

CHAPTER

4

Early Modern Roman Catholic Social Thought, 1740–1890

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INTRODUCTION

This is an unsettling yet fascinating time for Roman Catholic Christians. Outstanding saints and notorious sinners lead the Catholic community. Ostensibly incompatible beliefs coexist among church authorities, intellectuals, and the faithful. Vocal Catholics incant an array of social justice imperatives; others listen with polite misgiving. More than a few Catholic scholars suffer magisterial censure; others applaud their fate. For some, the Roman Catholic Church is disjointed—"traditional" religious discipline and practices need retrieval. For others, the Church has regressed—recovery of the modernizing spirit of reform is imperative. At the same time, society seems unraveled by religious divisions, political violence, family breakdown, and economic uncertainty. There are people who view these times as an apocalyptic "clash of civilizations."

Such is life between 1740 and 1890, the period of early modern Roman Catholic social thought.¹ If the above description seems closer to our present time, then the importance of this early period for contemporary Roman Catholic social thought suggests itself. The characters are fascinating, the events and movements are gripping, and the ideas remain important.

But is it not true that 1740–1890 was an era of reactionary stasis in the Roman Catholic Church, symbolized by Pope Gregory XIV's *Mirari vos* on the errors of Félicité de Lamennais and Pope Pius IX's *Quanta cura* with its infamous *Syllabus of Errors*? Is it not true that Europe's economy was still predominantly agricultural, making the industrial working-class "social question" premature? And is it not true that while a few intellectuals and activists modestly anticipate social Catholicism during this period, substantive Roman Catholic social thought really only begins with Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum novarum*?

Actually, no. As Ann Swidler observes, human beings possess more cultural resources than they can use at one time.² Given their purposes, people select some pieces from their cultural reserve and not others. Individually and in groups, human beings combine, disassemble, retrieve, and recombine these pieces on an ongoing basis. In doing so, people shape their self-consciousness and develop what Charles Lemert calls a "native social competence."³

As a Church, Roman Catholics do the same. One example is the standard identification of modern Roman Catholic social thought. It goes like this: Roman Catholic social thought begins with Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum novarum*, focuses

primarily on economic morality, and continues down to the present through papal texts periodically commemorating Leo XIII's "originating" text. Popes have constructed this identity with a purpose, selecting and combining pieces from Roman Catholic social thought's cultural reserve. By repeating the standard identification, Catholics reinforce the pope's position as broker of Catholic social thought, *Rerum novarum* as the *Urtext*, Europe as the epicenter, and economic morality as the principal "social question."

However, modern Roman Catholic social thought is wider and deeper than the standard identification. Between 1740 and 1890, many church officials, professional authors, academics, and grassroots leaders contribute to this thought. These faithful people struggle with a vast array of social-moral problems occasioned by not only economic crises but also the religious, political, familial, and cultural tensions of their time. Without their work, *Rerum novarum* would never have appeared.

The legacy of papal teaching is not disparaged by recognizing that more social resources exist in the Catholic community than popes can use at any given time. Communities require both historically tutored and untutored memory for survival. Recognizing a wider and deeper base for Roman Catholic social thought protects the community's memory from a forgetfulness imposed by recurrent use of the tutored and standard identification. Religious communities with strong centralized authority must particularly guard against Robert Michel's "iron law of oligarchy," ensuring that the centralized identification exercises a generative, not hegemonic, power.⁴

An exciting yet traditional aspect of intellectual labor in the Roman Catholic Church is *ressourcement*—the possibility of discovering some helpful but forgotten piece of communal memory. Who could imagine, for example, that the thought of a fifth-century pope could be retrieved and used at Vatican II to advance the idea of separation of church and state and religious freedom?⁵ And given the standard identification of modern Roman Catholic social thought, who could imagine that reform-minded Catholics promoted a minimum wage,

old age insurance, child labor restriction, trade union protection, and safe workplace conditions *before* Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*?

In view of the uncanny parallels between the 1740–1890 period and the present moment, this chapter encourages reexploration of the collective Catholic memory. While doing so, however, it does not repeat the outstanding work already done by others. This includes detailed analysis of important figures such as Joseph de Maistre, Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont, Félicité de Lamennais, Philippe Buchez, Frédéric Ozanam, and Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler. Their contributions are noted, but thorough studies of these men already exist.⁶ Similarly, select papal writings are discussed, but not the full range of pre-Leonine encyclical social teaching. This work has also been done elsewhere.⁷

This chapter notes the dominant movements and figures of early modern Roman Catholic social thought but also raises up lesser-known and previously unrecognized contributors. Among these are parish homilists, Central and South American intellectuals, Catholic novelists, women activists, and European artists. These figures surface by way of not only new historical studies of the period but also by two distinct approaches taken in this chapter.⁸

I accept Michael Paul Driskel's claim that social discourse includes not only written and spoken words but also visual symbols. In his view, art and architecture participate in structuring and ordering social reality. Of course, art's greater interpretive porousness makes it a comparatively elusive carrier for social ideologies—elusive, but not impossible. Driskel's work effectively shows how art can be "a means of giving concrete, visible form to a specific religious, social and political ideology."⁹ On this basis, Roman Catholic social thought should include the social-moral insights encoded in what faithful Catholics paint, sculpt, and build.

In addition, I use ideas of James B. White to say that Roman Catholic social thought is also communicated through a self-conscious "repertoire of forms of action and of life."¹⁰ For example, an incredible number of women

join religious communities during this period. Their decision builds, among many other things, the most extensive orphanage network in Europe and America. Such forms of self-conscious action, though seldom articulated theoretically, should no longer be precluded as a form of Roman Catholic social thought.

Roman Catholic social thought between 1740 and 1890 can be divided into four periods. The first extends from the earliest modern papal encyclical (Pope Benedict XIV's 1740 *Ubi primum*) to Pope Pius VI's decisive break with the French Revolution in the 1791 encyclical *Charitas*. The second period treats Catholic social thought between *Charitas* and Europe's 1848 worker revolutions. The third period moves from the aftermath of these revolutions to the 1871 Paris Commune. Finally, the fourth period takes the discussion of Catholic social thought to the eve of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*.

Like Roman Catholic social thought as a whole, early modern thinking has great variety. This point is not new but merits reinforcement. Scholars appreciating this variety typically model it on a scale from conservative to liberal to radical ideas. This makes for a complex *ménage à trois*. Social thinkers with comparatively right and left orientations exist at each point on the scale. Regional and national diversity further complicates the picture.

More than complex, this model can be obfuscating. A Catholic political "conservative" like Villeneuve-Bargemont is "liberal" on economic reform. Ozanam, a Catholic "liberal," is "conservative" by the standards of Enlightenment liberalism. Karl Marx calls a Catholic "radical" like Buchez "retrograde."¹¹

I adopt the *ménage à trois* idea but model it differently here. The operative terms are *traditionalism*, *cosmopolitanism*, and *transformationism*. These categories signal social ideologies shaped by particular space-time coordinates. Traditionalism names an approach taken by those valuing the longstanding social customs of a particular people. Modern social changes are scrutinized with great caution. The spatial coordinate for traditionalism is typically regional and the time coordinate is long-range.

It is important to Karl Vogelsang, for example, that Catholic corporatism reflects German culture and reaches back to the Middle Ages. Cosmopolitanism represents an orientation generally sanguine over the possibilities of modernity, particularly in areas where humanity's social condition can be improved. For cosmopolitans, the spatial coordinate is global and the time coordinate is the reformer's middle range. An 1862 pastoral letter by French Bishop Felix Dupanloup, for example, condemns slavery in the United States and calls for reform based on universal human rights. As used in this study, transformationism is an orientation characterized by visionary proposals and experiments urgently seeking greater equity in social structures and processes. When Pauline-Marie Jaricot acquires a blast furnace in 1844, her immediate plan is to start a model Christian town where men and women earn a living wage, children are educated, and the sick and the aged receive care. Typical of transformationism, Jaricot's spatial coordinate starts in her immediate local surroundings. And while she is realistic about planning and building, her time frame mirrors the urgency typical of social visionaries.

Actually, traditionalism, cosmopolitanism, and transformationism are age-old Christian moral orientations. One hears Tertullian's traditionalism in his classic question, what does a *particular* community like Jerusalem have to do with a *particular* community like Athens? In Clement of Alexandria's Christ *paidagogos*, one senses the cosmopolitan voice of early Christian humanism. And in John Chrysostom's *koinonia* of shared ownership, one feels the urgent and concrete plea of a transformationist. These ancient voices echo through early modern social thought, and it is good to listen because their reverberations continue down to the present.

1740–1791

The traditionalist, cosmopolitan, and transformationist orientations of Roman Catholic social thought exist in several varieties between Pope Benedict XIV's inaugural encyclical of

1740 and Pope Pius VI's break with the French Revolution in 1791. Within traditionalism, some social thinkers take a decidedly polemic approach while others pursue a more arcadian style. Cosmopolitan thinkers also vary. Some Catholics express their social cosmopolitanism in pacifistic terms; others take characteristically republican or cultural tacks. The period also offers a specifically communal form of Catholic transformationism.

Traditionalism

The foremost Catholic polemicist of the time is Abbé Nicolas-Sylvain Bergier, royal confessor and canon of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. Bergier is an ardent reader of Rousseau, Voltaire, d'Holbach, and other Encyclopedists. Through multiple volumes and correspondence, Bergier presents meticulous arguments against his opponents' deism, naturalism, and rationalism. In *Quelle est la source de toute autorité?* Bergier particularly attacks the modern notion that civil authority arises from the free consent of the people. With Romans 13:1, Bergier insists: "there is no authority except from God."¹²

Though most peasant and working-class Catholics are unfamiliar with Bergier, they remain well-schooled in traditionalist polemic. As Nigel Aston states in his study of eighteenth-century French Catholicism, the faithful receive their moral instruction from the "curé's pulpit"—along with "announcements about taxation, poor relief, the militia ballot and other items from the wider world."¹³

Bernard Groethuysen observes the same in his study of eighteenth-century sermons. Drawing largely on the published sermons of Abbé Réguis and Jean-Baptiste Massillon, Groethuysen sees a pattern in their polemic against bourgeois materialism and secularism. According to these preachers, everyday life plays out within a cosmic conflict between the devil and God. The spiritual skirmish affects human society through the actions of two principals: the "great" and the "poor." As one homilist explains:

He has created the rich, so that they atone for their sins by helping the poor. He has created the poor, so that they humble themselves according to the aid they receive from the rich. Like this, they have been intertwined in civil society, in order that through their mutual functions they strongly help one another, not only for the comfort of the present life, but more for their salvation and their sanctification, the one by honest generosity, the other by humble acknowledgement.¹⁴

Of course, the devil's role is to dissuade the rich from almsgiving and the poor from resignation. But what of the bourgeois? They are people, says Groethuysen, with no role in the drama. For the preachers, the bourgeois is a class "without mystery," an "essentially secular phenomenon, governed solely by the laws of this world"—and all the more dangerous for practicing avarice without the devil's help!¹⁵

The period's popes share much of this traditionalist polemic but express it in a distinctly arcadian style. The word *arcadian* refers to the pastoral literary genre where images of rural life are used to communicate the innocence and serenity of simple living. A common literary device in papal texts of the time is the pastoral metaphor of a shepherd and his flock. Drawing on scriptural and patristic sources, the popes employ the sheepfold metaphor to explain everything from the person and work of Christ to the people's customary social obligations. The popes repeatedly remind their "flock" that "God's field" coexists with "'trackless places,' 'ravening wolves,' and evil men 'in the clothing of sheep.'"¹⁶ As such, one must proceed through life with extreme moral caution.

