishops refused "to recommend . . . total abstinence from a beverage which the Sacred Scriptures do not prohibit, and of which the most holy persons have occasionally partaken."[22]

At least one member of the hierarchy was not satisfied with his confreres' cautious pronouncement. Francis Kenrick, the Irish-born bishop of Philadelphia, produced a pastoral letter of his own one month after the Baltimore meeting. He called for the establishment of "a society similar to that, which has been established by the zeal of a humble priest in Ireland,

19. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 76, 86.

20. In the fall of 1840, O'Connell declared himself a teetotaler which made it harder for Mathew to evade him. See Townend, *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity*, 207–11.

21. The full text of the letter is printed in *Liberator*, March 25, 1842, 47. See also Douglas C. Riach, "Daniel O'Connell and American Anti-Slavery," *Irish Historical Studies* 20 (March 1976), 3–25; Angela F. Murphy, *American Slavery, Irish Freedom* (Baton Rouge, 2010), 50–53, 102–05.

22. Hugh J. Nolan, ed., *Pastoral Letters of the United States Catholic Bishops* 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1983), 1: 135–36.

with the pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors."[23] By August, Kenrick noted approvingly in his diary that 5000 men in his diocese had taken the teetotal pledge.[24]

In the succeeding months, Catholic total abstainers began to organize. In Boston, Bishop Benedict Fenwick administered the temperance pledge; in Newport, Rhode Island, Catholic teetotalers marched in the town's St. Patrick's Day parade; in Dubuque and other Iowa towns, an Italian missionary, Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P., set up societies; organizations were also established in a host of other places including Worcester, Providence, Lowell, New York City, Rochester, and Washington, D.C.[25] In Cincinnati, Charles Dickens witnessed a massive temperance rally when he visited there in 1842. Dickens noted in his journal that he "was particularly pleased to see the Irishmen, who . . . mustered very strong with their green scarves; carrying their national Harp and their Portrait of Father Mathew high above the people's heads."[26] In Sandusky, Ohio, a French-born priest, Joseph Machebeuf, informed his bishop, John Purcell, that he had given the pledge to twenty five Irishmen after first taking it himself. His German parishioners were another matter, however: "[a] few of them are giving very bad example and only one of them took the temp. pledge."[27] As Machebeuf learned, most Germans had little interest in total abstinence. They tended to drink beer rather than whiskey and had never experienced the sorts of alcohol problems that had plagued the Irish for so long.[28]

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23. Quoted in Edith Jeffrey, "Reform, Renewal and Vindication: Irish Immigrants and the Total Abstinence Movement in Antebellum Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 112 (July 1988), 407–431, here at 407.

24. Francis Patrick Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record* (Lancaster, PA, 1916), 191. Garrison provided sympathetic coverage of Kenrick's activities. See *Liberator*, July 17, 1840, 116.

25. Bishop's Journal, June 6, 1841, Archives of Archdiocese of Boston, Braintree, MA [hereafter abbreviated AABo]; *Newport Mercury*, March 19, 1842, 2; Samuel Mazzuchelli, *The Memoirs of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P.* (Chicago, 1915; reprint, Chicago, 1967), 248–50; Robert H. Lord *et al.*, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston,* 3 vols. (New York, 1944) 2: 347–48; Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 156.

26. Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London, 1842; reprint, New York, 1985), 207–08.

27. Joseph Machebeuf to John Purcell, June 3, 1842, Purcell Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, Indiana [hereafter abbreviated UNDA]. Machebeuf was appointed the first bishop of Denver in 1887. See Lynn Bridgers, *Death's Deceiver: The Life of Joseph P. Machebeuf* (Albuquerque, NM, 1997).

28. See Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 297–303; Joan Bland, SND, *Hibernian Crusade: The Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America* (Washington, DC, 1951), 17.

The Long-Deferred Visit

As early as 1841, temperance enthusiasts began reaching out to Mathew and asking him to visit the United States. The first invitation came from the leaders of the nonsectarian Young Men's Total Abstinence Society, who asked him to come to New York City.[29] In April 1843, Kenrick wrote to Mathew, asking him to visit Philadelphia in time for the July 4th parade.[30] Catholic teetotalers had taken a prominent part in the city's Independence Day celebrations in preceding years.[31] Several newspapers reported that Mathew would be coming in the summer but he had already committed to a major trip to England in the summer, so he had to defer his visit to Philadelphia for another year.[32]

In May 1843 the bishops assembled again in Baltimore for their Fifth Provincial Council. By this time the bishops had come around to Kenrick's position on total abstinence: "The enormous evils of intemperance, which no tongue can portray, have given occasion to a remedy apparently extreme. Millions in Ireland, and many thousands in this country, have publicly pledged themselves to abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors. We cannot but approve." They then listed a series of caveats. First, they stressed that the "moderate use of wine is of itself perfectly lawful." Secondly, the pledge must be regarded as a resolution rather than a solemn vow so that pledge breakers should not fear that they have committed a grave sin. Finally, they declared that the Catholic faithful should avoid "societies not based on religious principles, nor directed by the ecclesiastical authority."[33] While the bishops had not mentioned Mathew by name, two of their warnings were clearly directed at him. The CTAS was not a Catholic organization and Mathew did not consider the pledge to be simply a resolution. He thought such a view would lead teetotalers to take a casual view of the pledge.

This time Kenrick appeared to be in step with his confreres. The bishops had endorsed teetotalism and not simply abstinence from spirits. How-

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29. *Dublin Weekly Herald*, May 8, 1841, 4.

30. F. P. Kenrick to Theobald Mathew, April 18, 1843, Mathew Papers Church Street Friary, Dublin, 2:198 [hereafter abbreviated as MPCSF]; *Truth Teller,* May 6, 1843, 142.

31. See John F. Quinn, "The Rise and Fall of Repeal: Slavery and Irish Nationalism in Antebellum Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 130 (January 2006), 45–78, here at 54; and Dale B. Light, *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War* (Notre Dame, IN, 1996), 285-86.

32. For example, see *Newport Mercury*, May 6, 1843, 2.

33. *Pastoral Letters*, 1: 143–44.

ever, they called for such societies to be under Catholic auspices like Kenrick's organization in Pennsylvania. Kenrick also shared the other bishops' concerns about the pledge. These issues made him wary of Mathew. In September 1843 Kenrick told his brother Peter, who was the bishop of St. Louis, that "Mathew seems to detract from religion and to rest too much on the pledge alone, not without injury to the grace and truth of God. I am sorry therefore that I gave consent to the petitions of those who wished him invited to America."[34] In November, Kenrick shared his concerns with Father Paul Cullen, the influential rector of the Irish College in Rome and future Archbishop of Dublin.[35] Kenrick warned that "if not checked and regulated, [Mathew's movement] would degenerate into fanaticism."[36] Cullen had heard similar concerns the year before from Michael O'Connor, the Irish-born bishop of Pittsburgh. O'Connor worried that Mathew's movement was not sufficiently rooted in Catholic teachings.[37] These letters no doubt reinforced Cullen's own qualms about Mathew. In 1841 Cullen had informed Mathew of a complaint that he was "too liberal towards Protestants in matters of religion."[38]

Kenrick's diocesan newspaper, *The Catholic Herald*, also took issue with Mathew, noting that the pledge should not be viewed as a binding oath, but rather as a "holy resolution," which should be "followed or preceded by confession and . . . holy communion."[39] Mathew chose not to reply to the *Herald*, but was no doubt annoyed. In 1842, he had written to Father Tobias Kirby, Cullen's assistant in Rome, expressing his frustration with Kenrick's approach:

> The intention of that truly Apostolic Prelate, Right Revd. Dr. Kenrick, to form the poor Irish Teetotalers into a confraternity with Rules etc., and a declaration that the Temperance Pledge does not bind under any sin, has overwhelmed me with anguish. . . . Should the plan of Dr. Ken-

34. F.P. Kenrick to Peter Kenrick, September 9, 1843, quoted in Hugh Nolan, *Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick: Third Bishop of Philadelphia 1830–1851* (Philadelphia, 1948), 412–13.

35. On Cullen, see Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1983); and Emmet Larkin, *The Making of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1850–1860* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980).

36. F.P. Kenrick to Paul Cullen, November 23, 1843, printed in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* 7 (1896), 311–12 [hereafter abbreviated as RACHS].

37. Michael O'Connor to Cullen, January 10, 1842, printed in *RACHS,* 7 (1896), 348–49.

38. Cullen to Mathew, October 10, 1841, printed in Peadar MacSuibhne, *Paul Cullen and His Contemporaries,* 5 vols. (Naas, Ireland, 1961–77), 2: 9–11.

39. *Catholic Herald*, September 28, 1843, 308.

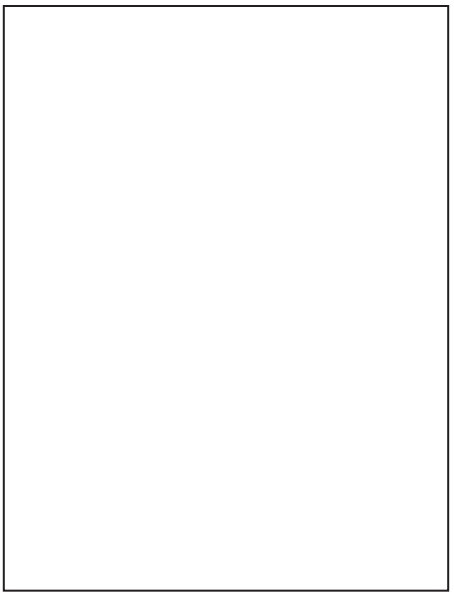

Figure 2. Photograph of Thurlow Weed by Mathew Brady, ca.1855–1865 (Courtesy of Library of Congress)

> rick . . . be confirmed in Rome, there is an end to Teetotalism in his Lordship's diocese. There may be a few congregated under his Rules in every district, but the great mass of people will return to their drunken habits, and become again the disgrace of Catholicity.[40]

While Kenrick and Mathew had grown wary of each other, many other Americans remained quite interested in the friar's doings and hopeful that he would soon visit their country. In June 1843, Thurlow Weed, a leading Whig operative and journalist, joined his friend Bishop Hughes of New York on a trip to Ireland.[41] Weed sent letters back to his newspaper, the *Albany Evening Journal*, describing the meeting that he and Hughes had with Mathew in Cork before he set off for his English temperance tour. Weed praised Mathew as a "truly philanthropic Divine" and informed his readers that "if he [Mathew] should be led to believe that his presence and efforts among us would promote the cause to which he has

40. Mathew to Rev. Tobias Kirby, May 5, 1842, printed in Nolan, *Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick*, 411.

41. See John Loughery, *Dagger John: Archbishop John Hughes and the Making of Irish America* (Ithaca, 2018), 152–156.

devoted himself, he told me that he would endeavor to cross the Atlantic about this time next year."[42] For the next several months, American newspapers reported that Mathew would be coming to America in the summer of 1844. Indeed, in February 1844, the *Providence Journal* noted that a merchant in New York, Henry Grinnell, had arranged for Mathew to have free passage on a packet ship from Liverpool.[43] Just a few weeks later, though, Mathew again postponed his trip.

"Churches in Flames and Streets Flowing with Blood"

In the spring of 1844, long simmering tensions between Catholics and nativists finally turned violent in Philadelphia.[44] Trouble arose when Kenrick petitioned the city's school board to allow Catholic children to read from the Douai-Rheims version of the Bible rather than the Protestant King James translation. As soon as Kenrick filed his appeal, rumors spread among nativists that the bishop was trying to ban the Bible from the public schools, and riots broke out in May and again in July, leaving thirty dead and 100 wounded and two Catholic churches badly damaged.[45] To an ecumenist like Mathew, such violence among Christians was horrifying. Writing to the Reverend John Marsh, a Congregational minister who was secretary of the ATU, he expressed shock and sorrow:

> I have been long and anxiously looking forward to the happiness I expected to enjoy during my sojourn in the States. Recent calamitous occurrences have blighted all my hopes. . . . Since I heard the fearful details from Philadelphia I can speak or write or think of nothing but churches in flames and streets flowing with blood, with bloodshed like Abel of Old by a brother [he] knew.[46]

While Mathew was certainly disturbed by the Bible Riots, the violence was not the only reason for the postponement of his trip. Writing to Thurlow Weed in July, Mathew declared,

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42. Thurlow Weed to Editor of *Albany Courier*, June 28, 1843, printed in Thurlow Weed, *Letters from Europe and the West Indies, 1843–1862* (Albany, 1866), 25.

43. *Providence Journal*, February 21, 1844, 2.

44. Tensions had been building for at least a decade before the riots. In the 1830s, John Hughes, who was then a pastor in Philadelphia, engaged in a long running and often rancorous newspaper debate with one of the city's leading Protestant divines, John Breckinridge. Topics ranged from the medieval papacy to transubstantiation to Maria Monk's fabricated, but wildly popular, account of convent life in Montreal. See Loughery, *Dagger John*, 79–85, 89.

45. For the Bible Riots, see Michael Feldberg, *The Philadelphia Riots of 1844* (Westport, CT, 1975); and Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York, 1938; reprint, Chicago, 1964), 220–37.

46. Mathew to John Marsh, [May–June, 1844] MPCSF, 9: 804.

> I have looked forward with anxious anticipation to the happiness of making a temperance tour through the States. . . . The disappointment is indeed a bitter one; but it would be uncandid of me, were I to attribute it solely, to the dismal doings at Philadelphia. The claims of my own poor country to another year of my labour had partly determined me to remain in Ireland for that period. I am now firmly resolved to devote the ensuing twelve months, to the consolidation of our glorious society, in my dear native Ireland, and then God permitting, the United States will be my destination.[47]

Mathew was more forthright with Weed than he had been with Marsh, but he still was not acknowledging the financial issues behind his decision to postpone his trip. Mathew had been losing large sums of money since taking over the CTAS. He spent liberally on his trips around Ireland and England and usually was not reimbursed for the medals and membership cards that he distributed. By the summer of 1844, Mathew had run up £7000 in debts and in August he was briefly placed under arrest by a bailiff for having failed to pay monies he owed to an English medal manufacturer. Out of deference to Mathew's sensibilities, the press did not publicize the story.[48]

In October 1844, Mathew allowed an English Unitarian friend, Rev. Thomas Hincks, to inform the public about his plight. Newspapers in Ireland and America were quick to publicize the news and organizations were set up in both countries to free Mathew from his debts. In December Mathew wrote to an American supporter admitting that his financial "embarrassments" had "deranged all my plans. Last June I was resolved on crossing the Atlantic; but these painful though then concealed circumstances, prevented me." Still, Mathew was confident that because of the generosity of his friends that he would "soon be free to resume my exertions in the sacred cause of temperance."[49]

In fact, Mathew was overly sanguine about the fundraising efforts undertaken on his behalf. In Ireland, Mathew Relief Committees were set up in Dublin and Cork. The Dublin-based committee, which included

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47. Mathew to Weed, July 6, 1844, Mss. Collection AHMC-Mathew-Theobald, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

48. Mathew had hoped to inherit monies from his wealthy cousin Lady Elizabeth Mathew, but when she died in 1841, she did not mention him in her will. See Colm Kerrigan, *Father Mathew and the Irish Temperance Movement,* 79; and Malcolm, "*Ireland Sober, Ireland Free*," 138–42.

49. Mathew to unnamed, December 21, 1844, printed in *Emancipator*, February 5, 1845, 163.

Daniel O'Connell on its board, hoped to raise £20,000 for him.[50] In the United States, meetings were held in Boston and Salem to contribute to the Mathew Fund, and supporters in Halifax, Nova Scotia, raised money for him as well. In April, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the *Pilot*'s editor, urged "New Orleans, Albany and other places, where extensive Irish Temperance Societies exist" to send funds to Mathew, but it is not clear that any of these organizations heeded his advice.[51] By May, Mathew was able to report to a priest friend in County Westmeath that with the aid of his friends in England "and some partial help from Ireland, a sum of over £7000 pounds has been raised, and my debts are liquidated."[52] While this amount covered Mathew's debts, it did not help with his ongoing expenses and he would continue to fret about finances in the months following.

"The food of a whole nation has perished"

As Mathew was seeking to get his financial affairs in order, his attention was turned to a terrible crisis unfolding which would take the lives of a million Irish people and lead another million to immigrate to America.[53] In September 1845 reports appeared in the press of a potato blight affecting roughly half of the nation's crop. Since much of Ireland's population was dependent on the potato for sustenance, Mathew recognized the gravity of the situation and focused on famine relief.[54] He set up a soup kitchen in Cork, testified before Parliament about the Famine, and wrote repeatedly to officials in America and England to alert them to Ireland's dire state. He corresponded with at least two American prelates: Bishop John Purcell of Cincinnati and Father Martin Spalding, the vicar general of Louisville. This was probably his first contact with an American bishop in three years. He told Purcell what sort of aid he thought would be most helpful and thanked Spalding for his generous contributions.[55] Mathew was also frequently in contact with Charles Trevelyan of the British Treasury Department, hoping to arouse his sympathy. In August 1846, with famine conditions worsening, he warned Trevelyan that "the hopes of the poor potato cultivators are totally blighted and the food of a whole nation

50. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 119.

51. *Boston Pilot*, April 12, 1845, 118.

52. Mathew to Rev. John Fitzgerald, May 1845, printed in *Dublin Evening Post*, May 15, 1845, 3.

53. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 281–92.

54. For the Famine, see James S. Donnelly, Jr., *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud, 2007).

55. Mathew to Purcell, March 3, 1847, Purcell Papers, UNDA; Mathew to Martin Spalding, May 1, 1847, MPCSF, 6: 525. Spalding became bishop of Louisville in 1850.

has perished."[56] In December Mathew sent Trevelyan an even grimmer account: "*Men, women and children are gradually wasting away*…At this moment, there are more than five thousand half-starved wretched beings, from the country, begging in the streets of Cork."[57] However, no report from Mathew, no matter how alarming, did much to stir a response from Trevelyan, who was determined that Lord John Russell's administration would pursue a laissez-faire course.[58]

By the spring of 1847 Mathew believed that the Famine was starting to ease. In a letter to Weed in March he thanked him for the aid he and other Americans had sent and assured him that he was thinking again of America and planning a trip there in the following summer.[59] A month later Mathew was offered free passage to America on the USS *Jamestown*. The ship's captain, Robert Bennet Forbes, had just delivered 800 tons of food donated by Americans, and was preparing to set sail from Cork back to Boston.[60] Mathew declined Forbes's invitation, though, because he wanted to stabilize his financial situation before departing.

Turning to his friends in the British government, he sought and obtained an annual pension of £300 from Prime Minister Russell. While the London *Times* characterized Russell's action as a "well-earned tribute" for a "good and pious man," many Irish nationalists were outraged that Mathew was taking money from the British in the midst of the Famine, when anti-government sentiment was at an unprecedented high.[61] Mathew's critics moved swiftly to punish him. As fate would have it, the parish priests of the Diocese of Cork were meeting to select candidates for bishop at the same time that Mathew was negotiating his pension. The priests listed Mathew as their top choice. Becoming Bishop of Cork would no doubt have been a great boost to Mathew personally and to the total abstinence movement and as the decision was publicized in the press, Mathew received a number of congratulatory letters. However, the archbishop of the province, Dr. Michael Slattery, wrote to the Roman authorities and asked them to appoint the priests' second choice because Mathew

56. Mathew to Charles Trevelyan, August 8, 1846, MPCSF, 10: 927.

57. Mathew to Trevelyan, December 16, 1846, quoted in Augustine, *Footprints of Father Mathew*, 413–14. Emphasis in original.

58. See Robin Haines, *Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine* (Dublin, 2004).

59. Mathew to Weed, March 31, 1847, printed in *New London Morning News*, April 28, 1847, 2.

60. Stephen Puleo, *Voyage of Mercy: the USS Jamestown, the Irish Famine, and the Remarkable Story of America's First Humanitarian Mission* (New York, 2020), 151–92.

61. *London Times,* June 28, 1847, 8.

had accepted a pension and would therefore be perceived as beholden to the British government. Rome accepted Slattery's advice and announced the appointment of Father William Delany as the new Bishop of Cork in July 1847. Writing to Father Cullen in Rome, Mathew admitted that the decision was a crushing blow: "[T]he setting of me aside by the Holy See is a public disapproval of my exertions in this sacred cause. . . . I am degraded forever, having been dignissimus [most worthy] on the list and set aside."[62]

Despite this setback, Mathew soldiered on with the cause and continued with his plans to visit the United States. In the fall of 1847, he reached out to Bishop Hughes, telling him that he planned to be in New York in the following spring.[63] In January 1848, he sent another letter to Weed, acknowledging that conditions were still "very gloomy in Ireland." Nevertheless, he was determined to proceed with his trip so that he could promote the "sacred cause" and also to thank the many Americans who had sent aid during the Famine.[64] A few days later, Mathew wrote to Hughes again, thanking him for his "much prized invitation" and informing the bishop that he would be leaving Ireland in late May.[65] It is not clear when Hughes extended an invitation to Mathew. They had met in Ireland in 1840 and again in 1843 when Hughes was accompanied by Weed.[66] Hughes may have invited him at one of those meetings or perhaps in response to Mathew's letter in the fall of 1847.

In the weeks following, several American newspapers reported on Mathew's upcoming visit and the preparations being made to receive him in New York City. Henry Clay, the Whig elder statesman, gave a St. Patrick's Day address to the Hibernian Society of Baltimore, and declared that Mathew's arrival was imminent.[67] Clay and other Whigs were interested not just in temperance but in the Irish vote and did not want to con-

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62. Mathew to Cullen, July 2, 1847, Irish College Correspondence Transcripts, Catholic Historical Research Center of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA. See also Townend, *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity*, 252–58.

