

Soviet conquest of his nation. At a Castel Gandolfo meeting, Pius “disappointed” the cardinal by not condemning the invasion (84–85). The following May, Hlond approached the pope to use the airwaves of Vatican Radio to deliver a message of hope to the Poles and again met disappointment. Pius responded that the time was inopportune (137–138). The Italian scholar, Raffaella Perin, however, recently noted that Hlond did, indeed, use Vatican Radio to address his countrymen, not in May of 1940 but on the earlier occasion. The *Osservatore Romano* published Hlond’s text on October 2–3, 1939, that is, the day *after* the disappointing encounter at Castel Gandolfo (Raffaella Perin, *La radio del papa, Propaganda e diplomazia nella seconda Guerra mondiale* [Bologna: Il Mulino, 2017], 57). Pius’s attitudes thus become more complicated.

The pontiff’s approach to the Holocaust remains crucial to the whole story, and Kertzer concludes his work with an essay on “The Silence of the Pope.” While he emphasizes that Pius was not “Hitler’s Pope,” the reluctance to intervene on behalf of the Jews will forever cast a dark shadow on his legacy. He justly portrays the wartime Pius as a failure in moral leadership, a failure of which he was acutely, and probably painfully, aware. Kertzer understandably focuses on Pius XII, although perhaps more consideration of the broader Catholic Church—and Catholics—yields a story both more complex and hopeful. He mentions figures such as the diabolical Włodimir Ledóchowski or the idiotic Cesare Orsenigo but not the remarkable Jewish aid organization, DELASEM, that Italian priests informally took over to save it from the Nazis; or the heroic (and venerable) Giorgio La Pira who, hiding from the Germans in a Tuscan monastery gave up his room and slept in his car to make way for Jewish refugee children from Rome, a story told to me by one of those children. La Pira was a Catholic, inspired by the same principles as his pope. But La Pira knew what to do, and he did it.

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***Was glaubten die Deutschen zwischen 1933 und 1945? Religion und Politik im Nationalsozialismus.* Edited by Olaf Blaschke and Thomas Großbölting. Schriftenreihe “Religion und Moderne” 18. Frankfurt a. Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 2020. 540 pp.**

This substantial volume is the product of a conference held in 2018 at the University of Münster, a nerve center for scholarship on modern church history that was recently awarded a national Cluster of Excellence designation in the field of religion and politics. Conference volumes are often a mixed bag, and while this one is no exception, its twenty or so essays are linked by a shared perspective that aims to complicate classic narratives of the Third Reich era in which cross and swastika are counterposed as antitheses in a confessionally inflected dialectic of resistance and repression, religion and secularity. The contributors are concerned less with familiar theological and institutional categories than with faith in the broadest sense, as manifested in a complex

interplay of religious and political identities in the lived experience of ordinary Germans.

Contributions are grouped under three rubrics—“Actors and Practices,” “Ideological and Religious Motives,” “Interpretive Discourses”—though the category boundaries are more than a little fluid. Despite obvious contrasts between Protestants’ internecine Church Struggle and the Catholic hierarchy’s running battles to defend institutional rights under the 1933 Concordat, patterns of quotidian ambivalence and accommodation, as Manfred Gailus suggests in a wide-ranging overview, were endemic to both communities. The Party rank and file were largely indifferent to ideological agendas; a majority remained nominal church members. Many if not most Germans arguably practiced some form of what the editors term a hybrid (or “dual”) faith in which Christian and National Socialist impulses were not mutually exclusive and could in fact be mutually reinforcing. A great many were probably oblivious to any real dissonance; others may have elected to conform despite awareness of tensions or else found ways of assimilating new dictates to inherited beliefs and practices.

As might be expected, many of the contributors explore the contours of this hybrid faith by way of biographical inquiries and microhistories of particular communities and organizations. Nearly twice as many studies deal with Catholics as with the Protestant majority. Hybrid loyalties at the outset of the Third Reich are a central theme of two local case studies that focus on Berlin Catholics: an account by Klaus Große Kracht of major public church events and Holger Arnin’s nuanced analysis of the polyvalent character of the term “Führer” as used in one widely circulated parish paper. Olaf Blaschke’s impressive portrait of Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg, an icon of resistance for his role in the failed July 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler, in many respects encapsulates the central project of the book. If Stauffenberg’s Catholic faith was an important motivating factor in his resistance activities, Blaschke argues, then one must also ask how that faith functioned during his prior decade of loyal service to the regime.