In the encyclical *Acerbi plene doloris*, for example, Pope Benedict XIV notes how modernity is eroding worthy agricultural customs. Citing Leviticus 19:10, he insists that landlords continue leaving a portion of their fields unharvested "for the poor and for the sojourner." Benedict maintains that the landlords' *pietas* is owed the poor as both a *pia consuetudus* and a *praecepto jure*. Pope Clement XIII repeats this point in his 1756 encyclical *A*

quo die. Mercy to the poor is a *fructu justitiae* required as a *praecepto jure*.

On its face, the popes' terminology confuses arcadian scriptural injunctions with philosophical rights language. In fact, arcadianism is an early expression of the eighteenth-century papacy's commitment to artistic neoclassicism. With this medium, the popes promote a natural, simple style based on Greek and Roman models to suggest how a paleochristian "golden age" might have looked—and how it might be recovered. For example, though the idyllic landscape and earthy sensibility of Giuseppe Chiari's 1707 painting *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* contrast with the stone surfaces and doctrinaire gestures of Jacques Louis David's neoclassical *The Death of Socrates*, the social encoding is related.¹⁷ The avaricious frivolity of a modern *nouveaux riche* is condemned; the return to traditional, "classic" verities is enjoined. And no less than in arcadian art, the verities of classicism are linked to Christianity. In David's painting, for example, a Christlike Socrates is accompanied by twelve friends.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the papacy favors the arts for society's "moral and religious regeneration."¹⁸ Great attention and expense is directed, for example, at reviving the Roman *Accademia di San Luca*. In addition, the popes sponsor an annual *concorsi clementini* art competition. Much is at stake in these activities. By maintaining Rome (against Paris) as art Mecca of Europe—and by elevating select art forms—the popes seek increased tourism and, by what tourists see, a fortification of "the era's faith in the status quo." Such *kapitolspolitik*, says Christopher Johns, serves the popes' "dual purpose of cultural glorification and political propaganda."¹⁹ Like their Renaissance forebears, the eighteenth-century popes use art as a "tool of policy."²⁰

Cosmopolitanism

As a cosmopolitan social thinker Abbé de Saint-Pierre construes European politics somewhat differently. Though originally published in 1713, his *Projet de paix perpetuelle* continues

influencing political discussions up to the French Revolution. Saint-Pierre's *Projet* condemns war and calls for a permanent league of European nations to "renounce forever, for themselves and their successors, resort to arms as an instrument of national policy."²¹

Saint-Pierre's moral imagination is not confined to matters of international peace. He also calls for a graduated income tax in France, free public education for men *and* women, and an improved transportation system. In the process Saint-Pierre coins the term *bienfaisance*, later used in early modern social thought to differentiate individual almsgiving (*charité*) from more rational and methodical approaches to poor relief (*bienfaisance*).

Saint-Pierre's pacifistic approach differs from the more republican cosmopolitanism of other Catholic social thinkers. Sensing the value of modern civil liberties, Cardinal Barnaba Chiaramonti of Imola declares himself a citizen-cardinal, ready to abandon his traditional estates and titles. In his famous 1797 Christmas homily, Chiaramonti instructs the congregation: "fulfill faithfully the precepts of the Gospel and you will be the joy of the Republic. Be good Catholics and you will be good democrats."²² When he is elected Pope Pius VII three years later, Chiaramonti's social perspective moves in a decidedly traditionalist direction.

Abbés Claude Fauchet and Henri-Baptiste Grégoire share Chiaramonti's enthusiasm for democracy. Before their 1791 break with Rome over allegiance to the French Constitutional Church, both bishops articulate social perspectives with wide Catholic appeal. Considering liberty, equality, and fraternity gospel ideals, Fauchet stands shoulder to shoulder with his parishioners in the 1789 capture of the Bastille. In twenty-three discourses for his *Cercle social*, a discussion group he forms in 1790, Fauchet highlights those elements of Rousseau's *Social Contract* compatible with Christian faith.²³ On his part, Abbé Grégoire wins a prize in 1788 from the Royal Society of Sciences and Arts at Metz for his *Essai sur la régénération physique et morale des juifs*. In his essay, Grégoire blames the cruel treatment of

European Jews on fanaticism. He suggests “that Jews be granted liberty of conscience, equality of taxation, and the right to own land.”²⁴

In Rome, Nicola Spedalieri, a close friend of Pope Pius VI, writes a defense of human rights in *I diritti dell'uomo*. Drawing on his earlier *Influenza della religione cristiana nella società civile*, Spedalieri believes Christian principles support natural human rights and decry political absolutism.

Across the Atlantic, the American Catholic “republican” John Carroll, first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, enjoys American-style separation of church and state, religious freedom, and democracy. When it comes to his appointment as bishop, Carroll feels he should be voted on by his American clergy “to dissipate as much as possible the notion that American Catholicism was under foreign control.”²⁵ Rome reluctantly agrees and Carroll wins the election—the first and last “popular election” of an American bishop. Here, as in other matters, “Carroll’s approach,” says Philip Gleason, “was shaped less by abstract devotion to a self-consciously adopted theoretical position than by a pragmatic, but principled, willingness to adjust to the realities of the post-revolutionary situation.”²⁶

However, Carroll’s pragmatism has a dark side. Carroll, like the majority of North, Central, and South American bishops, tolerates slavery. From France, Abbé Grégoire sends Carroll a sermon on Catholicism and emancipation, but to no avail. While he calls for the humane treatment of slaves, Carroll never agitates for the elimination of slavery. Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick later states the representative American position in his *Theologia moralis*: “As all men are by law of nature equal, no one is by nature a master of another; yet by the law of nations not only the dominion of jurisdiction, but also the dominion of property is granted to man over [another]: and this the old law ratified.”²⁷ Kenrick regrets the number and condition of slaves, but rejects disobedience to the law: “Nevertheless, since this is the state of things, nothing should be tried against the laws, or be done or said that would make them carry their yoke unwillingly: but rather

prudence and charity of the holy ministers [clergy] should be shown in such a way that slaves, informed by Christian custom, should offer obedience to their masters.”²⁸

In *The Popes and Slavery*, Joel S. Panzer argues that the American hierarchy—not the papacy—creates the moral distinction between slavery conditions and slavery as such: In 1741, Pope Benedict XIV’s *Immensa pastorum* repeats Pope Paul III’s 1537 *Sublimis Deus* message: native Americans are human beings, not slaves by nature; not only slavery conditions, but also slavery as such is condemned. In Panzer’s view, early modern popes repeat the *Sublimis Deus* message because Catholic leaders—like those in North and South America—were “refusing to accept and teach what was contained in the anti-slavery documents of the Papal Magisterium.”²⁹

Jesuit émigrés from slave societies in Central and South America offer a “cultural” form of cosmopolitan social thought. Francis Xavier Clavijero and Francis Xavier Alegre represent Jesuits who, when exiled from Spain’s colonies in 1767, bring their appreciation for native cultures back to Europe. Clavijero is angry over Europe’s disdain for Mexican culture and writes the *Ancient History of Mexico*, outlining the merits of Aztec civilization. In *Arte poetica*, Alegre develops a comparative linguistic method for appreciating the cultural depth of Mexican literary history. Clavijero’s and Alegre’s socially conscious academic works helped pave the way for Mexican independence.³⁰

Transformationism

At the same time, other Jesuits in South America and their native Guarani faithful practice a communal style of transformationism in the missionary reductions. The word *reduction* refers to these settlement communities established by the Jesuits and the Guarani since the seventeenth century. Though neither fully egalitarian nor fully democratic, the reductions nevertheless envision communities of producer-owners with town hall-style political structures. Art is an important ingredient in this attempt. Whereas official colonial churches in the capitals “used art primarily as a tool of political hegemony,”

the Jesuits take what Gauvin Bailey calls an “accommodationist” approach, blending their baroque tastes with the artistic traditions of the Guarani.³¹

While the Jesuit role in the reductions is clearly paternalistic, it is not autocratic. The Jesuits struggle against the colonial landlords’ exploitation of the Guarani. When Spain cedes territory east of the Uruguay River to Portugal in 1750, seven reductions are put in jeopardy. Manuel Querini, Jesuit provincial of the endangered San Miguel reduction, writes to King Ferdinand VI of Spain: “the transfer imposed on the Indians of the seven pueblos, by the treaty, is against the Indians’ natural right to maintain their liberty, their homes and their lands.”³²

European politics terminate Jesuit participation in the reductions after 1768. Five years later, Pope Clement XIV’s *Dominus ac Redemptor* suppresses the Society of Jesus. Nevertheless, the reduction experiment animates European and American social imaginations throughout the period and down to the present day.

1792–1848

Europe and the Americas’ recurrent turmoil for fifty years after the French Revolution breeds a new generation of Roman Catholic social thinkers. Earlier traditionalist polemic branches into what will be called below a more autocratic *caudillo* ideology. At the same time, the arcadian legacy survives in new romantic styles of German and French social thought. Another group of traditionalist social thinkers borrows from Abbé de Saint-Pierre and develops a *bienfaisance* approach. The cosmopolitan orientation resurfaces in its republican forms and in a novel politico-economic style. Other Catholics offer a distinctly societal form of transformationism.

Traditionalism

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Abbé Bergier’s polemic spirit survives in Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald. With greater

theological and sociological creativity than Bergier, both men develop panoramic social-moral interpretations of Europe’s revolutionary condition. In this way, their social thought has a uniquely prognostic quality.

Joseph de Maistre is realistic about the causes of revolution in France but rejects the revolutionaries’ idealistic solutions. He writes: “I could dirty twenty pages with proofs of the astonishing corruption and debasement, unfortunately only too general, which reigned in France at the moment of the Revolution.”³³ But he explains in his 1809 *Essai sur le principe générateur des constitutions politiques et des autres institutions humaines* that social ideals are not simply written in constitutions; they must gradually evolve in the unwritten ‘constitution’ of a nation’s soul. It is through this latter constitution that God’s providential wisdom operates.