63. Mathew to Hughes, October 29, 1847, John Hughes Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of New York, New York, NY [hereafter abbreviated JHP-AANY].

64. Mathew to Weed, [January 1848], printed in *(Brattleboro) Semi-Weekly Eagle*, January 18, 1848, 2.

65. Mathew to Hughes, February 12, 1848, JHP-AANY.

66. In 1840, Hughes attended one of Mathew's temperance rallies. See Loughery, *Dagger John*, 119.

67. Henry Clay, "Speech to the Hibernian Society of Baltimore," March 17, 1848, in *The Papers of Henry Clay* [hereafter abbreviated *PHC*], ed. Melba Porter Hay, 10 vols. (Lexington, 1991), 10: 417–18.

cede it to the Democrats.[68] Mathew's visit offered the Whigs a great opportunity to connect with Irish voters.

Less than a month later, Mathew again postponed his trip. Just as he had done in 1844, he offered different explanations to different people. He told Rev. Marsh of the ATU that his provincial was requiring him to travel to Rome to meet with his Capuchin superior and he would not return from that trip until the fall.[69] Word of Mathew's changed plans was slower to reach Ireland. In late April, the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, an influential nationalist newspaper, decided to warn the Irish in America not to be taken in by Mathew:

> We understand that the Rev. Theobald Mathew, the great Apostle of Temperance, visits America this month. We trust that the Irish in America will receive him as he deserves, *in his capacity as temperance apostle*, and that the reverend gentleman will not be tempted through his unwise devotion to the British Government, to travel out of his proper province, and use his high name to influence the political sentiments of the Irish whom he visits. We respect and reverence the man and his mission in Ireland and it is one of our causes of deepest regret that he should have sullied his high name by associating himself with the cause of his country's oppression. That he has done so in Ireland and England is alas too true. May an all-wise Providence guard him from committing a similar error in the free land which he is now about to visit. His visit to America ought to be solely as the Ambassador of Temperance and in nowise as the secret ambassador of the British Ministry.[70]

While this indictment of Mathew was not picked up by many American newspapers, it did draw the attention of the *Boston Pilot* and its editor, Patrick Donahoe.[71] The *Pilot* reprinted the *Freeman's Journal* salvo in its entirety and then gave Mathew a chance to respond. Donahoe published a letter Mathew had written to an American friend, Colonel John Sherburne, explaining the pension. Mathew noted that the £300 covered the annual premium on a £6000 life insurance policy he had taken out to pay

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68. For the Whigs' pursuit of the Irish vote, see Michael Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party* (New York, 1999), 185, 188, 695–97; and Howe, *The Whigs and American Political Culture*, 201.

69. Mathew to Marsh, March 10, 1848, printed in *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 11, 1848, 2.

70. *Freeman's Journal*, April 22, 1848, 2; *Boston Pilot,* May 20, 1848, 7. Emphasis in original.

71. The prior editor, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, had returned to his native Ireland in 1845.

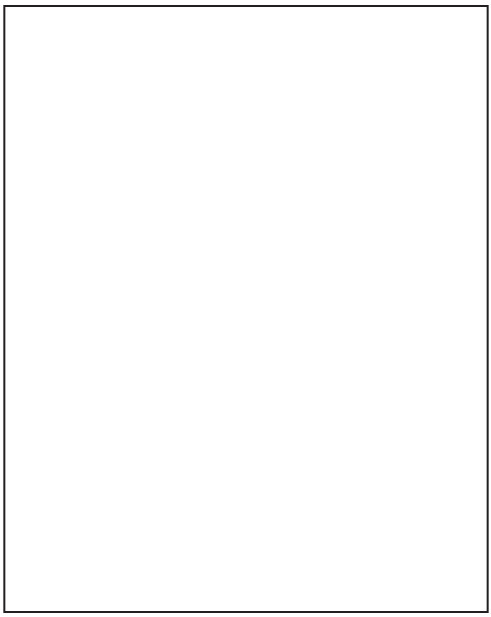

FIGURE 3. Portrait of Father Theobald Mathew wearing a temperance medal and holding one in his hand. A temperance fountain is in the background, with the autograph dedication: "I send you my Portrait. It is I am informed a faithful likeness. Farewell dear Colonel [John Sherburne]. I am with the highest respect your ever grateful and affectionate Friend. Theobald Mathew." 1874 (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

off his creditors in the event of his death.[72] Clearly, Mathew was in no better financial shape than he had been at the time of his arrest in 1844. In a follow up letter to Sherburne, Mathew explained that the "late Famine devoured every thing I could scrape together. . . . I could not resist the cries of my fellow creatures, suffering from extreme want and wrung with tormenting hunger."[73] Donahoe was moved by Mathew's letters and decided to establish a Mathew Liberating Fund to free him from his debts.

In the end, Mathew did not travel to Rome or the United States in 1848. On Easter Sunday he suffered a serious stroke and was in no condi-

72. Mathew to Col. John Sherburne, May 30, 1848, printed in *Boston Pilot*, July 1, 1848, 4.

73. Mathew to Sherburne, [September 1848], printed in *Boston Daily Atlas*, October 21, 1848, 2.

tion to travel in the weeks and months following. Mathew's many difficulties caused some of his American supporters to grow weary and wonder if he would ever make the journey. In the summer of 1848, one New York newspaper noted,

> Some doubts have existed in the public mind respecting the intention of . . . [Mathew] to visit America. . . . [A]bout the time first fixed for his visit it was declared . . . that a call to Rome 'from his superior' compelled him to postpone his visit; then a letter was published . . . assigning another reason for the delay; and now the Boston Mail announces, 'on authority,' that a paralytic stroke will compel Mr. Mathew to abandon the intended visit altogether.[74]

Other backers empathized more with Mathew over his financial and medical difficulties and continued to hope that he would one day visit America. For example, Garrison's *Liberator* remained in Mathew's camp, pointing out that he had suffered an "attack of paralysis, which is a very afflictive circumstance."[75]

Setting Sail at Last

In the weeks following, Mathew redoubled his efforts to get to America. By the spring of 1849, William Rathbone, the former mayor of Liverpool, had agreed to provide Mathew with a £500 contribution to defray his travel costs. Now that it looked like he would be going after all, Mathew reached out once more to Bishop Hughes. This time he not only assured Hughes that he was looking forward very much to seeing him again, but he also alluded to his pension. Knowing that Hughes was an ardent Irish nationalist, Mathew assured him that if he "were free from pecuniary embarrassments, I would immediately resign the pension granted by the British government," adding that he considered it "a deep degradation."[76] Mathew also sent another letter to Sherburne, asking him to try to lower expectations among his American followers. Mathew declared that he "was but a mere wreck of what I was" and would not be able to give any public lectures. "[The American people] must be satisfied with the results of my past labours."[77]

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74. *New York Commercial Advertiser*, printed in *Newport Mercury*, June 17, 1848, 2.

75. *Liberator,* July 21, 1848, 113.

76. Mathew to Hughes, February 11, 1849, JHP-AANY.

77. Mathew to Sherburne, April 7, 1849, Ms. 5055, 15, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland.

At the same time, though, Mathew was excited about the prospect of visiting America. Addressing a sizable crowd of well-wishers in Cork before setting off on his voyage, he stated, "I go also to afford myself the pleasure and consolation of beholding my countrymen, not, as here, lingering through a life of protracted starvation and constant misery, but in the midst of prosperity, enjoying . . . all the comforts that plenty and domestic comfort confer."[78] Mathew hoped to administer the pledge to many of these affluent Irish Americans, but surely he must have hoped that some of the more well-heeled immigrants would provide him with financial support as well.

Reaching New York

Mathew's letter to Hughes does not seem to have done much to assuage the bishop's apprehensions. Writing to Archbishop Eccleston in April as Mathew was planning to set sail, he assured the archbishop that he would do all that he could to keep Mathew "out of the hands of the Philistines"—presumably the Protestant temperance advocates—but he admitted that he hoped "no good and dread[ed] much evil from his… visit."[79] When Mathew arrived at the beginning of July, a host of notables, including the city's Whig mayor, Caleb Woodhull, and Reverend Marsh from the ATU, were there to greet him. A great mass of Irish men and women were waiting for him as well, but Hughes was not among them.

After administering the pledge to 5000, Mathew was taken to Irving House, one of the city's most fashionable hotels. A couple of days later, Mathew went with a priest friend, Joseph Schneller,[80] to an ATU meeting at the Broadway Tabernacle, a large Protestant church that was often used for temperance and abolitionist rallies.[81] Hughes had appeared there as well, lecturing on the Famine in 1847.[82]

Still, as Mathew was going to an evangelical church to take part in an event presided over by Marsh and other Protestant clergymen, he would need to tread carefully so as not to violate the prohibitions in canon law on

78. Quoted in *Boston Pilot*, June 2, 1849, 2.

79. Hughes to Eccleston, April 16, 1849, quoted in Shaw, *Dagger John*, 236.

80. Schneller (d. 1860) was pastor of St. Paul's Church, a largely Irish parish in Brooklyn. See *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907) 2: 800.

81. The Tabernacle opened in 1835 and was for several years home to Charles Grandison Finney, the evangelical preacher. See Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), 530–531.

82. See Loughery, *Dagger John*, 186.

Figure 4. Official portrait of Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore by G.P.A. Healy, ca. 1842–1851 (Courtesy of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University)

ecumenical ceremonies. When word reached Eccleston that the event started and ended with prayers by Protestant ministers, he was irate. A zealous convert from Episcopalianism, Eccleston wanted to keep Catholics separate from Protestants as much as possible and thus he was aghast that Mathew had participated in what the archbishop took to be an interfaith service.[83] Hughes too was upset and immediately sent a stern letter to Mathew, asserting that

> things could not perhaps have taken place more in accordance with the wishes . . . of the Enemies of our Holy Faith in this country. For my part, I wished to receive you as a distinguished clergyman of the Catholic Church. . . . But it was natural of me to hope that you should not be connected with any proceedings at variance with the principles and the honor of that divine religion for . . . which our ancestors, our country have so deeply suffered.

83. For Eccleston, see Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989* (Baltimore, 1989), 127–147.

Hughes also enclosed a letter from Eccleston which he noted reflected "the general sentiment of the whole Hierarchy in America."[84]

After receiving the letters, Mathew went right away to see Hughes and was very conciliatory. Hughes claimed that Mathew readily agreed to move out of Irving House and into the cathedral rectory.[85] From this point on, Mathew began visiting Catholic institutions, usually in the company of Hughes or one of the diocesan priests. At the end of July, as Mathew was about to depart for Boston, Hughes wrote to Eccleston and tried to reassure him: "After the affair at the Tabernacle. . . . I sent him the next day the letter of which I enclose you a copy. He came immediately, explained, apologized, etc. Since then I am quite satisfied with his course—and on the whole I trust that his visit will be beneficial to religion."[86]

Eccleston was not so trusting. He had been consulting with other bishops and some agreed with him that Mathew must do an act of public reparation to atone for the scandal he caused at the Tabernacle. Bishop John Timon of Buffalo was of that view. He informed Eccleston that he had "spoken strongly" to Mathew on these matters and believed that "a declaration in the terms that you expressed would be most useful perhaps *necessary*."[87] Hughes argued for leniency, telling Eccleston that an act of reparation would "be inexpedient—for I believe he was fairly *entrapped*, and deeply mortified at the Tabernacle. Still, I am of the opinion that, having been so severely admonished as he has been, he will have no excuse for any similar occasion in the future."[88]

Mathew answered Eccleston as well, offering a spirited defense of his actions:

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84. Hughes to Mathew, July 9, 1849, JHP-AANY.

85. Years later, John Marsh offered a very different account of Mathew's reaction to moving out of Irving House: "He [Hughes] assigned him only a small room in the basement of the cathedral, altogether too small and obscure. [This was] much to the chagrin and mortification of Father Mathew who unhesitatingly said, he would never have gone, had he supposed he should have a place so small and obscure assigned to him." John Marsh, *Temperance Recollections* (New York, 1866), 191.

86. Hughes to Eccleston, July 22, 1849, Eccleston Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore, MD [hereafter abbreviated AAB-AASMSU].

87. John Timon to Eccleston, July 21, 1849, Eccleston Papers, AAB-AASMSU. Emphasis in original.

88. Hughes to Eccleston, July 22, 1849, Eccleston Papers, AAB-AASMSU. Emphasis in original.

> I regret deeply that you should judge me harshly, without investigating more closely, my conduct. Since I first had the honour to be introduced to your Grace, my life has been before the public, and I am not conscious of having ever violated, during that time period, the principles of our Holy Religion.[89] . . . My attendance at the "Tabernacle," at New York was entirely accidental. I had no idea that the meeting was to be opened or concluded by prayer nor would I have gone there, but finding that the Rev. Mr. Schneller was to attend, I considered there could be no harm in my presence. It was the first, and it will be the last meeting of the kind that I shall ever attend.[90]

Garrison's Guest?

In late July Mathew left New York for Boston. In the eyes of the public, Mathew's tour was proving a great success. He had administered the pledge to 20,000 in New York and Brooklyn and no one knew of the rebukes that he had received from Bishops Hughes, Eccleston, and Timon.[91] In Boston the same sort of difficulties awaited him: the bishop, John Fitzpatrick, was not enthusiastic about his visit, while the city and state's political leaders and its Protestant reformers eagerly awaited him. Garrison was especially keen to see him. In the *Liberator,* he noted that abolitionists would be holding a great rally in Worcester on August 3rd to commemorate West Indian Emancipation.[92] After listing all the people who would be speaking at the event, he added that invitations had also gone out to Ralph Waldo Emerson and "last, not least, FATHER MATHEW, the distinguished philanthropist of Ireland."[93]

Upon his arrival in Boston, Mathew was greeted by the state's Whig governor, George Briggs, and Boston's Whig mayor, John Bigelow, and a host of Protestant ministers, including Lyman Beecher who was a famed temperance advocate but also notorious among Catholics for the part he played in triggering the Charlestown Convent attack in 1834.[94] In hailing Mathew, the governor made reference to the "political oppression" of the Irish in a bid to woo some Irish voters from the Democrats. As a British

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89. Eccleston and Mathew met in 1825 when Eccleston visited Ireland. See *United States Catholic Magazine*, December 22, 1849, 805.

90. Mathew to Eccleston, July 30, 1849, Eccleston Papers, AAB-AASMSU.

91. For estimates on pledge takers, see *Boston Pilot*, July 21, 1849, 5.

92. This had occurred on August 1, 1840.

93. Quoted in *Liberator*, July 27, 1849, 118.

94. Beecher had delivered three fiercely anti-Catholic sermons in Boston on the day before the convent was burned. See Nancy Lusignan Schultz, *Fire and Roses: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834* (New York, 2000), 165–66.

pensioner, Mathew was not about to comment on Briggs' remarks. Instead, he thanked the people of Boston for all the aid that they sent to Ireland during the Famine. After the ceremonies ended, Mathew was escorted to a suite of rooms at the Adams House, a fashionable downtown hotel much like Irving House in New York.

Fitzpatrick had not attended the welcoming ceremonies but was following events closely and was not at all pleased by the company Mathew was keeping.[95] Writing in his diary, the bishop lamented that Mathew

> comes to this country from Ireland somewhat in the character of the Nation's guest. His actions must consequently be controlled in a great measure by the public authorities . . . and by . . . ultra-reformers and pseudo-philanthropists. . . . The platform was also covered by sectarian fanaticks, calvinist preachers and deacons. . . . The appearance of fellowship between a Catholic priest and such men can hardly be without evil results.[96]

To resolve these problems, Fitzpatrick went to see Mathew at Adams House and invited him to stay at the cathedral. The meeting must have been amicable because three days later Mathew was at the bishop's side in Worcester attending the first commencement exercises at the College of the Holy Cross. Although Fitzpatrick was mollified, Mathew's problems were far from over. The day after Mathew returned from Worcester, Garrison came to see him. Mathew had clearly not seen the latest issue of the *Liberator* because he expressed shock when Garrison presented him with an invitation to speak at the West Indian commemoration.[97] Mathew immediately declined, declaring, "I have as much as I can do to save men from the slavery of intemperance, without attempting the overthrow of any other kind of slavery!"[98]

For Garrison this was a bitter disappointment. Like the Whig politicians, Garrison had been trying for years to appeal to the Irish community and draw at least a few of them into the abolitionist movement but had had

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95. Thomas O'Connor, *Fitzpatrick's Boston, 1846–1866* (Boston, 1984), 95–96.

96. Bishop's Journal, July 24, 1849, AABo.

97. In the invitation, Garrison and his associates informed Mathew that the Irish Address had "fallen powerless on the ear and the heart of the Irish in this country" and expressed their hope that Mathew would "bear a clear and unequivocal testimony" against slavery while in America. Garrison *et al.* to Mathew, July 26, 1849, printed in *Liberator*, August 10, 1849, 126.

98. Wendel Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879: The Story of His Life,* 4 vols. (New York, 1885), 3: 251.

no success. Irish Americans saw the abolitionists as nativists and viewed the pro-slavery Democratic Party as their protectors.[99] Mathew's appearance at the rally might have led some Irish Americans to rethink their views on the issue. Instead, he refused to appear or even send a message of support to be read at the meeting. Incensed, Garrison denounced Mathew at the Worcester event and then attacked him for his cowardice in five subsequent issues of the *Liberator*, engaging in what one of Garrison's biographers describes as a "veritable barrage of propaganda" against him.[100] The last letter was especially damning: "In Ireland, you professed to be an uncompromising abolitionist. . . . Now that you are on American soil you have signified your determination to give the slave no token of your sympathy. . . . [Y]ou have added to the anguish, horror and despair of the poor miserable slaves, made their yokes heavier, and fashioned their yokes more securely!"[101]

Other abolitionists shared Garrison's disappointment but offered more measured criticisms of Mathew. Frederick Douglass, who had taken the temperance pledge from Mathew in Cork four years earlier, was sorry that Mathew, like so many foreign visitors, had "fallen." Douglass hoped that Mathew would "see his error, [and] confess his fault . . . before he leaves this country."[102] Wendell Phillips, another abolitionist stalwart, criticized Mathew but then confided to a Scottish friend that "[Mathew] is doing great good here. . . . [The Irish] flock to him."[103]

Outside of abolitionist circles, opinion was overwhelmingly behind Mathew. Whig politicians like Senator William Seward of New York rushed to his defense, arguing that Garrison was being shrill and trying to bully a great philanthropist. The Catholic press likewise took Mathew's side. Donahoe assailed Garrison, his long-time foe, labeling him an "Inquisitor."[104] More importantly for Mathew, Archbishop Eccleston approved of his

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99. See John F. Quinn, "Expecting the Impossible? Abolitionist Appeals to the Irish in Antebellum America," *New England Quarterly,* 132 (December 2009), 667–710; and Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995), 6–31.

100. Walter M. Merrill, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison,* 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1973), 3: 543. See also *Liberator*, September 7, 14, 28, October 5, 12, 1849.

101. *Liberator,* October 12, 1849, 162.

102. *North Star*, August 17, 1849, 2, reprinted in *Liberator*, August 24, 1849, 133. See also Tom Chaffin, *Giant's Causeway: Frederick Douglass's Irish Odyssey and the Making of an American Visionary* (Charlottesville, VA, 2014), 79–83, 162–64.

103. Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease, July 24, 1849, Anti-Slavery Collection, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA.

104. *Boston Pilot*, August 25, 6, September 29, 5, and November 10, 1849, 6.

actions and sent him a supportive letter. Mathew thanked him for his "truly paternal . . . truly gracious . . . beautiful" letter and told him that he was "proud of your high approbation of my reply to Mr. Garrison."[105]

Fitzpatrick grew closer to Mathew as well. The day after Mathew's encounter with Garrison, Mathew left Adams House and took up residence with the bishop. At the end of August, Fitzpatrick sent Eccleston a glowing report on Mathew: "I find in him a man quite different from what I have expected. He is perfectly sound and uncompromising in the faith, . . . and we all have reason to rejoice in the fruits of his mission amongst us although we were all prejudiced more or less against him before his arrival. I think your Grace will be pleased with him."[106]

Before leaving Boston, Mathew wrote to John Maguire, a close friend in Cork.[107] He told Maguire, "Mr. Garrison . . . strove to entrap me," but "the whole American Press" had sided with him. He also noted that he had not had any success raising money: "The Irish are not rich and the Native Americans do not sympathise in our affairs."[108] Indeed, Donahoe would only collect about $2500 for the Mathew Liberating Fund and a Catholic temperance group in New York raised $150, nothing near the amount Mathew was hoping for.[109]

Having pledged 15,000 in the Boston area, Mathew traveled around the rest of New England in the following weeks. He visited Indian settlements in Maine and the major cities and towns in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. A Rhode Island journalist noted gladly that "political and religious divisions seem to be laid aside, and all classes, with the exception of a few rumsellers, are uniting to combat a common enemy."[110] In November, a fatigued Mathew reached Philadelphia, and

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105. Mathew to Eccleston, August 29, 1849, Eccleston Papers, AAB-AASMSU. Mathew's efforts to distance himself from Garrison would also have pleased Bishop Hughes as he had sparred with Garrison over the Irish Address in 1842. See Murphy, *American Slavery, Irish Freedom*, 78–84.

106. John Fitzpatrick to Eccleston, August 31, 1849, Eccleston Papers, AAB-AASMSU.

107. Maguire, a journalist and politician, wrote a full-length biography of Mathew in 1864.

108. Mathew to John Maguire, August 20, 1849, MPCSF, 22: 2134. "Native Americans" refers to those of English descent.

109. *Boston Pilot*, January 19, 1850, 7; *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 9, 1849, 2.

