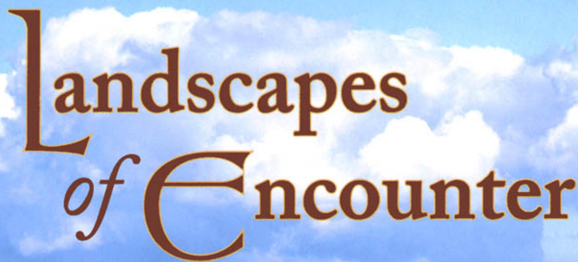



## The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore

Liam Gearon

**University of Calgary**

**PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository**

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2002

# Landscapes of Encounter: The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore

Gearon, Liam

University of Calgary Press

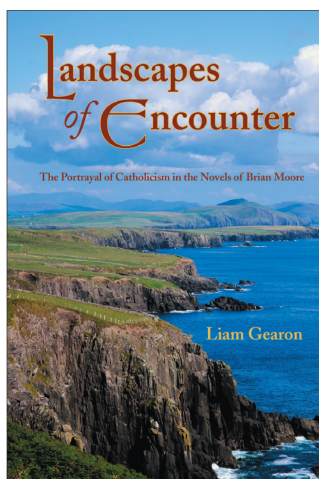
Gearon, L. "Landscapes of Encounter: The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore". University of Calgary Press, Calgary, Alberta, 2002.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/49343
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 3.0 Unported
*Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca*

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY PRESS

# University of Calgary Press

www.uofcpress.com




## LANDSCAPES OF ENCOUNTER: THE PORTRAYAL OF CATHOLICISM IN THE NOVELS OF BRIAN MOORE

by Liam Gearon

ISBN 978-1-55238-663-7

**THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK.** It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

**Cover Art:** The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

**COPYRIGHT NOTICE:** This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY PRESS

Making a difference.
Making you think.

**Acknowledgement:** *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org/content/view/17/33/

# Landscapes of Encounter

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Landscapes of Encounter

## The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore

*Liam Gearon*

UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY
PRESS

©2002 Liam Gearon. All rights reserved.

University of Calgary Press
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta
Canada T2N 1N4
www.uofcpress.com

**National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication Data**
Gearon, Liam
Landscapes of encounter

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-55238-048-3
Also issued in electronic formats: ISBN 978-1-55238-663-7, ISBN 978-1-55238-380-3
1. Moore, Brian, 1921-1999—Criticism and interpretation.
2. Catholic Church—In literature. I. Title.
PS8526.O62Z66 2002 C813'.54 C2002-910893-4
PR9199.3.M617Z66 2002

Canada

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDIP) for our publishing activities.

Canada Council for the Arts
Conseil des Arts du Canada

All rights reserved. No part of this work covered by the copyrights hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means—graphic, electronic or mechanical—without the prior written permission of the publisher. Any request for photocopying, recording, taping or reproducing in information-storage and retrieval systems of any part of this book shall be directed to CANCOPY, One Yonge Street, Suite 1900, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5E 1E5.

Printed and bound in Canada by AGMV Marquis
This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Cover design by Kristina Schuring
Interior design by Jeremy Drought, Last Impression Publishing Service, Calgary, Alberta

# Contents

• Acknowledgments ... vii
• Preface ... ix

## Part I
## Introduction

1 Landscapes of Encounter:
The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore ... 3

## Part II
## The Fictional Portrayal of Pre-Vatican II Catholicism

2 The Early Irish Novels ... 23
3 The Early North American Novels ... 55

## Part III
## Fictional Portrayals of Vatican II Catholicism and Beyond

4 Catholicism Reappraised: Ireland Revisited ... 93
5 North America Revisited:
Post-Vatican II and Postcolonial Perspectives ... 133
6 Moore's Portrayal of the Church in the Modern World:
Theological Universality and Cultural Particularity ... 159

## Part IV
## Conclusion

7 Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism: A Conclusion ... 203

• Endnotes ... 207
• Bibliography ... 265
• Index ... 285

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Acknowledgments

I have many people to thank for guidance and support in the completion of this work. Above all, Dr Suman Gupta, formerly Department of English, University of Surrey Roehampton (now of the Open University), has been an outstanding critic, as well as a good friend. Dr Kevin McCarron provided additional insights as my work progressed, especially in the context of numerous conference presentations at which he was kind enough to attend and make constructive comment. I would like to thank Professor Ann Thompson, former Head of English at University of Surrey Roehampton, for initial discussions on my research topic and ongoing support as one time Director of Studies, until her appointment to another Chair of English at King's College, University of London. Thanks too to Professor Janet Beer, Head of English, Manchester Metropolitan University — her help with Moore's Canadian connections proved invaluable. In Canada, Apollonia Steele, Head of Special Collections, MacKimmie Library, University of Calgary, was most helpful during two Canadian research visits to the Brian Moore Archive in March/April, 1999 and February 2000.

In regard to funding, I am indebted to the International and Research Office, University of Surrey Roehampton, for financial support for my conference visit to Galway in June 1999. I am grateful to Christine Hopkins and Professor Ron Best, Faculty of Education, for matched funding for both Canadian and Irish visits. Thanks to Professor Graham Welch, London Institute of Education, for ongoing support and encouragement of my interdisciplinary endeavours. Special thanks to Dr Bernadette Porter, Rector and Chief Executive, University of Surrey Roehampton, for the unstinting support of this and other research work, including financial support for my first Canadian research visit. In the final stages of production, I express many thanks to the generous support of Dr Myszka Guzkowska, Principal of Digby Stuart College and Pro-Rector of University of Surrey Roehampton, together with that of Dr Chris Lloyd, Head of School of Education Studies, University of Surrey Roehampton.

Gratitude extends also to my publishers at Cassell/Continuum — especially Ruth McCurry and Diana Smallshaw — for my edited volume

*English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), as part of the *Theology in Dialogue* series. In addition to the many funding bodies behind the international *Engaging the Curriculum* project from which *English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum* arose, I am grateful to the series editor, Professor Ian Markham, now Dean, Heartland Seminary, Conneticut, for his consistent support. More indirectly, thanks to all the many contributors to the latter volume who have helped to set Moore's fiction in wider literary and religious context; special thanks being owed to keynote contributors, including: Professor David Jasper, Dean of Divinity, University of Glasgow, Professor Stephen Prickett, Regius Professor of English Language and Literature, University of Glasgow; Professor Graham Ward, Professor of Applied Theology, University of Manchester; and Professor Terence Wright, Professor of English Literature, University of Newcastle.

I am grateful to many conference organisers, journal and book editors for allowing me space to present and publish papers, particularly Professor Stanley Porter, University of Surrey Roehampton, and Professor Tadgh Foley, Department of English, National University of Ireland, Galway. The interdisciplinary and contextual range of these events is evidence of the interpretative breadth possible for Moore's work — from conferences on Death (University College Chichester, 1997), Religion and Sexuality (Roehampton institute London, 1998), Jewish-Christian Relations (Roehampton Institute London, 1999), Faith in the Millennium (Roehampton Institute London, 1999) to the Third Galway Conference on Colonialism (National University of Ireland, Galway, 1999) and Canadian Nation Building, the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Conference of the British Association of Canadian Studies (University of Edinburgh, 2000).

In the preparation of the volume many thanks are due to the director of the University of Calgary Press, Walter Hildebrandt, to the copy editor Lee Sheddon, and the production editor, John King, not fogetting the typesetter, Jeremy Drought, and the cover designer, Kristina Schuring.

Finally, and with all due respect, thanks are offered to Jean, the widow of the late Brian Moore (1921–1999), especially for her permission to access certain material in the University of Calgary archive in March/April 1999 and February 2000.

# Preface

## The Novels of Brian Moore: Critical Contours

THE first encounter I had with the writing of the late Brian Moore (1921–1999) was through the novella *Catholics*. The story is of an isolated and ancient monastic community living on an island off the West coast of Ireland. Set in a post-Vatican IV future, *Catholics* relates how the community struggles to come to terms with changes in a new theological world order. I read the book in 1978 (perhaps six years after the original date of its publication) as a young, idealistic person growing up with an Irish Catholic background in the west of England. For its ability to encapsulate existential crisis within a world of political and religious change within a hundred or so pages of poetic prose, to this day I maintain that *Catholics is* one of Moore's finest works, and certainly amongst the most critically significant of all his books. Yet this work and many of Moore's fictions have never really achieved either the lasting popular or enduring critical acclaim that one might expect for a writer whose work — from *Judith Hearne* (1955) until *The Magician's Wife* (1997) — spanned five decades.

There might be many reasons for this relative neglect. Perhaps chief amongst them is the fact that Moore has never achieved any permanent primacy within any national literary canon. Another reason might be that Moore's work often consciously straddles that curiously ill-defined border between popular and literary fiction. Another reason for critical neglect is the predominant and arguably unfashionable theme which permeates Moore's fiction: that of religion, specifically Roman Catholicism.

This book is an ambitious attempt to redress some of these perceived literary injustices. Contextualizing Moore as a writer of international importance, a recognition he never really received in his lifetime, this book provides a treatment of Moore as a complex writer whose ambivalent portrayal of Catholicism represents a distinctive literary convergence of the ideological and the theological.

Such an approach is predated by a number of countervailing critical currents. Relative neglect aside, a diverse commentary accompanies Moore's

prodigious output.[1] Still, as Sullivan comments, it is "very difficult to find a formula that would serve as a universal interpretive key to Moore's protean fictive production."[2] Sampson's characterisation of Moore as "the chameleon novelist" seemingly supports such an assertion.[3]

For many critics, the national and literary identity of the writer as exile both adds to such potential interpretative difficulties and provides for a hermeneutical resolution. Born and brought up in Belfast, Brian Moore was a natural migrant. After journalistic wanderings in the post-World War II ruins of Eastern Europe, he emigrated to Canada in 1948. Moore retained Canadian citizenship until his death in January 1999 but as early as the late 1950s he had moved from Montreal to New York, and from the east to the west coast of the United States by the mid-1960s. He and his second wife, Jean, subsequently wintered in Malibu, California, and after 1967 summered in Nova Scotia where, in 1995, the Moores had the building of a second home completed.[4] (Moore's final resting place, though, was on native Irish soil.) Based on Moore's Canadian citizenship (and comparisons with Malcolm Lowry's literary residence in Canada), Dahlie acknowledges the writer's Irish background but sees Moore as a Canadian writer. Indeed, in both Dahlie's early and later studies, Moore's migrations are a key source for interpretation of the writer's fiction, especially as Moore's novels highlight conflict and encounter between the Old World of Europe and the New World of North America.[5] While the themes of the writer as exile and the importance of place within Moore's fiction maintain a central focus for Dahlie, Moore's status as a Canadian writer has been confirmed fairly persistently.[6]

A distinctive but not dissimilar biocritical approach is evident in Flood's *Brian Moore*. Her monograph thus links biographical history and literary creation under the following headings: "The Novelist in Disguise," "The Guilt of the Novelist," "The Power of the Novelist" and "The Novelist as Revolutionary and Conservative."[7] A psychoanalytic method identifies typically Freudian themes in the writer's life and fiction. In. "The Power of the Novelist," for instance, an interview of Moore by Dahlie is cited to support her biocritical and psychoanalytic hermeneutic:

> Moore remarks on a change in himself and in his circumstances which occurred between the writing of *An Answer from Limbo* and *The Emperor of*

> *Ice-Cream:* "I am much happier now than I was when I was thirty-five or forty. *Emperor* was written at a crucial time in my life—it was the first book after I changed."

Flood proceeds in typical psychoanalytic vein:

> The change which Moore acknowledges in his life is clearly reflected in his fiction, not only in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* but also in the two novels which followed it [*I Am Mary Dunne* and *Fergus*]. *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* shows significant changes in the recurring pattern of Moore's fiction. Once again he gives us the conflict between the fantasizer-son and the rigid authoritarian father, but this time the conflict lacks the deep, driven pain characteristic of its earlier appearances, and the issue of the conflict at last is the reconciliation of father and son, the father's acceptance of the son's triumph. (64)

Flood thereby sees the author's fictions as providing some form of literary-therapeutic resolution or catharsis.

In contrast to Dahlie, who places Moore in Canadian context, Moore for Flood is canonically an Irish writer.[8] The Bucknell University Press Irish Writers Series, of which Flood's study is one volume, thus identifies Moore's place within the critical canon of Irish writers which also includes (in the series) Friel, Heaney, O'Casey, Synge and Yeats. It is a literary determination accepted by many other critics, including Bolger, Deane, Jeffares, Murray and Rafroldi.[9] Some, such as Cronin, Foster and Longley,[10] describe Moore more narrowly as a Belfast author and a minority, by contrast, notably Kiberd,[11] emphasize Moore's Irish roots at the same time as his cross-cultural affiliations. It is this latter international dimension that in my view probably best suits Moore when his work is taken as a whole.

O'Donoghue's *Brian Moore: A Critical Study* also places the novelist within the tradition of Irish writing.[12] She works under a number of headings which themselves highlight the range of Moore's fiction, the apparent difficulty of thematic characterization and the problem of canonical labelling.[13] O'Donoghue's is a study which combines biocritical considerations with one of the first significant stylistic analyses of Moore's narrative technique.[14]

Sullivan's *A Matter of Faith* acknowledges debts to Flood, Foster, Dahlie and O'Donoghue. Critical of Flood's reduction of Moore's fiction "to a disguised psychobiography," Sullivan reserves most praise for O'Donoghue:

> Despite the healthy growth in recognition that Moore has always deserved, very few commentators have engaged with the nuances of Moore's stylistic and narratological choices: the craft of his fiction. It is much to O'Donoghue's credit that she deals with this aspect of Moore's fiction in the most intelligent and. comprehensive way to date. (xiv)

Sullivan credits O'Donoghue too with seeing "Moore's ambiguous relationship to faith and belief" as a "kind of structuring premise." Noting that Moore's "hostility to religion and Catholicism in particular has gradually disappeared," that "he now sees spiritual faith, not just as another kind of belief but as the highest kind there is," Sullivan comments:

> Moore has, of course, never been hostile to belief; indeed his whole *oeuvre* is a testament to his fascination with the mystery of belief, the enigma of faith, both of which are necessarily premised on absence. (xiii–xiv)

While emphasising the difficulty of finding that "formula that would serve as a universal interpretive key to Moore's protean fictive production," Sullivan ventures to state one hermeneutical possibility as "the over determined loneliness (if not alienation) ... at the centre of Moore's oeuvre" (xiii).[15]

Open in stating that his study presents "no master-narrative of interpretive strategy," Sullivan's final chapter reveals his methodological bias, providing an extensive analysis of *The Great Victorian Collection* as Moore's "Masterplot."[16] The story told is that of Anthony Maloney, a University of McGill professor, and the re-creation of a collection of Victorian artefacts in the car park of his motel:

> There is in this fable ... a gesture towards Moore's own Collection of fictive creations ... It is not so much that Moore has dreamed the same dream over and over again—indeed he is in many ways the most protean of contemporary novelists — but that the "dream," the fictive creation, must always be taken as "real."(117)

Sullivan nevertheless attempts to counterbalance (rather than overturn) a prevailing analysis of Moore's fiction as classical realism, something also undertaken earlier by Cronin, states Sullivan:

> In many of the general criticisms that we have of Brian Moore's fiction, a common observation is that his method is ultraconventional and that he belongs to the tradition handed down by the Victorians. It has been suggested that his work needs little or no exegesis and that this has been a reason for the relative paucity of critical attention.
>
> Although it is true that Moore's fiction, overall, displays a "simple excellence"[18] this apparent simplicity is not achieved through the reworking of uniform stylistic and narrative techniques. There is, in his total output, a considerable degree of experimentation within the terms of his adamantly defended realist stance, and Moore has successfully blended modern innovations in narrative with that of more traditional representation. (109)

Drawing on the Platonic distinction between diagesis (the authorial voice) and mimesis (the direct, dramatic representation of a character's speech), Sullivan concludes that in "modern terms, the diagesis belongs to those sections of a novel concerned with recounting an event and mimesis with the enactment of such an event." Further, he suggests that it would not be "too much of an exaggeration to say that the entire modernist impulse in narrative experiment was one that sought to efface or displace the diagesis, in effect, to dramatize the novel" (118):

> There are various ways to achieve this displacement, including the invention of surrogate narrators (James and Conrad), stream of consciousness (Joyce and Woolf) and what Lodge (after Bakhtin) calls "the focalization of the narrative through character." This latter is a kind of ventriloquial effect in which narrative is "spoken" through a character's personality, a technique that Joyce exploited and one that Moore uses to great effect, especially in the first five novels. (119)

Moore's frequently used narrative technique, then, of writing in a classic realist, third-person style while using stream of consciousness to provide the impression of a first-person narrator, "a fusion of the classical realist

text's dramatic scene and authorial commentary," is described by Sullivan as "diagesis with mimetic effect":

> Many of Moore's characters (it could be argued all of them) have to learn the hard lesson of distinguishing between dream and reality (Anthony Maloney is of course no exception here), and this ventriloquial technique helps to demonstrate that lesson without authorial comment. (119–120)

Sullivan's conclusion is that Moore's literary experimentation—the "masterplot that informs his fictive enterprise" — is a "cautious inventiveness," demonstrating skills of technique which have been overlooked by critics. (124)

Still, as influences on Moore's literary technique as well as his preference for particular fictional forms have been variously identified with classic realism,[19] modernism[20] and postmodernism,[21] there is clearly no final interpretative resolution here. Moore himself has acknowledged a similar diversity of influences, from Joyce[22] to Borges.[23] Controversially too the author has been in characteristic denial of some less than canonical forms in pseudonymous (and now out of print) "pulp" works dating from the early 1950s which financed his early literary novels. The fictional influences, European and American "Greats," are thus apparent in inter-textual literary references within Moore's own novels, especially when characterising fictional novelists such as Brendan Tierney and Fergus Fadden. Moore is equally disparaging, especially in his early Irish novels, of popular literary and dramatic forms. Given Moore's own "pulp" works, this is somewhat ironic.[24]

Sampson's *Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist* is a major full-length study of Moore's life and work. Sampson accessed the Brian Moore Special Collection at the University of Calgary and interviewed the author as well as friends, relatives and acquaintances of Moore (333–336). Unfortunately—and typical of bio-critical approaches to Moore's work from Dahlie and Flood onwards—Sampson succumbs to the pitfall of reading the writer into the novels.[25] Sampson's thesis is that Moore never writes the same novel twice—hence, the "chameleon novelist" designation. *The Magician's Wife* is hailed as final confirmation of this view—one work cited as justification for an idea which supposedly relates to all Moore's novels:

> Most of all, the novelist wishes to remain chameleon-like — hidden from himself and others. This writing life must remain fluid and open to improvisation. And so *The Magician's Wife*, like all the other novels, surprises with its inventiveness. Moore deliberately resists a determined blueprint in the discovery of his way into each new novel. Even the mastery of technique is itself a danger that must be resisted if each novel is to be a new probing of the meaning of his experience. (293)

Remaining with Moore's final novel, Sampson is determined to uncover the pyschobiography of the writer within *The Magician's Wife*. Sampson's summary of the narrative is preparatory ground for this:

> This novel of two journeys undertaken by the magician Henri Lambert and his wife Emmeline in 1856, the first to the French court as the guests of the Emperor, and the second later in the year to Algiers and out into the Sahara desert, is once more a novel of displacement, role-playing, and the craving for belief. Emmeline is the centre of consciousness in the narrative, which carries her into a moral and emotional limbo between two worlds; Henri is a supremely successful performer, a conjuror who uses scientific principles to beguile native audiences, yet as a husband, he is absent — egocentric, obsessive and sexually impotent. (294–295)

Yet Sampson sets aside the latter's "outer coverings of political parable, this time focused on colonialism, and of an historical period set in Moore's favourite period, the mid-nineteenth century" and claims the following with some assurance:

> *Brian Moore is, of course, both Emmeline and Henri.* The exiled and lonely consciousness of Emmeline is due not only to the geographical displacement or to the different racial and religious identity that she discovers among the Muslims in Algeria, but to her alienation from the deliberate and over-civilized social forms of French culture. The conventions, fashions, and roles that are required of those who aspire to a higher social status impose an inauthentic identity, one Henri finds easy to embrace for his personal identity has been subsumed into the public role of the magician.... *His desire to obliterate the feelings of vulnerability which*

> *arise from chance events, such as illness and death, has made him a monomaniac who has lost all roots in the "commonplace" facts of life.* [295, my emphasis]

Little seems to be added by way of biographical insight,[26] and Sampson withdraws into biocritical speculation for a substantial part of his work, as evidenced by the following:

> Since the mid-1960s, Moore has chosen isolation over social involvement. Jean accepted that isolation with him and became his constant companion. His first marriage had been an urban affair, energized by involvement in a lively social and professional scene; Brian and Jean have opted to withdraw almost entirely from that kind of busy social and literary milieu. *Not only does Moore disappear into his identity as a novelist in the second half of my biography of him, Jean disappears also.* (165, my emphasis)

Sampson again openly acknowledges his own restricted use of biographical sources (333–336). While noting Moore's general assistance in relation to information access, Sampson acknowledges that in other cases "he withheld permission, and as a result, the treatment of certain issues is, to a degree, less vivid or textured than I originally intended" (333).

In looking for that hermeneutical key, it is possible to argue that critics and biographers alike have missed the obvious. In the manner in which they engage religion and politics, ideology and theology, Moore's novels are literary reflections on a Catholic world undergoing radical transformation. In a diverse range of global contexts — eastern Europe, the Caribbean, North Africa, as well as his native Ireland and adopted North America (Canada and the United States) — Moore's novels record the transformation of the grandnarrative of Catholic tradition in conflict and in dialogue with the "other." These are Moore's fictional landscapes of encounter.

Reservations about Moore's critical inheritance aside, this volume, intentionally provocative, is a respectful acknowledgement of previous commentators. If, by the same token, this book encourages further reading, debate and scholarship, it would be a welcome achievement. Above all, this study is a tribute to Brian Moore the writer, an author most fully revealed within his stories.

# Part I
# Introduction

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 1

# Landscapes of Encounter: The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore

> The quest for a doctrine appropriate to the landscape may be taken as an image of the development of Catholic theology since Vatican II: it symbolises the way in which Catholic theology in the post-conciliar period is dependent upon the Council's readjustment of contemporary Catholic identity. In addition, it presents a theme that will become central to post-conciliar theology: the priority of the "landscape" of lived experience in the articulation of theological doctrine. As the features of Catholic faith-experience were altered by the Council, the consequent theological reflection followed contours different from those that preceded it.[1]

IF the Second Vatican Council (1962–65)[2] radically changed the public persona of Roman Catholicism,[3] it is as fair to say the late Brian Moore (1921–1999) is one of the few novelists whose literary portrayal of Catholicism trenchantly investigates the period prior to and following this Church Council.[4] Moore's novels represent a distinctive literary contribution to our understanding both of the portrayal of Catholicism in twentieth-century fiction in English and of the changing theological face of Catholicism in the same period.[5] From the publication of *Judith Hearne* (1955) until his final novel, *The Magician's Wife* (1997), the religious and specifically Catholic themes of Brian Moore's fiction place him firmly on the interface of literature and theology.[6]

If intertexuality—the notion that a text is always part a wider social, cultural, and historical milieu—has origins as an explicit term in contemporary criticism, its vast historical precedence in literary-theological writing predates *de facto* its origins in twentieth-century theory in figures

like Saussure and Bakhtin, and certainly before the term was coined by Kristeva.[7] Debate on the question of the Catholic novel as a product of Catholic belief is set aside here too, as is the wider relation between authorial faith and literary output—biocritical considerations unnecessarily detract from an understanding of the novels *as texts*, especially when dealing with the presence or absence of the personal religious faith of the author.[8] What is indisputable is the prevalence of Catholic themes throughout Moore's major literary works. It is from a consideration of these Catholic themes, which have surprisingly evaded systematic critical attention, that most benefit may be derived in understanding Moore's considerable oeuvre. The present task is to make explicit the literary-theological intertextuality within Moore's fiction.

This intertextuality is most clearly demonstrated in terms of an historical theology in which Moore's portrayal of Catholicism reflects developments in pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism. A religious tradition etymologically defined by its universality (the Greek derivation of Catholic meaning "universal"),[9] Moore's literary treatment of such developments is accentuated through the particularities of culture and place, just as this becomes increasingly crucial within post-Vatican II Catholicism itself.[10] In the novels of Moore, geographical location and theological history are key factors for understanding personal and cultural identity. Moore's narratives, plotted as they are in an immensely diverse range of settings—literary constructions preoccupied with the metaphysical as much as the physical dimensions of place—are as representative of ideological and theological landscapes as they are of geographical and historical worlds.[11]

Yet there are a few critical obstacles that need to be surmounted before unfolding the detail of this interpretation. And it is useful to begin with Sullivan's attempt in *A Matter of Faith* to counterbalance a perceived trend in Moore's fiction:

> As is the case with most writers in the "classic realist" tradition, especially modern or contemporary writers, most attention has been paid to Moore's thematic concerns at the cost of his stylistic innovations. In the work of such writers, in contrast to the modernists, say, or the defamiliarizing metafictionalists, language is a "transparent window on reality," so there is little or nothing to discuss. Yet within this realist philosophy of belief in

> the reader's ability fully to recover experience "through" language, a classic realist like Moore can display a fair amount of stylistic ingenuity. (118)

Even if assertions of Moore's literary experimentation are less controversial than might at first appear, their interpretative importance needs to be restricted here for reasons relating to the thematic rather than stylistic content of Moore's work, and in particular to challenge the implication that the contemporary classical realism of Moore's fiction leaves "little or nothing to discuss."[12]

In an interview dating from the 1960s with Dahlie, Moore asserts the primacy of story over its literary form, and narrative content over the technique of its portrayal.[13] In another early interview, with Sale, Moore elaborates further:

> I think that I have an interest in clarity and the sort of mind that doesn't want my reader to be deceived or awed by technique. I think a good story tells itself, as Mann said that's the truth of it that if you find the perfect way to tell it nobody will even notice that there's technique.[14]

In this regard, a persistent critical lapse surfaces in the interpretative foci on Moore's fiction. In the main, there is a presupposition that a thematic and content-led approach has largely exhausted its interpretative possibilities. Consequently, commentators seek alternative critical options, either stylistic treatments of formal literary technique (O'Donoghue, Sullivan) or biocritical analyses (Dahlie, Flood, Sampson). The latter alternatives all retain useful insights into Moore's work, yet any holistic hermeneutic—for which so many have searched[15]—remains elusive. I want, then, to reassert the primacy of a content-led approach and re-examine the possibilities for a thematic unification in Moore's fiction. Amidst such diverse, preceding commentary, I want to focus on two major (and as yet insufficiently inter-related) thematic strands, which are central to an understanding of Moore's canon: the representation of place and the portrayal of Catholicism.[16]

The prominence of place as a theme in studies of Moore's fiction most often appears in biocritical studies where its importance lies in the correlation between the author's own migrations and his writing.[17] Most critically, many—especially since Dahlie—have used Moore's emigration from Ireland

to North America as a key to understanding Moore's fictional portrayal of "Old World" Europe—especially Ireland—and the "New World" of North America – both the United States and Canada. Some critics are more thoroughly dependent upon the author's life as a key to his fiction than others but all those cited have depended upon the biocritical approach to a degree, even those providing more formal stylistic analyses. Such an approach may well be appropriate for Moore's early Belfast novels (*Judith Hearne, The Feast of Lupercal,* and *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*) or the early North American works (especially *An Answer from Limbo* and *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*). After all, Moore *was* a writer who formerly lived in Belfast, who moved to North America, and whose portrayal of both Ireland and America is prominent in these early novels. The biocritical approach here has, then, a degree of basic credence. Thus, by way of example, in an interview with Moore by Adair, published under the appropriately biocritical title of "The Writer as Exile," Moore identifies Belfast itself with the beginnings of his disenchantment with organized religion and Catholicism in particular:

> I didn't reject those influences in quite such an idealistic way. You see I started going to Confession as child and I now date a lot of my troubles to that. I was a child who was incapable of confessing things to a stranger in a box: I was a very highly sexed child and, to be perfectly frank about it, when people say my work is erotic it's because sex has played a big part in my life.... So I had trouble with Confession and I started telling lies, and that was a mortal sin, so automatically I thought there was something wrong with me.... I began to think of myself as someone concealing something. And that unhappiness—you can't blame poor Belfast for that—that unhappiness is the thing which starts the unhappiness with Belfast and led me to criticise the Church itself and also my parents' political and religious ideals.[18]

Still, such a treatment is too limited in scope to provide a full appraisal. It is especially inadequate for an understanding of Moore's fiction over the full span of a writing career in which overtly autobiographical elements have become systematically subsumed by more universal, and thus inevitably less personal, religious and ideological themes. The biocritical approach hampers our effective understanding of Moore's writing. In this regard,

Sampson's use of Moore's citation of Tolstoy is unintentionally ironic: "There is no point in visiting a great writer for he is incarnate in his works."[19]

Place nevertheless retains its usefulness as a means of understanding Moore's major fictional works. Yet its chief significance lies not in worn biocritical correlations but in the features of the texts themselves, that is, in the manner in which cultural representations—of ideology, of theology, and so forth—are reinforced by narrative location. It is for this reason that I have preferred on the whole the use of the term "landscape," for geography in Moore's novels conveys a complexity of intertextual resonance which the term "place" seems to lack. Moore's novels, then, *as texts*, are concerned with the writing of worlds which, I argue, are as metaphysical as they are physical. It is this pervasive preoccupation, with correlations between place, culture, and textual representation,[20] that leads us to an overview of the second critical thematic strand: the preoccupation with religious, especially Catholic, themes.

The lack of extended analysis of Moore's portrayal of Catholicism is surprising; more so given the centrality of religion throughout his novels.[21] To focus on one substantial study, O'Donoghue rightly suggests that Moore is writing on Catholicism even when his themes are overtly secular.[22] Yet again O'Donoghue's biocritical dependency detracts from our full understanding of Moore's portrayal of Catholicism. Thus she makes reference to how Moore (still psychologically scarred by his own schoolday experiences at St. Malachy's) changed in his attitude to Catholicism, on two counts: first, subsequent to a transformation in the Catholic Church especially since the 1960s and, second, in regard to Moore's dawning recognition that people must believe in something.

I want to deal with the second point—religion as favourite metaphor—first. O'Donoghue cites Moore:

> We go along in life with some belief held in front of us which keeps us going. Most of my novels investigate the period in someone's life when that belief is withdrawn, when they're forced to examine their whole life.... I found that, while I'm not religious myself, religion is a wonderful metaphor for belief. (139–40)

O'Donoghue adds the following comment: "Moore may not be religious himself, but the last section of the above remark does not give credit to the

seriousness with which he has treated religious belief in his recent novels or the increasingly high value he has placed on it" (140). Lamentably, opportunities for further analysis here are neglected indeed consciously so. O'Donoghue's perspective is in this regard seriously misplaced. On the one hand, Moore supposedly understates his fictional portrayal of Catholicism, and then on the other, O'Donoghue suggests that, since *Catholics* (that is, from 1972), "the direction taken by the Catholic Church as regards doctrine and ritual has concerned Moore no further" (143). This is shown to be palpably untrue when we look at Moore's subsequent fiction. O'Donoghue chooses to cite other author-derived interview material to suggest that the belief in question is more metaphorical than simply (or substantively) Catholic, opting to assess the metaphor of religion as a form of human belief without the necessary analysis of Catholicism. The point about the primacy of text over biocritical interpretation, then, holds here too. Moore may well use the theme of faith metaphorically, but the context is so often explicitly Catholic that any analysis of faith outside of its very specific socio-cultural, ideological, and theological context is bound to lead to superficiality in the treatment of belief.

So O'Donoghue remains largely over-dependent upon Moore's own statements about his changing attitudes toward Catholicism; thus, when biocritical prompts for further analysis of Catholic tradition arise such opportunities are neglected. For example, O'Donoghue cites Moore on the contrast between the Belfast Catholicism of his upbringing and developments later in the century: "But then, of course, you had Pope John XXIII and things started to change and then I became very interested.... One of the greatest revolutions of this century has been the revolution within the Catholic Church" (142). O'Donoghue neglects too the opportunities present for further theological analysis even when comments directly relate to texts; that *Catholics* establishes the author's "attitude towards changes in the institutional Church during the 1960s and the early 1970s" (142) is entirely correct but the nature of this intertextuality is not really explored.

Similarly, Sullivan, while certainly dealing with Catholic themes, again neglects both the theological detail and historical transformations within Catholic tradition over the period of Moore's writing. At a fairly basic level, there is no substantial reference to the Second Vatican Council. Thus Sullivan attempts to show that "allied to personal quest for some form of certainty,

Moore's work—especially after *Catholics*—becomes concerned in more complex ways (although such concern is present in Judy Hearne's demand for a "sign") with what could be called a semiotics of belief" (xiii). But by the same token Sullivan has ironically neglected that system of signification at the heart of modern Catholicism: the Second Vatican Council, an event defined through its textuality.

One might have expected Sampson's *Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist*, as the first full-length literary biography, to provide greater consideration of the cultural diversity in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism. The thematic treatment of Catholicism, though, is one characterized again by significant absence: Sampson's index contains no reference to Vatican II, and the occasional reference in the main body of the text is insufficient. Take, for instance, the following:

> In the summer of 1967 or 1968, on the annual visit to Jean's family home in Kentville, Nova Scotia, the Moores had been walking one Sunday morning when they overheard a church service in progress. The evangelical style of the vernacular singing led Moore to think that it was a Baptist church, but Jean pointed out that it was, in fact, the post-Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) Catholic service. (208)

Sampson *is* strong on the literary intertextuality inherent in Moore's European destinations; and as a biocritical study it is understandable why Sampson makes so much of Moore's personal post-War European discovery of the Paris of Joyce and the France of Flaubert, only dreamt of as a Belfast teenager (52–64). But predictable is the manner of Sampson's interpretation of Moore's Catholic interests. These take a biographical turn when, commenting on *The Statement*, Sampson claims that in this novel "one can see his continuing interest in the mentality of those Catholics, such as his father, who were prepared to overlook the actions of the fascists because they placed the preservation of the Catholic ethos above politics and the rule of law" (54–55). Further:

> While the Catholic ethos of French politics fascinated him, the pleasures and freedoms of the culture generally also became part of his permanent attachment to France.... His love of French literature might have been

> sparked at St. Malachy's perhaps, or through his awareness of his aunts' education in Caen, or his father's holiday there. At any rate, Catholic France was given a special status in the Moore household. (55)

The neglect of the broader social and cultural, and especially the ideological and theological, contexts for Catholicism provides yet further impetus for the focus of this present study.

I suggest, then, that two thematic strands—Moore's fictional landscapes and his portrayal of Catholicism—do form that elusive and coherent hermeneutical whole. I contend that a critical approach which combines consideration of representation of geography and place (simply put, landscape) needs to be integrated with an emphasis on Moore's portrayal of Catholicism—a move which represents a critical unity incorporating the full corpus of Moore's novels. Key here is the manner in which literary text and religious tradition persistently interact, that intertextuality between Moore's fiction and Catholic theology. Still, if the relative critical neglect of the detail of Catholicism is evident from our review of the literature on Moore, then perhaps less obvious is the manner in which these two strands—of landscape and Catholicism—achieve their interpretative unity. Key *here* is the manner in which both the novels of Brian Moore and Catholic tradition itself increasingly reflect a theological and cultural diversity in the latter half of the twentieth century and beyond. This diversity is most clearly manifest in the local and through the culturally (that is, geographically and historically) particular—a plurality which is fictional and metafictional, physical and metaphysical. Moore's fictional landscapes shift too from early portrayals of cultural hegemony in his portrayal of Catholicism to an increasing heterogeneity of religious and ideological diversity. "Landscapes of encounter" conveys then something of the historical dynamism, geographical diversity and cultural plurality present both within Catholicism and Moore's fictional portrayal of this tradition.

I am arguing, then, for a place for Moore's novels within a Catholic world. Moore's novels reflect a particular convergence of fictional narrative and what Lyotard would term the grandnarrative of Catholic tradition.[23] However, it is a Catholic world which has changed considerably in the time covered by Moore's literary output. This is necessarily reflected in a changing dialectic between Catholicism and the fiction which represents this tradition

and deals with themes relevant to it as a worldview, particularly in terms of pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism's relationship to fiction. In his introduction to *Catholics on Literature*, Whitehouse thus comments:

> In Catholic thought there was a shift in apologetics and the notion of the *magisterium* and the consequent introduction of a new lexis. In the Catholic novel, there was a movement away from a picture of human beings working out their own destiny towards a representation of them in a dialectical and critical relationship to their formative culture.[24]

If to date, "there is no clear sign of the emergence of what may come next, a totally post-Vatican II novelist,"[25] Moore, in so effectively portraying both pre- and post-Vatican II eras, indicates something of this narrative shift.

Besides resisting any overarching, formalist analysis, I am nevertheless following the definition of the literary as *fiction* here and this I think is appropriate to my thematic approach to Moore's work. I am also in part following Moore too by giving priority to narrative rather than the technique of the telling. But crucially I give priority, as far as possible, to the intertextual content of Moore's novels and not (as with biocritical approaches) the authorial motivation which might underlie them. While I acknowledge Moore's intertextual relation with Catholicism, two *forms* of textuality—literature and theology—remain distinguishable. Yet if I am asserting the rightful, cultural place of the text in the world—here Moore's novels in the context of the world of Catholic theological history—Moore's fictions remain fictions. Literature and theology, then, themselves both defined by their textuality, retain their distinctiveness as cultural forms, despite their intertextual relation.[26] In terms of ecclesiastical and theological history, the defining moment for twentieth-century Catholicism was the Second Vatican Council. A preliminary task, then, is to demonstrate both the distinguishing features of pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism and the intertextuality of Moore's diverse portrayal of this tradition.

Theologically, pre-Vatican II Catholicism was well-defined, and if its ecclesiological self-definition provided sharply set boundaries between itself and other churches, other faiths, and the world at large, it was at least a worldview in which both laity and hierarchy knew their place. On this

period immediately prior to the Second Vatican Council, in "The Council and the Church," Rausch comments:

> When Pope Pius XII died in 1958, the Catholic Church was, to all casual observers, in excellent shape. In the first half of the twentieth century the Church had been led by a number of strong popes, particularly Pius XII himself, who guided the Church through the Second World War and focused its energies against the postwar threat of Communism. The Church was continuing to grow in numbers and influence. Seminaries, convents and monasteries were filled to the bursting point.... Catholic theology, if not very creative, was very orthodox; here almost no dissent, no public disagreement. Catholics knew who they were; they were proud of their Church and had a clear sense of their own identity.[27]

As Rausch goes on to comment, however, the surface situation barely concealed its authoritarianism, its hierarchical domination, and its fundamental insularity in the face of the modern world:

> The Catholic Church in the middle of the twentieth century considered itself very much a Church under siege. Deeply suspicious of the modern world, the Church was on the defensive. Catholic scholarship had been crippled by the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust that followed the Modernist crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century.... Books by Catholic authors were rarely published without a review by ecclesiastical authorities; they had to obtain an *imprimatur* from the bishop or a *nihil obstat* from an official censor of books.... The Catholic Church was officially not interested in ecumenism ... in the years immediately before Vatican II most Catholics were warned not to attend a Protestant service....[28]

In brief, the major inheritance of Roman Catholicism in the first half of the twentieth century was from Vatican I (1870) in which the doctrine of papal infallibility was established. There is a degree of irony in that the loss of secular influence perhaps may have stimulated an authoritarian ecclesiastical backlash. But the Modernist crisis was at its most fundamental a reaction of the Church against modern developments in scholarship. Still,

the sense of siege and the boundaries between the Church in the modern world which Rausch describes were an inheritance of the Church's self-definition originating from the nineteenth century—but one which could be traced back to the Counter-Reformation and the sixteenth-century Council of Trent (1545–63).[29] The collective consciousness of the Catholic Church in the period prior to Vatican II was in this sense little different from that prior to Vatican I. The sense of separation of Church and world is nowhere better illustrated than by Pius IX's publication of the *Syllabus of Errors* in 1864. This represented a systematic condemnation of the "errors" of the modern world, which rejected any notion of accommodation with "progress, liberalism, and recent departures in civil society." It was a lack of accommodation mirrored in the condemnation of Modernism in Pius X's encyclical *Pascendi* and the Holy Office's decree *Lamentabili* (both 1907).[30]

Such a Catholic world is portrayed in Brian Moore's early Irish novels—*Judith Hearne* (1955) *The Feast of Lupercal* (1958) and *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* (1965). It is a model of Catholicism which persists in Moore's early North American novels—*The Luck of Ginger Coffey* (1960), *An Answer from Limbo* (1962), *I Am Mary Dunne* (1968), and *Fergus* (1971). In the novels in these phases, Irish and American characters variously confront an authoritative model of Catholicism with its unaccommodating stance set dogmatically against the modern world. Such differentiation between Church and world allowed for Moore's fictional search for religious substitution to be equally well demarcated. In Moore's portrayal of the pre-Vatican II Church, the limits between Church and world are easily defined and allow Moore's characters the freedom to accentuate their rebellion in seeking other forms of meaning and worldview. This takes varied forms: economic success with Ginger Coffey; psycho-sexual self-definition with Mary Dunne; aesthetic endeavour with Brendan Tierney and Fergus. And the portrayal of landscape is always integral here to the portrayal of Catholicism: Ireland, at least Belfast, becomes a landscape synonymous with a narrow pre-Vatican II Catholicism; America, by contrast, becomes a secular antithesis, a landscape which represents both a physical and theological move away from Irish Catholicism. However, in all of the novels, emerging historical realities within the Catholic Church, particularly of Vatican II and its still unfolding theological aftermath, are not so distant. It would seem opportune to outline the main features of this transformation.

While it is important to see the Second Vatican Council in the context of the preceding Councils, and to recognize the distinctiveness of Vatican II itself, any attempts to draw distinctions which are too hard and fast would be inappropriate.[31] Still, it is indeed difficult to overstate the transformation which resulted from the Council initially instigated by John XXIII whom most observers expected to be a merely caretaker pope.[32] When he called for the Council soon after his election in 1958 with a quest for renewal, *aggiornamento*, a "bringing up to date" of the Church, it was a call to a Church which had largely atrophied in its insular response to massive changes in contemporary global society. By the time the Council had concluded its work in 1965, decrees of the Church's teaching authority, the *magisterium*, here the Collegiality of bishops, indicated change on a scale probably never before seen in the Church's history. What distinguished this Council from others was its foundational outlook as a pastoral rather than a doctrinal council. Most, if not all, previous councils, from the early Church through to Trent and Vatican I, had arisen in response to supposed doctrinal or other perceived challenges either to the Church's teaching or its authority. Vatican II recognized the need to adhere to tradition and to re-present itself to the world in the light of changes which had occurred over history. This meant a modification—if not reversal—of the ecclesiological and theological tone established by Vatican I and followed so assiduously by the Church from the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. For such reasons, the Second Vatican Council is often referred to as a "pastoral" rather than a "doctrinal" Council.

The teaching of the Council is represented in sixteen key documents. Cited here in the order of their official approval, the documents of the Second Vatican Council are:

- **4 Dec 1963**
  **Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy**
  – *Sacrosanctum Concilium*
  Decree on the Mass Media
  – *Inter Mirifica*

- **21 Nov 1964**
  **Dogmatic Constitution on the Church**
  – *Lumen Gentium*

Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches
– *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*
Decree on Ecumenism
– *Unitatis Redintegratio*

- **28 October 1965**
Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church
– *Christus Dominus*
Decree on the Sensitive Renewal of Religious Life
– *Perfectae Caritatis*
Decree on Priestly Formation
– *Optatam Totius*
Declaration on Christian Education
– *Gravissimum Educationis*
Declaration on the Relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions
– *Nostra Aetate*

- **18 Nov 1965**
**Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation**
– *Dei Verbum*
Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity
– *Apostolicam Actuositatem*

- **7 Dec 1965**
Declaration on Religious Freedom
– *Dignitatis Humanae*
Declaration on the Missionary Activity of the Church
– *Ad Gentes*
Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests
– *Presbyterorum Ordinis*
Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World of Today
– *Gaudium et Spes.*

For the non-theologian, the Latin terms can appear confusing. The Latin is the most commonly used short way of referring to individual documents and is taken from a key word or phrase from the opening of each document.

So, for example, *Gaudium et Spes* alludes to the opening sentence of this documents which talks about the "hopes and fears" of the modern world being the hopes and fears of the Church too. The best indicator of a document's purpose is its formal English title. In the case of *Gaudium et Spes*, this is the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World of Today. It is nevertheless easier to refer to the Latin as a shorthand. It is also potentially confusing that the different documents from the Council are variously named as constitutions (as in *Gaudium et Spes*, for instance) or decrees or declarations. In terms of theological weight, commentators agree in broad consensus that "the most important documents are the Constitutions, since they provide the keys to unlocking the basic meaning of the Council. The Decrees and Declarations depend on the Constitutions and show the practical implications of these for the Church."[33] As one might expect, more than thirty years after the conclusion of the Council, much theological comment has accumulated.[34] It is not intended here to duplicate such commentary or replicate analysis on the development of particular Council documents. The intention here is to assess the reception of the Council documents, and to an extent on post-Conciliar pronouncements, as an integral part of the literary reflection on such developments by an author who, while no theologian, was nevertheless preoccupied with contemporary and historical Catholic thought. Still, while many of these Vatican II texts transformed the Catholic world, clearly not all these documents—either in technical, theological, or more general senses—can be said to have influenced the content and themes of Moore's novels. But what will become apparent is the pivotal importance of these Church documents for understanding the ecclesiastical and theological trends which followed their publication.

While integral to the traditions of preceding Councils, many of Vatican II's pronouncements presented so different an outlook that it might be easy to argue that its pastoral emphasis had doctrinal implications, and key areas of the Council's pronouncements are worth highlighting. Amongst the most important was definition of the Church itself. This shifted from a rigidly authoritarian model in which hierarchy predominated to one in which the Church was defined not simply by magisterial authority but also by its laity. The latter ecclesiology emphasized the wider world community of the Church as well as Her hierarchy, the Church as the "People of God."[35] Important too, and most publicly noticeable of all changes, was that the

Latin liturgical forms switched to the vernacular in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.[36] The removal of this universality in language signalled a further democratization in the Church, the distinctiveness of peoples and individual cultures achieving priority in terms of the medium of worship. In the study of scripture, modern biblical methods were formally encouraged in *Dei Verbum*,[37] a move which itself provided impetus for the other steps towards ecumenism.[38] Further, *Dignitatis Humanae*[39] proclaimed the right to religious freedom for all, even the right of the non-believer. *Nostra Aetate* (concerned with Catholic Christian relations with "other" faiths)[40] removed the traditional "no salvation outside the Church" to present a model of universality of salvation, including those religious traditions beyond Christianity and, again, those with no religious belief.[41] The Church also focused its attention beyond the theological to the political and the social and faced the plight of many societies in contemporary times: *Gaudium et Spes*[42] provided the momentum for the Church's wider social, cultural, and political involvement and, as we shall see, was a major impetus for theologies of liberations. The separation of the Church from the world, so marked by the century of Church history preceding Vatican II, had ended, and the implications of this are, of course, still being worked out. We certainly see elements of the Church's new thinking reflected in the novels of Brian Moore.

In essence, the separation of the Church from the world—accentuated since Vatican I—was brought to an historical close by the Second Vatican Council. Still, setting Vatican II as part of the history of previous Councils of the Church, the post-Vatican II Church retains its notion of historical continuity. Overly rigid distinctions between pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism are therefore unhelpful if the continuities are ignored. The notion of a radical continuity seems to encompass both the continuity through tradition and the discontinuity with the more negative aspects of the Church's past together with a more positive view of its relationship with the world in the future. In literary terms, traces of pre-Vatican II Catholicism remain in Moore's novels even twenty or thirty years after the Council's close. Yet traces of the beginnings of a transformation in theological history are also apparent, as we shall see, in works set and written in periods prior to the Second Vatican Council.

Nevertheless, the massive transformation within Catholicism resulting from the Second Vatican Council provided Brian Moore with an

extraordinary range of material which, in subsequent post-Conciliar times, has been used in a suitably wide-ranging manner in Moore's novels. The resultant portrayal of Catholicism within his fiction thus mirrors the significant changes (as well as both stasis and conflict) within the Church itself. But this relationship between religion, more properly here Catholic theology, and literature becomes considerably more complex after Vatican II. Moore's fictional portrayal of a monolithic post-Vatican I Church reflects an ecclesiastical and theological outlook in which hierarchy and authority defined the boundaries of Church and world so clearly. A post-Vatican II Catholicism which redefined the relationship between Church and world—and indeed the definition of the Church itself—had the effect of making Moore's portrayal of Catholicism ever more plural and diverse.

Critically, an ambitious attempt is made here to evaluate Moore's novels in complex intertextual relation with the theological and ideological histories of Catholicism which his oeuvre so consistently portrayed through a lifetime of writing. Again, also of critical importance here is the Church's redefinition of itself through the Second Vatican Council, making this a pivotal event in Moore's intertextual relations with Catholic tradition. Here, the increasing theological and ideological plurality of post-Vatican II Catholicism—crucially through the priority given to laity and as a consequence to individual cultures—allowed for a diversification in the geographical settings for Moore's portrayal of Catholicism. But it reflected too the manner in which the universality of post-Vatican II Catholic theology had increasingly become determined in its form by the historical particularities of both geography and culture.

If a defining moment in twentieth-century Catholicism, then, was the period marking the Second Vatican Council between 1962 and 1965, Moore's fiction in the post-Conciliar period is equally affected by changes in the Catholic Church. Thus the futuristic *Catholics* (1972) charts the fictional progress of the Catholic Church after Vatican II. The radical changes in the Church's thinking, both in its view of itself and its mission of salvation in the modern world become projected in *Catholics* onto the aftermath of fictional revolutions after an imagined Vatican IV. That Moore chose to portray such revolution in Catholic thinking in the context of Ireland is significant. That Ireland was the main focus for Moore's fictional rejection of Catholicism in his early Belfast novels only adds to the significance of

his latterly sympathetic presentation of the island in his novella of "post-Vatican IV" Catholic Church.

Moore's fictional defence of Catholic tradition in Ireland heightens our awareness of a major development in his thinking not only about the Church but about the Church's role both within contemporary society and, given *Catholics*' futuristic setting, the society of the future. Centrally, Ireland's landscape is integral to the portrayal of an encounter within Catholicism's own ranks: *Catholics* becomes the vehicle for the fictional analysis of change within the Catholic Church but just as importantly represents a development in Moore's fictional portrayal of Catholic religion in Ireland vis-à-vis the early Belfast novels. And in this novella, many preoccupations of Vatican II are reflected directly: the renewal of liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*), the accommodation of Catholicism with other world faiths (*Nostra Aetate*) and the search for social justice (*Gaudium et Spes*). And other of Moore's later Irish novels continue to deal in various ways with the representation of post-Vatican II Catholicism. In these novels—*The Doctor's Wife* (1976), *The Mangan Inheritance* (1979), *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes* (1981), and *Lies of Silence* (1990)—both Ireland and Catholicism are revisited.

And, increasingly if anything, Moore's fictional portrayal of Catholicism in the post-Vatican II era demonstrates further dependence upon the representation of place. And in this revisitation of North America—in a period largely overlapping with the later Irish novels, including *The Great Victorian Collection* (1976), *Cold Heaven* (1983), and *Black Robe* (1985)—Moore's fictional encounters between Catholic religion and a range of alternative (secular and other-faith) perspectives eventually allow for an increasingly sympathetic portrayal of Catholicism, a transition in many ways facilitated by the transformation effected by Vatican II. Indeed, even with the historical *Black Robe*, theological perspectives which this book contains are thoroughly, even if anachronistically, "contemporary." Accordingly, *Black Robe*, for its critique of colonial and missionary enterprise, is the proper context in which to view Moore's long literary experimentation with North America and appropriately indicates a closure of the novelist's preoccupation with it.

*Black Robe* represents too a transition in Moore's treatment of Catholic theological landscape beyond which Moore's drawing of key Vatican II themes are reflected in an increasing diversity of geographical setting. The portrayal of the Church which predominates in Moore's final fictions—*The*

*Colour of Blood* (1987), *No Other Life* (1993), *The Statement* (1995), and *The Magician's Wife* (1997)—therefore variously re-presents Catholic tradition as finding new ways of involvement with rather than, as in pre-Vatican II days, separation from the world. So, in *The Colour of Blood* we see the Church aligned against political oppression and as a rallying point against injustice in Eastern Europe. In *No Other Life,* the Church in Latin America is also very much on the side of the poor and the politically oppressed. Yet Moore's final novels maintain a characteristic ambivalence, and this has as much to do with historical inheritance as contemporary reality. Thus Moore examines areas where a post-Vatican II Church still needs to reflect, and critically so, on its past: in *The Statement* upon Catholic-Jewish relations, especially during and directly after the Holocaust in Europe, and, in *The Magician's Wife,* upon Catholic relations with Islam.

In the post-Vatican II era, the Catholic Church still retains of course an adherence to its fundamental historical tradition over two millennia and one should bear this in mind when considering the two Church Councils which have predominated in this present discussion. It should also be borne in mind that some of the more radical aspects of the Second Vatican Council have, arguably, been restricted through a conservative reaction in the last years of the twentieth century and the early part of the twenty-first.[43] Nevertheless, along with an attachment to the fundamental and universal in its Christian teaching, in the post-Vatican II Catholic world, cultural difference and local religious integrity achieve greater significance. Consequently, Moore's last novels contain portrayals of Catholicism as diverse theologically as they are geographically—from Eastern and Western Europe (*The Colour of Blood* and *The Statement,* respectively) through the Caribbean (*No Other Life*) to North Africa (*The Magician's Wife*). Such cultural and historical plurality enhances the conflict-ridden nature of these landscapes of encounter, a process of portrayal which begins in Belfast.