Joseph de Maistre is the first thinker to interpret the French Revolution as a providential act of God, a punishment for France’s social corruption. According to Geoffrey Cubitt, de Maistre thought the blood of innocent Frenchmen, like that of Christ, “possessed a special expiatory significance: it was through ‘the reversibility of the sufferings of the innocent to the benefit of the guilty’ that collective redemption—the temporary salvation of nations in history, that of mankind in eternity—could ultimately be achieved.”³⁴ “De Maistre’s achievement,” Cubitt continues, “was to formulate a theological understanding of catastrophe that turned the Revolution into part of the universal moral drama of human suffering.”³⁵

If de Maistre is awed by God’s providential action, Louis de Bonald is impressed with God’s created design for human social relationships. De Bonald details these observations in his 1796 *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux*, 1800 *Essai analytique sur les lois naturelles de l’ordre social* and 1830 *Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif des sociétés*. In a claim that becomes characteristic of Catholic social thought, de Bonald identifies not the Enlightenment individual as the irreducible unit of society but the family. To be an individual, he says, one must participate in human *association*. Besides the *famille*, other vital associations are

one's workplace (*gilde*), status group (*status*), and religion (*église*). For de Bonald, Enlightenment individualism and *étatisme* violate human individuality by contravening God's created design.

Robert Nisbet claims de Bonald's study of associations is the "first appearance of a pluralistic theory of authority in the social thought of nineteenth-century France." From this perspective, the charge that de Bonald's ideas incubate twentieth-century totalitarianism is questionable. "There remains in Bonald," insists Nisbet, "a clear strain of thought which must remove him from any real connection with . . . totalitarianism."³⁶

If autocratic aims unfairly characterize the traditionalism of de Maistre and de Bonald, they do describe the period's *caudillo* form of Catholic social thought. The Spanish word *caudillo* is used here to refer to a strong military leader focused on restoring "throne and altar" political authority in society. Concomitantly, *caudilloism* promotes broad state control over education, communication, and associations.

In Central and South America, *caudillo* traditionalism surfaces in Agustín de Iturbide and Rafael Carrera. While Iturbide supports Mexican independence, he opposes Miguel Hidalgo's peasant liberation movement. By skillfully co-opting Hidalgo's success, Iturbide gains Mexico's independence from Spain but installs an autocratic—not democratic—state. In 1822, Iturbide crowns himself Agustín I, emperor of Mexico. To the south, Carrera overthrows Guatemala's liberal anticlerical government in the interests of the Creole landlords and the Church. Carrera devotes the rest of his life to spreading *caudillo* traditionalism throughout Central America—a legacy that survives down to the present.

Caudillo social thought also emerges across the ocean in Europe. At the 1814 Congress of Vienna, Klemens Metternich cements a "Holy Alliance" of European monarchs against liberal and nationalist political movements. Although a valuable balance of power is struck, Metternich requires an international network of spies and saboteurs to sustain it against liberal insurrection. In 1831, Joseph von Radowitz and

Karl Jarke establish the *Politisches Wochenblatt* as a forum for Metternich-style social thought. Radowitz later outlines his ideas in *Gespräche über Staat und Kirche* as Metternich himself does in his 1848 *Mein politisches Testament*.

The message of European *caudilloism* also finds a carrier in the period's restorationist art. A well-known piece is Pierre-Narcisse Guérin's *Portrait of Henri de La Rochejaquelein*. During the French Revolution, the Vendée region supported counterrevolutionary insurrection against the Jacobin republic. One of the fallen heroes of the insurrection was Commander-in-Chief La Rochejaquelein. Guérin's painting, appearing in 1817, reinforces the idea of monarchical restoration across Europe. In the portrait, La Rochejaquelein gallantly leads his troops forward, inches away from Jacobin bayonets. On his shirt is the insignia of the Sacred Heart, understood by Catholics as "the symbol of the triumph of the Church over its enemies and a restoration of the union of throne and altar."³⁷

The popes reinforce Metternich's restorationist ideology. Concerned over political restiveness in the Papal States, Pope Leo XII forms a Congregation of State to advise him on political matters. With Cardinal-Secretary of State Della Somaglia, Leo XII creates "a harsh police state, complete with press censorship, capital punishment," and secret societies that "sniffed out the slightest hints of revolution."³⁸ The saddest moment in this development is Pope Gregory XVI's 1832 encyclical *Cum primum*. Here, the pope supports Russian Orthodox Czar Nicholas I over the Polish Catholic struggle for independence—after 82 percent of Poland had been partitioned by a Russian "régime of political and religious repression!"³⁹

Further artistic developments reinforce the popes' social perspective. In *Representing Belief: Religion, Art, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*, Michael Driskel shows how the period's "return to the hieratic mode in the visual arts" gives "visible form" to the popes' "throne and altar" ideology. The hieratic mode designates pictorial qualities of "frontality, stasis, severity, and an emphatic reduction of pictorial illusionism."⁴⁰ The intent is to project images of timeless religious majesty and dog-

matic authority. This sense of “nontime” is invoked by the popes and the monarchists to buttress the “aristocratic and ‘God-given’ verities of the *ancien régime*.”⁴¹

One of the principal Catholic militants of this aesthetic discourse is Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. In his painting *The Vow of Louis XIII*, for example, Ingres depicts King Louis on his knees, offering his crown and scepter *up* to the ascended frontally iconic Virgin Mary. Patricia Mainardi says Ingres’s viewers throughout Europe accept his art as the embodiment of “the Church and public morality . . . of Throne and Altar.”⁴²

The autocratic excesses of political and artistic *caudilloism* are often mistakenly associated with the organic vision of society proposed by Catholic romantic traditionalists. As Ad Leys points out, “the concrete meaning of ‘organism’ is different in different authors.”⁴³ In the case of most romantic thinkers, to describe society as an organism means to show how intermediate associations preserve—not suppress—a healthy dialectic between the individual and society.

No one articulates this dialectic better than Adam Müller. Meticulous analyst of Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*, Müller rejects Smith’s economic individualism while holding equal disdain for *étatiste* plans of economic production and distribution. In his 1808 *Die Elemente der Staatskunst*, Müller enlists extensive research on medieval social structures to support his argument that a good society requires multiple sets of interconnected political and economic associations. As Paul Misner observes, Adam Müller exemplifies a style of traditionalist social thought that “attempted to relate modern freedoms and traditional order in creative tension.”⁴⁴

This creative tension between the individual and society is a dominant theme in the novels of Honoré de Balzac. In the story of a country doctor from his massive *La comédie humaine*, Balzac expresses his own ‘romantic’ traditionalism:

Once I looked upon the Catholic religion as a cleverly exploited mass of prejudices and superstitions, which an intelligent civiliza-

tion ought to deal with according to its desserts. Here I have discovered its political necessity and its usefulness as a moral agent; here, moreover, I have come to understand its power, through a knowledge of the actual thing which the word expresses. Religion means a bond or tie, and certainly a cult—or, in other words, the outward and visible form of religion is the only force that can bind the various elements of society together and mould them into a permanent form.⁴⁵

François-René de Chateaubriand also believes this tension is best communicated aesthetically. No less a social thinker than Müller, Chateaubriand relays in his 1797 *Essai historique, politique et moral sur les révolutions anciennes et modernes* and 1802 *Le génie du Christianisme* the social benefit of a medieval neogothic *sensibilité*. Throughout his life, says Richard Fargher, Chateaubriand remains “horrified” by post-medieval Europe, where “some individuals had millions, and others subsisted in filth and squalor.”⁴⁶

In Rome, Chateaubriand’s neogothic aestheticism is lived out by the Brotherhood of St. Luke. Occupying an abandoned monastery, this group of German painters revives medieval fresco technique, seeing art as the key to Europe’s social and political regeneration. Recognizable throughout Rome by their long hair and robes, the members of the Brotherhood live a semimonastic lifestyle of morning housekeeping and afternoon painting. They attract many aspiring artists to their “medieval” workshop and influence later pre-Raphaelite art. Friedrich Overbeck’s *Joseph Being Sold to His Brothers* represents their traditionalist neogothic style.⁴⁷

Not all traditionalist social thinkers work from a romantic point of view. Although a devoted monarchist and nobleman, Villeneuve-Bargemont develops a *bienfaisance* form of traditionalist social thought, generating “not merely occasional legislative intervention, but systematic regulation.”⁴⁸ Among Villeneuve-Bargemont’s projects as a member of the French legislature are public housing, savings banks, trade schools, child labor restriction, a just wage, and agricultural cooperatives. A less

well-known social thinker in Villeneuve-Bargemont's style is Spanish economist Ramón de la Sagra. In his 1840 *Lecciones de economía social* and 1849 *Aphorismos Sociales: Introducción a la Ciencia Social*, La Sagra outlines a "Roman Catholic social economy." He follows many of Villeneuve-Bargemont's proposals but is cautious—as a traditionalist—about general public education. He fears breakdown of "an inequality which is necessary and natural, but which becomes violent, forceful and dangerous when it does not correspond to a similar inequality in the intelligences of individuals."⁴⁹

François Ledreuille wants charity organized on a more rational basis but is less sanguine about state organization than Villeneuve-Bargemont and Sagra. Indeed, French monarchist social Catholics like Ledreuille maintain a principled opposition to the republican state. Yet, for some monarchists, this does not mean opposition to socially organized charity. In Paris, Ledreuille's *bienfaisance* approach involves the organization of independent worker associations called *Maisons des ouvriers*. At Ledreuille's "homes," workers can access employment information, health care, and legal counsel.

Cosmopolitanism

A new politico-economic form of cosmopolitan social thought differs from *bienfaisance* traditionalism by rejecting the latter's noblesse oblige and monarchist tendencies. Instead, politico-economic thinkers connect economic reform to the spirit of Catholic republicanism. An early champion of this approach is Frédéric Ozanam. Supporter of both civil liberties and economic welfare, Ozanam is famous for founding the St. Vincent de Paul Society. It is important to recall, however, that Ozanam's primary motivation for starting the Society is not *charité* but putting people in direct contact with the poor. Unlike meeting the poor through an episodic and unempowering style of almsgiving, however, Ozanam wants contact through structured social service.

Few accomplish this better than Elizabeth Ann Seton. Widowed mother of five children, Seton establishes a Sisters of Charity commu-

nity in Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1809. Mother Seton and her sisters address the needs of the poor by building schools, hospitals, and orphanages. By the time of Seton's death in 1821, Sisters of Charity communities exist in twenty cities across the United States. For most of these cities, Mother Seton's sisters establish the first structured delivery of social service to the poor.

Charles de Coux and Spanish philosopher-theologian Jaime Luciano Balmes bring a heightened degree of theoretical attention to the politico-economic style of Catholic social thought. De Coux is the first occupant of the chair of political economy at Louvain, where he pursues his *Cours d'économie sociale* and *Cours d'économie politique*. Through his 1840 *Observaciones sociales, políticas, y económicas sobre las buenas del clero*, Balmes gains European attention. Both de Coux and Balmes imagine the solution to economic oppression in "the principles of democracy," which they also see as "the principles of catholicism."⁵⁰

The legacy of pre-Revolutionary republican-style cosmopolitanism is brought forward by the famous L'Avenir group: Félicité Lamennais, Henri Dominique Lacordaire, and Charles de Montalembert. Their meld of ultramontanist and support for free press, free speech, universal suffrage, and Catholic education in France is amply documented.