110. *Providence Journal,* October 4, 1849, 2; *Catholic Telegraph*, October 4, 1849, 4; Robert W. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence* (Providence, 1982), 83–84.

there he met Bishop Kenrick, another of his critics. When he finally encountered Mathew face to face, Kenrick was taken by him. The bishop told his brother Peter that "Theobald Mathew is my guest here. He appears to be a very excellent man [who] . . . ought to be welcomed by all of our bishops; for his whole soul is in the work of weeding out a vice, which bears upon our fellow citizens as a burden of dishonor often."[111] Over the course of a two-week stay, Mathew visited several churches, pledged 3000 people and attended a reception at Independence Hall with the mayor and other city officials.[112] In his diary, Kenrick noted that the crowds that came to see Mathew included "Non-Catholics and people of every class."[113]

In early December, Mathew reached Baltimore, home of his most severe critic in the hierarchy, Samuel Eccleston. Mathew went to see the archbishop straightaway and the Baltimore diocesan newspaper reported that Eccleston was "delighted" to see him.[114] Mathew did not stay with him, but instead resided with one of the priests of the diocese. While in Baltimore, Mathew was especially careful to see Catholic sites: Visitation Academy, St. Mary's Seminary, St. Patrick's Orphanage, among others. He also administered the pledge to about 1000 people, including the city's mayor. Mathew could not stay long in Baltimore, though, because he had been invited to visit the White House.[115]

"A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing"

Mathew reached Washington just before Christmas. Upon his arrival, he headed to Georgetown College, whose president, Father James Ryder, S.J., shared Mathew's zeal for teetotalism.[116] Mathew was warmly received by faculty and students alike and the administrators declared the following day a holiday so that students could see Mathew visit the Capitol. Unfortunately for all parties involved, Congress had just come back into session after a nine-month break and its members were bitterly divided over what

111. F.P. Kenrick to Peter Kenrick, November 30, 1849, printed in John P. Marschall, "Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1851–1863: The Baltimore Years" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1965), 55.

112. Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick*, 414; *Catholic Herald*, December 6, 1849, 389.

113. Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 257, printed in Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick*, 414.

114. *United States Catholic Magazine*, December 22, 1849, 805.

115. Ibid., 805–807.

116. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 163.

to do with the land that had been acquired in the Mexican War. Many Southerners were furious that the president, Zachary Taylor, a slaveholding Whig from Louisiana, was willing to admit California as a free state. This would tilt the balance in the Senate toward the free states and increase the free states' advantage in the House of Representatives.

It was at this juncture, with many Southerners agitated over California, that the Whigs decided to tie themselves once more to Mathew by honoring him with a seat on the floor of Congress. Normally, a symbolic gesture such as this would have been approved unanimously. However, Mathew's quarrel with Garrison had been widely publicized in the South by a Georgia judge, Joseph Lumpkin, who had been hounding Mathew about his part in the 1841 anti-slavery address.[117] Aware of Mathew's action, several Democratic senators took out their anger on him, including John Calhoun of South Carolina and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, the future president of the Confederacy. The senators were careful to avoid attacking Mathew on religious or ethnic grounds and did not gainsay teetotalism. Their focus was the Irish Address, which according to Davis demonstrated that Mathew was in fact a "wolf in sheep's clothing [who] had attempted to incite the Irishmen . . . to unite . . . with the abolitionists in their nefarious designs against . . . the South."[118] Clay and Seward and other Whigs immediately rose to Mathew's defense, and even Stephen Douglas, a pro-slavery Illinois Democrat and future presidential candidate, took Mathew's side. Douglas reminded his colleagues that temperance, not slavery, was the issue at hand: "It is doing injustice to the character of this distinguished philanthropist to attempt to connect his name with the subject of slavery."[119] In the end, a majority of senators agreed with Douglas and voted to grant Mathew a seat on the Senate floor.[120]

After leaving the Capitol, a weary and no doubt frustrated Mathew headed to the White House to visit with President Taylor and fifty other well-wishers. Taylor, who was no teetotaler, toasted Mathew with ice

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117. Lumpkin, the president of the Georgia Temperance Society, had asked Mathew to visit but withdrew his invitation after learning about the 1841 Address. See Timothy Huebner, "Joseph Henry Lumpkin and Evangelical Reform: Temperance, Education and Industrialization, 1830–1860," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* 75 (Summer 1991), 254–74, here at 262–63.

118. Quoted in *Congressional Globe*, 21, pt. 1 (December 20, 1849), 52, 56.

119. Quoted in *Congressional Globe*, 21, pt. 1 (December 20, 1849), 56.

120. For a detailed analysis of the Senate debate, see Stephen E. Maizlish, "Rehearsing for the Great Debate of 1850: The Controversy over Seating Father Theobald Mathew on the Floor of the Senate," *Civil War History,* 64 (Winter 2018), 365–84.

water on this occasion. Taylor's biographer claims that Mathew was charmed by the president.[121]

Southern Sojourn

Despite the hostile comments from Davis, Calhoun, and other Southern Democrats, Mathew was determined to press on to the South. Although there were relatively few Irish immigrants in the South and not all that many temperance organizations, Mathew still wanted to be there.[122] With winter approaching, he was anxious to get to the South, hopeful that its mild climate would help restore his health. He was in Richmond on Christmas Day, administering the pledge to all comers and preaching twice at a Catholic chapel.[123] From Richmond he headed to Charleston, stopping on the way in Wilmington, North Carolina.[124] In Charleston, Mathew resided with the bishop, Ignatius Reynolds, and preached in the city's impressive cathedral.[125] In his spare time, Mathew would go to the city's grand Hibernian Hall and administer the pledge. The *Boston Pilot* reported that Mathew's health "has much improved since his visit to the South" and was pleased to note that 1500 people had taken the pledge from him in Charleston.[126]

Reaching Georgia in February, Mathew stopped first at Savannah, which had a significant Irish population.[127] He was able to pledge 2300 people in just four days.[128] Having avoided an encounter with Judge Lumpkin, Mathew headed next for Mobile, Alabama, where he took up residence with the city's French-born bishop, Michael Portier, and started working with the 2000 Irish immigrants living there. Portier was thrilled by all that Mathew was able to accomplish. After Mathew left for New Orleans, Portier wrote to its bishop, Antoine Blanc, who was also a French native: "I will forever thank God for the good this truly pious humble and charitable religious has done in my diocese by his holy and benevolent labours." Portier could not help adding that Mathew would find Blanc's

121. Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor, Soldier in the White House* (Indianapolis, 1951), 260–61.

122. There were only about 55,000 Irish in the South in 1850. See David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), 26–27. For the temperance movement's weakness in the South, see Ian R. Tyrrell, "Drink and Temperance in the Antebellum South: An Overview and Interpretation," *Journal of Southern History*, 48 (November 1982), 485–510.

123. *Boston Daily Atlas*, January 2, 1850, 2.

124. *Boston Pilot*, January 19, 1850, 5.

125. *Boston Pilot*, January 26, 1850, 6; *U.S. Catholic Miscellany*, January 5, 1850, 183.

126. *Boston Pilot*, February 2, 1850, 5.

127. The city was about 10% Irish in 1850. See Gleeson, *Irish in the South*, 35–36.

128. *U.S. Catholic Miscellany*, February 9, 1850, 217.

diocese challenging: "New Orleans, will offer to his zeal an immense field, a field worthy of his heavenly mission."[129]

Indeed, Portier was right about the difficulties Mathew would face. New Orleans, with a population of 115,000, was the South's largest city, and temperance advocates had never been able to make headway there. As soon as Mathew arrived, he focused on the city's 20,000 Irish immigrants and ended up giving the pledge to 14,000 people before his two month stay was over.[130] From New Orleans, Mathew sailed up the Mississippi to Natchez, where he was hosted by Bishop John Chance, S.S., for two weeks. Chance sent Blanc a letter that was just as effusive as Portier's: "Father Mathew left us this morning early for Vicksburg. His stay here has been of great good. Many more persons have taken the pledge than I expected. . . . I am rather pleased with him and his visit."[131]

Mathew's next stop was Little Rock, Arkansas, which was sparsely populated. At last, Mathew was in a place where he could try to rest. The city's Irish-born bishop, Andrew Byrne, urged him to go to Hot Springs to bathe in the waters. The baths did not seem to help him much, though, and Mathew left Arkansas in a fragile state. By October he reached St. Louis, and there he stayed with Archbishop Peter Kenrick, brother of Francis. For a month he resumed his grueling old schedule, giving sermons and speeches and the pledge to whoever was interested. By the time he was ready to leave, 10,000 had become total abstainers.[132]

With winter approaching, Mathew thought it imperative that he return to the South. By Christmas he was back in New Orleans giving the pledge to new members and administering it a second time to those who had lapsed since taking the pledge from him earlier in the year. In March 1851, Mathew set off for Nashville, but suffered a severe and almost fatal stroke on the way. This setback made Mathew realize that he had to end his tour and return home to Ireland. He had hoped to visit a bishop in Galveston, Texas, see Notre Dame, a newly founded school for boys in Indiana, and meet Indian tribes in the western states, but none of those trips would now be possible.[133]

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129. Michael Portier to Antoine Blanc, March 22, 1850, New Orleans Collection, UNDA.

130. Earl Niehaus, *The Irish in New Orleans, 1800–1860* (Baton Rouge, 1965), v, 23.

131. John Chance, S.S. to Blanc, June 1, 1850, New Orleans Collection, UNDA.

132. *Boston Pilot*, January 4, 1851, 3; *Catholic Telegraph*, October 26, 1850, 2.

133. Bishop John Odin had invited Mathew to Galveston. See Odin to Blanc, March 19, 1851, New Orleans Collection, UNDA. Father Edward Sorin, C.S.C. had invited him to

Consequently, Mathew began to wind his way back to New York, where he would get on a boat back to Ireland. On his way, Mathew decided to stop in Kentucky and see Henry Clay at his famed plantation, Ashland. Mathew hoped that Clay would help him raise some more money before he returned home. Clay agreed and issued an "Appeal to the American Public," asking for help for "one of the greatest benefactors our country has ever entertained."[134] Clay was in very poor health, however, and not able to solicit funds actively on Mathew's behalf.[135] Mathew's problems were compounded by the abolitionist press which ran a series of articles questioning whether Mathew planned to use the monies raised for his temperance work or to finish building a church in Cork.[136] In the end, Clay's appeal, like Donahoe's, would fail, only netting Mathew a few hundred dollars.[137]

From Kentucky, an ailing Mathew traveled to Cincinnati, the bustling "Queen of the West," and reached it by the end of June. The city's Irish-born archbishop, John Purcell, was not there to greet him, however, as he was then traveling in Europe.[138] Mathew stayed at the episcopal residence and preached in the cathedral and was able to add 12,000 more total abstainers to his rolls.[139] By July Mathew was in Pittsburgh, staying with Bishop Michael O'Connor, another of his early critics. O'Connor, too, was very pleased with Mathew when he finally met him. O'Connor invited him to preach at a hospital benefit and to promote temperance in a sermon at a Mass. At the end of the Mass, O'Connor was the first person who came up to take the total abstinence pledge at Mathew's hands.[140]

From Pittsburgh, Mathew headed to upstate New York before reaching New York City at the end of September. Before Mathew set sail for Ireland, Hughes invited him to preach at St. Patrick's Cathedral—a sure

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Notre Dame. See Arthur J. Hope, C.S.C., *Notre Dame: One Hundred Years,* rev. ed. (South Bend, IN, 1978), 230. For Mathew's interest in the "Indian Settlements," see *Pittsburgh Catholic*, August 31, 1850, 196.

134. For the Appeal, see *Boston Pilot*, October 4, 1851, 7; and *New York Times*, September 25, 1851, 2.

135. Clay died in June 1852.

136. *Independent,* October 23, 1851, 2, and *Frederick Douglass Paper*, October 30, 1851, 2. Mathew made a series of conflicting statements about how the money would be spent and the abolitionist papers highlighted Mathew's missteps.

137. Clay blamed the appeal's failure on "religious prejudice." See Clay to Henry Grinnell, November 5, 1851, PHC, 10: 929.

138. The main purpose of Purcell's trip was to obtain the archbishop's pallium from Pope Pius IX. See *Boston Pilot*, April 19, 1851, 3, and August 9, 1851, 3.

139. *Boston Pilot,* June 28, 1851, 2, and July 26, 1851, 3.

140. *Pittsburgh Catholic*, July 26, 1851, 156 and August 2, 1851, 164.

sign that the tensions of 1849 had been put aside.[141] Having often praised America for the economic opportunities it offered Irish immigrants, he now cautioned his listeners about the dangers of wealth. After Mass, Mathew administered the pledge to 4000 people.[142]

Prior to departing, Mathew penned a "Farewell Address" that appeared in several newspapers. He began by offering his "deep and grateful appreciation of the generous sympathy . . . which I have experienced in every section of this vast Union." He then expressed his pride in having "been instrumental in adding to the ranks of temperance over 600,000 disciples in America."[143] Many newspapers agreed that he had achieved much. The *New York Herald* noted that "he has visited . . . twenty-five States of the Union, has administered the temperance pledge in over three hundred of our principal towns and cities, has added more than half a million of our population to the long muster roll of his disciples; and . . . has traveled thirty-seven thousand miles."[144] Only the abolitionist press remained unmoved. Garrison ran a tart notice in the *Liberator*: "It is said that Father Mathew is soon to return to Ireland. Pity he ever left it."[145]

Mathew and America's Temperance Revival

When Mathew left New York City in November 1851, he was gravely ill and no more financially secure than he had been when he arrived in 1849. Although he lived for five more years, he was never healthy enough to resume his temperance work. Despite the toll it took on Mathew, the American tour was a resounding success for him, the crowning achievement of his career.

Mathew angered abolitionists and pro-slavery partisans alike, a clear indication of the nation's growing polarization on the issue.[146] The Whigs, however, remained steadfast supporters who sought to link themselves to him whenever possible. Most other Americans were also favorably disposed to him and supportive of the work that he was seeking to accomplish. Even the bishops who had been initially suspicious of him became his firm sup-

141. Mathew preached in what is now called Old St. Patrick's Cathedral. Construction on the current St. Patrick's Cathedral did not begin until 1858. See Loughery, *Dagger John*, 282–285.

142. *Boston Daily Atlas*, October 15, 1851, 2.

143. *New York Times,* November 10, 1851, 4.

144. *New York Herald*, November 8, 1851, printed in Maguire, *Father Mathew*, 517.

145. *Liberator*, August 29, 1851.

146. See Maizlish, "Rehearsing for the Great Debate of 1850," 383–384.

porters after getting to know him. Although he had a much more ecumenical outlook than the bishops, Mathew was willing to work with them and support their Catholic total abstinence societies. He also deferred to them on questions surrounding the nature of the pledge. Mathew's efforts helped to expand dramatically the size of these teetotal organizations.

When the temperance movement revived in America in 1870 after a lull during the Civil War years, many of the men that Mathew had pledged became leaders of a new organization, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union (CTAU).[147] The CTAU had the strong backing of a group of bishops known as Americanists because of their enthusiasm for American institutions.[148] The most prominent teetotalers among this group were Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul and Bishop John Keane of Richmond. Both men liked to boast that they had taken the pledge from Father Mathew when they were children in Ireland and had remained faithful to it.[149] Ireland, Keane, and the CTAU leadership honored Mathew in a host of ways: with Father Mathew halls and statues, a proposed Father Mathew Chair at the Catholic University of America, and parades each October 10th in honor of Mathew's birthday.[150] Of course, this generation reshaped Mathew just as the midcentury bishops had done. For Ireland, Keane, and the CTAU, Mathew was a wonderful example of a law-abiding, sober Irishman. He was the perfect counter to nativists who depicted Irish immigrants as violent drunkards and he would be held up as a model for Catholic immigrants until the 1920s when Prohibition's unpopularity caused the Catholic temperance movement to falter.[151]

147. Bland, *Hibernian Crusade,* 41–45; Potter, *To the Golden Door*, 525.

148. On Americanism, see the summer 1993 issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* which is devoted to the subject.

149. Marvin R. O'Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church* (St. Paul, MN, 1988), 184.

150. On the effort to endow a Father Mathew Chair, see Patrick H. Ahern, *The Catholic University of America, 1887–1896* (Washington, DC, 1948), 81. For the Father Mathew Hall in Worcester, see Timothy Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnicity in a New England City, 1880–1928* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), 163.

151. For Americanist support of temperance, see John F. Quinn, "Father Mathew's Disciples: American Catholic Support for Temperance, 1840–1920," *Church History,* 65 (December 1996), 624–40; and idem, "'It's Fashionable Here to be a Total Abstainer': Temperance Advocacy at the University of Notre Dame, 1870–1940," *American Catholic Studies,* 110 (Spring–Winter 1999), 1–27.

Spaces of Dissent: Violence and Cuban Catholic Resistance, 1959–1961

Daniel Thompson*

This article examines why the Catholic clergy's political response to the Revolutionary government increasingly resulted in violence from 1959 to 1961. This article focuses on two spaces—churches and public Catholic celebrations—where violence between Catholics and government forces received the most attention. Violence erupted at these spaces when they functioned as spaces of political dissent. Tracing the evolution of these spaces of dissent adds to more recent understandings of the clergy's political influence, which seems to have increased during this period. The decline of Cuba's free press and the position of Cuba's remaining press to denounce clerical opposition as illegitimate contributed to a heightened interest in the clergy's political messages. Catholic spaces operated differently than the press, which made Catholic public dissent more resilient because it was more difficult to control or close. The transformation of Catholic celebrations into spaces of dissent also highlights the emergence of a more coherent Catholic political identity that could challenge the government's vision of a loyal revolutionary. Given the resilience of Catholic resistance and the movement of people to Catholic gatherings, pro-government forces resorted to violence mainly to cripple opposition clerics' political voices and eliminate their spaces of dissent.

Keywords: Cuba, Catholic clergy, 1960s, violence, dissent, political mobilization

Shortly after midnight on January 1, 1959, Fulgencio Batista fled Havana with his family, ending his almost seven-year dictatorship over Cuba. Cubans poured into the streets to celebrate Batista's overthrow, which many

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attributed to *Movimiento 26 de Julio,* the most prominent resistance movement to emerge during the revolution. Several prominent Catholic leaders joined the chorus, as Archbishop Enrique Pérez Serantes published a pastoral letter that praised *Movimiento's* leader Fidel Castro, describing this period in Cuba as "a new life."[1] Less than twenty-four hours after Batista fled, Fidel Castro delivered an address to the Cuban people. With Archbishop Pérez at his side, Castro symbolically affirmed the Catholic clergy's support for his fledgling Revolutionary government.[2] Members of Catholic hierarchy and some of the laity welcomed the opportunity to participate in this revolution as Catholics, in other words, as Catholic revolutionaries.

Between early 1959 and late 1960, however, communist sympathizers seized key positions in the Revolutionary government and forced opposing viewpoints out of power, leading some clergy to question and oppose the new regime.[3] During this period, the relationship between Catholic leaders and government officials deteriorated, as both sides became embroiled in a rapidly bifurcating conflict that spilled from the public press into churches and streets.[4] This conflict culminated in September 1961, when the government exiled more than two-thirds of Cuba's clergy, pushing dissident clerics out of the public sphere.[5]

Clerics and government leaders did not always hold diametrically opposed ideological and political views.[6] Many priests supported socially

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1. *La voz de la Iglesia en Cuba: 100 documentos episcopales* (México City, 1995), 53–59.

2. Earl T. Smith to the Department of State, January 2, 1959. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1955-1959, Central Decimal File, Box No. 3080. 737.00/1-259.

3. Many, but not all, of these leaders, including Raul Castro and Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, had ties with Cuba's main communist organ, *Partido Socialista Popular* (PSP). Although Fidel Castro did not declare Cuba to be a socialist state until May 1961, Lillian Guerra argues that by October 1959, any claim that the Cuban revolution was non-communist or anti-communist could result in political suicide. Lillian Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba: Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance, 1959–1971* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2012), 89–91. For other overviews, see: Jorge I. Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 16–35; Phillip W. Bonsal, *Cuba, Castro, and the United States* (Pittsburg, 1971), especially 25–37, 92–144, 165–70.

4. Raúl Gómez Trento, *The Church and Socialism in Cuba,* trans. Phillip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY, 1988), 44.

5. Francis J Sicius, "The Miami Diocese and the Cuban Refugee Crisis of 1960–1961," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida,* 61 (2001), 38–57, here 38–40; Montenegro A. González, "Historia e historiografía de la Iglesia en Cuba: 1959–1976," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia,* 18 (2009), 261–93, here 277.

6. Many prominent Church leaders who resisted the government, like Pérez and Boza Masvidal, framed their political arguments in terms of their theology. It is difficult, if not

egalitarian reforms like land redistribution, especially in rural areas. Not all clergymen aligned with emerging anti-government political movements, as several explicitly associated themselves with the regime. During this period, government officials did not aim to crush Catholicism altogether, and many Catholic leaders like Bishop Boza Masvidal believed that Fidel Castro intended to establish a state-run Church.[7] Nonetheless, most of Cuba's Catholic hierarchy equated communism with tyranny and atheism. Church leaders framed the government's seizure of private institutions, especially related to Catholic education, as an existential threat to their survival.[8]

Tracing the rise of Catholic gatherings from 1959 to 1961 as spaces of dissent complicates most previous understandings of the clergy's political impact. Many analyses of this period emphasize the clergy's lack of political influence compared to that of the government, which was compounded by the voluntary and involuntary mass exile of many upper and middle-class Catholics.[9] Comparatively fewer scholars contend that Catholic lead-

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impossible to separate their theology and politics in many instances. In this vein, my use of "political" attempts to capture the theological, philosophical, and other approaches that Cuban clerics used to question and denounce the political legitimacy of government programs, government leaders, and the government itself.