# Part II
# The Fictional Portrayal of Pre-Vatican II Catholicism

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 2

# The Early Irish Novels

## (*Judith Hearne*, 1955; *The Feast of Lupercal*, 1958; *The Emperor of Ice Cream*, 1965)

### Introduction

KIBERD has claimed that if Ireland did not exist, the English would have had to invent it.[1] Kiberd's *Inventing Ireland: the Literature of the Modern Nation* contests that the literary output of Irish writers and Irish national consciousness has been formed in terms of a complex historical pattern of political, social, and cultural interaction with a colonizing neighbour.[2] To Kiberd, this represents a pattern of Empire-building (Kiberd compares the colonization of Ireland with that of the Americas) in which the development of cultural identity played as serious a part in colonization as superior brute force.[3] Reminiscent of Said's linking of writing and the mindset of Empire,[4] Kiberd's postcolonial exegesis interweaves with a masterly overview of Irish literature.[5] From Wilde and Shaw through Yeats and Synge, Joyce and Beckett, to the writers and society of 1990, the literature of the modern Irish nation is shown to provide a textual map of an Irish cultural consciousness which frames a poetic, dramatic, and fictional context for questions of economic, social, and political as well as religious importance.[6] Irish literature is based upon encounter with the colonizing other, and in every respect reflects a dynamism which is both culturally enriching and destructive.[7] Immigration being both a feature of the Irish nation post-Famine and a central tension in Irish writing,[8] Kiberd places Moore in this literary (and broader social and cultural) context as the writer as immigrant and exile.[9] Kiberd rightly points out that Moore, having dealt in his early novels with his native land, went on to concentrate on novels with a strong cross-cultural emphasis. In so doing, Moore continues to stress

an inherent and necessarily conflict-bound encounter which so often permeates writing originating from Ireland—but which has been neglected in critical writing on Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in his early Irish novels.[10]

If, as Kiberd points out, cultural definition of Ireland was dependent upon unequal and often oppressive social and cultural, as well as often tragic economic and political, relations with England—and by extension the British Empire—as colonizing neighbour, then one of the great distinguishing factors which highlight such distinctions, particularly post-Reformation, was the issue of religion. Protestantism, more properly Anglicanism, becomes the religion of Empire (even defining Englishness), in contrast to Catholicism, a contrast which was certainly one of the ways in which Irishness and Irish nationalism, Irish culture and society, were so easily able to be distinguished as "other." Post-Partition, though, in the interest of unity within the South, Yeats—a Protestant as well as a political and literary figurehead in a post-Partition Ireland—rightly sought a reasoned compromise over too harsh an identity of Irishness and Catholicity.[11] Fulton too has pointed out the difficulties of too easy an identification between Irish nationalism and Roman Catholicism.[12] For political and economic reasons, though, the centrality of religion surfaces—and indeed continues to re-surface—in the issue of land.[13] This might be seen most harshly in the Famine years of the 1840s when the land could not sustain a largely rural Catholic Irish population and when, through subsequent generations of Irish immigration, the land, the mythic Emerald Isle, is looked at with the nostalgic vision of a disinherited past.[14] Kiberd highlights this well: "Ever since the Famine, emigration had perforce made internationalists of the Irish, for there were few families without a son or daughter or cousin writing letters home from some distant land."[15]

Landscape, the place Ireland itself, becomes a re-imagined land for the exile and a metaphor for colonial dispute for those engaged in political struggle. The landscape of the island of Ireland as a whole becomes a thematic arena for the Irish writer, either as resident, or more frequently, as in Moore's case as exile. Especially for the period covered by Moore's early Irish novels, as highlighted by John Foster in his study of forces and themes in the fiction of Ulster, land, territory, and a sense of place become preoccupations of the Irish writer.[16] Naturally enough, within the familiar territory of conflictual political encounter represented by post-Partition Ulster society,

the landscape has boundaries in which political allegiance is nowhere more clearly highlighted than through religious difference.[17]

It is Edward Said who presents most clearly a broader canvas into which these peculiarly Irish preoccupations fit. Thus this encounter of physical and theological territory in Ireland shared by Moore's early Irish novels can be placed within a wider, global political geography. As Said states in a critical passage from *Culture and Imperialism*:

> It is difficult to connect these different realms, to show the involvements of culture with expanding empires, to make observations about art that preserve its unique endowments and at the same time map its affiliations, but, I submit, we must attempt this, and set art in the earthly, global context. Territory and possessions are at stake, geography and power. Everything about human history is rooted in the earth, which means we must think about habitation, but it has also meant that people have planned to *have* more territory and therefore must do something about its indigenous residents. At some very basic level, imperialism means thinking about, settling on, controlling land that you do not possess, that is distant, that is lived on and owned by others. For all kinds of reasons it attracts some people and involves others in untold misery. Yet it is generally true that literary historians who study the great sixteenth-century poet Edmund Spenser, for example, do not connect his bloodthirsty plans for Ireland, where he imagined a British army virtually exterminating the native inhabitants, with his poetic achievement or with the history of British rule over Ireland, which continues today. (5)[18]

Vis-à-vis Kiberd and in respect of Moore's fictional portrayal of Catholicism, the historical position of both land and culture in Ireland has clear relevance to Moore's full range of "Irish" novels, but when we extend our analysis of Moore's portrayal of Catholicism and its formation and definition by an increasingly diverse range of physical and cultural landscapes beyond Ireland, we see that Said's postcolonial analysis of culture and imperialism is also more widely applicable. In fact, from Moore's first novel to his last it is possible to identify a trace of such postcolonial reading beyond the conflictual encounters of Catholic-Protestant and Nationalist-Unionist Belfast. By this reading, what Said usefully calls "a geographical

inquiry into historical experience"[19] is not simply in the relation between England and Ireland but a wider experience of colonial relations on a global scale, albeit often highlighted through Irish migration to the Americas.[20] This transcontinental perspective on colonialism is present even in Moore's first novel, though in the margins of the narrative. Judith Hearne's would-be suitor, James Madden, for instance, somewhat ironically shares the cultural perception of the classically exotic "other," most notably in conversation with the literal, colonial figure of Major Mahaffy-Hyde:

> "O, I've been in those waters," Major-Mahaffy-Hyde said, looking speculatively at his empty port glass. "Jamaica, Bermuda, Haiti, Cuba. Some wonderful spots. I remember in Haiti, it's a nigger republic, you know, some of the white men there lived like kings. Great whacking big houses, villas, mansions, a dozen servants. Pretty little mulattoes. Hot-blooded little things, the tropics, the sun does it. Fondle a few round bottoms!" (53)

This passage is of particular interest because it is a cultural environment to which Moore returns nearly thirty years later in a literally postcolonial Haiti (in *No Other Life*); but also since the projected and derogatory national characteristics of a dominated indigenous population are similar to those given by the English to the Irish in Kiberd's analysis.[21] But we should note that in this encounter, the nominal Catholic James Madden may not challenge the colonial major's perceptions of indigenous cultures outside England (Ireland here seems to be a colonial home for the major) but, *contra* O'Donoghue's "monstrous Catholicism," it is as much British imperialism as Catholicism which Moore portrays as oppressive.[22]

In Ireland, then, traditional historical claims of economic and political grievances have invariably tended to highlight both land and religion, often though not exclusively reflecting the grievance of a predominantly rural Catholic Irish population.[23] This tension between land and religion is heightened in a post-Partition Ireland, the landscape itself seeming to highlight cultural and especially religious difference. Thus Belfast historically represented an important industrial city of the British Empire. Its post-Partition decline as an industrial centre mirrored Britain's post-Second World War decline as an imperial force. Further, Belfast's increased isolation was

marked both as an industrial centre within rural Ulster and from the outside in relation to both an increasingly urbanized, postcolonial Britain and a rural and newly established neighbour in the form of the Irish Free State and later Republic of Eire.[24] Further, Belfast became a focal point of political (that is, ideological) struggle which surfaced from the late 1960s in protest over civil rights, and open armed conflict from the 1970s onwards, in which both land and religion gave at least outward definition to the opposed communities.[25]

That the sectarian-political violence that emerged in the North has at least an overtly religious dimension is well known, though it is a dimension, like the role of the South, that is not uncontested. Fulton's opening to *The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics and Religion* indicates how comment on "the Troubles" has duly neglected both the wider perspective of the South and the role of religion in the narrower conflict within Ulster:

> Commentators on the Ulster conflict tend to locate its causes either within the boundaries of the Northern Ireland Statelet or across the waters in Britain. "The Troubles" are seen to result from the unsatisfied, Northern nationalist lust for a united Ireland, the intransigence of the Northern loyalist majority, or the lingering imperialism of Britain. The role of the Republic of Ireland is barely considered. The Southern Irish State appears simply as an aggravant to the situation, a weakling on terrorist control, but rarely an integral part of "the Troubles."
>
> A number of writers consider the role of religion to be equally unimportant. The use of the term catholics and protestants to describe the opposing groups is seen to be misleading and preference is given to the term nationalists and loyalists. In addition, that protestant fears of a catholic Ireland have any substance is easily dismissed as fruit of protestant misunderstanding and prejudice. (26)

By this analysis, the supposedly static and insular Belfast Catholicism described by Moore's critics to date can barely be that. In the wider context of Ireland and Empire, and in addition to conflicts with modernity itself, Catholicism confronts here the forces of political and theological opposition: Catholic Ulster is a landscape of tense encounter not stasis. Moore's early

Irish narratives re-present the political and theological grandnarratives of Irish society in conflict, a society which, as we shall see, has its place too, however minor, on the world stage of international struggles.

Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in *Judith Hearne, The Feast of Lupercal,* and *The Emperor of Ice Cream* can be read therefore as part of a historical and political context mapped by the wider geographical and theological territory of the island of Ireland as a whole. It is a context in which the portrayal of Catholicism is integral to an encounter with the Protestant, Unionist, and British "other," as well as—in the margins of these early Irish narratives—the cultural "other" beyond the British Isles themselves. Moore's treatment of the political situation in Northern Ireland is present from his first fictions and not something which simply becomes overt with novels like *The Doctor's Wife* and which receives no full treatment until *Lies of Silence.* Thus the consciousness of many of Moore's characters within these earlier novels, especially in their relations to Catholicism, strongly reflect recent events in Irish cultural and political history, even if they only engage in them relatively passively.

In short, since the political determination of geopolitical boundaries was along religious (that is Catholic/Protestant) lines and historical allegiances marked by a recurrent sectarianism on all sides, the new physical map provided clear, post-Partition delineations of theological as well as geographical territory. After his seminal *Church and State in Northern Ireland,* one of the clearest statements of the complexities of this post-Partition Ireland is to be found in Whyte's insightful *Interpreting Northern Ireland.* His broad-based and multidisciplinary review of writing and research on Northern Ireland provides a wide-ranging overview of the situation. Whyte's own summary of his early chapters on the religious, economic, political, and psychological aspects (chapters 1–4, respectively) presents a statement of the various historical interactions of religion, politics, and land in the context of this divided community.[26] Whyte's highly simplified but useful shorthand version of the latter complexities sets forth an adequate range of boundaries and encounters:

1. Britain v. Ireland
2. Southern Ireland v. Northern Ireland
3. Capitalist v. worker
4. Protestant v. Catholic within Northern Ireland.[27]

Allowing for inevitable exceptions, Whyte adopts the following labels to highlight extant division:

1. traditional nationalist
2. traditional unionist
3. Marxist
4. two-community, or internal conflict.[28]

Subsequent "settlements" (especially subsequent to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998) and the decline of Marxism in the post-Cold War world naturally modify the precise present currency of Whyte's range of boundary encounters. Nevertheless, Moore's Irish novels, from *Judith Hearne* through *The Doctor's Wife* to *Lies of Silence*, cover a period in which Whyte's reading of Northern Ireland has a direct historical relevance.

For Catholics in Belfast, the historical situation, however we apply Whyte's possible oppositions, has meant both a religious and political marginalization which has heightened encounter with the religious or political other; Whyte has a version of this and calls it a "Double-Minority Model."[29] Early Moore protagonists—Judith Hearne, Diarmuid Devine, and Gavin Burke—are thus themselves doubly marginal. Their cultural identities contrast directly with a dominating political ideology whose ecclesiastical allegiances are also very different from and even threatening to their own, which as a result heightens their encounter with such difference. In the wider body of a universal Church (not simply the Church in Ireland), they are yet further marginalized by their various (and not always so pathetic) refusals to adhere to, or reach difficult accommodations with, the social, moral, and theological norms of a pre-Vatican II Catholicism. It is the latter social, political, economic, as well as theological marginalization of these characters within Protestant Ulster which many commentators have neglected, or at least failed to take seriously, in Moore's works set in Ireland.

In Moore's early Irish novels, then, integral to his portrayals of Catholicism in Ulster are the complexities of both the physical and socio-cultural landscapes in which the dual factors of religion and land have, more widely, been such powerful and formative influences on Irish history and literature. In all respects, it is the characters' Catholicism which heightens

their encounter within the politically and religiously divided personal and social landscape of mid-twentieth-century Belfast. The fictional loss of Catholic identity in Moore's early Irish novels invariably leads to alienation, where even the cultural roots of one's own personal identity become an encounter with the other. In the terms of one critic's socio-literary analysis, this alienation from the "primitive" and pre-modern community of Irish Catholicism leads in turn to a ritual reintegration within the community.[30] We can think, for instance, of Judith Hearne and Diarmuid Devine. For characters such as Gavin Burke, though, the alienation from Catholicism becomes a recognition of the fiction of belief itself and the search for an aesthetic alternative. Moore's early Irish novels hold in tension, then, the pre-Vatican II Catholic encounter with the cultural "other," but it is a tension in which narrative itself presents possibilities for the dismantling of the grandnarrative of Catholic belief. If Moore's portrayal of pre-Vatican II Catholicism is in part a critique of that tradition, this critique is most strongly felt in the narrative form itself: the narrative representation of Catholicism highlights the possibility of the grandnarrative of Catholic tradition being of no greater status than the narratives of fiction.

## *Judith Hearne* (1955)

When *Judith Hearne* was published in 1955, there was no sense in either theological or broader social and cultural terms that Catholicism was about to undergo any fundamental transformation. Indeed, the pre-Vatican II Church had set itself, doctrinally and pastorally, as diametrically opposed to change. In particular, in the ultra-authoritarian nineteenth century, the definition of papal infallibility together with consequent stances against modernity, including political change, was without doubt the Church's means of exerting theological power in the face of declining political influence.[31] The rise of science in the nineteenth century too must also be seen as presenting a considerable weakening of the Church's authority as a source of knowledge, already undermined by developments in European thinking which flowered in the Enlightenment and which subsequently brought considerable secularization to European society at large. In this context, Vatican I led the Church into an ecclesiological and theological ghetto in which separation from the modern world actually encouraged conflict with

it. By defining itself against modernity, the Church facilitated increasingly direct and confrontational encounter with the forces it sought to reject.

Such a Catholic world is largely portrayed by Brian Moore's first novel set in 1950s Belfast where the Church retains a degree of control. This supports too Foster's distinction between "primitive" and "existential" outsider.[32] Foster's analysis draws upon van Gennep's discussion of rites of passage[33] and is dependent upon a distinction between two forms of society, those (pre-modern) societies which are structured by rigid rituals and those societies in which ritual control and order has largely diminished:

> Normally the individual is well integrated in a heavily ritualised, rural and primitive society. If he is not, or he is in conflict with the community... there are ritual methods of exclusion with which he is familiar; exclusion in such society does not usually produce anomie. The situation is very different in modern urban society which is de-ritualised and dehumanised. In such a society the ritual *methods* of aiding the individual in his transition have diminished but his ritual needs have not.[34]

According to this analysis, Judith Hearne, as a member of a pre-modern community (by her Church's own self-definition[35]) still has the social and cultural roots of her exclusion to hand, they themselves define her isolation from that community:

> ...almost all Moore's outsiders have at some stage to be discussed in terms of their indigenous or transplanted Irishness. Only when Irishness is dimly rather than vividly presented may we begin to claim that Moore's primitive outsider has become the existential outsider, that modern fictional hero whose alienation, springing from no readily accessible or comprehensible social reality, carries the burden of symbolising our own alienation.[36]

By contrast, there are those fictional characters who, alienated too from modernity, epitomize the literary and existential outsider and lack any such defining social, cultural, or especially moral orientation.[37]

In Ireland, Foster identifies community and Church as providing Hearne's ritual definition.[38] Seeing Hearne's crisis as a social matter, and therefore one amenable to sociological analysis, her predicament is one of

ritual exclusion and given the sacrilegious tabernacle incident, quite literal ritual disintegration. This analysis provides useful sociological insight into the ritual of inclusion and exclusion and the creative application of van Gennep's analysis of ritual to Belfast society and fiction. But Foster's downplaying of the theological importance of Hearne's predicament inevitably leads to an over-simplification both of his applied sociological reading from van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* and the metaphysical impact of Hearne's social and particular ritual exclusion. Thus, while rightly identifying the close correspondence between community and Church in his analysis, the social dimension is overplayed at the expense of the theological. The theological and metaphysical aspects of Hearne's collapsing worldview are thus reduced to a failure to play a proper, that is, integrated, role within her community.

If comparisons between Moore and Joyce have any credence,[39] we might compare Father Quigley's sermon in *Judith Hearne* with the Jesuit retreat sermon in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* In both instances, the ecclesiastical hold of the priest in both literary-Irish cultures, itself highlighting a pre-Vatican II uniformity, derives only in part from threats, implied or otherwise, of social exclusion. The far greater threat is that of "metaphysical exclusion"—excommunicatory force within the Church lends its greatest fear not from merely being set outside the boundaries of a human community but, especially pre-Vatican II, from the expectation of eternal damnation. The commonplace pre-Vatican II notion that "There is no salvation outside the Church" would not be theologically supportable post-Vatican II.[40] In Hearne's world, though, the implications of social exclusion are as nothing to the threat of the believer's major transcendental fears. As Flood accurately suggests in relation to Quigley's sermon, essentially "the parishioners are guilty of preferring the pleasures of time and the body to the certainties of eternity."[41] In mirroring the Irish Catholic world of Belfast in the 1950s, it is, in addition to the narrower social order, this transcendental context or wider metaphysical environment in which the pitiable Judith Hearne is made to struggle.

Thus, in the pre-Vatican II Catholic world of the Church represented by Moore in *Judith Hearne*, the power of hierarchy is sustained not simply by social control since this, as we shall see, is shown to be waning. In a world in which modernity, whether the Church likes it or not, impinges on the

lives of Belfast's late-imperial subjects, the Catholic hierarchy retains its theological trump card: the power of salvation, to loose the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Indeed, as this following passage from Father Quigley's sermon indicates, the time with which he lambastes and threatens his parishioners is not human time but God's time, a sharp contrast between immanent and transcendent orders:

> "...speaking of time, your time will come before the judgement seat of Heaven. Don't worry about that. And then it won't matter a brass farthing whether you were a dandy at the football pools, whether you know every film star by name from Charlie Chaplin to Donald Duck, whether you can reel off the name of every dog that ever won a race at Dunmore or Celtic park.
>
> "*There'll be no time for that. No time at all ...*" (73)

But the Catholic world represented here is one in which the Catholic Church, by admission of one of its clergy, is losing out in earthly time:

> "Plenty of money! Plenty of time! Plenty of time! Yes, the people of this parish have both of these things. Time and money. But they don't have it for their church. They don't even have an hour of a Sunday to get down on their bended knees before Our Blessed Lord and ask for forgiveness for the rotten things they did during the week. They've got time for sin, time for naked dancing girls in the cinema, time to get drunk, time to fill the publicans' pockets and drink the pubs dry, time to run half-way across the town and stand in the rain watching a bunch of dogs race around a track, time to go see the football matches, time to spend hours making up their football pool, time to spend in beauty parlours, time to go to foreign dances instead of *ceilidhes* [*sic*], time to dance the tango and the foxtrot and the jitterbugging, time to read trashy books and indecent magazines, time to do any blessed thing you could care to mention. Except one.
>
> "They—don't—have—time—for—God." (72–73)

But both these extracts from Quigley's sermons present a different view of the Catholic world which has predominated in the criticism directed at Moore's "Belfast" novels, a view which needs to be redrawn.[42]

On first account, then, this is the "overworked Irish soil" which the novelist John Banville sees addressed by so many Irish writers, part of this picture being the dreary life of the Irish, and here more narrowly Belfast, Catholic.[43] O'Donoghue comments on "beleaguered" and later "monstrous" Catholicism.[44] Sullivan writes of the "insular world" of Belfast[45] with the notion of a distinctive brand of Irish puritanism suffusing social life in Northern Ireland. This is a common critical perspective which, as if to mirror this "overworked" literary Irish soil, likewise permeates critical discussion of these early novels.[46] In terms of Moore's early Irish novels, of course, Dahlie has painted such a landscape with his discussion of the grim, "soulless and sterile" city of Belfast.[47] Of the literature of the Six Counties, Cronin commented on Ulster's fictions confirming a dreary realism which failed to allow the reader any transcendence from the enervating life of the province.[48] So pervasive is this view that it is clearly an easy critical inheritance to accept, and commentators on Moore, such as O'Donoghue and Sullivan, seem to have done so wholesale.

Even in Longley's review of Moore and Belfast some decades later, and taking the metaphor of Belfast as "barbarous nook," Longley comes to accept that Hearne speaks for the city of Belfast as a whole. This is, to Longley, a city where even street names seem to signify an all-pervading, unavoidable spiritual domination of the physical environment, its dismal meteorology matching its grim physical appearance and its equally depressing sectarian theologies and ideologies. Longley further suggests that the city represents a very specific "soul landscape."[49] This may be the case, and the comparison between physical and spiritual environment is valid, but whether this "soul landscape" wholly fits the critical images of the city in literary criticism of Moore is another matter.

One aspect largely neglected by critics is the late colonial and post-Partition focus which sets the religious dimension of Belfast's catholicity in political context. It is Lenehan, one of Mrs. Rice's lodgers, who provides the sharpest (some might argue sectarian) colonial critique of Belfast Catholics in religious and political terms:

> Irish and Catholic, I tell you most of the Catholics in this town are bloody little West Britons and, if they're not that, the pictures have turned them into comic cut imitations of Yanks. (45)

If, as Kiberd argues, the Irish have often been historically represented as a pejorative "other" to English cultural identity, it is the ascendancy of America's cultural imperialism which Lenehan clearly also has in mind. Though this contrasts with the commonly held support of many Irish Americans (in ideological if not in an active political sense) against the imperialism of Britain in Ireland. Lenehan represents, then, the most complete model of Irish pride and resistance to British political and American cultural imperialism. It is a position James Madden, thirty years in the States and falling between status as American and now-returned Irish exile, who disabuses Lenehan of American political interest in the struggles of either Irish culture or nationalism:

> "We get all types of screwballs in New York. Now, takes these guys [the minute men earlier referred to], they're just like the people in Belfast. No matter what the argument is, they always drag Ireland in. Always handing out leaflets against the British. Why, nobody in New York, or anywhere else, gives a ghaddam...what happens to the Six Counties." (45)

Lenehan's retort to Madden of course equally well conceptualizes the politico-religious divide, "And you call yourself an Irishman. An Orangeman, more likely" (45).

The American Bible film epic, *Samson and Delilah*, which Madden and Hearne watch on their fourth date, presents another opportunity for Madden to continue with his celebration of all things American: "And the night he took her to dinner, he spoke of America, its wealth, its hugeness, its superiority to Ireland in all things material" (99). Although in the immortal lines of the novel's often forgotten humour "Mr Madden ate jujubes and thought of California," the film represents a cinematic entry of America directly into the world of Belfast. If our re-reading of Father Quigley's sermon gives insight into the a morally freer world than represented to date by Moore's critical inheritance, the cinematic *Samson and Delilah* represents a world beyond the city itself. If America was the economic hope of the Irish immigrant since the Famine, with Madden part of a century and more of such moves, then cinema extends beyond the enclosure of Belfast's narrower sectarian encounters outside the building of the cinema. The enclosure of the cinema withdraws the reader and the viewer of the film from the gritty realism

outside but to another form of enclosure, or security. But the film points to a transformation wider than an escapist few moments in the cinema, one which is inherently, and explicitly, theological. Again, as with Quigley, the power of the Church rests not in its social control, which is waning anyway in a post-Enlightenment, industrialized Europe, but in its power to sustain a broader vision of apparent social limitation. Thus America, a land of supposed secularity, reworks the grandnarrative of Christian-Jewish salvation history through cinematography, and the world of Israelite-Philistine conflict from millennia past appears in Belfast. The film medium might be seen as either accentuating the illusoriness, the unreality, of the grandnarrative or its persistent accessibility amidst the industrial landscape of Belfast society. Regardless, for the duration of the film (either imaginative escape from everyday Belfast reality or confirmation of a wider held set of religious beliefs), there is momentary, transcendental relief from the limits of the city.

The conclusion of the film is definitive, and the encounter shifts from the transcendent to the temporal: "The End, coming right at you, THE END" (98). The emphasized words (THE END) imply an eschatology, the ending of the grandnarrative itself, as much as a more limited conclusion to the Bible epic. And it is here (at the movie's ending) that the political and essentially sectarian realities strike immediately in the audience's responses to the world news. Madden's American allegiance is now replaced by a more heartfelt Irish nationalism which would align him with Lenehan. Hearne, at the centre of the novel as the supposed victim of circumstances out of her control, demonstrates here too the strength of her political consciousness. The end of the film is Moore's opportunity to demonstrate their small statement of political resistance:

> The items. First: The Queen. A few claps. More. The house applauding, louder and louder. Miss Hearne and Mr Madden sat with their hands in their laps. No handclaps for her, a foreign queen. Let them give back the Six Counties and then we'll clap. Irish people, a disgrace, applauding like that. But Protestants, what can you expect, Scots Protestants, black-hearted all. (98–99)

For all its apparent post-War economic difficulties and understandable post-Partition political insularity—only two to three decades after the Civil

War—Belfast here is not entirely true to the bleak inheritance portrayed with such critical ease by so many commentators.

Closer inspection of both Father Quigley's sermon and the cinema scene (as the media for the sacred and profane worlds) present then, in summary, the Catholic Belfast world as a society which—for all the Church's evident displeasure—enjoys its leisurely, if limited, transcendence from the harsher aspects of the city's social realities. While Catholicism retains its hold over the lay populace, the hegemony of the Church's hierarchy is maintained through a transcendent rather than a social authority. Ecclesiastical influence in Moore's Belfast, if Quigley's well-defined socio-cultural picture is to be believed, was clearly on the wane in the decade before Vatican II. Indeed, the universal Church's recognition of this may have itself facilitated John XXIII's announcement of the Council in the late 1950s and was no doubt on the minds of the assembled magisterium when Vatican II finally opened in 1962.

Where the power of the Church is felt most acutely here is evidently on its margins and if there was ever a figure to represent the most sorrowful literary embodiment of such margins, it is Judith Hearne. In the male-dominated world of the 1950s Catholic Church (a domination retained today), it is perhaps not unexpected that the social and transcendental marginalization of the weakest personalities amongst its flock should be a woman. But it would be a misconception to suggest that even in the Catholic world of Judith Hearne that her situation would be anything more than an exception (not the rule or norm) in a changing social world which even Father Quigley accepts as a contemporary Belfast reality.[50]

Indeed, the increasingly residual power of the Church is shown if one returns to the most natural of comparisons with the classic Jesuit sermon in Joyce's *Portrait.* One could imagine, for instance, the latter sermon being peppered with instances of punishment for personal (and so often sexual) sin but perhaps not the indirectly humorous portrait of a society taking almost great delight in "sinning" together in its innocent pursuit of undoubtedly well-deserved leisure. The Church's most authoritarian ecclesiological stance in Vatican I was at least in part a defensive measure against the political forces of the modern world together with post-Enlightenment liberal culture, rational philosophy, and a science no longer dependent upon God for epistemological reference. So too, in the world of

1950s Belfast, Father Quigley, despite the congregation marking sound church attendance, is rapidly becoming an increasingly less influential figure. By extension, Quigley marks too a decline in the Church in the decade immediately prior to Vatican II. Thus Hearne's pleas to the priesthood are ignored (her confessions to Quigley are heard with disinterest and disdain) or openly rejected (consider her retributive but rebuffed assault on the tabernacle). Quigley, as representative of Catholic hierarchy, thereby dismisses the devout—but marginal and demanding—Hearne, concentrating his much-needed energies on his Sunday congregation; addressing the latter as he does, Father Quigley demonstrates his concerns for that majority whose dependency on the Church is increasingly less certain.

Unlike those simply formally in attendance Hearne is, by contrast, in the deepest metaphysical sense, a woman struggling with theological realities—even if her pleas for a sign are unanswered and even if, like so many of Moore's characters, it is the absence rather than the presence of God which is most forcefully felt. Judith Hearne, for all her doubt, is a devoted Catholic. More than simply formal or social, Hearne's piety is only in part accountable in terms of her terrible loneliness from which she does she seek consolation; for example, by attending Sunday Mass. Her metaphysical alienation is all the more powerful because of the acuteness of her sense of theological and not simply social loss. At the end of the novel, the circularity represented by the signs "which make things home" represent both disappointed social expectation (the photograph of her Aunt D'Arcy) and an absence of soteriological hope (the icon-like Sacred Heart). Hearne's struggle to find meaning in the midst of all her desperation thus reaches a near mythical struggle within the disappointments of everyday reality—heightened by the sense of the pervading emptiness of these signs of the social and the sacred.

A near-sacrificial victim,[51] it is Judith Hearne who shows the greatest ethical stance in the novel through the care of her sick, and latterly deranged and manipulative, Aunt D'Arcy. For Hearne, now in her early forties and at the threshold of middle age, this concern means she may have quite literally given her life for another. From 1931 to 1947, this self-sacrifice, pitiable though it is, has been the source of Hearne's alcoholism and impecunious financial condition. Her own exclusion from the social order is, as a result, comprehensive: apart from alcohol she doesn't partake of the social scene

described by Father Quigley; a stereotypical but failed Irish American James Madden increasingly represents the decline of hope in finding a likely suitor; her visits to the genteel world of the O'Neills are greeted with social discomfort by these supposed adult friends and mocking fun by the younger generation of Una, Kathy, and the other children. It seems that even her fairly low socio-economic rung on Belfast's (in this instance admittedly grim) socio-cultural ladder is in jeopardy.

Judith Hearne is thus spiritually marginalized by her Catholic faith in a Protestant Ulster, this state mirrored by the physical ghetto of her impecunious digs existence; but, while far from ideal, it is the Church that functions in the end as a safety net. Alienated from any meaningful place in the social order, it is the Church which finally presents her major source of residual inclusion. And this even though the nuns that care for her at the home in Earnscliffe are contrasted unfavourably with the Sacred Heart congregation she remembers from school: "the Sisters of Mercy have no charity and the Sisters of Charity have no mercy" (217). The Sacred Heart of Jesus, an easily despised icon of pre-Vatican II Catholic piety, likewise provides for a theological security. A defining image at the beginning and end of the book, in the midst of her failed alcoholic struggle against the two reserve bottles of whiskey—it is to the Sacred Heart that Judy Hearne in sorrow and remorse turns for succour. Here, with both Aunt D'Arcy's face and that of Christ's symbolically turned away (as Hearne has turned from them), their presence remains powerful, almost mystical, in their unseen, emotional intensity. Forgetful now in her early morning binge on the second bottle, it is the image of Christ, face still turned away, which remains with Judy in her alienation. Judy's room becomes in the subsequent blackout both the sign of her social isolation and her actual transcendence: the world, for Judy, had indeed stopped, the world of her Aunt D'Arcy and all the failing that that brought upon her, is literally behind her. Time, one of the novel's major and ever-recurring motifs, has been—however artificially, temporarily and unsatisfactorily—transcended.

Hearne's isolation is compounded by her alcoholism and her failings in love with the self-seeking James Madden (American, and here, the false hope of both Irish immigration and an aging woman). She is certainly a victim of exclusion. Still, her desire for meaningful social and religious inclusion within the world of Belfast distinguishes her greatly not only

from the archetypal outsider of European literature of the period, but to a large extent from the Irish literature of cultural resistance which preceded and inspired Moore, particularly Joyce. Indeed, Foster's distinction between the "primitive" and "existential" outsider becomes ever more pertinent. So, in the final chapter of the novel—hospitalized, in the care of Catholic nuns, ministered to by Father Quigley and close to despair—Judith Hearne seeks a desperate renewal of faith in the words, "I do not believe, O Lord, help my unbelief" (252). Hearne's is not simply a quest for social acceptance but for a meaningful place in a transcendental order. It is a world as defined by theology as by the social geography of Belfast. Realizing, then, that her formal, if passionless, attachment to religious faith is the one thing that provides some cultural anchor in her rootless life, Hearne ponders the existential difference that belief might make:

> If you do not believe, then how many things would seem different. Everything: lives, hopes, devotions, thoughts. If you do not believe, you are alone. But I was of Ireland, among my people, a member of my faith. Now I have no—and if no faith, then no people.... (252)

The Sacred Heart and Aunt D'Arcy, as respective theological and socio-cultural anchors, signify as much. But, though Hearne's personal narrative is just one story in 1950s Belfast, it provides, nevertheless, an insight into the grandnarratives of political and religious life of the time, both North and South of the disputed border.

## *The Feast of Lupercal* (1958)

Set amidst a dreary urban geography and a meteorology to match (drizzle, rain, and fog predominate), *The Feast of Lupercal* represents a Belfast in which the vagaries of plot and character are clearly intended to deride the city's narrow provincialism. This provincialism, by most accounts, most vividly highlighted by the social and cultural blinkers of the Catholic clergy and its chief instrument of enculturation, schooling.[52] The main body of extant criticism holds no surprises. What is confirmed is a clear—collective and unchallenged—trend in the criticism of Moore's early Irish novels. Their very specifically defined Belfast city landscape is integral to the representation

of a morally repressive Catholicism. We can supplement, though, the accepted critical picture of these novels by showing how the mechanisms of social control exerted by the Church derive largely from its access to a transcendental order. In fact, in all Moore's novels this is a key factor: beyond the limited confines of a particular social and cultural landscape is a more metaphysical geography which derives in large part from a Catholic theological perspective. Moore's writing here, though, as ever, represents the often harsh lived social realities of this theology; place therefore remains crucial to the determination of theological form in socio-cultural and, of course, literary context.

The transcendental order of the Catholic Church is much less evident in *The Feast of Lupercal* than is Judith Hearne. "Diarmuid Devine, BA (Junior and Senior English)" is a more rebellious protagonist, a schoolmaster who fares, in terms of ultimate autonomy, only slightly better against the trinity of social forces which Sullivan has identified in this same sequence of novels as "Home, School and Church."[53] Interestingly, Hearne is too a tutor, of sorts, but for private tuition she is dependent upon the whims of individual families. This contrasts with Devine's more mainstream role as teacher within a Catholic college and distinguishes the nature of both characters' marginality when they confront the boundaries of acceptability. When the personal scorn of friends and eventual professional opprobrium of colleagues descend upon Devine for engaging in an impotent liaison with, of all people, a *Protestant* woman, the early impressions of Catholic Belfast presented through the figure of Judith Hearne are sufficiently confirmed. This time this happens through a male protagonist—Catholic repression knowing no gender boundaries. When Devine accepts the "generous" mercy of his principal, the forces of conformity have returned another to their fold. A repressive Catholic Church is shown to be at pains to keep the morally weak and wayward, such as Judith Hearne or Diarmuid Devine, in line.

The model of a strongly authoritarian Vatican I Catholicism remains in place in this Belfast. Still, the critical picture remains incomplete. The manner in which such theological perspective impinges upon the particular social and cultural—and of course political—landscape of Belfast needs to be more fully examined. In *The Feast of Lupercal*, as in Moore's other early Irish novels, justice needs to be done to the facts of Irish political and religious history. In particular, attention needs to be paid to the intense difficulties, in

a post-Partition Ireland, of being a member of the minority Catholic community in Protestant-dominated Ulster. If Ulster Catholicism seems rigidly defined and sectarian, and Protestantism appears to be the cultural and religious "other," then greater critical account needs to be taken of the political and particularly geopolitical reasons for this. This notion of Catholic-Protestant otherness is something which comes across strongly in *The Feast of Lupercal* (sexualized and exoticized through Una Devine). This especially focuses the reader on the centrality of geography, particularly a political and religious geography, to the definition of culture—and both fiction and theology here contribute to the definition of such a complex landscape.

In *The Feast of Lupercal*, southern Ireland represents a sort of cultural unconscious to the North, a matter dealt with lightly yet effectively by Moore's story of thwarted love. Una Clarke is a Protestant but a Dublin Protestant, "pagan Protestantism." Her exotic otherness ("Una Clarke was a stranger") is highlighted by her minority status amidst a Catholic majority (inverse to that in Belfast) but throws into grim relief the conflictual relations between Protestant and Catholic in the North:

> For in Mr Devine's world, protestants were the hostile Establishment, leaders with Scots and English names, hard blunt businessmen who asked what school you went to and, on hearing your answer, refused the job. He feared them as Spanish protestant might fear cardinal: their power was great, their intolerance absolute. To them Catholics were a hated minority, a minority who threatened their rule. (32)

This conflict, an encounter not simply of ideology but religious difference, accentuated by the physical border between North and South, is marked when Una and Diarmuid are on an early theatre date. When Una meets a fellow native of Dublin and fellow Protestant while Devine is buying drinks at the bar, the latter's religious and sectarian suspicions, as well as sexual insecurities, surface. Ronnie Irwin had been to (the predominantly Protestant) Trinity College but left without a degree —yet became an outgoing, personal and clearly a financial success. Devine, by contrast, had completed his degree, but at the (largely Catholic) National University. Yet, while not a total failure, Devine's suburban Belfast digs and school teaching career can hardly be said to match the high (even if fantasy-led) expectations

of a one time Baudelairian rebel, as he had felt himself to have been at university (48–51).

Here, life histories are interwoven with indicators of theological as well as political and wider cultural difference in a series of cross-border exchanges: Ronnie Irwin and Una Clarke are in Belfast temporarily, Diarmuid Devine had escaped only briefly to Dublin before returning to his native Belfast. Here the contrasting freedoms of the minority Protestants in Dublin against the Catholic minority in Belfast *does* seem to suggest that repression in Ulster is largely the province of the Catholic community. It suggests, too, that it is largely self-imposed. Moore demonstrates this most clearly by contrasting Catholicism with the aesthetic freedom which is posed as a key alternative. Such freedom is often perceived as the province of Protestants—seen in *The Feast of Lupercal* but also *The Emperor of Ice-Cream.* Thus, without the same degree of central authoritarian control which characterized Vatican I Catholicism, Protestantism's innate individualism undoubtedly allowed for greater moral and aesthetic freedom.[54] Still, the portrayal of Catholicism in Moore's Belfast needs to take into account both the authoritarian nature of a post-Vatican I Church *and* minority political and religious status in Ulster. By appropriate contrast, in the post-Partition Irish Free State, Protestantism actually proved far less able to resist Catholic-Nationalist hegemony than minority Northern Catholics; Protestant minority status in the South, even after the 1937 Irish Constitution and the formation of the Republic, had few benefits.[55]

It is thus easy to overplay the wholesale suggestion of the moral repressiveness of Catholicism in Belfast in Moore's early Irish novels. Devine (like Hearne) can be seen as an exception to, rather than the rule of, Belfast Catholic life.[56] Nowhere is the exaggerated critical application of the life of sad individuals to a wider Catholic population more evident than in Moore's presentation of Devine's sexuality. Devine may thus blame his Catholic education for his sexual inadequacies (nowhere more marked than in his cruelly embarrassing impotence before Una) but he continues to take his pay from it. For obvious reasons too, not all recipients of a Catholic education could be said to match Devine's level of sexual inadequacy. After their overhearing of the argument between Devine and Una's uncle, Tim Heron, the obscenities which the boys of Ardath scrawl in the lavatory about the unconsummated affair itself highlights that sexual

licence is not limited to the Protestant, even in Belfast. This all tells us something about the misreading of Belfast's Catholic world. First, while the masters do what they can to repress scandal and its exposure by the boys in the school, the repression of sexual expression in the years immediately preceding Vatican II is very limited. Second, any extremities of repression are accentuated by Catholicism's minority status in the North. Re-examining the complex and subtle undercurrent of North-South relations in *The Feast of Lupercal* allows, then, for a richer reading of the portrayal of Catholicism in 1950s Belfast.

It would therefore be incorrect to assume that Moore's theological-political treatment of Ireland is more prominent in the later rather than early Irish fictions, in works like The *Doctor's Wife* and *Lies of Silence.* We have seen this not to be the case from Moore's first novel. Moore's second too provides a significant foray into the portrayal of religious sectarianism. In *The Feast of Lupercal*, the fact that Una Clarke is a Dublin Protestant is crucial; information about a stranger "needs no defence," and accounts for her involvement with a married man. In particular, though, it provides further evidence of Moore's early fictional preoccupation with the socio-political, and certainly moral, implications of religion in geo-cultural context:

> Mr Devine had heard it said, of course, that Ulster Protestants were atypical: in England, and even in Dublin, things were not quite so bad. There, Protestants were unbigoted pagans, enjoying a freedom which Catholics would never tolerate. To this world, to this pagan Protestantism, Una Clarke, a Dubliner, must surely belong. It changed everything. Among people like that an affair with a married man was possible. Anything was possible. (32–33)

This sneaking respect, combined with a fear of the well-defined "other," surfaces even more strongly in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* with Gavin Burke's open admiration for Protestant aesthetic freedom.

The *absence* of aesthetic freedom is as central to, though less overt, than the portrayal of Belfast Catholicism in *The Feast of Lupercal.* Thus, the Dean of Discipline, McSwiney, early in the novel dashes Devine's hope to put on a play by Synge. Instead, the Dean's preferred "kitchen" drama of *Mulligan's Will* is chosen, in which the despised Tony Moloney, because of

his Dublin accent, is likely to gain the lead role. Devine's implied rejection of the stage-Irishman[57] is accompanied by the parallel compounding of national stereotype by the cultural as well as more obvious religious conservatism of the priesthood. The social and cultural context of the *Index of Banned Books* by the Catholic Church at this time is a necessary critical corollary here but the matter is more complex.[58] In rejecting the cultural tastes of the Church—the morally innocuous and popular over and against the morally and aesthetically challenging—Devine is a prototype of many self-consciously literary figures created by Moore in later fictions, such as Brendan Tierney and Fergus Fadden. Literature here provides, not simply a way of opposing the Church, but a fully alternative and all-encompassing way of life.[59]

Devine, though, perhaps because of his many years in Catholic education, takes the part of a much-weakened aesthetic alternative to Catholic worldview. The years when a radical reading of the world seemed possible as an undergraduate in Dublin seems never to have been more than poetic fantasy: "he knew all about Baudelaire and Rimbaud and Verlaine and orgies" but "had never done more than kiss a girl" (50). The aesthetic alternative to Catholicism as all-encompassing metaphysic, entailing sexual licence as always in Moore, is in Devine less of a waning hope than a disappeared possibility. If Una had rekindled this hoped for sexual and artistic hedonism, his Catholic moral conscience seems now too strong and his desire too weak to lead to consummation. There is, thus, a tension between Devine's willingness to coach Una for the forthcoming *Mulligan's Will* and his over-sensitive awareness of certain moral expectations:

> Certain things were expected of the staff in a Catholic college. Certain standards were implied. A man like himself risked censure by taking a twenty-year-old Protestant girl out to public restaurants, by coaching her without her family's permission. It was all perfectly innocent, of course, but it would not look innocent to the authorities. Man was born sinful, he must avoid the occasions of sin. The men who ran Ardath did not believe in words of honour, they did not consider human word a match for the devil's lures. No, force must be met by force. Occasions of sin must be rigorously guarded against, was that not clear? Then why did he, a teacher of boys, show such a bad example? The authorities would say he courted

> an occasion of sin; he had risked giving scandal. He had not guessed at his danger, he realised now. For the past fortnight he had lived in a vacuum: the inward turning world of a man in love. (73)

As it happens, the play and coaching the girl in fact do become an occasion for scandal. His success as a theatrical coach (a church sexton is even witness to this) is not matched by sexual success. Una Clarke suspiciously returns, though, to the Herons' home, where she is staying, only in the early hours of the morning. This becomes the ultimate motivation for Tim Heron's humiliating caning of Devine, as witnessed and halted by one of the Ardath priests. This incident in turn leads to the formal meeting at the conclusion of the novel between the Dean of Discipline, Tim Heron, Devine, and the Principal in the latter's office. Of course, these events also facilitate the returning of Devine to the Ardath teaching flock, much to the displeasure of Father McSwiney. Ironically, it is Devine's impotence which provides the key to his rehabilitation within the school, and indirectly the wider Catholic community, where, also indirectly, Devine retains his authority, residual as it is, as a teacher at a Catholic college.

Devine had been right about the Dean earlier, there was "no hope of changing that authoritarian mind" (39), but the Principal represents a milder, more liberal wing of thinking. While Devine's capitulation and the refusal of the Principal to countenance the proffered resignation is generally seen by critics as the final breaking of Devine's will and the ultimate power of the Church, here in its educational role, a more sophisticated reading is certainly possible if we take the plot and the character of the Principal as part of a wider theological history.

In chapter thirteen, for instance, we are thus told the following about the Principal:

> He was old, he had little appetite, he had much to do. So many papers, so many tasks: the sleeves of his soutane shone and his pens fitted easily against the thick callous of his forefinger. But these outward signs could do no more than hint at the constant and diverse labours which Dr Keogh had accumulated to screen him from the boredom of his tenancy: there was a history of diocesan organisations to be revised; there were notes for a book on Cardinal Celina; sermons for special retreats, orations for parish

> centenaries, memoranda on certain aspects of canon law. Above all, in chaotic and cancerous growth, were notes, drafts and reference periodicals for his *magnum opus*: a record of Irish clerical pilgrimages to the Vatican in the nineteenth century, with an account of the reasons for, and the results thereof (174).

The Principal, aging and on the verge of retirement, is a scholarly man whose breadth of vision has been engendered by the intellectual environment of the Irish College in Rome, the climate of which seems to have modified his temperament. The breadth of the Principal's thinking is contrasted with the narrow provincialism of this entrenched Belfast Catholicism. Still, the nineteenth-century links between the Irish (here more narrowly Belfast) clergy and Rome presents an historical link between 1950s Catholicism and the past of Vatican I, as well as the years of Modernist challenge to the Church which the nineteenth century represented. Thus as an aging but increasingly liberal representative of a post-Vatican I but pre-Vatican II Catholicism, the Principal does have the greatest authority in the novel; yet his compromising shift in regard to Devine is symptomatic of an increasingly more accommodating Church. Indeed, the publication of *The Feast of Lupercal* roughly coincided with the election of the seventy-eight-year-old and supposedly caretaker Pope John XXIII who was to make the surprise call for the Second Vatican Council. *The Feast of Lupercal*, aside from our reading of the fictional portrayal of one Catholic narrative in the wider context of Irish political history, also represents a key turning point in the grandnarrative of Catholicism itself.

## *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* (1965)

The appearance of the youthful academic failure, aspiring creative force, father-hater and ARP warden Gavin Burke, in *The Emperor of Ice*-Cream, marks a fitful transition from the previous two portrayals of figures in a Catholic landscape, a Belfast which is both physical and spiritual. The Second World War setting of the final novel in the series under consideration provides Moore with an opportunity to continue to highlight the conflicts of the individual against overbearing religious and social forces.[60] Further, though, in the presentation of Belfast Catholicism, Gavin Burke's struggle is against

the naiveties of religious and political belief. Catholic belief here, as in other of Moore's novels which centre on the portrayal of religion in Ulster, is enmeshed with political belief; but *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* traverses a slightly earlier decade and an extraordinarily interesting political period in post-Partition Ireland.[61]

Gavin Burke's solicitor father is of significance here, an embodiment of the old maxim, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," and perhaps one of this aphorism's most misguided applications. The wartime neutrality of the Irish Free State was undoubtedly a matter of economic as much as political impotence. The Great Famine and subsequent waves of immigration from the nineteenth century onwards (including of course those to England), combined with the absence in the South of any industrial base of significance, deprived the new state of any capacity for involvement.[62] Still, on both sides of the newly created border, there were some who manifested, however misguided, a sympathy—born out of long-time hostility toward Britain—with German aggression. In the enclosed world of Ulster, with its stated allegiance to England and the mainland of Britain, sympathy with German aggression was most naturally found amongst the indigenous minority Catholic population. Thus the portrayal of Catholicism here, especially in the figure of Gavin's father, is not simply a matter of Catholic identification with the Irish nationalism of the South—and the identification with anti-Partition voices in the post-1937 Republic—but with the malign forces of Nazi Germany. As such, Gavin Burke's struggles against the familial and especially patriarchal forces of conformity, and by turns Ulster Catholicism, must gain the reader's sympathy. In some ways, it is this novel which represents Moore's most significant critique of Catholicism in Ireland. The identification of Catholic culture as part of political struggle against a more powerful colonial force, while contentious, is less defensible when it becomes an allegiance, in whatever inconsequential form, with fascism, a period of history to which Moore returns a full thirty years later in *The Statement*.

Gavin is a would-be poet and dramatist, and thus a model of Moore's consistently upheld—albeit acknowledged as flawed—vision of an aesthetic alternative to religion, and Catholic tradition in particular. Here, Moore's literary portrayal of Catholicism in this Irish context necessarily invokes the political and religious landscapes of Ulster, together with the violent world which will soon invade its newly created borders. But Moore uses and extends

the metaphor of the creative arts to instill the parallel between the historical and the literary. Thus, prior to the unexpected bombing of Belfast, the personal and political denouement of the narrative, the wider just-unfolding political dramas of world history are reflected by the staged unrealities of an Ulster theatre:

> Ernst Tausig, a German communist leader who had been tortured and compromised by the Nazis, looked across the room at his brother and his mistress. He weighed a revolver in his hand. "Tell, Carl," he said, "our agony is real. But we live in the joy of a great coming people! The animal kingdom is past. Day must follow night." (72)

Gavin's passing involvement with a group of decadent artists late in the novel is indicative of the fictional development of a moral and aesthetic alternative to Catholicism, an aesthetic and moral vision already featured in the American novel of 1962, *An Answer from Limbo.* These early Irish novels remain firmly preoccupied, then, not only with stories centred on fairly ordinary protagonists within Ulster's new geographical borders, but also with broader fictional themes which reflect Belfast's very specific political and theological landscape.

We see in this novel, then, a developing and concurrent theme in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in the Church's involvement with politics. And it is assuredly this political factor which makes the portrayal so fully integrated with the factors of geography—the determinations of landscape (physical and ideological) affect the form and subsequent portrayal of Catholic religion and its myriad social and cultural manifestations. The irony is that in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* the allegiance, however loose and conversational, of a Catholic minority (and certainly a minority of Catholics) with Nazism identifies the colonized with another form of imperialism. This identification of Catholicism with oppressive political forces is not, however, unique to *The Emperor of Ice-Cream.* The explicit identification of Catholicism with the Nazi sympathies and overt war crimes of Pierre Brossard during the Vichy regime in Second World War France is marked in *The Statement.* (In terms of fictional history, the bombing of Belfast by the Luftwaffe which dramatically concludes *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* takes place in the same fictional space as Brossard's crimes against humanity.) Moore develops the theme of Catholic

missionary imperialism in other geographical locations and ideological landscapes in *Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife.*

The novel's late thirties to early forties setting and its appearance in 1965, just at the close and before any tangible effects of the Vatican II Council, clearly confirm too *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*'s place in a pre-Vatican II mould of Roman Catholicism. Gavin Burke's successful rebellion against an authoritarian father—a model of authority easily matched in a Vatican I Catholic ecclesiology dominated by papal infallibility and domination of clerical hierarchy over Catholic laity—is central to this character's success, but it is a success which extends beyond the merely familial.

Gavin's failure to matriculate is the narrative means by which he is able, and in fact forced, to take on the role of young volunteer in the Air Raid Precautions unit. Gavin's new uniform and helmet marked First Aid Party are the symbolic marks of his entry into another world distinct from that of the Catholic bigotry represented by his father.[63] The predominantly working class personnel and token if failed middle class—and alcoholic—Freddie Hargreaves are representative of this alternative socio-economic world. This alternative world beyond Gavin's family—the Protestant-dominated Air Raid Precautions Unit—provides for his encounter with the religious and ideological other. On an interpersonal level, Gavin is largely accepted amongst their company and this provides—ironically in wartime—Moore's vision for a peaceful social coexistence across the Catholic-Protestant denominational divide.

Revolution, though, is real to Gavin Burke; and the overturning of the moral and metaphysical hegemony of the Church is both political and aesthetic. Thus, in part against his elder brother, in part against the cultural values of his own middle-class background in a world torn by strife and, crucially, against the Catholic faith, it is the poet as the prophetic seer who dominates Gavin's radically alternative (even if young and naive) worldview:

> How could you explain to Owen that you suspected that there were things wrong with you, that, for one thing, you were a sex maniac whose every moment was plagued by thoughts of girls, that you sensed you would become a drunkard the first chance you got, that you no longer believed in God or His One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, yet remained unreasonably in dread of God's vengeance for the fact of this unbelief?

> ...How could you tell Owen that the real future of your generation had been foreseen by a group of modern poets whom Owen had never read, would never read? (10)

Gavin's identification with poetry as a source of meaning is not simply the narrow replacement of religious by aesthetic experience but an optimistic expectation of social and political change—even if in Gavin's case it is somewhat naive, and even impotent, as a form of rebellion. Poetry is both an aesthetic and political alternative to a conservative Catholicism, especially that of Gavin's father's right wing, Axis sympathies. Disillusioned with what Gavin perceives to be a tired, traditional nationalism, he is no longer interested either in the politics of the Irish Catholic nationalist community represented by his father. Instead, Gavin opts for a politically inspired aesthetic through a popularized, revolutionary Marxism. Thus, "The poets knew the jig was up; they knew the rich and famous would crumble with the rest" and apocalyptic lines from MacNeice are cited: "We shall go down like the palaeolithic man/Before some new Ice Age of Genghiz Khan." Yeats too is quoted in support: "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold /Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world." And Belfast's preoccupations are placed on the world stage:

> It was all prophetically clear. Hitler was Yeats' "Second Coming." He was the rough beast, its hour come round at last, slouching towards Bethlehem to be born. (10–11)

Unable to identify with the Catholicism and attendant Irish nationalist politics of a former generation, Gavin's struggle is to identify with the wider conflict, the class struggle engendered by a socialist grandnarrative. A politicized, aesthetic opposition to Catholicism is made too, then, into an explicit identification with the struggle against Hitler. Extending well beyond the boundaries of the island of Ireland itself, *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* is thus an important examination of the geography of Ireland as part of a broader, Europe- and indeed world-wide political struggle.

Opposed to inherited tradition, though, Gavin's aesthetic vision is not only at odds with Catholicism but provides psychological release from the social conformity of Owen as well as a developmental leap beyond Gavin's

Oedipal conflict with his father. Gavin's psychological release at the close of the novel is more than an instinctual *thanatos* overriding *eros*,[64] an initiation of a late adolescent youth into the adult world of wartime death. Gavin's perception of the naivety of some Belfast Catholics in identifying with Germany is vindicated, but the German bombing of Belfast, when it starts, signals a possible source of unity in adversity between both sides of the community. This is neatly signalled when one of the nationalist ARP wardens, in tears, says to Gavin Burke and Freddie Hargreaves, "Did you know they blew up the Falls?": "They bombed every part of the town," Gavin said. "They didn't hold back just because the Falls Road is Catholic..." (241). Moore is also careful to highlight the placing of the neutral Republic's emergency services at the disposal of the Six Counties, indicating that the German sympathies felt by the nationalist community may have surfaced more strongly amidst the minority of Catholics in the North. However, even in the height of the bombing, the strength of Catholic anti-British feeling anecdotally extends to open sympathy with the German bombers, an English naval rating having "heard two men cheering in a pub as Lord Haw-Haw, the Nazis' English-speaking commentator, reported on the German radio that Belfast would be completely wiped out" (229). Still, the place of the nuns in the Belfast hospitals servicing this emergency, read in conjunction with the assistance of the South, ameliorates the potential Protestant critique of the Catholic minority:

> An injured Heavy Rescue worker told them [Gavin and Freddie] that he had seen the engines of the Dublin Fire Brigade, pumping away in the York Street area, their peacetime headlamps blazing. His story was confirmed by others, and, soon, the hospital nuns, very pleased by this news, were telling patients how the Dublin Fire Brigade, God bless them...had driven one hundred and thirteen miles, crossing the border from neutral Eire, to help with the conflagration. (228)

When the Germans actually bomb Belfast after a long phoney war, it marks a temporary narrative closure of Moore the novelist with his native land.