Less discussed under this rubric is the work of Italian priest Vincenzo Gioberti and American bishop John England. In his 1833 letter *Della repubblica e del cristianesimo*, Gioberti encourages young priests to support Italian liberation from Austrian and French rule as well as unification under moderate republican principles. While exiled in Paris, Gioberti refines his Catholic republican ideas in *Del rinnovamento civile d'Italia*.

Among John England's many accomplishments is the *U.S. Catholic Miscellany*, the first Catholic newspaper in the United States. For forty years the *Miscellany* constitutes an important resource for Catholic republican social thought. In *American Catholicism*, John Tracy Ellis recounts one of England's responses in the *Miscellany* to the charge that Catholicism is incompatible with American democracy:

to him republicanism meant that no set of men had any inherent natural right to take precedence over their fellow men and that all power to regulate public affairs of individuals, united in a special compact, was derived from the public will freely expressed by the will of the majority. “This is what we understand by *Republicanism*,” said England, “and we know of no doctrine of *Catholicism*, if we must use the expression, opposed to this.”⁵¹

In this spirit, England writes a diocesan constitution establishing a board of trustees with lay membership. This unique constitution is published in a collection of England’s works from 1849 but is deleted from the 1908 edition.

Novelists and artists also express the aspirations of Catholic republicanism during the period. Important here is Victor Hugo’s left-wing medievalism as expressed in his enormously successful 1831 novel *Notre Dame de Paris*. Hugo’s heroes—a deformed Quasimodo and gypsy Esmeralda—stand in stark contrast to oppressive aristocrats and priests. Noteworthy, too, is sculptor Jean Duseigneur’s 1831 *Roland furieux*. In this piece, the medieval Roland’s struggle to free himself from captivity “symbolizes France’s political dilemma” between liberals and the July Monarchy.⁵²

Catholic activist republicanism also resurfaces after the French Revolution. In his famous pulpit *Grito de Dolores*—“Down with bad government. . . . Long live our most holy Virgin of Guadalupe”—revolutionary priest Miguel Hidalgo openly declares a peasant war for Mexican independence in 1810.⁵³ Daniel O’Connell is an equally ardent Irish republican but a committed pacifist. After effecting the Catholic emancipation bill in 1829, O’Connell writes a friend: “It is one of the greatest triumphs recorded in history—a bloodless revolution.”⁵⁴ But in moving toward repeal of union with England, O’Connell calls off a “monster meeting” in Clontarf, fearing violence. His hope is to “carry the repeal of the Union without one drop of blood.”⁵⁵ Generations of Irish republicans never forgive O’Connell for missing the moment when, in their view, Irish freedom could have been won by the sword.

Dramatic struggles for independence are a subject for many Catholic artists. In his famous *The Third of May, 1808*, Francisco Goya reflects the bitterness of Spain’s crushed hopes for liberation as Napoleon’s forces take aim on a group of Spanish peasants.⁵⁶ Though attacked for exposing clerical vices and institutional Church abuse through art, Goya remains a Christian throughout his life.

Another Catholic artist interested in republican struggles is Eugène Delacroix. In *The Massacre at Chios*, for example, Delacroix depicts a scene from the Greek war of independence. Mixing the cruel and the sensuous into the struggle for freedom, Delacroix paints a dying Greek fighter lying on a maiden’s shoulder, an autocratic Turk on horseback, and a slain woman ensnarled in the rider’s lariat. These “democratic and humanitarian passions” stand in stark contrast to Ingres’s ultramontane aesthetic. Indeed, says Mainardi, the art public understands “the historic battle between Ingres and Delacroix.”⁵⁷ On the side of Delacroix, art critic Gabriel-Desiré Laverdant writes in 1848, “art, the expression of society, manifests, in its highest soaring, the most advanced social tendencies; it is the forerunner and the revealer.”⁵⁸

Transformationism

A societal form of utopian thought also develops during this period. Unlike communal transformationists, these Catholic social thinkers seek economic *and* political transformation. Well-known is the Christian socialist *L’atelier* group, including Philippe Buchez, Anthime Corbon, Charles Chev , Henri Feugueray, and Auguste Ott. A disciple of Sainte-Simon, Buchez promotes worker-owned and operated-producer cooperatives. The movement’s newspaper *L’atelier* is the first worker-edited and -owned paper in Europe. Buchez is equally convinced that art influences social change and explains this thesis in his 1830 *Introduction   la science de l’histoire du d veloppement de l’humanit *.⁵⁹ Buchez, says Charles Chev , “was for a large number of young people who had imbibed democratic

ideas, the providential instrument and means of their conversion to catholicism.”⁶⁰

Other societal transformationists are Nicolas de Bonneville and Adolphe Bartels. De Bonneville is a member of Claude Fauchet’s Cercle social and author of *De l’esprit des religions*. In this 1791 treatise, de Bonneville argues that “the only possible means to achieve the great social communion is to divide the estates in equal and limited parts for the children of the deceased, and leave the rest to divide among the other heirs.”⁶¹ Adolphe Bartels is the Belgian author of a Christian socialist treatise entitled *Essay on the Organization of Labor*. He believes the workers’ only hope is the acquisition of political power. To assist the workers, writes Bartels, there must also be “democratic reform in the structure of the Church.”⁶² He propagates his ideas in the journal *Le débat social*.

1849–1871

Roman Catholic social thought between 1849 and 1871 spans the violent deaths of two Paris archbishops. Denis-Auguste Affre is shot in 1848 while mediating worker violence at the Paris barricades. Georges Darboy is taken hostage and assassinated by the revolutionary communards during the “Bloody Week” of 1871.

With one important exception, the patterns of Catholic social thought during this period replicate those of the past. Polemic, *caudillo*, romantic, and *bienfaisance* traditionalisms resurface, as do politico-economic and republican forms of cosmopolitan social thinking. Transformationism recurs as well, in both communal and societal styles. The one exception to these now-familiar approaches is the appearance of a new form of cosmopolitan social thought. This is neoscholasticism, the style that acquires—by the end of the early modern era—normative hegemony over other forms of Roman Catholic social thought.

Traditionalism.

The story of Juan Donoso Cortés is typical of the era. Cortés begins his rich intellectual life

espousing Catholic republican ideals. His *Leciones de derecho politico* remains in print to this day as *A Defense of Representative Government*. However, the worker revolutions sweeping Europe in 1848 permanently alter Cortés’s social perspective. No longer the sole possession of middle-class intellectuals, liberal ideas now incite the long-suffering working class. Worker revolt in Paris triggers King Louis Philippe’s abdication. Even Metternich, strongman of the restoration, flees worker and student revolt in Vienna. This “pan-European simultaneity” of collapsing autocratic power has, says Isser Woloch, “no parallel until 1989.”⁶³

Through this experience, Cortés becomes—like de Maistre and de Bonald before him—a polemic traditionalist. He sees the revolutions as “the impending ‘final dissolution’ of modern civilization . . . for some unrevealed, but certainly glorious, purpose of Providence.”⁶⁴ His subsequent 1851 essay *Essayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo* analyzes the collaborative power of liberalism and socialism in undermining the Christian culture of Europe.

The 1848 revolutions also affect the social communication of Catholic artists. Before the revolutions, Louis Janmot is an enthusiastic supporter of liberal education. After the revolutions, Janmot creates *Le mauvais sentier*, a picture of two girls on a quest for education. On their right stands a haunting succession of liberal university professors. As Driskel notes, “an owl, a symbol of the malefic belief in reason, hovers over this barren route.”⁶⁵

On both sides of the Atlantic, journalists Louis Veillot and James McMaster offer outlets for polemic traditionalism. Veillot’s *L’univers* promotes the idea that Europe is “being steadily polarized along spiritual lines,” that a clash between the Christian civilization of life and the modern civilization of death is underway. Writes Veillot: “two powers deny each other reciprocally, that is the heart of the matter.”⁶⁶

In the United States, James McMaster edits the nationally circulated *New York Freeman’s Journal* from 1848 to 1886. Opponent of Catholic republicanism, secular liberalism, abolitionism, and strident nationalism, McMaster spends the first six weeks of the Civil War in jail as a

seditionist. As a French enthusiast of McMaster's opinions, Louis Veuillot "termed the *Free-man's Journal* the "best edited, best informed" Catholic paper in the United States."⁶⁷

As this "clash of civilizations" visits the Papal States, Pope Pius IX turns to the autocratic techniques of *caudillo* social thought. In a succession of encyclicals, Pius IX decries the "sacrilegious attacks made on the civil power of the Roman Church."⁶⁸ When Napoleon suggests the pope concede to the rebels in the papal province of Emilia, Pius IX responds: "an argument of this kind . . . has no validity. Similar rebellions have often occurred in Europe and in other areas, yet anyone can see that a legitimate argument cannot be deduced from that fact to diminish civil sovereignty."⁶⁹ Possibly a degree of Pius IX's sorrow over the loss of the Papal States is mitigated by Vatican I's 1870 definition of his office as infallible.

Of course, Pius IX's condemnation of liberalism in *Quanta cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors* is of a piece with the Papal States crisis. Yet Henri Daniel-Rops observes that "neither *Quanta Cura* nor the *Syllabus* broke any new ground."⁷⁰ Pius IX's teachings are consistent with the *caudillo* style of papal thought common since Pope Leo XII.

Commentary on these social dynamics simultaneously occurs in the Catholic art community. In Hippolyte Flandrin's *Le Christ remettant les clefs à Saint-Pierre* a precise-reversal of the movement noted above in Ingres's *The Vow of Louis VIII* takes place but with the same social encoding. Flandrin's work shows a dolmen-like Christ handing the eternal keys down to St. Peter. Completing the transaction between eternal and temporal powers, St. Peter kneels in the exact position of Ingres's King Louis.⁷¹

The legacy of romantic traditionalism survives in the thought of Austrian Karl von Vogelsang. In Vogelsang's mind, the Catholic romantics' idea of social change through organic, intermediate associations takes shape as "corporatism." In a corporatist society, political and economic class divisions are replaced by a federated system of representation in three vertical *Stände*: large industry, small crafts, and

agriculture. This would recover, thinks Vogelsang, the redeeming qualities of medieval "egalitarianism":

The basic principle of the feudal order is the full solidarity of all citizens, the congruence of economic, social, and political positions, the clear definition of national tasks, and a corresponding differentiation of political and social positions. Obligation to work is strictly enforced on all those who want to share in the social product which is distributed to each according to his contribution. There is no unrestricted private ownership of the means of production . . . but merely the use of the property for productive purposes. Finally, social protection is afforded all estates and individuals against the danger of degradation to the level of the fourth estate, the proletariat, which works but does not own.⁷²

Also characteristic of Vogelsang's thought is the prohibition of usury. Like most German romantics, Vogelsang believes "that the medieval legislation of the Church against usury and the notion of money as 'dead' or 'unfruitful' [are] still viable, operational concepts."⁷³ He considers capitalist bankers the usurious oppressors of the Austrian peasants.