7. In this vein, Lillian Guerra finds that Fidel Castro often wove Biblical references into his speeches to cast the Revolution as a righteous struggle for justice and equality; Lillian Guerra, "'To Condemn the Revolution is to Condemn Christ': Radicalization, Moral Redemption, and the Sacrifice of Civil Society in Cuba, 1960," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 89.1 (2009): 73–109, 78–79; "'Fidel Castro Fracasó en el Intento de Crear una Iglesia Nacionalista,' dice el Obispo Boza Masvidal en España," newspaper clipping, Sept. 29, 1961, in: Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil Records, Cuban Heritage Collection, Box No. 57, Folder 3; Cruzada Femenina, "Persecution Religiosa en la Republica Socialista Sovietica de Cuba," Series 4, Fall 1960, in Iglesia y Religion en Cuba pamphlet collection, Cuban Heritage Collection. Box No. 1.

8. The Cuban Catholic leadership forbade Catholics from supporting or promoting any form of communism, highlighting the incompatibility between communism and Catholicism. Bishop Boza Masvidal condemned communism as "the most oppressive of all tyrannies." In May 1960, the Catholic Hierarchy circulated one of Archbishop Pérez's letters that explicitly banned Catholics "from walking hand-in-hand with communism." Trans. Author, Eduardo Boza Masvidal, *Voz En El Desierto* (Miami, 1976), 29; Text of the publication found in: Godfrey H. Summ to the Department of State, November 16, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/11-1660.

9. Joseph Holbrook, "The Catholic Church in Cuba: The Clash of Ideologies" *International Journal of Cuban Studies*, 2.3/4, (2010), 264–75, here 265; Tomas E. Quigley, "The Catholic Church in Cuba," in: *Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet (London, 1990), 297–312, here 297–99; John M. Kirk, "From Counterrevolution to Modus Vivendi: The Church in Cuba, 1959–84," in: Sandor Halbersky and John Kirk, eds., *Cuba: Twenty-Five Years of Revolution, 1959–84* (New York, 1985), 93–113, here 93–97;

ers exercised political sway relatively equal to the government.[10] Both analyses assume that the clergy's political influence in Cuba stagnated or declined from 1959 to 1961. Instead, the clergy's political influence seemed to increase. A newer wave of scholarship has taken more seriously these dynamics of Catholic political opposition.[11] In this vein, this paper argues that the relationship between Cuba's free press, clerical dissent, Catholic gatherings, and Catholic political mobilization has been understudied. Studying certain patterns of violence during this period makes this relationship clearer.

In early 1959, most Cuban Catholics, especially those in rural regions, did not attend Mass and clerics held differing views of the Church's political stance in relation to the Revolutionary government. Over the next two years, however, many Catholics unified around a shared opposition to the government's revolutionary project. Church buildings seemed to take on a new role as spaces of dissent. This trend was augmented by the decline of Cuba's free press, which attracted opponents of the government who wished to continue their opposition publicly. The increased antipathy toward dissident clerics in Cuba's remaining media also heightened political interest in other Catholic celebrations, including holy days, congresses, and parades.

This work examines how the Cuban clergy's political response to the government culminated in violence during Catholic gatherings. Official reports of violence between Catholic and pro-government forces note shootings and stabbings, but violence generally took the form of brawls and disorganized street fighting.[12] Even though government officials often charged dissident clerics as the instigators of violence, most of the fighting seemed to involve Catholic and pro-government youth. The article's analysis precludes the destruction and bombing of Catholic buildings and government offices, whose perpetrators remain unknown or disputed. This

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Jorge Domínguez, "International and National Aspects of the Catholic Church in Cuba," *Cuban Studies* 19 (1989), 43–60, here 48; Margaret Crahan, "Catholicism in Cuba," *Cuban Studies* 19 (1989), 3–24, here 21; Denis Janz, *World Christianity and Marxism* (Oxford, U.K, 1998), 112.

10. Sicius, "The Miami Diocese," 38; Miguel De La Torre's stance on the Church's power compared to the government is not to the same degree as Sicius. Miguel De La Torre, *The Quest for the Cuban Christ* (Gainesville, FL, 2002), especially 97–101.

11. Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba*, 103; Petra Kuivala, "Never a Church of Silence: The Catholic Church in Revolutionary Cuba, 1959–1968" (PhD diss.: University of Helsinki, 2019), 78–123.

12. This definition of violence accords with Ekkart Zimmerman's typology of direct violence between persons. Ekkart Zimmerman, *Political Violence, Crises, Revolutions: Theories and Research*, 1983 reprint (New York: Routledge, 2011), 9–11.

article also avoids speculations about other resistance roles that a handful of clerics may have chosen, such as bombers and guerillas.[13] This sectarian and clandestine violence is deeply important to the legacy of Catholic resistance, but this article focuses on broader recurring trends in violence because they can help shed new light on Catholic political mobilization, despite differences in bias among sources.

Studying violence between Catholics and government forces during this period is particularly difficult, since bias greatly influenced the ways that these confrontations were covered and reported. Most available reports from this period can be divided into five categories, all with their own sets of biases: individual testimony, foreign government reports, reports from the foreign press, Catholic reports (often filtered through the lenses of foreign agencies), and reports from the Cuban press.[14] Reports of Jesuit Marcial Bedoya's violent confrontation with police in late August 1960 demonstrates the inconsistency between sources. According to the State Department's Catholic sources, G-2 agents shot and arrested Bedoya because of his involvement in a plot to blow up the Managua powder magazine.[15] The international press asserted that police shot Bedoya as he shielded Catholic youths from arrest.[16] Most of Cuba's mainstream domestic press did not comment on this incident, although leaders like Raúl and Fidel Castro increasingly mentioned the involvement of Catholic priests in bombings more generally.[17]

Given the problems with analyzing violence from 1959 to late 1961, this article will focus on the two general points of convergence between these sources: *where* and *when* violence erupted between anti-government

13. Eugene A. Gilmore to the Department of State, January 2, 1961. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/1-261; "Piden Paredón en Camagüey para un Terrorista," *Hoy,* Jan. 7, 1961, 3.

14. Petra Kuivala's article details some of the problems with the Cuban Church's archive. Petra Kuivala, "Is There Church History in Revolutionary Cuba? Accessing and Analysing Cuban Catholic Sources," *International Journal of Cuban Studies* 8.2 (2016), 309–28, especially 321.

15. G-2 is a branch of the Cuban government's secret intelligence force. Philip Bonsal to Secretary of State. August 22, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1605. 737.00/8-2260.

16. "Priest Shot by Police in Havana," *The Miami News,* Aug. 22, 1960, A-1.

17. "Castro Spurs Anticlerical Drive," *The Christian Science Monitor,* Feb. 8, 1961, 4; Havana Associated Press, "Raúl Castro says Priest Set Bomb," *The Miami News,* Feb. 8, 1961, A-1; Fidel Castro, "Discurso en el acto de clausura de la plenaria nacional de la federación nacional de trabajadores azucareros," December 19, 1960. *Discursos e intervenciones* archive, http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1960/esp/f191260e.html (accessed February 2, 2018).

Catholics and pro-government forces. Although this article uses sources mostly from the State Department, the Cuban clergy, and the foreign press, these trends can be found in pro-government sources.[18] Examining sources from this perspective indicates that violence often emerged around church buildings when priests read anti-government material and during Catholic gatherings that offered anti-government messages. To explain the timing and location of this violence, we must consider that violence erupted in these spaces because they functioned as spaces of dissent.

The transformation of Catholic events and festivals into spaces of dissent illustrates the clergy's reliance on large gatherings to spread their anti-government message during this period. Like Mass, other Catholic celebrations also heightened public interest in the clergy's political ethic. Bishops and other Catholic leaders used these spaces to construct and reaffirm Catholic political identities, which increasingly contravened government officials' demand for loyalty to the regime and its revolutionary ideals. Since these Catholic events often took place in the public sphere, the emergence of religious language as a form of political expression strengthened the confluence of these protestors' Catholic and political identities, transforming the public space they occupied into a Catholic space.[19]

The evolution of violence in these spaces of dissent suggests that pro-government forces were most concerned with silencing the clergy's political opposition, not with crushing Catholicism altogether. Government agents initially attempted to dissuade Cubans from attending Mass. Government leaders similarly construed Catholic gatherings as politically misguided or illegitimate. When non-violent strategies failed, however, pro-government forces began resorting to violence in mid-1960. Unlike other communist regimes, officials did not execute clergymen and instead dismantled public Catholic opposition by expelling priests and nuns.

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18. This trend seems to occur much less frequently in pro-government sources. When these sources did address violence, they tended to focus on the clergy, not the laity. This reflects the bias of these sources (possibly downplaying the seriousness of Catholic political dissent) and of the pro-Catholic sources (highlighting the brutality of the government; possibly overemphasizing the strength of Catholic opposition compared to pro-government forces). For some examples, see: "Provocación Contrarrevolucionaria en la Iglesia, 'La Milagrosa,'" *Revolución*, Dec. 12, 1960; "En Cuba," *Bohemia*, Dec. 18, 1960, 71–41; "Multiple articles," *Revolución*, Aug. 12, 1960.

19. On "Public Space" in terms of the mediate sphere between the "Private Realm" and the "Sphere of Public Authority" see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 30.

The Decline of Cuba's Free Press

By 1960, demonstrations of resistance from the Catholic clergy received increased attention, since they remained one of the only organizations that continued to confront the Revolutionary government publicly. Most of the clergy's written invective against the government came in the form of pastoral letters and political commentaries penned by Cuba's Catholic leadership, which clerics read and distributed during Mass. Archbishop Pérez, Bishop coadjutor of Havana Evelio Díaz, and Auxiliary Bishop Boza Masvidal were the most vocal and politically active bishops during this period.[20] Although some leaders, like Cardinal Manuel Arteaga y Betancourt and Bishop Carlos Riu, actively avoided the public spotlight, they often supported their peers by signing on to their letters.

The decline of Cuba's free media gave rise to the church building as the predominant space for Catholic dissent. Following Batista's overthrow, Cuba enjoyed a relatively free media in early 1959, even after the *Movimiento 26 de Julio* seized Cuba's most popular radio network CMQ.[21] The government's official newspaper, *Revolución*, lightly criticized Fidel Castro.[22] Over the next year, however, Cuba's free media began to collapse, beginning with provincial newspapers.[23] The government's role in closing Cuba's free media outlets remains contested and probably was not uniform. What seems clearer is that the Cuban media increasingly began to uphold pro-government posi-

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20. The Church leadership consisted of Manuel Arteaga y Betancourt (Cardinal and Archbishop of Havana), Enrique Pérez Serantes (Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba), Eduardo Boza Masvidal (Auxiliary Bishop of Havana), Jose Dominguez Rodríguez (Auxiliary Bishop of Havana), Evelio Díaz Cía (Bishop Coadjutor of Havana), Alberto Müller (Bishop of Cienfuegos), Manuel Rodriguez Rosas (Bishop of Pinar del Río), and Carlos Riu (Bishop of Camagüey). The Papal Nuncio, Luigi Centoz, also played a significant role in directing the Catholic Church's official position toward the Revolutionary government. Between the summer of 1959 and the summer of 1961, the only significant change in the Church hierarchy occurred when Bishop Martín y Villaverde (Bishop of Matanzas) died of a heart attack in early November 1960.

21. Michael Salwen, "The origins of CMQ: pre-Castro Cuba's leading radio network," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 13.3 (1993), 315–32, here 315 and 326–32; Earl T. Smith to Secretary of State, January 1, 1959. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1955–1959, Central Decimal File, Box No. 3080. 737.00/1-159.

22. *Revolución* printed an apology to Fidel Castro after they criticized him. Daniel Braddock to the Department of State. February 27, 1959. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1955–1959, Central Decimal File, Box No. 3081. 737.00/2-2759.

23. In early January 1959, members of *Movimiento 26 de Julio* took over *Diario de Cuba*, making the newspaper their official organ and renaming it *Revolución*. Park Wollam to the Department of State, January 7, 1959. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1955–1959, Central Decimal File, Box No. 3080. 737.00/1-759.

tions at the expense of all other political positions. Outlets that did not or could not conform to these standards were closed. By the end of 1960, pro-Catholic national newspapers like *Prensa Libre, Avance,* and *Diario de la Marina* had been removed.[24] Neutral news outlets that featured the clergy's opinions, interviews, and public letters, like the national magazine *Bohemia* and newspaper *Información*, also closed.[25] Catholic media outlets were closed as well, such as a prominent Saturday night television show anchored by Father Lasaga.[26] While underground newspapers continued to circulate subversive material, the Franciscan magazine *La Quincena*, Cuba's last independent periodical, closed in early 1961.[27]

The Uniqueness of Catholic Spaces and the Bifurcation of Political Opinion

As Cuba's free press began to collapse, the clergy increasingly turned to Catholic events to spread anti-government messages.[28] Most commonly, priests read letters from the Catholic Bishops during Mass. These letters often warned laity of the rising communist presence in the government. More Cubans began to attend Mass specifically to hear these letters, increasing the Church's political clout. In August 1960, the Cuban bishops published a circular letter that berated the government's increasingly friendly relations with communist regimes, particularly the Soviet Union.[29] Following the announcement of Archbishop Perez's jeremiad "Rome or Moscow" that November, State Department official William Bowdler reported that "all Churches [in Santiago de Cuba] were packed for evening

24. "Cuba's Press Fights Back," *The New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1959, 34. During the opening session of The National Congress in November 1959, government delegates voted unanimously to condemn *Prensa Libre, Avance,* and *Diario de la Marina.* Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba*, 103. The government seized the newspapers less than a year later.

25. Philip Bonsal to Roy Rubottom Jr., July 12, 1960. Library of Congress, *The Philip Bonsal Papers*, Box No. 1, Folder 9; William Bowdler to the Department of State, December 30, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/12-3060.

26. E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, October 3, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/10-360.

27. "Clausuran un Periódico Católico en Cuba," *Diario Las Américas,* Jan. 7, 1961; E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, January 2, 1961. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/1-261.

28. The closure of Catholic institutions of higher learning may have also increased the Catholic hierarchy's turn toward Catholic events to spread their message.

29. Himilce Esteve, "La Iglesia en Cuba," *El Nuevo Día*, Dec. 24, 1995, 5; Yvon Bastarache, "El Regimen Socialista (1960–1992)," 6, in the Teresa Fernández Soneira Catholic Schools Collection, Cuban Heritage Collection, Box 1. Folder 3.

mass after word that the pastoral letter was to be read and distributed throughout the city."[30]

The Catholic hierarchy used spaces to create and spread information differently than the Cuban press, which helped sustain Catholic resistance efforts during an era of increasing intolerance toward political dissent. Pro-government agents could intimidate, exile, or imprison journalists and publishers or forcibly close news offices and radio stations.[31] News buildings functioned as the focal point for the creation and distribution of information. Churches, by contrast, functioned as the spaces for the dissemination of written dissent, but not necessarily the places of their creation. Unlike Cuban news networks, which typically relied on a handful of offices, the clergy could convert every church into a distribution center of anti-government messages. Church leaders and other clerics were the sources of Catholic dissent. Buildings and gatherings were the endpoint of dissemination—in terms of their direct engagement with people—not an intermediary point, as in the case of news buildings. The government could not achieve censorship of clerics by closing a handful of buildings. Apart from silencing vocal Catholic leaders, pro-government groups could not stop the creation of the clergy's political dissent.

Much of Cuba's remaining media began to uphold pro-government Catholics' opinions and denounce dissident clerics. Many government officials, especially Fidel Castro, did not condemn Catholicism and instead upheld splinter Catholic movements that openly supported the regime.[32] Catholic splinter movements seem to have pursued two common objectives: championing the Revolutionary government and condemning the anti-government clergy as illegitimate. In the summer of 1960, one of these Catholic movements, *Con la Cruz y con la Patria,* gained national attention. The pro-government media featured *Con la Cruz* and its leader Father German Lence more than any other Catholic organization.[33] By

30. William Bowdler and W.S. Smith to the Department of State, October 8, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/10-860.

31. The Catholic journal, *La Quicena,* remained the main exception until the spring of 1961, when it closed. In November 1960, *La Quincena* feature of Bishop Boza Masvidal's article "Is the Social Revolution in Cuba Christian?" sold approximately 25,000 copies in less than a week. Wayne Smith to the Department of State. November 12, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/11-1260.

32. Guerra, "'To Condemn the Revolution,'" 73–109.

33. "Condenó el Padre Lence el Asesino de Lumumba," *El Mundo,* Feb. 17, 1961, 1; for *Unión de católicos revolucionarios,* see: "Católicos Revolucionarios," *Revolución*, Sep. 7, 1960.

contrast, officials and most of the Cuban media often cast dissident clerics as disconnected counterrevolutionaries who lacked widespread support. Some clergymen were framed counterrevolutionaries by their association with other counterrevolutionaries, like the U.S. government, Batista, and Franco.[34] Fidel and Raúl Castro broadcasted and televised speeches that accused dissident clerics of participating in counterrevolutionary activity, fomenting unrest, and conspiring with foreign governments against the Cuban people.[35] The media also attempted to destroy the legitimacy of the clergy's pastoral letter-reading campaign, claiming that Catholics walked out of churches and yelled "Long Live Fidel!" when priests read anti-government messages during Mass.[36]

The pro-government press polarized and bifurcated lay Catholic political opinion, pushing many of the politically active laity closer to the anti-government clergy. In 1959, many Catholic clerics struggled to minimize their public identification with Batista, their foreignness, and their history of political conservatism in an era of reinvigorated Cuban nationalism. Although a minority of lay Catholics, led by a handful of Catholic clergymen, continued to support the government, the government and the media's decision to highlight opposition clerics' "counterrevolutionary" traits drew many Cubans who opposed the regime closer to dissenting clergymen.[37] In August 1960, Eugene A. Gilmore, the Acting Deputy Chief of Mission, reported that "an increasing number of Cubans are turning to the Church as never before [. . .] the movement toward the Church is a

34. "Conjunta Declaración Hacen Ordenes Religiosas," *Información*, Jan. 8, 1960, A-1; "Por Instigación de Curas Fascistas Agreden a un Profesor de Colegio Católico en Colón," *Hoy*, Mar. 22, 1961, 11.

35. United Press International, "Castro Calls Priests Fascists, Says U.S. Bribed Defectors," *The Miami News*, July 19, 1960, A-1; Ruby Phillips, "Castro Accuses Catholic Clergy: Says Priests Work Against Regime," *The New York Times*, Nov. 28, 1960, 1; Daniel Braddock to Secretary of State, November 28, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1608. 737.00/11-2860; E.A. Gilmore to Secretary of State, December 23, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/12-2360.

36. William G. Bowdler to the Department of State. August 11, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/8-1160; Harvey Wellman to the Department of State, November 17, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/11-1760; "La Respuesta del Pueblo, Castigado Ejemplar," *Hoy*, Mar. 2, 1961, 3.

37. E. A. Gilmore to the Department of State, September 8, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.412/9-860.

very real force which has, at least for the moment, strengthened the Church's hand considerably."[38] After the media launched a series of *ad hominem* attacks on Bishop Boza Masvidal, several lay organizations responded by warning government leaders that slandering Boza Masvidal constituted an attack on the entire Catholic community.[39]

The clergy's association with counterrevolutionaries, especially the United States, also played a significant role in the bifurcation of Catholic political opinion. Senior members of the Catholic hierarchy were in contact with U.S. government officials. In addition, militant Catholic opposition groups, such as *Moviemento de la Recuperación Revolucionaria* (MMR), received U.S. support. Although these militant opposition groups were not associated officially with the clergy, their identification as Catholics and their association with some of the clergy made it easier to associate militants and clergy under the same counterrevolutionary banner.[40] Indeed, some clergymen probably were militants.

The movement of more Cubans to Mass and other Catholic gatherings should not imply a seamless relationship between the clergy and laity's political stances, despite the insistence of some Catholic lay organizations to align themselves with opposition clerics unequivocally.[41] Catholic dissenters were not a monolith.[42] Instead, several factors heightened laypeople's interest in the clergy's messages in addition to the substance of their messages. Contributing factors included the closure of other public opposition voices and the public treatment of the opposition clergy as illegiti-

38. Ibid.

39. Daniel Braddock to Secretary of State, November 26, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/11-2660.

40. Although Ignacio Uría notes that Perez's relationship with MRR leader, Manuel Artime, frayed as Artime resorted to violence, the association is important. Ignacio Uría Rodríguez, *Iglesia y revolución en Cuba: Enrique Pérez Serantes (1883–1968), el obispo que salvó a Fidel Castro* (Madrid, 2012), 463.

41. William Bowdler to the Department of State, August 18, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/8-1860.

42. Tomas Quigley argues that the clergy should not be understood as a monolith. Although this claim has support, it ignores that the clerics, especially the apex of Catholic leadership desired to present themselves as publicly united. Quigley, "The Catholic Church," especially 300–05. For examples of public unity, see: Archbishop Pérez's publication "For the Unity of Cuba," which stressed that only the Church hierarchy possessed the authority to govern the Cuban Church. *La voz de la Iglesia en Cuba,* 124–25. See also Uría, *Iglesia y revolución en Cuba,* 296.

mate dissenters.[43] It seems that the exact substance of clerics' opposition was secondary as long as it was proximate enough to laypeople's stances.

Violence at Mass

As more Cubans began to attend church services, pro-government agents coordinated nonviolent grassroots campaigns to dissuade Cubans from attending Mass, but these strategies mostly failed. Public workers erected signs and billboards proclaiming that true Christian piety lay in community service, not in attending Mass.[44] Following the wave of pastoral letter readings in early August 1960, several government-affiliated groups handed out fliers outside all Catholic churches in Havana, which declared that true Christians did not use Mass to plot against the Revolutionary government.[45] Pro-government youth groups occasionally disrupted Mass by entering churches and protesting non-violently. When clerics read Archbishop Pérez's highly critical article titled "Rome or Moscow" in Santiago de Cuba's main cathedral, youth groups marched into the cathedral and shouted pro-Fidel and pro-Revolutionary slogans.[46] Like the media's support for splinter Catholic movements, these strategies failed to turn attendees away from the Church, since most Cubans who attended Mass to hear pastoral letters already harbored suspicions about communism and totalitarianism in the government.