Another case study of ambivalence is Lucia Scherzberg’s essay on the Bavarian priest Franz Seidl who, as an active participant in Walter Grundmann’s notorious Institute for Research on Jewish Influence on German Church Life, devoted considerable effort to plans for purging the Catholic liturgy of alleged Jewish elements. Seidl’s proposals were a *mélange* of predictably racist themes—the eucharist re-conceived, for example, as Nordic “grail celebration”—and, interestingly, reforms generally associated with the interwar Liturgical Movement. Seidl the National Socialist fellow traveler remained a parish priest in good standing for a quarter century and more after the war and was in fact celebrated in church circles as a victim of Nazi persecution, having been jailed briefly in 1941 for joining protests against official efforts to remove crucifixes from Bavarian classrooms.

Several contributions are noteworthy for drawing attention to the experience of women, although, as Isabel Heinemann concludes in her insightful commentary, gender still remains an under-researched dimension of the period. Thomas Brodie notes the frequently gendered character of Catholic experience during World War II, while Sarah Thieme offers a finely textured case study of syncretism and “feminization” in Advent and Christmas observances in Bochum under the aegis of local National Socialist women’s organizations. Hans-Ulrich Thame describes a project in one small central German town in 1935 to produce a tapestry for the local Protestant church, a joint undertaking of Party and church women’s groups that constructed a symbolic universe combining cross and swastika, taking this as the point of departure for a broader examination of ways traditional symbols and rituals could be instrumentalized

in the interests of political agendas. A fascinating case study that combines both hybrid faith and women's agency is Armin Nolzen's depiction of the League of German Girls as a surrogate spiritual community, with a "semantics of faith" built around topoi of loyalty, duty, and love of Führer. Nolzen underscores the limits of this initiative by citing the case of Ursula Meyer-Semlies, a member in East Prussia who rose to a position of regional leadership that afforded her entrée to party membership and an eventual career as a schoolteacher, in which capacity she stubbornly insisted on retaining religious instruction among her classroom duties in contravention of party officials' dictates, appealing to deeply held Protestant convictions and the freedom of conscience she claimed as a politically reliable National Socialist.

The final essay in the book, a stimulating comparative analysis by Mark Ruff, juxtaposes interpretive issues raised by the Church Struggle era with those raised by Trump-era American evangelicalism, showing how each case helps to shed light on the other. His reflections serve as a compelling reminder of the continued relevance of themes pursued throughout this book. It is manifestly impossible for a brief review to convey the full range of topics and approaches that its contributors explore. Taken as a whole, however, they provide a useful index of scholarly developments over the past generation and help identify avenues of inquiry that invite further investigation.

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***Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle.* By Shannen Dee Williams. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2022. xxiii + 394 pp. \$114.95 cloth; \$30.95 paper.**

*Subversive Habits*, Shannen Dee Williams's pioneering study of Black women religious in the United States, is an intense, demanding, extremely ambitious book. It is a heavily documented narrative, grounded in myriad mini-biographies, mined from archival sources, newspapers, and over one hundred oral interviews with sisters and former sisters. Williams does not sugarcoat her history. She is not afraid to use terms such as "white supremacy" with reference to the policies and proclivities of superiors in white (or predominantly white) congregations. At first, *Subversive Habits* (especially the endnotes) can feel like a slap on the cheek to those of us who have been writing the history of Catholic women over the past several decades, attempting to include Black women whenever possible, aware of how much of the history eludes us. Another metaphor might be more apt: *Subversive Habits* is like an ice water facial. It can wake us up, sharpen our awareness, and prepare us for the crucial journey to which Williams beckons us.

Williams's first chapter on "early struggles" in the nineteenth century covers some material that is familiar to American Catholic historians, approached from a distinctly different angle. For example, it explores why Black offspring of the Founding Fathers and victims of the *plaçage* system in Louisiana (which she accurately calls "sexual