The underside of this emphasis on usury is anti-Semitism. Commonly, romantic traditionalist thinkers of the time associate the evils of usury with the Jewish community. John Boyer contends that "Vogelsang's anti-Semitism was both nonracial and nonviolent. He used the Jew mainly as a symbol for the 'materialism' to which Christians easily succumbed. He rejected, however, special legislation against the Jews or any form of persecution."⁷⁴

The *bienfaisance* form of traditionalist Catholic social thought also continues during this period. Émile Keller's work represents those *bienfaisance* social thinkers seeking organized charity through social legislation. Like Villeneuve-Bargement, Keller mixes a traditionalist perspective on civil liberties with an activist approach toward economic welfare. As a delegate from the department of the

Rhine—and father of fourteen children—Keller supports a wide range of social welfare legislation. Keller's inspiration is St. Benedict, creator of what became the characteristically medieval communities of authoritative politics and egalitarian economics.

Adolph Kolping carries forward the independent association style of *bienfaisance*. A journeyman shoemaker, Kolping has the unusual opportunity to study theology at the University of Munich. Here, he comes in contact with the "Munich circle" of German Catholic romantics. From this experience, Kolping develops his *Gesellensverein* system for journeyman workers.

In Europe at this time, a journeyman travels from town to town obtaining various work experiences needed to become a master craftsman. French workers call this the *tour de France*. Kolping is shocked by the squalid living conditions and faithless workers he encounters as a journeyman. The *Gesellensverein* Kolping develops are hospices for journeymen, supplying not only food and lodging, but also recreation, craft education, and religious instruction. Thanks to Kolping, says the Jesuit Charles Plater, "an artisan who leaves one town for another finds a home waiting for him." "This movement did more than anything," Plater continues, "to weld clergy and laity together and formed the basis for social action."⁷⁵ By Kolping's death in 1865, over four hundred *Gesellensverein* operate in Germany.

Cosmopolitanism

The towering figure of politico-economic cosmopolitanism during this period is Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, bishop of Mainz. Many consider his creative combination of Catholic republicanism and economic reformism the most outstanding work of Roman Catholic social thought in the early modern era.

Possibly the most inventive element in Ketteler's thought is a translation of the romantics' organological vision of society into the principle of subsidiarity. According to Leys, Ketteler does not work from a neoscholastic framework

but creatively combines the longstanding German organic idea with his positive historical experience of civil freedom.⁷⁶ One hundred and twenty years later, Ketteler's invention finds its way into article 3b of the European Union's Maastricht Treaty: "in areas that do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action in accordance with the subsidiarity principle."⁷⁷

Ketteler is not alone in advocating a politico-economic cosmopolitanism. Edouard Ducpetiaux of Belgium also works for civic freedom and economic reform. As a true cosmopolitan, Ducpetiaux is the first to encourage a formal international labor organization and creates an international conference for this purpose in 1856. In France, Désiré Laverdant creates the Cercle de la démocratie catholique for thinkers interested in this social approach. Indeed, Catholic politico-economic cosmopolitanism will increasingly be identified in Europe and South America as "Christian Democracy."⁷⁸

Bishop Felix Dupanloup also has a cosmopolitan perspective, placing particular emphasis on modern liberties. In 1865, Dupanloup softens the blow of Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors* for Catholic republicans by distinguishing the pope's theses from his hypotheses. Pius IX never formally rejects this distinction as Dupanloup's *La convention du 15. septembre et l'encyclique du 8. décembre* is read throughout Europe.

Dupanloup champions liberation movements throughout the world. He supports the ongoing struggle for freedom in Ireland. In 1862, he writes a remarkable Passion Sunday pastoral letter opposing U.S. slavery. "The unity of the human family, the principle of dignity, of equality, of freedom, of humanity among mankind," says Dupanloup, "condemns and rebukes slavery." He adds with rhetorical passion: "Is it not yet time, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, for us all to begin to practice the ever enduring law, 'Do not to another that which you would not he should do to you; and that which your brothers should do for you, do ye fore them?'"⁷⁹

A fascinating dynamic between artists at this time reflects the distinction between republican and traditionalist Catholic social thought.

Driskel observes that an artistic commonplace for Catholic republican artists is to render Christ's crucifixion realistically. In Delacroix's 1853 *Christ en croix*, for example, Christ's arms are not strictly perpendicular to his body, but vertically extended. His body is pulling down on the impaled hands; blood flows from the lance wound and drenches his loincloth; his eyes look skyward, questioningly.⁸⁰

Traditionalist Catholic artists do not depict the crucifixion this way. Flandrin's virtually bloodless Christ, in *La Crucifixion*, has his arms extended in a predominantly horizontal direction. Christ's loincloth is completely clean; his head rests calmly on his shoulder with eyes closed; there is no lance wound. As Driskel explains, "the arms were extended in such a way as to deny emphatically that he 'hangs' from his support, seeming instead to float in space independent of it." In doing this, Flandrin is "attempting to create a symbolic image of the 'Christ Triumphant' type, the emblematic convention of the Middle Ages" and encoding the hierarchical social message of the ultramontane aesthetic.⁸¹

Orestes Augustus Brownson is a cosmopolitan republican whose social thought moves in and out of ultramontane traditionalism. In his 1865 *The American Republic: Its Constitution, Tendencies, and Destiny*, Brownson argues that Catholic principles are not just *compatible* with American democracy but the *optimal* safeguard of democracy. In regular correspondence with Catholic republicans in Europe, Brownson agrees with Dupanloup's condemnation of American slavery.⁸²

Elsewhere, Brownson distinguishes between "Catholic tradition" and the "traditions of Catholics." On this basis, he contends that Catholic participation in public schools does not threaten Catholic tradition while, on the contrary, Brownson says, the creation of a separate school system to protect the "traditions of Catholics" will impair Catholic participation in American democracy.⁸³

Archbishop John Hughes of New York defends America's political institutions but considers Brownson's views on Catholic ethnicity and education "pure speculation." At this

time, Irish Catholics in New York face nativist anti-Catholicism at the workplace and in municipal politics. For Hughes, the memory of Philadelphia's 1844 riots and killing of Catholics is fresh. Unlike Bishop Kenrick, whose advice to Philadelphia Catholics was to move away, Hughes is defiant. Andrew Greeley recounts the archbishop's warning to the mayor of New York: "if a single Catholic Church [is] burned in New York, the city [will] become a Moscow . . . 'Are you afraid,' asked the mayor, 'that some of your churches will be burned?' 'No, sir; but I am afraid that some of *yours* will be burned. We can protect our own. I come to warn you for your own good.'"⁸⁴ What Hughes's social perspective signals is the transition from Bishop Carroll and England's colonial-inspired republicanism to one influenced by immigrant Catholicism.

If an important transition in social thought occurs in America, an even more potent one develops in Europe. A neoscholastic form of cosmopolitan social thought emerges in Italy. It is the work, says Misner, "of a relatively small band of thinkers, until one of them, Gioacchino Pecci, became Pope Leo XIII" in 1878.⁸⁵

The most important of these early "neoscholastic" thinkers are the Jesuits Aloysius Taparelli and Matteo Liberatore. Given both the eclecticism of Catholic theology in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the weakened state of "second Scholasticism," neither Taparelli nor Liberatore is educated in the Scholastic tradition. As Misner points out, they had to "teach themselves scholastic philosophy and rebuild it from scratch."⁸⁶

Taparelli had already composed a theoretical essay on the concept of natural right in 1840. In 1850, he begins writing for the new journal *La civiltà cattolica*, the Jesuit incubator of neoscholasticism. Taparelli's important two-volume *Esame critico degli ordini rappresentativi nella società moderna* inaugurates a new era of discussion over Thomas Aquinas's theories of law and justice as applied to modern political and economic conditions.

In the course of his career, Matteo Liberatore writes over 900 articles for *La civiltà*. Though he focuses on the metaphysical

dimensions of Aquinas's thought, Liberatore also relates these insights to the natural law, relations between Church and state, and the social conditions of life.

Transformationism

Catholic transformationist social thought persists between 1848 and 1871 in both its societal and communal forms. One representative of the societal approach is François Huet. Despite the excesses of the 1848 revolutions, Huet works diligently at reconciling Catholicism and socialism. In his 1853 *Le règne social du christianisme*, Huet outlines a distributivist scheme involving broad social ownership of property, cooperative enterprises, and free education. Generations of Professor Huet's students at the Belgian University of Ghent work through his ideas.⁸⁷

Pauline-Marie Jaricot and T. Wharton Collins develop a more communal style of Catholic transformationism. Jaricot is most remembered as foundress of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which exists to this day. Less known is her work at creating a model Christian town in Rustrel, France. Torn by the oppression of French workers, Jaricot acquires a bankrupt iron foundry in the village of Rustrel. Her plan is to create a worker-owned and -operated factory, with profits equitably distributed in the village for food, shelter, clothing, health care, and education. She devises a "Bank of Heaven," where shares in the enterprise are sold at \$20,000 each. But two fatal accidents occur at the foundry and unscrupulous financiers rob her. Jaricot's dream dies and she declares bankruptcy in 1852.

In Louisiana, lawyer T. Wharton Collins is called the "Catholic Communist labor reformer." Increasingly pessimistic over social change brought about through the labor movement, Collins develops the idea that Catholics should "live apart" from society in producer cooperatives of married couples vowed to poverty and obedience.⁸⁸ He outlines his vision in *The Eden of Labor, or the Christian Utopia*. And what is one of the prime motivators of his scheme? The eighteenth-century Jesuit reductions in Paraguay!

1872–1890

Over the next twenty years, forces external and internal to Roman Catholicism gradually narrow the range of its social thought. Externally, workers take greater interest in Marxian socialism, triggering antisocialist laws across Europe. Both phenomena contract Catholic experimentation with Christian socialism. Simultaneously, an intensified anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf* in Europe and the Americas draws Catholics closer together, socially and ideationally. Internally, Vatican I's definition of papal infallibility reinforces the pope's juridical power over determining what *officially* counts as "Roman Catholic" thought. This, combined with Pope Leo XIII's nomination of St. Thomas Aquinas as the Church's philosophic muse, delimits the intellectual latitude of faithful Roman Catholic social thinkers. Ironically, believes Rosemary Haughton, these forces create—from Vatican I to Vatican II—the "least Catholic" period in Roman Catholic history.⁸⁹

Traditionalism

The polemic style of traditionalist social thought becomes more clandestine during this period. Louis Veillot's *L'univers* still promotes a restored Christian monarchy in France under Bourbon pretender Comte de Chambord. However, when Veillot and Chambord die in 1883, an opening is created for Pope Leo XIII's *ralliement* policy with the French republic.