Certainly, though, and for instance in *An Answer from Limbo*—which predates *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*—Ireland retains a distinct if background

presence within Moore's early American fictions, to which we will now turn. Indeed, Ireland persists as an unconscious geography of the mind in the protagonists of all the early American novels; that is, in the lives of Brendan Tierney, Ginger Coffey, Mary Dunne, and Fergus Fadden. The literal re-presentation of the historical destruction of the Old World narrative setting for his early Belfast novels marks a major closure with the city as narrative landscape for his work until *Lies of Silence*. Belfast, though, maintains a presence in Moore's fiction prior to this; and the island of Ireland, as we shall see in chapter four, remains both an important narrative setting and a key to the portrayal of a post-Vatican II Catholicism. Here, then, in the last of the early Irish novels, the textual mirror of Belfast's historical destruction marks more of an attempted than an actual end to the writer's preoccupation with Ireland as a theological, ideological, and physical landscape. Moore's continuing literary preoccupation with the Old World is thus a continuing feature of his New World, early North American fiction.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 3

# The Early North American Novels

## (*The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, 1960; *An Answer from Limbo*, 1962; *I Am Mary Dunne*, 1968; *Fergus*, 1971)

### Introduction

EMIGRATION has been a feature of Irish national life and thus Irish cultural identity since the Famine years of the 1840s.[1] We might recall the above-cited reference in Kiberd which suggests that the Famine had made internationalists of the Irish.[2] It is a literary commonplace too that emigration formed part of the life history of many of Ireland's great writers, whether to England, as in the case of Wilde, or to mainland Europe in the case of Beckett and Joyce.[3] Indeed, for the artist, remaining in Ireland became subject to the need for justification or an assertion of political or aesthetic identity.[4] As Duffy demonstrates, geographical displacement, voluntary or otherwise, becomes, with a degree of inevitability, a dominant theme in Irish writing for both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[5] Achieving a mythical status as a land of political, religious, and aesthetic freedom, America retains a special relationship with Ireland here, a matter of which we had hints in James Madden's return to his native isle in *Judith Hearne.* This present chapter provides an ideal opportunity to examine the distinctive place of the Irish exile as Catholic in North America within Brian Moore's early fiction.

If Catholic encounter with Protestantism in Moore's early Irish fiction highlights the latter's greater degree of moral and aesthetic liberalism, Moore's early North American fiction provides insight into a world of secularity where such freedoms are increased enormously for the Catholic migrant.[6] In this fictional North America, Moore's Catholic characters (often of Irish origin) encounter an almost literal New World.[7] Geographically separated from Old World Irish Catholicism, encounter with the non-

Catholic other is significantly heightened, with the cityscape of Belfast and the pastoral (if unconscious) landscape of rural Ireland exchanged for the landscape of rural Canada and the cityscapes of Montreal, Toronto, and New York, or the new landscape of the sea and shoreline of the Californian Pacific.[8]

In all four novels considered here—*The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, *An Answer from Limbo*, *I Am Mary Dunne*, and *Fergus*—dramatic shifts in the physical landscape mirror equally drastic challenges to an Irish Catholic inheritance. Indeed, the encounter between religion and (an often naively aesthetic) secularism is accentuated by the distinctive environments of Moore's North America: the city of Montreal contrasts strongly with Dublin and the rural southern Irish Catholic world left by Ginger Coffey and his family; for Brendan Tierney, the "new Rome" of New York is the place to be a writer, but for his mother it is an isolating world, the antithesis of even the residual community of a sectarian-conscious Belfast housing estate; for Mary Dunne, her personal sexual history is a history of cities (Toronto, Montreal, New York), a separation from semi-rural Catholic Butchersville of childhood and, more distantly, Catholic Ireland; for Fergus, the seascape of the Californian Pacific could not provide a sharper geographical contrast with the landscape of his Irish childhood, and this makes the metaphysical encounter of the two all the more powerful. In all instances, migration is both geographical and theological, for the migrants' shifts in geographical location highlight a parallel movement from cultural (here Catholic) roots. Yet, in showing the persistence of theological thinking, either through the metaphor of characters' interior monologues (*The Luck of Ginger Coffey* and *I Am Mary Dunne*) or the representation of the Catholic past in fantasy (*Fergus*), it would seem that physical distance alone cannot engender complete dissociation from the factors of early enculturation. Further, and this is seen most strongly in *An Answer from Limbo*, if North American secularity directly and indirectly critiques Catholicism's worldview, such secularity is itself subject to radical challenge.

Here, textual shifts in physical landscape mirror transformations in social and cultural perspective for the Catholic immigrant. The fictional context of Moore's novels thereby highlights the manner in which the experience of migration, and specifically Irish migration, is evident as a collective social and cultural experience: societies are themselves transformed by patterns of migration, and such transformation is reflected in the cultural output of

such a society. The literature of Ireland and America, not simply in the twentieth century, thus reflects the evolution and/or impoverishment of society through this geography of human movement.[9] The history of North America, to an even greater extent than Ireland, *is* the history of migration, and indeed colonization, and its literature reflects this.[10] The novels of Brian Moore reflect such historical and social trends most effectively through the identity and identity-crisis of individual protagonists. Each early American novel reflects in its own way broad trends through individual experience, and of special interest here is the manner in which Moore portrays the Catholic grandnarrative and its crisis from the perspectives of his protagonists, and their often inconsequential life stories.

As White suggests in "Geography, Literature and Migration," it is this generic human issue of identity which naturally comes to the fore and is often painfully heightened for the migrant, and it is this which provides ideal material for the writer of fiction:

> At any point in our lives we can think of ourselves as relating to a number of identities—in gender terms in terms of a stage in the life course, in terms of age and family status, in terms of economic identity ... in terms of linguistic, religious and other cultural identities and in terms of ethnic identity. In the analysis of identity shift through migration it can be argued that creative literature contains some of the most effective explorations of identity issues.[11]

This is certainly true of Moore's early American novels: Ginger Coffey's life situation is essentially the critical experience of the economic migrant; Brendan Tierney's is a model (and apparently confident) renunciation of his Irish Catholic cultural inheritance but with crisis inherent in the exchange of religious for secular values; Mary Dunne's position reflects a crisis of identity resulting from geographical disorientation as much as her sexual liberalization, the latter a key to our understanding her shift from Catholic values[12]; Fergus's predicament indicates the inescapability of the culture and society of one's birth and upbringing, despite physical migration. In all cases, the Catholic dimension of their life experience persists either as an aspect of the (individual) psychological or (collective) cultural baggage which they (or their recent ancestors) bring from the Old World to the New.

In this respect, for the manner in which he highlights both the individual and collective in the literature of migration, White is again worth citing. In a book which shares with this present volume a concern for one particular cultural manifestation of the migration, that of literary output, White suggests the following two levels for a consideration of this literature of human population movement:

> At one level we can consider individual works, but at another we can consider a full body of literature that arguably hangs together through a relationship with a migratory record or history, often on a societal scale. At the first level, therefore, we may be dealing with individual authors and with the representation of the experience of particular people; at the second we may be concerned with responses in whole societies or nations that have been affected by population movement.[13]

Brian Moore's early American novels reflect both levels of preoccupation. Firstly, Moore reflects the concerns and experiences of particular individuals in their migratory paths. Secondly, his early American novels highlight too that collective dimension one would expect in Irish and North American culture, containing as they both do such particular historical traditions of migration.[14] In these increasingly cross-cultural novels where encounter with the "other" is an expected commonplace of the migratory experience, Moore thus fuses individual and collective experience through contrasts between the fictional landscapes of Ireland and America. Certainly for the period covered by these early North American novels (1962–71), the physical and cultural space of North America becomes a literary meeting ground for Catholicism and secularism where, depending on one's perspective, either side could be deemed as "other."[15]

This otherness and the sense of encounter which this inevitably generates in these novels may have been accentuated too by historical ossification. Thus Moore's portrayal of Catholicism is here distinctly pre-Vatican II despite the fact that publication dates extend beyond the closing of the Council in 1965: *Ginger Coffey*'s late 1950s setting (and publication in 1960) certainly predates Vatican II, as does the portrayal of Coffey's decisively abandoned Catholicism; in late 1950s New York, Brendan Tierney certainly lives in a pre-Vatican II world, his mother's Catholicism reflecting this strongly, though

the book was published in 1962, the year the Council opened; Mary Dunne's residual Catholicism more fully reflects the pre-Vatican II Catholicism of her childhood in Butchersville than it does any direct historical developments in the post-Vatican II Church, though there are hints in the novel of the conservative Vatican teaching on sexual morality. Despite *Fergus*'s publication date of 1971, Fadden's phantasmagoric confrontation with "the dead and the absent living" is certainly an encounter with a consciously historical rather than any contemporary, that is, post-Vatican II, Catholicism. It is to these literary landscapes of the Catholic encounter with the secularized other that this chapter turns in considering the detail of Moore's early American novels.

## *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* (1960)

If emigration for aesthetic freedom might be the province of a cultural elite, economic necessity might be said to be amongst the more common and most basic of incentives. Moore's first sojourn into North American territory appropriately reflects this in *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* with a stylistic mix of comic and near-tragic realism from which the scriptural and the theological are never much distant: James Francis Coffey, for instance, "was not poor in spirit," he "was just poor" (20). Recently emigrated from an Ireland whose Catholicism is equated with rural tradition, economic disadvantage, and social stagnation, the escaped Coffey's, "a man who has cut loose from all the old codology and cant at home," is to a supposed land of urban opportunity in Canada's progressive, forward-looking Montreal, a New World North America with a supposed hint of France, a supposedly more exotic trace of the Old World continent of Europe (44–45). Expectation, though, fails to meet the complexities of Canada's cross-cultural realities, where, as in the early Irish novels, the physical features of the environment, a meteorology of place, seems to define this New World as much as its culture. So, where Coffey had expected Montreal to be "a sort of Frenchy place," it was "French my foot," more "a cross between America and Russia": "the cars, the supermarkets, the hoardings; they were just as you saw them in the Hollywood films. But the people and the snows and the cold ... wasn't that the real Siberian stuff?" (9). With a meteorological motif which persists throughout *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, as it does in the later Canadian

fiction of *Black Robe*, the unfavourable physical environment matches increasingly poor economic prospects which, on both counts, seem harsher than Old World experience.[16]

In this new physical and economic landscape, memories of priestly sermonizing from an Irish Catholic childhood persist too. The emphasis on sin and the negative aspects of soteriology in Coffey's school recollection of Father Cogley, characteristic too of Father Quigley in *Judith Hearne*, is marked, though, by important narrative differences. Most significantly, unlike the immediacy of the priestly message received by Hearne as she sits in her new parish church, Father Cogley's words have been retained by Coffey, more than twenty years after hearing the sermon, as interior monologue. Geography and religious disinclination have now separated him from the Church where geography and a desperation to believe ensured that Hearne remained within its immediate grasp. Still, Cogley's interiorized theological monologue, integral to Coffey's supposedly irreligious stream of consciousness now inevitably colours his sense of place and the processes of—even motivation for—his own migration from Ireland to Canada. It is as if the priest's words of warning against patterns of economic Irish emigration acted as the spur for the young Coffey yet now seem confirmed in their veracity. Indeed, Father Cogley's diatribe is directed not simply against the usual targets of sin which threaten to weaken the Church's hold over congregation but against the mobility of the community (Irish emigration) itself:

> The pulpit was on the right of the school chapel. Ginger Coffey, aged fifteen, sat under it while Father Cogley, a Redemptorist Missioner, preached the retreat. There's always one boy—Father Cogley said—always one boy who doesn't want to settle down like the rest of us. He's different, he thinks. He wants to go out into the great world and find adventures. He's different, you see. Aye, well Lucifer thought he was different. He did. Now, this boy who thinks he's different, he's the lad who never wants to finish his studies. Ireland isn't good enough for him, it's got to be England or America or Rio-dee-Janeero or some place like that. So, what does he do? He burns his books and off he runs. And what happens? Well, I'll tell you. Nine times out of ten that fellow winds up as a pick-and-shovel labourer or at best a twopenny penpusher in some hell on

> earth, some place of sun and rot or snow and ice that no sensible man would be seen dead in. And why? Because that class of boy has no love of God in him, because that class of boy is an ordinary lazy lump and his talk of finding adventures is only wanting an excuse to go away and commit mortal sins .... And let me tell that boy one thing .... If you burn your books you burn your boats. And if you burn your boats, you'll sink. You'll sink in this world and you'll sink in the next....(21)

Physical space clearly has metaphysical implications here, migration being regarded as, if not sinful in itself, then indicative of a wilful pride that could lead to sin. Recognizing the false economic hope of the Irish Catholic immigrant—the symptomatic abandonment of education, one dominated by the Church—Cogley indicates the perils inherent in shifts of physical geography with more metaphysical, soteriological threats. Of course, the preoccupation with perceived exoticism of place, "It's got to be England or America or Rio-dee-Janeero or some place like that" (21), is precisely the journey that Moore's narratives take: from the harsh naturalism of the Belfast of the early Irish and American fictions to an increasing preoccupation with landscapes made strange by fable, allegory, and fantasy in later Irish and American novels (*Fergus, Catholics, The Great Victorian Collection, The Mangan Inheritance*) and finally to regions such as the Caribbean (*No Other Life*) and continents such as Africa (*The Magician's Wife*), a post-Vatican II Catholic world where even the history of other cultures (*Black Robe*, and again *The Magician's Wife*) is read with a respect for indigenous worldviews inconceivable in a pre-Vatican II world which dictated that there was no salvation outside the Church.[17]

Though "it was all missionary malarkey, of course" (21), the irony in terms of this largely naturalistic portrayal of an ex-Catholic protagonist is that Coffey's encounter with the New World is as true to Father Cogley's predictions as it is untrue to Ginger's expectations. Certainly James Francis Coffey, failed BA, does not seem to have matched his family's respectable economic or religious pedigree. Coffey's father, a solicitor who had been "buried in the brown habit of a Dominican Tertiary" is a model of prosperity and piety, while his elder brother Tom, a missionary priest in Africa, "worrying about the Moslems stealing his African converts" (24–25), seemingly indicates the only respectable option for world travel away from

Ireland, and gives us distant hints of Moore's much later treatment of Muslim–Christian relations in *The Magician's Wife*.

With the return passage money now spent and no job in prospect, it is early on, then, that Coffey's economic hopes are dashed. Like many of these early American novels, though, the protagonist's Catholicism persists, if not in the formal practice of religion, then in the metaphor of religious language which colours an otherwise secularized consciousness. And if the technique of Moore's free indirect speech has been commented on by O'Donoghue and Sullivan at some length, what such critics neglect is the persistence of a theological perspective in the supposedly secularized interior monologues of Moore's characters. Thus Coffey, worried about telling his wife Veronica about the likely permanency of their stay in Canada, makes a visit to a church as a way of "putting off judgement day" (35). Even if his visit is pragmatic rather than devotional ("warm it was in God's house") it is a place where the "interior darkness was familiar," and this despite his absence from any church since leaving the place he still calls "home," that is, Ireland (32). Finally facing the scorn of Veronica, Coffey (in a transference of biblical narrative into the novel) wishes her as "Lot's wife" (40). From the outset of the narrative, then, Father Cogley's sanctimonious outpourings which had so powerful a retentive effect on Coffey's boyhood memory of Catholic Ireland are soon translated into Coffey's evident disappointment with Canada. The interior monologue of Old World theology becomes a concrete, New World manifestation of economic failure.

Coffey's fantasies lead, though, to other realms, both geographical and metaphysical, which extend beyond the reality of economic failure on both sides of the Atlantic:

> He lay back, entering a world where no earthly women were. In that world soft houris moved, small women of a Japanese submissiveness, administering large doubles and sweet embraces with club sofa and beds. In that world, men of thirty-nine were Elder Bothers, prized over any Greek stripling. In that world, a man no longer spent his life running up hill, his hope in his mouth, his shins kicked by people with no faith in him. In that world, all men had reached the top of the hill; there were no dull jobs, no humiliating interviews, no turndowns; no man was saddled with grinning wives and and ungrateful daughters, there were unlimited

> funds to spend, the food was plentiful and non-fattening, there were no Father Cogleys handing out warnings, no newspapers worrying you with atom bombs, no sneerers and mockers waiting to see you fail, no rents to pay, no bank managers. In that world you could travel into beautiful jungles with four Indian companions, climb a dozen distant mountain peaks, sail rafts in endless tropic seas. You were free. By flicking your fingers in a secret sign, you could move backwards or forwards in time and space, spending a day in any age that took your fancy, but as a leader of that age, the happiest man of that day. In that free world ...
>
> In that world, both quarts finished, Ginger Coffey fell asleep. (43)

Ironically, of course, retreat into fantasy has been a common critique of religious belief since Feuerbach, a projection of personal and collective human hopes onto an indifferent universe, and this indeed underpins the naturalistic technique in Moore's fiction.[18] Coffey's fantasy, an implicit rejection of any American economic "dream" or theological projection (both potentially *collective* fantasies), is thoroughly individualistic, approaching pure solipsism. Coffey's, though, is also a narrative space where such a critique of religion is acknowledged and questioned by philosophical self-examination. Coffey's doubts are directed both to the theology of ecclesiastical compulsion, "one of his secret reasons for wanting to get away to the New World was that in Ireland, church attendance was not a matter of choice" (24), and towards self-doubt about his own skepticism: "suppose all the prayers, the penances, the promises were true? Suppose the poor in spirit would inherit the kingdom of heaven?" (25). As if by way of solution to this complex metaphysical conundrum, Coffey's imagination seemingly presents an alternative fictive landscape which avoids confrontation with failure in both religious and secular domains.

If the encounter of the Catholic in Northern Ireland was one of confrontation with the Protestant (that is, religious) and British colonial (or political) other, Ginger Coffey seems to lack any of the expected Irish Catholic allegiances. On the question of impending divorce, Ginger declares to his daughter Paulie that, "Your mother and I aren't real Catholics any more. You know that" (160). And, while Ginger had duly served in the Irish army, he recalls how "the thicks in the government announced that Ireland

would stay neutral" (33). (The question of Irish neutrality during the Second World War is developed more fully in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream.*) Indeed, this absence of expected Catholic religiosity or Irish nationalism is noted by one of the Coffey's only Canadian friends, Gerry Grosvenor—who later demonstrates his friendship with the couple by a supposedly unconsummated affair with Veronica. Grosvenor acknowledges a prevailing, residual romanticism, all that appears left of the Ireland's cultural life in the secularized world of Canada:

> ... Gerry talked about Ireland. He said he was glad they were not going back there. He said until he met the Coffeys he had considered Irish people bigoted, untrustworthy and conventional. Although he had some very good Irish friends, he said. But he had been relieved to find that the Coffeys were not nationalists or religious. Although he admired people who believed in something, didn't he? Of course, none of his Catholic friends ever went to church, he said. Which was a relief to him. Yes, the Irish were wonderful people, imaginative, romantic and creative. Wonderful people. (49)

Of course, Grosvenor's romanticism highlights the processes of cultural construction which geographical distance can engender. The harsher reality of Coffey's experience of the failures of immigration might lead to sympathy with the disillusionment of Coffey with both the Old and New Worlds. Indirectly, then, Coffey and Grosvenor mark positions which, across the economic divide separating them, are unified by the re-creation of an imagined world. In this regard, *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* is a metafiction for such constructions, either for the creation of imagined cultural past or make-believe to deal with an unsatisfactory present.

Coffey's proofreading on the *Tribune* draws attention to another, denominational, divide unified by the joint experience of immigration, with the boss MacGregor, his "Low Church Scottish rumble" (51) a reminder of Catholic-Protestant conflict in Belfast. Here, even MacGregor's administrative routines are regarded in theological terms, as the "old man spiked a scrap of paper like Calvin drowning sin," the Holy Bible on his bookshelf (51–52). The proofreaders, "monks performing a rite of exorcism" intone "a short chant of MacGregorian abuse" (79). MacGregor is the immigrant success

story in a land where economics underpins Canadian cultural identity, a matter highlighted by Fox, chief amongst the proofreading underlings:

> "Quiet now," Fox shouted. "I have to explain the facts of life to our immigrant brother. Do you want to be remembered, Paddy? Of course you do. Then you must bear in mind that in this great country of ours the surest way to immortality is to have a hospital wing called after you. Or better still, a bridge. We're just a clutch of little Ozymandiases in this great land. Nobody here but us builders. This is Canada's century, they tell us. Not America's, mind you. Not even Russia's. The twentieth century belongs to Canada. And if it does, then you had better know your values. Remember that in this fair city of Montreal the owner of a department store is a more important citizen than any judge of the Supreme Court. Never forget that, Paddy boy. Money is the root of all good here. One nation, indivisible, under Mammon, that's our heritage. Now drink up." (73)

Again the theological language, "money, that was Our Saviour" (98), underpins the heights of this harsh, secular reality and leads Coffey to wonder if he been "wrong to bet his all on Canada" (75). His proofreading colleague's perception of his new land seem to mirror with the greatest of irony his own perception of the land he had left behind: "they seem to think Canada is the back of beyond" (75).

Now separated from wife and child, and living in a "downtown limbo" in "a far off country" (52–53) where—if money was "Our Saviour"—Ginger Coffey's residency at the YMCA is a sign of his damnation. This unenviable status, though, becomes for Ginger a subject for salvation. In the midst of all his personal, social, and especially economic failings, his very anonymity becomes transformed into a quasi-religious humility, for indeed Coffey, for all his ineffectiveness, is largely guiltless, and it is this innocence, this lack of culpability for his failing which itself becomes the source of his imagined redemption:

> Wouldn't it just serve them right if he never tried to find them, if he just disappeared altogether and settled in here like a mole gone to ground. Not a bad life either: sleeping late every morning, eating his breakfast in some cafeteria, going for walks, seeing the odd film, having a daily swim

> in the pool downstairs and then each night, to work at six. No ties, no responsibilities, no ambitions. By the holy, that would be a grand gesture. To retire from the struggle, live like a hermit, unknown and unloved in this faraway land ... he would be a mystery man, the hermit of the YMCA ... a hermit in the city ... Ah, you are a saint James Francis Coffey. (106–107)

Taking on the uniform of Tiny Ones, the diaper disposal company in which he becomes a fair success, he "thought of the first time he had worn a uniform, as a private in the regiment of Pearse" (116), with a comparable impotence here between his current economic role and the ineffectual status of a neutral Irish army in the midst of world conflict. Yet, in the cinema, so prevalent in Moore's fiction, Coffey reflects on the fact that he would not be alone in suffering disappointment:

> New Canadians: thousands like her came here each year; thousands started all over again in humble circs. You heard such stories: lawyers forced to take work as checkers, doctors as lab assistants, professors driving trucks. And still they came, from every country in Europe, riding in old railway colonist cars to the remote provinces of this cold, faraway land.... Wasn't he too a man who would always be a stranger here, never at home in this land where he had not grown up.
>
> He tried watching the film, but somehow the filmed America no longer seemed true. He could not believe in this America, this land that half the world dreams of in dark front seats in cities and villages half a world away. What had he in common with his true America? For Canada was America: the difference a geographer's line. What had these Hollywood revels to do with the facts of life in a cold New World. (170–71)

This dawning reality is an indication of Coffey's psychological growth, no longer content with (solipsistic or Hollywood) fantasy.

Indeed, with this more realistic assessment of his life chances, it is the enduring metaphors of his Catholic past which provide the conceptual context for his renewed struggle to gain his wife and child back from Grosvenor. Refusing to fake an adultery scene which would enable a quick

divorce with Veronica and facilitate a possible wedding with Gerry, he suddenly "awoke on the cross of his new obsession" (194). Indeed, the structure of the novel reflects too a parallel in the Catholic devotional practice of the Stations of the Cross in a number of ways. Given the overriding metaphor of Coffey's new determination, "the cross of his new obsession," the novel's fourteen chapters indirectly reflect the fourteen stations of this Catholic ritual. Relevant too is the name of Coffey's wife, Veronica, the woman in Catholic medieval hagiography accredited with wiping the face of Christ during the Passion and whose cloth retained the imprint of Jesus's face. So too at the trial for indecent exposure at which Coffey a little unfairly finds himself it seems appropriate that above the judge "there was a large crucifix" where the "Christ figure seemed to recline, head to one side, as though trying to catch the half-audible mumble of the clerk of the court" (224), the divine regarding the secular proceeding almost inconsequentially. When Coffey narrowly escapes a custodial sentence, the prose, unusually for Moore, approaches something akin to a mystical theology outside on the steps of the court:

> He was free. The night that had passed, the cells below stairs, the shouting warders, the terrifying laughter of the spectators in court; it had happened and yet it had not. It was a nightmare washed into nothingness by the simple and glorious fact of freedom. The city, its roofs and cornices crusted with snow, its rushing inhabitants muffled in furs, seemed a busy, magical place, a joy to be abroad in. For one liberating moment he had become a child again; lost himself as a child can, letting himself go into the morning, a drop of water joining an ocean, mystically becoming one.... He was the sky. (233)

Structurally, there is an ambivalent theological circularity in the narrative here. As Coffey's story begins, the interior monologue of Catholicism, even "the boredom of the mass" (24), retained from an Irish childhood, still colours Coffey's consciousness. Coffey's physical migration from Ireland and lapsed Catholic state, though, marks a theological distancing from the Church which cannot fully overcome the metaphors of religious thinking in his perception of a secular Montreal. At the close of the book Coffey's mystical identification with childhood, the adult Coffey, "a child again" (233), perhaps

less certainly marks an ambivalent psychological acceptance of that Catholicism which had so effectively defined his early years in Ireland.

### *An Answer from Limbo* (1962)

Brendan Tierney's limbo is both geographical and theological. If his exile now means "exile from this .... My island is no longer my home ...." (31), it is the theological certainties (however unpalatable) of Catholic Ireland which he has left behind as much as the land itself. Thus, "Wasn't it simply that I was twenty-two, that fifteen and seven made twenty-two, seven years of telling lies to keep the religious peace, seven years of observance without belief, seven years of secret rage at each mention of my 'immortal soul'?" (29). Brendan Tierney ventures forth to New York, away from the "provincial mediocrity" of his "native land" to "the Rome of our day" (9)—imperial, of course, rather than Catholic, Rome. It is a potentially lonely and violent place where Brendan's mother, visiting from Ireland, meets friends in the dangerous open spaces of Central Park. One such friend, Mrs Anaspey, tells her that the Catholics here are "the kind of Catholic would strangle you with the rosary beads for one dollar in your purse" (95). Indeed, Mrs. Tierney notes that "Catholics here were not very tolerant." In addition:

> The priests preached sermons on Sundays that hardly had the word God in them but plenty about the communists and the chinese and so on. And that bishop on television, all decked out in his crucifix and cape and biretta and telling jokes, some of them not in the best taste. There was nothing holy about that, was there? And Mrs Anaspey, she always had the hard word for everybody. (95)

It is a city where Brendan's wife, late in the novel, wanders the city to confront only limited signs of social cohesiveness only amidst the Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans there: "ignored in that thick familial atmosphere, she found herself wondering why in all New York it was only these poor unwanted immigrants, imprisoned in their alien language and customs, who still lived life in a real community" (225).

The city's cultural diversity and the anonymity of its physical space marks the decline of the community and the rise of the individual, and

comes to epitomize the indeterminacy of the limbo state.[19] When the Tierneys' son, Liam, suffers a playground accident, Brendan's mother thinks of the soteriological consequences for the un-baptized child: "If he dies she thought, he cannot go to heaven. He will go to Limbo; that's the place for children who have never been baptized: in Limbo they stay for eternity, never in the sight of God" (225).

Here, New York's secularism is reflected in a symbolic, atheological absence,[20] the physical, built environment mirroring in Brendan's consciousness the death of God where "Across the street I saw a lighted checkerboard of windows at Union Theological Seminary. But the theologians were abed" (236). It is not only Mrs. Tierney, therefore, who encounters the contrast between theological certainty and the epistemological openness of liberal American culture. Throughout the novel, as with Moore's other early American writings which reflect so much of post-War secularism, the language of theology persists in this atheological world, even in the title of the novel. It surfaces consistently most notably in the consciousness of Tierney as a writer the further he moves into the increasingly anchorless realm of his own story, where "I am living, no longer in New York, but in the world of my characters" (101). To follow John Wilson Foster's distinction between primitive and existential outsider, Tierney's adherence to the pre-modern forms of Irish Catholicism is so residual that his growing alienation from family, friends, and cultural roots mean he is without doubt the first protagonist of Moore's to face the heart of a thoroughly contemporary, existential angst. The struggle for meaning amidst the essential anomie of the New York metropolis, a seeming cultural free-for-all and apparently collective moral free fall, is represented by Brendan Tierney's transference of libidinal energy into his writing—literary creativity as metaphysical anchor.

Yet, ironically, it is the cultural, and more narrowly theological, certainties which Brendan Tierney sees as a source of literary success in America. It is the geography of childhood which marks the contours of his sudden, almost mathematical, certainty about the reinclusion of this departed Catholic world (Catholic Ireland, "Home, that Moscow of the mind"), albeit in the service of literary ambition:

> When the answer came to me, it reminded me of my scolds when, out of nowhere, you suddenly knew that Ankara was the capital of Turkey. Or in

> algebra you found what x was. Because I knew one thing, everything else was simple. Simple as genius .... (7)

> ... in that moment, at the corner of 6th and Greenwich Avenues, the answer came. Ankara is the capital of Turkey. My mother. (13)

Geography is the metaphorical key here, as elsewhere in Moore's fiction: in order to achieve his aesthetic ideal, Brendan needs, ironically, to re-encounter the Old World of his mother and she, in service to her son's obsession, sees how the New World America has transformed him; Mrs. Tierney's most fundamental encounter with the New World is as a place of lonely death amidst Old World memories.

*An Answer from Limbo* marks an important stage in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism, representing, like *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, a physical shift to North America and yet unlike Moore's first North American fiction, a more conceptually sophisticated response to Catholicism. If migrant Irish-American protagonists or disillusioned Catholics remaining in Ireland tend to reject or remain ambivalent to the religion of their birth, Brendan Tierney is concerned not simply with rejecting or remaining in uneasy stasis with Catholicism but with providing an equally all-encompassing substitution for it. For Brendan's mother, by contrast, the physical and cultural distance from Ireland highlights rather than weakens her sense of Catholic worldview. The current issue for all the early American novels, though (*The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, *I Am Mary Dunne*, and *Fergus*), is that America presupposes the liberal secularism which Catholicism invariably encounters there.

Except for marginal hints at religious diversity, the unlikely juxtaposition of Mrs. Tierney and D. T. Suzuki (173), this, of course, is a limited portrayal of North American religious life in the 1950s. The outrageously stereotypical presentation of the lecherous Vito Italiano, and his Italian Catholic mother, is one of the few instances in these early American novels where non-Irish Catholicism is portrayed. Catholicism retains, though its sense of otherness. Sexual liberalism is at the root of Italiano's character. It is presupposed that, in the face of New World morality the recent Catholic migrant will abandon his religion which satisfies only old women, here aging Catholic mothers. Protestantism, of course, the great force which provided the cultural roots of white Anglo-Saxon American ancestry and still informs American "civil

religion" is likewise ignored in Moore's portrayal of American religion even when it is an important part of America's secular life.

American liberalism, then, is only part of the picture, if a relatively important one. Brendan Tierney in fact ultimately rejects this aspect of liberal American culture as firmly as he does the much more restrictive morality of the Irish Catholicism of his mother. He recognizes the American liberal attitude toward sexuality in particular, with its attached culture of psychoanalytic dependency, as just as cultic as Christianity: "The trouble with analysis ... is that it's becoming a religion with Messiah and Holy Writ and even its Judases like Ferenczi and Reich—and a whole damned priesthood" (125). Where in another early American novel, Mary Dunne, a failed creative spirit, finds meaning in sexual encounter as a model of liberation from Catholicism, for Brendan Tierney, it is writing, symbolized by his resignation from his post as a journalist and his struggle to write and publish a literary masterpiece, his great first novel, which becomes his substitute for everything: his job, his wife, his children, his mother, and finally himself.

Not unnaturally, after resigning from a hack journalistic post he cares nothing for, his marriage is the first casualty. As his obsession with literary posterity takes firm root, there is a consequent detachment from sexual desire. It is not simply a loss of sexual libido. Brendan's untitled novel and its painful struggle into existence become a vicarious form of sexual activity, just as writing has replaced Catholicism, his book becoming "the belief that replaces belief" (266). With doubtless intended irony, then, this supposedly heroic and self-sacrificing attempt at literary greatness leads to the rather ordinary and unsurprisingly mundane break-up of his marriage to Jane.

Just so his lack of militant atheism increases the gulf between himself and his mother. Further to writing as vicarious sexual activity, the creation of the novel becomes the means by which the writer Brendan Tierney hopes to transcend death and replace religion. After a late-night drunken argument with his wife, he seeks to talk with his mother in their New York apartment:

> "Please," I said. "It's still early."
>
> "It's not early, it's late. And tomorrow I have to go to early Mass."
>
> "Ah, yes. Mass. If only Mass were the answer."
>
> "Mass is the answer."

> "Ah, Mamma, Mamma. There are far fewer things in heaven than are dreamt of in your philosophy."
> "How do you know?" she said. "Who told you what there is in heaven?"
> "Nobody. That's the trouble. That's why I've made writing my religion."
> She smiled. "You call that a religion?"
> "Well, it's an act of faith that by my own efforts, some part of me will survive the undertaker."
> "Brendan, that's no religion, that's pure vanity." (83)

Intimately connected with the romanticism of place and the folk-heroism of writing, Tierney's quest detaches him from the existential self of memory, his childhood roots, the Catholic Brendan of "the young Scouts of Ireland" (117). Now New York, where his novel writing becomes associated with his own rebirth, is at the root of his transformed, literary identity, "the man I am become in these past few weeks is kin only to that old writer who some day, sitting on a balcony in Nice or San Francisco will try to think back to this year and this place, to the moment when he was truly born" (117).

In producing a work which he hopes will be read by future generations rather than simply a best selling work to be pulped making its writer and publisher (here Gardiner Key) wealthy, Brendan seeks immortality through writing. Indeed, Brendan Tierney commonly associates his own literary career with the greats of European literature, the novel being suffused with such references, for instance in what follows to Flaubert and Gide:

> The literary life in New York was a great charade in which people pretended to be other than they were. Their ambitions remained private fantasies: they had neither real beliefs nor the courage to implement them. Was I one of them? Was I really serious about my manuscript? And if I was, why was I drunk, kissing strange girls, then running through the streets looking for my wife? Why wasn't I working tonight? Was I really prepared to be a Flaubert, labouring my life away at Croisset in an endless search for the right words; was I prepared to face the future of Gide's lonely old writer man in the endless solitude of some hotel room? (75–76)

It is a point of interest, though, that Brendan's cultural anchor remains largely European. We might look at Tierney's other grandiose self-

comparisons: "My earlier attempts at paterfamilias, my role-playing of a Sunday at home now seemed an unreal, unnecessary farce. Balzac, during some crisis in his personal life, dismissed it with: And now for the important thing: 'Who will Eugenie Grandet marry?'" (159). And with homage to and identity with Conrad, "We salute that Pole" (102).

Yet the historical significance of one European country for the American writer, a Spain reminiscent of Hemingway, is both highlighted and contested in a heated debate with his one time mentor Ted Ormsby, and subjected to a typical Tierney critique:

> Spain, Spain, I've been to Spain. You suggested it, remember? The trouble with Spain, Ted, it's the solution of your generation, not mine. The idea of living in some foreign funkhole just because it's cheap belongs to the thirties. This is the fifties. Times have changed. A writer today must be at the centre of things. New York is the centre. (20)

Still, Ted Ormsby, the supposed romantic, faces a retort which challenges the moral vacuity of Brendan's quest for art for art's sake:

> "Still the romantic, aren't we Ted? Always wanting a cause to die for."
> "And what about you Brendan, have you no cause but yourself?"
> "Causes? Colonialism, the class system and all that. Don't you realise, Ted, that those aren't real causes any more. The trouble with today's causes, they're bound to succeed. The Welfare State isn't a cause any more in these islands. Even in Ireland it's inevitable."
> ... "Three quarters of the world don't have enough to eat, yet you—
> "That problem won't be solved by revolution and you know it. Just as the fact of the atom bomb can't be charmed away by pacifists." (21)

In his moral vacuum, Europe remains Brendan Tierney's secularized aesthetic anchor, a bastion against Irish Catholic roots and North American anomie. Still, like Fergus after him, he must face the charge of his political, and finally moral, indifference.

While through Brendan's wife's maiden name, Jane Melville, the heritage of nineteenth century American literature is very indirectly acknowledged, it seems that Moore scorned current trends in contemporary American

literature. Thus, while the publication of Brendan's one-time friend Max Bronstein's novel instills a degree of jealousy which spurs Brendan to finish his own novel very early on in *An Answer From Limbo*, Bronstein becomes in Moore's fiction a recurring parody of the Beat generation" writing and culture of the time: "This morning he was wearing sandals, sunglasses, green chino trousers and a red shirt imprinted with a design of yellow birds. Recently he has grown a beard which mocks this Beat fancy dress" (11). Brendan similarly later castigates "the false artist, posturing through life as he spews out his tiny frauds," asking what spectacle is "more degrading than the lives of these Village Rimbauds, covered in the vomit of sickly pastiche, crying out their genius and their purity and their mouths filled with rotten teeth" (57).

Even the decor of the Tierneys' New York apartment symbolizes a complex cultural distance between one form of contemporary America, and its flirtation with the East (now in encounter with Catholic Ireland): "When I saw that room, Japanned by Jane, I began to feel afraid. Anyone who can conceive of that Zen shrine as suitable for my mother will never understand my mother's world. Will I myself understand it?" (28). Culture becomes the means of contrast between Brendan's dead father just as the fashions of contemporary American life separate him from his mother. A devout man, "a Grand Knight of Columbus," Brendan's literary idols become in his eyes the despised figures of corruption in Irish cultural life and Catholic religion (in ways to be found also in the religiously charged aesthetic differences between father and son in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*): "He despised the work of Somerville and Ross (a travesty of Ireland), James Joyce (a sewer), Oscar Wilde (a blackguard) and John Millington Synge (bunkum)" (61).

A notable, and certainly self-conscious, irony in *An Answer from Limbo* is that Brendan's preoccupation with literary survival directly leads to the cruel and isolated death of his mother in the New York flat she is caretaking for an Irish-American relative, Frank Finnerty. Meanwhile, as his mother dies alone, Brendan struggles towards the completion of his book, isolated in his own way, a self-imposed exile from three generations: his own represented by his wife, the previous generation by his mother, and the future generation by his two children, Liam and Lisa. We have an early example of a trait common to Moore's later fiction with the death of a major character providing fictional closure to the text of the novel.[21]

In this work, though, it is not simply that the physical limit of an individual's life is marked by the physical limit of the text, so increasingly common as a technique in Moore's fiction, but the ritual burial of Brendan's Irish Catholic mother represents the symbolic death of a traditional Catholicism on secular American soil. Just as importantly, though, Brendan Tierney's antipathy toward the naivety of Catholic belief and practice show a degree of ambivalence at the funeral itself. The moment of death and the finality of the physical burial highlight the insecurities of an otherwise confident New York secular materialism. If we take seriously the psychological emptiness of Brendan's final reflection on near-Faustian self-sacrifice, then his radical alternative to God, sex and protection against death (writing as a metaphysical panacea) has failed. Rather bleakly, in the last lines of *An Answer from Limbo* Brendan Tierney is at the graveside of a literal and metaphorical Catholicism but left to confront the mortal weaknesses of his own selfishly individualistic aesthetic vision.

Thus, in Moore's second North American novel, we see in Brendan and Jane Tierney a model of American liberalism in their adoption of the secular materialist values of modern-day New York, this being contrasted by the arrival of Brendan's strictly traditional Catholic mother from Ireland. Catholicism's encounter here is between different sets of values and contrasting worldviews. Place, country, and landscape take on idealistic as well as physical contours. An authoritarian Vatican I Catholicism is portrayed, marking well-defined limits of theological inclusion and exclusion. This is most clearly demonstrated by physical migration where geography marks theological as well as physical distance (and in differing ways this is the case for Brendan and his mother). Here cultural interplay, for instance the Irish Catholic mother visiting the Americanized, liberal son, is thus highlighted by transposition of geographical location. Yet Mrs. Tierney's perceptions that American Catholicism is dissimilar to the Catholicism of Ireland shows something which is to become important both in Moore's fiction as well as in Catholicism itself, particularly as, after Vatican II, cultural difference in Catholicism surfaces in its theology and ecclesiology. In a post-Vatican II world, differences in geography and culture will further highlight theological difference in the worldviews Catholicism encounters, and within Catholicism's own internal cultural and geographical variations. In later fiction such as *The Colour of Blood, No Other Life, The Statement,* and

*The Magician's Wife*, this is something which Brian Moore exploits to the full.

## *I Am Mary Dunne* (1968)

Mary Dunne's sexual liberalization (setting aside the issues of psychological insecurity when these are related to marriage and changes of name) reflects the moral climate of the 1960s. Of course, such liberalization marks too Mary's distance from the Butchersville Catholicism of her past. It marks too, following the relative revolution of the Second Vatican Council, the retention by the Catholic Church of a conservative attitude to sexual morality, a matter confirmed three years after the close of the Council with the 1968 papal encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*.[22] Still, in ways more similar to Fergus's haunting by a distinctly Irish pre-Vatican II Catholic past, it is Mary Dunne's Catholic schooling, her own pre-Vatican II past (including the symptomatic Latin education) which frames the novel's portrayal of Catholicism. The opening paragraphs—where Mary deliberately misquotes-mistranslates Descartes' famous *cogito ergo sum* to *cogito ergo memento*, we are what we remember—highlights the centrality of Catholic worldview as much as the personal complexities of her varied sexual relationships. (Cartesian doubt, of course, cannot be said to have ever been a major feature in Catholic education.) With one major exception, then, it is a pre-Vatican II Catholicism with which Moore is concerned in *I Am Mary Dunne*.

Like the next novel in this sequence of early American fiction, *Fergus*, the narrative of *I Am Mary Dunne* takes place over a single day. The timescale, together with the common use of free indirect speech or stream of consciousness technique in both reflects Moore's Modernist preoccupations, these works thus continuing to demonstrate the influence of Joyce in Moore's early Irish novels so often noted by commentators. *I Am Mary Dunne* is an uncertain quest for a stable identity. Born Mary Dunne, she married Jimmy to become Mary Phelan, married Hat to become Mary Bell, and married Terence, her most recent husband, to become Mary Lavery: "I play an ingénue role, with special shadings demanded by each suitor" (31). The consequent psychological fragmentation ("Dunne, Phelan, Bell, Lavery—just think if it were you, would you remember?", 167) invades the narrative with recollections of past personal history throughout the day's duration. What

creates the certainty of each persona is the fixity of place, or rather the fixed memory of place and its complex of associations: "I am a changeling who has changed too often and there are moments when I cannot find my way back" (115). For each phase of family life, for each new married relationship, a different environment predominates: the countryside of Butchersville for Mary Dunne, Toronto for Mary Phelan, Montreal for Mary Bell, New York for Mary Lavery.

In Mary's mind, her family's immigrant Irish-Canadian roots are well-characterized in terms of family geography and—in the location of this geography with post-Famine history—heighten the possibility of an alternative family biography:

> Father Malone, according to Grandma Dunne, was the name of an Irish cardinal. It seems the cardinal led thousands of Irish emigrants to Australia to save them from the famine. My great-grandfather was to have gone to Australia with the cardinal's group and had christened his new baby in honour of the cardinal. But, at the last minute, Great-grandfather Dunne changed his mind, raised his own passage money, and sailed to Quebec instead. If he had sailed to Australia I would not have been. Sometimes, I think of that. (15)

Mary's Catholicism becomes increasingly residual as the novel progresses, something which she herself admits in regard to her relationship with Jimmy whose sperm she "feared": "And I dreamed of abortions. I didn't believe I'd be able to go through with one. I suppose the last vestige of being a Catholic was the little part of me which still saw it as murder" (138). From a Catholic world left behind in Butchersville, religious language still colours Mary's consciousness. With Hat "there were I love you's and do you love me's and yes I do's, the first prayers for our earthly kingdom, the first of those litanies I would come to know as prayers of failure" (35). And biblical narrative defines her later unfaithfulness to Hatfield Bell, "I Simon Peter to Hat's drunken Christ, yes, I denied him" (46); and as she sees her father "the lecher," "my father who art in hell" (67). Crucially too, biblical narrative defines her experience of ecstasy with Terence: "... my saviour, I shall not want, he maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he restoreth my soul. Yes, that's right. He's my new religion. He's life after death" (109). Similarly,

Mary later claims, "Naked is make it new, there is no past, you are my resurrection and my life and out of my depth I cry to you and now Terence maketh me lie down in green pastures" (170).

Here, with Terence, the cityscape of New York as much as the language of religion defines the experience:

> Through the glass panel of the bus window, my face slid past the facade of the Metropolitan Museum. My bus had crossed the park from West Side to East and now I was reminded that the Met, for me, is Terence. The Met where we met. Even today, sitting on the bus in the Hat dooms, the sight of the Met raised me in joy, remembering thee, O Terence.... (109)

As Mary moves further in experience and distance from Butchersville, the Sacred Heart convent school and her mother, at twenty "life stretched before me like an empty horizon" (10), the psychological landscape of home remains well defined in relation to her memory of place:

> ... my whole world, you became—what? A letter from Nova Scotia ... written in that convent hand ... the Sacred Heart nuns taught you fifty years ago ...

> ... A Holy Day of Obligation. Oh, Mama, back there in Butchersville, back where there are holy days of obligation, where—rain, hail, snow or lumps beneath the skin—you are commanded by the Church to rise, back your old green Chev on to that bleak Canadian highway, and drive eight miles to Immaculate Conception Church. (10–12)

Typically again, as her present-day consciousness is transformed by the religious language of the past, so New York's secular and liberal world is transformed by the inherited theology of the past, where the "women became cardinals in their pews at High Mass" and reminds her of "those distorted paintings of cardinals by Francis Bacon and I wondered if I first saw those paintings in the Museum of Modern Art or was it later with Terence at the big Bacon show at the Guggenheim?" (3). Moore thereby shows the persistence, in ways probably alien to Brendan Tierney, of the religious in collective aesthetic experience as well as in Mary's individual consciousness.

This Mary is married to the English playwright, Terence Lavery; her own literary and acting aspirations have been renounced to her husband's ambitions. For Mary Lavery, Europe has becomes imaginatively transformed, travel no longer a means of escape (the migrant girl from Butchersville) but a mark of success, and so she tells Karl Dieter Peters that "We're going to be in Europe all summer" (20). Terence's Englishness, even in appearance, is important, Hat parodying this same appearance as Beatle-like (104). Important too are other references to European culture such as the Turner Show at the Museum of Modern Art (43). Europe and European culture retain, as they did for Brendan Tierney, a sort of cultural benchmark. Still, it is a Europe whose recent historical memory has been contaminated by the holocaust, as Mary recalls early in the novel:

> As I gave the driver my address I remembered an article I read once about the trail of Hess, the Auschwitz commandant, an article in which the Polish State prosecutor was quoted as saying that the main crime of the Auschwitz camp guards was not sadism; it was indifference .... (6–7)

Earlier phases of her life, with Hat in Montreal for instance, are defined too through place. Distant then from a Catholic upbringing in Butchersville, Montreal nevertheless defines Mary's friend Janice in ways which her friend acknowledges could not apply to Mary, adding to Mary's alienation from both self ("I wasn't Mary Dunne when I met Janice, I was still Mary Phelan," 100) and geography:

> We're different, I mean I'd miss Montreal. Of course you weren't born there, you don't feel that way, only people who were there, only people who were born there do, I suppose. But you know, when I think of all those years I used to dream of living in Paris or New York I know now that that was all daydreaming, because, no matter where I was, I'd miss Montreal. (41)

Mary simply considers how great it was "to have left it forever" (41):

> Those awful winters, the days of Duplessis. But that Montreal, Duplessis' Montreal, is the only one I know. And it doesn't exist anymore. When I go back now, I don't know the place. It makes me feel old. (101)

In Montreal with Hat, it is not only the unhappiness of the relationship which is associated with place but the ridiculousness of religion when she observes there the "Ancient Arabic order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine," "red fezzes incongruous on their ageing protestant faces," wondering "how could I explain why those failures in foolish hats, those old joiners, looking so damned silly as they marched behind the blue and gold shakos of the boys in hussar uniforms from Rosewood Central High, why did they make me weep?" (82). Montreal for Mary exists now in memory only, the great coda for the novel itself, and true to the narrative's occasional Proustian reference, "for me it is gone, my old Montreal": "That is true of all my old towns. I move away and they change and, in their changing, they die and so live only in my memory" (102). Janice, the person who, Mary discovers, informed Hat of the affair Mary was having with Terence, is more settled as a migrant and regards her own mother's exotic experience of old Europe (Janice's mother had travelled in Imperial Russia, had met Rasputin and Proust) (54), as dull; but this is an outlook which is parodied. It is, though, through North American space, here the cityscape of New York, that Mary makes the association between happiness and Terence:

> A few days after Hat left for Washington, I took Hat's boy, Pete, into New York to catch the plane to Toronto. Pete had been visiting us for six weeks and after I put him on the plane I went up to Jody Terrel's for a drink and that was how I met Terence, that was something, I can't explain it, but we met again that next day, and then, every day. I took the train to town to be with him, sometimes even staying overnight in his apartment on the Lower East Side. Which was foolish and dangerous, of course, but, how can I explain it, I was living in state of elation, waking up in excitement every morning, finding myself smiling in the street when I thought of Terence and me, hating to go to sleep, feeling there never was, never would be a time like this, that New York was the greatest city, that, oh, that I had no nerves anymore. For the first time in my life I was happy. (75)

That she feels no guilt for the affair with Terence ("I had no sorrow for what I had done to Hat," 70) emphasizes her distance from her Catholic upbringing. Further, though, travelling to meet Terence, the cab heads for "the Algonquin." It is a venue which reminds the reader of America's actual,

historical cultural heritage and the destruction imposed upon it by European, Christian settlers (a culture reduced to the name of a bar), a matter which Moore addresses at length in *Black Robe.*

For each transformation of marital status marked by place, there is also what the anthropologists term the liminal, the ritually undecided. A liminal state, here a state between suitors, is when personal identity is most uncertain: "It's a down Tilt, it's the knowledge that someone has gone off on a journey and that you have stayed behind. They have gone. You have stayed behind" (66). Again, Moore defines Mary's relationships through place, her consciousness marked as much if not more so by shifts in landscape as alterations of name:

> Two years ago ... in the Plaza San Jacinto in El Paso, Texas, three little Indian girls stared me into the dooms. Remember them dooms? Please God, let me forget them. Dry hot winds blow down through Texas, down to the Mexican border, rushing into El Paso del Notre, fillings its streets and squares with dust. A border town; it made me think of a cheap army surplus store. At noon, lawyer Guzman's jitney brought half a dozen of us back to it from Ciudad Juarez and our quick divorces, the jitney crossing Cordova bridge over the muddy ditch that is the Rio Grande, past the US customs building and along a long, dusty road to a bus terminal where the bus from Mexico was unloading people with Indian faces, poor people who crossed the street from the terminal like pilgrims going to a shrine, the shrine a long block of cheap clothing, furniture and appliance stores, filled with shoddy goods "Made in the USA." (110–11)

If there is a world beyond Mary's direct personal experience, the events of world history subtly penetrate the narrative, a newspaper blown, for instance, onto Mary's knee declaring death in the Delta for the Viet Cong (90).

Moore's strongly naturalistic literary technique—with a studied metaphysical neutrality, "There doesn't have to be ... any ... PURPOSE" (166)—highlights too the wider evolutionary and cosmic history of Mary Dunne's much smaller story. Thus, when Mary and Janice walk through the Rambles, a rural part of Central Park but with a danger characteristic of the city, Mary observes:

> Ahead of us, above the treetops, was the roof of the Museum of Natural History, the whole building, big as Roman basilica, coming into view as we went down the path towards the West Side. A yellow rush of cabs moved uptown on Central park West, passing the museum entrance. I thought of the plaque at the entrance honouring Teddy Roosevelt; the place was built for him, it's his sort of museum, stuffed animals, boy scout enthusiasms, dinosaur bones and scale models.... At the other end of the block was the Planetarium.... (110–11)

Both the Natural History Museum and the Planetarium jointly provide at least ambiguous alternatives to a theological understanding of the world, and Mary's place amongst the museums—as post-Enlightenment tributes to human science and reason—is indicative of her stated secularism. Thus, at the end of the novel, Mary, discovering her mother's tumour may not be malignant, is nevertheless repulsed by her mother's apparent resignation to the divine will. Mary's distance from Butchersville, equally as theological as physical, is decisive and seemingly unequivocal:

> God: I see Jesus, effeminate and sanctimonious; he wears a wispy brown beard and a white nightgown. He holds his hands up, palm outward, as though stopping traffic. He stops me. When his name comes up in our conversations, my mother and I become strangers in a darkness, far away from contact with each other; strangers on a long distance wire. (227)

Her psychological crisis at a head as Terence sleeps, Mary rejects suicidal impulses and comes to an acceptance of her existential limit. Moore, again ending the narrative with literary reflections on death, ensures that textual ending naturalistically mirrors existential limit: "And death which frightened me all day, death which brought hints of these dooms, death did not frighten me now, death was quiet graves, Hat's grave, my father's grave, stone markers in the snow" (229). Admitting that she is "the sort of person who is very susceptible to environment" (231), it is the Cartesian language of the convent classroom of childhood (*Cogito ergo sum Memento ergo sum*) that persists when she declares, adopting the form of religious litany, that "I am Mary Dunne, I am Mary Dunne, I am Mary Dunne" (168). The irony here is that, like Ginger Coffey, Mary returns to her childhood cultural

roots (family, church, school) and apparently also to the innocence of childhood belief as a stable source of personal identity in a world without apparent theological meaning.

## *Fergus* (1971)

Moore explores similar themes of residual but persistent migrant Catholic identity in *Fergus*. Learning that "Forgetting is the most terrible thing that can happen to person" (158), Fergus Fadden's residency on the Californian coast provides the setting for visitations from an Irish past, from "Ireland, that most distressful country, Europe's back of beyond" (104). As in *I Am Mary Dunne*, historical and present experience are linked through memory, thereby connecting past theological space and present physical place. With two novels published, the thirty-nine-year-old writer's confidence in using literary form, here a film script adaptation of the second novel, is undermined as effectively as his sexual insecurity. Here we have, in essence, the novel's dual complex of minor concerns, themes now commonplace in Moore's fiction: Catholic teaching on human relations (sexual promiscuity, marriage, divorce) and writing as a replacement for religious belief. Fergus's doubts, though, about both his liberalized sexuality and literary alternative to Catholicism finally reveal more major concerns about surviving death. Eventually, then, more fundamental concerns about an afterlife override Fergus's more temporal concerns with sexuality and writing.