Faced with rising church attendance and increasingly virulent clerical dissent, pro-government elements resorted to force to sabotage Mass. Although the earliest documented reports of violence in and around Catholic churches occurred in June of 1960, the first reported outbreak of violence across Cuba occurred in August.[47] Most anti-Catholic combatants

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43. Associated Press, "Castro assails Cardinal Arteaga, Calls Arteaga Judas," *The New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1960, 6; "Conjunta Declaración," *Información*.

44. Juan M. Clark, *Religious Repression in Cuba*, (Miami FL, 1986), 9.

45. "Fidelistas preach Hands Off," *The Miami News,* Aug. 15, 1960, A-4.

46. Ruby Phillips, "Cuban Cathedral Invaded by Mobs," *The New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1960, 1; UPI "Disturbios en Santiago de Cuba para Leerse por Segunda Vez la Pastoral "Roma o Moscú," *Diario Las Américas*, Nov. 16, 1960.

47. Daniel Braddock to the Department of State, July 21, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2453. 837.413/7-2160; Wayne S. Smith to the Department of State, August 18, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/8-1860. By August 1960, these clashes drew the Vatican's direct attention, as it requested the Papal Nuncio in Cuba for a more formal report. Philip Bonsal to Secretary of State, August 18, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/8-1860.

who participated in the early attacks were not government militia or police, but pro-government, communist youth. While it is unclear what role government leaders played in coordinating these groups, they never condemned attacks on churches during this period.[48] Instead, the government-controlled media cast anti-Catholic groups who attacked Catholics during Mass as victims, ignored reporting instances of violence in churches, or cast dissident Catholic priests as the instigators of violence. For their part, some Catholic clergymen probably played an indirect role in violence against anti-Catholic forces because they oversaw Catholic youth organizations, which were becoming more violent during this period.[49] When Monsingor Ricardo Elayo read an article condemning the actions of the Revolutionary government and offered a prayer for several "counterrevolutionaries," *Revolución* claimed that Elayo's prayer disrupted order and instigated a fight between counterrevolutionary Catholics and pro-government (good) Catholics.[50]

The police often responded exceptionally slowly to reported instances of violence around Catholic buildings. After arriving on-scene, they arrested Catholics, not pro-government forces. On August 14, 1960, a group of pro-government youth in Sagua la Grande stood outside a Mass and hurled insults and threats at the church's parishioners. Six members of the Catholic Youth Workers present at the Mass eventually exited the church to fight the anti-Catholic youth. According to William Bowdler, the local police stationed nearby intervened after the major fighting ceased. The police also arrested the Catholic youth leaders, not the pro-government youth.[51] A series of violent clashes erupted between Catholic and pro-government

48. Most officials working in the U.S. State Department believed that the government had organized these attacks on churches. E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, August 22, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1605. 737.00/8-2260; Joseph J. Montillor to the Department of State, August 17, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1605. 737.00/8-1760.

49. From 1960 to 1961, Catholic youth engaged in violence more frequently than any other Catholic demographic. It seems that some clerics recommended that their youth use violence to counteract anti-Catholic forces. In: E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, August 1, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2453. 837.413/8-160. For the role of Catholic Youth and their relationship to priests, see: Teresa Fernández Soneira, *Con la Estrella y la Cruz: historia de las Juventudes de Acción Católica Cubana*, vol. 1 (Miami, 2002), especially 423–28.

50. "Provocación Contrarrevolucionaria," *Revolución*.

51. William Bowdler and W.S. Smith to the Department of State, August 26, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/8-2660.

youth in the courtyard of Santiago's Cathedral after clerics read one of Archbishop Peréz's pastoral letters. Responding to the scene, the police arrested five Catholics but none of the pro-government youth.[52] According to these reports, the police also detained clerics under false allegations.[53]

U.S. observers believed that anti-Catholic forces specifically targeted churches when rumors surfaced that the priests planned to read or had read a Catholic commentary condemning the government. After clerics read the bishops' "Letter to the Cuban people," Ambassador Philip Bonsal reported that fighting broke out in at least one church in Havana.[54] While the same letter did not reach Santiago in time for simultaneous distribution, Godfrey H. Summ, working at the U.S. consulate, noted that "communist and revolutionary elements may try [to] create incidents [in] some local churches."[55] Reporting on a series of concurrent clashes in Camagüey, William Bowdler and Wayne Smith of the State Department observed that "In some cases communist rowdies came right into the Churches in an effort to provoke the Catholics into precipitate action."[56] The second reading of Archbishop Perez's article "Rome or Moscow" several months later incited a small scuffle between government and Catholic supporters outside a Catholic church in Havana.[57] In December 1960, uniformed militia entered a church in Havana to prevent clerics from distributing the bishops' open letter to Fidel Castro.[58]

The Catholic clergy also believed that government forces coordinated attacks on churches during Mass to prevent or disrupt the reading of pas-

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52. William Bowdler to the Department of State, November 17, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/11-1760. For another example, see: "Milicianos Rodean Templo de Cuba Donde se Hallaban 3 Obispos y Centenares de Fieles," *Diario Las Américas*, Feb. 15, 1961, 1.

53. International Council of Jurists Geneva, *Report: Cuba and the Rule of Law* (Geneva, 1962), 229.

54. Philip Bonsal to Secretary of State. August 8, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/8-860.

55. G.H. Summ to Secretary of State, August 16, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/8-1260.

56. William Bowdler and W.S. Smith to the Department of State, August 26, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/8-2660.

57. UPI, "Disturbios en Santiago de Cuba" *Diario Las Américas*.

58. William Bowdler to Department of State, December 15, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1627. 737.00(W)/12-1560.

toral letters. In August 1960, Archbishop Díaz claimed that the government and civil forces had not adequately protected Catholics during the wave of violence in Catholic churches following readings of the bishops' circular letter.[59] An unnamed Cuban priest who testified to the 1962 International Council of Jurists in Geneva made his argument even more explicit:

> The fact is that [church] services could not be held because whenever the authorities believed that a pastoral letter was going to be read out they used to send parties of militiamen and other people armed with sticks and cudgels to the church. [. . .] Sometimes the priests or the faithful would be taken away.[60]

A Cuban monk presented a similar argument, claiming that "when the authorities thought that a pastoral letter was going to be read out during Mass protesting against the lack of freedom in Cuba, some groups of people entered the church while others stayed outside in the street and provoked the congregation attending Mass with the result that there was a fight between the militiamen and the Catholics."[61]

"Good Catholics," Political Mobilization, and Violence at Catholic Gatherings

While Mass served as the most common Catholic space for dissent, since it was celebrated frequently, other Catholic events—congresses, festivals, and other celebrations—also attracted dissenters and, by extension, violence. Like Revolutionary leaders, the Cuban clergy relied on large gatherings to construct and spread their political ethic. Initially, clerics hosting these events limited their criticism to communist ideologies and to foreign communist regimes. As government officials moved to control all sectors of Cuban society, however, clerics turned to criticize the Cuban government, which transformed these gatherings into the largest spaces of open violence between Catholics and pro-government forces. Examining religious language used at these gatherings reveals a difference between these events and political dissent during Mass. Unlike church buildings, which previously existed as Catholic spaces and became spaces of political dissent, these Catholic gatherings converted public spaces into spaces of dissent and Catholic spaces simultaneously.

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59. "Cuban Archbishop Threatens to End Church Services," *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1960, 1.

60. Jurists Geneva, *Report: Cuba and the Rule of Law,* 229.

61. Ibid, 228.

Government leaders depended on large rallies to construct political legitimacy and establish a direct link to Cuba's citizenry. Lillian Guerra asserts that the government's rallies served as a cornerstone of its Revolutionary agenda. In her words, "Answering the call to the plaza became critical not to a revolutionary identity but also truly a Cuban identity."[62] Government leaders mobilized all sectors of Cuban society to participate in their demonstrations. They achieved notable success with this campaign, as millions of Cubans attended these rallies. According to Guerra, government leaders used these rallies to reconstruct Cuban identity by outlining what she terms a "good Cuban." For leaders like Fidel Castro, a "good Cuban" remained staunchly loyal to the government and its version of the Revolution.[63]

The clergy created and promoted new Catholic events that encouraged Catholics to engage in political discourse. These national Catholic gatherings were especially popular, sometimes drawing hundreds of thousands of participants. Catholic bishops established the first National Catholic Congress in 1959 and the first National Youth Conference the following year. While Catholic clerics presented these events as strictly religious in nature, their messages nearly always criticized communism and, beginning in 1960, the legitimacy of the Revolutionary government.[64] Clerics used these gatherings to outline what can be called a "good Catholic." As tensions escalated between dissenting priests and government officials, the clergy's categorization of a "good Catholic" increasingly diverged from the government's ideal of a "good Cuban."[65] By the spring of 1961, Catholic holidays, such as Good Friday and the celebration of Our Lady of Charity, Cuba's

62. Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba,* 75–76.

63. These definitions summarize the analysis of "good Cuban" and "bad Cuban" that Guerra proposes. For a more detailed analysis see: Ibid*,* 75–106.

64. In February 1959, lay Catholics founded the Christian Democratic Movement (CDM), a political party designed to run in opposition to the *Movemiento 26 de Julio* in the upcoming elections that *Moviemento* had promised the Cuban people. While the CDM never clearly defined its goals or political stance, it certainly stood against communism broadly defined. Several clerics voiced their support for the movement, but it is difficult to discern the clergy's direct involvement in the organization. As government leaders adopted more totalitarian tactics in 1960, more militant Christian movements arose to counter the government. Daniel Braddock to the Department of State, February 27, 1959. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1955–1959, Central Decimal File, Box No. 3081. 737.00/2-2759; Park Wollam to the Department of State, March 14, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1600. 737.00/3-1460; Park Wollam to the Department of State. April 1959. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1955–1959, Central Decimal File, Box No. 3081. 737.00/4-159.

65. See Fidel Castro's speeches during December 1960 and January 1961 for some examples, which are accessible on the online archive *discursos y intervenciones*.

patron saint, had also become sites for large-scale anti-government protests. Examining Catholic gatherings from 1959 to 1961 highlights an increase of outright anti-government sentiment from cleric and lay Catholic participants, an escalation of violence at these events, and the rise of Catholic political space in the public sphere.

In November 1959, the clergy opened the first Catholic National Congress, marking the first major national Catholic convention since the Revolutionary government took power. The Congress, held in Havana, was well attended and allegedly drew over half a million participants.[66] During his speech at the Catholic Congress, Bishop of Matanzas, Alberto Martín y Villaverde, outlined his vision of a "good Catholic." According to Martín, a "good Catholic's" social principles rested on the autonomy of Catholic doctrine, the existence of Catholic institutions and lay organizations, and the sacred right of the Church to provide education.[67] Despite Martín's defense of Catholic institutional autonomy, no Catholic leader speaking at the Congress explicitly condemned the government.

The 1959 Congress also characterized a "good Catholic" as decidedly anti-communist. Ambassador Bonsal noted: "The great Catholic concentration at the end of November, although it was sincerely non-political in character, was a striking illustration of the repudiation by the Cuban people of Communism."[68] International newspapers like *The Miami Herald*, echoed Bonsal's analysis, arguing that the Congress demonstrated Catholic displeasure over the rising communist influence in the government.[69] Some government leaders indicated their dislike for the Congress's strong political undertones. Speaking to the press, Fidel Castro expressed his disapproval of the Congress in guarded language, arguing that the event was an attempt to turn Catholics against him.[70] However, the Congress did not result in any major violence, as Church leaders focused their criticism on communism as an ideology.

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66. "Catholics Mass for Cuba Rally," *The Miami Herald*, Nov. 29, 1959, 1.

67. *La voz de la Iglesia en Cuba,* 91–97.

68. Philip Bonsal, "Notes on Cuba," December 1959, 34. Library of Congress, *The Philip Bonsal Papers*, Box No. 1, Folder 8; Joseph Holbrook, "Catholic Student Movements in Latin America: Cuba and Brazil, 1920s to 1960s" (PhD diss.: Florida International University, 2013), 148. The student revolutionary directory called the Catholic National Congress, "A formidable plebiscite against communism," see: *La Persecución de la Iglesia Católica en Cuba* (Quito, Ecuador, 1963), 6; González, "Historia e historiografía de la Iglesia en Cuba," 272.

69. "Catholics Mass," *Herald.*

70. Prime Minister Fidel Castro and President Oswaldo Dórticos displayed their ostensible solidarity by attending the Congress. Ibid.

The clergy used the First Catholic Youth Congress in August 1960 to solidify Catholic political identity as a foil to their perception of communism and atheism among government officials. Bishop Martín reasserted that a "good Catholic" upheld the legitimacy of private property, protected religious worship, and strove to better the condition of the poor. According to Martín, a "good Catholic" also acknowledged the right of Catholic clergymen to criticize government leaders. Unlike speakers during the 1959 Catholic Congress, leaders and members of the Youth Congress also questioned the legitimacy of the Revolutionary government, condemning the status of the Church in Cuba under the current regime. The Congress' delegates also reaffirmed the Church's anti-communist, anti-atheist stance. Following Bishop Martín's keynote speech, several Catholic youths apparently cried, "Down with the communist atheists!"[71]

Given the increasing violence around Havana's churches in August 1960, Catholic clergymen and members of the State Department felt that the Catholic Youth Congress might turn violent. Before the conference opened, the Catholic hierarchy expressed concern that anti-Catholic squads would target Catholics. State Department official Daniel Braddock noted, "Given the mounting opposition to the Castro regime, particularly in Catholic circles, this rally bears watching. It may be the occasion for another clash between Catholics and communist goon squads."[72] Eugene A. Gilmore reported that no major violence occurred during the Youth Congress. He posited that the government restrained anti-Catholic forces from instigating a fight to avoid international media attention.[73] In all likelihood, the Conference produced some minor clashes, but not the full-scale attacks that Church and State Department officials predicted.

By the spring of 1961, Catholics began to use religious holidays to protest the government's legitimacy, which elicited violent responses from government forces. The Good Friday celebrations provoked a wave of violence across Cuba. In Havana, the celebration's religious theme quickly

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71. E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, September 1, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2453. 837.413/9-160. See also Petra Kuivala's dissertation for a more detailed account of Catholic gatherings during this period. Kuivala, "Never a Church of Silence," 73–125.

72. Daniel Braddock to the Department of State, July 21, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2453. 837.413/7-2160.

73. E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, September 1, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2453. 837.413/9-160.

turned political, as many of the 50,000 in attendance marched down the streets chanting "God, save your people!"[74] They also cried "Cuba yes, Russia no!" and "Long live Christ the King!" The protest quickly broke out in violence between Catholics and militia forces. By the end of the day, police had arrested fifty Catholic protestors.[75] An unnamed priest recalled another violent confrontation with the militia during the Holy Week celebrations in his town of Guines:

> Everything began in an orderly way. But soon a noise started coming from behind the place where the performance was being held, I went along to see what was happening and found that the shouting was coming from a group of people in the police headquarters nearby. They had been assembled there to prevent the performance. Soon, militiamen started coming out of the barracks and sitting on the railings. They began to make offensive comments and to let off bursts of machine gun fire into the air. This broke up the performance and everybody tried to take cover. The audience scattered, some shouting 'Cuba, Yes; Russia, No. . . . Long Live Christ the King.' . . . The militiamen then ran out into the middle of the car park and continued firing shots to scatter the crowd. Sometimes they fired at body-height as can be seen from the bullet marks in the adjoining buildings.[76]

The violence during Guines's Holy Week indicates the widespread extent of violence between Catholics and government militia, which erupted in rural areas as well as urban centers.

The emergence of religious language at these gatherings demonstrates the solidification and unification of Catholic protest as a distinctly Catholic challenge to the Revolutionary government. Like the protests in Havana, Catholics during the Holy Week celebrations in Guines shouted the phrase, "long live Christ the King," to express their strong dissatisfaction with the current regime.[77] The widespread use of these chants reveals the evolving political divergence of "good Cuban" and a "good Catholic." For many of these protesters, Catholicism had not failed the revolution, the government's vision of the revolution had failed the Catholic social principles that opposition clerics had articulated for months.[78] By the spring of 1961, the appropriate political metric for a "good Cuban" remained adherence to government itself, being inherently tied to the revolution, while the

74. Havana AP, "Cubans Cry, God Save Us," *The Miami News,* Apr. 1, 1961, A-3.
75. Dom Bonafede, "Paraders arrested in Cuba," *The Miami Herald*, Apr. 2, 1961, 27.
76. Jurists Geneva, *Report: Cuba and the Rule of Law,* 229.
77. Ibid.
78. *La voz de la Iglesia en Cuba*, 131–34.

appropriate metric for a "good Catholic" had become a series of Catholic social precepts authorized by the Cuban bishops. In addition, the act of chanting "long live Christ the King," marked the emergence of religious language as integral to constructions of Catholic political dissent in the public sphere. Religious language transformed these public gatherings into political spaces that were uniquely Catholic. This transformation differed from the rise of political protest in church buildings, which previously existed as Catholic spaces and then became spaces of dissent. Chanting similar religious phrases seemed to unite Catholic protestors across Cuba and distinguished them from other political dissenters, which also fortified the unity of their public movement as a Catholic struggle.[79]

Expulsion of Clergymen and the End of Public Violence

Cuba's leadership used the national emergency created by the Bay of Pigs invasion to seize Catholic buildings and remove the opposition clergy from Cuba's political sphere, a tactic that often involved expelling those clergy from Cuba. On April 15, 1961, before Cuban exiles launched a land invasion aided by the U.S. government, Cuban government forces preemptively arrested half a million people, constituting the largest mass roundup in Cuban history.[80] Following the Bay of Pigs invasion, Fidel Castro addressed an enormous crowd at the Revolutionary Plaza in Havana on March 1. His speech, which was also broadcast across the country, targeted enemies of the Revolution, including the Catholic clergy. In addition to taking over all Catholic schools, the government also seized several churches and other Catholic properties.[81] Most damaging to the clergy's ability to organize political resistance was the widespread expulsion and imprisonment of thousands of priests, monks, and nuns over the next several months.

On September 11, 1961, many Catholics gathered to celebrate Cuba's patron saint, Our Lady of Charity, which also marked one of the last inci-

79. E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, January 2, 1961. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/1-261.

80. Alejandro de Quesada, *The Bay of Pigs: Cuba 1961* (Oxford, 2009), 23. At least two Catholic priests took part in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

81. While the government groups forcibly invaded some church buildings, others closed simply because all their occupants fled or were forced out of Cuba. Dr. Ismael Testé, *Historia Eclesiástica de Cuba: Historia de Todas y Cada una de las Parroquias,* 3 vols. (Burgos, Spain, 1968–70), III, 115–17; "Obispos y 116 Sacerdotes Estuvieron Presos una Semana en una Iglesia en Camagüey," *Diario Las Américas*, Jul. 15, 1961, 1, 11.

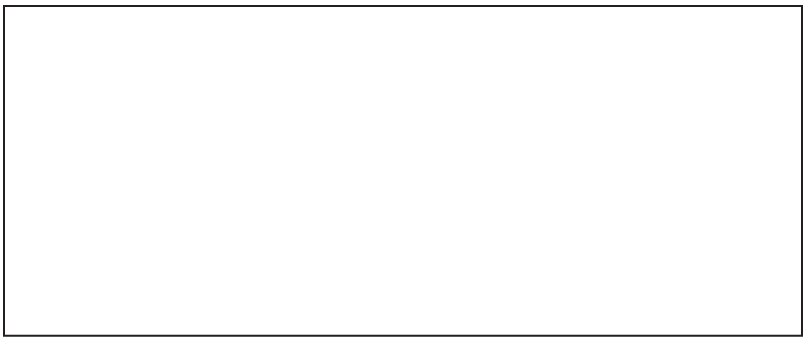

FIGURE 1. Catholic Clergy Awaiting Expulsion from Cuba, Unspecified Location. Courtesy of the Cuban Heritage Collection, University of Miami Libraries, Coral Gables, Florida.

dents of major violence between Catholic protestors and the Revolutionary government forces during this period. By September, the government had established a strict timetable for religious functions. Originally, government officials sanctioned the holiday to begin in the afternoon. Less than a day before the celebrations were set to begin in Havana, government officials changed the start time from the afternoon to 7:00 in the morning.[82] The time change did not stop more than 3,000 Catholics from assembling in the afternoon. Like the Holy Week celebrations, this religious festival quickly turned political, as the marchers began to shout anti-communist and anti-government slogans. As the demonstrators moved toward the Palace of the Revolution, the police opened fire on the protestors, killing at least one demonstrator and injuring dozens more. Only 300 Catholics reached the Palace.[83]

The expulsion of priests and the repression of Catholic protestors in late September 1961 sounded the death knell for large politicized Catholic gatherings. Pointing to the massive demonstration during the Our Lady of Charity celebrations, Fidel Castro denounced the Catholic clergy as a counterrevolutionary organization that conspired with the U.S. govern-

82. Clark, *Religious Repression in Cuba*, 10–11.

83. "Religious Parade Erupts Into Havana Fracas," *The Christian Science Monitor* Sept. 11, 1961, 14. "Castro Accuses Priests," *New York Times,* Sept. 21, 1961, 2. Havana Radio admitted that a Catholic youth had been killed during a demonstration outside *La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Caridad.* Hal Hendrix, "Youth Slain in Riots, Fidel Radio Admits," *The Miami News*, Sep. 11, 1961, A-5.

ment to overthrow his regime.[84] Havana officials blamed the demonstrations on the festival's chief coordinator, Bishop Boza Masvidal, and arrested him along with several other ranking priests. On September 18, Castro forcibly exiled Boza Masvidal and 135 other priests. Following a second major expulsion of Catholic clerics in September 1961, Fidel Castro banned all religious events.[85] A few hours after the second deportation, Catholics in Havana staged one final large demonstration against the government. This time, government militia, disguised in civilian clothing, infiltrated the crowd and began to club the protestors. In the end, eighteen people were reportedly injured and nearly two hundred were arrested.[86] Catholics continued to oppose the Revolutionary government after September 1961, but the clergy's large-scale public resistance movement officially ended. Based on several estimates, approximately 200 active clergymen, or less than one third of the clergy, remained in Cuba after September 1961.[87] Catholic clerics stopped publishing official opposition pieces and discontinued major public demonstrations.