Given the period's enhanced papal power, Pope Leo XIII's new approach toward France makes traditional legitimism and integrism less openly acceptable. In Spain, for example, a group of Catholic traditionalists led by Ramón Nocedal rejects the Carlist dynasty for its perceived concessions to republicanism. Propounding a radical doctrine of pure theocracy under a "reign of Christ," Nocedal forms an underground organization called the Integristas. As Daniel-Rops describes this recurrent "perfidy" in church history, "men who had no authority to do so took it upon themselves to track down the 'heretics'" and manipulate their downfall.⁹⁰ Variations on this cynical form of

traditionalist social thought continue down to the present.

Only partially concealed are the legitimist and integrist aspirations of Catholic artists. Noteworthy here is Auguste Rodin's sculpture *The Burghers of Calais*. A monarchist enamored of medieval themes, Rodin sculpts the story of the 1347 Calasian resistance against England to, in part, rally legitimist patriotism. Albert Boime observes that the souvenir booklet for the unveiling of Rodin's work "was illustrated with Royal and Catholic symbols redolent of the medievalising fantasies of the political and cultural right wing."⁹¹

In Central and South America, *caudillo* traditionalism survives openly. In Ecuador, Gabriel Garcia-Moreno continues the pattern of military "throne and altar" dictatorship established fifty years earlier by Guatemalan Rafael Carrera. In 1871, Garcia-Moreno makes membership in the Roman Catholic Church a requirement for Ecuadorian citizenship. Three years later, he decrees that 10 percent of the state's yearly revenue be sent to the pope. Though assassins end Garcia-Moreno's dictatorship in 1875, Catholic *caudillo* social thinking survives.

René de la Tour du Pin is a monarchist and a soldier but he is neither a clandestine legitimist nor a *caudilloist*. While serving as French military attaché in Vienna, La Tour du Pin discovers corporatist ideas through conversation with Karl von Vogelsang and avid reading of the latter's *Vaterland* newspaper and journal *Österreichische Monatsschrift für christliche Sozialreform*. By 1881, La Tour du Pin agrees: corporatism is "the only solution to the labor question." Only a corporatist social arrangement can ensure just deliberation over wages, prices, and supply horizontally (between employees and employers) and vertically (from the local workshop to the national trade council). As La Tour du Pin explains,

We term professional association or syndicate, the society formed with the object of defending professional interests, between people of the same status and condition; corporation, the society which unites the

diverse elements of the same profession, i.e., its employers, its white collar and manual workers, in a society perfect from the professional point of view; finally, *corps d'état*, the ensemble of all the workshops where the same profession is practiced.⁹²

La Tour du Pin's contribution to romantic traditionalism also includes the promotion of an international conference of Catholic social thinkers. Under the leadership of Bishop Gaspar Mermillod, this idea becomes the Catholic Union of Fribourg from which Pope Leo XIII requests input before drafting *Rerum novarum*.

Another of La Tour du Pin's collaborators, Albert de Mun, is more impressed with the *bienfaisance* style of traditionalist social thought. With the aid of Émile Keller, Maurice Maignen, and La Tour du Pin, de Mun organizes a system of worker clubs called the Oeuvre des Cercles Catholiques (OCC). The *cercles* bring employees and employers together for social interaction and dialogue over workplace problems created by economic liberalism. The journal *Revue de l'association catholique* spreads this dialogue across Europe. Eventually, de Mun's OCC becomes an important lobby in the French Chamber of Deputies for legalization of trade unions, minimum wage, health insurance, old age pensions, workplace safety, an eight-hour workday, and child labor restrictions.⁹³

By 1879, most of de Mun's goals are already in practice at Léon Harmel's textile factory in the Champagne region of France. There, a board of workers with a management chairman make shared decisions about wages, shop management, social insurance, vocational training, medical care, housing, and dowries for the workers' daughters. Harmel's factory is not corporatism but a model Christian corporation. Harmel encourages this model in his 1877 *Manuel d'une corporation chrétienne*.⁹⁴

Other *bienfaisance* social thinkers look askance at social legislation and Christian factories. For Charles Périn and Frédéric Le Play, these activities disturb the free play of supply and demand on the open market. In their view, economic laissez-faire promotes social health

by increasing jobs and consumer goods. Périn already made this argument in his 1861 *De la richesse dans les sociétés chrétiennes* but broadens it in his 1880 *Les doctrines économiques depuis un siècle*. In both works, Périn believes the social benefits of an open market require the moral rectitude of employers and employees. Both parties must avoid avarice and practice charity. From this standpoint, Périn supports organized *voluntary* charity.

Le Play arrives at the same conclusion by a different route. His earlier sociological study of the European family convinces him that social health requires a moral regeneration of the family.⁹⁵ Only a return to responsible fatherhood—not state or employer paternalism—will effect this regeneration. Périn and Le Play explain their free market–moral regeneration approach in the journal *La réforme sociale*. Catholic social thinkers sympathetic to this viewpoint receive episcopal support in 1880 from the bishop of Angers, Charles-Émile Freppel. As a result, Pope Leo XIII can add input from the so-called school of Angers while preparing *Rerum novarum*.

Cosmopolitanism

A competing school of Catholic social thought is the school of Liège. This school is an expression of the period's politico-economic form of cosmopolitan social thought. Through the leadership of Archbishop Victor Doutreloux, three international conferences on Catholic social thought are held in Liège between 1886 and 1890. Though open to social Catholics of every orientation, the dominant voices are those favoring civil liberties and state intervention in social problems. Even participant Léon Harmel warms to these strategies. By his third worker pilgrimage to Rome in 1889, he is advocating worker self-determination. Now a Christian democrat, Harmel aligns with Catholic thinkers like Abbé Potter, editor of *Le pays de Liège*—the “first Christian democrat daily.”⁹⁶

A peculiar form of politico-economic cosmopolitanism surfaces in the thought of American Henry George. Society's economic problems are not the result of avaricious

employers or disruptive employees but the “unearned increment” that idle landowners extract from employers and employees through land rent. If the state taxed all land rent, ample funds would be available for public use. George's “single-tax theory,” as outlined in his 1879 *Progress and Poverty*, “sparked a debate around the world.”⁹⁷

Less newsworthy but more enduring is the cosmopolitan social thought expressed in the “brick and mortar” social service of religious women. Since the founding days of Mother Seton in North America and comparable women leaders in Europe, the number of communities for women religious soars. This creates not only more school teachers and alms collectors but a burgeoning array of boarding homes, foundling hospitals, reading rooms, orphanages, and homeless shelters. Close contact with the poor through service structures, explains John McGreevy, “fostered a jaundiced view of economic ‘laws’ explaining poverty as a consequence of bad choices.”⁹⁸ Without time, interest, or permission, religious women of the period do not translate this experience into treatises on Catholic social thought. Instead, their action is the text, read by thousands of illiterate poor across Europe and the Americas.

While support for economic reform would characterize most cosmopolitan thinkers during this period, some remain particularly focused on the merits of civil liberties. In America, this is best represented in the distinct styles of John Ireland, archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, and James Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore.

One-time seminarian under the supervision of French Bishop Dupanloup, John Ireland encourages expeditious “Americanization” of ethnic Catholics, experiments with public ownership of Catholic schools, and the legalization of interracial marriage. Throughout his life, Ireland celebrates American liberties unapologetically. “Republic of America,” Ireland incants, “thou bearest in thy hands the hopes of the human race, thy mission from God is to show the nations that men are capable of highest civil and political liberty.”⁹⁹

No less an “Americanist” than Ireland, James Gibbons holds a position in the famous

see of Baltimore that gives him de facto responsibility for holding the diverse American Church together. This responsibility requires much of Gibbons, not the least of which are patience with ethnic Catholic communities and support for parochial schools. It also calls for the kind of deft diplomacy Gibbons displays in his well-documented defenses of open-membership trade unions like the Knights of Labor and Henry George's right to propound his economic theories. Yet Gibbons is not adverse to principled prophetic action. In 1889, he celebrates the opening Mass of the first Black Catholic Congress and repeatedly insists to Catholics worldwide, "Yes, our nation is strong and her strength lies, under Providence, in the majesty and supremacy of the law, in the loyalty of her citizens to that law, and in the affection of our people for their free institutions."¹⁰⁰

Of all the styles of Roman Catholic social thought between 1872 and 1890, none match the normative power of neoscholastic cosmopolitanism. Several social thinkers write from a neoscholastic approach, but none are as prodigious as Pope Leo XIII and his collaborators. In the thirteen years before *Rerum novarum*, Pope Leo XIII produces no less than nine major encyclicals on social-moral issues. These include the restoration of Thomistic philosophy (*Aeterni patris*) and discussions of socialism (*Quod apostolici muneris*), marriage (*Arcanum*), the character of political power (*Diuturnum*), the problem of freemasonry (*Humanum genus*), a Christian theory of the state (*Immortale Dei*), the nature of human freedom (*Libertas*), the moral ordering of human life (*Exeunte iam anno*), and the meaning of citizenship (*Sapientiae Christianae*).

While Pope Leo XIII's Thomistic philosophical commitment involves a metaphysics of universal first principles, it is also a form of realism encouraging particular observation of the material world. Pope Leo XIII does, in fact, have great interest in science. He formally reestablishes the Vatican Observatory in 1891, supports biblical archaeology, and insists that minor and major seminarians study physical science.

According to Michael Paul Driskel, the rise of neoscholastic realism transforms Christian

art at the end of the early modern period. The earlier papal-supported "aesthetic of ultramontanism" mediated eternal truths through neo-classical images of either idyllic arcadianism or hieratic timelessness. With Pope Leo XIII, the new artistic realism "that had been slowly gaining favor within the Church" is endorsed.¹⁰¹

The works of Mihály Munkácsy and Henri Lerolle exemplify this development. Munkácsy's much admired *Le Christ devant pilate* depicts a rather unattractive but realistic Jesus surrounded by men gesturing in lifelike ways. As Driskel explains, Munkácsy was scrupulous about giving "the physiognomies, poses, and accoutrements an almost photographic fidelity to nature, something he achieved by utilizing photographs for the principal actors in the drama and for the details of the set."¹⁰² Lerolle follows this same approach in his 1883 *L'Arrivée des bergers*. Here, shepherds enter to see the Christ child in a stable that "could have been found in any farmyard in France." Like Munkácsy, Lerolle worked from a "carefully squared photograph of an actual stable."¹⁰³

This visual "rhetoric of reconciliation" between God and the world reflected the major transformation in Catholic thought occasioned by neoscholastic cosmopolitanism. Catholics would now see the images and concerns of their world in the realist representations of Jesus and the saints. In 1891, the realist painter Théobald Chartran is invited to execute the official portrait of Pope Leo XIII.