Initially, however, sexual insecurity is much to the fore, as the opening line of the novel, "When his girl left, Fergus wept" (1), suggests. Fergus's argument with Dani, a generational as well as geographical and cultural difference, leads him to reflect that "It was so easy to make mistakes with someone from another country, of another generation, someone from *California*, for godsakes" (9). Sexuality becomes more defined by place throughout the novel as Catholic teaching (principally relating sex and sin) from Fergus's Irish past are reiterated throughout the text. The distinctly "Church militant" ecclesiology defines precisely the pre-Vatican II portrayal of this theme. Father Maurice Kinneally, "MA, Doctor of divinity"—an intertextual ghost from *The Feast of Lupercal*—intercedes for the New World Fergus (a "moral cesspool") "as a captain in the Church militant, ever ready to defend the souls of the boys in his care against the devil and all his

female hordes" (11–12). As with *I Am Mary Dunne*, sexual morality is the only aspect of post-Vatican II conservatism, "Yes, the Catholic aim in life is the propagation of the faithful" (140), that is hinted at when Fergus sees his young mother as a young married woman, "always expecting," and comments that, "History was against you .... Imagine if you could be born, say, twenty years from now, when birth control will be permitted for Catholics?" (14). Fergus reflects too the divisions that the particularly controversial conservatism of *Humanae Vitae* provoked within the Catholic Church: "did you know that, nowadays, the Catholic Church is split down the middle on whether to ban it or permit it?" (26). His father, to whom the latter question is principally addressed remains within the mould of the pre-Vatican II Church as we see his attachment to the liturgical forms, ("Mustn't miss the first gospel"), which were disregarded after *Sacrosanctum Concilium.* Making to leave his son's house for the Mass, then, it is an umbrella that Dr. Fadden seeks—a phantom living not only in the pre-Vatican II world but still in Moore's fictional Ireland with that consistent literary-meteorological rain motif—but, in California, two worlds colliding, there is the ironic recognition that "it's a lovely day" (26). For Fergus, however, it certainly isn't. Here, again, meteorology, "the inevitable Irish rain" (146), becomes cultural, further emphasizing this now common metaphorical pattern of physical as theological distance between these Old and New Worlds.

Aesthetically, as well as sexually, the relationship between writing and religion, so prevalent in *An Answer from Limbo* is further developed. *Fergus's* blend of fantasy and realism extends the possibilities of philosophical discussions with different apparitions addressing different areas of this relationship in ways which with the given the intellectual imbalance between mother and son, in the naturalistic *An Answer from Limbo*, would not be possible. We see the insecurities prompted for Fergus when the producer "Redshields had not phoned in three weeks" and Fergus thought that "Boweri was through with him" (6). This insecurity surfaces on a number of fronts. There is the charge that Fergus is "Just a Catholic writer." The response, "I was never a Catholic writer" (69), provides a forced distance between Fergus's writing and his Catholicism but a curious metafictional summary of literary classification; though, as in *An Answer from Limbo*, we know little of the content (plot, characters, and so forth) of either Brendan Tierney's or Fergus Fadden's novels.

From the poet Hugh Gildea, there is in *Fergus* the challenge of politics and its relationship with writing (later developed by Chaim Mandel) that "Writing is the crux of the matter": "He told me he didn't want to take an active part in politics because he believed the writer engagé was always a revolutionist manqué. And usually wound up as a writer manqué. He cited several examples" (69). Fergus's literary reputation is a substitute for religious belief, as it was for Brendan Tierney, but here such motives are deconstructed by his sister Maeve:

> As a Catholic you were brought up to believe in a life after death. But you can't believe in it. So you invent a substitute. You start worrying about your reputation outliving you. Your work becomes your opportunity to cheat the grave. That very attractive thought, particularly for ex-Catholics. That's why you care so much about your literary status. (40–41)

More positively, writing is also the manner in which Catholic Ireland and secular America may be linked. In Fergus's own family, his mother's uncle Dan was "famous the length and breadth of Ireland as a *scannaiche* [*sic*], a storyteller" (63). Indeed, Fergus's attachment to Yeats provides a strong tie between the New World Fergus and at least one explicitly valued aspect of Old World cultural past, with Maeve's acceptance of Yeat's Protestantism being wryly presented in the text:

> "We used to have him [W. B. Yeats] in school, the 'Lake Isle o Innisfree' ... Sister Innocenta reading it as though it was Holy Writ ...
>
> "Of course, he's not really Irish. I mean, he was a Protestant, he's Anglo-Irish et cetera. Still, he was in the Irish Senate.... I suppose we could claim him." (38–39)

There is too, perhaps inevitably, a fundamental relationship between the writing and landscape, and the stated exploitation of the relationship again links Ireland and America, "the Dublin people making a shrine out of that blinking Martello Tower ... anything for the almighty dollar" (40).

Indeed, of all Moore's early novels, it is *Fergus* which makes most explicit the landscape (here the natural, rather than the built, environment) of

encounter in physical and metaphysical terms. Until the publication of *Fergus*, no other novel of Moore's had given the natural environment such prominence. With the Californian shoreline, an indeterminate and unstable environment of land and sea, the imagery of place provides an opening and a closure to Fergus Fadden's story. Thus, when Dani left him that morning: "He opened the glass doors and stepped out onto the terrace overlooking the sea. He stood facing the deserted beach and the waves breaking over it" (3). It is this place which becomes the setting for the encounter between a pre-Vatican II Irish Church and a divorced, morally liberal and theologically skeptical Fergus just as the Church from which Fergus has become dissociated is, after the Second Vatican Council, changing. The spectre of Fergus's father is part of the seemingly unchanging pre-Vatican II world of theological certainty, evident in his claim that "the laws of the church don't change," that they "haven't changed in two thousand years" (14). With an implied eye to the revolutions of the Council years 1962 – 65 as well as to the conservatism of some post-Vatican II encyclicals, Fergus responds, "they're changing now, Daddy" (14).

In ways which preface Moore's later and more complex treatment of the resilience of skepticism in a liberalized post-Vatican II American Church in *Cold Heaven*, the shoreline is the focus for Fergus's enforced and uncomfortable encounter with a physically distant but now so psychologically close Irish Catholic past. Here his present environment shares the metaphysical coordinates for the home of Ireland:

> Behind the house were mountain slopes, with clumps of chaparral and, here and there, tall century plants like vizier's staffs, blooming once a year with strange feathery foliage, a landscape existing continuously in his mind as a real range of mountains and also as a fantasy backdrop from which, rearing out of the film screens of childhood, Hollywood cowboys might clatter through a mountain gulch. The house, like this landscape, existed both in the present and in his past, as this real house by the sea in California and as the house he now imagined it was, that house overlooking Belfast Lough, with a view of distant shipyard gantries, the house he was born in. (27)

Later, he finds himself at prayer, joining the family he had supposedly left in Ireland: "And there in the moonlight, on the shores of the Pacific, kneeling

in this unused back bedroom, Fergus led the dead and the absent living in his first prayers in twenty-five years: the Our Father, ten Hail Marys, and the Glory Be to the Father. It was as though he had never been away" (104).

Visitations, then, include the critical literary-Catholic "trinity" of Moore's fiction; home, school, and church. From home, there are Julie and Dr. James Fadden, mother and father, "the grammar of our emotions," Sister Maeve in the uniform of the Cross and Passion Convent, Aunt Kate, Mary Mother Gonzaga, or Aunt Mary, about whom Fergus says, the "real you is in Ireland, married, forty-three years old, four kids, the wife of Dr Dan Coyle" (40), and Kathleen, "one of the few family members who didn't fidget at her prayers" (104). Representatives of church are Father Vincent Byrne, "Parish priest Church of the Holy Redeemer Belfast" (89), and Father Alonzo Aloysisus Allen, "a Passionist Father from Mount Muckish Monastery, County Donegal, known as the greatest mission preacher in Ireland" (144). From school there are the figures of Father Maurice Kinneally, "MA, Doctor of Divinity" (11), and the "Very Reverend Daniel Keogh, MA, DD, president of St. Michan's School for Boys, Belfast" (92). This final work of Moore's early American fiction integrates not only the environments of Old and New Worlds but old and new narratives, an intertextuality where many of these figures bear close resemblance to characters in former fictions.

Outside the "trinity," there is Fergus's old love Peggy Sanford, the woman abandoned when he left Europe for America at twenty-four, "the person he had betrayed" (80), and other friends. For the most part, like the consciously insular post-Vatican I Catholic Church, outside this "trinity" the world of politics seems barely to impinge. Answering the charge that "It's a very low class of a person that has to cross the water to America." Fergus replies, "And President Kennedy?" (15). Fergus for the most part takes a low profile and his appearance as defendant in a trial on an unclear charge of adulterous voyeurism on Mrs. Findlater is mostly deferential. In the trial Fergus's politically subservient stance in the face of the Royal Ulster Constabulary's violence against the religious minority reflects the realities of Ulster politics. And enter here one-time supporter of Irish Home Rule, Winston Churchill. Paddy Donlon heightens the political impotency of Fergus, "a man is what he does not what he says" (120). Former friends represent various global struggles: from colonial conflict (with Patrick Sarsfield dying in India) to

early Cold War struggle (with Hugh Gildea, dying in Korea, to Paddy Donlon, a "stuck up Protestant get [*sic*]," to whom a Catholic "was dirt" (125).

The most telling criticism of Fergus, though, is that which could be levelled at the consciously separatist, literally other-worldly pre-Vatican II Church, that both have a tendency to be apolitical, even ahistorical. Despite Fergus's weak counteroffensive against Mandel (of the latter having ulterior sexual motives for political activity) the charge against Fergus is most effectively put by his former friend from Greenwich Village:

> The problem here ... is that this man is not living in history. His work, such as it is, ignores the great issues of the age. His life is narcissistic: he is completely ensnared by the system. True, he has rejected his ethnic background and has denounced the class, race and religion into which he was born. But to reject is not enough. Lacking a true foundation, he has fallen back on the cliche: the romantic sacerdotal ethic of art for art's sake, which was already dead and buried forty years ago. And so, ultimately, made reckless by his rootlessness, he has been led, sheeplike, to the final solution. Hollywood! (67)

As with Moore's other early American novels, the historical, theological realities of an immigrant's cultural past become, through the metaphors of consciousness especially, part of the immigrant's present; theological language being displaced into a secular context. Thus, on seeing his father in the living room Fergus uses the expletive "Jesus Christ." His father, with the habit of ritual, responds with the Sign of the Cross. Fergus sees him "touching, in turn, his forehead, his chest, his left shoulder, then his right, just as he had done in life" and recalls his embarrassment with his father "doing it in public in the street or on a bus, if he happened to pass by a Catholic church" (2). Fergus reflects on the persistence of belief despite his physical and conscious distance from it:

> Yesterday he could have said "Jesus Christ" a hundred times and it would have been a meaningless expletive. But now he was conscious he had taken the Holy Name in vain. Which used to be a mortal (or was it venial) sin.

> Philosophical about it all (the past is the past), he turned toward the glass doors, and there, as always, was the sea, the long Pacific breakers beginning their run two hundred yards from shore. (3)

Place is significant in Fergus's insecure relationship with Dani. He had talked "of taking her abroad to show her all those places she had never seen—London, Rome, Stockholm, Dublin, and, of course, Paris" (7). Europe is seen again, as so often in the early American novels, as providing a cultural anchor for the refined American immigrant, though with the vanity typical of Moore's writer protagonists the "thought of Faulkner steadied Fergus" (25). Neither the anchor of Faulkner as token American writer nor a literary European heritage can secure for Fergus the metaphysical certainty he seeks. His future with Redshields and Boweri uncertain and his life with Dani unpromising, for Fergus nothing approaches the narrow and inward-looking certainties of Catholic Ireland—a place and a consciousness he cannot fully leave behind, a certainty which allows that "the Irish people know that it is not this world that counts," that "this life is but a preparation for eternity" (150).

All of Fergus's preoccupations with relationships and writing pale then into insignificance as Dr. Fadden precisely summarizes for his son the unchanging essence of Catholic meaning: "We're here on earth for one reason, and for one reason only. To save our immortal souls" (158). Here, talking to his theologically estranged son in one of the novel's may conversations on the afterlife, Dr. Fadden rejects analogy as a means of explanation for a qualitatively different, radically "other" world, the existence of which Fergus is so keen to determine but which his ghostly visitors refuse to characterize: "It would be someplace you'd never seen, someplace so different you couldn't even imagine it" (167). Dissimilarities between place, between Old and New Worlds, are made to look trivial in the process of failing description for this metaphysical realm. Still, the presence or absence of meaning which the answer might bring is highlighted by Dr. Fadden, "Don't you see? If you have not found a meaning, then your life is meaningless" (168), lines which remind us of Mary Dunne's descent into anomie when she struggles to convince herself that, "there doesn't have to be ... any ... PURPOSE" (166).

The metaphysical world presented by in *Fergus* remains as mysterious to Fergus as Catholic belief in the afterlife itself. As the narrative draws to a

close it is the latter grandnarrative of Catholic belief which is highlighted by the contrast between the physical and the metaphysical. Fergus's heart attack and near-death experience highlights his own proximity to both in another way. There, then, in the well-defined Californian landscape, bizarrely, the visions of a Catholic past disappear along the beach road but, apparently, to a more ethereal destination:

> A sudden wind whipped the stalks of beach grass, sending a thin skirt of sand off the beach, to move like a low-lying fog along the concrete surface of the beach road as his father, at the shoulder of the road, picked up his black medical bag and went toward the waiting car. The Morris Minor stood, hood a tremble, mudguards quivering, headlamps yellow-bright in the moonlight, waiting to drive off to some other, inconceivable world, a world which, his father said, would have no reality for the likes of him. (168)

When Moore returns to the landscape of North America in his later fiction, it is a world in which encounters with polarities of faith and skepticism are no less powerful for his characters. It is a world in which Moore's novels explore the insubstantiality of physical appearance (*The Great Victorian Collection*), the landscapes of early missionary Canada (in *Black Robe*) and the numinous, late colonial roots of religious experience in contemporary Catholic America (*Cold Heaven*). In all cases, it is the physicality of the world (or its insubstantiality) which both undermines the commonsense definitions of narrative realism and heightens the encounter with Catholic theological worldviews. Still, more immediately, it is to the landscape of Ireland which we now return, to a text pivotal to our understanding of Moore's portrayal of pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism, the novelist's first significant treatment of the historical changes in theological thinking in a post-Vatican II world, *Catholics*.

# Part III
# Fictional Portrayals of Vatican II Catholicism and Beyond

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 4

# Catholicism Reappraised: Ireland Revisited

### (*Catholics*, 1972; *The Mangan Inheritance*, 1979; *The Doctor's Wife*, 1976; *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes*, 1981; *Lies of Silence*, 1990)

### Introduction

TRANSFORMATION in Roman Catholicism resulting from the Second Vatican Council provided Brian Moore in subsequent post-Conciliar times with an extraordinary range of literary material. The resultant portrayal of Catholicism within Moore's fiction thus mirrors theological change within the Church itself. However, this relationship between Catholic theology and literature, already discussed in earlier chapters, becomes more complex in the post-Vatican II era. Moore's fictional portrayal of a largely monolithic, pre-Vatican II Church reflected the inherent simplicities of an ecclesiastical and theological outlook in which hierarchy and authority defined the boundaries between Church and world so clearly. After Vatican II, Catholicism redefined itself, and in particular its often antagonistic and divisive relationship with the world. It was the range of theological and ecclesiological re-definition within Roman Catholicism (a range in large part charted by the sixteen documents of the Second Vatican Council and subsequent post-Conciliar publications) which ensured a greater plurality in Moore's fictional portrayal of Catholicism, a plurality which became part of Catholicism's modern understanding of itself and integral to its theological redefinition.

Moore's fictional-theological intertextual range is thus extended in those novels which deal most fully with post-Vatican II times and themes. Where, for instance, the early Irish and American fictions allowed for the predominance of a European canon by way of intertextual reference (Flaubert, Gide, Joyce, and Proust have all been noted), Moore's post-Vatican II fiction

achieves greater theological as well as literary intertextuality.[1] Thus, with an early example in this important phase of the novelist's work, *Catholics*, Beckett, Synge, and Yeats form part of the novella's literary self-consciousness. But this novella, Moore's first text significant for its portrayal of post-Vatican II Catholicism, deals explicitly too with the texts of liberation theology and strongly implies an ongoing Catholic commitment to interfaith relations, matters which were only publicly evident in Catholicism since the publication of documents such as *Gaudium et Spes*,[2] *Lumen Gentium*,[3] and *Nostra Aetate*.[4] Post-Vatican II themes such as liberation theology become increasingly evident in later fiction such as *The Colour of Blood* and *No Other Life* and interfaith relations, or more properly interfaith conflict, is developed in *The Statement*. Even historical novels such as *Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife* deal with the cultural confrontations of the past with the theological eyes of the post-Vatican II present.

This chapter is an exploration of the beginnings of such theological intertextuality which will extend from *Catholics* through to Moore's final fiction, *The Magician's Wife*. Thus, where Moore's novels reflect issues of historical and contemporary theological concern within the Church, especially as demonstrated in Vatican II and key post-Conciliar documentation, these are manifestly integral to Moore's literary preoccupations. In addition, the notion of Moore's novels as a landscape of encounter achieves pre-eminence in his portrayal of post-Vatican II Catholicism. Where place as much as Catholicism defined the early Irish fictions and North America provided a space of secular opposition to Irish Catholicism in the early American novels, Moore's post-Vatican II fictions provide a sense of secular and theological space within a transnational Catholic Church where the particularity of place and cultural difference grow in theological significance. Of particular significance here was a distinct and explicit shift in the Catholic ecclesiology, the Church's redefinition of itself: not only was there a new emphasis in ecclesiology from Church as hierarchy (we have seen the "Church Militant" in Moore's earlier fiction[5]) to the Church as "People of God" in *Lumen Gentium*, but this, combined with the democratizing effects of a shift from Latin to vernacular usage within the Church inevitably gave priority to laity and as a consequence to individual cultures.[6] Arguably, it is this move, especially the heightened awareness of cultural plurality within the universal Church, that allowed Moore not only

to diversify the geographical settings for his portrayal of Catholicism but to reflect too that cultural plurality inherent within such physical, geographical difference: Moore's landscapes of encounter—the fictional and metafictional meeting of Catholic and the non-Catholic "other"—eventually extend, then, beyond Ireland and North America to eastern Europe (*The Colour of Blood*), the Caribbean (*No Other Life*), and North Africa (*The Magician's Wife*).

Moore's later fictions, from *Catholics* through to The *Magician's Wife*, also reflect, though, internal conflicts within Catholicism itself. Just as tendencies towards either stasis or change over a great many issues were marked and obvious during the Council, so too in the Church similar tensions remain evident over a range of doctrinal and pastoral issues.[7] For instance, if recent tendencies within the Church have been marked by a reversal in the inherent radicalism of Vatican II to a more conservative contemporary tone in many areas of Church life (Pope John Paul II being widely regarded as a conservative[8]), tension and conflict within the Church in post-Conciliar times can be attributed to conflict between conservative and more revolutionary elements within Catholicism.[9]

Geography and cultural particularity are again marked factors here: simplistically put, the Church in Africa, Asia, or South America may often reflect different pastoral priorities than the European Church.[10] By far the most notable instance of such differing priorities is in the area of Catholic social teaching.[11] Here liberation theology is both the most notable instance of such geographical diversification as the post-Vatican II Church worked to emphasize the needs of local churches and that area most contested by a re-centralizing papacy in the post-Vatican II Church.[12] If the beginnings of Moore's preoccupation with post-Vatican II themes represents an increased theological intertextuality, then it is the Second Vatican Council itself which provided the impetus for such literary preoccupations. We certainly see elements of the Church's new theological thinking reflected in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism. Still, those tensions between conservative and more radical elements within Catholicism, determined as much by geography as cultural difference, are part of Moore's portrayal of Catholicism just as much as they are part of the Church's ongoing theological history.

Moore's re-evaluation of post-Vatican II Catholicism begins, though, with an imagined Church Council and a fictional revisitation of Ireland; and it is with Ireland that this chapter remains after an examination of Moore's

portrayal of Catholicism in theological conflict in the novella *Catholics*. Thus, from an analysis of the historical antecedence of aesthetic and ideological alternatives to Catholicism and Irish nationhood in *The Mangan Inheritance*, this chapter examines variously an increasingly secularized Catholicism in an Ireland of the North which is becoming simultaneously more liberal and more violent. The theme of love as both an erotic and sublime alternative to Catholic belief in *The Doctor's Wife* and *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes* is developed against the ideological backdrop of a Catholicism marginalized by the modernity it sought to accommodate through the Second Vatican Council and which is simultaneously centralized through its politicization by sectarianism, a process which reaches its peak in *Lies of Silence*.

## *Catholics* (1972)

If a key defining moment in twentieth-century Catholicism was the period marking the Second Vatican Council between 1962 and 1965, the direction of Moore's fiction in the post-Conciliar period can be said to be equally marked by his own consideration of subsequent changes which had taken place in the Church as the century drew to a close. Thus, with a mixture of fiction and "faction," the futuristic *Catholics* essentially charts key developments in the post-Vatican II Catholic Church. The radical changes in the Church's thinking, both in its view of itself and its mission of salvation in the modern world, become projected onto *Catholics*, a shift from grandnarrative to the smaller, more contained world of the novella; thereby partly allegorizing the historical (theological and ecclesiological) aftermath of the Second Vatican Council with the imagined future of a post-Vatican IV scenario.

Less theological prediction than historical reflection on a theological present (that is, the 1970s), Moore's *Catholics*, if it were to be taken as predictive of future ecclesiology and theology, is a failed prediction of the 1990s Church: in the late 1990s present, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church has not instigated any abandonment of metaphysical and theological realism nor opted instead for a radical program of liberation theology. Yet the Church in the 1990s *does* reflect an ongoing tension between conservative and radical[13]; and, indeed, beyond Catholicism there are many Christian thinkers who do reflect a strong religious anti-realism.[14] In terms of predictions of a theological future, then, Moore's literary expectations of a

radical Rome may have been misconceived, but his portrayal of the future global importance of liberation theology was not. Kinsella's recall of his superior's words are nevertheless full of irony if read in contemporary theological context (Europe certainly reflecting a hierarchical conservatism): "You must show them that while you are the Revolution and they are Tradition, the Revolution is the established faith and will prevail" (89). The importance of *Catholics*, at least in terms of Moore's portrayal of Catholicism, thus rests primarily on the manner in which it reflects the theological preoccupations of the time (the immediate aftermath of Vatican II) and for its seminal treatment of so many themes in post-Vatican II theology in the global Church.[15]

That Moore chose to portray such revolution in Catholic thinking in the context of Ireland is also significant. Moore's early Irish fiction used geography, the physicality of place, to enhance the portrayal of cultures in encounter, especially religious and political culture. In those early works, the proximity of opposition in a limited space often heightened such encounters by the inevitability of contrast, difference, and otherness permeating them: Northern British Province and Southern Irish Republic; urban Irish cityscapes (of Belfast and Dublin) and Irish rural landscapes (of Ulster and Republic). In these early Irish fictions, there was also the widening of geographical and ideological (if not yet theological) context with encounters between Ireland as an island and the more distant continent of America, encounters between Ireland (as colonized) and British Empire (as colonizer), and also the juxtaposition of Ireland's neutrality with a wider world in conflict during the Second World War.

In such instances, Irish Catholicism is linked strongly to Irish nationalism, an interrelation of religious and ideological grandnarratives which Moore maintains in *The Doctor's Wife*, *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes*, and, of course, *Lies of Silence*.[16] Less obviously, there is an identity between the grandnarratives of Irish nationalism and Irish Catholicism in *Catholics* itself, the novella arguably presenting a time in which political conflicts have been resolved to leave only theological and ecclesiastical struggles. Thus Moore presents a partially sympathetic view of pre-Vatican II–pre-Vatican IV Catholic tradition in this novella against the forces of institutional and doctrinal change within the ranks of a modernizing Church. Moore's fictional defence of Catholic tradition in Ireland heightens our awareness of a major development in

literary-theological thinking in his novels, not only about the Church but about the Church's role both within contemporary society and, given the post-Vatican IV setting of *Catholics*, the society of the future.

As in the early Irish fictions, then, integral to the portrayal of theological tradition is the presentation of Ireland's landscape; the island's name alone, "Muck," having an earthiness which implies a rural groundedness, a cultural heritage which stands in contrast to the urbane (and urban) theological sophistication of Kinsella, the American-trained ecclesiastical visitor from Rome. The novella is thus dependent on geography for a representation of the nuances of religious and secular culture in encounter. For Muck Abbey, "founded 1216, rebuilt 1400–70," it is process contextualized by the "out of print" *Weir's Guide to Religious Monuments*, that is, by centuries of conflict which mark Ireland's colonial history from the Norman conquest through Cromwellian Catholic persecution (which the Abbey avoided) to the post-Vatican IV "present."[17] Vatican IV represents the community's most difficult theological challenge, no less for the implied abandonment of ecclesiastical tradition which the abbey's historical legacy helped maintain; after so many centuries of conflict from external aggressors it is the internal reform of the Church itself which is the source for the deconstruction of tradition.

Significantly, then, the Ireland of *Catholics* is geographically and theologically indeterminate, representing a recalcitrant but threatened Irish Catholic tradition whose theological isolation is heightened by its geographical position between a progressive Europe and the radical Americas. As the Father General of the Albegensian [*sic*] Order points out to Kinsella in Rome:

> "It is a cliche to say that it was expected. Even Vatican IV can't bury two thousand years in a few decades. But I'd have thought Spain. Or, perhaps, some former Portuguese possession." The General sighed. "We are so infallibly fallible, aren't we? Wasn't it Chesterton who said something about a thing being too big to be seen? Ireland. Of course." (16)

And it is Ireland, the land itself identified with the maintenance of tradition, which becomes the focus of "Ferry tours from Liverpool and Fishguard, charter flights from Leeds, Boston, New York—pilgrimage from France—even bella Italia" (16). And just as the Father General demands of Kinsella to "Get that old fool down off that mountain" (17), it is the geography

of Ireland, the physical landscape, which simultaneously suggests spiritual ascent and religious dissension.

It is also the geographical which engenders and develops Moore's literary and theological intertextuality. Thus, in *Catholics*, identity between religion and nationalism develops through inherent reference not only to the Conciliar and post-Conciliar textuality of theological change from Vatican II onwards (the critically all-but-ignored theological intertextuality of this pivotal work) but also to the political aesthetics of ideology and specifically Irish nationhood within the novella, often cited as being Synge's Aran Island diaries and Yeats' prophetic poetry, "What rough beast, its hour come round at last" (13). What is of key interest here is that Moore's literary and theological intertextuality has developed an almost "about turn." Thus, Moore's typical early Irish and American characters, especially the writers, often cite the canon of European and particularly Irish literature (Yeats, Joyce, Synge) in opposition to theological orthodoxy; the aesthetic a challenge to the theological. Here, in *Catholics*, such intertextuality becomes, in a post-Vatican II–post-Vatican IV era, the opportunity for a literary and theological realignment; away from the opposition between Irish literary canon and Catholic religious orthodoxy to an identification between both literary and theological tradition, between religion and nationhood.

Significantly, therefore, Muck Island is set off the Kerry Coast, Moore's strong, poetic portrayal of Irish rural landscape and Atlantic seascape marking his first literary journey into a reappraisal not only of Catholic theological thinking but also for a re-examination of place, the emphasis shifting from the city of Belfast, where the rural Catholic worlds of the Province and the South are a geographical and cultural unconscious to a Protestant, colonial North, to a world in which rural Catholicity predominates.[18] With an ambivalence typical of Moore, though, landscape and theology are also subject to intertextual encounter with secular and *a*theological literature in a world now de-sacralized:

> ... this lonely place, a place which now, in its noon darkness, made him [Kinsella] think of a Beckett landscape, that place in which Vladimir and Estragon might have waited for Godot. The rainbow had seemed to end, down there, in the centre of the white cross formed by two concrete ribbons of road. In such phenomena people once read signs of God's hand. (24)

Kinsella's encounter with Abbot O'Malley is thereby marked by the skeptical ambivalence inherent or apparent in both revolution and tradition which finally belies the ecclesiastical certainty which both men supposedly represent.

Appropriately, though, and for all its brevity, *Catholics* most crucially provides a literary overview of many major areas of theological (liturgical, doctrinal, pastoral) and ecclesiastical (organizational) transformation within Catholicism. These key transformations from the Second Vatican Council (liturgical change, ecumenism–interfaith relations, social teaching and ecclesiology) are all subsequently addressed in Moore's other fictions with post-Vatican II preoccupations and further reiterate the pivotal importance of this short work.

The first and most prominent of this novella's themes, that of liturgical change, was also, if incidentally, the first and most prominent of the statements arising from the Second Vatican Council in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.[19] The most obvious of transformations in the public face of Catholicism understandably marks the fiercest defence of tradition by Father Matthew in *Catholics*:

> And if the Mass was in Latin and people did not speak Latin, that was part of the mystery of it, for the Mass was not talking to your neighbour, it was talking to God. Almighty God! And we did it that way for nearly two thousand years and, in all that time, the church was a place to be quiet in, and respectful, it was a hushed place because God was there, God on the altar, in the tabernacle in the form of a wafer of bread and a chalice of wine. It was God's house, where, every day, the daily miracle took place. God coming down among us. A mystery. Just as this new mass isn't a mystery, it's a mockery, a singsong, it's not talking to God, it's talking to your neighbour, and that's why it's in English, or German or Chinese or whatever language the people in church happen to speak. It's a symbol, they say, but a symbol of what? It's some entertainment show, that's what it is. And the people see through it. They do! That's why they come to Coom Mountain.... (47–48)

The linguistic issue here of the shifting importance of sacramental signifiers and divine signified reflects issues of substantive, theological

concern for a Catholic community, as it did for the post-Vatican II Church.[20] Thus, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*'s changes to Catholic liturgy predominantly affected the rite of Mass, most notably the shift from Latin to vernacular, but it also made the sacramental life of the Church more accessible to a lay Catholic populace. This increased democratization (by implication) evident in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in turn reflected broader changes in ecclesiology evident in documents such as *Lumen Gentium* with a decisive shift in self-definition from Church as "hierarchy" to "People of God." Demonstrably indicating how even the most systematic aspects of Catholic theology impinge on the lived experience of Catholic community (at least in Moore's Ireland), the reaction against the *aggiornamento* which suffused the Council and the post-Conciliar world finds its voice in Father Matthew and its focus on the liturgy: "You can all see what is being proposed here. It is a denial of everything the Mass stands for" (100).

If liturgical changes in the novella relate to ecclesiological re-definition (indicated in the latter statements by Abbot O'Malley and Father Matthew), transformations in liturgy are also inextricably linked to ecumenism and interfaith relations, the second main theological theme of *Catholics. Unitatis Redintegratio*, the Vatican II document on ecumenism, thus provided a statement of Catholicism's willingness to unify a Christianity so divided since the Protestant Reformation.[21] Still more radical were Vatican II statements like *Nostra Aetate*, on interfaith relations, which encouraged dialogue between Catholic Christianity and other world religions.[22] The instructions to the Abbot from the Father General of his Order explain the delicacy of ensuring liturgical reform in relation to interfaith dialogue, neatly mirroring Moore's intertextual literary theology:

> While the needs of your particular congregation might seem to be served by the retention of the Latin Mass, nevertheless, as Father Kinsella will explain to you, your actions in continuing to employ the older form are, at this time, particularly susceptible to misinterpretation elsewhere as a deliberate contravention of the spirit of aggiornamento. Such an interpretation can and will be made, not only within the councils of the Church itself, but within the larger councils of the ecumenical movement itself. This is particularly distressful to us at this time, in view of the apetura, possibly the most significant historical event of our century, when

> interpenetration between Christian and Buddhist faiths is on the verge of reality. (43–44)

It would be many years before the outline agenda of these new statements on soteriology would progress in the Catholic Church's actual, historical relations with other faiths, the Jewish faith in particular, and prominent theologians have received Vatican censure for extending the relations either too speedily or too far, tensions which Moore develops in later works, especially in *The Statement.*[23] Again, we can see the pivotal importance of this short work, *Catholics*, which substantially initiates Moore's literary treatment of post-Vatican II Catholicism.

A third important focus in *Catholics* is that of pastoral theology, which reflects Catholicism's greater concern with social justice in the late twentieth century, the theological voice of which was the Vatican II document *Gaudium et Spes.* Moore, though, directly links the theme of Catholic social teaching in *Catholics* with its most radical embodiment, liberation theology.[24] The latter's pastoral origins from the 1950s onwards can be identified within Latin American "basic ecclesial communities," as characterized by the Dutch theologian Carlos Mesters, and this significantly (if incidentally) aids Moore's presentation of an increasingly culturally plural, theological geography, which itself reflects the developing historical awareness of such plurality within Catholicism itself. Thus, while *Gaudium et Spes* provided a public theology which encapsulated the concern for social justice within the Church, the meeting of South American bishops at Medellin in 1968 is often regarded as important for the translation of the largely European theological preoccupations of Vatican II into a Third World socio-economic setting.[25] Foundational post-Vatican II theological writings are Gustavo Gutiérrez's *A Theology of Liberation* (1971),[26] Paolo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972),[27] and Leonardo Boff's *Jesus Christ Liberator* (1972)[28]; but what is of particular literary interest is the historical proximity of Moore's presentation of liberation theology in *Catholics* to the publication of these key (if in 1972 un-translated) South American texts.

Ready to leave for Muck, Kinsella is reminded of his now-crippled spiritual mentor ("the Brazilian militaires broke his back" [40]), a continent and an ideological world away: he "thought of Hartmann in the rain forest of Brazil"; Hartmann who had argued that the Church "despite its history

and its dependence on myth and miracle, exists today as the quintessential structure through which revolution can be brought to certain areas of the globe" (20–21). Kinsella's apparent certainties, those of the new ecclesiastical order, a challenge to rather than a support for social hierarchy, are set now to upset the order of the island community, as, at the novel's close, Kinsella's new theological and political assuredness is contrasted with the abbot's metaphysical uncertainty. When the Abbot asks Kinsella if Hartmann "talks much of God," the Abbot has to refine his question to make it accessible to the young priest, "No, what I mean is ... is it souls he's after ... or the good of mankind?" (41). Sympathizing with both the popular and monastic attachment to the Latin Mass, the Abbot's skepticism is revealed as bleaker, more all-encompassing than Kinsella's; and he is equal to if not more advanced than Kinsella in the (albeit contradictory) "contemporary" thinking on a "theology of atheism":

> "Are you asking me what I believe?"
> "Yes, if you wish. There is a book by a Frenchman called Francis Janson, have you ever heard of it? An Unbeliever's Faith it's called."
> "I have not read it."
> "It is interesting. He believes there can be a future for Christianity, provided it gets rid of God. Your friend, Father Hartmann, has mentioned Janson in his own writings. The idea is, a Christianity that keeps God can no longer stand up to Marxism." (67)

Following Hartmann, Kinsella emphasizes Christianity's social, rather than metaphysical, teaching. With reference to Yeats, and open allusions to Synge's Aran Island diaries, Moore's novella thereby provides an intertextual space which is literary, political, and theological. It is the inherent critique of Kinsella's post-Vatican II–IV theology to which Moore returns most explicitly in a later novel, *The Colour of Blood*, dealing with secular and ecclesiastical politics in the late stages of the Cold War.

Ecclesiology is the final and probably the most subtle of all Moore's treatments of theological themes in *Catholics*, though there is one particularly clear exchange between Kinsella and the Abbot which reflects the disconcerting effect of increased responsibility brought about ecclesiastical democratization. Abbot O'Malley makes the point well to Kinsella about

the parishioners from Cahirciveen and pilgrims from elsewhere who are attracted to the old Latin rite of the Mass:

> "They haven't changed. They want those old parish priests and those old family doctors. Sheep need authoritarian sheepdogs nipping at their heels from birth to funeral. People don't want truth or social justice, they don't want this ecumenical tolerance. They want certainties. The old parish priest promised that. You can't, Jim." (12–13)

Indeed, this passage provides a coda for the theological themes at the heart of the novella. In Moore's portrayal of Catholicism here, we are some fictional distance from Ginger Coffey's "boredom of the Mass," the (indirectly humorous) persecutions of Father Quigley's sermonizing for Judith Hearne or Brendan Tierney's confident dismissal of the Church.

For all the Church's published statements of increased democratization in ecclesiology, though, Moore presents the irony of Kinsella's task as the promulgation of an essentially progressive militancy to rival the older model of the Church Militant.[29] For all its apparent abandonment of the trappings of office—"cardinals went shabby in mufti, hirelings of all kinds had increased their false panoply of rank" (27–28)—the Church retains a strong hierarchical authority which is potentially all the more pernicious for its denial. At a minor level, this is symbolized by Kinsella's "ecumenical" clothing, his mother even commenting, "You don't look like a priest, I just can't imagine you are one" (20). Yet Kinsella's appearance marks a more covert militancy, his clothing resembling less the nondescript or nonprescriptive conventions of contemporary fashion than a member of a church army, carrying as he does "a paramilitary dispatch case, a musette bag, and wearing grey-green denim fatigues" (12). More broadly, this is shown to demonstrate the deceptive surface change of the Church's ecclesiology, its (supposedly) radically altered model of itself, which in actuality retains much of its pre-Vatican II–pre-Vatican IV authority and dependence on hierarchy as a means of ecclesiastical control; Kinsella's mission, direct from Rome, is an illustrative case in point.

The ecclesiastical and doctrinal certainties of the past are most marked in the community's nickname for Kinsella: "the inquisitor," an uncomfortable and here also ironic historical reference to a period in Church history when

theology's enforcement was through physical authority at its most extreme. However, it is a term and a label which Kinsella dismisses as absurd at the end of the twentieth century: "How can we even define what heresy is today?" The Abbot's response enforces the perceived irony of change within the church: "Yesterday's orthodoxy is today's heresy" (83). While on a personal level, the Abbot dates his crisis of faith to his visit to Lourdes, within the context of Church history he wonders if, "Aggiornamento, was that when uncertainty had begun?" and whether doctrinal instability and theological doubt have roots in, or are at least linked to, declining institutional control over the individual, his own last bastion of identity with ecclesiastical authority: "Changes of Doctrine. Setting oneself up as an ultimate authority. Insubordination" (83). However briefly hinted at, Moore aligns these changes in theology and ecclesiology in Catholicism with those adopted during the Protestant Reformation four centuries earlier, with a revolt against Catholic authority that was as much institutional as it was doctrinal and theological: "He looked at the tabernacle. Insubordination. The beginning of breakdown. And, long ago, that righteous prig at Wittenberg nailing his defiance to the church door" (84).

Stepping out from the enclosure of the abbey guest house, standing on the island shore on the last morning of his visit, Kinsella's meeting with a "rush of breakers" and the "long retreating roar of water" is reminiscent of Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach" and the withdrawing tide of religious faith; the dominating physical presence of land and sea highlighting at the twentieth-century ending of *Catholics*, as for Arnold in the nineteenth, the absence of faith. Indeed, plausibly, Moore's strong, naturalistic presentation of environment here hints at a metaphysical emptiness, the "null" which the Abbot enters when he finally leads the community in the Our Father—now "Prayer is the only miracle" – in order to heal division, "relieved their voices echoed his" (101–2). What is left when "prayers seemed false or without meaning at all" (78) is obedience. Devoid of supernatural context, in a reversal of Moore's literary persistence of theological consciousness in a secular world, the emptying of theological meaning, O'Malley sees his role as "a sort of foreman here, a sort of manager," the role of the Abbot as "not a lot different from a secular job" (58).

*Catholics*, with its Vatican II–Vatican IV parallels, can be seen as an enduring theological allegory which presents in seminal form many of the

themes to which Moore returns in later novels. Portrayal of environment is crucial to the presentation of Catholicism in the narrative here, as it is in both earlier and later fiction. Conceivably too, then, the landscape of Muck and the Atlantic seascape convey in physical terms, by way of Moore's naturalistic technique, that empty mental state the Abbot encounters when capitulating to Kinsella and Rome, "not from an excess of zeal" but from "a lack of it" (94), which leads him to "the hell of the metaphysicians: the hell of those deprived of God" (78).[30]

## *The Mangan Inheritance* (1979)

If *Catholics* presents a post-Vatican IV Irish Catholic future, *The Mangan Inheritance* presents an Irish Catholic past with the eyes of a post-Vatican II present. The latter shares with *Catholics* too a tripartite narrative structure. In both narratives, the graphic preoccupation with the landscape and culture of Ireland is accentuated by Ireland's placement in the centre of the text. At the heart of both works is an idyll of west coast Irish life, the cultural at one with the environmental, textually enclosed by the outside world: in *Catholics,* it is the arrival and departure of the American Kinsella from Rome which marks the invasion as well as the enduring insularity of Muck; in *The Mangan Inheritance,* it is the New Yorker Jamie Mangan's departure from and return to North America (both the United States and Canada) which highlights and simultaneously deconstructs the rural Irish ideal so beloved of the Irish Literary Revival.[31]

In both books too is the implied unity of the island of Ireland; aesthetically, politically, and religiously: Ireland is a free state, and Catholic. In neither is there any sense of a North, nor any hint of political Troubles; only the history of colonial conflict marks the landscape, and does so strongly, but not in terms of any present actuality. The religious, political, and artistic coordinates of an Irish national consciousness reflect internal tensions—theological, ideological, and aesthetic—but these are matters of detail which do not threaten the sense of an overall unity. If *Catholics,* though, reflects a period of religious and theological adjustment in a post-Vatican II–IV world in which Ireland's political nationhood and aesthetic (especially Yeatsean) consciousness is determined and accentuated by its west coast setting, thereby stressing the religion and theology, then *The Mangan Inheritance* gives priority

to the political and the aesthetic over the religious while acknowledging Catholicism as integral to nation both as concept and as place. It is thus the genealogy of the Mangan family Bible which provides the textual key and inspiration for the physical and spiritual journey from Canada to Ireland, but it is a residual Catholicism, a Catholicism in which the literal traces of Catholic ancestry are contained within a sacred text which no longer functions as a religious guide to the secularized, Mangan émigrés.

Mangan's aesthetically rarefied journey begins with of the marital abandonment of a mediocre journalist and one-time poet by an acclaimed film star wife, Beatrice Abbot. Jamie Mangan's move from New York to visit the remote Canadian retreat of his father and the latter's youthful second wife is the means for the introduction of the family Bible, reopening the story of the Mangan line, the "inheritance" of the novel's title. Crucially this leads to Jamie Mangan's recognition of his *doppelganger* in a mid-nineteenth-century daguerreotype supposedly of the *poete maudit* James Clarence Mangan. This discovery is Jamie Mangan's "resurrection": "To Mangan the poet ... To my resurrection. To my life!" (57). This is the now not-uncommon motif of the theological persisting in the secular consciousness of a Moore protagonist. The death of Beatrice Abbot with her new lover in a drunken road accident three weeks after the married couple's separation provides, with increasing implausibility, the means for Jamie Mangan to explore the Mangan inheritance in Ireland with some ease and without financial inhibitions since the late Beatrice Abbot, it is discovered, had not changed her will. Jamie Mangan's significant financial inheritance is, however, seemingly more assured and, as it happens, less burdensome than the ancestral poetic inheritance he is to discover in County Cork.

Jamie Mangan the New Yorker, then, in moving to Canada, "cruel landscape, its settlement a defiance of nature" (18), and to Ireland, retraces the novelist's steps in intertextual return to Ireland: a path which had seen Moore's novels dwell initially in Ireland and move into North America via the Canada of *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*. The description of Canada and its inhospitable landscape indicates a literary throwback to American frontier literature, even to the first settlement of Canada but provides too a breadth of intertextual self-reference to Moore's own canon of North American fiction. Moore's fiction here thereby looks back to the Canada which had become home for characters such as Ginger Coffey and Mary Dunne but,

for those of us with an overview of Moore's entire oeuvre, forward to the landscape of Canada's past so vividly created in *Black Robe.* Jamie Mangan's childhood spent on the edge of the Canadian wilderness and his subsequent journey to an ancestral Ireland is traced and prefigured in the bedroom of his childhood, "a Laurentian landscape in pastels ... replaced by The Doors of Dublin" (24). It is a journey which the daguerreotype rekindles too as it romanticizes a fictive Irish idyll with the re-presentation of national self-image which early photography allowed:

> Often the name and address of the photographic studio, scrolled in elaborate curlicues, adorned the bottoms of the photographs, and as Mangan read off the names of Irish cities—Galway, Cork—it came to him that these long-ago kin of his were members of the first generation in human history to see themselves plain, not in a lake's reflection or in the ephemeral shimmer of a looking glass, or distorted by the talents or whim of a portrait painter's brush, but fixed forever as they were in life. (47–48)

"My Dark Rosaleen" is celebrated by Jamie's father as the Mangan poem which characterized Ireland and the anti-English nationalism of the Famine years; "the poem that made him Ireland's greatest poet," that and "a few others he wrote at the time of the famine." Dismissing Jamie's call for the pre-eminence of Yeats, Jamie's father insists on the polemical force of Mangan as poet and nationalist, an aesthetic of violence which made "for the common people of Ireland" his poetry "the stuff that sent men out to kill the landlords" (57).

Catholicism's presence in *The Mangan Inheritance* is subtle but the links between national and religious consciousness are evident, and it is Father Burke who leads Jamie Mangan to the graves of his predecessors:

> Mangan turned and mounted the stepping stones on the cemetery wall, coming down on the other side, inside consecrated ground. He moved through shin-high wet grass, past gray stone plinths and lichened Celtic crosses.... Almost at once, a greening stone loomed before him and he saw his name writ large.

MANGAN
PATRICK JAMES MANGAN
Departed this life
1 January 1899

There in the cloud-darkened field Mangan took out his notebook and compared the dates he had written down from his family Bible and the parish register. This was the grave of his great-grandfather....
He moved on to a nearby grave and read the headstone.

FERGUS MANGAN
Erected by his loving family
1919–1972 (160–61)

The Father Drinan biography of James Clarence Mangan that Jamie Mangan reads in Canada (57–58) indicates too the historical Irish Catholic identity for the nationalist aesthetic of the nineteenth-century poet.[32]

The once-aspiring poet, however, finds the land of Ireland different from its idealized literary landscape: "That sense of familiar unfamiliar which he had felt earlier now deserted him. Here his readings of Joyce and Yeats and O'Casey were no help. He felt he did not know Ireland at all" (97). The abandoned cottages that litter the pages of the text are signs of Ireland's famine history written into the landscape. Later, the deconstruction of this rural, post-Yeatsean idyll (made self-conscious by the early appearance of the Norman tower which Mangan sees off the Drishane headland) is accomplished by the juxtaposition of physical beauty with human cruelty and violence. Here place as human settlement and physical environment is both scarred and left fundamentally unmarked by the turmoil of Irish colonial history: "... he looked at the tower and thought of the broken-roofed cottage he had seen earlier, relic of emigration or famine. Abandoned, castle and cottage were co-equal in neglect, testament to the way in which this country, more than any other he had known, seemed to master time and history, rejecting men's effort to make their presence felt" (161). From the cottage the estate agent Feeley mistakenly gives Mangan, his stabilizing reference point (through a cultural geography) is the invisible America he has left behind: "that landscape, still as a medieval painting, unchanged and

unchanging, the sea, the great headlands circling the bay like outstretched arms. Far off on the horizon the Fastnet light house flashed its secret message. It came to him that he was looking toward America from a point of land which was the most westerly part of Europe" (106).

Here the cultural reference points are centred upon a faith which is alien, from the "large photograph of Pope John," symbol of transition to a post-Vatican II era, on the mantelpiece of the cottage to a seemingly more distant theological history, itself reflected in the Irish landscape, the "distant vista of fields, the church spire and the slate roofs far below, all of it was like a world long gone, still as a Poussin landscape, unchanged and unchanging" (105): "The Church, like most others he had seen in Ireland, appeared unconscionably large for the village which surrounded it. Enclosed by a graveyard of Celtic crosses ..." (112). The transition to a post-Vatican II era was held in the balance of a Janus-like political and devotional history in the living room area where hung "variously, lithographs of Pope Paul, John F. Kennedy, and our Lady appearing to Saint Therese at Lisieux" (123). Here too the parish priest, Father Burke, is one of Moore's most innocuous ecclesiastical characters to date. A willing assistant to Jamie Mangan in the latter's quest for a poetic and decidedly irreligious ancestry, it is the priest who identifies Holy Cross Parish, Dublin, as the possible link to James Patrick Mangan, and, as importantly, to the beauty of a landscape which belies the political violence of its history: "Dunmanus Coos. A beautiful spot. Two of the Fenian leaders, killed in '98 are buried there ... O'Bofey and Sean Rahilly" (157).

A major part of *The Mangan Inheritance* is Moore's development of the parallels between the nineteenth-century James Clarence Mangan and the twentieth-century Jamie Mangan: the latter feels at home when he meets the youthful Kathleen and her criminal brother, binge drinking and falling for the younger woman; Jamie is attacked in Bantry, as his ancestor was, and loses too a tooth in the fight, a disfigurement matched in the daguerreotype. The absentee landlord motif of Irish colonial history in the early nineteenth century is also mirrored in Jamie Mangan's illicit sojourn in Gorteen, the large house that had come into possession by Conor and Kathleen but which had been lost through neglect and dissipation. This is an inversion of the "big house" narrative of Protestant Ascendancy; here the specific post-Partition context of the Anglo-Irish and predominantly Protestant symbols

of English political and cultural domination.[33] In Gorteen, the name of the old Mangan house now sold to an Englishman abroad, Jamie Mangan is, then, "a squatter in some English absentee landlord's bed" (199), mirroring not only the *poete maudit* lifestyle and physical image of the daguerreotype but reflecting too the social and economic structure of the Irish nineteenth century, "the famine days when half of Ireland walked the road without a home" (192).

Jamie Mangan's eventual meeting with his more contemporary *doppelganger*, the incestuous poet and sex-offender, his Uncle Michael Mangan, confirms that religion is less influential here than the aesthetic: "Our strain of the Mangan family are all without the consolations of religion. Hell fire isn't what we're afraid of .... We're afraid that we'll be forgotten" (284). We see the poetic aspirations of many a Moore prototype from both the early Irish and American novels surfacing here at their most grotesque. Jamie is led to the castrated poet and uncle by Dinny Mangan who had facilitated his father's escape from justice to a life of harsh isolation, the always-close reality of the myth of west coast Irish idyll—like in *Catholics*, but here without the interaction of religion and national identity suffused by landscape, leaving a secular aesthetic as a supposed ideal of human consciousness. It is a move with which many characters in Moore's early Irish and American novels are familiar, but here portrayed at its most disturbing.

So Eileen Mangan recounts to Jamie Mangan the history of family sexual abuse at the hands of the internal exile, Michael Mangan—her husband and Jamie's uncle—including the molestation of his daughter Maeve, and later Kathleen, the daughter of Michael Mangan's deceased brother. It was Michael Mangan's castration by Maeve that led to his internal Irish exile, facilitated by his son Dinny, to a place "lonely as a Hopper landscape" (273), suffused with the marks of the earliest conquest of Ireland ("lookout point and stronghold by long ago Norman conquerors"). The land here was now "abandoned to sea birds, rabbits, and, here and there, high on the rocky ground a few black-faced sheep" (275).

Michael Mangan's books in Latin are the texts of classical imperialism, both religious and political, and the works in the Irish language the supposed means of their resistance: "Here at land's end, a man amid his books in a ruined Norman tower, living like a hermit writing verse" (283). The German's farm, which precedes access to Jamie's contemporary (and yet Gothic)

*doppelganger*, combined with the phallic ruin of the Norman (and yet Yeatsean) tower allows Moore to both draw together and deconstruct two of his key secular alternatives to religion, the aesthetic and the psychoanalytic. Jamie thus initially sees and approves of the books in Michael Mangan's library:

> Marvell, Donne, Hopkins, Yeats, Eliot ... There were paperbacks of Dostoevsky, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenev. There were histories of Ireland, books on the Irish language, Joyce's Portrait, Camus's The Plague. There were novels by Lawrence and Hardy and the collected essays of Swift, all of them titles he would be pleased to see on his own shelves. (282–83)

Michael Mangan, himself a mutilated "ruin" is an unrepentant victim. Such lack of moral regret is compounded by his aesthetic vanity. He thus inhabits and proudly boasts of a link to Yeats. He claims: "I live in a Norman tower, like Yeats himself, thirteenth century this one is, and with a far grander view than ever Yeats looked out from his at Thoor Ballylee .... Some day this place will be like Thoor Ballylee" (305). The post-Yeatsean myth of the Literary Revival, culture and nationalism intertwined against imperialism, all permeated by a consciousness of the land itself, is, though, further deconstructed, again literally and metaphorically, a building and an ideal unceremoniously dismantled: "In another country this ruined castle on its splendid promontory of land would be a tourist sight, a national treasure ... in Ireland it was a sheep pen" (277).

And so Jamie Mangan, outraged at the historical image and contemporary embodiment of the *poete maudit*, returns to Canada, a journey made urgent in the narrative by the appropriately Oedipal theme of a father's death. So little does Jamie Mangan actually escape his "inheritance," though, that in the deathbed scene the overbearing Freudian overtones are brought to forestalled libidinal conclusion by Jamie's unconsummated desire for his father's young wife. Displaced desire is finally transferred into a peculiar relationship by the father's deathbed revelation of his pregnant wife's monetary dependence on the son. As in Ireland, though, the physical environment making human struggle small by the dismissal of human achievement into ruins which litter the landscape, so too in Canada: the death of a father and the desire of the son for the mother are contextualized by the "smoking Arctic air: a landscape of death" (332).

## *The Doctor's Wife* (1976)

Moore's novels have a strong sense of generational difference which is often used to depict social and cultural transformation, a theme well illustrated by *The Mangan Inheritance*, and which is developed in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in the North of Ireland, the focus of the remainder of this chapter. The parents of many of his protagonists feature prominently in his fictions, and it is often this older generation which represents, through a familial focus, differences in understandings or perceptions of Catholicism, a worldview which was consciously muted in *The Mangan Inheritance*. In earlier fictions, though, the mother (the mothers of Brendan Tierney and Mary Dunne, for instance) or the father (of Gavin Burke) or the mother and father (of Fergus) represent a stalwart pre-Vatican II Catholic belief whose certainty often contrasts strongly with that of their more liberal, more skeptical offspring; though, as we have seen, in these fictions the theological often permeates even the most apparently secular of consciousnesses. In *Catholics*, however, Moore somewhat modifies this sense of generational difference. James Kinsella reflects on his mother's lack of faith and, indirectly, his late father's commitment, as "Agnostic herself, his mother had continued her son's religious education after her husband died" (20). Moore thus shows there is no easy correlation between belief in the past and doubt in the present, yet simultaneously demonstrates how forms of Catholic belief have altered; Kinsella's mother, "a Liberal, born in the nineteen thirties ... did not believe in the combination of Holy Orders and revolutionary theory" (21). Of course, the absence of easy correlation between a believing older generation and a more skeptical younger one is explored perhaps most notably when Moore treats the deathbed skepticism of Father Michel's mother as a central motif in *No Other Life*.

As in the earlier fictions so it is in Moore's later Irish novels: Ireland is a nation where intertwined political and religious history continues to unify and/or divide the generations—*The Temptation of Eileen Hughes*, *The Mangan Inheritance*, and *Lies of Silence* all cases in point. Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in all cases unifies as a theme, whether it is a source of familial or wider social concord or, as is more often the case, discord and conflict; and theme for Moore transcends literary form. Thus a Catholic consciousness permeates the full experimental range of Moore's early narrative forms: from

the grim naturalistic realism of *Judith Hearne* through the tragic-comic tones of *The Emperor of Ice-Cream* to the mixture of realism and Gothic fantasy of *The Mangan Inheritance.* In all, though, the landscape of Ireland (understood in the widest sense—Northern city, Southern village, Atlantic seashore) is the enduring presence. It is place which contextualizes the diversity of cultural (aesthetic, political, and religious) encounter. In Moore's Ireland, the physical takes on metaphysical qualities: ideological and aesthetic, theological and spiritual.