As members of a transnational Catholic community, the Cuban clergy understood that other communist governments had executed dissident Catholic clerics. Indeed, several prominent Church leaders explicitly referenced communist regimes that had executed Catholic priests in their writings, pointing to the suffering of Catholics under the Hungarian government as their archetypal example.[88] Despite increasing instances of violence between government and Catholic forces, however, the upper echelons of the Catholic hierarchy were left unharmed. The government forcibly exiled just one of Cuba's eight bishops, Eduardo Boza Masvidal. According to State Department and Cuban exile sources, pro-government militias executed laypeople, especially youth, and

84. Tony Solar, "Desmiente Castro lo de la Patria Potestad," *The Miami News*, Sep. 20, 1961, A-2. During the roundup of Cuban priests for the exile on the boat *Covadogna*, Reverend Antonio Altamira, a former teacher at Bélen, refused to let the police take him, arguing that Cuba was his home. He resisted and was shot by the police, only to be taken to a hospital where he survived. Jay Mallin, "Jesuit Priest Shot in Cuba," *The Miami News,* Sep. 26, 1961, A-6.

85. Mallin, "Jesuit Priest Shot," *Miami News.*

86. "Militia seizes 176 in Cuban Outbreak," *The New York Times*, Sep. 19, 1961, 1.

87. Esteve, "La Iglesia en Cuba;" Bastarache, "El Regimen Socialista (1960–1992)."

88. *La voz de la Iglesia en Cuba*, 73, 127; G.H. Summ to the Department of State, November 25, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/11-2560; Father Pedro Meurice Estiu cited in G.H. Summ to the Department of State, July 29, 1960. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960–1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 1605. 737.00/7-2960.

arrested clerics who led Catholic youth organizations, such the Catholic Youth Workers, the Young Catholic Students, and the Young Catholic University Students.[89]

Conclusion

The government's aggressive policies, which the clergy perceived as anti-Catholic, along with media censorship, increasingly led Catholic leaders to politicize Catholic celebrations. While the government still held the approval of an overwhelming majority of Cuba's population, the dissident clergy's political influence grew during this period, as its political message attracted dissenters. Recognizing that Catholic gatherings served as the clergy's main platforms to spread dissent, pro-government authorities targeted Catholics in churches and in other spaces. Nonetheless, most government leaders probably did not intend to eliminate Catholicism entirely, as evidenced in their support for splinter Catholic movements like *Con la Cruz* and in their decision not to execute clerics.

Instead, the government exiled many dissident clerics, most of them to Spain and the United States. These clerics formed exile communities with other Cuban émigres who had voluntary and forcibly left Cuba during this period. The forced and unforced migration of the clergy weakened the Catholic Church's ability to oppose the revolutionary government in Cuba, but strengthened the political dissident character of Cuban Catholic communities in exile, especially in Miami. For these communities, Catholic identity became linked to identities of political exile. In many of their eyes, the Cuban Church described in this article lives on in exile.[90]

This article hopefully adds to discussions on the relationship between technology and political power. Commentators have shown how some political charismatics harnessed the most advanced media of their day to

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89. Holbrook "Catholic Student Movements in Latin America," 145–61. E.A. Gilmore to the Department of State, January 2, 1961. NARA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1960-1963, Central Decimal File, Box No. 2452. 837.413/1-261. For many Cuban Catholics, these executions immortalized their final stand against the Revolutionary government and continue to live on in Catholic memory, especially in Cuban exile communities. See *La Persecución*, 31.

90. Miguel De la Torre, *La Lucha for Cuba: Religion and Politics on the Streets of Miami* (Berkley, 2003), especially 26–51; Thomas Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (New York, 1997), 83–115. See also diasporic presses like Ediciones Universal and Catholic thinkers like Dagoberto Valdés Hernández and Teresa Fernández Soneira.

sway political opinion.[91] Leaders like the Castros and Guevara benefitted from their ability to use centralized broadcasting systems like the television.[92] Nonetheless, it seems that the success of the clergy's public opposition movement was due in part to their use of traditional networks of people-to-people communication, which was more resilient than other forms of government opposition because it was more dispersed.

91. Paul Achter, "TV, technology, and McCarthyism: Crafting the democratic renaissance in an age of fear," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90.3 (2004), 307–26, here 307–08 and 312–15; Julianne Stewart, Gianpietro Mazzoleni, and Bruce Horsfield, "Conclusion: Power to the media managers," in *The media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis*, eds. Julianne Stewart, Gianpietro Mazzoleni, and Bruce Horsfield (Westport CT, 2003), 217–37, especially 214.

92. Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba,* 44–50.

Miscellany

Catholics in the Soviet Union: New Research and New Sources on Everyday Religious Life (1917–1958)

Gregory Freeze, Alexey Beglov, Nadezhda Beliakova, and Evgenia Tokareva*

Until now research on religious in Soviet Russia has relied chiefly on documents generated by state, party, and police organs. As instruments of the regime's antireligious campaigns, these documents reflect official policy and reveal little about the everyday life of believers. To fill this gap in the documentation and historiography, the Russian Science Foundation has funded a three-year project to identify and publish documents from below—by tapping into those documents transmitted to the West and located in various institutional and private archives. In April 2020 the project organized a conference to discuss the initial results of this new undertaking.

Keywords: Catholicism, everyday religious life, sources, Soviet Union, repression

The Institute of World History at the Russian Academy of Science (Moscow), through its Center for the Study of Religion and the Church, organized a two-day conference (7–8 April 2020), "Catholics in the Soviet Union: The Testimony of Ordinary People about the Radical Transformations of the 1920s–1950s." The organizers proposed that the conference make a critical assessment of the sources currently available and that it explore the possibilities for acquiring new sources and reinterpreting old ones.

The conference was part of a broader, three-year research project, "Entangled Histories: Russia and the Holy See, 1917–1958," which is based at the Institute of World History and directed by Professor Gregory

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Freeze (Brandeis University).[1] The project seeks to map out the various lines of interaction between the Soviet Union and the Catholic Church during the critical decades from the October Revolution in 1917 to the to the end of the pontificate of Pius XII and the onset of the Nikita S. Khrushshev's antireligious campaign in 1958. Its primary objective is to collect and make available a complex of new sources: letters and memoirs of Catholic priests and laity in Soviet Russia that, for the most part, are preserved in foreign archives. Complementary to that are materials from oral history and ethnographic research. The conceptual originality of the project lies in the use of a new mass of documents that can change our perspective on the historical processes unfolding in Russia in the first four decades of Soviet rule. Specifically, the goal is to offer a new picture of religious life during this period, one that is not derived from state, party, or police organs, but rather one that reflects the experience and aspirations of ordinary believers. Catholic priests, as the head of the parish, actively used information of their parishioners, and they also had contact with other religious communities (especially the Orthodox). As a result, their correspondence and memoirs are unique and until now neglected as a source for religious life in early Soviet history. This approach corresponds to current research in Western scholarship—in social history, historical anthropology, and sociology of religion with the post-secularization paradigm that foregrounds the privatization of belief and de-institutionalization of religion ("believing without belonging," in Grace Davie's famous formulation).[2] All this places a premium on the study of the internal world of believers rather than on the activities of religious organizations.

Earlier, the study of relations between Russia and the Vatican drew mainly on documents that had been generated by their own diplomats and their contacts in various countries (especially Poland, Germany, France, Italy, and Austria). This research also drew on the documents of party organs (including the Comintern[3]) as well as the police apparatus (Cheka-OGPU-NKVD).[4] Together, this complex of documents allows one to see

1. This article is part of a project supported by the Russian Science Foundation (No. 19-18-00482 "Entangled Histories: Russia and the Holy See, 1917–1958").

2. Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (Oxford, 2008).

3. Evgenia Tokareva, "Komintern i Internatsional proletarskikh svobodomysliashchikh v bor'be protiv religii i Vatikana," *Elektronnyi nauchno-obrazovatel'nyi zhurnal "Istoriia,"* 9:1 (2018). DOI: 10.18254/S0002215-5-1. Available to registered users at URL: http://history.jes.su/s207987840002215-5-1 (accessed 29.06.2020).

4. Roman Dzwonkowski, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego w ZSSR 1917–1939: Martyrologium* (Lublin, 1998); Bronislav Chaplitskii, Irina Osipova, and Geraldine Kelley, *Book of*

the complex layers of interrelations between the center of the Catholic and communist worlds—the ideological and diplomatic links, but also the secret activities of Soviet police organs. Russian and foreign scholars have explored, to some degree, the history of Soviet and Vatican relations, especially in the 1920s; their research has explored, for example, the Vatican's attempts to save the Romanov family after the revolution, to intervene on behalf of the clergy in all confessions, to aid the starving in the Papal Mission of 1922–24, and to establish diplomatic relations up to the late 1920s.[5] This recent scholarship, by tapping into new documents, is providing a new vista on the vicissitudes in "high politics," international relations, ideological discourse, and the activities of the Soviet police apparatus.

But how are we to reconstruct the quotidian of simple Catholic believers? What documents are we to use for this difficult task? Most of the documents currently available emanate from the party, state, and police, which were passionately committed to pursuing an antireligious policy and had a strong bias in how they portrayed the religious life of believers.

Some scholars believed that one could obtain a reliable perspective from the investigatory files of the political police, that such documents

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Remembrance: Biographies of Catholic Clergy and Laity Repressed in the Soviet Union (USSR) from 1918–1953 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2014).

5. Evgenia Tokareva and Aleksei Iudin, eds., *Rossiia i Vatikan.* Vyp. 1: V kontse XIX–nachale XX veka (Moscow, 2002); Evgenia Tokareva and Alseksei Iudin, eds., *Rossiia i Vatikan,* vyp. 2 (Moscow, 2007); Evgenia Tokareva and Aleksei Iudin, eds., *Rossiia i Vatikan,* vyp. 3: Russkaia emigratsiia v Evrope i Katolicheskaia tserkov' v mezhvoennyi period (Moscow, 2014); Evgenia Tokareva, "Otnosheniia SSSR i Vatikana: ot peregovorov k razryvu. 1922–1929 (kratkii obzor po materialam sovetskikh arkhivov)," in: *Rossiia i Vatikan,* eds. Evgenia Tokareva and Aleksei Iudin (Moscow, 2002), 260–320; Evgenia Tokareva, "Problemy statusa katolicheskoi ierarkhii v peregovorakh SSSR i Sviatogo Prestola v 1920–e gg. (na osnove novykh arkhivnykh dokumentov)," in: *Rossiia i Vatikan,* eds. Evgenia Tokareva and Aleksei Iudin (Moscow, 2007), 147–80; Evgenia Tokareva, "Antireligioznaia kampaniia, osobenno v shkolakh, prinimaet prosto plachevnye masshtaby. Ital'ianskie diplomaty i Katolicheskaia tserkov' v SSSR. Dokumenty Tainogo arkhiva Vatikana, 1929–1935 gg.," *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 2011, no. 6: 84–93 and 2012, no. 1:80–92; Alexey Beglov and Evgenia Tokareva, "Novye dokumenty i issledovaniia ob otnosheniiakh Rossii i Vatikana nakanune Vtoroi mirovoi voiny," *Rossiiskaia istoriia,* 2015, no. 4: 223–26; Evgenia Tokareva, "Vatican and Catholics in Russia in 1920–1930: Communication Problems," *Procedia. Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 236 (2016), 379–84; Alexey Beglov, Gregori Friz [Gregory Freeze], and Evgenia Tokareva, "SSSR, rossiiskie katoliki i Vatikan v preddverii Vtoroi mirovoi voiny: osnovnye sobytiia i napravleniia issledovanii," *Elektronnyi nauchno-obrazovatel'nyi zhurnal "Istoriia,"* 9 (2018), vyp. 4 (68). DOI: 10.18254/S0002214-4-1; available to registered users at URL: http://history.jes.su/s207987840002214-4-1 (accessed 29.06.2020); Evgenia Tokareva, "Vatikan v fokuse sovetskoi politiki (1938–1988)," *Rossiia v mire: obrazy i grani vzaimodeistviia,* ed. Aleksandr Chubar'ian et al. (Moscow, 2019), 405–37.

could bring us closer to real people—whether it be a priest or ordinary believer. The independent Memorial Society provides access to some of the police files[6] and has facilitated specialized research on the repression of Catholic clergy and laity.[7] These materials have indeed become the principal source for confessional scholarship; in the post-Soviet era Catholics have been able to assemble relevant materials for martyrology and canonizations.[8] However, a closer study of this extremely specialized type of source has raised critical questions about the kind and veracity of information found in the police files and whether they really record the experiences and attitudes of clergy and believers. The Orthodox community has actively discussed this question as it prepared materials for the canonization of new martyrs and confessors, and used the investigatory police files as the basis for its judgments. This provoked criticism from some in academia and the Church. Some researchers (e.g., Lidiia Golovkova[9]) argued that such files from the period of the Great Terror (1937–38) provide only evidence that a given individual was shot, and that all the other information (including the texts signed by those under interrogation) is simply unreliable—as extracted under torture if not fabricated outright. Other researchers do not go quite so far, but are skeptical about the reliability of the police files as a historical source.[10] The fears of critics proved justified: in 2016 the names of some martyrs (previously proclaimed as such by the Orthodox Church) disappeared from the church calendar after information, gleaned from newly discovered police files, proved contrary to earlier findings. The same question can also be applied to the police files on Catholics.

Hence the object of the April 2020 conference was to examine Russian religious history not from the perspective of party, state, and police records, but "from below"—from the perspective of ordinary believers. That may be "old hat" in Western scholarship, but it is a difficult new undertaking in

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6. For the main collections of data and files see: https://www.memo.ru/ru-ru/collections/ (accessed 29.06.2020)

7. Chaplitskii et al., *Book of Remembrance;* Irina Osipova, *"V iazvakh svoikh sokroi menia..." Goneniia na katolicheskuiu tserkov' v SSSR. Po materialam sledstvennykh i lagernykh del* (Moscow, 1996).

8. A number of documents, including letters, are available at two online sites: http://cathol.memo.ru/http://рускатолик.рф/repressirovannie-katoliki/ (accessed 29.06.2020) and https://sakharov.center/asfcd/pam/?t=pam&id=1493 (accessed 29.06.2020).

9. Lidiia Golovkova, "Osobennosti prochteniia sledstvennykh del v svete kanonizatsii Novomuchenikov i Ispovednikov Rossiiskikh," *Al'fa i Omega,* 2000, no. 4: 206–15.

10. Alexey Beglov, «Prozelitizm sredi mertvykh: Katolicheskaia propaganda zapisyvaet v riady priverzhentsev Rimskogo prestola rasstreliannykh pravoslavnykh episkopov," *NG-Religii,* 11.08.1999, no. 15 (38): 6; Pavel Protsenko, "Mif ob Istinnoi Tserkvi," *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniia,* 1998, no. 179: 137–50.

scholarship on Russian religious history. The primary task was to identify and evaluate new historical sources that can provide a fresh perspective on everyday religious life in the Soviet period. The organizers sought to enlist the participation of specialists who have actively engaged this category of sources and to conduct a discussion on their use and interpretation. The conference—the first of its type—was highly productive and generated many new insights.

The conference included eighteen researchers from six countries: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and the United States. The Russian participants indeed came from diverse parts of the country: from Pskov and St. Petersburg in the northwest to Rostov-on-the-Don in the South to Sakhalin in the Far East. The conference consisted of four thematic panels: one on memoirs, a second on epistolary, a third on oral history and ethnographic collections, and a fourth on a regional diversity of everyday Catholic life in Soviet Russia. Outside the formal panel structure the conference also heard papers by Gregory Freeze (Brandeis University, Waltham USA) and by Waldemar Rezmer (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń Poland). Rezmer provided an overview of the variety of archival materials, all relevant to the study of Catholics in Soviet Russia, that are to be found in the Central Military Archive in Warsaw.[11] Freeze presented a paper about the conceptual foundation of the whole project—namely, the notion of "entangled history," which emphasizes the impact of globalization (making the traditional "national historical narrative" obsolete) and, in the case of religious studies, suggests the value of "deconfessionalization" in favor of an inter-confessional approach. Freeze also presented a brief survey of yet another, under-utilized source: the Catholic press, specifically the American Catholic Press Agency, which gave the diocesan press a global perspective by disseminating reports and raw material from around the world, including the Soviet Union.[12]

The chronological focus here—1917–58—reflects the events that profoundly changed the position of Russia and the Vatican in world affairs. The starting point's focus was on the period of revolution and civil war, which reconfigured not only geopolitical realities but also the status of the Catholic Church in Russia. The endpoint of 1958, at the other end, reflected the substantial changes in Soviet society after the Twentieth Party

11. Waldemar Rezmer, "Katolicheskaia tserkov' v Sovetskoi Rossii (SSSR) v materialakh, khraniashchikhsia v Tsentral'nom Voennom Arkhive v Varshave."

12. Gigori Friz [Gregory Freeze], "Kontseptsiia 'Entangled History' pri izuchenii istorii povsednevnosti katolikov Sovetskogo Soiuza."

Congress (1956) and the end of the pontificate of Pius XII (1958), who had adhered to an uncompromising anti-communist policy.

What was unique about the position of Catholics in the USSR was the fact that they had far more incentives and possibilities to sustain ties abroad and to transmit information about the life of believers in Soviet Russia and, in the case of those who emigrated or visited, to talk about their experiences under communist rule. These correspondents included such people as Edmund A. Walsh (1885–1956; head of the Papal Mission to assist famine victims) and the Lithuanian priests Juozapas Vilkas, Tomas Pashkevichius, and Juozapas Senvaitis. Walter Ciszek (1904–84), an American Jesuit, left memoirs about his time in the USSR until he was exchanged for a Soviet spy in 1963.[13] In short, researchers can find letters, reports, and memoirs of Catholic priests and believers in archival repositories in the most far-flung corners of the globe: Poland, Lithuania, the Vatican, and the United States.

It is important to point out that the conference participants, from the very outset, engaged questions about the methodology needed to analyze the various types of sources.

Thus the paper by Fr. Stefan Lipke SJ (St. Thomas Institute, Moscow) examines the evolution of the memoirs by the Jesuit Walter Ciszek, which were published as two volumes in the United States after his return to the United States in 1963.[14] The paper demonstrates that the first version of the memoirs describes Fr. Ciszek's trials and tribulations in Russia, including his incarceration and the interrogations at the infamous Lubianka prison, as an "adventure" and created a heroic narrative of his resistance to a godless regime. In the second version, however, he describes the same events as a spiritual battle and concedes "defeat," but a defeat that inspired him to place his life entirely in God's hands. He thus changed not only the narrative (from "heroic" to "penitential") but also the choice of facts. Whereas the first variant explains that he finally signed the transcript of the interrogation as due to the application of some drug (thrust on him by the investigator), the second version omits that exculpatory detail altogether. So we are left to wonder whether a drug was used or not.

13. Walter Ciszek (with Daniel L. Flaherty), *With God in Russia* (New York, 1964); Walter Ciszek (with Daniel L. Flaherty), *He leadeth me* (London, 1973).

14. Shtefan Lipke [Stefan Lipke], "Vospominaniia Val'tera Chisheka SJ o zakliuchenii v Lubianke kak primer narrativnogo osmysleniia tiuremnykh perezhivanii."

In the case of Fr. Ciszek's memoirs we have a unique situation, where the memoirist corrects himself and produces two different narratives, with a "gap" between the two. This probably reflects a general tendency in memoirs as a historical source. Each memoirist probably has several alternative interpretations of the very same episode in his or her life.

More often, however, we encounter the situation where the correction comes not from the memoirist, but from other documents. Such is the case in the autobiographical novel, *Descent into Darkness,*[15] by Oleg Volkov (1900–96),[16] which is analyzed in the paper by Liudmila Alieva and Artem Verle (Pskov State University, Pskov Russia).[17] Volkov, who was incarcerated for a total of twenty-seven years, describes his encounters with Catholic priests in prisons and labor camps. In this case there is a clear gap between his account and historical reality: Volkov's portrayal of Catholic priests deviates from their real biographies, which are known to us from other documents. But it is entirely possible that Volkov would have rewritten his account, had he done a second version, as was with the case of Fr. Ciszek.

This raises a serious question for researchers: which interpretation better reflects the actual events in the biography of the memoirist? And to what degree can one draw upon memoirs for concrete facts?

In the case of epistolary sources, which were examined in a separate panel, one can draw the general conclusion that this type of document is also quite subjective, but may well contain more reliable information than do memoirs. After all, the facts presented here are not distorted by the caprice of memory or by a later reassessment of events and their perception (as was shown in the paper by Stefan Lipke).

The epistolary genre represents an enormous mass of documents, which are preserved not only in state and institutional repositories, but also in private archives. That of course makes it more difficult to identify and gain access to them. Nevertheless, on the basis of those collected and presented in the reports by the panelists, one can create a preliminary classification of these sources.