Transformationism

In *A Fight for God*, Henri Daniel-Rops offers a vivid description of the Paris Commune, the event that began this final period of early modern Roman Catholic social thought.

At about seven o'clock in the evening of Thursday, 24th May 1871, six [innocent] men were taken from their cells in the Parisian jail of La Roquette, lined up against a wall and shot. They included a layman . . . and five priests [including archbishop of Paris, Georges Darboy] . . . this measure had been decided by the [socialist] Insurrectional

Committee six weeks earlier by way of revenge for the execution of some of their own partisans who had been taken prisoner during an abortive counter attack . . . on the 25th May the Dominicans of the École Saint-Albert d'Areueil, having been allowed to escape, were shot down like rabbits on the Avenue a'Italie. On the 26th ten priests, among them three Jesuits and two Picpucians, were massacred in the Rue Haxo.¹⁰⁴

The bloody events of the Paris Commune cast a shadow over all Roman Catholic social thinkers at the close of the nineteenth century. However, no thinkers were affected more than those who had earlier explored the possibility of Christian socialism. As a result, no forms of either "communal" or "societal" transformationism are conspicuous in Catholic social thought between 1872 and 1890.

CONCLUSION

Three of the most important non-Catholic sociological minds of the nineteenth century sought an explanation for their changing world in the processes of differentiation, commodification, and rationalization. Emile Durkheim keenly observed the phenomenon of differentiation—the social process whereby social units (e.g., family, church, business, school, and government) become increasingly specialized in their functions relative to one another. Karl Marx provided the classic description of commodification—the social process whereby an increasing number of objects come within the ambit of capitalist exchange relations. Max Weber had a particular interest in the process of rationalization whereby knowledge becomes increasingly identified with what is calculable, impersonal, formal, and processual.

Roman Catholics of the early modern period felt these processes in the actions of their governments, the alterations in their family life, the upheavals in their economic routines, the startling changes in cultural communication, and the unimaginable overturning of their Church's longstanding social

power. And Catholics were not simply passive observers of these events. They responded. Hans Maier says, "Catholics had a hand in every upheaval in the formation of modern society."¹⁰⁵ The diverse and abundant expressions of Roman Catholic social thought during the early modern period was one way Catholics addressed the shocking changes and enormous complexities of their world. From this standpoint, one might see Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* as much a summary conclusion of one period of modern Catholic social thought as the beginning of another.

This is not meant to diminish the importance of *Rerum novarum*. It is important to recall that most Catholics of the early modern period did not encounter fellow religionists animated with social concern. Émile Zola no doubt captures the common experience in his novel *Germinal*. There, a desperately impoverished La Maheude and her children pass Abbé Joire on their way to beg from the wealthy mine owner, Monsieur Grégoire:

The curé of Montsou, the Abbé Joire, came by, hiking up his cassock with the delicacy of a well-nourished cat; he was fearful of soiling his habit. He was a gentle little man who tried not to get involved in anything, so as to irritate neither the workers nor the bosses.

"Good Morning, Father."

Without stopping, he smiled at the children and left her standing there in the middle of the road.¹⁰⁶

While Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* cannot be accurately described as inaugurating Roman Catholic social thought, the encyclical certainly made it such that fewer Catholics could, in good conscience, leave the poor "standing there in the middle of the road."

Contemporary sociologists Stephen Crook, Jan Pakulski, and Malcolm Waters believe the dynamic that shocked early modernity and became routinized in modernity has broken apart in our postmodern era. They argue that postmodernization involves a conflictual hyperextension of the modernization processes of differentiation, commodification, and ration-

alization. They write: “The shift from modernization to postmodernization is related to the convergence of modernizing processes on an impossible combination of hyperdifferentiation with monocentric organization.”¹⁰⁷ In other words, differentiation now separates human beings into special interest enclaves, rationalization now socializes human beings into a global sameness, and commodification—ironically—fuels both movements. This “genuinely explosive” combination of hyperdifferentiation, hyperglobalization, and hypercommodification accounts for the “unprecedented level of unpredictability and apparent chaos” marking postmodern life.¹⁰⁸

This language would surely have eluded early modern Catholics but not the experience. If Crook, Pakulski, and Waters are correct, then aspects of the social dynamics of the early modern and postmodern worlds may have more in common with each other than either have with modernity. And if that is a possibility, then early modern Roman Catholic social thought may be a fruitful source of *ressourcement* for contemporary Roman Catholic social thinkers facing the simultaneity of social factionalism, globalism, and consumerism.

The age-old Christian moral orientations of traditionalism, cosmopolitanism, and transformationism inspire multiple social insights among Roman Catholics in the early modern period. These insights are expressed in texts, speeches, artistic creations, and lives self-consciously ordered toward the construction of just social structures. Every type of Roman Catholic is involved—cleric and lay, professional academic and public intellectual, inspired leader and humble builder. All seek to enrich the Catholic social imagination. In addition to this contribution to the overall legacy of Roman Catholic social thought, early modern Roman Catholics may be uniquely speaking to our own time.

NOTES

1. For the purposes of this discussion, early modern Roman Catholic social thought spans the period

from Pope Benedict XIV’s 1740 retrieval of the encyclical genre up to the 1891 appearance of Pope Leo XIII’s RN. For an explanation of this dating, see Michael J. Schuck, *That They Be One: The Social Teaching of the Papal Encyclicals, 1740–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991), ix–xi. I want to thank my graduate assistant, Ron Wright, for his invaluable assistance in preparing the present study.

2. Ann Swidler, *Talk of Love: How Culture Matters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 13.

3. Charles Lemert, *Social Things: An Introduction to the Sociological Life* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), 18.

4. In his 1911 *Political Parties*, Robert Michels shows that priorities of leaders in bureaucratic organizations tend, over time, to shift from the organizational good to the preservation of the leaders’ own power and influence. On the tension between highly centralized institutions and community memory, see Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 14–16.

5. John Courtney Murray appealed repeatedly to the *duo sunt* of Pope Gelasius I (492–496) when arguing for the separation of Church and civil government. See, for example, John Courtney Murray, “Contemporary Orientations of Catholic Thought on Church and State in the Light of History,” *Theological Studies* 10 (1949): 177–234.

6. See, for example, Aaron Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865–1950* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963); Thomas Bokenkotter, *Church and Revolution: Catholics in the Struggle for Democracy and Social Justice* (New York: Image, 1998); Frank Paul Bowman, *Le Christ des barricades* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1987); John A. Coleman, “Neither Liberal nor Socialist: The Originality of Catholic Social Teaching,” in *One Hundred Years of Catholic Social Thought: Celebration and Challenge*, ed. John A. Coleman (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1991); Jean Baptiste Durocelle, *Les débuts du catholicisme social en France, 1822–1870* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951); Michael Fogarty, *Christian Democracy in Western Europe, 1820–1953* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957); Robert Kothen, *La pensée et l’action*

sociale des catholiques, 1789–1944 (Louvain, Belgium: Em. Warny, 1945); Hans Maier, *Revolution and the Church: The Early History of Christian Democracy, 1789–1901*, trans. Emily M. Schossberger (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969); Georgiana Putnam McEntee, *The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain* (New York: Macmillan, 1927); Bela Menczer, *Catholic Political Thought, 1789–1848* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962); Paul Misner, *Social Catholicism in Europe: From the Onset of Industrialization to the First World War* (New York: Crossroad, 1991); Joseph Moody, ed., *Church and Society: Catholic Social and Political Thought and Movements, 1789–1950* (New York: Arts, 1953); Parker Thomas Moon, *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France: A Study in the History of Social Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1921); Franz H. Mueller, "The Church and the Social Question," in *The Challenge of 'Mater et Magistra'*, ed. Joseph Moody and Justice Lawler (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963); Pierre Pierard, *L'Église et les ouvriers en France (1840–1940)* (Paris: Hachette littérature 1984); Alec Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism* (London: SPCK, 1964).

7. See Schuck, *That They Be One*.

8. See, for example, Nigel Aston, ed., *Religious Change in Europe, 1650–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); Mauricio Beuchot, *The History of Philosophy in Colonial Mexico*, trans. Elizabeth Millán (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998); James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley, *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes, 1830–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); Austen Ivereigh, ed., *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Europe and Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2000); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003); Hugh McLeod, ed., *European Religion in the Age of Great Cities, 1830–1930* (London: Routledge, 1995); John W. O'Malley et al., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Frank Talbot and Nicholas Atkin, eds., *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789* (London: Hambledon, 1996) and *The Right in France, 1789–1997* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); Peter Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495–1806*

(New York: St. Martin's, 1999); Isser Woloch, ed., *Revolution and the Meanings of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996).

9. Michael Paul Driskel, *Representing Belief: Religion, Art and Society in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 11. Of course, Driskel's starting point is not new; Arnold Hauser explored the relationship between art and politics in his well-known four-volume *The Social History of Art* (New York: Vintage, 1958). Other contemporary scholars with this interest and useful to the present study include Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Albert Boime, *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1987); Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Linda Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989); Philip Nord, *Impressionists and Politics: Art and Democracy in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2000).

10. James B. White, *Justice as Translation: An Essay in Cultural and Legal Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), xi.

11. Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), 393.

12. Alfred J. Bingham, "The Abbé Bergier: An Eighteenth Century Catholic Apologist," *Modern Language Review* 54, no. 3 (1955): 349.

13. Aston, ed., *Religious Change*, 36.

14. "Il a créé le riche, afin qu'il rachète ses péchés en secourant le pauvre. Il a créé le pauvre, afin qu'il s'humilie par le secours qu'il reçoit des riches. Ils ont été comme entrelacés dans la société civile, afin que par des offices mutuels ils puissent s'entr'aider, non seulement pour les commodités de la vie présente, mais encore pour leur salut, en se sanctifiant, les uns par une libéralité honnête, les autres par une humble reconnaissance." Sermon *Sur L'Obligation de l'aumône*, by Esprit Flechier in Henri Bremond, *Oeuvres choisies* (Paris: Librairie Bloud, 1911), 81. Translation mine.

15. Bernard Groethuysen, *The Bourgeois: Catholicism and Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France*,

trans. Mary Ilford (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 150.

16. Schuck, *That They Be One*, 20.

17. Giuseppe Chiari's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* can be viewed at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/> Jacques Louis David's *The Death of Socrates* can be viewed at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/>

18. Christopher M. S. Johns, "Papal Patronage and Cultural Bureaucracy in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Clement XI and the Accademia di San Luca," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 22, no. 1 (1988): 2.

19. *Ibid.*, 13, 16 (number 28), 23.

20. Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 31.

21. Charles Irenée Castel de Saint-Pierre, "A Project for Perpetual Peace," in *Peace Projects of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. M. C. Jacob (New York: Garland, 1974), 27.

22. Bokenkotter, *Church and Revolution*, 32.

23. Ruth Graham, "The Revolutionary Bishops and the *Philosophes*," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 16, no. 2 (1982–83), 127–28.

24. *Ibid.*, 119.