In *The Doctor's Wife,* political and religious difference has too a marked intergenerational flavour and this is well expressed by Sheila's brother late in the novel as he travels to Paris in order to remedy the crisis in his sister's marriage:

> Dr Deane walked out toward the waiting plane, thinking of his father and his father's great friends, Dr Byrne and Chief Justice McGonigal, remembering their arguments about Shaw and Joyce, about Mussolini's policies vis-à-vis the Vatican, and the morality of Ireland's neutrality during the war. Not intellectuals, but men who read a lot, who loved discussion and despised golf, who never cared about the size of their house or the make of their motorcar. That older generation, passionate, literate, devout, still seemed to him more admirable and interesting in their enthusiasms and innocence than the later generation that claimed him as its own.... His father would never have put pleasure before principle as Sheila did, especially in an *affaire de coeur.* But then, as Sheila said, that older generation lived in the certainty of their beliefs. That was the point, exactly the point. If this were 1935 and Sheila were my father's younger sister, the whole discussion would have been conducted in the context of sin. I can talk of it only in the context of illness. My father would have talked of the moral obligations involved. I can only surmise the emotional risks. (158–59)

Indeed, here are some of the major themes of the Moore's novels to date (1976): pre-Vatican II Catholicism ("Mussolini's policies vis-à-vis the Vatican"); an understated treatment of Ireland's ambivalent political status on the world stage, indirectly vis-à-vis Britain ("the morality of Ireland's neutrality during the war")[34]; an undercurrent of the psychotherapeutic culture of modern society ("I can only surmise the emotional risks")[35]; and, of course,

writing ("their arguments about Shaw and Joyce"), used variously to uphold or subvert Catholic values as part of both Irish national identity and Moore's theological and literary intertextuality.[36]

In ways which parallel Moore's structural use of North America to open and close *The Mangan Inheritance* to focus more tellingly on Ireland in the main body of the text, so too in the cross-cultural narrative of *The Doctor's Wife*, Moore's use of France for the setting of Sheila Redden's affair with the American Tom Lowry and Sheila's ambiguous last days in London are secondary to his fictional reflections on Belfast in the early 1970s, as well as the antecedence of political and religious struggle in Ireland. Certainly for Sheila Redden, reflections on Ireland, both North and South of the border, form part of a persistent unconscious throughout the novel, as early on in France: "Into her mind came the view from her living room at home. The garden: brick covered with English ivy, Belfast's mountain, Cave Hill, looming over the top of the garden wall, its promontories like the profile of a sleeping giant, face upward to the grey skies" (16). Such memories of place, Mary's Irish unconscious, serve to highlight rather than lessen Irish realities of religious and political life. Here the violence of Ulster naturally dominates, particularly the bomb in Clifton Street near Kevin Redden's surgery—the "soldiers had warned him in time"—and the political conflict invades the Paris flat of her friend Peg: "but now, in the half-dark hall, Mrs Redden saw, not Peg, but that other woman, blond, with dust in her hair, blood on her face, running out of the Queen's arcade, shaking her fist. 'Fucking Fenian gets!'" (34). The vision returns as she recalls holding a priest's hat as he gives a dying man the last rites, the woman again shouting "Fucking Fenian gets!" as if Mrs Redden and the priest and the old man "had set the bomb off and were not victims like herself" (42). An inconsequential Paris barge also draws comparisons with Ireland in less troubled but for Sheila Redden no less unsatisfactory times:

> She looked at this passing barge, at this man who sailed his floating home through inland waterways to cities like Brussels, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, cities she had never seen, might never see. To sail away from all of the *things that hold and bind me, to sail away, to start again in some city like* Brussels or Amsterdam. Into her mind came the place Kevin always took them to for their summer holidays, a Connemara village with a fishing

> dock at the end of the single street, the fishermen's boat coming in from the sea at dusk, sailing into that postcard view of the sea bay under the Dolmen peaks of the Twelve Bens .... (38)

Although Tom Lowry was not like those other "Yanks," "those desperate loud double knits who went around Ireland in tour buses," he sees Ireland with the eyes of the American (New York Greenwich Village) "other." (Kevin Redden's view of Tom Lowry, "some Yank just out of Trinity, with his PhD in James Joyce's Laundry list," is less positive.) The contrast with her view of Ulster as a geographical and cultural desert is telling, university being "four more years of being locked up in Ulster." Taking a year out after doctoral work on Joyce at Trinity (Hugh Greer's "Joyce -Yeats show" [39]), to work in Vermont, he embodies the geographical mobility which Sheila Redden has so craved, but, unlike Sheila, he is able to root himself comfortably in the cultural life of a romanticized Irish Revival. For Sheila Redden, by contrast, the grandnarratives of Irish history reflected in such literature are irrelevant, and Ireland "a tiny nation whose meaningless historical memories were of playing Snap in rainy, rented houses in Portrush in the summer" (149).

*The Doctor's Wife*, though, is notable for the way such contrary, ambivalent evocations of place (especially Ireland as defined by the geographical and cultural "other") are integral to a dynamic, often generational, shift between a pre- and post-Vatican II (and indeed pre- and post-Troubles) portrayal of Catholicism. While *Catholics* suggests similar oppositions and transitions in a fantasy of a Catholic future based on the realities of an historical post-Vatican II present, *The Doctor's Wife*, for all its lack of fantasy, allegory, and theological projection, still deals (though with a more self-conscious realism) with changing post-Vatican II worldviews.

Three major themes emerge here. The first, sexual liberalization (Sheila Redden's affair with Tom Lowry) is common to Moore's pre- and post-Vatican II novels, being a motif shared with all the early American (though not with the early Irish) fictions. The second and third themes might easily be viewed as one: the secularization of a post-Vatican II clergy in Ireland through politicization, and in France through existentialist philosophy. Both latter themes, though related, develop in Moore's later fiction and might therefore be treated separately. Indeed, it would be easy to see a common thread in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism here as that of hierarchy

(specifically minor clergy), and there is something of this in the novel when Sheila Redden compares the Catholic priest in Paris, "A priest should be poor. Irish priests were not" (134). But the politicization of clergy is very particular to both the Irish question in general (especially relations between Catholicism and nationalism) and Moore's later Irish fiction in particular, especially *Lies of Silence*. Further, Moore's treatment of priest as existentialist thinker is his most significant venture into Catholic encounter with a developed and systematic atheism rather than the more apathetic agnosticism, or atheism by default, of Moore's earlier, particularly American, protagonists (and largely characteristic of Sheila Redden too). The latter is also a significant theme arising from Vatican II (especially *Lumen Gentium*) and prefigures the increasingly wide-ranging treatment of Moore's portrayal of Catholic encounter with Marxist-inspired ideology in *The Colour of Blood* and *No Other Life*; indeed, as it also prefigures Catholic encounter with non-Christian religions (as opposed to simply the Protestant "other") in *Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife*.

Moore's anti-heroine, then, is a woman whose affair with Tom Lowry brings only very temporary release from middle-class Belfast life. She eventually declines into North London anonymity where she shares nothing with the London Irish that she is encouraged by her boss to meet. Here the well-intentioned "You want to join one of those Irish clubs. There's an Irish club over in Camden Town" is followed by the inane "I like Irish songs" (229) and emphasizes Sheila Redden's alienation from class, politics, and religion. In the end, she cannot follow Tom Lowry, nor follow her variation of an Irish dream of exilic alternatives to join "that Other Place," America, whose flag in the passport office "impeccably clean, impressively displayed ... seemed more like the symbol of a religion than a national banner" (236). Renunciation of both American emigration and Irish home leads in London to her implied confrontation with the only serious question, raised in the novel's earlier discussions of Camus, indicated euphemistically by the motif of the suddenness and ordinariness of urban disappearance: "She went through the gates and walked off down the street like an ordinary woman on her way to the corner to buy cigarettes" (236). London is here a geographical and metaphysical limbo, it is a desperation with (and fundamental alienation from) urban culture which many of Moore's women of rural origins often suffer.[37]

For many Catholics, as for Sheila Redden, the last semblance of ecclesiastical credibility in the liberal times of the 1960s, after the promise of Vatican II, was lost with Paul VI's pronouncements on birth control and sexual morality in *Humanae Vitae*, matters explicitly ridiculed by Fergus Fadden. Thus, only after sexual intercourse with Tom Lowry does she "remember the diaphragm," worrying if she is pregnant by him, but thinking too of the "awful guilty feeling of first using it on Kevin's advice" and how once "it had seemed so sinful; now so safe" (78) that she wonders how she could have forgotten it, the Catholic teaching of *Humanae Vitae* set, now even unconsciously, aside. (Interestingly, the major concern of lay Catholics in the post-Vatican era, birth control, was neatly sidestepped in *Catholics* through the use of a celibate community.) The liberalization of sexual attitudes, which had by the early 1970s suffused Western society, affected too a large part of the Church: that the world of Belfast is so affected (Sheila Redden's extra-territorial as well as extramarital affair) adds to the sense of social transformation since Moore's early portrayal of pre-Vatican II Catholicism in *The Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne*, *The Feast of Lupercal*, and *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*.

Sheila Redden's freedom is characteristic too of that liberal, or more often lapsed, Catholicism that was so strongly engendered in the post-Vatican II era, undoubtedly by accident rather than design, and which, characteristic of so many of Moore's lapsed Catholics "when was the last time I knelt in church and prayed" (87), is expressed with some theological astuteness:

> She had thought the word "God." The word usually came to her lips these days as a meaningless ejaculation. She no longer prayed. She remembered when all that had changed, at the time of Pope John. It had all begun when people lost their fear of hell and damnation. If you no longer feared damnation, you no longer had to believe in heaven. (87)

Liberation from Catholic morality leads Sheila Redden, then, not only to a rediscovery of self through sexuality but also to a self-conscious replacement for Catholicism as worldview, a sort of sexual humanism evident also in Mary Dunne's narrative. Again, in the early American and now the later Irish fictions, this supposedly secularized consciousness is expressed in theological, even sacramental terms:

> ... tonight, in the quiet of this moonlit room, that feeling came back to her, that pure Sunday communion peace. It filled her, shocking her, for wasn't this sin, here in this room, committing adultery with this boy, how could this be that same state, that pure feeling of peace? Yet it filled her, it possessed her totally. It was as though wrong was right. Her former life, her marriage, all that had gone before, now seemed to be her sin. These few days with Tom were her state of grace. (88)

Yet in Ireland, it is typically the restraints of sectarianism which help sustain the importance of a public Catholic identity as a front for residual, privatized faith: "... of course, if anyone asked her, she would still say she was a Catholic. In Ulster today, to declare that you were no longer a Catholic was to risk being thought a turncoat. But she did not think of herself as a Catholic. Not any more" (88).

The political, especially IRA, violence is then the major backdrop to Sheila Redden's Belfast social unconscious while in France, and this is part of an apparently sectarian, rather than religious, ascendancy. The Troubles have in their own way highlighted religious difference, but such difference existed before and is reflected in Moore's earlier Irish fictions. Now, no longer politically and religiously subservient, the Catholic minority, still in a physical ghetto, is politicized by violence. It is, of course, a matter of historical chance that the rise of the Troubles in Ireland coincided with the beginning of a liberalized post-Vatican II Church. If Moore's early Irish novels portray the Church's power beginning to wane (Father Quigley is no Joycean Jesuit), then the post-Vatican II Church in his later Irish novels has lost all semblance of moral authority, and this to an extent represents the irony of Vatican II's key failure: in adjusting finally, after a century and more of resistance, to the forces of the contemporary world in such modernizing documents such as *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*, the Church lost much of its residual authority: "And so they slid out of it, and now they never put their feet inside a church door except on great occasions like a wedding or a funeral" (87–88). Ironically, now they are "just like Protestants" (88).

Of course, in the North, such an identity between Catholic and Protestant is difficult in practice. Kevin Redden, employed at "the Protestant teaching hospital, which, when you considered he was a Catholic, meant he knew his stuff" (122) is himself marginally embroiled in the sectarian conflict to

an extent as surgical consultant to the British Army. If the novel more broadly charts the ascendancy of the sectarian violence of the 1970s, it explicitly charts too the waning of majority belief in either ideology or religion, as Sheila comments to her brother Owen Deane: "The Protestants don't believe in Britain and the Catholics don't believe in God. And none of us believes in the future ... all we believe in is having a good time ..." (154). Still, it was, "she sometimes thought, a bad joke that when the people at home no longer believed in their religion, or went to church as they once did, the religious fighting was worse than ever" (87).

The ineffectual symbols of post-Vatican II authority, here an increasingly less influential Irish priesthood, is evident from Kevin Redden's suggestion that, "twenty years ago I'd have put the priest on her" whereas "nobody heeds the priests nowadays" (178). Seeming Irish precursor of the golf-playing brethren in *Cold Heaven* the politicization of the Irish hierarchy becomes more sinister in *Lies of Silence* when, unable to wield ecclesiastical authority, the priesthood is portrayed as clinging to residual power through the forces of IRA violence; that is, a fuller, fictional identification of Catholicism with Irish nationalism. It is such a later politicized portrayal which, for Sheila Redden, has roots in both her own childhood and Ireland's historically close relationship—post-Irish Free State—between secular and Church hierarchies; as she recalls her Uncle Dan's funeral:

> Everybody who was anybody was at the funeral, the cardinal in his crimson silks, sitting in the episcopal chair at the side of the altar during the Mass, and at the Glasnevin cemetery I saw de Valera: he took his hat off and stood, holding it over his chest as the priest said the prayers for the dead. Lemass, the Prime Minister was beside him.... (20–21)

His death in 1966 (21) marks the effective end of a childhood innocence for Sheila Redden, the beginning of the end of a political innocence for Ireland just prior to the Troubles and, a year after the close of the Second Vatican Council, the increasing decline in both the religious and political authority of the Irish Catholic Church:

> ... it was Ireland that had changed. Belfast bombed and barricaded, while in Dublin new flats and American banks had spoiled the Georgian calm

> around Saint Stephen's Green.... Yet paradoxically, here on the Riviera, nothing had changed ... Belfast, with its ruined houses and rubbled streets, was now, to her, the alien place.... (45)

Yet, even in Paris there are points of similarity and hints of civil disturbance in France to which Moore returns in *The Statement* and *The Magician's Wife* where in a Parisian square "four police wagons filled with French riot police sat, waiting for trouble" and she "thought of home" (32).

Yet if French geographical contrast highlights the post-Vatican II sexual liberalization of a middle-class Irish character like Sheila Redden (no pre-Vatican II Judith Hearne) and serves as a means to highlight a decline in religious adherence but a rise in sectarian violence, *The Doctor's Wife* also treats another area of transformation in Catholicism, the dialogue with atheistic philosophy, already hinted at in *Catholics*. The French location provides, of course, almost stereotypical possibilities for presenting a particular Continental form of existentialism but the vehicle of Catholic priest, sympathetically portrayed, impressively reflects major post-Vatican II developments in the Church's accommodation with the religious and philosophical plurality demonstrated in *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*. And we will see this clearly shift towards accommodation, and the tensions that it brings, in *The Colour of Blood*.

Geography is again tellingly used to facilitate an important aspect of Catholic encounter with the atheistic other. Thus Father Brault, the French priest Sheila Redden meets, establishes a conciliatory middle ground, a position of tolerance which contrasts with the exclusiveness of sectarian Irish Catholicism. So too the history and geography of Paris contrast with Ireland for Sheila Redden: "the Seine wound among streets filled with history no Irish city ever knew" (15). While in Notre-Dame's Chapelle d'Accueil, the priest as "principal actor" initially signals for her the theatrical artificiality of belief, and their subsequent conversation marks a theological openness to doubt seemingly unknown in the Irish clergy. Subsequent reflection (and her final anonymous disappearance into London) draws her further into an angst-ridden, existentialist anomie:

> "Did you think, 'God is here'?" No, God is not here. Notre-Dame is a museum, its pieties are in the past. Once these aisles were filled with the

> power of faith, with prayer and pilgrimage, all heads bowed in reverence at the elevation of the Host. Once people knelt here, in God's house, offering the future conduct of their lives against a promise of heaven. But now we no longer believe in promises. What was it the priest said? Camus, suicide, the only serious personal question. (137)

If the priest finally appears as "God's comedian," pen ready at his aide-memoire ledger, an eschatological reminder of God's final judgment, then it is a self-conscious foolishness. Rejecting Sheila Redden's premise that "You can't go on believing, once you think the idea of God is ridiculous," the priest's "I can and I do" is an affirmation of belief through negative theology, with themes of love and religion that Moore further develops in *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes*: "I know .... It doesn't make sense. But believing in God is like being in love. You don't have to have reasons, or proofs, or justifications. You are in love, *voila tout.* You know it" (216).

## *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes* (1981)

The treatment of romantic love and adultery presented in *The Doctor's Wife*—the portrayal of a Belfast Catholic woman distanced if not fully liberated from either country or religion—is developed in *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes.* If the sexual encounter between Sheila Redden and Tom Lowry is at least minimally paralleled with theological notions, for example of grace, in *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes,* then, the married Bernard McAuley's obsessive and seemingly non-sexual desire for Eileen Hughes reflects a theological paradigm of divine love. Aside from Bernard McAuley's use of pornography for sexual satisfaction and his acceptance of his wife's routine unfaithfulness, the interactions between the rich Catholic businessman and the young and far less privileged Catholic woman of the novel's title mark a significant advance in every respect of Moore's portrayal of a liberalized, and especially sexually liberated, Belfast Catholic lay populace. Bernard McAuley's economic success is itself a mark not of change but prejudicial stasis in the Province. Bernard McAuley is "the richest Catholic in Lismore" and distinctive for that, McAuley being "the only Catholic in Clanranald Avenue" (198). Like Kevin Redden he has advanced socially and economically, despite his religious denomination.

More fundamentally, though, the opportunity for the sorts of moral choices open to the relatively underprivileged Eileen Hughes is also indicative of a Catholic Belfast world which has also drastically changed from its early portrayal in Moore's novels. (If Sheila Redden marks, with her husband, a social advance on the down-at-heel class pretensions of an impoverished Judith Hearne, Moore shows with Eileen Hughes a degree of social and economic advance too for the working class of Belfast.) Thus, far from the compromises for the marginalized figures of the early Irish novels (notably Judith Hearne and Diarmuid Devine), Eileen Hughes demonstrates a strength of personality which contrasts with that of the failed, and eventually successful, suicide Bernard McAuley. In the final scenes of the novel, she walks the Irish landscape, alone but independent, in a parkland, a common setting between the urban and the rural which pervades many of Moore's Irish and American works.

As in *The Doctor's Wife*, Moore here uses another country to reflect upon the religious and social portrayal of Ireland, *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes* being set in London as opposed to France. The final return of Bernard and Eileen to Belfast at the end of the novel adds a circularity which confirms this. The geography serves, as it had in *The Mangan Inheritance*, as an interstitial region, a liminal space where physical distance provides for metaphysical reflection. Further, though, Moore now holds in tension a portrayal of a liberalized but severely weakened Catholicism with the presentation of the failures of secular materialism in the form of Bernard McAuley's unsatisfying economic success. In a land transformed by liberalized religious attitudes and further entrenched by sectarian attitudes, the latter's obsessive love is an openly theological paradigm of divine love. But this presents no simple resolution to the now-common religious-secular encounter in Moore's novels, a dialectic established early in the novel:

> "Would you believe that while I was at Queen's during my BSc, I suddenly wanted to give it all up and go away and give myself to God. Yes, the priesthood. But the minute I mentioned this vocation of mine at home, my dear old father came right up through the floorboards like Beelzebub, buying me a brand new car and lashing pound notes for me to spend weekends in Dublin. And I fell. Yes, at the tender age of nineteen, I became a fallen angel. I went over to Mammon." (21)

The sense of rejection by God which McAuley's failed vocation to the religious life engendered and his going "over to Mammon" sets Eileen Hughes in the role of an extension of his devotions from the divine to the human.

Significantly, Bernard McAuley's love for Eileen Hughes is likened in historical terms to a courtly, pre-modern romanticism when he declares: "I love you the way knights fell in love in medieval days .... It was an impossible love for a lady in a tower. Often the lady was married and honor forbade that the lover ever try to possess her. Sometimes he wouldn't even declare his love" (77). Of course, he does declare his love and this moment of "epiphany" appropriately reveals the theological analogy at the heart of his most humanist of obsessions, the human person. *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes*, then, presents a unity of theme which is central to the novel's success as a piece of fiction: the secular substitution for religious belief. *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes* is in very many respects a culmination and refinement of Moore's examination of those unsatisfactory alternatives to Catholicism which are most apparent in the early American protagonists: economics for Ginger Coffey, literature for Brendan Tierney, and sex for Mary Dunne.

If the return to Ireland has led to no easy fictional alliance with the Church there, a theological consciousness persists in the increasingly secularized post-Vatican II minds of Moore's characters. Bernard McAuley presents, for all his obsession-derived faults, an attempt at a self-sacrificing intentness lost to the self-absorbed Irish-Americans. Bernard thus declares the distinction between the physicality of sex and metaphysical refinement of his religion of love which demonstrates the theological method at the conceptual centre of his humanistic worldview—"love is a religion whose God is fallible" (70):

> "Listen, sex isn't love. I know that. It's the opposite of love. Love, real love, is quite different from desire. It's like the love a mystic feels for God. It's worship. It's just wanting to be in your presence, that's enough, that's more than enough, it's everything there is. That's what it's been like for me since the first day I saw you." (57)

Thus, "When you fall in love with someone ... it's a sort of miracle it's almost religious. The person you love is perfect," even "as God is perfect" (76).

There are obvious contradictions here in Bernard's humanistic theology, notably between perfection and fallibility, but perhaps his evident self-pity has interfered with his rational judgment:

> "What do I care? I'm trying to save myself, not the world. I told you when I was twenty I wanted to be a saint, to save my soul, to love God, to do good. But it seems I wasn't wanted in that way. And, until now, I never knew in what way I could make some sense out of my life." (76)

Eileen Hughes becomes, then, for Bernard McAuley the object of such a "religion": "I rejected God then ... now you're my God" (158): "There, working in the shop. I've worshipped you. In silence. In devotion" (57). Morally, as well metaphysically, Eileen as object of devotion and service, represents a typology of and opportunity for sanctity: "It's funny but all those Christian things are true. Better to give than to receive. Giving love without expecting to be loved in return. Doing what will be best for the other person. Easy to see how people become saints. It's not hard, not hard at all" (152). The possibility of a second rejection is more than he can bear and his first attempted suicide, a continuity with the treatment of Camus in *The Doctor's Wife*, delineates a theological exclusiveness, the boundary territory beyond which the humanist Bernard cannot transgress, in Catholicism, "the one sin there's no forgiveness for" (157).

The London hotel where the McAuleys and Eileen Hughes have been staying is the location of Eileen's sexual encounter with the marijuana-smoking American of distinctly cowboy appearance (an uncommon tragicomic juxtaposition for Moore). Eileen, fearing Bernard's death, "thought of calling a priest." Here Bernard confronts his own exclusion from both Catholic devotion and his self-made devotion to Eileen: "A priest? ... Why a priest? I'm ... killing myself. I'm destroying the temple of the Holy Ghost. Right? Didn't you say yourself, that is a sin there's no forgiveness for?"(157). The few days in London are for Eileen Hughes a heady mix of experiences, encounters with sex and near-death, which differ markedly from early expectations on the journey from Ireland, "here she was in London, her first time across the water" (9), with the voice of false, would-be immigrant hope: "... because I've seen this, maybe I'll see all those other places too, New York and Paris, and someday maybe I'll even live someplace like this

with a job that will pay me enough to send plenty of money home to Mama" (8). It is this mother who hears on her fiftieth birthday the cockcrow call close by Ulster Linen Works which "made her think of her childhood on a farm in Donegal" (25).

The relative peace of a pre-Troubles Southern past and Eileen's London present are marked by an Ulster of sectarian, and lingering colonial, struggle:

> "... there's been no playing in the streets here in Lismore. Nothing but British Army patrols and searches and bombs and shootings and burn-outs .... It's not the boys people worry about now. It's bombs and bullets. And the people don't see each other the way they used to: the old life is gone forever, everybody stays at home, stuck up to the telly, you never go over to your neighbour's, is it any wonder there's more drink and tranquillisers than ever?" (27)

The generational theme of so many of Moore's novels allows yet again for a view of a pre-Vatican II religious as well as pre-Troubles political history. As a neighbour of Eileen's mother, Mrs. McTurk, reflects:

> "Isn't it well for them, this generation ... I mean, in your day and mine, missus dear, Irish people only went to the Continent once in a lifetime, a pilgrimage to Lourdes or Rome. And now they're off at the drop of a hat, the way it was a day excursion, only it's the Costa Brava, or some place like...." (33)

The changed, post-Vatican II theological territory of Ireland is never too distant an unconscious geography in the narrative. Still, returned to Ireland, but prior to Bernard's suicide, Mary's visit to Mona McAuley demonstrates the depth of theological memory:

> It was a wet afternoon, drizzling and dark, the sort of afternoon that would make the Garden of Eden look a misery, but when Eileen went through the gates into the driveway of Tullymore she was struck by the beautiful way the front grounds were kept up ... she knew he was here someplace and might even be watching her as she came up the drive. (198–99)

Having encountered only rejection, it is as if Bernard has in a newly post-lapsarian world absented himself from the world of his created devotion; Bernard's invisible presence is here the implied omniscience of an unseen God in an Edenic garden.

Yet, despite the unity of theme—theological transference in an Ireland which has witnessed a post-Vatican II transformation in Catholicism—the sight of the large house, which so impressed Eileen and provoked Bernard to declare his devotion, is a moment of epiphany that indicates the undercurrent of a wider intertextuality in the novel; namely the "big house" in Irish literature, and the colonial heritage ingrained so deeply in nationalist folk memory of the days of Irish Catholic oppression. Thus Bernard's secret country house in County Louth "was built in the eighteenth century by one of Cromwell's officers, some murderer paid off in Irish land" (55), a Cromwellian reference which appears early even in *Catholics.* The Anglo-Irish Betty and Derek Irwin, friends of Bernard's in London, highlight too something of the tensions and accommodations of English colonial history in Ireland, Eileen Hughes surmising they were "probably well-to-do Irish Prods," with "accents that were English but not quite." After Bernard's suicide and the funeral at Saint Patrick's, Mona McAuley also moves to London and a "big house in Chelsea," indicating similar cultural alienation and accommodation. The "big house" motif established—the mock-serious "Protestant Ascendancy" returned to mainland Britain perhaps—the subtle Daniel O'Connell "liberator" reference in the final pages of the narrative draws no political closure but, given the ongoing Troubles, evokes the aesthetics of nation and narration most fully explored by Moore in *The Mangan Inheritance. Lies of Silence,* though, deals significantly with the politicization, or at least the perceived politicization, of Catholicism in an Ireland some years from the 1998 Good Friday agreement in a Belfast which might be unrecognizable to Judith Hearne.

## *Lies of Silence* (1990)

*Lies of Silence* marks Brian Moore's fictional closure with Ireland. It is a world tired of politics and priests, a world that ends with the inevitable death of Michael Dillon; textual limit mirrored, as in so many of Moore's later fictions, in metaphysical limit. With a cultural undercurrent of theological

and political conspiracy that continues to characterize an Ireland of seemingly endless Troubles, it is this metaphysical limit which frames the text. In a post-Vatican II world which has lost its theological sense and a political world which relives its own history through the divisions of Irish landscape, the enduring colonial encounter of Catholic and Protestant is heightened by the street-by-street proximity of division. It is a violence in which the history of division is a seemingly permanent landscape of encounter, where both cultural time and cultural space prevent accommodation. Here centuries of conflict are defined by the minutiae of the spatial, where road names (Antrim, the Falls) themselves mark the sectarian divide. It is a violence of inner city Belfast which invades the ordinary, even mundane, suburbs, where in the midst of the hostage-taking at the centre of the plot, Mr. Harbinson, a retired bank manager, is seen coming out of his front door and "slipping a lead on his Airedale dog," unaware "that he was being watched by armed men in balaclava helmets" (69).

For Michael Dillon, then, the landscape is, naturally, well defined, and the self-referential nature of and intertextual portrayal of the Irish landscape heightens the tensions of the sectarian plot. The abiding but increasingly forlorn hope of exile by geographical distance is, though, seemingly thwarted by psychological entrapment:

> Dismissed from Keogh's busy, money-breathing world, Dillon stood looking out at a mountain which reared up like a stage backdrop behind the city. Long ago, in school, daydreaming, he would look out of the classroom window and imagine himself in some aeroplane being lifted over that grey pig's back mountain to places far from here, to London, New York, Paris, great cities he had seen in films and photographs, cities far away from the dull constrictions of home. Outside now, in the mezzanine bar, familiar Ulster voices were raised in a wave of chat and jokes. It was as though he were still in that long ago classroom, still daydreaming, still trapped. (114)

Even at the novel's end in London's Hampstead, a semi-rural idyll of a world away from the violence of the city of Belfast, it seems that Dillon cannot avoid the consequences of a personal history which now plays an integral part in the culture of sectarianism. Morally distanced early on in the novel from Catholic roots by adultery and planned divorce, Michael

Dillon attempts to distance himself too from the sectarianism which is perceived to identify the Church with a violent nationalism.

Reflecting on the contradictions of being kidnapped by a nominally Catholic IRA, Dillon's is a consciousness which reminisces bitterly on his own impotent part of a wider collective and collusive Catholic past as he drives to his hotel to make delivery of the bomb which is to kill the Orangeman Pottinger: "See this car on its way to kill innocent people, see my wife in a room with a gun at her head, and then ask your Cardinal if he can still say of these killers that he can see their point of view" (81). Then, as he drives through the city, he sees the cultural marks of the Protestant "other":

> ... into the roundabout at Carlisle Circus. In its centre was a stone plinth which had once supported the statue of a Protestant divine, a statue like many of the city's monuments, toppled in the war and never replaced. The white Ford came circling around behind him as he entered Clifton Street and drove past the headquarters of the Orange Order, that fount of Protestant prejudice against Catholics. Above the ugly grey stone building was a statue which had not been toppled by war or civil strife, a Dutch prince on horseback, waving a sword, staring out over the damaged city at ancient unchanging Irish hills, a statue commemorating a battle three hundred years ago in which the forces of the Protestant House of Orange defeated, on Irish soil, the forces of the papist English king. At the bottom of Clifton Street he turned right, driving along the edge of those Protestant and Catholic ghettos which were the true and lasting legacy of this British Province founded on inequality and sectarian hate. (82)

The narrative of sectarian violence thus continues to characterize the conflict of grandnarrative in Ireland and Moore makes close identification, if a little wearily, between religion and politics.

Moore shows here, though, the way in which sectarianism crosses its own self-imposed religious divide, Michael and Moira Dillon themselves being Catholic. Michael Dillon's moral dilemma is either to cooperate with the IRA and save Moira, the wife he plans to leave for another woman, or to deliver the bomb and kill and maim the innocent at the hotel he manages. The irony is that Catholic Michael Dillon is coerced into the attempted bombing of the Protestant extremist, Dr. Pottinger. Still, as for the youthful

terrorists who have taken them hostage in their own house, it is a Catholicism in name only. Just so, Michael Dillon surmises that Mr. Harbinson is "no more a religious Protestant than Dillon was a religious Catholic." Moore, at his most moralistic, thereby presents the ideals of both sides of the Northern Irish divide in pragmatic context: "Mr Harbinson would never fight a civil war to prevent Ulster becoming part of the Irish Republic, or take up arms to affirm his status as a citizen of the United Kingdom. Mr Harbinson, like ninety percent of Ulster, Catholic and Protestant, just wanted to get on with his life without any interference from men in woollen masks" (69). The revealed youthful face of the IRA foot soldier "volunteer" belies the religious dimension of the conflict, as does the religious apathy of the majority caught within the sway of sectarianism. Still, for all its nominalism (something which Sheila Redden admits of herself partaking in *The Doctor's Wife*), it is a secularized political faith in which religious difference between Protestant and Catholic becomes heightened through a geography of terror where sectarianism defines territory.

The inner city's invasion of the suburbs indicates too both a narrative necessity (it is where Michael Dillon, the hotel manager, fittingly lives) and the economic nature of the divide and its perpetuation. That Protestant-Catholic identity is one amongst many means for expressing this territory of ideological conflict, and class struggle another expression of the same divide, has been noted in the context of Moore's early Irish novels. Considering the geographical economics of sectarian division in the history of Northern Ireland as in *Lies of Silence*—the troubled, working class, inner city Belfast and seemingly more peaceful middle class Belfast suburbs—one is reminded of Kevin Redden's comments that "It's all economics, it's not patriotism" (57). That Kevin Redden was lucky to get a post at a Protestant teaching hospital adds a ring of truth to this. Indeed, the "lies of silence" passage at the heart of Moore's final Irish novel correlates religion and poverty as endemic to a sectarianism in an Ulster where Catholicism is otherwise a spent force (as might also be Protestantism), especially as regards its influence on a liberal, middle-class, if not also working-class, populace.

The narrative portrayal of Catholicism in *Lies of Silence* is thus of a grandnarrative at its most violent and most indifferent, a violent indifference which is the key to the narrative's title. Almost as a motif of the

inconsequentiality of extremism, Mr. Harbinson, insignificant to both the novel and its wider points of religious and political reference (narrative plot and grandnarrative history), provokes Michael Dillon's anti-sectarian diatribe:

> ... Dillon felt an anger rise within him, anger at the lies which had made this, his and Mr Harbinson's birthplace, sick with a terminal illness of bigotry and injustice, lies told over the years to poor Protestant working people about the Catholics, lies told to poor Catholic working people about the Protestants, lies from politics and parliaments, lies at rallies and funeral orations, and, above all, the lies of silence from those in Westminster who did not want to face the injustice of Ulster's status quo. (69–70)

This is a Catholicism which (post-Vatican II and post-Troubles) has, in Belfast at least, been both liberalized, and thereby weakened, and politicized, and thereby made more powerful. Thus there are no genuinely religious Catholics in *Lies of Silence*. The priest, "wee Father Connolly," epitomizes Catholicism's entrenched sectarian politicization just as Michael Dillon, together with his lover and his wife, epitomize its moral liberalization. It is as if the authority of the late-twentieth-century Catholic Church in Ireland overrides, but only residually and through political fanaticism, the loss of an authority which has been eroding by attrition from both pre-Vatican II and pre-Troubles days.

It is, however, an accommodation which matches the weakening of the authority of the republican extremists too. After his daughter has been released and decided to speak out against the IRA, Moira Dillon's father comments that "if Catholics are calling for 'Brits outs' they should also call for 'IRA out' " (173). Her father then reflects on this wider political decline in post-Free State and post-1937 Constitution Ireland:

> "My daughter! My daughter! Sittin' in her house with the IRA pointin' a gun at her head. Before the war, when I was a wee boy, if anyone had told me that, I'd have said you're daft. I mean, back then the IRA was finished, a bunch of dodos that nobody heeded anymore. Sure, we had the same Troubles in those days, a Catholic would never get a job if there was a Protestant up for it. But then the war came and there was more jobs and I used to think all that bigotry's dyin' out and after the war things will get

> better. But they didn't. And then in the sixties the civil rights marches started and it was on the telly an' the whole world saw the prods beatin' us up and the police helpin' them. Now that the outside world sees what's goin' on here, things will get better. But they got worse. And you know the rest." (173)

It is not Moira, though, but Michael Dillon who marks the continuing failure of conflict resolution. Initially rejecting the pleas of Father Connolly (the uncle of one of the momentarily unmasked terrorists) that Michael should not identify his nephew, the recanting of this stance comes too late, and the assassin's bullet reaches Michael Dillon even in his London hideout. Dillon, like the priest, remains embroiled in the sectarian complicity earlier so despised.

Commentators have rightly criticized *Lies of Silence* for Moore's treatment of conflict in Northern Ireland as over-simplistic in its bald statement of sectarian oppositions.[38] It does indeed lack the sophisticated portrayal of *The Doctor's Wife* where Sheila's Redden's unconscious provides a more convincing sense of historical struggle and present tragedy. It lacks too the subtle presentation of the history of a culture in conflict as political and aesthetic as observable in *The Mangan Inheritance*. The thriller mode may account for, but not excuse, Moore's easy statement of sectarian encounter but what takes the volume beyond the limitations of its form is its metaphysical conclusion. Michael Dillon's death is both a simple twist of a thriller plot and a more fundamental literary-theological *aporia*, no less than the silence of God which greeted the abbot at the end of *Catholics*, the novella which began Moore's re-visitation of Ireland. In an increasingly doubt-ridden Catholic world faced with the effects of globalization, its theology in turmoil at the interface of conflicting ideologies, where even Catholic history is read in the light of a post-Vatican II theology, it is a silence of God which increasingly permeates much of Moore's final works of fiction.

## Chapter 5

# North America Revisited: Post-Vatican II and Postcolonial Perspectives

**(*The Great Victorian Collection*, 1974; *Cold Heaven*, 1983; *Black Robe*, 1985)**

### Introduction

As *Catholics* was the beginning of a period of writing in which Moore's reappraisal of Catholicism coincided with a fictional return to the landscape of Ireland (the beginning of a period concluding with *Lies of Silence*), *The Great Victorian Collection* marks Moore's parallel literary treatment of North America, brought largely to geographical, ideological, and theological closure by *Black Robe*. In this chapter, I trace the textual shift away from the largely hegemonic secularity of Moore's early North American fictions to a greater cultural, and especially religious, heterogeneity in his later North American novels. Such heterogeneity is greatly enhanced by the adoption of an historical perspective in which contemporary issues, especially those of religious and political import, are brought into heightened focus. To this end, I argue that Moore's later American works highlight an increasing convergence of ideology and theology; and that after Vatican II Moore's literary theology increasingly finds an ideological context within a postcolonial perspective.[1]

Moore's Irish fictions, especially the early works, have often contained marginal references to the colonial context of Catholicism in Ireland.[2] Later Irish fictions (as in the futuristic *Catholics*) contain by contrast a possibly postcolonial context within which to read Irish Catholicism. This contextualizing of the theological within the history of imperialism is retained in Moore's early and later American fictions, and most forcefully in the author's last works. The term "postcolonial" is adopted here since Moore's

portrayal of Catholicism retains a continuing relationship to imperialism and various historical states of coloniality and postcoloniality.[3] The colonial context of some novels is more central, explicit, and obvious than others. If there has, to date, been some exploration of Moore's treatment of "spiritual colonialism"[4] and use of history in these settings,[5] such literary criticism has not examined how Moore's portrayal of Catholic colonial history might be affected by a postcolonial (and indeed, however anachronistically) post-Vatican II perspective.

In short, Moore's later American novels present an authorial perspective which is advantaged by a particular view of theological and ideological history. We see this tension between the contemporary and the historical exhibited throughout the later North American novels: in the modern setting of California of *The Great Victorian Collection* with its British Empire sub-text; in the historical (Spanish colonial) background to the Catholic Church in the contemporary California of *Cold Heaven*; and in Moore's supposedly historical account of French Catholic imperialism and Christianizing missions in early colonial Quebec. The focus on Moore's final three American fictions (*The Great Victorian Collection, Cold Heaven,* and *Black Robe*) shows a literary convergence of postcolonial and post-Vatican II perspectives in Moore's novels; a matter particularly illustrative of the author's ever-prominent (and ever diverse) treatment of theology and metaphysics in the light of ideology.

There is something worth noting here about the distinction in postcolonial theory and criticism between postcoloniality, as historical and political state of the postcolonial, and postcolonialism, the theory of postcoloniality within and beyond the academy. The present emphasis is on Moore's use of the historical states of postcoloniality—Moore is not elaborating any theoretical construct even if his fictions borrow from ideological and theological perspectives to enhance the representation of the historical moment. Thus, an emerging assumption within the field is that a distinction also needs to be made between postcolonial theory, as cultural commentary on power imbalances between the colonized and colonizer, and postcolonial criticism, as the more (actively) political and engaged involvement in overcoming such power imbalances. This is perhaps best illustrated by distinguishing between seminal texts, say, between the postcolonial criticism of Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* and the postcolonial theory of Said's *Orientalism*. Both centre their concerns around power

imbalances and the oppressive use of such power for domination – territorial gain, cultural and political imperialism—but the two have differences of emphasis and approach. It is possible here to postulate a scale dependent upon the emphasis placed upon either an "engaged" stance or a more "detached" position. Such a scale might be described as ranging from a politically engaged anti-colonial/imperial nationalism (postcolonial criticism) to transnational cultural commentary (postcolonial theory). If we again compare Fanon and Said, it is the difference between the postcolonial *criticism* of Fanon's anti-imperialist, revolutionary stance against colonialism in *The Wretched of the Earth* and the postcolonial theory of Said's (trans-national) cultural analysis of *Orientalism,* further exemplified, even typified by *Culture and Imperialism.*[6] Moore's fictions remain representations of postcoloniality in theological context rather than ideological appropriations for historical transformation.

In the context of the literary influence of Vatican II Catholicism on Moore's fiction and the author's portrayal of this, three key areas are of most relevance for our present discussion. First, as we have seen, the Church redefined itself as an institution from a hierarchical to a more egalitarian (if as yet far from democratic) ecclesiology, from a "Church militant" to the "People of God." The key document here is *Lumen Gentium.*[7] Second, *Lumen Gentium* illustrates too another development, that is, a radical redefinition of soteriology. Essentially the shift from "no salvation outside the Church" to a universal model of salvation could not be more marked.[8] Here, the Church recognized the possibility of salvation for those outside the Church, a doctrine incorporating ecumenism in *Unitatis Redintegratio,* and, in *Nostra Aetate,* the possibility of salvation through the religious "others" of Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Islam,[9] and even atheism in *Lumen Gentium.*[10] Third, despite a history of social teaching which predates the Second Vatican Council, the Church demonstrated a growing awareness that the Vatican I separation of the Church from the world prevented a full involvement with issues of social, economic, and political import.[11] *Gaudium et Spes* is generally recognized as the document which most fully exemplifies this new spirit of active socio-economic engagement and Christian responsibility.[12] The latter, for instance, is accredited, particularly since the Medellín Conference, with the development in liberation theology of conjoining a "people of God" ecclesiology with a pastoral theology of social justice, already hinted at in

Moore's earliest portrayal of liberation theology in *Catholics*, and to be more fully developed in *The Colour of Blood* and *No Other Life*.

It is this alignment with the poor against injustice and oppression in which resides a potential degree of commonality in approach and ideological orientation between post-Vatican II theology and postcolonialism. Indeed, it is liberation theology (or, more correctly, theologies of liberation) which most closely reflect this convergence of postcolonial and post-Vatican II perspectives. That liberation theology and postcolonialism share varying degrees of emphasis on Marxist analysis is a highly contested point of such theological/ideological reference. Nevertheless, their shared stance against economic inequalities and exploitation presents a common front in terms of achieving social-structural transformation—even if perceptions of such shared goals have led to an overstated identification of Marxist ideology with Catholic theology.[13] Such identification is inevitably reinforced when the analysis of oppression is rooted in the history of the colonial—and especially where liberation is defined through its postcoloniality.[14]

With a key emphasis upon the historical context of salvation, such theological/ideological analyses naturally lead to an examination of the structural roots of injustice in an historical as well as a contemporary context.[15] In many theological communities, often but not exclusively in former colonies, the re-examination of biblical scholarship in postcolonial contexts led not simply to an analysis of the historical roots of present-day inequalities but to a re-examination of texts central to Christianity itself.[16] The historical irony here, of course, is that in so many colonial histories, the imperialism of economic and political might was vouchsafed by theology, a dual expression of material power and supposed cultural superiority, with colonization often accompanying and consolidating missionary conquests.[17] Moore's later novels portray these often unresolved perspectives on political and theological history through narratives in which Catholicism variously displays an ambivalent historical relationship with colonialism: identified on the one hand with imperial power through missionary activity (subtly in *The Great Victorian Collection* and more explicitly in *Black Robe*) and on the other with its postcolonial subversion—especially through theologies which identify with the marginalized and the oppressed (as in, if indirectly, *Cold Heaven*).

As a way of approaching Moore's final works, specifically here the later North American novels, I suggest that post-Vatican II theology and

postcolonialism (theory and criticism) share a common stance on a number of grounds, and I identify three: an emphasis on historical perspective in the analysis of social-structural inequality; an identity with the marginalized and oppressed "other"; and a radical, social interpretation of texts. Thus, in identifying the historicity of oppression, certain notable instances of post-Vatican II theology and postcolonialism provide ideological and theological focus on (and give voice to) the marginalized "other," and provide for religious and ideological readings of texts as either economically and politically transformative or inherently conservative. Thus, where the foundational writings of liberation theology and postcolonialism provide a shared reading of texts as either upholding the colonial or subverting the imperial, Moore's final novels are themselves party to a re-examination of political and theological history in literary terms, a process which in these later American novels is evident in seminal form within *The Great Victorian Collection.*

## *The Great Victorian Collection* (1976)

Having arrived to investigate "an anonymous complaint that a fairground was being set up illegally" in the parking lot of a Carmel motel, Lieutenant Henry Polita of the Salinas County Sheriff's office asks Anthony Maloney if he is a Catholic. Maloney answers, "No." Asked what he meant, Lieutenant Polita replies, "I mean this is a miracle, isn't it?" (29), thus greeting with mocking skepticism Maloney's "dream" of the "Great Victorian Collection": a reconstituted Victoria and Albert Museum in the midst of Carmel, California. This is a world from which the formal marks of religious practice and belief have disappeared.

A young history professor from McGill University, Montreal, Maloney is thus delayed on his first trip for an academic seminar at Berkeley. Montreal, Quebec, remains still a contested land in tension with English-speaking Canada, and thereby torn by a double colonial identity, tying Quebec to France and more indirectly to England.[18] From one contested land – French Canada in tension with the Old World and the New – to California, a model of cultural flux, Maloney exchanges interwoven sets of seemingly unstable cultural signifiers (English-speaking French-Canadian) for another, "his first trip to the West Coast" (3) to explore the Big Sur region where

"one could hardly fail to be appalled by the values evidenced in this place" (4). The dream of the Victorian Collection derives from a period which was the area of his doctoral thesis, "A Study of the Effects of Gaining a Colonial Empire on the Mores of Victorian England as Exemplified by the Art and Architecture of the Period" and is essentially a reconstruction of artefacts and scenes he might have observed when "in connection with his thesis he had journeyed to England to visit museums and libraries to look at various public buildings" (5). A specially marked influence was that of the Great Exhibition of 1851.[19]

Maloney's dream is a reconstruction of a world he had only known indirectly, through his thesis and through visits to London. It is re-creation which is highlighted, though, by differences in both culture (the artefacts of the Collection) and the landscapes which are integral to it. A shed thus contained "an exhibition of oils and watercolours by Victorian Royal Academicians: landscapes, stormy seascapes, portraits, illustrations from the novels of the day" (26). This encounter of physical landscape and ideological grandnarrative—Maloney's dream of Empire and in the land of the American Dream—is heightened when Maloney meets Vaterman, the *Monterey Courier* and local *New York Times* correspondent. Momentarily leaving the journalist as he observes the paintings, Maloney is reminded "that in the time of the old Queen, something like this Collection would first have been announced to the world in a series of artist's drawings in *The Illustrated London News* as a marvel, a far-off miracle, to be accepted by most of the population as yet another wonder. But, today, in this age of instant distrust, who would believe it?" (26). The need to translate the dream of the Collection into a credible story for *The New York Times* becomes crucial for Maloney; but the landscape as much as the culture of America threatens the dream and its potential plausibility: "he looked at the Victorian paintings, alien and vulnerable under this metal American sun" (27). This is a New World which is historically, theologically and ideologically a world away from the Old World of Empire, a world in which the denial of religion is easy, undertaken by Maloney without qualm. Yet *The Great Victorian Collection*, for all its apparent conscious neglect of the religious, provides a major subtext for the portrayal of Catholicism which will form the basis (at least indirectly) for Moore's later fictions, even if it is seemingly marginalized to the terse exchange between Maloney and Polita.

The Victorian Collection thus persists as a shared reality for Maloney and those who subsequently flood to see the Collection—and indeed for those who flood to see the replica of the Collection, reproduced supposedly for its own protection as the Great Victorian Village. Collectively, Maloney's dream and its reproduction in the Victorian Village are models of the degeneration and decline of religious culture which were the marks of the cultural, economic and political growth of Empire as much as it was of the Enlightenment.[20]

Yet the zenith of post-Enlightenment European empire building, in Moore's novel represented by Maloney's dream, was one in which religion was both adjunct of imperialism and increasingly relegated to a privatized region on the margins of culture.[21] Maloney's dream represents the metaphysical skepticism of a post-Enlightenment world where the theological and ideological constructs of empire building have seemingly disappeared. Thus the rationalism of the academic establishment—here the American Professor Clews and the British establishment figure of Sir Alfred Mannings—is key to asserting the Collection's authenticity or otherwise. The opinions of Clews and Manning thus lead to the *Monterey Courier* headline: "BRITISH, AMERICAN EXPERTS CONCUR: CARMEL 'DREAM' COLLECTION IS A FAKE: Yale Professor hints at scheme to defraud would-be collectors" (60). By contrast with this post-Enlightenment rationalism, the religious witness in the novel becomes a "madman, lips moving in a silent babble" with his own banner "headlines": "GOD ALONE CAN CREATE: *Do not believe this lie*" (72). Academic and rationalistic credence is provided by Lord Rennishawe, "Hellenist of stature" and "proprietor of Creechmore Castle in Wales, a repository of Victorian treasures which Maloney had visited" (113); and this credibility is also sought through the "scientific" mediation of Dr. Spector of Vanderbilt University, the parapsychology researcher who charts Maloney's final inability to maintain both the dream and his own sanity.

If early on the most frequent request made by visitors was to be shown the room in which "the original dream had taken place" (199), they soon become content with its subsequent imitation, and if the second most frequent request of visitors was to see the dreamer himself, Maloney deteriorates "to the point that the tour guides, if they saw him approach, would turn their groups into another aisle" (210). Six months after the original dream and its

reproduction, the place of both—in the physical and ideological setting of the American landscape—demonstrate near-total assimilation into the foundational ideals of American society, an integration emphasized by the Collection's place alongside the cultural icons of the American Dream:

> … a traveller on the highways of California approaching Los Angeles, San Francisco, the gambling cities of the desert, or remote national monuments such as Joshua Tree or Death Valley, could not fail to see a sign, positioned at fifty mile intervals. Beneath a simplified drawing of the south portico of the Crystal Palace was the legend:
>
> VISIT CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
> *Home of*
> THE GREAT VICTORIAN COLLECTION (199)

The Victorian Village becomes then a consumerist reconstruction of Victorian culture and Victorian imperialism:

> There were … two large family restaurants, the General Gordon and the Gladstone; a food market named Covent Garden; and a number of shops, including the Olde Curiosity Shoppe, the Florence Nightingale Tea Room, Oscar Wilde Way Out (a men's-wear boutique), and, finally, a large warehouse supermarket filled with cheap reproductions of Victoriana and misleadingly named the Great Victorian Collection. The whole was fronted by an altered scale reproduction roughly corresponding to the south portico of the Crystal Palace. (201)

Maloney's dream, by means of this Victorian Village, is thus marketed and packaged for the American dream, becoming indeed indistinguishable from it, many visitors actually believing "that the warehouse supermarket *was* the great Victorian Collection" (196).

The dream, however, survives Maloney's continued psychological deterioration and final suicide. Dr. Spector's article, "Psychokinetic Elements in the Manifestation of Dreams: The Carmel Experiments," including excerpts from Maloney's journal, provides closure for the novel, and yet the substance of the Collection itself, which – perhaps with the ideological trace of

empire—survives Maloney's death: "... in Dr Clew's opinion had suffered some deterioration since he had last examined it, probably as a result of having stood for more than a year in a semi-outdoors, subtropical location. But it was, essentially, intact" (212). In more optimistic times earlier in the novel, though, threatened with the loss of and then actually fired from his post in Montreal, Maloney's megalomania knew few bounds.

Prompted into another dream, that of being both campus hero and finally vindicated academic genius (there's a touch of Brendan Tierney here), the defence at McGill is coordinated by a former history colleague, John Palliser (117–20). Maloney's excited self-reflection after the phone call from his friend is that he is "a historian who was witness to that moment in history when a man's dream literally came true" (120). His reflection demonstrates the centrality of the novel's theme of "the Victorian era as a factor in modern man's historical consciousness," an "extension of my PhD thesis ... I'd be an outstanding lecturer, unique in my field" (120). If Maloney does predate the development of postcolonial theory by a decade or two, *The Great Victorian Collection* establishes an amount of groundwork for themes in which theology and imperialism will begin to surface more explicitly in Moore's later American fictions through to his final works, and most obviously in *The Magician's Wife*.

## *Cold Heaven* (1983)

In ways which prefigure *Black Robe*, *Cold Heaven*—Moore's penultimate North American fiction—presents the roots of Catholicism within the historical context of Church mission and early colonial enterprise, here late-seventeenth-century Spanish imperialism.[22] *Cold Heaven*'s focus on the embodiment of faith and skepticism—and tension between the two—in the character of Marie Davenport is part therefore of a wider historical encounter between a liberalized post-Vatican II faith in contemporary America with a colonial and counter-Reformation Catholicism which was its historical predecessor. Indeed, the indigenous population marginalized by the process of imperial and theological expansion provide signals not only of a pre-colonial Catholic inheritance but a continued postcolonial religious presence. Moore's novels reflect this post-Vatican II Catholic global pluralism. *Cold Heaven* signals the development of this process.

Beginning with her husband's "resurrection" following his "death" in the boating accident (in a French location which opens the novel) Marie Davenport's experience of the numinous is centred around the geography of the Monterey Coast, not far from where Anthony Maloney had his own visionary encounters in *The Great Victorian Collection.* Her contemporary visionary experience, though, achieves historical depth by Moore's theological contextualization. Catholic theology and Catholic theological history thus provide at least the potential for a fuller epistemological grounding than Maloney's finally inexplicable dream. The following passage therefore serves crucially not simply as a meta-text for the reading of Marie Davenport's experiences but as a wider history of ideological and theological grandnarrative of which her experiences form a part, pointing to encounters of old and new worlds, Catholicism and imperialism:

> **Our Lady of Monterey**
>
> On an expedition to the Monterey Peninsula in 1780, the Archbishop of Merida sent this statue in care of the Franciscan monks to be conquistadora of this new land. On arrival the monks placed it in a temporary altar and later installed it in the mission in this place.
>
> In 1799 Captain Portillo gave the statue a silver crown in thanks for the miraculous relief of his vessels when they were almost shipwrecked on the cliffs near this chapel. An invocation to our Lady of Monterey produced a sudden, total calming of the elements for several minutes during which the vessels were enabled to come about and the crews and vessels were saved.
>
> When the mission was abandoned after secularization, the statue was cared for by local Indians in their homes. After the Sisters of Mary Immaculate established their convent here in 1921, the statue was found in the home of one of the surviving Indian families. It was restored to its original chapel in 1937. (64)

It is, of course, a Catholic grandnarrative from which Marie Davenport has consciously excluded herself, like so many of her predecessors in Moore's early American works: "Her mother who was only nominally a Catholic, had placed Marie as a day pupil in convent school.... She knew almost nothing about the Catholic faith and at once got in trouble with the nuns

.... Her father had not let her change schools even though he was not a Catholic" (21). Indeed "Marie had never known this religion into which she had been baptized. That was the irony, that was the mystery" (53). Montreal-born-and-bred, she is a French-Canadian who has forgotten her historical and cultural identity; she "was alone in a foreign country," had "learned French in a school in Montreal," and "knew nothing of France" (16). Where these former faithless North Americans (Ginger Coffey, Brendan Tierney, Mary Dunne, and Fergus) retain Catholicism as a continuing, if unconscious, grammar of their emotions, and where Anthony Maloney's experiences represent all the elements of the miraculous without the conceptual content, Marie Davenport is a unique North American Moore character. Her encounter with the numinous is explicitly of a religious character and is so very precisely defined in terms of her Marian visions in the same region where the original late-seventeenth-century vision of Mary had appeared.