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15. Oleg Volkov, *Pogruzhenie vo t'mu: iz perezhitogo* (Paris, 1987; Moscow, 1989 and many later reprints).

16. For a record based on the police file, see the entry in "Bessmertnyi barak": https://bessmertnybarak.ru/volkov_oleg_vasilevich/ (accessed 29.6.2020).

17. Liudmila Alieva and Artem Verle, "'Upovat' im ne na kogo': katoliki glazami sovetskogo politzakliuchennogo (vokrug avtobiograficheskogo romana Olega Volkova, *Pogruzhenie vo t'mu)*."

Thus the paper by Viktoras Bilotas and Kęstutis Žemaitis (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas Lithuania) examines the appeals from Catholic priests, deported to eastern Russia, to their superiors (and also former superiors relocated outside Soviet Russia).[18] The appeals contain complaints about the clergy's onerous conditions in this region in the early 1930s, along with requests that they be transferred to positions outside Russia. The very tone of the letters makes it clear that these people are physically broken and that they deem further work in this country as meaningless.

The paper by Dmitriy Panto (Museum of the Second World War, Gdańsk Poland) also addressed the problem of the harsh conditions in Siberia, the shortage of priests for this enormous territory, the long trips to remote areas, and the persecution by local authorities. The paper also provides a full overview of the relevant sources, which include letters, memoirs, diaries, and autobiographies (preserved in Polish archives and available for research on the internal life of Catholic parishes in Siberia). Panto traces the history of the administrative division of Catholic dioceses in Siberia during the period of Soviet rule.

A quite different category of letters is the focus of a paper by Evgenia Tokareva and Ivan Fadeev (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow). They examine the official and semi-official correspondence of Edmund A. Walsh, who was stationed in Russia in 1922–23 as the general director of the Papal Mission for Aid to Russia. Walsh did not experience those difficulties that were encountered by parish priests, for he enjoyed diplomatic immunity as the Vatican's official representative in Russia. He traveled around to the sites of the Mission's assistance (Moscow, Rostov-on-Don, Krasnodar [formerly Ekaterinodar], Crimea, and Orenburg), but also visited such cities as Petrograd and Novorossiisk (which handled the delivery of food and clothing). These trips enabled Walsh to observe conditions in Russia, and he also obtained information about the life of Catholic parishes from conversations with priests and from their letters. Walsh served as the eyes and ears of the Vatican, had the sober view of an outside observer, and—thanks to his direct ties to the Holy See—could provide the Vatican with a realistic picture of what was happening.

The paper by Anna Vishivaniuk (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) examines a different category of letters: the correspondence of

18. Viktoras Bilotas and Kęstutis Žemaitis, "Peremeny v zhizni katolikov aziatskoi chasti SSSR 1920-kh godov glazami ikh pastyrei: korrespondentsiia sviashchennikov I. Vilkasa, F. Pashkevicha, I. Senvaitisa."

the head of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptitskii (1865–1944) with subordinate bishops and priests, as well as a number of Vatican prelates.[19] The paper focuses on one segment of this correspondence: the union of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Because Metropolitan Sheptitskii was outside the Soviet Union for much of this period (except for a short period in 1939–41), his correspondence was subject neither to censorship nor to interdiction, and hence he could freely express his ideas and thoughts. However, one can raise questions about how well he was informed about the real condition of Greek-Catholic parishes located within the territory of the Soviet Union.

Edmund Iarmusik (Yanka Kupala Grodno State University, Grodno Belarus) provides an analysis of another type of letter: appeals and complaints by believers who filed protests to central authorities (with rare exceptions) about the closing of their church. Such protests represent a significant phenomenon after the conclusion of World War II. Indeed, such letters took on a mass character not only in Belarus, but in other parts of the Soviet Union, and constitute whole volumes in the archives. These letters provide information not only about the condition of the church building and number of parishioners, but also about the level of activity of laity in this or that region, about the shortage of priests, about the latter's role in the protest movement, and much else. Historians have previously discussed this category of source, but much research remains be done.[20]

Panelists on a third panel examined the research conducted to collect oral history and the materials of ethnographic expeditions. All the papers examined materials from Polish Catholics in Ukraine (Dmitrii Naumov of Belarus State Economic University and Konstantin Savitskii of National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow),[21] Belarus

19. Anna Vishivaniuk, "Otnosheniia glavy Ukrainskoi Greko-Katolicheskoi Tserkvi mitropolita Andreia Sheptitskogo s pravoslavnymi v 1920–1940 gg. (iz korrespondentsii mitr. A. Sheptitskogo)."

20. Andrei Savin, "Pis'ma vo vlast' kak spetsificheskaia forma politicheskoi adaptatsii sovetskikh grazhdan v 1930-e gody," *Vestnik Novosibirskogo gosudarstennogo universiteta,* seriia: istoriia i filologiia, 15 (2016), no. 8: 133–45; Andrei Savin and Viktor Denninghaus, "Pis'ma vo vlast' kak modus religioznogo dissidentstva v brezhnevskuiu epokhu," *Rossiia,* 21 (2017), no. 16: 118–41; Nadezhda Beliakova, "'Soobshchaem o prestuplenii protiv pravosudiia...': obrashcheniia i zhaloby veruiushchikh v brezhnevskom SSSR," *Noveishaia istoriia Rossii,* 8 (2018), no. 3: 640–58: Nadezhda Beliakova, "Sovetskie po stiliu, religioznye po soderzhaniiu. Pis'ma veruiushchikh vo vlast' v period pozdnego sotsializma," *Rossiiskaia istoriia,* 2019, no. 1: 207–14.

21. Dmitrii Naumov and Konstantin Savitskii, "Viktimizatsiia poliakov-katolikov na Zapadnoi Ukraine: faktory, formy i posledstviia (1939-konets 1950-kh gg."

(Stanislav Cherepko, Francysk Skaryna Gomel State University, Gomel Poland),[22] and Kazakhstan (Sergei Kostomarov, LTD Arkheologicheskaia ekspertiza, Almaty Kazakhstan).[23] All the papers reproduce the narrative of respondents about the victimhood of their group and their suffering in Soviet times; they also demonstrate that oral history and the prospects for their use have only begun to attract the attention of historians of religion.

A fourth panel considered the regional patterns in the everyday religious life of Catholics in the USSR. The paper by Dmitriy Panto, cited above, examined tendencies in the development of religious life among the Catholics in Siberia, who had been exiled and deported to this vast territory and found themselves outside the pale of legality. The apostolic vicarate of Siberia was the largest administrative unit in Soviet Russia; created by Pope Benedict XV on 1 December 1921, it was directly subordinate to the Vatican Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

The paper by Professor Nataliia Potapova (Sakhalin State University, Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk Russia) examines the Catholic Church on Sakhalin in the 1920s–40s, which found itself in the zone of political interests of Soviet Russia and Japan.[24] The paper uses the memoirs of three priests (Agnelius Kovarzh, Gustav Stysiak, and Chikokhid Nagasaki) to reconstruct the internal life of the Catholic community here. The paper pays close attention to the missionary discourse about the religious life of the indigenous peoples, the uniqueness of the locale, and diversity in the conversion of aborigines, Japanese garrisons, and Russian settlers to Catholicism. The religious life of the island remained under the strong influence external authorities: in the Russian part of northern Sakhalin the organized religious life ceased in 1925 when the local administration closed the church, but in the Japanese part it continued and even became more animated because of migration processes. The paper by Ksenia Rodionova (Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok Russia) examines sources on everyday religious life in Manchuria.[25] The Catholic structure there arose in connection with the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway; since Polish priests prevailed during the construction here, the rich base of sources is to be found in Polish archives.

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22. Stanislav Cherepko, " 'Chtoby my nichego ne znali...': zhizn' katolicheskogo naseleniia Gomel'shchiny v sovetskii period po materialam sovremennikov."

23. Sergei Kostomarov, "Povsednevniaia zhizn' katolikov, prozhivavshikh na territorii Iuga i Iugo-vostochnoi chasti Kazakhstana v 1920–1950 gg."

24. Nataliia Potapova, "Katolichestvo na Sakhaline v 1920–1940-kh godakh: mezhdu voinoi i mirom."

25. Ksenia Rodionova, "Russkaia katolicheskaia tserkov' v Man'chzhur'ii: istochniki v pol'skikh arkhivakh."

If Siberia and Sakhalin suffered from an acute shortage of priests in the interwar period, the problem was still worse for the Catholic community in the Russian south. The paper by Alla Shadrina (Southern Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Rostov-on-Don Russia) examines the intense activity of the laity that resulted from the complete absence of a Catholic clergy.[26] The paper draws on ego-documents of lay representatives that were compiled in a registration file from 1944–52 for the Catholic community at the Church of the Last Supper. The key figure was Rozaliia Ivanovna Dzeima: listed as the church elder in the documents, she had become the unofficial center of the community, the initiator of attempts to register the church, someone actively seeking to find a priest for the community, and the author of the epistolary protest against the decision of city authorities to close the church.

The conference papers also demonstrated that Catholic communities in various regions had very different chronologies. Thus Dmitriy Panto pointed out that the history of Catholics in Siberia consists of two very distinct phases: the first (1921–38), marked by the apostolic vicarate until the devastation wrought by the Great Terror, followed by a second phase, characterized by the deportation of Polish Catholics in several waves. By contrast, Sergei Kostomarov's paper demonstrates that the periodization for Catholics deported to southern Kazakhstan only began in the late 1930s. As several papers show, the expansion in the geographical dispersion of Catholics across the territory of the USSR included Siberia, Far East, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan.

Microhistory, as presented in the papers by Nataliia Potapova, Alla Shadrina, and Tat'iana Nedzeliuk (Siberian Institute of Management, Branch of RANKhiGS),[27] focuses on particular parishes and travels. This research nonetheless reveals global tendencies in the unique patterns of various regions, such as Eastern Urals and Western Siberia, Manchuria, the Far East, and Rostov-on-Don province. That suggests the need to consider framing these individual case studies within the broader concept of globalization—that is, transnational dynamics that shaped the contours of what appears to be unique patterns.

Several papers, and the discussions as well, raised the question of a transformation of religious practice under extreme conditions—in prisons

26. Alla Shadrina, "Katoliki g. Rostova-na-Donu v 1944–1952 gg: neravnaq bor'ba za sushchestvovanie i ee iskhod."

27. Tat'iana Nedzeliuk, "Trudarmiia v vospominaniiakh sibirskikh nemtsev-katolikov."

and labor camps, given the complete absence of the material objects required for the sacraments. In particular, it was pointed out that performing mass in the evening was a natural adaptation of liturgical practice to the Soviet system of "an uninterrupted work week," which eliminated Sunday as a day off (Waldemar Rezmer). The conference also gave due attention to the "feminization" of religion, which had its special characteristics in the Soviet Union as a result of the repression of confessional organizations. Significantly, a number of historians have described the activity of "Eucharist women," especially in communities established under conditions of exile and penal settlements. The Eucharist women received the hagia from priests (who indeed were few in number) and administered communion to the laity in their isolated community. They also baptized newborn infants, as shown in papers by Iuliia Shapoval (Lev Gumilev Eurasian National University, Nur-Sultan Kazakhstan)[28] and Tat'iana Nedzeliuk. This practice came to be firmly rooted: arising initially in the 1930s, it persisted in the postwar period, as reports of oral history attest.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Catholics were mainly representatives of national minorities. Whereas Professor Katrin Boeckh and Emília Hrabovec have concentrated their research on the history of German Catholics,[29] the conference focused instead on sources about the life of Polish, Lithuanian, and (to a lesser degree Ukrainian) Catholics. Many papers drew on materials collected in oral history projects involving post-Soviet space, and especially the ethnographic materials collected in studies of minorities. The research supports the thesis that, under conditions of radical changes in everyday life, Catholicism became the core of their identity. Iuliia Shapoval came to the conclusion that, in the narratives of deported Poles, Catholicism emerged as an important strategy to ensure the survival and preservation of their ethnic identity. Under conditions prevailing in the Soviet period, when religious institutions were weakened or altogether destroyed, religion was preserved by the family, everyday religious practice, and individual religiosity (Dmitrii Naumov, Konstantin Savitskii, and Sergei Kostomarov). In the postwar period, however, a new tendency emerged: the Catholic church moved beyond the boundaries of the traditional community of national minorities. The paper by Stanislav Cherepko, based on a study of the gradual "Belorussification" of a church in Gomel province, cast light on this significant new development. The

28. Iuliia Shapoval, "Rol' katolitsizma v sokhranenii etnicheskoi identichnosti deportirovannykh poliakov."

29. See: Konfessionelle Netzwerke der Deutschen in Russland 1922–1941. Quellen-Datenbank. https://konnetz.ios-regensburg.de/about.php (accessed 29.06.2020).

process of the indigenization of the Catholic church in the new territories is in need of further research.

Still another important question is the significance of the Eastern rite and the "Easterners" in the history of the Catholic Church in the Soviet Union. The paper by Anna Vishivaniuk, which examined the letters of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptitskii, elicited much interest among participants. The discussion made clear that we now need a more detailed study of the relations prevailing among various traditions within the Soviet Catholic community.

The conference also raised questions about the formation of historical memory, in particular, the experience of persecution. Tat'iana Nedzeliuk, for example, examined the problem of the stigmatization of German Catholics, who found themselves during World War II and in the postwar period as "conscripts in a labor army." Her paper draws on interviews conducted in 1993–94 and shows that preservation of the faith was one of the strategies for individual and collective survival that was employed by the stigmatized collective of the "labor army." The idea of victimization also figured in the research of Konstantin Savitskii and Dmitrii Naumov, who explored how Polish Catholics in postwar Ukraine represented themselves as a victimized group.

The use of personal documents makes it possible to explore the possibilities for the history of emotions, especially for a specifically closed group like members of the Catholic clergy. In the documents newly made available to scholars one can hear the voices of horror and despair during the civil war; one can hear too what the narratives of Catholic clergy have to say about the Soviet bureaucracy and the religious life of the local population. All this is of great value to researchers who seek to fill so important gap as the history of the everyday religious life of Catholic men.

The conference, together with the initial results of the project "Entangled Histories: Russia and the Holy See, 1917–1958," show the rich prospects of what can be gained by the search for new sources on the religious history of Soviet Russia. Without question, these new sources provide a valuable alternative to those that emanate from the regime and that have hitherto prevailed. Much of this documentation is held in archives outside Russia. Research in these repositories (whether institutional or private) will no doubt yield a wealth of communications between believers in the USSR and religious centers (not only Catholic) located outside the country.

Book Reviews

Medieval

Clerical Households in Late Medieval Italy. By Roisin Cossar. [I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press. 2017. Pp. vi, 232. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-674-97189-9.)

Eleventh-century church reformers such as Peter Damian strongly condemned those members of the clergy who were living with women, and they called upon these men to return to what they argued was the early church tradition of strict celibacy. Reformers considered such a practice, called concubinage or clerical marriage (nicolaitism) by some, a source of contamination and corruption of the Church. For scholars of medieval religion, the extent to which the average member of the clergy was actually living up to these normative prescriptions is a fascinating but vexed historical problem. Nothing less than meticulous research in state and ecclesiastical archives can reveal the actual "lived experience" of the clergy. This is precisely what Roisin Cossar has done in her skillfully crafted, exhaustively researched, and lucidly written book on clerical households. Her findings are many. In this regional case study focused on northern Italy, she demonstrates persuasively that it was common for many clerics in the late fourteenth-century Veneto (including Venice) and Lombardy to live in households with female companions and their children. They did so in a variety of household structures that were shaped pragmatically by the specific needs of those living in them. Assuming a "hybrid status" (p. 3) between lay and ecclesiastical spheres, clerics established households that resembled those of their lay counterparts. However, there were some differences between them in terms of "their composition and their material culture" (p. 3). In addition, the author reports, the nature and structure of Venetian clerical households did not differ significantly from those on the mainland. In the Veneto and Lombardy alike notaries and their clerical clients often intentionally hid or veiled the true identities of their female companions to avoid sanctions from ecclesiastical superiors and to protect the honor of these women from taint and embarrassment.

The author follows a very clear and well organized structure. The book consists of two parts, framed by an introduction and a conclusion. The first

part focuses on the sources; the second on the clerical *familia*. In all, there are five chapters. In the introduction, we learn that a primary aim of the study is "to compare and contrast the ecclesiastical ideals about clerics' domestic arrangements with the lived experience of clerical household and family life" (pp. 2–3). Chapters 1 and 2 (Part I) explore the available primary sources (testaments, inventories, and episcopal visitation records) and discuss how to interpret them. Historians should not see the archival record as a "transparent window" (p. 7), argues the author, as the sources did not represent literal representations of clerical households. Rather, Cossar proposes, they constituted the products of conversations and negotiations between clerics and notaries "that shaped how information about those clients appears in the archive" (p. 21). Chapter 2 stands alone as an excellent and critical introduction to the testament as a historical source. Chapter 3, which begins Part 2, describes the heterogeneous and patriarchal nature of clerical households. It examines how portrayals of clerical households in the sources did not often reflect actual lived experience. For example, we often encounter "naming constructs" (p. 70), euphemisms or code words, to describe female companions and offspring.

Chapter 4 focuses attention on female companions and the variety of different names used to describe them. Notaries and their clients manipulated language to hide reality, protect household members from the scrutiny of ecclesiastical superiors, and pass on property to heirs. Material culture is the focus on Chapter 5. Although there were many striking similarities between "clerical and lay living arrangements" (p. 136), there were also noteworthy differences. Whereas lay and clerical households shared many possessions in common (beds, kitchen utensils, clothing), there were also apparent differences. For example, it was far less likely to find written texts and vestments in a lay household and even less likely to find weapons among the clergy. Indeed, as restated in the conclusion, the clergy in this part of Italy assumed a "special hybrid status between ecclesiastical and lay culture" (p. 160). Perhaps partly for this reason, as noted suggestively in the introduction, clerical households were "not the cause of difficulties for the late medieval church but rather its salvation" (p. 6).

Saint Michael's College (Vermont) George Dameron

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700) [Refo500 Academic Studies, 35.1–3]. Edited by Wim François and Violet Soen. 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage, 2018. Pp. 423, 412, and 315. Each volume €79.99; all three €250.00. Open electronic access. ISBN 978-3-525-55245-2.)

To commemorate the closing of the Council of Trent, the Catholic University of Leuven, in collaboration with the Europäische Melanchthon Akademie in Bretten and the Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose in Bologna, sponsored an international conference entitled "The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)." It was held in Leuven precisely on the 450th anniversary of the council's final, two-day session, on December 4–6, 1563, and was organized by Wim François of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies and by Violet Soen of the Faculty of Arts. The contributions from that conference published in its proceedings number forty-four. They are distributed among three volumes: Volume I: *Between Trent, Rome, and Wittenberg* contains sixteen papers; Volume II: *Between Bishops and Princes* also has sixteen; and Volume III: *Between Artists and Adventurers* has twelve. Most of the papers are in English, but several are in French and German. Their authors come from Australia, Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Croatia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, the Ukraine, and the United States of America. They are serious works of scholarship that provide new understandings, questioning and modifying old orthodoxies. The emphasis of these studies is not on what happened at the council, but on its aftermath: how its conciliar decrees were interpreted and implemented, the tensions between efforts to centralize and provide uniformity throughout the Catholic world and counter movements to adapt to local conditions. What roles the Congregation of the Council, local bishops, and civil rulers played in the implementation of the decrees is explored. The council's influence on artistic representations of religious subjects and sacred music are investigated through an examination of treatises and individual works of art and music. True to its title, these topics are treated not only in a European context, but also in the Spanish and Portuguese missionary lands, ranging from Peru to Ethiopia and Japan.

The first volume is introduced by the editors, who survey the themes of the forty-four papers published in the collection. A magisterial overview of the historical context in which the council met is provided by the late Robert Bireley, who shows how the Catholic Church tried to adapt to the

demands of urban laity for a deeper spirituality, to the individualism of the Renaissance, to the growing power of centralizing states, to the European expansion with its missionary activity, and to the calls for institutional and doctrinal reforms. His fellow Jesuit and pre-eminent conciliar historian John W. O'Malley produced two essays for this volume. The first distinguished what the council actually did from what it did not do. Far from providing a comprehensive program of reform, the council concentrated on the office of bishop, requiring him to reside in his diocese, preach, and provide pastoral care by visitations, synods, and the proper training of his clergy. Not treated by the council were such topics as the missions, inquisition, schools, a reform of the Roman Curia, and the role of the papacy. Among the myths he debunks are the council's imposition of monochromatic reforms, its program of disciplining the laity, and its restraining artistic expression. While not intending to increase the power of the papacy, it nonetheless did so by allowing the pope to become the sole interpreter of its decrees. O'Malley's second essay compares the membership, organization, functioning, and goals of the Council of Trent to that of Vatican Council II. The essay by Günther Wassilowky deals also with the issue of the false images of Trent, the openness of Trent, and the more rigid later phenomena of Tridentinism, Baroque Catholicism, and Catholic confessional culture that nonetheless expressed itself in various ways. Two contributions treat Trent's influence on the Vulgate (Jan Driedo's defense of the Vulgate and Louvain theologians' efforts to correct it: Wim François and Antonio Gerace) and vernacular Bible reading (the background to and the prescription of Trent leaving it to local authorities to decide: Els Agten and Wim François). The liturgical books produced after Trent reflecting Roman rather than Tridentine sacramental teachings (Joris Geldhof), the theology behind the Roman ritual's prescriptions for the sacrament of Penance (Vasyl Popelyastyy), and the papal recognition of the cult of the national saints in Iberia (Antoine Mazurek) are here explored. Three studies survey the attitudes of leading Protestants toward Trent: Emidio Campi on the magisterial reformers (Martin Luther, Martin Chemnitz, Ulrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and John Calvin), Günter Frank on Philipp Melanchthon, and Gerald MacDonald on Chemnitz. Girolamo Seripando's relationship with the Italian *Spirituali* is explored by Camilla Russell. How the papacy sought to control the legacy of Trent by its censorship of printed books (Paolo Sachet) and its assigning to the Sacred Congregation of the Council the role of the sole interpreter of Trent's decrees (Federica Meloni) bring volume one to a close, except for O'Malley's Epilogue.