25. John Cogley, *Catholic America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Image, 1973), 22.

26. Philip Gleason, "American Catholics and Liberalism, 1789–1960," in *Catholicism and Liberalism: Contributions to American Public Philosophy*, ed. R. Bruce Douglass and David Hollenbach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 48.

27. Quoted in Kenneth J. Zanca, ed., *American Catholics and Slavery: 1789–1866* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994), 255.

28. Quoted in Joel S. Panzer, *The Popes and Slavery* (New York: Alba House, 1996), 257.

29. *Ibid.*, 42. Panzer also blames the early American distinction between slavery conditions and slavery as such for the misinterpretation of papal thought in John T. Noonan, Laennec Hurbon, and John F. Maxwell. *Ibid.*, 2. If Panzer is correct, his argument would also hold for McGreevy's discussion in *Catholicism and Freedom*, 50.

30. Jesuit Family Album can be viewed at <http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/jmac/jp/jpintro.htm> (downloaded December 8, 2003).

31. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 10.

32. Jesuit Family Album.

33. Paul H. Beik, "The French Revolution Seen from the Right: Social Theories in Motion, 1789–1799," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46 (1956): 64.

34. Geoffrey Cubitt, "God, Man and Satan: Strands in Counter-Revolutionary Thought among Nineteenth-Century French Catholics," in *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789*, ed. Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (London: Hambledon, 1996), 147.

35. *Ibid.*, 146.

36. Robert A. Nisbet, "De Bonald and the Concept of the Social Group," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5 (1944): 323, 330.

37. Boime, *Hollow Icons*, 18.

38. Richard P. McBrien, *Lives of the Popes: The Pontiffs from St. Peter to John Paul II* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 334.

39. Sean O'Riordan, "The Teaching of the Papal Encyclicals as a Source and Norm of Moral Theology: A Historical and Analytic Survey," *Studia Moralia* 14 (1976): 155.

40. Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 5.

41. Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 76.

42. *Ibid.*, 74. Ingres's painting can be viewed at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/>

43. Ad Leys, *Ecclesiological Impacts of the Principle of Subsidiarity* (Kampen, Netherlands: Uitgeverij Kok, 1995), 5.

44. Misner, *Social Catholicism*, 41. Catholic thinkers sharing key elements of Müller's thought include Friedrich von Schlegel, Karl Ludwig von Haller, Franz Xavier von Baader, and Joseph Görres. See also discussions of M. Levacher-Duplessis, Félix de La Farelle, and Eugène Buret in Matthew H. Elbow, *French Corporative Theory, 1789–1948* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

45. Honoré de Balzac, *The Country Doctor*, from Online Literature Library at <http://www.literature.org/authors/de-balzac-honore/country-doctor/index.html> (downloaded December 8, 2003). See also Balzac's discussion of society and the individual in Menczer, *Catholic Political Thought*.

46. Richard Fargher, "Religious Reactions in Post-Revolutionary French Literature: Chateaubriand, Constant, Mme de Staël, Joseph de Maistre," in *Religious Change*, ed. N. Aston, 263.

47. Overbeck's painting can be viewed at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/>

48. Moon, *The Labor Problem*, 21.
49. Ernst J. Brehm, "Catholic Social Economy and the Social Question in Mid-Nineteenth Century Spain: De la Sagra, et al.," in *On the Condition of Labor and the Social Question One Hundred Years Later*, ed. Thomas O. Nitsch et al. (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1994), 203. Another important Catholic social thinker sharing Villeneuve-Bargemont's approach is Armand de Melun. See Misner's discussion of de Melun in *Social Catholicism*.
50. Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism*, 9.
51. John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 59.
52. Boime, *Hollow Icons*, 30–31. See also the discussion of Montalembert's interest in medieval art and architecture in Driskel, *Representing Belief*. A photograph of Duseigneur's sculpture appears in Boime, *Hollow Icons*, 32.
53. J. N. Moody et al., "Catholic Developments in Spain and Latin America," in *Church and Society*, ed. J. N. Moody et al., 744.
54. Bokenkotter, *Church and Revolution*, 99.
55. *Ibid.*, 105. While O'Connell was a skilled, pragmatic social thinker, he did oppose slavery in principle in his 1843 letter to Irish Americans. See McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 50.
56. Goya's work can be viewed at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/>.
57. Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 114. Delacroix's work can be viewed at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/>.
58. Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision*, 2. The view of Delacroix as a radical nonbeliever is challenged in Joyce C. Polistena's analysis of his religious and theological sources. See discussion of Polistena's "Revising Eugène Delacroix's Religious Oeuvre: Romantic Painting and Its Reintegration with Theology" in Cordula A. Grewe, "Reviving a Historical Corpse: Rewriting the Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Religious Art." Available at <http://www.ghi-dc.org/bulletin27F00/b27confrelart.html> (downloaded April 18, 2005).
59. The favorite artist of the Catholic socialists is Protestant Ary Scheffer. Characteristically, his 1837 *Le Christ consolateur* depicts Jesus with the socially oppressed on his right and left. Buchez and Scheffer are discussed in Joyce C. Polistena, "The Role of Religion in Eugène Delacroix's Religious Paintings: Intention and Distortion" (Ph.D. diss., The City University of New York, 1997), 145–58. Scheffer's work can be viewed in Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 37.
60. Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism*, 17.
61. Antiquariaat Matthys de Jongh, N. de Bonneville. Available at <http://www.polybiblio.com/mdejongh/S51.html> (downloaded December 8, 2003).
62. Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism*, 88. Another important societal transformationist during this period is Hippolyte de la Morvonnais. See discussion of la Morvonnais in Duroselle, *Les débuts*, 383–91.
63. Woloch, ed., *Revolution and the Meaning of Freedom*, 1.
64. Menczer, *Catholic Political Thought*, 159.
65. Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 41. Janmot's work can be viewed in *ibid.*, 42.
66. Cubitt, "God, Man, and Satan," 140.
67. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 70.
68. *Qui nuper* in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1740–1878*, ed. Claudia Carlen (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 357.
69. *Nullis certe verbis*, in *ibid.*, 360.
70. Henri Daniel-Rops, *The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789–1870*, vol. 2, trans. John Warrington (Garden City, N.Y.: Image, 1967), 74.
71. Flandrin's work can be viewed in Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 125.
72. Quoted in Alfred Diamant, *Austrian Catholics and the First Republic: Democracy, Capitalism, and the Social Order, 1918–1934* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), 58–59.
73. John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848–1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 176.
74. *Ibid.*, 478, number 216.
75. Charles Plater, *The Priest and Social Action* (London: Longmans, Green, 1914), 54–55. In France, Maurice Maignen developed a patronage system analogous to Kolping's but with joint involvement of workers and employers. Misner explains that Maignen's joint approach was less effective than Kolping's sole focus on the workers. See Misner, *Social Catholicism*, 99–100.
76. Leys, *Ecclesiological Impacts*, 24.
77. Maastricht Treaty, *How Does the European Union Work?* (Brussels, Belgium: Office for Official

Publications of the European Communities, 1996), 13–14.

78. Misner masterfully traces the evolution of “Christian democracy” during this period in *Social Catholicism*, 80–90. Other Catholic thinkers with this cast of mind include Cardinal Louis de Bonald, Henry Maret, Peter Reichensperger, and Louis René Villermé.

79. Quoted in Zanca, ed., *American Catholics and Slavery*, 124.

80. Delacroix’s work can be viewed in Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 93.

81. Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 128–31. Flan-drin’s work can be viewed in *ibid.*, 129.

82. For a helpful recent discussion of Brownson, see McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 43–49, 66–68, 88–90.

83. In the same spirit, Brownson’s lifelong friend, Issac T. Hecker, founds a religious congregation of men in 1858—the Paulists—whose mission includes communicating the spiritual value of intellectual freedom. The Paulists’ important monthly journal *The Catholic World* begins publication in 1865.

84. Andrew M. Greeley, *The Catholic Experience* (Garden City, N.Y.: Image, 1969), 102, 122.

85. Paul Misner, “Antecedents of *Rerum Novarum* in European Catholicism,” in *On the Condition of Labor*, ed. T. Nitsch et al., 216.

86. *Ibid.*, 217.

87. Other new Catholic “societal” transformationists during this period are Pierre Leroux, Pierre Pradié, and Victor Calland.

88. Quoted in Aaron Abell, ed., *American Catholic Thought on Social Questions* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 85.

89. Rosemary Haughton, *The Catholic Thing* (Springfield, Ill.: Templegate, 1979), 226.

90. Henri Daniel-Rops, *A Fight for God*, vol. 1, trans. John Warrington (Garden City, N.Y.: Image, 1967), 287.

91. Boime, *Hollow Icons*, 102. Photographs of Rodin’s sculpture are at <http://www2.bc.edu/~khimes/publications/mcst/>.

92. Elbow, *French Corporative Theory*, 84, 70.

93. See Moon’s discussion of de Mun’s social legislation in *The Labor Problem*, 101–12, and the “Comparative Table” on 163–65.

94. Franz Brandts undertakes a similar factory experiment in Mönchengladbach, Germany. See

discussion of the “Mönchengladbach orientation” in Misner, *Social Catholicism*, 181–85.

95. Le Play carries forward the sociological emphasis on the family begun by Louis de Bonald at the turn of the century. Le Play first publishes his findings in *Ouvriers européens* (1855).

96. Misner, *Social Catholicism*, 222.

97. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 132. George’s subsequent run for mayor of New York and the controversial involvement of Rev. Edward McGlynn in the “single-tax” campaign is well-documented.

98. *Ibid.*, 130.

99. Greeley, *The Catholic Experience*, 155. Another important American “republican” is John Spalding, bishop of Peoria, Illinois.

100. *Ibid.*, 180. An important Gibbons-style social Catholic thinker in Europe is Henry Edward Manning, archbishop of Westminster. The story of Daniel Rudd, former slave and president of the first Black Catholic Congress, remains to be written. Born in 1854, Rudd began the *American Catholic Tribune* in 1886, the first newspaper of its kind in the United States. It was Rudd and his *American Catholic Tribune* that first promoted the idea of a national meeting of African American Catholics. Adrienne Curry, “The History of the Black Catholic Congress Movement.” Available at http://www.blackcatholicchicago.org/Archive%20Articles/0206_historyp1_nbcc.htm (downloaded December 8, 2003).

101. Driskel, *Representing Belief*, 212.

102. *Ibid.*, 204. Munkácsy’s work can be viewed in *ibid.*, 204.

103. *Ibid.*, 209. Lerolle’s work can be viewed in *ibid.*, 210.

104. Daniel-Rops, *A Fight for God*, 110, 112.

105. Maier, *Revolution and the Church*, 241.

106. Émile Zola, *Germinal* (New York: New American Library, 1970), 74.

107. Stephen Crook, Jan Pakulski, and Malcolm Waters, *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Society* (London: Sage, 1992), 220.

108. *Ibid.*, 35.

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