It is the anniversary of Marie Davenport's vision while Marie is on holiday with her husband Alex. The nominal comparison between Marie and the Virgin Mary presents some ironic distance between the original appearance and devotional reception of the vision of "Our Lady of Monterey" and Marie Davenport's own Marian vision, which in its latter-day appearance meets with denial rather than religious affirmation. Alex's "resurrection" throws in an eschatological dimension to the plot, a preoccupation with the metaphysics of death not uncommon in Moore's fiction, especially his later work. Add Marie's guilt at her visionary denial, combined with her sexual infidelity, and we have a clear portrayal of classical Roman Catholic eschatology of the "last things": death, judgment, heaven, and hell.[23] The novel's title derives from Yeats's "The Cold Heaven," heightening a literary context for this eschatology which is matched by a scriptural intertextuality deriving from the New Testament story of Lazarus.[24]

There are, however, wider frames of cultural and geographical reference in the narrative beyond the eschatological. If one of Catholicism's distinctive features is the devotional as well as theological pre-eminence of Mary as the Mother of Jesus, the sightings of the Marian visions on the Californian coastline present here a sacralized American landscape in which religious skepticism seems ill-conceived. In this variant of faithful fictions—skepticism struggling against faith rather than the obverse—landscape is central to the definition of events. Thus Mary's sighting of lightning striking the rock

late in the novel is epiphanic, reiterating the sustained, trans-historical pre-eminence of the environment on the sacramental. More impressive than her first vision, this latter experience of the numinous literally transforms the physical landscape itself: a cruciform shape appears on the rock.

Indeed, the transcontinental theme of mysticism and transformative spiritual experience is highlighted in a powerful array of references to and accounts of the numinous in Catholic devotional history, from the simplest of uneducated piety—Bernadette Soubirous and the children of Beauraing (111) to "Doctors" of the Church—St. John of the Cross, Teresa of Avila, and Teresa of Lisieux (198–99). For all her apparent ignorance Marie Davenport is surprisingly knowledgeable about salvation history: "Bernadette Soubirous, the children of Beauraing, the shepherd at Guadaloupe; they had been disbelieved when they first told their stories. All had returned to the scene to be given some further sign, to convince the doubting priests. The priests always doubted: it was part of the pattern" (111). Marie Davenport's visionary experience, uninvited and unwelcome, provides a metatext for the novel's portrayal of a Catholicism otherwise degraded by petty institutionalization and post-Vatican II liberalization:

> And then I felt something strange .... It was a sort of silence, as if the sea wasn't moving, as though everything was still. Then the branches of the cypresses rustled and shook and someone came through the trees below me. It was a young girl: she couldn't have been more than sixteen. It was a cloudy day, did I say that? There was no sun at all. And yet she was surrounded by a little golden path of light. (111)

This is a repetition of her original vision. For Marie, however, it is the odd theatricality of the moment that she perceives, not the "halo" suggested by Monsignor Cassidy. For her, it was "more like a stage light," that it was "phony-looking." Still, the religious language of the vision provides its Christian contextualization: "Marie, I am your Mother ... the Virgin Immaculate" (105).

As for other of Moore's skeptics, religious ritual is a theatrical pageant.[25] When Alex is later resuscitated it is this which creates the contradictions of belief and skepticism: she pleads to God for Alex's life "as if she believed" but when he *is* revived she is uncertain of the cause of his improved condition.

Her own experience of denial thus originally marks the injury while her momentary (if simply petitionary) faith seems to mark his apparent cure. Both are linked to the events of contemporary and historical experiences of the numinous, the tensions again always marked in Marie Davenport's mind between the material falsity of religious practice and the power of genuine divine intervention:

> Into her mind came the stupid doll face of the statue she had seen in the chapel of the Sisters of Mary Immaculate. The words of the printed notice beneath the statue filled her ears as though someone spoke them aloud. *An invocation to Our Lady of Monterey produced a sudden, total calming of the elements for several minutes during which the vessels were enabled to come about and the crews and vessels were saved.* Invocation or medical treatment? She was again in the pit of the question. (116)

Marie's final position is a denial of the numinous and its institutionalization in the Church, but evidently not its possibility.

Marie Davenport, though, fundamentally rejects the place of religion as a source of cultural identity. In San Francisco with her lover, she hears a chorus of voices sing an Irish ballad in "a New York Irish sort of pub" with photographs of Dublin streets, the lyrics of nationalist violence—"With drums and guns and guns and drums/The enemy nearly slew ye"—disavowed too by Daniel "shaking his head at a young woman who had come by with a tray and a notebook, asking for contributions for some Irish cause" (127–28). It is Marie who parallels the economic exploitation for the "Irish cause" with a "false black nun" collecting in the name of a Church to which she did not belong (130). Paranoid though she is, and perhaps not unreasonably so, Marie associates the collecting nun with the inevitable quest to build a shrine and to make the place of her vision a place of pilgrimage. Forced into a visionary state over which she has no control, the possibility of a future reconstruction of the scene is not unlike that fate suffered by Anthony Maloney. Marie later fears that she would be "vouchsafed a second vision, and this time, perhaps, there would be witnesses to testify that the Virgin had spoken to her, commanding her to tell the priests to make this place a place of pilgrimage" (191). When Sister Anna effectively takes over the vision, this is precisely the form of the divine plan, the

prediction that, "people will come," that "this will be a place of reverence" (233). The likely commemoration of the site of the numinous makes an intractable link between experience and its spatial determination, coordinates which are as geographical as they are spiritual. Marie, the modern and skeptical prophet, unwilling but chosen by God, is likened by Father Niles to Saul of Tarsus (145), an analogy which forever links the numinous to the geography of a first-century Palestine, just as subsequent events in Christian history continue to mark the numinous of the personal within the specifics of otherwise unremarkable history and unsuspecting cultural geography: "There had been no special reason for choosing them; the simple Indian shepherd; the half-starved French peasant girl rooting around a riverbank for scraps of food; the illiterate Italian children; the pious postulant in the Paris chapel. And now me, the unbelieving adulteress" (140).

Marie's sexual history of course is no particular bar to Christian, even privileged, discipleship. In fact, the novel links sexual and visionary experience (Marie experiencing her first numinous experience after an early sexual encounter with Daniel) as it also links the mental uncertainties of Marie's experience—sexual and soteriological—with the search for divine purpose, a divine teleology with insanity; "Isn't this the way mad people think; they see a purpose in things, a plot, a scheme that doesn't exist?" (173). The religious parallels with the social and psychological marginality in Church history are, however, recognized by Father Niles, and he attempts the vain with the more cautious Monsignor between the place of Carmel and the religious history of the order which founded it:

> "Well, first of all it was Carmelite friars who landed here in 1602 and named this place, the Bay of Carmel. And then the Carmelite Order, as you know, is the Order which is linked to the tradition of mysticism and the great mystic saints, St Teresa and St John of the Cross. And then, in modern times, Saint Therese of Lisieux, was of course, a Carmelite nun." (214)

It is, nevertheless, a history which in the post-Vatican II era sees a newly liberalized American Church—Monsignor Cassidy, "God's Golfer" (111), and Father Niles, "watching as a pass was dropped on the twenty-five yard line" (136). It is a Catholic world which has alienated itself from the sacred, a sense of the sacred which Father Niles tries to recapture and which simply

puzzles the Monsignor: "The miracle lady. Funny thing, the way Ned can't let go of that story. Come to think of it, he's more like a newspaperman than a priest, nowadays" (136). It is a matter of further puzzlement to the Monsignor that Ned's bishop had given permission and funds for Ned's present occupation. Times have changed, "Imagine a bishop going for a program of that sort" (136).

Marie's view of the Church is inherited as much from her pre-Vatican II convent education and in the Church of Saint Benedict Labre, "the bright polish of institutional poverty," where she meets Father Niles, "as though her inquisition had begun," the obvious links to a more sinister Catholic past (141). When Father Niles elaborates the New Testament precedent for her experience with the Saul of Tarsus analogy, she declaims, "That was just those Bible stories, they're like fairy tales, long ago, we can't check on them" (145). If the Catholic Church recognizes one divine source for revelation and two "channels" for its transmission, the revelation of scripture and tradition,[26] Marie Davenport's skepticism is certain in its rejection of both. Her lack of Catholicity is, however, no bar to Father Niles's enthusiasm when he cites that the Virgin had appeared to Alphonse Ratisbonne in 1842, "He wasn't a believer. In fact, he was an Alsatian Jew" (141).

There is a distinction between the realities of Church life and the transcendent mysticism which forms part of Catholic Christian history, persisting in the youthful idealism of Father Ned Niles and the level-headed faith of Monsignor Barney Cassidy, the challenge being set by Marie Davenport when she wonders if "in religion we haven't become too practical" (187). In the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception too the parallels between the institutional and the devotional also become apparent. Mother Paul, the head of the convent, who took the name of her visionary male ancestor, while portrayed sympathetically, is no match for the practical wisdom of the Monsignor. The effusive, would-be visionary Sister Anna has all the enthusiasm and excess of piety of Father Niles, the latter pair kneeling together at the site of Marie's vision, on Sister Anna's face a look of "indescribable adoration" (231). The reader is uncertain whether to believe Sister Anna's testimony that the Virgin had added words not conveyed to Marie: "People will come. This will be a place of reverence" (233). The expected shift between the experience of the numinous and the institutionalization of the place parallels the events of Lourdes which lost

Abbot O'Malley his faith in *Catholics*, but Monsignor Cassidy's skepticism is in line with a more practical outlook: "We're not starting up a building fund, not by a long shot" (231).

Monsignor Cassidy's level-headedness, a sign of the "modern" Church, is contrasted by Marie's experience of the divine manifested as a sort of re-imposed inquisition, a more troubled history by which she still feels marked—"Signs, miracles, solicitings. This is force. I am being punished":

> "Mrs Davenport, you still have the right to refuse. It's basic to Christian theology that man is free to say no to God. Miracles and miraculous appearances are only signs which solicit belief. That's all they are. Remember, the Church doesn't require anyone to believe in miracles." (159)

It allows the Monsignor finally to absolve Marie of her responsibility or even mention her in his inevitable report to the bishop: "Remember if you say you saw nothing, nobody can prove otherwise. Except God, of course. And I think God has let you go. I think you're right. It's Sister Anna's vision now" (235). Marie returns to her secular life, the devotion of her love for Daniel, as it was in the beginning of the novel, free from the imposition of the sacred upon the secularity of her affair and the ending of her marriage. Mother Paul allows Marie to recognize the sincerity of Marie Davenport beneath her skeptical protestations, this politely spoken girl who reputedly "hates religion and all that it stands for"—her face, though, that "of a nun as it might be depicted in a religious painting: pale, beautiful, suffering—a holy face" (189). In this respect, the closest figure to Marie is Mother St. Jude, "the old and holy nun," in whom Marie recognizes the look "of love mixed with reverence, a look she had never known from any other human being ... mysteriously, her fear of this place and these people was subsumed in a larger feeling, a feeling of peace" (197).

Marie's position at the end of the novel is characterized by the exercise of free will, by her right not to believe. In the final analysis, Marie is determined not to accept the transformative burden of faith. It is, however, Monsignor Cassidy, the voice of the novel's theological reason and the epitome of the modern rather than the mystical Church, who reminds Marie of the reality of the divine: "Remember, the Church doesn't want you to do anything you don't want to do. But perhaps Our Lady does. That's something

else" (160). The distinction between the sacred and its day-to-day institution is finally left unresolved, a mark of continuing tension between Church and individual believers.

For Monsignor Cassidy, in this lack of resolution, the final mystery of the divine ("No wonder they call it blind faith"), transcendent and immanent, means "Faith is a form of stupidity" (221). A religious reading of the world, as indeed a religious reading of the novel, allows the natural world in which the events of the miraculous and visionary occur to remain open to interpretation. Here the natural and supernatural seemingly interchange according to the standpoint or worldview of the observer. And so for Marie, at the physical site (and sight) of her Marian vision:

> ... within seconds, the darkness lifted. All was still. She waited. There was nothing supernatural here. It was, again, a normal cloudy afternoon. This was a cliff on the coast of California, a meeting of land and water, the natural confrontation of elements in a serene, familiar world. She turned away, continuing to walk along the cliff path towards the convent, when, beneath her, there started a familiar trembling, as though the ground were shaken by an explosion. Within seconds, it passed. She had felt this before in the years she lived in California. It was an earthquake tremor, a minor movement on the Richter scale. She turned, looked out to sea again, then down at the cliff below, looked and shocked, looked again. The great shelf of rock had cracked. A thin straight line ran down its entire length, a fissure less than six inches wide, intersected by a second narrow fissure, also straight, the whole forming a great cross that ran the length and breadth of the rock she looked back to the spot where the twisted trees guarded the cavelike place. But all was normal. Gulls wheeled in from the ocean, crying like banshees. She looked again at the great cruciform design, an accident of nature, caused by earthquake, by a fault in the earth's crust. (175–76)

This is the world which hearkens back to Kinsella at the end of Part I of *Catholics*, standing at the symbolic cross of roads in a natural environment signalling the absence of the divine where people once saw the hand of God. Yet here the unbeliever Marie Davenport is "in a world where nature is no longer natural": "Why was there an earthquake at the very moment I

walked away from the cliff? Why did it split the rock into the shape of a crucifix?" (178–79). It is a world which retains the signs of divinity but where for Marie, too, "God was absent" (190)—but through choice, through the exercise of her "right not to believe" (233). With the "strange theatrical light to glow beneath the cavelike entrance" (reminiscent of Christ's resurrection as much as that of Lazarus) interspersed with her husband's funerary shrouds, *Cold Heaven* still reiterates the intertextual reference to the Gospel of John from which the story of Lazarus is taken, "*I am the resurrection and the life*" (205).

Locale remains ever-important here as a reminder of the universal within the particularity of culture, history, and place. To the pious Father Niles, Carmel, "a lovely spot," would make "a natural place for a pilgrimage" (214). And in addition to her comment that this "would be a place of reverence," there is Sister Anna's statement about the physical appearance of the Virgin: "Her skin is dark, like a Mexican's" (233). This provides both a narrative (or grandnarrative) circularity to the novel and its theme of the visionary. Early in the novel, we learn that it was during the first Spanish missions to the indigenous peoples that the Virgin first appeared and "when the mission was abandoned after secularization" the commemorative statue "was cared for by local Indians in their homes" (64). Now, at the end of the novel, there are more than hints of the importance of divine revelation to all peoples. But this brings up the troubled history of the conquest of indigenous lands and the destruction of native cultures in the name of Christianity. Importantly, it shows the direction of Christianity from a European-dominated faith imposed on others to a form of belief which other continents and peoples have made their own.

Significantly, this prefaces a shift in Moore's focus for his portrayal of Catholicism. After *Cold Heaven*, Moore no longer examines the place of Catholicism as institution and worldview purely through Western culture and society. We have already looked at his treatment of the historical shift of Catholicism before and after Vatican II. Such treatment focused, often in cross-cultural ways, on Ireland and North America. If Moore uses these settings again, it is to look at their social and cultural margins: at indigenous peoples in the history of the colonial Canada of New France (*Black Robe*); at the struggle against communist imperialism (*The Colour of Blood*); at the oppressed in the Caribbean (*No Other Life*), to Jewish persecution (*The*

*Statement*); and in his final novel at French colonial incursion into Islamic Algeria (*The Magician's Wife*). With a post-Vatican II portrayal of Catholicism increasingly loosening its Eurocentric focus, especially post-Medellin, it is entirely natural that Moore's novels should themselves reflect, in the novelist's continuing preoccupation with religion as favourite metaphor,[27] an increasing geographical and theological diversity.

Moore's final writings therefore throw light on his preoccupations not only with Catholic theology but Catholic encounter with the cultural, and specifically religious, "other." I want to show ways in which the notions of identity set against alterity, otherness and difference are key themes in both post-Vatican II theology and postcolonialism and how these two perspectives are provided with a reflective literary space in the novels of Brian Moore. Moore's later portrayals of Catholicism need to be viewed within a wider ideological context just as his theological themes become increasingly prominent. His constant heightening of otherness and difference in encounter becomes geographically and culturally diversified in these later fictions. Theologically, where post-Vatican II and post-Medellin Catholicism developed its global ideological involvement, Moore also found renewed theological meaning in issues of social justice. Moore's later novels demonstrate a continued preoccupation with Catholicism but increased awareness of theology's political dimension and active ideological commitment, the link between political and salvation history. In his concern for justice Moore demonstrates an interest in post-Vatican II theology and postcoloniality. We have already recognized *Catholics* as a turning point in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in a fictional return to Ireland whose intertextual references heighten theological as well as political and literary "revolutions." In *Cold Heaven*, we have seen the emergence of Moore's concerns with those on the religious and political margins. In *Cold Heaven*, the Mexican Virgin and the Indians who had looked after the early colonial statue of Mary "after secularization" represent models of historical disempowerment in Moore's fictions while remaining on the margins of the narrative itself. Moore shifts the focus in later novels to the marginalized themselves, and for this his move involves a look to the religious and cultural "other" in history.[28]

This move marks a fictional and theological watershed. While retaining a perennial concern with marginality, obvious from *Judith Hearne*, Moore's

focus from *Black Robe* onwards is to new landscapes of encounter. Evident here is the "globalization" of Moore's novels as well as their greater ideological and theological diversity. Moore's most notable interests in his late fictions reflect a convergence of postcolonial and post-Vatican II Catholic thinking, perspectives especially apparent from *Black Robe* to Moore's final novel, *The Magician's Wife*. These novels' historical settings predate both postcolonial criticism and the Second Vatican Council but, significantly, their ideological and theological positions do not. Both *Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife* provide a treatment of cultural, religious, and ideological otherness in historical context while demonstrating a wider authorial presentation of a more contemporary shift from pre- to post-Vatican II theology and from a colonial to a postcolonial perspective. It is to the first of these treatments, Moore's fictional closure with and theological/ideological perspective on North America, that we now turn.

## *Black Robe* (1985)

Moore's story of seventeenth-century French colonial and missionary enterprise in Quebec relates the journey of a Jesuit priest, Father Laforgue, to the northern outpost of Ihonatiria.[29] Though Laforgue's is a journey of personal transformation through encounter with the indigenous "other," it is a natural successor to *Cold Heaven* in both geography and theme.[30] I argue that this transformation in Laforgue marks (however anachronistically) the later historical shift in post-Vatican II theology as well a postcolonial perspective: from a distinct otherness ("no salvation outside the Church") to an empathetic respect for difference, a stance in favour of those marginalized in the history of imperialism.

Apart from *The Magician's Wife*, in no other of Moore's novels is the final, physical destination of a protagonist's journey so clearly set out as it is in *Black Robe*. In no other is a protagonist's opening theological certainty more seriously undermined through encounter with as alien a landscape and worldview. As the narrative opens, Father Laforgue awaits the result of discussions between Champlain, the "founder of this land" (14) and Father Bourgue, the Jesuit Superior. The potential guides, the "Savages," Chomina and Neehatin, wait on. While the Algonkin are in the room where the discussions are taking place (but presumably distanced from the discussion

by language), Laforgue is outside on the ramparts. At once, he seems excluded— a man apart from his native France, but one also more subtly an outsider from the counsel of both civil and religious authorities.

In this colonial territory of the joint secular and ecclesiastical powers of French State and Roman Catholic Church, Laforgue is a man eager with Jesuitical ambition for the salvation of souls. Still awaiting confirmation of his journey outside the Commandant's fort quarters, Laforgue instinctively avoids meeting a fur trader (the economic precursors of colonization proper) who, significantly, has abused him recently. He moves "closer to the shadow of the ramparts" to hide, a tendency to concealment characterizing duplicity as much as cowardice. In so doing, he has to look up, his inferiority further signified, to see Champlain's face framed in a window; and it is the Commandant's perception of Laforgue, "the lonely figure of the priest," amidst the small, still emergent colonizing community against the backdrop of a vast Canadian landscape that establishes the novel's physical and metaphysical perspective (13). Champlain's view of "the settlement of Quebec"—only "a jumble of wooden buildings"—extends beyond the fragility of this human habitation as "in a painting ... towards the curve of the great river"; that on this river "four French ships lay at anchor" and in a week "would be gone" highlights the protagonist's impending distance from the familiarity of French land and culture (13–14). Indeed, the novel marks a transition from the Western contexts of Ireland and America to countries on the geographical and cultural margins of the West and here with a culture soon to be marginalized by the colonization. Laforgue fears he will never again see "the red flame of Richelieu's robe come towards me in the long gallery of the Palais de Justice" but he is driven too by the twin forces of imperialism and missionary conquest: "The journey to almost certain death of a priest and a boy, against the chance to save a small outpost for France and for the Faith" (16).

The journey and the harsh physical realities of Canada's landscape continue to serve such allegorical purposes throughout the book, but it is an allegory underpinned, or perhaps undermined, by the "Author's Note" on the historical authenticity of the geographical setting and anthropological detail.[31] If the Canadian landscape is used not simply to demonstrate the historical encounter of French Catholic and native Indian culture but as a more self-conscious vehicle for universalizing the theme of the relativity of any worldview, there is a risk that the force of historical authenticity is

overridden by an allegorical reading, or even by links to the author's own life. This is not uncommon in studies of Moore, but it is a temptation worth resisting.[32] The risk here is that the cultural opposition becomes such that the encounter risks stereotype or simple idealization: on the level of physical landscape, Canada itself becomes the idealized wilderness and, with this, the characterization of both savage and Black Robe risks amounting to little more than a dramatized anthropology,[33] a story whose allegorical theme of cross-cultural conflict is as contemporary as it is historical.[34]

Indeed, Moore's story of seventeenth-century French colonial and missionary enterprise, in telling of a Jesuit missionary journey, the sort well recorded by history, can be provided with a more public than private interpretation. The authorial perspective on history unavoidable in any critical commentary encourages this, though critics are often skeptical of the novel's historicity.[35] Thus Laforgue's is a journey of personal transformation through encounter with the (indigenous) "other." Moore's *Black Robe* may thus be subject to a possible universalized allegorical interpretation on the human condition rather than an historical particularity. Still, the novel as theological (and cultural/anthropological) history—the historical representation of Jesuit mission in an encounter with the indigenous "other" within early colonial Canada—needs to be taken more seriously, as much for what is relevant to the less obvious voice of contemporary Catholic theology within the text as to the explicit historical references in Moore's introduction. It is this transformation in Laforgue which on one level is the psychological change in the protagonist's character, but which in a more complex interpretation marks the later historical shift in post-Vatican II theology as well a postcolonial perspective. Again, this might be stated as shift from a distinct otherness ("no salvation outside the Church") to empathetic respect for difference. This historical perspective and Moore's presentation of European/First Nations encounter needs to be reviewed.

The preparatory "Author's Note" makes plain the sources of historical research for *Black Robe*: Francis Parkman's *The Jesuits of North America*, which derives in turn largely the Jesuits' letters to their superiors in France, the *Relations*, which Moore also consulted. From the outset of his novel, Moore contextualizes the cultural encounter between the French Jesuits and "*Les Sauvages*"—as the confederacies of indigenous tribes were collectively known to the French—in colonial Canada:

> The Huron, Iroquois, and the Algonkin were a handsome, brave, incredibly cruel people who, at that early stage [that is, the seventeenth century], were in no way dependent on the white man and, in fact, judged him to be their physical and mental inferior. They were warlike; they practised ritual cannibalism and, for reasons of religion, subjected their enemies to prolonged and unbearable tortures. Yet, as parents, they could not bear to strike or reprove their unruly children. They were pleasure-loving and polygamous, sharing sexual favours with strangers as freely as they shared their food and hearth. They despised the "Blackrobes" for their habit of hoarding possessions. They also held the white man in contempt for his stupidity in not realizing that the land, the rivers, the animals, were all possessed of a living spirit and subject to laws that must be respected.
>
> From the works of anthropologists and historians many facts about Indian behaviour not known to the early Jesuits, I was made doubly aware of the strange and gripping tragedy that occurred when the Indian belief in a world of night and in the power of dreams clashed with the Jesuits' preachments of Christianity and a paradise after death. (8)

If this is essentially a summary of mutually uncomprehending attitudes, it is from Moore's postcolonial perspective; yet this pervasive sense of complete otherness is reinforced as Father Laforgue progresses towards the Ihonatiria Mission before the full onset of the harsh Canadian winter. This "otherness" was largely down to the Jesuit descriptions of difference between Christian Europe and "... this Country, and with Nations who do not differ from us more in Climate and in Language than they do in their nature, their way of acting, and their opinions, and in everything that can exist in Man, except body and Soul....[*sic*]"[36]

Accompanied by Algonkin guides, they encounter the feared Iroquois. Escaping the horrors of cannibalism, torture, and the certainty of death at the hands of Iroquois tormentors, the much-reduced party of travellers encounter the fur traders Casson and Vallier returning from the Huron country down with six Algonkin paddlers. Illustrating the post-Reformation as well as early colonial context, Casson, the Huguenot, and Vallier, the Catholic, have set aside religious difference in their trade expedition, but it is the Huguenot Casson who admits of the strength of

the theological underpinning of imperialism: "The Jesuits were the real rulers of this country. Champlain was completely under their thumb. He was like a priest himself, now, in his old age, lecturing everybody on the importance of saving the Savages' immortal souls" (178). As it was to the Jesuit correspondents to France in the seventeenth-century *Relations*, Laforgue's mission is one in which "the dangers of this journey were transformed miraculously into a great adventure, a chance to advance God's glory here in a distant land" (47).

The notion of otherness is reciprocal. In the perception of the indigenous peoples, the culture of the priests are different from the traders: "What sort of men are you? You don't come here, as other Normans do, to trade furs. You ask to live with us in our villages, and yet you stay apart in this house. No one may sleep here and you hide your nakedness from us. Why?" (221). Still, the motives of religion and trade (theology and economic imperialism) become confused. Thus, the shaman Mestigoit remarks to Laforgue, "You are just another Norman pig, a greedy fucker in love with furs" (69). As an Algonkin leader also later admits to Laforgue, "Norman" greed becomes the source of personal and collective corruption: "I have become as you, greedy for things" (152). Although Laforgue eventually reaches the Ihonatiria Mission to find Father Duval dead and Father Jerome stroke damaged, he decides to stay "in this land God gave to Cain, the devil's land, living among barbarians" (88) for the sake of their salvation. But traditional means of achieving this salvation, the quest for souls and mass baptisms, is increasingly making less sense. In the encounter between First Nations and Jesuit at the Ihonatiria Mission, Aenons, a friend of (the now also murdered) Father Jerome speaks with prophetic intensity of mutual cultural difference and of the manner in which religious conversions make vulnerable people of the indigenous tribes: "You and your god do not suit our people. Your ways are not our ways. If we adopt them we will be neither Norman nor Huron. And soon our enemies will know our weakness and wipe us from the earth" (220). Struck by metaphysical doubt, Laforgue's faith is restored by a compassionate transformation, as soteriological as it is personal:

> He looked up at the sky. Soon, winter snows would cover this vast, empty land. Here among these Savages, he would spend his life. He poured water

> on a sick brow, saying again the words of salvation. And a prayer came to him, a true prayer at last. Spare them. Spare them, O Lord. (223–24)

There is a decided shift away from a traditional understanding of mission as soteriological conquest toward empathy, compassion, and, finally, at the conclusion of the novel, identity. Father Laforgue's concluding stream-of-consciousness leap to identification with the indigenous people, previously seen as other, is summed up by the litanic conclusion of the novel and takes Moore's novel beyond the comparisons with Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*[37]: "*Do you love us? Yes*" (224). In Laforgue's journey to Ihonatiria, shifts in his thinking mark, from Moore's wider authorial stance, a transition (again, anachronistic as it might be) from a pre- to a post-Vatican II and from colonial to postcolonial perspective. Indigenous people are no longer "Savages," neither civilized nor transformed by Christianity. Still, in terms of a move from pre- to post-Vatican II theology, this is an emphatic shift from the salvific subjugation of the "other" through the universal imposition of Christian uniformity to the celebration of difference through an identification which is both psychological (as it occurs in Laforgue's perception of the "other") and theological (as it reflects a wider shift in Catholicism's approach to mission). In terms of the move from the colonial to the postcolonial, and from pre- to post-Vatican perspectives, theology is finally (if ambiguously) differentiated from imperialism.[38]

Moore's fictional return, then, to the physical landscape of North America marks a change in the portrayal of Catholicism by an indirect reinterpretation of the secular assumptions of the early American novels, *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, *An Answer from Limbo*, *I Am Mary Dunne*, and *Fergus*. The later American fictions – from Anthony Maloney's ethereal metaphysical constructions which resist Catholic definition ("Are you a Catholic?"—"No") through Marie Davenport's decidedly Catholic Marian visions to Laforgue's journey from an exclusive to a universal soteriology – mark both a transition (in *The Great Victorian Collection*) and a transformation (in *Cold Heaven* and *Black Robe*) in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism in an American context. If the usual skepticism of Moore's protagonists remains from the early American novels, this skepticism is under increasing epistemological pressure from the experience of the numinous uncommon in any of Moore's previous fictions: the later American fictions are thus significant for their representation of a

literary quantum shift where religion *per se* is taken more seriously than before, a process that Moore's final novels will extend and yet, typically, draw only to ambiguous conclusion. In direct relation to these later American novels, though, metaphysically, Moore moves from the heightened uncertainties of empirical reality evident in *The Great Victorian Collection* through the certainty of a faith denied in *Cold Heaven* to a universalized affirmation of salvation for all in *Black Robe.* In Moore's later American fictions, metaphysical "realities" now compete on equal epistemological grounds with the secular.

Theologically, such a dramatic shift is facilitated by Moore's developing historical portrayal of Catholicism: from unambiguous pre-Vatican II dogma and ecclesiology, which divided the Church from the world, to the plural, theological ambiguities of a post-Vatican II Church more involved with politics and society in all its global diversity, as we shall see especially accentuated in the next chapter. If Catholicism's historical transformation is of inherent interest to Moore, though, the ideological perspective of the colonial – already apparent in the margins of *The Great Victorian Collection* and *Cold Heaven* (and traceable back to *Judith Hearne*) – takes centre stage jointly with the theological in *Black Robe.* The authorial benefit of historical insight, however, enables Moore to take a transhistorical overview which conjoins post-Vatican II and postcolonial perspectives. Moore's juxtaposition of the social with the metaphysical thus enables his later and final literary treatments of colonial history to be interpreted through these wider post-Vatican II and postcolonial perspectives in *No Other Life* and *The Magician's Wife,* while, more broadly, the theological and the ideological underpin Moore's examination of the complexities of Church–State relations in *The Colour of Blood* and *The Statement.* In these works, to be considered next, Moore's portrayal of Catholicism increasingly reflects a post-Vatican II plurality within a Church as diverse geographically and culturally as it is theologically.

## Chapter 6

# Moore's Portrayal of the Church in the Modern World: Theological Universality and Cultural Particularity

**(*The Colour of Blood*, 1987; *No Other Life*, 1993; *The Statement*, 1995; *The Magician's Wife*, 1997)**

### Introduction

IN examining Moore's portrayal of Catholicism, a distinction has been made between the theological stance of the pre- and post-Vatican II Church. In the last chapter, I identified in particular three key areas which are of most relevance for the present discussion: first, the Church's redefinition of itself as an institution from a hierarchical to a more egalitarian (if as yet far from democratic) ecclesiology, from an exclusivist "Church militant" to the inclusive "People of God"; second, a theology also arising from a more moderate ecclesiology, that is, a radical, truly universal redefinition of soteriology in which is recognized the possibility of salvation for those outside the Church; third, the Church's growing involvement with issues of social, economic, and political import, an incorporation of theology with politics most famously elaborated from Medellín in liberation theology.

I have already argued that a potential degree of commonality in approach and ideological orientation exists between post-Vatican II theology and postcolonialism.[1] In this present chapter, I argue that this convergence of post-Vatican II and postcolonial perspectives becomes even more marked in theologies of liberation and that such is reflected in Moore's later fictions. Such an identity is significantly reinforced when the analysis of oppression is rooted in the history of the colonial, and especially where liberation is

defined through its postcoloniality. Thus, with a key emphasis upon the historical—material, politico-economic—context of salvation, such theological/ideological analyses naturally lead to an examination of the structural roots of injustice in historical as well as contemporary context; and, indeed, Moore uses history too to significant literary effect when exploring themes which are arguably amongst some of the most current in contemporary Catholic theology. As McDade comments:

> If human history becomes an indispensable locus revelationis for the Church—and I take this to be the principal theological orientation of the Council, the central intuition maitresse of post-conciliar theology—then human history becomes the locus theologicus for the post-conciliar theologian .... This also has the effect of revivifying biblical and historical theology—the study of the "script" of inherited tradition—because the relationship of the various texts to their contexts illuminates the character of theology as something "enacted" in varying cultural milieux.[2]

What also becomes apparent here is the importance of geographical demarcations of movement in the convergence of the ideological and the theological in global context. As will become apparent in this chapter, post-Vatican II Catholicism's theological universality increasingly achieves some notable and culturally particular expressions. *The Colour of Blood, No Other Life, The Statement* and *The Magician's Wife* certainly reflect this.

## *The Colour of Blood* (1987)

Published in the final years of the Cold War, *The Colour of Blood* portrays an ideological landscape of Eastern European Church–State relations which has now passed into history.[3] If the complex of social and cultural, political and theological ramifications are still in transformation more than a decade after the revolutionary year of 1989, then such ramifications are unexpected in Moore's novel.[4] Thus, the ambivalent relationship of theology to Marxism, so prominent a feature of liberation theology's development—and so central a part of its critique—is represented in *The Colour of Blood* as the primary aspect of the struggle of Church against State in a Cold War Soviet context (though an explicit theology of liberation is essentially undeveloped in the

novel).[5] One must also be wary of the dangers of extending the context of even a fictionalized Poland in *The Colour of Blood* as a pattern of Church–State relations for Soviet Russia or the rest of Eastern Europe. In Soviet Russia, for instance, the dissident movement that developed subsequent to Khrushchev's policy of active religious persecution manifested itself in distinct aesthetic forms of political resistance in which the Eastern Orthodox faith provided an alternative, national culture distinct from the hegemony of Communism.[6] Significantly, then, Moore here accurately reflects the inherent tensions of Church–State relations during this period—and most notably in the dialectic or conflict between challenge and accommodation—especially the manner in which the language of Church–State opposition in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, often reflected a distinctive brand of religious nationalism in which Catholic national identity lent itself to opposition to state-imposed atheistic culture and worldview.[7]

If Vatican thinking since the accession of Cardinal Wojtyla reflects a conservative interpretation of the political implications of Vatican II social teaching,[8] John Paul II's papacy significantly provides an important context for understanding the events which centre around Church–State conflict in *The Colour of Blood*. By contrast, studies of this novel tend to universalize its themes into allegory, the journey of Cardinal Bem being said, like that of Father Laforgue's in *Black Robe*, to represent some personal spiritual odyssey rather than the particularities of theology in a Cold War setting.[9] This approach is naturally limited in interpretative scope. By contrast, I contend that, given the evident geographical, historical, and theological frames of reference, the interpretation of this novel is best undertaken in the context of the culturally particular.

There are, then, two frames of reference which set *The Colour of Blood* in appropriate geographical, historical, and theological context. The novel makes use of an Eastern European setting and this facilitates an exploration of Church–State relations in terms of a complex *realpolitik*. As well, the theological/geographical frame of reference extends, in explicit terms, to Latin American liberation theology.[10] Thus, the opening and closing of the narrative—an attempted and in the end successful assassination of Cardinal Bem—resonates with the failed assassination of Pope John Paul II in 1981 and the successful assassination of Archbishop Romero in El Salvador in 1980. Again, the narrative of *The Colour of Blood* unites Europe and Latin

America in terms of ecclesiastical history just as it equally implies a perhaps unexpected fissure in theological perspectives: between the conservative-turned-radical in Romero and the radical-turned-conservative in Pope John Paul II.

Known as a conservative for most of his ecclesiastical life, Romero's appointment as Archbishop of San Salvador was generally greeted with dismay by radical elements within the El Salvadorean Church. His subsequent increasing identification with liberation theology and his eventual murder in March 1980 by State forces have since given Romero status as a martyr and an icon of liberation theology. John Paul II's formative experiences were under political repression: during the Second World War, he trained in Krakow as a priest in the underground seminary network banned during Nazi Occupation, and later served his ministries as priest, bishop, archbishop, and cardinal under successively repressive communist regimes in Poland. In terms of the convergence of ideology and theology behind the Soviet Iron Curtain in which Catholicism provided a coherent sense of religious nationhood against an atheistic State, Moore's novel is a literary synthesis of a distinctively Eastern European model of political resistance with a geographically radical theology which achieved its most noted articulation in South America.[11]

The figures of the Polish pope and the South American archbishop provided paradigms both of and for the historical readjustment to post-Vatican II theological transformation within the Catholic Church; and both the theological and the political dimensions of this readjustment have relevance for interpreting Moore's novel. Politically, Romero's death marked a violent point of transition, initially to civil war in El Salvador, but longer term to a wider, if prolonged and bloody, democratization in many South American countries.[12] Such democratization led, if incidentally, to a theological shift away from the politicization of the Church. John Paul II's papacy epitomizes, and indeed influenced, both periods of transition.[13] *The Colour of Blood*, without historical hindsight, thus provides a limited reading of the signs of the ideological and theological times: in recognizing the theological critique of politicization (often through theologies of liberation) within the Church during John Paul II's papacy, Moore could not be blamed for failing to expect that the outcome of such political and theological critique—the dual papal critique of Communism and the politicization of

Christianity—would lead to the decline of both liberation theology as an active theological force and the fall of the Soviet Communist system itself. Moore nevertheless reflects the post-Vatican II tensions between the theologically universal teaching of Catholicism and its particular cultural interpretations; and *The Colour of Blood* represents a loose literary synthesis of these.

If, theologically and ideologically, Moore's most notable interests in his late fictions reflect a convergence of post-Vatican II Catholic and in the widest sense anti-imperial and postcolonial thinking, such a convergence can be traced, as we have noted, to *Catholics*, where Moore presents the first explicit references to liberation theology.[14] *Catholics*, then, provides the intertextual lead to an analysis of *The Colour of Blood* in terms of political and theological history. The Catholic critique of Marxism as an ideology and Communism as an atheistic state system thus has a dual history: open, pre-Vatican II antipathy towards a social and economic system rooted in atheism, transformed into a post-Vatican II accommodation with, if not acceptance of, both atheism as a worldview and Communism as a political system.[15] Both *Catholics* and *The Colour of Blood* highlight the ambivalent historical relations between Marxism as an ideology and Communism as a system in relation to Christianity; both novels jointly indicate the increasing prevalence in a post-Vatican II world of such tensions and accommodations. In a post-Vatican II Soviet Union, and through the satellite countries of Eastern Europe behind the Iron Curtain, tensions between Christianity's accommodation and conflict with state Communism remained, while in Latin America, especially subsequent to the Cuban revolution, Marxist ideology was increasingly apparent in liberation theology. The Cold War, of course, both heightened and complicated such tensions, as did the 1978 election of a Polish pope. With his Polish background, John Paul II was unlikely to view favourably overtures to an ideology which, as manifested in Soviet Communism, had repressed the Church and restricted religious freedom throughout the Cold War period.[16]

The encounter between ideology and theology in *The Colour of Blood* holds, then, a literal and historical significance. Moore is trying to say something about *particular* Church–State relations in a Soviet satellite; the narrative extends intertextually to the grandnarratives of ideology and theology. Cardinal Bem's passage through the unnamed Eastern Bloc country

may also be a personal spiritual odyssey which may be interpreted as a wider allegorical journey of faith—a late-twentieth-century *Pilgrim's Progress*, perhaps. Yet Bem's struggle equally represents the real and particular, that is historical, struggle of peoples and nations in the era of the Cold War, both in eastern Europe and beyond it.

The novel opens with Cardinal Bem chauffeur-driven into Proclamation Square in the capital of this unnamed country. The square's "statues, roofs and monumental buildings were wetted slick" and "the pavement glistened," the forces of nature gently imposing themselves upon the city, its human history (statues and the monuments of human achievement) rightly contextualized, placed into perspective by something more elemental, more lasting. It is as if this very juxtaposition—man and meteorology—which leads the hero of the novel into a reverie which takes him beyond the everyday business of the city, from the immanent to the transcendent. So, having left "the meeting" (the nature of the meeting clearly not important), he is reading "not his notes, but a small book by Bernard of Clairvaux":

> "Do you not think that a man born with reason yet not living according to this reason is, in a certain way, no better than the beasts themselves? For the beast who does not rule himself by reason has an excuse, since this gift is denied him by nature. But man has no excuse."
>
> Sometimes, reading St Bernard, he could abandon the world of his duties and withdraw into that silence where God waited and judged. (7)

Commenting on the Clairvaux passage, critics have contrasted the supposed rationality of human nature, suggested by the figure of Bem, with the "beastly" unreason of the assassins who, even as Bem contemplates that silence of a waiting and judging God, approach in a black car in the following sentence.[17]

Yet the Clairvaux reference has far more complex interpretative possibilities. If Christian tradition has presented active and contemplative forms,[18] Bernard of Clairvaux—in his writings and monastic reforms—is seemingly identifiable with the latter, but, as the novel progresses, it becomes clear that Moore is also drawing on Clairvaux's insights as a thinker on Church–State relations in the middle ages.[19] By contrast with such subtleties,

Bem's would-be assassins belong to a group known as the Christian Fighters, a Catholic terrorist group explicitly linked to a "liberation theology," and are unfavourably contrasted with Bem/Clairvaux throughout the narrative by their purely "active" and this-worldly praxis. Set within the broader context of Church history, then, Bem's reading of Bernard of Clairvaux at the beginning of *The Colour of Blood* provides a crucial ecclesiastical key to understanding his subsequent reticence in the face of those Catholic forces who would literally revolutionize the Church.

As Cardinal, though, Bem has only limited choice between religious contemplation and social action. His role as the Primate of the Church in his country necessarily immerses him within ecclesiastical, as well as to a lesser extent State, politics. Bem's preferred stance with regard to the latter is the path of accommodation and official concordat rather than revolutionary confrontation with the government, a path historically taken by the twentieth-century Church.[20] Yet such a path is easily regarded by more radical clerics, in actuality as in Moore's novel, as a way of collaboration as much as compromise. Cardinal Bem, a moderate, identifies with a contemplative Catholic tradition both through his reading of the Clairvaux passage as the narrative opens and, as the narrative unfolds, through his subsequent resistance to the violent revolution which Archbishop Krasnoy hopes to call for at the Commemoration for the Rywald Martyrs, an event to which the novel's plot leads:

> He thought ahead to the Jubilee celebrations next Tuesday, to the thousands and thousands of pilgrims who would come to Rywald and climb the Jasna mountain to the church, built two hundred years ago to honour the September martyrs. There in that place dedicated to God, a concatenation of events could be set in motion destroying all his gains: the right to have church schools, the right to publish religious literature, the right to worship freely, the right to build churches in the new territories. All that would disappear. Instead, there would be tanks in the streets, torture in secret rooms, prisons overflowing, riots, beatings, deaths. Help me, O Lord. Let me be in Rywald on that day. I must be seen. I must be heard. (61)

Archbishop Krasnoy's planned speech, leaked to Bem through his aide Father Malik, is in stark contrast to such accommodation:

> The nation in this critical time is like a great forest at the end of a summer of dreadful drought. A spiritual and moral drought. On the floor of this forest are millions of pine needles. It takes only a spark to set them ablaze. And what is that spark? Is it not the recent proof that those who rule us hold the Church in contempt? This callous behaviour towards the religious leadership of the nation could be the spark that will set the forest ablaze, a fire that will cleanse and purify. Much could be destroyed, but in the end the nation will be strengthened in its faith and its freedom. We must ask help in our present plight. We must unite to show the strength of our national will. Here, in this place, on this day at the shrine of the Blessed Martyrs, I call on all of you to stand behind the Church in this hour of need. (19)

The post-Vatican II, indeed post-revolutionary, Church, had a difficult ecclesiastical task, needing to ensure its own survival in the face of persecution and repression while offering some theological resistance to regimes on which the Church in turn depended, and Moore's novel deals with both the problem and its resolution.

Thus the Second Vatican Council promulgated a series of decrees in this area of ecclesiastical governance which aimed to retain a degree of theological integrity in such circumstances. The Council maintained a delicate balance between affirming the rights of religious freedom (in *Dignitatis Humanae*) and holding to the view—in the new spirit of *aggiornamento*—that the Church should not exclude from either dialogue, or even salvation, persons of good faith of either agnostic or atheistic persuasion (evidenced in both *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes* ).[21] It is in this context that *The Colour of Blood* must be read. Interestingly, of course, if we return to the paradigmatic figure of political ambivalence in John Paul II—not the oversimplified conservative so often portrayed—then we see that the young Archbishop Wojtyla was a major influence in these very areas of theological transformation in Catholic thought at Vatican II itself, that is, religious freedom and the universality of soteriology.[22]

Indeed, less than ten years after his succession in 1978, the year of the three popes,[23] John Paul II's papacy was to transform further the relation between theology and ideology and, in practical terms, the *realpolitik* of Cold War politics and eventually ensuring its decline and fall. Pope John

Paul II was a survivor of Nazi-occupied Poland, Stalinist repression, and later anti-Church laws behind the Iron Curtain. It is a history which is in part at least shared by Cardinal Bem:

> ... now, as he genuflected before this makeshift altar and rose, saying the words that told his meagre audience that the mass was ended, he thought of those masses said in prisons and concentration camps by his fellow priests, so many of whom had died during the long years of German occupation. He had been a fifteen-year-old schoolboy when the first Soviet tanks arrived in the streets of the capital, driving the Germans back, block by razed block. While the other boys of his generation regretted that they had been too young to fight, he had felt cheated of the honour of suffering abuse and imprisonment in Christ's name. (45)

Unlike Bem, Karol Josef Wojtyla (as Archbishop of Krakow and delegate to Vatican II[24]) was also a key instigator of new theological thinking on Church–State relations. As Bishop of Krakow in 1962, Karol Wojtyla had, for instance, a major influence on the formation of *Lumen Gentium*, important for its increasingly egalitarian definition of the Church. Further, as Archbishop of Krakow, in 1963 Karol Wojtyla exerted some influence on the Council's great text of social reform, *Gaudium et Spes*, known for its social teaching and for its radical "accommodation" with atheism. Crucially, it balances a critique of atheism with a call to dialogue. Thus it comments:

> Among the various kinds of present-day atheism, that one should not go unnoticed which looks for man's autonomy through his economic and social emancipation. It holds that religion, of its very nature, thwarts such emancipation by raising man's hopes in a future life, thus both deceiving him and discouraging him from working for a better form of life on earth. That is why those who hold such views, wherever they gain control of the state, violently attack religion, and in order to spread atheism ... make use of all the means by which the civil authority can bring pressure to bear on its subjects.

Yet the document also offers the following stance:

> Although the Church altogether rejects atheism, she nevertheless sincerely proclaims that all men, those who believe as well as those who do not, should help to establish right order in this world where all live together. This certainly cannot be done without a dialogue that is sincere and prudent.[25]

Yet, as Pope John Paul II, Wojtyla was less than favourably disposed toward communist regimes which repressed religious freedom. In speaking of the relationship developed with Moscow initiated by both John XXIII and Paul VI, Szulc summarizes the ambivalent stance as it came to be initiated by Karol Wojtyla:

> Such was the complexity and subtlety of this situation that Wojtyla, as a Polish archbishop, could favour an improved relationship with communism as a matter of constructive long-range diplomacy while squaring off with communist authorities over the treatment of the Church there. It was a state of affairs that the West never understood. Nor, for that matter, was it understood that the most interesting young personality in the Church emerging from the Second Vatican Council was a Polish archbishop name Karol Wojtyla. That is why, perhaps, the advent of John Paul II would be such a surprise.[26]

Unlike Bem, Wojtyla as Archbishop and Cardinal played therefore an important role within the Polish Church in using religion as part of an historical sense of nationhood. This provided powerful theological opposition to the Communist state, a position to this extent closer identified with Krasnoy.[27]

It is precisely the dangers of this politicization that Cardinal Bem is aware in Moore's novel when he confides to his aide that "the people are using religion now as a sort of politics .... To remind themselves that we are a Catholic nation while our enemies are not. To remind us that we always continued to be a nation even when the name of our country was taken off the map" (176). Wojtyla's ecclesiastical career may itself be said to have consisted of a life of resistance to ideological domination in various guises—both the state fascism of Nazi-occupied Poland and the state communism of Soviet-directed domination from Stalin onwards.[28] Yet, as

Pope, John Paul II's post-Vatican II stance of dialogue with atheism and accommodating *realpolitik* as a former member of the Catholic Church hierarchy in Poland masked an antipathy to Soviet Communism. This also extended, perhaps inevitably, to a less than favourable assessment of the Marxist politicization of Christianity so evident in liberation theology.[29] Yet there is an irony here in the critique of Catholicism's politicization in that religious belief—especially in Karol Wojtyla's Poland—provided cultural identity in the face of both Nazi and communist repression.

Still, such a stance is given little theological credence when it surfaces in Moore's characterization of Bem. Thus—as we see with conservative critiques of politicization during John Paul II's papacy—in conversation with Father Malik, Bem openly distinguishes between a religion which serves narrowly social rather than more transcendental ends:

> "... It's all part of our collective memory and we cherish it. But what has it got to do with our love of God?"
> "Perhaps it's brought us closer to God, Eminence?"
> "I wonder. Are we filling the churches because we love God more than before? Or do we do it out of nostalgia for the past, or, worse, to defy the government? Because if we do, Kris, then God is mocked." (176)

A natural contemplative, Bem has no choice though as cardinal but to involve himself with matters of ecclesiastical as much as of atheistic state governance; and this in a period which, as in Poland prior to the collapse of Communism, is marked by the ascendancy of Church over State:

> In his ten years as bishop and seven as cardinal he had seen the power of the State erode while the Church, despite its mistakes, had assumed greater and greater power over people's minds. The party had unwittingly strengthened that power by stripping the Church of its prewar estates and leaving it as poor as the people themselves. And yet, as he knew, this churchly power was not real. It was the sort of power that he, as cardinal, would have held in the sixteenth century. In those days the cardinal became the head of State in the interregnum between the death of one king and the coronation of his successor. (71–72)

Just so Bem's secular counterpart, Prime Minister Urban, a former Jesuit school companion, both personalizes and equally highlights the final absence of qualitative distinction between secular and ecclesiastical power relations. Equally committed to a life of political involvement—secular but inextricably bound to the life of Bem's Church—Urban, like Bem, has a personal lifestyle which is likened to the monastic and the contemplative (and by name associated with the papacy[30]): "Urban is unmarried, they say he lives an ascetic life" (158).

If the ideological and religious worlds of these two men are linked through a notional "politics" of social action, a connection between secular and ecclesiastical governance, both are subject to authority beyond the physical, geographical space in which they operate; Cardinal Bem is ultimately answerable to Rome and the Prime Minister similarly to Moscow. Yet, despite these links to an "outside" world—ironically more defined than the unnamed country and its capital where the action takes place—both men are also contained within these geographical limits, physical limits which are themselves imagined. The Eastern European sounding names of places (the Volya river, the Jasna mountain, the suburb of Praha, the towns of Gneisk and Rywald) serve both to heighten the Soviet Bloc atmosphere and at the same time create a world of fable. The *realpolitik* worlds of Rome and Moscow serve only to highlight this very unreality. Differences in ideology—the atheistic Communism of the ex-Jesuit schoolboy Urban and the conservative Catholicism of Bem, so characteristic of the post-revolutionary Church—are well matched to the historical territory by the Cardinal's persecuted journey through the geopolitical landscape of *The Colour of Blood.*

*The Colour of Blood,* set in an unnamed country, reflects the actual struggles of the Catholic Church in the years of former Soviet rule in eastern Europe during the Cold War. Cardinal Bem, already having survived an assassination attempt at the novel's opening, is caught between the repression of an atheistic government and the unpredictable activities of revolutionary Catholic extremists who perceive Bem as representing a potential compromise with the hated powers of the State. It is in the end the sister of a Catholic extremist—Danekin—who perpetrates the death of Bem during Mass at the end of the novel:

> It was as if he stood at the edge of a dark crevasse, unable to see to the other side. The silence of God: would it change at the moment of his death? He held up the Host a though to give it to her. He saw her finger tighten on the trigger.
>
> And heard that terrible noise. (191)

The religious doubts evident here in the mind of Bem before his certain death reintroduce that strong element of metaphysical uncertainty into the event: on the one hand, Bem seems assured that his assassination is "God's will" but, on the other, he is confronted by the "silence of God," and the latter being contrasted with the murderous audibility of "that terrible noise" as the gun is fired. Bem's life is ended, literally and metaphorically, by the final sentence of the book. The metaphysical possibilities of anything beyond these—the ending of the book and the ending of the man, either in terms of an afterlife for Bem or in terms of the validity of any metaphysical speculation beyond the events of the narrative—is a resounding uncertainty. It is a metaphysical doubt which might supposedly throw into question both religious and theological grandnarrative. Yet, just as one commentator has placed the metaphysical emptiness of Tomas O'Malley at the conclusion of *Catholics* in the positive context of mystical theology,[31] so too we can reflect on Bem's own positive reading of the silence of God, that which we witness from the novel's opening, whereby, "reading St Bernard, he could abandon the world of his duties and withdraw into that silence where God waited and judged" (7). The final and most significant encounter which frames the text is thus eschatological and existential, coloured for some by ideology, for others theology, for those who have lost belief, emptiness. If this contrast between the temporal and the transcendent is the source of grandnarrative conflict—here of theological engagement with the political—it is the eschatological and existential which continue to provide the metatext for Moore's next novel.

## *No Other Life* (1993)

Indeed, perhaps nowhere else do we see this literary-theological reflection on death, and specifically Catholic approaches to death, more effectively

developed than in the rather aptly named novel, *No Other Life*. If the eschatological permeates many of Moore's novels,[32] this narrative presents too a metaphysical context for issues of ideological and theological conflict and accommodation. Set in an imaginary Caribbean island, *No Other Life* is strongly reminiscent of the Haiti of recent decades and of course especially the presidential rise of the Catholic priest Aristide to the presidency.

Though returned to power in Haiti at the end of the year 2000, Aristide's rule was a short one in the Haiti of the early 1990s and one which provoked considerable hostility within the Vatican. Indeed, Aristide in turn was less than favourably disposed toward the eccesiastical hierarchy in Rome. Aristide saw that the institutional church of Haiti had given succour to the dictatorial regimes of the Duvaliers. One of the great triumphs of the Duvalier regime had been to win (in the early 1960s) the right to appoint its own bishops, something which since the Ultramontanist days of Vatican I had been undertaken from Rome. When François Duvalier came to power, he rid Haiti of the foreign-appointed clerical hierarchy. Rome resisted the move to give the State the power of episcopal appointment but, as Griffiths comments, "through a strange irony, Duvalier was aided by the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council then taking place in Rome and which came down strongly in favour of finding local leadership for churches which had previously been considered 'missions'"[33]; the Haitian Catholic Church, then, as much as the Haitian State, was targeted by Aristide.[34]

Moore's novel is the first-person narrative of a Catholic priest, Father Paul Michel, who reflects, in the days after his formal retirement, upon his place as a white missionary figure in the multi-ethnic island of Ganae where, in his final years, he has served as principal of a Catholic college of higher education. The novel's opening strongly suggests the book's main theme of death, and of existence as an ephemeral passage of years:

> In the old days they would have given me a gold watch. I never understood why. Was it to remind the one who is being retired that his time is past? Instead of a watch I have been presented with a videotape of the ceremonies. My life has ended. My day is done. (1)

The image of the traditional retirement clock is juxtaposed here with the technologically progressive. This scene of a (potentially reviewable)

official ending emphasizes the finality of a life while representing the beginning of the text itself. So the ending of a fictional public persona marks the start of the novel; yet it is one which takes the narrative back to the past.