Volume II concentrates on Trent's influence on bishops and princes. Nicole Lemaitre surveys how earlier reformers and Trent envisioned the

ideal pastoral activity of bishops. How particular bishops carried out their tasks is studied by José J. García Hourcade for Cartagena in Spain, Morgane Belin for Namur, Tanja Trška for Ragusa, and Tomáš Parma for Moravia. Christian Wiesner shows how the Sacred Congregation of the Council enforced episcopal residency, while Heinz Finger traces how bishops implemented the training of secular clergy in seminaries. The impact of Trent on women's congregations engaged in active ministry in Italy is treated by Quericolo Mazzonis who examines the efforts of bishops to encourage and control them. How bishops chosen from the ranks of the Theatine Order fared between Giampietro Carafa's inquisition and Carlo Borromeo's diocesan reforms is studied by Andrea Vanni. How civil rulers dealt with the reforms of Trent is treated in a series of articles. Ignasi Fernández Terricabras shows how absolute monarchs were reluctant to yield their authority over the Church, resulting in much juridical contention and local adaptations of Tridentine decrees. Resistance to the prescriptions of Trent helped to fuel the beginnings of the Dutch Revolt, as traced by Violet Soen. The efforts by the Duke of Alba in 1567 to 1573 to suppress heretical books and install Tridentine bishops in the Low Countries were motivated, according to Gustaaf Janssens, by reasons of state and personal religious devotion. The political appointment of the nobleman Giannettino Doria as archbishop (1608-42) produced nonetheless a serious reform in the diocese of Palermo. In France, as studied by Irène Plasman-Lebrune, the kings resisted the appointment of foreigners to church office for fear they would be absent prelates who neglected their duty to provide pastoral care. According to Philippe Denis, Edmond Richer avoided questioning the decrees of Trent in his efforts to reaffirm a conciliarist ecclesiology. Tom Hamilton shows how the Gallicanist Jacques Gillot used the correspondence between the French monarchy and its ambassadors at Trent to demonstrate how the council failed to reform the Church, while the implementation of Trent's decrees in France would damage the liberties of the French Church.

Volume III is devoted to artistic expression and global Catholicism. The question of sacred images is the subject of five articles. Pierre-Antoine Fabre traces the evolution of Diego Laínez's theories on sacred images from the debates with Theodore Beza at the conference of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1561–62) to the formulation of the conciliar decree on images at Trent (1563). Walter S. Melion shows Jesuit concern to have images accurately reflect biblical descriptions in the illustrations for Jerónimo Nadal's *Annoationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1595). As a result of Trent, according to the study of Soetkin Vanhauwaert, bishops in the Low Countries seem to have required the insertion of a relic of Saint John the Baptist

into a sculptured representation of his decapitated head in order to make it a proper object for veneration. Ellénita de Mol studies three different Flemish post-Tridentine representations of Mary to show how a traditional depiction of her could continue while other images concentrated on her relationship to Christ's redemptive work. Sanja Cvetnic shows how throughout the region of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia following the Council of Trent sacred images had a sensuous quality. The influence of Trent on sacred music was minimal, according to Xavier Bisaro, because it prohibited only impure or lascivious music and repeated the decree of the Council of Basel on the proper singing of the psalms. Trent said nothing about polyphony. Marianne C. E. Gillion's study of Italian books of chant published after Trent indicates that the newly composed graduals were distinguished by their brevity and comprehensibility. The section of global Catholicism is introduced with an essay by Simon Ditchfield, who argues that Trent influenced not only European Catholicism, but also the mission territories of the Portugal and Spain, becoming a global religion that adapted to local cultures in its practice of the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, the Eucharist, and marriage. Hélène Vu Thanh studies the pastoral strategies of the first and last early modern Jesuit bishop in Japan, Luís Cerqueira who applied the decrees of Trent by emphasizing the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, yet adapting the rituals surrounding marriage to fit into local Buddhist traditions. Haruko Nawata Ward studies how the Jesuits translated the lives and martyrdoms of Catholic saints into Japanese, building on their tradition of honoring holy persons, while avoiding any practice of idolatry. The account of Saint Catherine of Alexandria depicts her opposing the evil emperor (Toyotomi Hideyoshi implied) and being appointed by Christ to be a spiritual teacher (woman catechists) to overturn paganism (state Buddhism)—Catherine becoming the model of the Japanese women catechist who helped convert and prepared people for Baptism, enduring torture, exile, and martyrdom for their labors. These catechists were unlike the nuns ordered cloistered by Trent or women confined to subservient domestic roles by Confucian society, but were egalitarian women active in the ministry. Leonard Cohen's essay on the failure of the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia points to Patriarch Alfonso Mendes's efforts to enforce Trent's prohibitions on fornication, clandestine marriage, divorce, and polygamy as stirring much opposition to Roman Catholicism. His prohibitions on other traditional religious practices, not in harmony with those in Europe, also caused problems. S. Elizabeth Penry studies how the decrees of Trent entered into arguments between clergy and natives in the Viceroyalty of Peru regarding images, chapels, and confraternities. While the brothers Pedro and Diego Chiri in around 1616 followed all the prescriptions of the Church in setting up their confrater-

nity with its chapel and statue of Santa Barbara, the local priest refused to offer services there, claiming that the statue of Santa Barbara was a subterfuge for an Andean ancient goddess and confiscating the liturgical vestments and vessels. The case went to the tribunal of the Archbishop of La Plata, which sided with the brothers. Eventually the chapel was raised to the status of a parish and given its own pastor who provided the sacraments to the local inhabitants.

The great historian of the Council of Trent, Hubert Jedin (1900–78), planned to complete his monumental study by writing a fifth volume on the implementation of the council. Death overtook the project and as this collection of over forty studies suggests it would have taken at least another lifetime to complete it. Indeed, many more studies need to be done along the lines of those here reviewed in order to get a proper picture of how the decrees of Trent were interpreted and implemented on the local level around the world over the centuries. In many ways the task has just begun, and this collection provides an excellent model as to how it should be carried out.

The Catholic University of America NELSON H. MINNICH

MODERN EUROPEAN

Decoding the Stars: A Biography of Angelo Secchi, Jesuit and Scientist. By Ileana Chinnici. (Leiden: Brill. 2019. Pp. xix, 367. €140.00 / USD $169.00. ISBN 978-90-04-38729-4.)

Ileana Chinnici's biography of Father Angelo Secchi, S.J. (1818–78), introduces English-language readers to the life and work of this pioneering astrophysicist. The book has flaws, notably its high cost and abundant typographical and editing errors. Despite these, it is an interesting and valuable work.

Such a costly book should show evidence of more attention from its publisher. A heading atop the cover reads, "Jesuit Studies—Modernity through the Prism of Jesuit History." An editor and an editorial board are listed inside, under the heading "Volume 16," but there is no series editor's foreword, and no listing of the other titles in the series. The reader is directed to Brill's Web site for more information. The forewords are by scientists: Brother Guy Consolmagno, S.J., Director of the Vatican Observatory (VO); and Nichi D'Amico, President of Italy's National Institute for Astrophysics (INAF). Chinnici is an astronomer and historian at the

INAF-Palermo Astronomical Observatory and a VO Adjunct Scholar; the VO and INAF share close connections with Secchi's work. This seems to be a book produced by astronomers, with limited support from Brill. The typographical and editing errors that result are usually mere annoyances, but some do obscure information: e.g., Chinnici seems to relay, without commentary, that Secchi's father died in 1839, and his mother remarried the previous year (p. 14).

The reader who looks beyond these problems will be treated to a fascinating story. Father Secchi was among the first to study celestial objects using the combination of a telescope to collect and focus light, and a prism to disperse that light into a rainbow "spectrum" of component colors. Through this "spectroscopy" Secchi and others began to determine, for example, the composition of stars. Secchi discovered in the spectra of stars and the sun the color signature of Hydrogen. Today astronomers understand that all stars are composed primarily of this simple element; its overwhelming abundance in the universe is considered strong support for the "Big Bang" theory of the origin of the universe. Chinnici shows how Secchi also contributed to studies of weather and oceans, and worked to improve the lighthouse system and map-making of the Papal States.

The Papal States themselves were one of several substantial obstacles that hindered Secchi's work, according to Chinnici's portrayal. Secchi wanted to help modernize the Papal States but was confronted with ineptitude, limited resources, and political chaos. Still, he accomplished much with little. Visiting the Paris Observatory, he imagined what his observatory at the Collegio Romano, built atop Rome's church of St. Ignatius, could do with "a thousandth" of their resources (p. 114). One of his meteorological instruments won the "Grand Prix" at the 1867 Paris Exposition. That reflected well on the Papal States, but he found that the other materials they provided to the exposition were embarrassingly poor. After Rome was taken by the Kingdom of Italy in 1870, Secchi struggled to keep his observatory running. The Italian government could not manage the observatories it had. Italy's leading astronomer being an obedient Jesuit, who pledged no support to the government, was politically inconvenient for it and for some in the scientific community. But Secchi being determined to remain part of that community made him distasteful to some in Italian Catholic circles: a petition was made to the First Vatican Council that his observatory with its "evil machines" be exorcised to purge it of any "Satanic influence" (p. 265).

But, as Chinnici shows, Secchi's second substantial obstacle was Angelo Secchi. He got into quarrels. He sulked. He rejected a colleague's

apology, telling him he was like Pontius Pilate (p. 157). And, for a man with a vow of poverty, he was very possessive of his observatory (p. 253). He was not an unsympathetic character; he endured much. But he could have endured less.

Secchi's last substantial obstacle was European astronomy, which was not oriented toward the astrophysics that he pursued. Chinnici's concluding chapter is melancholy—a discussion of how, after Secchi's death, European astronomers did not follow the path he blazed, but refocused on traditional astronomy, pursuing a vast international photographic sky-mapping project. Astronomers in the United States pursued astrophysics, becoming leaders in the field, while Italian astrophysics stagnated, and Secchi was forgotten. Chinnici closes with a sorrowful poem by Arseny Tarkovsky about Secchi parting in death from his dear observatory, going "down the decrepit steps to nothingness, to dust, to the last judgement," while birds take over his telescope.

It is a satisfying ending, but a misleading one. *Decoding the Stars* illustrates what Secchi accomplished despite the many challenges he faced. He served his pope and his church well. A decade after Secchi's death Pope Leo XIII would establish the Vatican Observatory, with the intent of continuing to illustrate that which Angelo Secchi always illustrated: the Church's support for science. Secchi built the foundations of the science of astrophysics, which would be the future of astronomy. He also produced much work to educate the layperson about science. Despite his tendency toward quarrels, he maintained relationships, notably with his family and the astronomer Pietro Tacchini. Tacchini was no like-minded friend; he was an anticlerical playboy, as Chinnici tells it (p. 228). Her portrayal of these two scientists working well together regardless of their many differences is one of the highlights of the book.

Other highlights include Chinnici's extensive use of Secchi's own words (translated, but with the Italian always provided in footnotes), abundant illustrations (although some need further enhancement or editing), and a good index (needed for keeping track of the many characters who come and go). The material in *Decoding the Stars* always seems relevant—the reader never wonders why this or that was included. The hardbound book seems well constructed. Ileana Chinnici has produced an interesting and valuable re-introduction of an important figure in the histories of both science and the Church.

Vatican Observatory CHRISTOPHER M. GRANEY

Notes and Comments

Association News

The American Catholic Historical Association has issued a Statement on Racism and Complicity, condemning racism and supporting non-violent protest in the face of the brutal killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and too many other African Americans. As a scholarly association, it calls on its members to provide the resources that we need to learn, educate, and reflect on historic Catholic complicity in service of the present and the future. Please look to the ACHA website (achahistory.org) and social media (@achahistory) for more information.

ACHA Statement on Racism and Complicity

As a scholarly association dedicated to promoting a deep and widespread knowledge of the history of the Catholic Church broadly considered, the American Catholic Historical Association reaffirms our condemnation of racism, and acknowledges the Catholic Church's troubled history of complicity in white supremacy as a participant in imperial projects in the Americas, and the United States specifically. We recognize Catholic pasts of slave holding, segregation, and policing, among other parts of this history. The ACHA further recognizes the importance of non-violent protest to a democratic society and the long history of Catholic participation in it, and celebrates the centrality of witness to the Catholic tradition. While each of these has been the subject of crucial study by scholars of Catholicism, we recognize that the work of history is ongoing, and calls us to reflect, to engage in work of companionship, solidarity, and discernment, and to seek wisdom in how to talk with one another about difficult issues tearing at our nation. We honor knowledge produced within the Black community and other marginalized communities, and seek to center it across this work.

Our corollary mission is the advancement of historical scholarship through the support of our diverse membership. This means providing the resources that we need to learn, educate, and reflect on the past in service of the present and the future. To that end, we invite all ACHA members who are able and interested to share resources that illuminate racial vio-

lence and expropriation from the perspective of Catholic history, along with the voices and experiences of Black Catholics that have often been omitted from narratives of the Catholic past.

The Executive Committee therefore solicits the membership to think about recommended books or articles, primary source documents or texts from your research, or links to a recorded talk or oral history. Please share those resources and your reflections on them with us via social media with the hashtag #achahistory and tag @achahistory. We will repost them for the education and edification of our membership through ACHA accounts as well as gathering this material on a newly created section of the website. The ACHA signs onto AHA message on racism and police brutality: The Executive Committee voted unanimously to sign the American Historical Association's June 4 statement "urging a reckoning with the United States' deplorable record of violence against African Americans."

The AHA statement opens:

> Everything has a history, including our nation's deplorable record of violence against African Americans, committed either outside the law or in the name of law enforcement itself. George Floyd's death at the hands of Minneapolis police officers cannot be understood in isolation, as a tragic moment detached from a familiar narrative of "who we as Americans really are." What happened to George Floyd stands well within our national tradition.

Fifty-seven other scholarly societies to date have co-signed the statement.

FROM THE EDITOR

Due to a lack of staffing, the journal is once again unable to provide the usual section on Periodical Literature and has a drastically reduced number of Book Reviews.

The Winter issue of the *Catholic Historical Review* experienced in three places the deletion of material due to a last-minute technical "quark" caused by transposing double hyphens into dashes. These deletions of text were not detected in the blue-line phase of production, for which the editor is sorry. The three missing texts are:

On page 26: [also to the] Catholic-ness of the Osage and other tribes living in relation to the United States—and amid the world-shaking problems created by that relationship—moves us beyond a U.S. framework for assessing Catholicism as a religion that matters in, and in relation to, communities.

On page 76, footnote 80 [it impossible to] create female cardinals is discussed by Wolf, *Krypta*, 57–59.

On page 135 a separate error occurred: the institutional affiliation of Robert Curley should be Universidad de Guadalajara, not Arizona State University (Emerita).

On page 155 [readers and admirers.]

Arizona State University (Emerita) ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

CAUSES OF THE SAINTS

On May 27, 2020 Pope Francis authorized the publication of a decree recognizing the miracles and/or martyrdom of twelve candidates for canonization. An additional miracle paving the way to sainthood was recognized for three blesseds: César de Bus (1544–1607), the founder of the Secular Priests of Christian Doctrine and of the Daughters of Christian Doctrine, both groups dedicated to preaching Christan Doctrine; Charles Eugéne de Foucauld (1858–1916), the former officer in the French army who briefly became a Trappist (1890–97), was ordained in 1901, then left to work among the Berbers of Algeria when he was assassinated in his hermitage in 1916, and whose ideas led to the founding of the Little Brothers of Jesus; and Maria Domenica Mantovina (1862–1934), the co-founder with Father. Giuseppe Nascimbeni of the Little Sisters of the Holy Family dedicated to teaching youth and assisting the sick and elderly.

The approval of a miracle has led two candidates to move from venerable to blessed. The 2015 miraculous healing of a life-threatening condition of an infant in utero has advanced the cause of Father Michael McGivney (1852–90). Born of Irish immigrant parents in Waterford, Connecticut, he was ordained a priest in Baltimore in 1877, and ministered to an immigrant community in New Haven. Together with a group of laymen, he founded the Knights of Columbus (currently with two million members) to provide spiritual support to Catholic men and financial support to their families should they die. While helping parishioners during a pandemic, he contracted pneumonia and died two days after his thirty-eighth birthday. His beatification ceremony will be celebrated in Connecticut. The other candidate for blessed is Pauline-Marie Jaricot (1799-1862), who was born into a wealthy Lyonaisse family of silk manufacturers, took a vow of chastity in 1816, founded in 1822 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith to provide spiritual and financial support to missionaries (her brother was a missionary), and died destitute due to investing her wealth into a blast furnace comnpany

that was based on Christian social principles but whose managers were dishonest.

The pope also acknowledged that the following servants of God had died as martyrs and hence will be beatified: Cosma Spessotto Zumuner (1923–80), born Sante near Treviso in Italy, entered the Franciscan novitiate in 1939, professed in 1944, ordained in 1948, and sent to El Salvador in 1950 where he worked among the peasants and denounced the abuses of the Junta, for which he was shot to death while preparing for Mass in 1980; and six Cistercian monks from the monastery of Casamari in Lazio, Italy, who where shot or stabbed with sabres in 1799 by soldiers of Napoleon's army for trying to safeguard the Eucharist: one Italian Zosimo Maria Brambat from Milan; one Bohemian Domenik-Maria Zavřel, the novice master from Prague; and four Frenchmen: Albertin-Marie Maisonade from Bordeaux, Modeste-Marie Burgen from Bourgone, Mathurin-Marie Pitri from Fontainebleau, and Siméon Cardon from Cambrai, the prior of the monastery who had fled in 1795 to the monastery from Meaux during the French Revolution.

On June 7, 2020 Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski (1901–81) will be beatified in a ceremony in Warsaw, Poland. Born into a noble family of Masovia, he was ordained in 1924, received a doctorate in canon law from the Catholic University of Lublin, and became a seminary teacher in Włoclawek. During World War II he served as a chaplain to the resistance forces in Łaski and hid Jews. He was an opponent of both Nazism and Communism, made bishop of Lublin 1946–48 and then archbishop of Warsaw/Gniezno 1948–81 and hence primate of Poland and head of the Polish Bishops Conference. He negotiated a compromise with the Communist government in 1950 to preserve some pastoral freedom, but was imprisoned by it in 1953–56, made cardinal in 1953, and became an opponent of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik* because of the Communists' breaking of agreements. He kept the Church united during difficult times and presided in 1966 over the Millenium of Christianity in Poland celebration.

Obituary

Father John Jay Hughes
(1928–2020)

The Reverend John Jay Hughes, a priest of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis and a scholar noted especially for his writings on Anglicanism, died on June 3, 2020 at the age of 92.

Hughes was born in New York City in 1928, the son and grandson of clergy of the Episcopal Church, and a descendant of the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and Founding Father, John Jay, after whom he was named. His mother died when he was just six years old. As a boy, Hughes was a chorister of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, New York City. He graduated from Harvard University in 1948, and was subsequently ordained a priest of the Episcopal Church in 1954, after reading for holy orders at General Theological Seminary in New York.

After traveling to Europe, Hughes read for a doctorate in Theology at the University of Münster, where he was to study under Joseph Ratzinger. During this time he was received into the full communion of the Catholic Church, and in 1968 he was ordained to the sacred priesthood *sub conditione* by Bishop Joseph Hoeffner of Münster. His reception into the Catholic Church and subsequent "reordination" (as it was seen by his Anglican friends) caused an irreconcilable difference with his father, whom

he never saw again. In 1969 he successfully defended his doctoral dissertation, "Stewards of the Lord: A Reappraisal of Anglican Orders." The work was published in 1970 by Sheed and Ward.

Father Hughes's discussion of the validity of Anglican orders was to be a theme throughout his life, as was his appreciation for his Anglican upbringing. He argued that certain elements of Pope Leo XIII declaration in *Apostolicae curae,* issued in 1896, were shown to be flawed at least to the extent of suggesting a reexamination of the question in light of the responses of Anglicans to the bull. At the time of his ordination, Hughes even stated that the declaration of *Apostolicae curae* was "difficult to reconcile with modern Catholic scholarship." Yet his former teacher, now Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, went on to do precisely that as Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1998.

Hughes returned to the United States upon the completion of his doctoral work in Germany. He taught at Saint Louis University, and served in a number of parishes of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis, eventually being incardinated into its presbyterate. He served in various diocesan roles, including as a theological consultant and Vice-Chancellor, as well as Pastor of Immaculate Conception, Arnold, and Saint Alban Roe, Glencoe. Although a scholar, Hughes was known also for his profound love of the priesthood, which shaped his life and provided a context for his theological work. He wrote about this in his 2008 autobiography, published just before his retirement from active ministry, *No Ordinary Fool: A Testimony to Grace* (Mustang, OK: Tate Publishing and Enterprises).

In 2013 Hughes began publishing his homilies online. At the time of writing—a month or so after his death—his carefully prepared sermons are still appearing day after day, written and scheduled to continue on. The sermon posted the day before his death reads, "The God whom Jesus reveals is our loving heavenly Father, who enters into a personal relationship with us—a relationship of love. This love relationship cannot be terminated by death, any more than God's relationship of love with his Son was ended by Jesus' death."

The Catholic University of America JAMES BRADLEY