The book is, however, more a reflection upon the orphaned Jean-Paul Cantave, known as Jeannot, from the impoverished village district of Toumalie. Travelling around Ganae for scholarship boys to improve the ethnic balance of a predominantly privileged white and "mulatto" college intake, Father Michel finds a woman in Toumalie, "a widow with four children of her own and two boys who were the orphaned children of her brother, a warehouse clerk who had died three years ago" (7). One of the orphaned boys is Jeannot. Speaking to Jeannot's guardian about his plans for giving the boy a new life "she gave him into my care as casually as she would give away a puppy from a litter" (7).

Characterizing a trend towards the use of life stories illuminate the grandnarrative of wider theological history, Moore here uses the stories of individuals to reflect post-Vatican II transformations of Church in the modern world. Most crucially, the Church in this post-Vatican II period faced just those questions of social justice which became so evident in nations in the aftermath of colonialism. Against the backdrop of Ganae's harsh socio-economic setting, its colonial history succeeded—as so often in dictatorship—Jeannot's accomplishments, firstly as a scholarship student at the college and then, inspired by Father Michel, as a seminarian and priest are all the more notable, as indeed they were for Aristide. But whereas the chance childhood meeting of Father Michel with Jeannot's family in Toumalie highlights Jeannot's apparent good fortune, Jeannot's subsequent and near-meteoric rise to the leadership of Ganae as priest-president have all the marks of destiny. Jeannot's character and the trapping of office though, while initially matching those of Father Michel, later almost inexorably match those of the dictator Doumergue. Nevertheless, Jeannot's movement from the world of religious ministry into the same political arena which had maintained, through the inequalities of military dictatorship, the oppression which had kept his own family, his village, and the majority of the people of Ganae in poverty, is initially a sign of hope for the country; but, finally embroiled in the political machinations of various power brokers, Jeannot is forced into a potential compromise with the new dictatorship. At the occasion to mark his

relinquishing of the presidency and forced seal of approval for a corrupt government, Jeannot calls all to prayer. To the surprise of all, not least his political opponents, Jeannot physically and symbolically merges into the vast crowd of his supporters who had come in prayerful witness to mark Jeannot's supposed public resignation. Jeannot thus returns to the masses who had brought him (however temporarily) to power, his political and spiritual integrity retained; and here of course Aristide's history departs from that of Jeannot.[35]

For all the intricacies of Jeannot's characterization—a personal focus on the ideological and theological grandnarrative of a post-Vatican II and postcolonial era—the novel's most important metatext is its eschatological meditation. At the close of his own life, the narrator's story is a personal recollection of one man's rise to political and ecclesiastical prominence, and his final, anonymous death. Yet *No Other Life*—through Father Michel's recollections—presents too a social view of the anonymity of death on a Caribbean island through poverty, political neglect by indigenous state authorities, and ecclesiastical indifference from a conservative Rome distant from the harsh realities of Ganaean life.

The narrative, from the existential focus of its title, constantly draws the reader to the central theme of the book. Early on we learn that "In Ganae, because of the heat, funerals are sudden" (42). We thus have the murder by Colonel Maurras of the child who happened to be part of a protesting crowd (42). Through the great levelling of geographical and cultural distance, we are drawn too from Ganae back to Quebec and to an historical encounter of culture and belief—and, with subtle intertextual reference to another Moore location—from the colonial encounter of *Black Robe* to a latter-day, and postcolonial, mission:

> Behind the chapel there is a cemetery. In it are buried the priests of our Order who died in Ganae. It is small and quiet, shaded by jacaranda trees. In the nearby chapel we heard the shuffling of feet, then silence, as the service began .... On the worn gravestones I could read the names of our priests, French and Canadian, forgotten now, their labours ended, their bodies rotted to anonymous bones in the unforgiving soil of this lost and lonely land. What was the true meaning of those lives, lived far from France and Quebec. (18–19)

We have too the death of the dictator Doumergue (45). This latter event presents Jeannot with the opportunity, soon seized, to combine political with priestly office and which (like the liberation theology Jeannot is intended to represent) finally fails to effect real and lasting social structural change.[36]

The generational features we have noted in Moore's early portrayals of religious belief surface in *No Other Life*. Following a call from Henri, his brother in Quebec, Father Michel is drawn from Ganae to Canada to his mother's deathbed (72). From the universal the novel draws us to the particular: Father Michel is drawn to his own life story and the death of his mother; the reader is drawn back in intertextual geographical reference to the treatment of early colonial history—and the Church's involvement in this—by the protagonist narrator's return to Quebec. The mother's skepticism reflects an about-face. In her deathbed scene, the reader is drawn to a socio-historical memory of place which intertextually evokes *Black Robe* and its postcolonial reconsideration of mission. In the latter context, as in *No Other Life*, the certainties of belief and conquest are themselves jointly subjugated to an eschatological emptiness:

> "Do you remember when you were a little boy and did something bad? I would say to you, 'Remember, Paul, the Man Upstairs is watching you.' Do you remember that?"
>
> "Of course, I do."
>
> "I was wrong to tell you that," my mother said. "There is no one watching over us. Last week, when I knew I was dying, I saw the truth. Paul, I have prayed all my life. I believed in God, in the Church, I believed I had a soul that was immortal. But I have no soul. When we die, there is nothing. That's why I sent for you. I must speak to you—you of all my children. Paul, listen. You must give up the priesthood. When I think how I guided you towards it, when I think of the times I told you how happy it would make me if you became a priest. If it weren't for me you might be a doctor doing useful work like your father and Henri. You'd be married, you'd have children. You would not have wasted your life telling people something which isn't true. Please, Paul. You're forty-seven years old. It's not too late. Promise me. Leave the priesthood now."
>
> "Maman, you're wrong. You didn't make a priest. I was the one who decided it. And you will go to heaven. You will."

> "No." She lay back on the pillows, her eyes not on me but on the red votive lamp flickering between the painted plaster statues on the mantelpiece. "There is no other life," my mother said. (73)

Here the text opens itself to an implicit psychoanalytic, as much as socio-historical, critique of Catholicism, and indeed religion in general, from Feuerbach through Freud.[37]

Father Michel, a celibate, encounters the mother's room as he had in childhood. Given Freud's classic critique of religious belief as an infantile form of wish-fulfilment, in the scene which continues to haunt the priest his religious belief retains the traces of an immature stage in his physiological and psychological history which might be read as thwarted. A psychoanalytical hermeneutic at this stage of *No Other Life* might make much of the mother here as both object of Oedipal desire and, given her rejection of the heavenly Father, denial of comforting substitutions: Father Michel can neither possess the mother nor, following the mother's denial of any religious replacement for the father (God), possess any sexual, religious surrogate. The mother, giver of life, talking of death and absence of eschatological hope is an image which Father Michel retains for the rest of book, and when she is laid to rest his anger and disillusionment are obvious: "In a funeral parlour three streets away, my mother's body waited burial, her voice stilled, that voice which, in sixty-seven years of daily prayer, praised and honoured a God who, in her last hours, deprived her of that ultimate consolation of religion, belief in a life after death" (86). This skeptical refrain permeates Father Michel's perceptions of the violence and death which characterizes political and ecclesiastical life on Ganae. In short, the eschatological again continually provides the metatext for the historical intricacies of both ideology and theology.

When the Cardinal speaks critically to Father Michel in Rome of Jeannot's (Father Cantave's) homespun revolution, it is this tension between the temporal and the transcendent which reflects the Church's wider critique of liberation theology itself. This is by no means as clear-cut as popular presentations of the conservative papacy of John Paul II might indicate. The earliest opportunity John Paul II had to comment on liberation theology was at the Third General Conference of the Latin American Bishops—"Evangelization in Latin America's Present and Future"—at Puebla de los

Angeles, Mexico, 27 January–13 February 1979. Pope John Paul II made an opening address to the Conference on 28 January. There were some implicit criticisms of liberation theology (which is not identified explicitly), the Pope being especially critical of the use of the Marxist terminology of "alienation" in association with the "institutional" or "official" Church. The Pope identifies the Church's commitment to a progressive social teaching but one in which the dignity of the human person, not political ideology, forms the basis of a struggle for justice:

> The complete truth about human beings is the basis of the Church's social teaching, even as it is the basis for authentic liberation. In the light of this truth we see that human beings are not pawns of economic or political processes, that instead these are geared toward human beings and subject to them.[38]

In his "General Audience on Evangelization and Liberation" a month later (Rome, 21 February 1979) John Paul II identified liberation theology directly. While suggesting that the "theology of liberation is often connected (sometimes too exclusively) with Latin America," he argued that the "task of theology is to find its real significance in the different concrete historical and contemporary contexts."[39]

In simple terms, if an accessible definition of this movement is found in it pastoral and theological direction as "first and foremost, the engagement of the poor in their own personal, socio-economic and political liberation,"[40] in this, to its critics, liberation theology reflects a dangerous potential synthesis (expressed at its most extreme) of Marxist ideology and Catholic theology.[41] Thus:

> "Let me explain. I know that Father Cantave and others like him sincerely believe that by improving the lot of the poor they are doing God's work. They also believe that Rome is hostile to change, that here in the Vatican we do not understand the modern world. They are wrong. We understand the world, as it was, as it is, and as it may be become. We know that the Church is changing and will change. But if, by following the preachings of Father Cantave, the people of Ganae lose the Kingdom of God in the course of improving their lot here on earth, then you and I must remember

> our duty. Our duty, and Father Cantave's duty, is to remember always that, while it is a holy and wholesome thought to wish to improve the material lives of the poor, the primary task of the Church is, and always has been, to save their immortal souls. In this day and age, that task may not be uppermost in the minds of clerics such as Father Cantave. Sincere as he may be, he is still mortal, frail, capable of falling into heresy and leading his people away from the true faith." (96)

For its political and theological opponents, though, often one and the same, the decline of Marxist ideology in a post-Cold War world—a world into which literary-political *No Other Life* (published in 1993) can be placed—signalled the end too of liberation theology, as Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger speaking in 1996 claimed that, "The fall of the European governmental systems based on Marxism turned out to be the twilight of the gods for that theology."[42] Concomitantly, the Marxist critics of liberation theology have challenged it for not being Marxist enough.[43]

In *No Other Life*, then, the fictionalized history of Aristide is part of an extended consideration of Catholicism's late-twentieth-century theological history. Crucially, despite its inherent radicalism and genuinely global character, decrees from the Second Vatican Council were perceived by the Third World as emanating from a Eurocentric Church. Medellin and similar South American councils of bishops such as that at Puebla marked the perceived need to further translate the universal teaching of the Church (especially its social teaching) from a European to a Latin American context; and such a translation, often radical, has subsequently been undertaken by theologians globally into very specific cultural forms.[44] This theological translation itself extended through the Third World to often former colonial states at a time too of ideological ferment. The post-Vatican II period was thus marked by a generalized translation of a universal pastoral teaching into the practicalities of local church contexts across all continents where Catholicism had a presence. It was also a time when many states were seeking new political identities in a postcolonial and post-Cold War period.

Father Michel's account of the rise of Jeannot/Aristide is part of just such a history; yet his crisis has inevitable pastoral implications. He questions quite fundamentally his place in the ecclesiastical order in a world wrought by doubts as metaphysical as they are political. If Rome, despite the inherent

political radicalism of Vatican II, has circumvented this same ideological radicalism in practice, it is a matter made more difficult for Father Michel by a failing transcendental hope, that resurgent eschatological assurance of a politically conservative Church hierarchy in Rome. Returning to Ganae and observing Jeannot's physical but morally symbolic 'clean-up' of Ganae's streets, Father Michel is no longer certain where his own pastoral priorities lie:

> What was my duty? Was it, as the cardinal said, to save these people's immortal souls, or was it to help Jeannot relieve their mortal misery? And as I stood there ... seeing the happiness in the faces of those who crowded around the tables to eat the simple food prepared for them, into my mind came that quiet but deadly sentence. There is no other life. (101)

Jeannot himself personalizes the dangers implicit in the Church's involvement with the State. Symbolically, we see the priest-president develop a lifestyle which begins, if subtly, to emulate that of the former dictator: Jeannot lives in Doumergue's palace, is driven in Doumergue's car and, most ironically, sleeps in the same bed in which Doumergue breathed his last. It is Father Michel who begins to see Jeannot, though duly empowered by the democratic process, becoming himself an autocratic symbol: "This wasn't 'liberation theology.' This was faith built around one man" (101). Nevertheless, the many speeches made by Jeannot continue to reflect the concerns of a liberation-type theology which, contrary to its critics, continues to present eschatological as much as temporal hope: "Brothers and Sisters/ Do not be afraid/We will come into our paradise, I promise you" (115). As so often in the recent revolutionary history of Haiti during the presidency of Aristide, Jeannot's famous and recurrent "machete speech" calls the people to arms to overcome social and economic oppression.[45]

The line that "Priests see death more often than do other men" would certainly seem to be the case on Ganae as, subsequent to the "machete speech," the forces of the military's counter-revolution emerge and come to a meditative head as the book draws to its close. Standing by body of Mathieu, Jeannot's bodyguard, Michel reflects upon other sights of death and dying recently encountered: "I stood by his corpse, not in tears as Jeannot was, but sick, my mind filled with images of death: Mathieu, the corpse on

the bonfire at Damienville, the mutilated body of Colonel Maurras in college sacristy, the children hiding behind their dead parents in a Papanos ditch" (164). As if saturation by the experience of the constancy of death close at hand strengthens the doubts placed in his mind by his dying mother, Father Michel's crisis of belief permeates the rituals of death: "I had not said a prayer for [Mathieu's] soul. The familiar words came to mind. 'Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord. And let perpetual light shine upon him.' But they were remembered, not said. Perpetual light? Eternal rest? My mother's words came back" (172). In the novel's most bizarre portrayal of death, Michel and Jeannot, seeking sanctuary in the hills for fear of their own lives, enter the village of Lavallie and encounter a wake at which the corpse appears as the most important guest:

> The dead man was seated at a table dressed, as was the custom, in his best clothes, a clean white shirt, denim trousers, sandals. His old felt fedora we perched jauntily upon his head. On the table was a funerary wreath fashioned form white frangipani and red immortelles. A dish of plantains, beans and rice had been set before him and an unlit cigarette dropped from his lips. He was a peasant in is thirties, scarecrow thin, as were most of the others in the room. And then I saw the bullet hole in his temple. The blood had been cleaned away. (172)

The religious significance of Jeannot's appearance for those gathered is not lost in the scene as Moore describes it, and Moore again draws strong theological parallels from the occasion:

> And now, as in a biblical miracle, Jeannot had appeared at the dead man's wake. The villagers did not ask why he had come or ask how he knew of the death. The Messiah is not a man. He co-exists in the world of the flesh and the world of the spirit .... He was God's messenger. Because of this, the room was filled with a strange exaltation. These lives of poverty, of endless toil, of children's early deaths, of storms that washed away the meagre crops, of soldiers and bleus who beat and pillaged, were, in that room, on that day, transformed into the promise of a future life. Now, with the Messiah come among them, they believed anew. Paradise would be theirs. (173)

Jeannot's Christ-figure status here, as elsewhere, epitomizes the soteriological hopes present within theologies of liberation. Such theologies dramatically altered—and necessarily—traditional Christology, essentially characterizing Jesus as a revolutionary, a shift Christologically reminiscent of Boff's *Jesus Christ Liberator*.[46]

This characterization of Jeannot as a revolutionary brings a hitherto absent Christological perspective into Moore's portrayal of liberation theology, a representation which epitomizes the official critique of such Christology, as in John Paul II's opening address at Peubla de los Angeles, Mexico:

> In some cases people ... indulge in types of interpretation that are at variance with the church's faith .... people purport to depict Jesus as a political activist, as a fighter against Roman domination and the authorities, and even as someone involved in the class struggle. This conception of Jesus as a political figure, a revolutionary, as the subversive from Nazareth, does not tally with the Church's catechesis.[47]

The comparison with Boff's work makes the point effectively since Boff was himself silenced by the Vatican. If Boff's Christology stressed, in short, that Jesus could be interpreted as a revolutionary political figure, his divine involvement in human history an intervention against injustice and oppression, Moore's Father Cantave is a revolutionary figure too whose theology has shifted too far into ideological involvement, as (at least from a Vatican perspective) did Aristide's.[48]

Still, if Jeannot had not radically altered the lives of the people, it seems that their physical condition is of less significance than their mental attitude of devotion to Jeannot, the Christ-figure suddenly in their midst. At the Lavallie wake, Moore presents an empathetic view of the simple religious hope of Ganae's rural poor, especially their optimism about death in the midst of economic difficulties and political barbarity: "We were at the table with the dead man and offered precious cigarettes .... The wake resumed, but all was changed: life had vanquished death. The corpse, stiff and silent at the table, would rejoin us one day in another, truer world" (173–74).

It is with the undeniable physicality and the final mystery of human mortality that Moore leaves us at the end of *No Other Life*. This presents,

though, interesting parallels with the transformation of liberation theology in the 1990s and, arguably, an ironic ideological and theological, as well as narrative, circularity. Thus, if from its inception liberation theology was rooted in the expectations of social structural change—a Marxist critique of economics being as crucial as its neglect of Marx's critique of religion—these expectations failed, clearly, to materialize. Indeed, in addition to the failures to effect social structural, especially economic, change, the reversal of the incipient radicalism of liberation theology from a conservative papacy coincided, at least in South America, with a challenge to Catholic hegemony itself.

When "ten years since that day when Jeannot seemed to disappear from this earth" in a Ganae where there had been no further revolution but where "to the dismay of the elite and the army, an ungovernable rage and resentment consumes the daily lives of the poor," Father Michel recalls how one year after his disappearance a woman from Jeannot's village hands him the inscribed pocket watch which Father Michel had once given Jeannot as a present (209). He is led to Toumalie to meet Frederic, Jeannot's brother, who had been separated from Jeannot all those years ago when Father Michel had first entered the village. It is Frederic who takes Father Michel to the unmarked, mountainside grave of Jeannot who had died of a fever soon after his disappearance. At the end of the novel, Moore presents us with none of the fleeting consolation offered at the wake in Lavallie. At the conclusion of his personal history of Jeannot, Father Michel's final, theological, meditation on death presents a doubt-ridden context for both ideological and theological struggle:

> And then I was alone with Jeannot, alone for the last time. I looked at the ground, anonymous as the unmarked graves of peasants who had died a hundred years ago. Jeannot, his incantatory voice forever silent, Jeannot who had passed into legend. If only he were the Messiah, if only the gravestone could be rolled back. But I stood on this earth and he lay beneath it, his frail body returning, ashes to ashes, dust to dust.
>
> I knelt down by the unmarked grave but not to pray. I touched the muddied earth in a useless caress as though, somehow, he would know that I had come here. I wept but my tears could not help him. There is no other life. (215)

*No Other Life* presents a metaphysical ambivalence which arises from a perceived lack of rational or theological grounds for belief and, through its compensatory functions, seemingly upholds those economic, psychological, and sociological critiques of religion which form the philosophical foundations of modernity.

Seen in this context, liberation theology's appropriation of one such (Marxist) critique of religion is ironic, and provides at least theological grounds for the Catholic Church's latter-day theological suspicion concerning such appropriation. In contemporary theological history, it has provided the ecclesiastical justification (in the context of a conservative papacy) for the post-Vatican II reassertion of centralized authority, especially over the particular (cultural, economic, political) interpretation of the Church's universal social teaching and Church–State relations. It is a reasserted authority which is often resentfully regarded as the re-imposition of a universalizing European Church over non-European cultural diversity; and, of course, in postcolonial terms this has more than a degree of irony.

Yet *No Other Life* provides a wider existential context for these encounters. A narrative circularity—the novel begins and ends with a priest's reflections on life and death—is part of a sustained eschatological meditation. If *No Other Life* provides a physical limit for Jeannot as part of the textual fabric of Moore's story, the novel also provides wider intertextual reference points to the grandnarrative of which Jeannot and his Catholic narrator are both an integral part. Still, the grandnarratives of theological and ideological history seemingly lack here a fundamental teleology. Moore's appropriation of theology and ideology retains, then, a final and extreme ambivalence: through the naturalistic portrayal of the scene of Jeannot's burial (there is only the earth) and the implied 'silence of God' (as we last saw with Bem's assassination) Moore may be interpreted as making a fiction of all grandnarrative; or, like Wittgenstein said, creating a metaphysical space in which that of which we cannot speak, we (or at least the novelist) should remain silent.[49]

## *The Statement* (1995)[50]

While eschatological themes—especially of death and final judgment—continue to permeate *The Statement*, this novel is Brian Moore's literary-

historical reflection on Catholic–Jewish relations, a matter which has a long pedigree in his fiction.[51] In this novel, Moore fictionalizes the story of the Nazi collaborator and war criminal Paul Touvier,[52] though his focus is less on Church–State relations during the Second World War[53] than on post-War theological developments.[54] Convicted of crimes against humanity in Vichy France during the Second World War and finally uncovered in a French monastery, Paul Touvier was only arrested in 1989 after decades on the run, having been sheltered by extremist elements within the Catholic Church. Moore explores the changing historical and theological face of Catholic–Jewish relations from the mid-to-late-twentieth century through one literary text, one of his most sensitive treatments of Catholic interfaith relations. Within the novel, Moore effectively integrates developments in post-Vatican II Catholic thinking as well as in social and political attitudes within France.

In terms of the portrayal of Catholicism, *The Statement* is particularly important for its focus upon a key theological issue for the post-Vatican II Church, that of Catholic–Jewish relations; and, more broadly, Catholic theological understanding of religious pluralism.[55] The narrative shifts between 1940s Vichy France and the 1980s, a timeframe which spans not only the major phase of Moore's own career as a novelist but also marks developments from pre- to post-Vatican II Roman Catholic thinking. Significantly, the period was characterized by a move away from the traditional "Teaching of Contempt" of Catholics towards Judaism to a more conciliatory stance.[56] The changes are most noted in four documents arising from the Second Vatican Council and the post-Conciliar period, these being:

> *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, Nostra Aetate*, October 28, 1965, Ecumenical Council Vatican II;
>
> *Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration, Nostra Aetate*, December 1 1974, Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews;
>
> *Notes on the Correct Way to present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church*, June 24 1985, Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews;

> *We Remember: a reflection on the shoah*, 16 March, 1998, Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews.[57]

*The Statement*, then, certainly mirrors certain theological developments; and, much to the fore here, Moore's focus on France shows how literary treatment of theological universals can be demonstrated by the particularities of encounter within a specific location.

*The Statement* opens with a strong evocation of France from the perspective of the anonymous "R." His quarry is Pierre Brossard, a wartime Nazi collaborator in Vichy France based on Paul Touvier, and the plot mirrors the patterns of post-War political (religious and secular) collusion which allowed Touvier to escape justice for over forty years. One early assumption in the novel is that the assassin is part of a Jewish conspiracy to track down and kill those who have escaped justice for their crimes against humanity; another assumption is that "It was a known fact that the Church was involved" (7). Brossard, however, manages to kill his potential assassin (as later he kills "T," his second would-be assassin). "R"'s death early on reveals both the identity of "R," one David Tattenbaum, a false Jewish-Canadian identity, and the nature of "The Statement," the paper to be pinned to the murdered Brossard:

> THE STATEMENT
> COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR THE
> JEWISH VICTIMS OF DOMBEY
>
> This man is Pierre Brossard, former Chief of the Second Section of the Marseille region of the milice, condemned to death in absentia by French courts, in 1944 and again in 1946, and further charged with a crime against humanity in the murder of fourteen Jews at Dombey, Alpes-Maritimes, June 15, 1944. After forty-four years of delays, legal prevarications, and the complicity of the Catholic Church in hiding Brossard from justice, the dead are now avenged. This case is closed. (2)

The latter "Statement" highlights Moore's treatment of anti-Semitism within the narrative while *The Statement*, the book itself, amplifies the unfolding historical context of ideological and theological grandnarrative

within post-War France and within the post-Vatican II Roman Catholic Church.

Influenced by Graham Greene, Moore uses a sub-genre of writing which he has identified as the "metaphysical thriller."[58] In this instance, a complex series of factional interactions link conflicts of the novel's plot to wider conflict between and within competing grandnarratives. Simplistically, the major parties can be divided into two main groups. Firstly, there are the protectors of Brossard, significantly those high in French political office as well as reactionaries within the Church. Secondly, there are the pursuers of Brossard, notably these include representatives of French justice and a reformed Church hierarchy. Within this metaphysical thriller, which largely mirrors the Touvier incident except for Brossard's eventual assassination, protectors and pursuers highlight ideological and theological shifts in French political and Catholic ecclesiastical history.

The series of geographical moves, shifts in landscape and setting as Brossard moves around France in search of an ever-elusive security, also present different maps of ideological and religious debate. Associating monasticism with political and religious conservatism, Moore's reactionary forces within the Church are those which demonstrate independence from changes within the post-Vatican II Catholic Church: in Salon du Provence is Dom Vladimir Gorkakov of Abbaye de St. Cros; in Aix, Dom Andres Vergnes of the Prieuré de St. Christophe; in Cannes, Abbé Fessard; in Armijnon, Dom Henri Armijnon, of the Carmelite priory St. Michel des Monts at Villefranche, and finally in Nice, Dom Olivier Villedieu of the Prieuré de la Fraternité Sacerdotale de St Donat. In fear of either imminent capture or assassination, Brossard's passage from monastery to monastery provides Moore with the opportunity for the reader to hear clearly the voice of political right within the French Church and their reflections on Vichy French history.[59] Thus, for instance, the Abbot addresses Father Blaise, the Abbot's liberal "*père hospitalier*":

> "... under the Maréchal Pétain, France was given a chance to revoke the errors, the weakness and selfishness, of the Third Republic, that regime that caused us to lose the war to the Germans. Of course, it was a sad time. I'm denying it. Part of the country was occupied, but you must remember there was a large free zone, the zone of the Vichy Government, the

> Maréchal's government, which was giving us the hope of a new co-operation between our country and Germany. Under the Maréchal, we were led away from selfish materialism and those democratic parliaments that preached a false equality back to the Catholic values we were brought up in: the family, the nation, the Church. But when the Germans lost the war, all that was finished. Stalin's communist armies overran Europe. The enemies of religion came back in force." (73)

Establishing within his fiction an intertextual space which is both literary and theological, Moore explicitly integrates the historical context of Vatican II within the narrative moves of *The Statement.* Thus, Dom Olivier, the Prior General of the Fraternity of St. Donat, has chosen to follow Monsignor Lefebvre, "the former Archbishop of Dakar who believed that, with the abandonment of the Latin mass and the changes that followed Vatican II, Rome was no longer the true Church" (175). Active resistance to post-Conciliar liturgical change is thus portrayed as a mark of political extremism. Dom Olivier's pre-Vatican II liturgical conservatism is associated with the perniciousness of classical Christian anti-Semitism, the association of the Jews with evil personified in the form of the devil, as he explains to the man he had sheltered for so many years:

> Pierre, one of the reasons we have lost the true path is the Devil, more than at any other time in history, has managed to conceal his ways and works. The people have forgotten that the Evil One exists. And, alas, the Church, the Papal Church, has not seen fit to remind them of his existence. If, indeed, the Papal Church believes that the Devil still exists. I am not sure of that, as I am not sure of anything in connection with present-day Rome.... We know, and we have always known, that the Jews do not have the interests of France at heart and that they are still willing to sow dissension and feelings of guilt and blame, more than forty years after the German Occupation. I see that lust for vengeance as inspired by the Devil. (195)

Brossard concurs, reflecting with unrepentant anti-Semitism that the "Devil isn't someone with a cloven hoof and a forked tail," the "Devil is the Jews" (207). With Brossard's greatest public advocate, Monsignor le Moyne

(42), innocent of crimes but duped by a revisionist view of Holocaust history—the "numbers of the dead are exaggerated no doubt, but what matter?" (44)—Moore seemingly presents a damning picture of post-War Catholic involvement in perpetuating prejudicial attitudes toward Judaism. However, with his portrayal of Brossard's pursuers, such a simplistic picture is modified, if not fully overturned.

If Brossard's flight around the south of France charts a complex ideological and theological landscape, Brossard's protectors are only one face of this map of French political and Catholic ecclesiastical life. Thus, post-War political and post-Vatican II Church reform are shown as having radically altered the ideological and theological landscape of France. The literal and metaphorical territory which allowed Brossard to escape justice is shown to have been reduced exponentially. Massed against Brossard are those representative forces which would seek redress for the injustices of France's and the Church's wartime and post-War past. There are a number of such identifiable forces pursuant of Brossard, one of whom turns out to be a former protector.

One major change to France's theological map is the post-Vatican II Catholic Church itself. Thus, Archbishop Delavigne's commission, consisting of an independent group of secular university historians, attempts to provide evidence of ecclesiastical culpability (though not legal judgment). With openness towards the Vatican's "murky" record, including the acknowledgment of "the post-war Vatican passports issued to Nazis to help them escape to South America," Delavigne recognizes the diversity of post-Vatican II Catholicism with his comment the "Church is not monolithic, particularly in France" (66).[60] Representative of such progressive-conservative diversity, Brossard's protectors are indicative of the unreformed elements within the Church. Indeed, unreformed elements in the post-Vatican II Church provide the wider critique of the Church's past, one of indifference as well as active persecution. As one monk comments to a pro-Brossard supporter, the Church "forgives itself for its silence when thousands of Jews were sent to their deaths" (154). Response to recent publications from the Vatican on Catholic-Jewish relations would indicate that much ground still needs to be covered before full reconciliation, statements from the Vatican being described by critics as "a bridge too short."[61] Still, Delavigne's position does mark the major shift in Catholic interfaith relations since the Second

Vatican Council, from *Nostra Aetate* onwards.[62] Internal tensions within the grandnarrative of Catholic theology nevertheless remain reflected in Moore's fiction.

If the public face of Catholic–Jewish relations changed with pronouncements of the Second Vatican Council and the post-Conciliar Church, political change in post-War France is portrayed as lacking such a definitive break with the past. The new state *juge d'instruction* investigating the Brossard case, Madame Annemarie Livi, indeed highlights the long-standing divisions between police and army:

> "I've been told that it concerns the relations between the Commissariat of Police and the Vichy regime. It's a matter of record that the French police were pro-Pétain and collaborated with the German occupiers in deporting Jews to German concentration camps.... The gendarmerie, on the other hand, were sympathetic to the Resistance and to the de Gaulle forces fighting outside France. As a result the gendarmerie has a clean record in the matter of collaboration with the Germans. The Commissariat of Police does not." (36)

It is for this reason that, in the novel, the investigation of Brossard is transferred from the police to the army. Later, it is revealed that Church involvement must be seen in the wider context of continuing political support. Thus, setting the case of Brossard against other post-War trails such as that of Klaus Barbie (and Brossard himself a fictionalized Paul Touvier), the likely assassins of Brossard cannot be traced to "one of the well-known Nazi-hunters like the Klarsfelds or the Wiesenthal Centre" (123) and this provides the clue to culpability within the French political hierarchy. Moore hereby integrates the grandnarrative of competing political ideologies (as well as competing Catholic theologies) into his novel, providing a metatext for the analysis of post-War French political and ecclesiastical history.

Here we have Moore's denouement as a reflection of contemporary theological history. Given the resistance to this development during Vatican II, Moore's portrayal of apparently simplified opposition is not far from historical actuality. Thus, just as deliberations at the Second Vatican Council on Jewish–Christian relations were affected by feelings of bitterness and resentment from Arab Christians in the middle-east,[63] what *The Statement*

demonstrates is the interaction between not only competing (conservative/ reformed) theologies but competing (again conservative/reformed) political ideologies. Colonel Roux, one of Livi's fellow investigators, reveals that "... other Frenchmen are similarly charged but have never been brought to trial. But if Brossard is caught and tried, their trial can't be put off any longer. So, to sum up Madame, I don't believe the Church alone had the power to help Brossard escape the police and the courts over a forty-year period" (67).

Significant here is Commissionaire Vionnet who had arranged the immediate post-War release of Brossard for information received, a means of covering up a "question about deportation orders signed by someone high up in the *préfecture* in Paris." Politically most sensitive, though, is the place of Maurice de Grandville:

> Now eighty years old, with a record of past action requiring judicial investigation, which, over the years, had accumulated thirty tomes of evidence, without his ever spending a night in prison, he had outlived the statute of limitations on his former deeds. Except one, the one that had shadowed his long career. In the years of the German Occupation, as Secretary General of the prefecture of the Gironde, he had facilitated his SS colleagues by organising a series of French deportation trains which sent sixteen hundred people, including two hundred and forty children, to their deaths in Nazi extermination camps. For this action there was no statute of limitations. The crime against humanity. (183)

It is de Grandville's money, channelled by Vionnet and Pochon, which has been supporting Brossard financially while certain monasteries have provided physical shelter. De Grandville, fearing Brossard's revelations on capture, thus arranges for the latter's assassination. Aware of public knowledge of Church complicity with Brossard and expecting no public surprise if a Jewish group is found to be responsible for killing Brossard, it is de Grandville, Vionnet and Pochon who are revealed as the hirers of the assassins and authors of the "statement" which would point, incorrectly, to Jewish involvement in the death of Brossard.

The complexities of this metaphysical thriller are greater for its transhistorical plot, and for the manner in which the grandnarratives of politics and religion merge within Brossard's much smaller story. With the

Commissioner's involvement in the repression of Algerian protest which led to independence in 1962, and through the character and background of the second failed assassin "T," Moore, highlighting the contentious issue of immigration in modern-day France, presents Catholic prejudice against and persecution of the Jews within the wider context of racial conflict and cultural intolerance. Here "T" looks at the photograph of the young Brossard and reflects on his earlier meeting with de Grandville in the context of his own immigrant family history:

> Now he's supposed to be seventy, he should be dead, he's part of history. The milice. Those days are old movies, that's all, Nazi uniforms, propeller bombers, Casablanca with Ingrid Bergman, and chez nous, Rommel in the desert with his tanks, and the Americans landing at Algiers. Papa was a little kid in the Arab quarter in Oran, he saw Rommel's tanks on the run, then the winners, Americans, French, British, parading through the streets, he loved that, he loved uniforms, Papa, he wanted to be a soldier, not the ones in France, not Vichy, not the ones this guy fought for, but de Gaulle's. Not that it mattered. No matter which French side you fight for, the French will fuck you, like they did Papa, who couldn't wait to grow up and join the French army, yes, in '55, signing on in Algiers, he was twenty years old, and they filled him full of lies, he was to be a Harkis, part of an elite commando, auxiliary troops, riding camels, encamped beside the French, Papa was in the top commando, the Georges, Muslims against French officers, fighting for Salan and the junta against the FLN, our own brothers. I wonder if that rich Jew officer tonight knew I'm the son of a Harkis. No, he wouldn't know that. I'm not dark, like Papa. I can always pass for French. (32–33)[64]

Elsewhere in the novel, similar themes are presented. As Bouchard—the winegrower, talking with Monsignor le Moyne, arch-advocate of Brossard—says, returning "obsessively to the subject of immigrant population," blaming the Muslim element in his son's school for the boy's involvement with drugs: "Le Pen is right .... Send them back where they came from. What do you think Father? Wouldn't you vote for Le Pen, if you were me?"(44–45).[65]

France, though, becomes a prison for Brossard as, trapped by memory, political changes in French society, and theological shifts in Church culture,

his demise becomes inevitable. Residual pre-Vatican II attitudes and post-Vatican II developments in Catholic thinking on Catholic–Jewish relations are thus mirrored within *The Statement* when his (still undiscovered) political protectors take direct responsibility for his assassination. In the last lines of the narrative, we are left with Pierre Brossard's final and unrepentant stream of consciousness which, at least in part, reflects too the collective conscience of extremist elements within the Catholic Church: "Pain consumed him but through it he struggled to say, at last, that prayer the Church had taught him, that true act of contrition for his crimes. But he could feel no contrition. He had never felt contrite for the acts of his life. And, now when he asked God's pardon, God chose to show him fourteen dead Jews" (218). If Brossard is finally unrepentant for both his crimes and his anti-Semitic attitudes, his death at the hands of his right-wing former political protectors marks a public separation of such ideological and theological extremes. Wartime collaboration between the Church and the Vichy government had been possible because of—albeit loosely shared and perhaps unsystematic—anti-Semitic attitudes, the classical "teaching of contempt" which historically marked Jewish–Catholic relations. If in post-War France anti-Semitic and more broadly racist ideology remains prominent through figures such as Le Pen and the French National Front, then post-Vatican II, it is an ideology which the Church can no longer support theologically.

## *The Magician's Wife* (1997)

Moore's final novel confirms the importance of colonial geography in the representation of religious and ideological space. Landscape is central to the portrayal of belief in *The Magician's Wife* just as it has been in his other fictions, but here its explicitness is distinctive. Set in the mid-nineteenth century, the book is divided between two continents, a cross-cultural feature not unknown to his other novels, but unlike before, this book's two geographical settings are stated as titles, openly linking both history and geography; the first being "France, 1856" and the second, with Moore's first full literary journey into Africa, "Algeria, 1856."[66] *The Magician's Wife* portrays the historical roots of Catholic co-operation within the French colonization of North Africa but finally contextualizes both theology and imperialism within a postcolonial and post-Vatican II perspective.

A French magician, Henri Lambert, is enticed into the court of Napoleon III, and his skills as a conjuror are to be employed in the process of colonial subjugation in nineteenth-century Algeria. Here, in classic colonial fashion, Europe meets Africa, the contrasting territories highlighting cultural otherness as much as physical difference.[67] A waning, post-Enlightenment French Catholicism[68] oddly combined with pseudo-scientific conjuror's tricks of illusion meets a seemingly credulous, and essentially pre-scientific African Muslim "other." The historical context, despite a vastly different physical and ideological landscape, is reminiscent of *Black Robe.* Moore has again looked to the past for a physical place to experiment with the ambiguities of contrasting and conflicting belief systems—in *Black Robe* between the French Jesuits and the First Nations, and in *The Magician's Wife* between the modern scientific rationality (and residual Catholicism) of the French and the pre-modern faith of Islamic Algeria.[69]

On the French side, then, there is a clear but ambiguous alliance between religion and politics in a post-Enlightenment France.[70] The relationship between the Church and the powers of the Napoleonic State is thus consistently uneasy, with the narrative highlighting the continued centrality of Catholic religious orthodoxy, and thus continued papal influence, in the presence of the sectarian and religious other within nineteenth-century French society: "Freemasons, like Jews, were frequently cited as the enemies of religion and although Napoleon III was known to be more liberal than his predecessors the Church had lost none of its powers to punish transgressors" (67). At Mass, though, for instance at Compiègne, the Emperor is not present; and the Empress with a modern self-reflection critically surveys this central Christian sacrament of the eucharist within a context of increasing secularization:

> Emmeline knelt at her pew and put her head down as if in prayer. But she did not pray. After a few moments she looked at the congregation and saw that, as so often at Mass, she was not alone in this absence of prayer. The ladies in their lace veils were covertly studying their neighbours. The gentlemen perused their missal like inattentive students, and everyone from time to time looked up at the alcove where the Empress knelt, her hands entwined in her rosary, her eyes fixed on the altar. Emmeline glanced sideways at her husband and saw that, as always in church, he read his

> missal carefully, from time to time studying the movements of the priest on the altar as though by paying close attention he might one day solve the mystery of changing bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. What did he think of miracles; did he, who had said that all such things were illusions, include in his condemnation the mystery and miracle of the Mass? (67)

The pre-eminence of the secular forces over and above those of the Church does not mean, though, that the Third Republic is averse to using religion as a means of political influence. Aside from the social conformity enforced amidst a largely secular gathering at Compiègne, it is Napoleon's representative Deniau, Head of the Bureau de Arabe, who sees the merits of employing Lambert's magical powers to convince the Arabs of the superior spiritual authority of French "Christians" over Muslim religious leaders.

There is no little irony here, of course, in that Lambert represents from the outset of the novel a man who has aspiration to all the scientific rationality that the Enlightenment can afford. The preoccupation with clocks (there are forty of them in Henri Lambert's Tours residence) is largely symptomatic of this, as is the predominance of mechanical gadgetry in the household. The devices which alert the head of the household to intruders or more benign visitors suggests more significantly a secular struggle for omniscience, a clear analogy to powers of a scientific modernity to replace a pre-modern religiosity.

Ironic too is Lambert's quest for personal and social status, as is the embarrassment of the magician's wife, who fears that Lambert is simply a magician, a conjuror, a performer of tricks. At home in France, he may entertain theatres with his skills, but educated audiences will always assess his performance as a demonstration of trickery and pretence, however skilful. That less educated or sophisticated audiences, especially in the French countryside, identify Lambert's skills with the supernatural ("local tradesmen who think us in league with the devil") (29), and most definitely with a pre-modern, indeed often pre-Christian, pagan worldview, only illustrates his imprecise and indeterminate status as representative of either the pre-modern or the modern. Lambert does constantly attempt to be more than a magician, to raise both his social and scientific status. This is indicated in his willingness to help the Emperor and France in ways which would, and which in the end

do, make him more than an entertainer, it being his wife's major social fear that he be regarded as only that; and it is part of Lambert's argument to convince her to attend the royal gathering at Compiègne to which she feels she will be excluded: "you'll be treated as the wife of an inventor, which is just as high a calling as a sculptor or writer or any other intellectual" (8). From the outset, though, Lambert remains on an epistemological (as well as socially indeterminate) middle ground between pre-modern magic religiosity and the scientific modernity of the Enlightenment, as he himself realizes: "He no longer thought of himself as a magician. Now he was an inventor, a scientist. But would a real scientist spend his days making mechanical marionettes?" (4).

Still, it is Colonel Deniau, the key instigator in using Lambert for political ends, who plays upon the potential perceptions of Lambert's "magical" skills as spiritual authority amongst the Arab population, a rhetoric which Lambert himself takes to heart: "Fear mixed with awe and reverence for the unknown, for something we do not understand. That's at the heart of all magic ... But in Africa ... the Arabs will never have seen illusion such as I can devise. Believe me, to them I will be the most holy of marabouts" (76). That electricity is used as part of the demonstrations to impress and frighten the "unscientific" Arabs indicates a colonial use of modernity under the guise of a superstitious, pre-modern religiosity, Lambert being described "a great Christian sorcerer" (112). As Deniau claims: "What we need to convince the Arabs is something even more spectacular, something which will both frighten and amaze them ... supernatural powers" (58).

In contrast to an expanding but secularizing French Empire, Algeria represents a reverse demarcation between religious (marabout) and secular (sheik) authority. It is the marabouts' capacity to declare jihad against the French which is central to Deniau's colonial manipulations, as he explains to Lambert: "Muslim countries are very different from ours. Their marabouts or saints have a political and spiritual influence which is greater than the power of any ruler.... An unfortunate situation for the sheiks" (58). However, aside from French recognition of the marabouts' political influence through religious authority, Deniau sees nationalism epitomizing the true faith of imperialism, a substitute for French Catholic identity in post-Enlightenment times ("Today's true devotion was reserved for the flag"[71]): "I have great plans for Algeria. I see it as the meeting ground between East and West and

the key to our empire's economic expansion" (58). Already a declining influence in post-Enlightenment France, Catholicism retains a nominal role in Napoleon III's colonial advancement; and attempts to convince the Arabs of the spiritual superiority of "Christianity" over Islam with no more than Lambert's electrical trickery does indicate the role religion played in the imperial process. Conversely, from the Algerian side, religion later plays a major part in the resistance of imperialism and Enlightenment-inspired secular modernity.[72] It is a perverse "theology of imperialism" which thus provokes Lambert to admit: "I am a sorcerer. I am Christian. I am French. God, whom you call Allah, protects me. As he will protect my country from any enemy who dares to strike a blow against France" (59).

Such comment is shared by Deniau in using the false miracle of science for imperial ends under the guise of a duplicitous religiosity, "... we may convince them that Islam is not alone in possessing miraculous powers ... we will present him as a greater marabout than Bou-Aziz and convince them that God is not on their side but ours" (61). It is, however, the magician's wife (her designation a sign of derivative status and social marginality[73]) who reveals the trickery behind the surface "spiritual" power of her husband's magic to the leading marabout, Bou-Aziz, thereby exposing the bankruptcy of this avowed complicity between between theology and imperialism. Moore had earlier set a number of possible manifestations of compromise for Emmeline: first with a lecherous Napoleon III at Compiègne and second through an ironic juxtaposition of female and eastern licentiousness in a potential sexual encounter between Emmeline and Deniau where "she sensed that in a strange exotic country she would face a new dilemma ... in that momentary covert closing of an eye, was proposed the ultimate betrayal" (61).

It is not exploited sexual power but combined political and spiritual authority, though, which the narrative provides Emmeline and, later, Bou-Aziz. Thus in the novel's key encounter between the magician's wife and Bou-Aziz, two figures on the imperial margins, Moore focuses on "otherness," giving voice and finally power to the disempowered: the female "other," within the physical bounds of imperial France but beyond influence there now given the narrative opportunity to subvert Empire; the Islamic "other," geographically "external" to North Africa but open to imminent subjugation and territorial incorporation. Bou-Aziz finally makes no use of the insight provided by Emmeline and in accepting the will of Allah allows for the

French conquest to be completed. Here is presented Islam's weakness and strength: in accepting the will of Allah and not exposing Lambert, Algeria receives but finally resists French colonialism. This strength is recognized by the magician's wife, herself "other," by virtue of being a woman: "Their faith was not more spiritual than Christianity, but it was stronger, frightening in its intensity, with a certitude Christianity no longer possessed" (198).

After all, on the way to Compiègne, it is acknowledged that Emmeline was "Catholic but no longer devout" (68). Indeed, Lambert "had forgotten to include prayer books in their luggage," this symptomatic of the more explicit revelation later that "religious observance became an obligation, not an act of worship," that "in large measure, she had lost her faith" (195). By contrast, while in Algeria, close to the Sahara (the "spiritual landscape" acknowledged even by Deniau, 127) we have the closest contrast between the formal but insincere, residual religiosity of post-Enlightenment France and a world where spirituality was a reality integral to all aspects of Algerian life: "Never in France, in cathedral, convent or cloister, had she felt the intensity of belief everywhere present in the towns, villages, farms and deserts of this land. It was a force at once terrifying and inspiring, a faith with no resemblance to the Christian belief in Mass and sacraments, hellfire and damnation, sin and redemption, penance and forgiveness" (196).

In a world where "Everything comes from God" and where the marabout are seemingly defined by "baraka – holiness" Emmeline's newfound spiritual assuredness is replaced by despair when her identity is displaced from both European home and the religious, cultural, and geographical "other": "As of this moment she no longer felt she belonged in the world of Tours, Paris and Compiègne. And yet she must return to it. There was no other choice. For this world of total fervour, of blind resignation, was one she neither could, nor would, wish to enter" (195–96). It is this distinct religious, cultural, and political identity which neither French imperialism nor the ambiguously complicit Catholicism can eliminate in the process of colonization, the trace of the subjugated other nowhere more apparent than in the mosques converted for other uses. In the following passage, this relationship between imperialism and Catholicism is most clearly signalled as Archbishop François du Chatel says High Mass in celebration of victory in the South:

> In this former mosque, columns fifty feet high supported the cupola which was lit from above by stained glass windows. The altar was on the north side, decorated by a painting of the Virgin which had been presented to the cathedral by the Pope. Yet above this painting in prominent relief was a series of ornate, interlaced sentences from the Koran which had not been erased despite the fact that they proclaimed in Arabic that there is only one God and Muhammad is his prophet. (107–8)

The sign of Islam's theological simplicity remains in the trace of the Shahadah and the theological impurity of Catholicism is revealed; indeed, just as the expectations of Lambert being recognized as a Christian spiritual force by the imperialist French, he becomes perceived by Algerian Muslims as its evil antithesis, an "infidel sorcerer," "Chitan/Satan" (115).

Of course, Moore risks an oversimplified representation of Catholicism here—particularly through Lambert—as a tradition entirely in collusion with imperialism. There is much in the narrative by which both Catholicism and Islam might share sympathies in a nineteenth-century context: both would reject Lambert's sorcery *per se*, and certainly its pretence to supernatural origin and efficacy. More widely, as we have seen, Catholicism in the nineteenth century was itself as embattled politically as it was theologically: politically the loss of the papal states in Italy, for instance, coincided historically with manifold challenges to theology presented not only by enlightenment rationalism but the rise of science and industrialization. We have already outlined the anti-modernist response of the Church from Vatican I in the mid-nineteenth century through to the latter half of the twentieth century; and Moore's later novels such as *The Colour of Blood* and *The Statement* indirectly illustrate how in the twentieth century, Catholicism has continued both to accommodate with and to struggle against such modern manifestations of imperialism as communist ideological forces and Nazism and fascism. Lambert's characterization (and indeed Emmeline's perception of Islam's spiritual purity in the desert landscape) risks a simple reversal of the (still-current) traditional Western misrepresentation of Islam, that is, a portrayal of a "good" Islam and a "bad" Western Christian imperialism.

As we have seen, though, Lambert has been used for imperialist political ends under the guise of a pseudo-Catholic religiosity to convince Muslim Arabs of the superiority of Christianity not only spiritually but politically.

Moore has rightly highlighted here the key cultural difference between a separation of Church and State in nineteenth-century France and the integration of religious and secular power in nineteenth-century Islamic Algeria. in post-Independence Algeria, the struggle between the secular state and those who would wish for a return to this historical theocracy remains, but Moore seems more overtly concerned with the dangers of religion as it becomes embroiled in the mechanisms of State power. We saw this in the tension presented between Church and State in *The Colour of Blood, No Other Life,* and *The Statement.* In Moore's final novel, Lambert's lack of humanity is seen most profoundly not in his single-minded pursuit of political gain (in the widest sense, personal and national) but in the neglect of his servant, Jules Guillaumin, as the latter dies a lonely death from cholera. It is a death made more painful by Lambert's failure to visit and a lack of humanity heightened further by Lambert's considered indifference when Guillaumin finally dies. Just so, Catholicism finally retains its spirituality authority—as it has lost its meaning for those embroiled in the corrupting privileges of empire, court and privilege—as the Jesuit priest ministers the last rites to Jules Guillaumin in his dying days (165–73). Once again, of course, we see a personal eschatological encounter providing (here on the margins) a literary, metaphysical contextualization of human history.[74]

In *The Magician's Wife,* with an authorial foresight on history, flag and faith, nationalism and religion, are nevertheless seen as the twin forces which eventually win Algeria's independence. Moore's italicized concluding sentences to *The Magician's Wife* thereby contextualize the novel in events which give credence to an historical, metafictional, and postcolonial reading of his work:

> *The following year, in the summer of 1857, French armies under the command of Maréchal Randon and General MacMahon subdued the tribes of Kabylia, thus completing the conquest of Algeria by France.*
>
> *In the summer of 1962, Algeria officially declared its independence, ending the French presence in that country.* (215)

Coincidental perhaps, but the year of Algerian independence, 1962, is also that of the opening of the Second Vatican Council. It might be argued

that Moore's novel attempts explicitly to link a new post-Vatican II theological thinking with a postcolonial perspective. Interpreting the relationship with Islam as "people of the Book," the Second Vatican Council provided a radical re-identification with Islam in a relationship as historical as it is textual – a universal soteriology accepting difference and celebrating the other.[75] Moore presents the history of Catholicism as complicit in French colonialism but, taking the wider post-Vatican II and postcolonial perspectives, it is a Catholicism implicitly rehabilitated by a new allegiance with the oppressed and the marginalized.[76]

*The Magician's Wife* presents two distinct landscapes and cultures in one historical encounter. Focusing on a specific year in the colonial histories of France and Algeria, Moore's final novel presents the events of 1856 as part of a wider, subsequent history, to which novelist and reader have privileged access. As in *Black Robe*, issues of colonization relate both the religious and secular, and this relationship between theology and imperialism certainly adds too to the complexities of the encounter in *The Magician's Wife*. Here Moore portrays the often anti-religious spirit of Enlightenment rationalism that was to provide a frequently aggressive (economic, political, scientific) process of a modernizing hegemony. With colonialism – cultural and territorial imperialism – being the most militant expression of such European hubris, religious traditions have sought both *rapprochement* with and resistance to such modernity. Moore's later novels clearly portray the risks inherent in Catholicism's attempts at either. *The Magician's Wife* provides a literary view of the historical antecedents of such accommodation and confrontation. Moore's final novel provides too a view of how both the theologically universal and the culturally particular will come increasingly to the fore in a postcolonial and post-Vatican II era.

# Part IV
# Conclusion

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 7

# Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism: A Conclusion

SINCE Judith Hearne's ill-fated liaison with James Madden, Moore's narratives have personalized the encounter of both cultures and continents. Invariably, shifts in physical, metaphysical, and cultural geography—often though not exclusively through migration—push characters' identities, especially their Catholic identity, to the limit, and often to crisis. A complex of physical, overtly stated geographical locations, Moore's narratives represent too a dense literary realm of ideological and theological intertextuality. These literary environments encompass in the broadest sense the confrontation of Catholicism with other, often conflicting, worldviews. We have examined at some length the particularities of novels whose primary focus has predominantly been Ireland and America, though, as with so many of Moore's novels, his texts are both cross-cultural and transcontinental. It has been contended that these physical and metaphysical, political and religious, landscapes of encounter represent Moore's distinctive literary portrayal of Catholicism; and, crucially, that the formation and reformation, the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of Catholic identity which these novels contain are best understood by placing the novels themselves and their portrayal of Catholicism in the context of a wider Catholic theological history, particularly in the light of the Councils of the Church. It is the period surrounding the Second Vatican Council which is the most significant, indeed pivotal, context for understanding Moore's portrayal of Catholicism.

Yet a major area of neglect in critical appraisals of Moore is precisely the analysis of the theological detail of Catholicism so portrayed in his novels. It has been the consistent underlying premise here that an examination of the wider cultural, social, ideological, and theological development of Catholicism as an historically evolving worldview is thus required. As

consistent benchmarks of Catholic Christian theology over twenty centuries, the Councils of the Church provide the key defining positions of Catholicism over the full extent of its history. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I have argued, then, that Catholicism has been defined by two such Councils: Vatican I and Vatican II. Sufficient detail has been addressed to these as appropriate theological reference points for Moore's novels; indeed, to the extent that pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism provides the fundamental structure for this work. Even for the one novel outside of a nineteenth- or twentieth-century context, *Black Robe* enables too a (partially anachronistic) reading of post-Vatican II theology within a literary treatment of missionary activity in early colonial Canada.[1]

In broad terms, the case for developing a neglected (and essential) theological hermeneutic for understanding Moore's portrayal of Catholicism has been strengthened not simply by the abiding presence of Catholic themes within Moore's novels but because of the contemporary theological transformation of Catholic tradition itself. While a crucial area of this transformation is Catholicism's self-definition, or ecclesiology, just as important in a post-Vatican II era has been the character and direction of Catholicism's encounter with religious and ideological difference.[2] Thus, while sectarianism still characterizes Catholic encounter with, for example, the Protestant "other" in Irish society on many levels[3] (as evidenced by Moore's Irish fictions), the post-Vatican II Catholic encounter with religious and ideological difference has been and continues to be of a qualitatively different order from that of pre-Vatican II days. It is such reformulations of theology, especially subsequent to the Second Vatican Council, that need to be considered when surveying Moore's portrayal of Catholicism, especially in later works where theological and ideological concerns are so forcibly conjoined.[4]

There is here, though, in Moore's portrayal of Catholicism, a point of significance which extends beyond developments within Catholicism itself: Moore's increasing preoccupation with the public role of religion. This is especially apparent in his ambivalent portrayal of Catholicism's relations with imperialism and colonialism, and with ideology in general. Moore hereby provides literary focus on the growing sociological and historical evidence that counters the once-unchallenged premises of Enlightenment-derived secularization theory: that with increasing modernization, societies

become increasingly less religious; that diminishing public and political significance for religion effectively entails the residual presence of religious belief and practice as an increasingly private phenomenon.[5] The secularization thesis is thus countered by the global persistence of religious belief and practice in a number of studies, again both historical and sociological.[6]

Moore's ouevre sets, then, a literary agenda which implicitly calls for renewed critical focus on the theological in the study of literary texts; particularly in the manner in which such intertextuality highlights the ambivalent relationship between the theological and the imperial.[7] What becomes most clear is that many of the assumptions concerning the complicity of theology—especially Christianity—in the history of imperialism and colonization needs to be revised in the light of contemporary transformations in theological thinking.[8] Within Catholicism, the need for such revision of assumptions is highlighted by post-Vatican II developments in theology: most significantly in social teaching, but also in an increasingly pluralized (if not democratized) ecclesiology and a universalist soteriology. In an historical period which has witnessed revolutions in postcolonial relations and post-Vatican II theology, the late Brian Moore's five decades of writing—from *Judith Hearne* to *The Magician's Wife*—confirm the need for such revision within a literary context; and it is perhaps surprising that biocritical commentators have not remarked on how Moore's perspective as a committed non-believer adds weight to this case for re-assessing the place of theology in the literary representation of postcoloniality.

Moore's later novels share similar theological and ideological preoccupations. Aside from those novels which reflect Catholicism's complicity with imperialism, as in *Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife*, his portrayal of post-Vatican II Catholicism draws upon the political influence of theology in giving voice to those marginalized within colonial and imperial histories. In the novels, this invariably highlights the ambivalent historical and contemporary role of the Catholic Church. This joint ideological and theological focus is apparent where, for good or ill, Catholicism retains a prominent public role. Thus, in *The Colour of Blood*, the Catholic Church struggles to maintain a balance between national life and religious identity in the context of atheistic communism in Eastern Europe. In *No Other Life*, a priest–president—a fictionalized Aristide—struggles against the dictatorial aftermath of French and American

colonization, even in the face of eccesiastical intransigence from the Vatican. In *The Statement*, Moore portrays contemporary attempts within the Church to make amends for Catholic anti-Semitism during the Vichy regime in France, while the author's final work, *The Magician's Wife*, examines Catholic theological complicity within French imperialism in nineteenth-century North Africa.

In line, then, with that already-highlighted tension between Catholic theological universality and the particularity of its cultural, and specifically geographical, expression, post-Vatican II Catholicism has increasingly lost its Eurocentric focus, a tension not without its own ecclesiastical conflicts.[9] It is thus entirely natural that Moore's novels should themselves reflect an increasingly evident geographical as well as theological diversity: the author's continuing preoccupation with religion reflecting substantive and not simply metaphorical interests in Catholic tradition.[10] Indeed, where post-Vatican II Catholicism seems to have gained greater strength in the diversity of its global, and not simply Eurocentric, development, Moore's novels demonstrate renewed theological meaning in issues of social justice, especially since Medellin; but, as we have seen, both in literary and historical terms, such potentially "revolutionary" politicization has not been without its conservative critics.[11] Thus, from the 1980s onwards, and from Cardinal Wojtyla's accession to the papacy in particular, Vatican thinking has demonstrated a shift away from the potential political upheaval inherent in radical interpretations of Vatican II, especially the overt politicization of the Church through theologies of liberation. Especially in the realm of Church–State relations, Moore's later fictions reflect too the tension between the temporal and the transcendent which is so current an issue in contemporary Catholicism and its unfolding theological history.

# Endnotes

## Preface
## The Novels of Brian Moore: Critical Contours

1 H. Dahlie, *Brian Moore* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), *Brian Moore* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), "Brian Moore: A Biocritical Essay," in J. F. Tener, and A. Steele (eds), *The Brian Moore Papers First and Second Accession: An Inventory of the Archive at the University of Calgary Libraries* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987), ix–xxvii; J. Flood, *Brian Moore* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1974); J. W. *Foster Forces and Themes in Ulster's Fiction* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1974), 122–30; 151–85; R. Studing, "A Brian Moore Bibliography," *Eire-Ireland* 10 (1975): 89–105; B. McIlroy, "A Brian Moore Bibliography 1974–1987," *Irish University Review* 18, (1998): 106–33; J. F. Tener and A. Steele (eds), *The Brian Moore Papers: First Accession and Second Accession: An Inventory of the Archive of the University of Calgary Libraries* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987); J. O'Donoghue, *Brian Moore; A Critical Study* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991); R. Sullivan, *A Matter of Faith: The Fiction of Brian Moore* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996); D. Sampson, *Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist* (Dublin: Marino Books, 1998).

2 Sullivan, *A Matter of Faith*, xiii.

3 Sampson, *Brian Moore.*

4 Sampson, *Brian Moore*, 9–51; 52–65; 66–76; 125–35; 169–76; 184–85; 289.

5 H. Dahlie, *Brian Moore* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), *Brian Moore* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), "Brian Moore: A Biocritical Essay," in Tener and Steele (eds), *The Brian Moore Papers.*

6 Moore was awarded the Canadian Governor General's Award for *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* and *The Great Victorian Collection.* The most acclaimed and substantial early article on Moore as a Canadian author is J. Ludwig, "Brian Moore: Ireland's Loss, Canada's Novelist," in *Critique: Studies in Modern Fiction* 12 (1962): 5–13. Somewhat ironically, it is Ludwig who makes Moore heir to Joyce. On Moore within the Canadian literary canon, see D. Cameron, "Brian Moore," in *Conversations with Canadian Novelists* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973), 64–85. See also G. Woodcock, in W. Walsh (ed), "Away from Lost Worlds: Notes on the Development of Canadian Literature," *Readings in Commonwealth Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon

Press, 1973), 209–20; B. Meyer and B. O'Riordan, "Brian Moore: In Celebration of the Commonplace," *In Their Words: Interviews with Fourteen Canadian Novelists* (Toronto: Anansi, 1984), 169–83; P. Goetsch, "Brian Moore's Canadian Fiction," in H. Kosok (ed), *Studies in Anglo-Irish Literature* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1982), 345–56. See also, for instance, the following: S. Hirschenberg, "Growing Up Abject as Theme in Brian Moore's Novels," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 1 (1976): 11–18; J. Moss, *Patterns in English Canadian Fiction* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 23–24, 82–83; H. McPherson, "Fiction 1940–1960," in C. F. Klinck (ed), *Literary History of Canada* (2d ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 230–31; J. Jones *Canadian Fiction* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), 96–99, 134–35; J. Moss, *The Reader's Guide to the Canadian Novel* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), 208–13, B. Stovel, "Brian Moore: The Realist's Progress," *English Studies in Canada* 7 (1981): 183–200; R. Green, "The Function of Poetry in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream,*" *Canadian Literature* 93 (1982): 164–72; W. H. New, *Macmillan History of Literature: A History of Canadian Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 215, and M. Rose, "Brian Moore," in *The Canadian Dictionary of Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). See, too, Moore's obituary by J. Bemrose, "Perpetual Outsider: Canada Loses a Writer the World Could Claim," *Maclean's* 112 (January 1999): 61; M. Richler, "Memories of Moore," *Saturday Night* 114.2 (March 1999): 45–46; "Brian Moore, 1921–1999," *Quill & Quire* 65.3 (March 1999): 17. Cf. H. Vandervlist, "Brian Moore: Irish at Heart But Still One of Ours," in *FFWD* (9–15 April 1998): 10, and Brian Moore's posthumously published "Going Home," *The New York Times Book Review* (7 February 1999): 27. In this latter short piece, originally commissioned by *Granta,* Moore writes of his desire to return to Ireland for burial.

7 Respectively: Flood, *Brian Moore,* 13–34, covering *Judith Hearne* and *The Feast of Lupercal*; 35–63, covering *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* and *An Answer from Limbo*; 64–88, covering *The Emperor of Ice-Cream, I Am Mary Dunne,* and *Fergus*; and 89–96, covering *The Revolution Script* and *Catholics.*

8 Flood's work is restricted to novels published up to 1972, and thus with a consideration of *Catholics* and *The Revolution Script.* The latter is not easily classified as fiction and it is therefore not included in this present study. It is an account of the kidnap of a British trade minister, James Cross, and a French-Canadian politician, Pierre Laporte, by the Quebec liberation terrorist group, the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), in Montreal in 1970.

9 D. Bolger (ed), *The Picador Book of Contemporary Irish Fiction* (London: Picador, 1994), vii–xxviii and 442–62; S. Deane, *A Short History of Irish Literature* (London: Hutchinson, 1986), 220–21; A. N. Jeffares, *Anglo-Irish Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1982); Murray, ed, *Irish University Review: Brian Moore Issue* 18 (1988); P. Rafroidi, "The Great Brian Moore Collection," in Harmon and Rafroidi (eds), *The Irish Novel in Our Time,* 221–36.

10 J. Cronin, "Ulster's Alarming Novels," *Eire-Ireland* 4 (1969): 27–34; J. Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster's Fiction* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1974) reads Moore as part of the socio-cultural, and specifically religious setting of Belfast; E. Longley, *The Living Stream: Literature & Revisionism in Ireland* (Newcastle: Bloodaxe Books, 1994).

11 Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*, 5.

12 For an alternative canonical focus, see K. McMurray, *Four Contemporary Novelists: Angus Wilson, Brian Moore, John Fowles, V. S. Naipaul* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1983); cf. Moore's entry in *The Oxford Companion to British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

13 Her headings are: "The Early Belfast Novels" (*Judith Hearne, The Feast of Lupercal*, but interestingly not *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*); "Novels of Exile and Escape" (all novels from *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* to *The Mangan Inheritance*, strangely including the supposed "sport" Catholics). "Belief in a Secular World" and "Politics as Morality" assess the developing geographical and theological breadth of Moore's fiction from *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes* through *Cold Heaven, Black Robe, The Colour of Blood* and *Lies of Silence.*

14 This is possibly derivative of an earlier study. O'Donoghue acknowledges P. F. Walsh, *Technique as Discovery: The Novels of Brian Moore* (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1973).

15 Sullivan seems to be following Gallagher here, "Religion as Favourite Metaphor," *Irish University Review* 18 (1988): 50–58. At the date of publication (1996), Moore's oeuvre was naturally incomplete, and Sullivan's study contains only minimal reference to *No Other Life*, 1993 and none to *The Statement*, 1995, or *The Magician's Wife*, 1997.

16 Sullivan, *A Matter of Faith*, 109–26. Previous chapters focused "Belfast: The Insular World" (*Judith Hearne, The Feast of Lupercal, The Emperor of Ice-Cream*, together with *The Doctor's Wife* and *Lies of Silence*), "Forms of Self-regard: The Irish Americans" (*An Answer from Limbo, I Am Mary Dunne, Fergus* and *The Mangan Inheritance*), and "The Temptation of Giant Despair" (*The Temptation of Eileen Hughes, Cold Heaven, Catholics, The Colour of Blood* and *Black Robe*).

17 J. Cronin, "The Resilient Realism of Brian Moore," *The Irish University Review* 18 (1988): 24–36.

18 A reference to the often-cited C. Ricks, "The Simple Excellence of Brian Moore," 1966, *The New Statesman* 71 (1966): 227–28.

19 Sampson is the latest in a line of critics to see the nineteenth-century novel as the major influence on Moore; cf. Cronin, "The Resilient Realism of Brian Moore."

20 Joyce's influence on Moore was also noted by many early critics; again, see Ludwig, "Brian Moore: Ireland's Loss, Canada's Novelist," in *Critique: Studies in Modern Fiction* 12 (1962): 5–13; also D. Mahon, "Webs of Artifice: On the Novels of Brian Moore," *The New Review* 3 (1976): 43.

21 For Moore as postmodernist, see S. Deane "The Real Thing: Brian Moore in Disneyland," *Irish University Review* 18 (1988): 74–82.

22 See B. Moore, "Old Father, Old Artificer," *Irish University Review* 12 (1982): 13–16. For Moore's wider Irish influences, especially in relationship to Irish censorship laws, see J. Carlson, *Banned in Ireland: Censorship and the Irish Writer* (London: Routledge, 1990), 111–21.

23 Jorge Luis Borges is given the epigraph in *No Other Life*:

> God moves the player, he, in turn, the piece.
> But what God beyond God begins the round
> of dust and time and dream and agonies?

24 There is restricted access to relevant biocritical material related to Moore's early, repressed fiction in the University of Calgary Brian Moore Special Collection.

25 My reasons for focusing on the *texts* of Moore's novels—and their intertextual relation with Catholic tradition—derive from a desire for methodological clarity. Simply put, in regard to the portrayal of Catholicism, Moore's novels themselves reveal more consistently the author's theological and related concerns than any extant interview, biographical, or biocritical sources. Where I cite Moore's own considerations of his writing from interview sources, I do so rarely and only early on in this volume and to draw critical attention away from the author and to his literary output. Moore's citation here is thus relevant: "There is no point in visiting a great writer for he is incarnate in his works." See C. Boylan, "Brian Moore: Imagination and Experience," in C. Boylan (ed), *The Agony and the Ego: The Art and Strategy of Fiction Writing Explored* (London: Penguin, 1993), 47–54. Sampson's use of this on the opening page of his biocritical study is both ironic and typical of how few critics of Moore have taken such advice to heart.

26 See D. Duffy, "Life of Brian More Literary than Biographical" Review of *Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist* by Sampson, *Globe and Mail* (19 September 1998): 34; also P. Gray, "Writer of Mystery: Brian Moore: 1921–1999," *Time* (25 January 1999): 56.

## Chapter 1

# Landscapes of Encounter: The Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore

1 J. McDade, "Catholic Theology in the Postconciliar Period," in A. Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After* (London: SPCK, 1991), 422–43.

2 For historical and theological overviews of Vatican II Catholicism, see A. Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism.* M.A. Hayes and L. Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader* (New York: Continuum, 1999) provides an overview of post-Vatican II theology. Also useful are G. Alberigo, J. P. Jossua and J. A. Komonchak (eds), *The Reception of Vatican II* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1987) and R. Latourelle (ed), *Vatican II: Assessments and Perspectives: Twenty-Five Years After (1962–1987)*, 3 vols. (New York/Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1989). For primary sources, the early W. A. Abbott (ed), *The Documents of Vatican II* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966) was supplanted by A. Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (rev. ed., Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1992). For unsurpassed commentary on the formation of the Council's documents, see H. Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, 5 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1969).

3 Predominantly, I use the term Catholic to refer to the Roman Catholic Church, seeing the two as commonly interchangeable. See R. McBrien, *Catholicism* (rev. ed., San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994). McBrien comments:

> Are Catholics who are in communion with Rome *Roman* Catholics or just plain Catholics? Some inside as well as outside the Catholic Church think it ecumenically insensitive to drop the adjective Roman because so many Anglican, Orthodox, Protestant, and Oriental Christians also regard themselves as Catholic. But other Catholics object to the use of the adjective *Roman* on ecclesiological grounds. For such Catholics *Roman* tends to confuse rather than define the reality of Catholicism.
>
> The history of the Church begins with Jesus' gathering of his disciples and with the postresurrection commissioning of Peter to be the chief shepherd and foundation of the Church – but in Jerusalem, not in Rome. Therefore, it is not the *Roman* primacy that gives Catholicism one of its distinctive marks of identity within the family of Christian Churches, but the *Petrine* primacy. The adjective *Roman* applies more properly to the diocese, or see, of Rome than to the world-wide Church which is in union with the Bishop of Rome. Indeed, it strikes some Catholics as contradictory to call the Church Catholic and Roman Catholic at one and the same time. (2)

4 With the exception of *I Am Mary Dunne, Lies of Silence,* and *Catholics* (all London: Vintage, 1992), *The Statement* (London: Flamingo, 1997) and *The Magician's Wife* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), all references are to the standard reprinted edition (London: Flamingo, 1994).

5 For a critical overview of Catholicism in British fiction, see T. Woodman, *Faithful Fictions: The Catholic Novel in British Fiction* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991). See also K. O'Flaherty, "Catholicism and the Novel: A Comparative View," in P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon (eds), *The Irish Novel in Our Time* (Lille: Publications de L'Université de Lille, 1976), 11–30; R. Welch, *Irish Writers and Religion* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1992); cf. P. Sherry, "The End of the Catholic Novel?" *Literature and Theology* 10 (1996): 165–75. In this article, Sherry questions criticism which claims an effective end to the Catholic novel. Sherry argues against those who suggest that the "Catholic Novel" associated "particularly with Graham Greene in his middle period, Evelyn Waugh, George Bernanos and Francois Mauriac" not only disappeared, but "came to an end some time ago." Sherry argues that critics who claim such a demise neglect the fact that the Catholic novel has "changed its nature and geographical location, and widened its scope." Brian Moore's work certainly fits such a literary/geographical re-designation. For a wide-ranging anthology of the relations between Catholicism and literature, see also J. C. Whitehouse (ed), *Catholics on Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997).

6 For an overview of this interface from Anglo-Saxon verse to the twentieth-century novel, see L. Gearon (ed), *English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999). See also K. Mills, "Religion and Literature," in C. Knellwolf and C. Norris (eds), *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

7 On intertextuality as a term in contemporary criticism, see G. Allen's *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000) which examines its specific origins in the work of Kristeva, as well as its complex critical antecedents. The present study focuses upon the generally accepted literary canon of Moore's nineteen published novels currently in print. The term fiction in the text will refer to this "canon."

8 Cf. J. C. Whitehouse, "Grammars of Assent and Dissent in Graham Greene and Brian Moore," in Whitehouse (ed), *Catholics on Literature*, 99–107, and specifically the highly speculative conclusions drawn on two of the respective authors' novels:

> For all its doubts and disbelief, *Monsignor Quixote* still seems to be written from an insider's point of view. The real nature of a church and its faith are suggested by someone to whom, for all his quixotic relation with them, they are familiar. The attitudes and practices of a region of human reflection and hope are known and in principle interiorized. *Catholics* is a book by a former inmate of what used to be called "the household of faith" who knows, remembers, understands quite a lot, but not everything, about the place he has left. (107)

9 See again, McBrien, *Catholicism.* Catholicism is here defined by its universality but also by the diversity of its cultural and historical expression:

> Catholicism is a rich and diverse reality. It is a Christian tradition, a way of life and a community. That is to say, it is comprised of faith, theologies, and doctrines and is characterised by specific liturgical, ethical and spiritual orientations and behaviours; at the same time, it is a people, or cluster of peoples with a particular history.
>
> The word *Catholic* is derived from the Greek adjective, *katholikos,* meaning "universal," and from the adverbial phrase, *kath" holou,* meaning "on the whole." (1)

10 Yet there are inherent tensions here between the universal Church and particular, local churches. Writing in 1991, McDade was right to comment that the current "centre of interest is in establishing local theologies appropriate to the lived experience of that community. The difficulties inherent in this 'localising' approach will, one suspects, be more and more evident in the future ... as Rome endeavours to 'rein in' the rebellious horses" (441). Fictionalized conflicts between Roman authority and regional churches are used by Moore—and notable from *Catholics* onwards.

11 For a geographer's perspective on this broad theme, see C. C. Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

12 Ricks, "The Simple Excellence of Brian Moore."

13 See H. Dahlie, "Hallvard Dahlie Interviews Brian Moore," *Tamarack Review* (1968): 7–29.

14 See R. Sale, "An Interview with Brian Moore," *Studies in the Novel* (1969): 67–80.

15 From a 1994 award ceremony, Julian Barnes, "Elusive Author, Elusive Text," is cited by Sampson, *Brian Moore,* 3.

16 For an example of such a critical synthesis, see A. Shepherd, "Place and Meaning in Brian Moore's Catholics," *Eire-Ireland* 15 (1980): 134–40. More broadly on the interdisciplinary relation between geography and religion, written from a predominantly geographical perspective, again see Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion.* See also T. Barnes, J. Trevor, and J. S. Duncan (eds), *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London, Routledge, 1992); and R. King, J. Connell, and P. White (eds), *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

17 See especially H. Dahlie, *Brian Moore* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), *Brian Moore* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), "Brian Moore: Biocritical Essay" in J. F. Tener, and A. Steele (eds), *The Brian Moore Papers First and Second Accession: An Inventory of*

*the Archive at the University of Calgary Libraries* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987), ix–xxvii; H. Dahlie, "Brian Moore and the Meaning of Exile," in R. Wall (ed), *Medieval and Modern Ireland* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1988), 91–107. See also J. A. Scanlan, "The Artist-in-Exile: Brian Moore's North American Novels," *Eire-Ireland* 12 (1977): 14–33; D. Sampson, "Home, 'A Moscow of the Mind': Notes on Brian Moore's Transition to North America," *Colby Quarterly* (1995): 46–54. Also relevant are J. Blades, "Travels of a Literary Infidel," *Publishers Weekly* (5 January 1998): 10, and J. Cronin, "Shores of Exile: Brian Moore Obituary," *The Guardian* (10 January, 1999): 14.

18 T. Adair, "The Writer as Exile: Brian Moore in Conversation with Tom Adair," *Linen Hall Review* 2 (1985): 4–5.

19 Sampson, *Brian Moore*, 3.

20 E. Said, *The World, The Text and the Critic* (London: Faber, 1984), provides a relatively early critical precedent for this. I am also broadly following the line taken by T. Eagleton, for instance in *Literary Theory* (2d ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 1997) that no text can be hermetically sealed from history.

21 Cf. D. Spencer, *The Second Vatican Council and the English Catholic Novel* (PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1996). Graham Greene and Evelyn Waugh are presented as the pre-Vatican II exemplars by way of contrast with a post-Vatican II consideration of Michael Carson, Alice Thomas Ellis, David Lodge, and Brian Moore. As will become apparent in my own study, much of Moore's fiction depends upon a portrayal of pre-Vatican II Catholicism. Further, while we have addressed the difficulty of Moore's particular place within national literary canons, Moore's implicit categorization here as an "English" Catholic novelist is surely open to challenge. In addition to major studies by Dahlie, Flood, O"Donoghue, Sullivan, and Sampson, the treatment of religious themes in Moore's novels has been a persistent feature of criticism across national canonical borders, a feature which nevertheless lacks comprehensive treatment: see, for instance, J. H. Dorenkamp, "Finishing the Day: Nature and Grace in Two Novels by Brian Moore," *Eire* 13 (1978): 103–12; D. Staines, "Observance without Belief," *Canadian Literature* 73 (1977): 8–24; T. Brown, "Show Me a Sign: The Religious Imagination of Brian Moore," *Irish University Review* 18 (1988): 37–49. The criticism of Michael Paul Gallagher is worthy of special mention since it is clear from the Calgary Special Collection that Gallagher acted as one of Moore's chief advisers on the religious themes in his novels from *Catholics* onwards; see, M. P. Gallagher, "The Novels of Brian Moore," *Studies* 60 (1971): 180–95, "Brian Moore's Fiction of Faith," *Gaeliana* (University of Caen), vol. 5 (1985), 89–95, "Religion as Favourite Metaphor: Moore's Recent Fiction," *Irish University Review* 18 (Spring 1998): 50–58. R. Harthill, *Writers Revealed: Eight Contemporary Novelists Talk about Religion, Faith and God* (New York: Peter Bedrick, 1989) is a comparative study but one whose focus is obviously upon the writer rather than the text.

22 O'Donoghue, *Brian Moore*, 9.

23 J-F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: An Enquiry into Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984). Arguably, both the fictional and historical persistence of religious traditions, amongst other grandnarratives, challenge Lyotard's expectations of their demise.

24 Whitehouse, *Catholics on Literature*, 20.

25 Whitehouse, *Catholics on Literature*, 20.

26 Simultaneously, the grandnarrative of Catholic tradition is not taken as some metafictional device here, merely a metaphor for belief. While I make no epistemological judgments concerning Catholic tradition itself, I am nevertheless somewhat at odds with approaches which reduce theological grandnarrative to fictional categories; see, for instance, L. Bentley, "Beyond the Liturgy: An Approach to Catholicism as Genre in the Work of James Joyce," *Literature and Theology* 12 (1998): 159–69.

27 See T. P. Rausch, "The Church and the Council," in M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology* (New York: Continuum, 1999), 259.

28 Rausch, "The Church and the Council," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 259–60.

29 The following provide historical overviews: H. Jedin, K. Repgen, and J. Dolan (eds), *History of the Church*, vol. 10: *The Church in the Modern Age*, trans. A. Bigg (London: Burns & Oates, 1981); J. D. Holmes, *The Triumph of the Holy See: A Short History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Burns & Oates, 1978); J. D. Holmes, and B. W. Bickers, *A Short History of the Catholic Church* (London: Burns and Oates, 1983); A. Hastings, "Catholic History from Vatican I to John Paul II," in A. Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 1–13; E. Duffy *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). The latter provides further bibliographical sources. See also, M. Heiman, "Christianity in Western Europe from the Enlightenment," in A. Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999), 458–507. See also, for general reference, F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3d ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

30 Rausch, "The Church and the Council," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 261–64.

31 The twenty-one ecumenical councils of the Church (in chronological order) are as follows: Nicaea I, 325; Constantinople I, 381; Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; Constantinople II, 533; Constantinople III, 680–681; Nicaea II, 787; Constantinople

IV, 869–870; Lateran I, 1123; Lateran II, 1139; Lateran III, 1179; Lateran IV, 1215; Lyons I, 1245; Lyons II, 1274; Vienne, 1311–1312; Constance, 1414–1418; Florence, 1431–1445; Lateran V, 1512–1517; Trent 1545–1563; Vatican I, 1869–1870; Vatican II, 1962–1965. See M. Walsh, "Councils in Church History," in A. Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 14–19, and "The History of the Council," also in A. Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 35–46.

32 P. Hebblethwaite, "John XXIII," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 27–34.

33 See C. Jamison, D. Lundy, and L. Poole, *To Live Is to Change: A Way of Reading Vatican II* (Chelmsford: Rejoice Publications, 1995), 19. The opening words of the documents in Latin are usually the means whereby the texts are designated and this is followed throughout. See Glossary.

34 For a summary overview, see A. Heiman, "The Key Texts," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 56–67. H. Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican*, 5 vols. (New York: Herder and Herder), still provides the most authoritative account of the Council's textual formation. On the reception of the Council's pronouncements within the Church hierarchy itself, and for an indication that the changes imposed were not always easily implemented, see A. Hebblethwaite, "The Curia," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 175–81; also L. Visher, "The Reception of the Debate on Collegiality," in Alberigo et al. (eds), *The Reception of Vatican II*, 233–48.

35 *Lumen Gentium*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 350–426.

36 *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 1–36, also, 37–82.

37 *Dei Verbum*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 750–65.

38 *Unitatis Redintegratio*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 452–70; also 471–563.

39 See Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 799–812.

40 See Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 738–42.

41 Again, specifically *Lumen Gentium*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 367–68. See also *Humanae Personae Dignitatem*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 1002–14.

42 See Flannery (ed), *Vatican Council II*, 903–1001.

43 See Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 282–92 on John Paul II; also M. Walsh, "The Conservative Reaction," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 283–88; "John Paul II," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 447–56. M. Walsh, *John Paul II* (London: SPCK, 1994) is a more major work, as is the official biography: T. Szulc, *Pope John Paul II: The Biography* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

# Chapter 2

## The Early Irish Novels

1 D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (London: Vintage, 1996), 10.

2 See also, S. Deane, *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing Since* 1790 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). Deane presents a provocative distinction between a literate colonizer and an oral, colonized culture and the interaction of these with socio-economic factors, especially the contrast between plenty and deprivation, which arise from territorial occupation:

> The sounds that issue from the mouths of the Irish—as speech, song, or wail—pose a challenge for those who wish to represent them in print. Similarly, what is taken in by those mouths—food and drink—poses a problem of another sort. Food is problematic, especially during the Famine, because there is so little of it; and drink is problematic, because there is much of it. A starving or drunken people obviously lack articulacy. They cannot tell their own story, nor can their own story be told by someone else who has no experience of these extreme conditions.... The movement from an oral to a print culture is not simply a matter of translating folk tales or customs from the mouths of the people to the page. It involves an attempt to control a strange bodily economy in which food, drink, speech and song are intimately related. Can a printed account in English represent the history that lives in the mouths of the Irish? This is a question to which the concept of national character attempts to provide an answer. But that concept cannot be mobilized effectively unless it admits a connection between itself and the territory of Ireland. (55–56)

3 In *Inventing Ireland*, Kiberd comments that the more advanced military force of the Empire also implied, as early as the sixteenth century, the social and cultural inferiority of the colonized: "From the sixteenth century, when Edmund Spenser walked the plantations of Munster, the English presented themselves to the world as controlled, refined and rooted; and so it suited them to find the Irish hot-headed, rude and nomadic, the perfect foil to set off their own virtues" (10).

The Third Galway Conference on Colonialism (1999) posed the provocative question "Was Ireland a Colony?" Its focus was on the status of Ireland after the 1800 Act of Union and on the subsequent place of Ireland in relation to British Imperialism. Keynote speakers included Terry Eagleton, David Lloyd, and Robert Young. The event was held in June 1999 at the National University of Ireland, Galway. I am grateful to the organizers for allowing space for my own presentation, "Theology and Imperialism: Post-Colonial Ambivalence in Brian Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism."

4 E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994). See also, D. Cairns and S. Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); J. W. Foster, *Colonial Consequences: Essays in Irish Literature and Culture* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1991); D. Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993); T. Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1995); again, Deane, *Strange Country: Nationhood and Modernity in Irish Writing Since 1780*. See also J. Giles and T. Middleton (eds), *Writing Englishness* 1900-1950 (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), an excellent collection of literary and other sources on English national identity. More theoretically focussed on England in relation to British Empire is B. Schwarz, *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity and Cultural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

5 There is an overlap of the canons of Irish and English literature in Kiberd's treatment of the literature of the modern Irish nation, as indeed there is with the work of Brian Moore. Moore, for instance, has an accepted, however minor, place amongst the Irish, British, and North American, especially Canadian, literary canons. For an examination of the educational imposition of Irish language in schools in the post-Independence Free State, see T. Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History: 1922–1885* (London: Fontana, 1985), 45–78. For authoritative justification for the classification, the "taxonomic initiative," of Irish literature as Irish literature in English, see S. Deane, *A Short History of Irish Literature* (London: Hutchinson, 1986) and N. Corcoran, *After Yeats and Joyce: Reading Irish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Compare this with the earlier designation of "Anglo-Irish," as in A. N. Jeffares, *Anglo-Irish Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1982). But, again, this might be contrasted more recently with, A. N. Jeffares, *Images of Invention: Essays on Irish Writing* (Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1996) and A. N. Jeffares, *The Irish Literary Movement* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998).

6 See also Deane, *Strange Country*, especially "Control of Types, Types of Control," 100–44, which focuses on James Clarence Mangan (122–39) as "a participant in the discourse of degeneracy and the discourse of nationalism" has obvious relevance to Moore's *The Mangan Inheritance*.

7 For a less politicized interpretation of Irish literature over the past twenty-five years, see Bolger (ed), *The Picador Book of Contemporary Irish Literature*. His extensive anthology, which includes Brian Moore, attempts to overturn the presentation of Ireland as "a society somehow obsessed with its relationship with a former colonial power," xii -xiii.

8 See P. Hyland and N. Sammells, *Irish Writing: Exile and Subversion* (London: Macmillan, 1991); Cf. P. Duffy, "Literary Reflections on Irish Migration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in R. King, J. Connell, and P. White (eds), *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

9 Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, 583–84.

10 Given the complexities of these literary and political taxonomies, especially in the light of Moore's use of political, literary, and indeed theological geographies, I use the term "Irish" fictions to describe a physical designation of Moore's novels in terms of their primary settings. Here, as elsewhere, though, Moore's cross-cultural focus means that such a designation does not exclude references beyond the country of Ireland, say to relations between Ireland and America. I make also no literary distinction between the Republic in the South and the Six Counties in the North. Earlier critics thus commonly designate Moore's first fictions as "Belfast novels" and, in my view, this fails to illustrate the whole Ireland breadth of these works.

11 Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, 286. See Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, 102–37, on the fate of political and religious minorities in the Free State. For a short overview of the relation between Catholicism and Irish national identity, see the entry "Catholicism" in R. Welch (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 90–91. For a broader overview of religion and writing in Ireland, see R. Welch (ed), *Irish Writers and Religion* (Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1992).

12 J. Fulton, *The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics and Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

13 See again, for instance, Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction.* By contrast, Bolger is worth noting:

> The ridiculous phrase "Anglo-Irish literature" has helped to reinforce [a] crippling notion of what constituted Irish literature, so that the literature of a young nation undergoing rapid change was still supposed to be dominated either exclusively by the Northern Troubles or by icons like the Catholic Church [or] *an inbred peasant hunger for land....* (x-xi, my emphasis)

14 See Brown, *Ireland: A Cultural History*, 79–101, on images and realities.

15 Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 472; cf. Hyland and Sammells, *Irish Writing: Exile and Subversion*; again too, Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger.*

16 Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction.* In *Strange Country*, Deane makes some useful refinements in terms of historical usage:

> Speech has its norms and abnorms; so too has land. If we look at the ways in which the island of Ireland has been figured in literary and political discourse, we can see, from the Famine onward, a terminological shift that indicates sequences of attitude toward the object that is nominated as "Ireland." Three terms are of

> particular importance—territory, land, and soil. "Land" is the middle term in the sense that it always occupies the civic space in the ontological hierarchy the three constitute. "Territory" I will call the term that belongs to the conception of the state; "land" belongs to the conception of Ireland as an economy, within the civic sphere; "soil" is the term that belongs to a nationalist and communal conception of Ireland as a cultural reality that is not fully represented in the modes of articulation that are proper to the other two. (70; also, 70–78)

Deane argues that "soil is prior to land," that:

> The romantic-nationalist conception of the soil, its identity with the nation, its ownership by the people, its priority over all the administrative and commercial systems that transform it into land, is the more powerful because it is formulated as a reality that is beyond the embrace of any concept. It does not belong to the world of ideas; it precedes the idea of the world as a politically and economically ordered system. (77)

Arguably, Moore's "landscapes of encounter" predominantly represent, especially through the author's portrayal of Catholicism, a preoccupation with the relations of religion and ideology to territory and land. The pre-conceptual notion of soil, as here understood by Deane, might arguably be seen to surface in Moore's "Irish Revival" treatment of Ireland's elemental environment in the novella *Catholics*.

17 See J. Whyte's classic study, *Church and State in Modern Ireland:* 1923–1979, (2d ed., Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980); also his *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

18 E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).

19 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 6.

20 Cf. P. Duffy, "Literary Reflections on Irish Migration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in R. King, J. Connell, and P. White (eds), *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 20–38.

21 Cf. H. Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," on the sexualization of difference in colonial relations, in Newton, *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism*, 293–301.

22 More widely, though, Moore's portrayal of Catholicism retains a great degree of ambivalence in relation to colonialism in particular. In "Theology and Imperialism: Post-Colonial Ambivalence in Brian Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism," I argue that Moore presents Catholicism as variously colonized (in Moore's fictional

portrayals of Catholicism in Ireland), colonizer (as an adjunct of French imperialism in Canada and Algeria – *Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife*, respectively) and anti-colonial or postcolonial (as an ecclesiastical force against a range of imperialisms in, for instance, eastern Europe and Haiti, as in *The Colour of Blood* and *No Other Life*, respectively).

23 See, though, Brown's *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*. He comments on a post-War population shift from country to town in the Republic of Ireland as a result of disaffected emigration:

> Independent Ireland had survived politically, but the years of the war had seen the stirrings of changes that in the following thirty years were to alter the shape of Irish society in quite radical ways. Predominant amongst these was the widespread rejection of rural life that in the immediate post-war period quickened into what almost accounted to an Irish exodus. So the Commission on Emigration reported in 1956 that a situation had arisen in which the province of Leinster was almost as populous as Munster and Connacht combined and noted that nine counties, most of them essentially rural counties of the north-west and along the western seaboard, accounted for three-quarters of the aggregate decline in the twenty counties in the state in which population reduction had had occurred between 1946–51. The result of this post-war emigration was to shift the balance between the towns and the countryside.... This change in the Irish social profile was due less to the growth of the towns and cities than to rural depopulation. (211)

24 See again, for instance, Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction*; also Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*.

25 See again, Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland* and *Interpreting Northern Ireland*.

26 A detailed summary is presented, Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, 101–102.

27 Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, 114.

28 Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, 114.

29 Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, 100–101.

30 Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction*.

31 See H. Jedin, K. Repgen, and J. Dolan (eds), *History of the Church*, vol. 10, *The Church in the Modern Age* (London: Burns & Oates, 1981).

32 See Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction*, 151–55.

33 See A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), a classic 1909 anthropological study. The term primitive is rarely if ever used in current anthropological writings. Foster's work was published in 1974 and, in terms of his application of anthropological theory, overlapped with the developing work of Victor Turner, the anthropologist who has done most to develop van Gennep's work, especially in his definitive *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974). Turner's work points to continuities rather than discontinuities between traditional rural and modern urban societies. In particular, Turner develops the notion that modern industrialized societies have simply transformed the human need for ritual order into different forms. See, for instance, V. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: the Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal, 1982).

34 Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction*, 153. See also C. Wilson's classic treatment in *The Outsider* (London: Pan Books, 1978).

35 This is an important if incidental result of the Church's post-Vatican I stance against Modernism.

36 Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction*, 155.

37 Camus's outsider, Mersault, provides a defining example. Cf. Said's deconstruction, "Camus and the French Imperial Experience," *Culture and Imperialism*, 204–24.

38 Thus we might usefully cite Fulton, *The Tragedy of Belief*, on the place of religion and law in the Republic of Ireland:

> One of the key institutions which embodies the values of dominant alliances in states is the institution of law. It is important particularly because it draws together both coercion and hegemony in the state. In fact, in the Republic of Ireland, Catholicism is doubly important. Not only does it form a part of the dominant beliefs of Catholic nationalists, but their state form gives catholic social teaching coercive and hegemonic support. Catholicism is present in everyday life through state law, as well as through authoritative statements by clergy and through the national-popular consciousness. (133)

Such hegemony is a principle underlying the founding of the Irish Constitution in 1937, as Fulton goes on to comment. It is undoubtedly an important one when examining this close correspondence between Church and the wider social fabric of the community life. The anti-abortion campaigns of the early 1980s are cited as further evidence, and one might add the debates up to and including the 1990s on divorce. Recent scandals within the Catholic Church in Ireland, often involving priests and bishops, have however weakened such Church–State hegemony. As a consequence the link between Catholic Church and the wider Irish community is

certainly one which has more historical than contemporary import. Cf. Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland*; Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland.*

39 For instance, Ludwig, "Brian Moore: Ireland's Loss, Canada's Novelist," *Critique: Studies in Modern Fiction* (1962), 5–13.

40 On the question of "no salvation outside the Church," see J. Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997), 84–109. Dupuis represents the most authoritative single volume on the Christian theology of religious pluralism. Dupuis's thesis is that Vatican simply confirmed what was already the official theological teaching of the Catholic Church: that salvation was a universal available for all, that salvation, while it subsists in the Catholic Church, was possible outside the Church. In other words, Dupuis argues that, though the pre-Vatican II Church seemingly held to a "no salvation outside the Church" view, theologically this was never sustainable, that in the eyes of Catholic theology throughout the centuries, final judgment on to the destiny of human beings was God's alone.

41 Flood, *Brian Moore*, 19.

42 The images of eternity in the Jesuit retreat sermon in Joyce's *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1916] 1977), can be paralleled here. I cite the following extract from Father Arnall's sermon by way of illustration but specifically because of the sense it presents of hell as being a separation from country, a fear matched by Hearne's link between social and metaphysical isolation at the end of Moore's novel:

> Consider finally that the torment of this infernal prison is increased by the company of the damned themselves. Evil company on earth is so noxious that even the plants, as if by instinct, withdraw from the company of whatsoever is deadly or hurtful to them. In hell all laws are overturned: there is no thought of family or country, of ties, of relationship. The damned howl and scream at one another, their torture and their rage intensified by the presence of beings tortured and raging like themselves. All sense of humanity is forgotten. The yells of the suffering sinners fill the remotest corners of the vast abyss. The mouths of the damned are full of blasphemies against God and of hatred for their fellow sufferers and of curses against those souls which were their accomplices in sin. (112–13.)

43 See Sullivan, *Brian Moore*, 8–9.

44 O'Donoghue, *Brian Moore*, 3; 14.

45 Sullivan, *A Matter of Faith*, 11.

46 Sullivan, *A Matter of Faith*, 8–9.

47 Dahlie, *Brian Moore* (1969), 12; cf. Dahlie, *Brian Moore* (1981), 42–51, Belfast described as "that narrow and mean city," 42.

48 J. Cronin, "Ulster's Alarming Novels," *Eire-Ireland* 4 (1969): 27–34; cf. J. Cronin, "The Resilient Realism of Brian Moore," *The Irish University Review* 18 (1988): 24–36.

49 Longley, *The Living Stream*, 103–104.

50 Catholic minority status in Belfast may have assisted in the weakening of the social control of the Church. As Fulton points out, by contrast in the post-Constitution (1937) Republic, the definition of the State through its catholicity assisted in establishing a Church-State Catholic hegemony. Brown, *A Social and Cultural History of Ireland* is useful here, but in terms of cultural control, see Carlson, *Banned in Ireland: Censorship and the Irish Writer*. In *Judith Hearne* (170), note the reference to the Vatican *Index* of books prohibited for Catholics to read.

51 This is a view early shared by M. Prosky, "The Crisis of Identity in the Novels of Brain Moore," *Eire-Ireland* 6 (1971): 109; 106–18.

52 In *The Tragedy of Belief* Fulton comments that "a second area where political religion has hegemonic power and structures the popular consciousness throughout Ireland is in the shaping and running of its institutions of education, particularly primary and secondary schools." His chapter, "Schooling on Political Religion," "outlines the way in which the schooling systems were shaped from the early nineteenth century by a combination of church and state politics, developing in both the North and the South as expressions of Catholic nationalism and Protestant loyalism" (171).

53 Sullivan and Flood both recognized the key importance of these; see also Foster, *Forces and Themes in Ulster's Fiction*, 71.

54 See Woodman, *Faithful Fictions: The Catholic Novel in British Fiction*, ix–xiv. Woodman lightly observes that the novel itself might be considered a Protestant art form.

55 See Brown, "The Fate of the Irish Left and of the Protestant Minority," *Ireland: A Cultural and Social History*, 102–37.

56 Cf Dahlie, *Brian Moore* (1969): "Belfast clearly destroys Miss Hearne, but it is equally the Miss Hearnes who constitute Belfast, and who make it the soulless and sterile city that it is" (12).

57 In *Inventing Ireland*, Kiberd comments on the "brogue" and mispronunciations that became a source of easy laughter on the English stage (625) and traces (12–13) the

stage Irishman back to Captain Mac Morris in *Henry the Fifth*. When a Welsh comrade-at-arms seems to question Irish fidelity to the crown, Mac Morris explodes:

> Flauellen: Captain Macmorris I thinke, looke you, under your correction, there is not many of your Nation —
>
> Mac Morris: Of my Nation? What ish my nation? Ish a villaine, and a Bastard, and a Knave, and a Rascal. What is my Nation? Who talks of my Nation?
>
> [Act 3, scene 2, lines 120–24]

The implication that there is no Irish nation. See also, "What-*ish* my Nation?" in Cairns and Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture*, 1–21.

58 Again see Carlson, *Banned in Ireland*.

59 I touch on the notion of writing as metaphysical panacea in L. Gearon, "No Other Life: Death and Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 19 (1998): 33–46.

60 Flood is able, of course, with the father-son conflict here to make much of a psychological hermeneutic, the Belfast setting also greatly aiding the possibilities of biocritical analysis.

61 See Brown, "The Emergency: A Watershed," *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, 170–210. This covers the period of Irish neutrality during the Second World War. Even the seemingly apolitical Bolger is defensive of Irish neutrality, see *The Picador Book of Contemporary Irish Fiction*, viii-ix.

62 For an historical overview of this and the participation of Irish citizens in the Second World War, see R. Doherty, *Irish Men and Women in the Second World War* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999).

63 Cf. B. Hayley, "Outward and Visible Signs: Dressing and Stripping in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Irish University Review* 18 (1988): 96–105.

64 The twin instinctual forces postulated by Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* [1929]; see A. Dickson (ed), *The Pelican Freud Library*, vol. 12, *Civilization, Society and Religion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 243–340.

## Chapter 3

## The Early North American Novels

1 See, for instance, D. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration,* 1801–1921 (Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1984). There is a wide literature on the "Great Hunger." A classic is F.S.L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine* (rev. ed., London: Fontana, 1973). Eagleton's *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* is here an idiosyncratic contribution to the literary and wider cultural representation of the Irish "other." The commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Famine in the 1990s brought forth other scholarship, and includes the following: J. O'Rourke, *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin: Veritas, 1989); A. Bourke, *The Visitation of God? The Potato and the Great Irish Famine* (Dublin: Lilliput, 1993); C. Poirteir (ed), *The Great Irish Famine* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1995); C. Morash, *Writing the Irish Famine* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995); N. Kissane, *The Irish Famine: A Documentary History* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1995); J. Burnet, *The Irish Famine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). Note Moore's rare explicit treatment of the post-famine Irish landscape in *The Mangan Inheritance.*

2 Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland,* 472.

3 Kiberd highlights well the devastation on the landscape and culture of Ireland whose scars Jamie Mangan encounters: "To many, the old Ireland had ceased to exist after the famines of the 1840s and the vast emigrations to England and North America .... The effect of such disasters was to make the Irish feel like strangers in their own country" (530). Yet if the nineteenth-century exodus was primarily motivated by economic considerations, and the mid-twentieth-century depopulation of the Irish countryside a result of disillusionment with the harsh rural realities of a supposed idyll, the period of nationalist identification with Catholicism marked a cultural motivation for leaving in the early years of the Free State. As Kiberd also comments, "By the end of the 1920s many artists and intellectuals had come to the bleak conclusion that Ireland was no longer an interesting place in which to live" (264).

4 Daniel Corkery's list of the Irish cultural expatriates in the opening chapter of his *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature* is noted by Kiberd as "some kind of dereliction of national duty" (264).

5 See Duffy, "Literary Reflections on Irish Migration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries"; cf. Carlson, *Banned in Ireland.*

6 In Moore's early Irish novels, there is an abiding distinction between a critically engaged higher culture and a populist aesthetic consciousness (of McSwiney versus Devine, for instance) which continues in his American novels, especially when Moore is portraying the frustrations of writers—Brendan Tierney being the epitome. For many Irish writers, of course, the identification of nationalism with Catholicism in the Free State and even post-Constitution Republic meant living with the restraints of a narrow and often repressive Catholic worldview. In 1926, for instance, Kevin O'Higgins, Minister of State for Justice for the new Government of *Cumann na nGael* instigated the Committee of Enquiry on Evil Literature. This led directly to the Censorship of Publications Act of 1929, restrictions on contemporary Irish and European literature were effective until well into the 1960s. For a critical overview, see again, Carlson, *Banned in Ireland.* Writers featured through interviews with the editor include Benedict Kiely, John Broderick, John McGahern, Edna O'Brien, Lee Dunne, Maurice Leitch, and Brian Moore. Moore's first four novels—*Judith Hearne, The Feast of Lupercal, The Luck of Ginger Coffey,* and *An Answer from Limbo* – were all banned in Ireland.

7 On this theme, see L. J. McCaffrey *The Irish Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976). Often, of course, the passage to the United States was not an easy one, culturally or socially, and certainly not economically. As C. Bolt and A. R. Lee indicate, nineteenth century Irish migration before the American Civil War often left the Irish at odds with the Puritan inheritance in ethnically homogeneous places like Boston, New England, where many of them initially settled (see Bolt and Lee "England in the Nation," in M. Bradley and H. Temperley (eds), *American Studies* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1998), 69–70. With John F. Kennedy's presidency a century later, things were a little different with Kennedy, a Catholic of Irish descent, in the White House. Appeals to the large Irish lobby continue today. I am indebted to R. A. Burchell and E. Homberger, "The Immigrant Experience" in the same volume (130–49) for bibliographical sources (148–49). Thus see, for instance, S. Thernstrom (ed), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980) and M. F. Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish and Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). On Irish migration to Australia, see T. Kinneally, *The Great Shame: A Story of the Irish in the Old World and the New* (London: Chatto, 1999).

8 Such motifs in Moore's fiction are widely exploited by biocritical commentaries from Dahlie's *Brian Moore* through O'Donoghue's *Brian Moore: A Study* and Sullivan's *Faithful Fictions* to Sampson's *Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist.*

9 See Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States,* for the North American context. See again the wide-ranging collection of essays edited by King et al. (ed), *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration.*

10 See Bradbury and Temperley (eds), *Introduction to American Studies*, on American colonial, cultural and political histories.

11 See P. White, "Geography, Literature and Migration" in King et al. (eds), *Writing Across Worlds*, 1–2. White highlights an important element of reserve about defining too fixedly the migrant's personality and socio-cultural bearings prior to migration:

> This is not to say that migrants, before migration, have necessarily fitted in to a homogeneous societal structure with no traces of discordance: indeed, sociological and anthropological studies have often suggested that migrants may be effectively "lost" to their home communities long before they actually pack their bags and leave, and of course "not fitting in" may be the primary cause of migration. (2)

12 Cf. *I Am Mary Dunne*, the latter being published in 1968, the same year as *Humanae Vitae*. For the reaction of the Catholics in North America, especially to the Church retaining a conservative stance on personal morality, see L. McLaughlin, *The Pill, John Rock and the Church: The Biography of a Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982); also W. W. May (ed), *Vatican Authority and American Catholic Dissent* (New York: Crossroad, 1987).

13 White, "Geography, Literature and Migration" in King et al. (eds), *Writing Across Worlds*, 1–2.

14 The two dimensions are effectively synthesized when religious and migratory traditions merge. As Dulles comments, the Catholic Church in North America was "predominantly immigrant and ethnic. Apart from a few areas, such as Louisiana and Southern Maryland, it did not include, unless by way of exception, the established American families, but rather was made up of minorities who vividly remembered the 'old country' from which they hailed." (A. Dulles, "Vatican II and the American Experience of the Church," in S. Duffy et al. *Vatican II: Open Question and New Horizons* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1988), 38–57. Dulles's chapter draws especially on W. M. Halsey, *The Survival of American Innocence: Catholicism in an Era of Disillusionment* 1920–1940 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992) and J. Hennessey, *American Catholics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). See also, J. P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

15 Catholicism thus retains a minority status in relation to a culturally dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant North America. Apart from the odd and incidental references to Zen Buddhism, Moore neglects the religious heterogeneity apparent in twentieth-century America. McLoughlin contextualizes such growing diversity as another in an historical series of American religious revivals; see W. G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America*, 1607–1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). On American Catholicism in this period in historical context, see G. P. Fogarty, "North America,"

Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After* (London: SPCK, 1991), 326–33; also R. B. Mullin, "North America," in A. Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999), 416–57.

16 In a short passage late in the novel which reflects the close correspondence between Canadian identity and the implied image of Canadian landscape, Coffey later pities "Poor old Canada.... Not even a flag to call its own. Land of Eskimo and Mountie, land of beaver and moose ..." (213).

17 This exclusivist soteriology derives from Clement of Alexandria (died around AD 211): "Outside the Church no salvation" (*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*); see J. Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997), 84–109. Dupuis recognizes the prevalence of positive attitudes to non-Christian religions from subsequent periods of Church history. Dupuis indicates (101–102) how Vatican II retained the essence of the formula (in *Lumen Gentium*, 14, for instance, the Church is "necessary for salvation") but balanced it with the groundbreaking *Nostra Aetate*. A key phrase of the latter is that "The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions. She has a high regard for the manner life and conduct, those precepts and teachings which, though differing on many points from her own teaching, nevertheless often reflect a ray of that truth which enlightens all ..." (*Nostra Aetate*, para. 2). Dupuis is keen to see the history of a theology of religion pervading all of Catholic Church history and therefore lessens the emphasis on Vatican II's innovativeness: "The possibility of salvation outside the Church has been recognized by the Church tradition long before Vatican II.... If Vatican II innovates in any way on this account, the newness must be seen in the optimistic way the Council looks at the world at large, as is best exemplified by the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*" (Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*, 161; cf. 158–79). The post-Conciliar *magisterium* (the collective teaching authority of the Church) in the pontificates of Paul VI and John Paul II marks, as Dupuis acknowledges, a sea change in interfaith relations. This post-Conciliar issue of interfaith dialogue is treated in Moore's *Catholics*, as it is in Moore's novel of specifically Jewish-Catholic relations, *The Statement*, and in the context of Catholic-Muslim relations in *The Magician's Wife*.

18 One is struck, for example, at the indifference of the universe in Moore's novels, an indifference most chillingly shared by believer and unbeliever alike, and it is in this sense that I read Moore's technique as naturalistic. I deal with this theme in Moore's fiction in L. Gearon, "No Other Life: Death and Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 19 (1998): 33–46; see also L. Gearon, "Catholics: Sexuality and Death in the Novels of Brian Moore," in M. A. Hayes, W. Porter, and D. Tombs (eds), *Religion and Sexuality* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 1998), 272–84.

19 Cf., the "Downtown limbo" of Ginger Coffey, 68.

20 The term "atheology" was classically characterized by M.C. Taylor, *Erring: A Postmodern A/Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

21 See again, Gearon, "No Other Life," *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, and Gearon, "Catholics," in Hayes et al. (eds), *Religion and Sexuality*.

22 For the global context for the reception of this, probably the best known and most controversial of all twentieth-century papal encyclicals, and one which was most symptomatic of a post-Vatican II conservative backlash in areas of personal morality, see P. Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993). There is a shorter piece by Hebblethwaite, "Paul VI," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 45–54, which contains an idiosyncratic defence of *Humanae Vitae*. Paul VI's response to the hostile reception of *Humanae Vitae* is well indicated by Duffy's observation that "He never wrote another encyclical, and the last ten years of his pontificate were marked by deepening gloom, as he agonized over the divisions within the Church and his own unpopularity" (*Saints and Sinners*, 281). After the brief accession of John Paul I in the late summer of 1978, the current Pope, John Paul II, while presenting some radical social teaching, has maintained a conservative stance on personal morality. The insightful official biography, Szulc, *John Paul II*, reveals the little-publicly-known fact that Karol Wojtyla, as Archbishop of Krakow, was one of the major drafters of *Humanae Vitae*. This was one of the matters excluded from consideration at the Council. The report by the "Birth Control Commission," after seven years of deliberations, reported to Paul VI that Catholic opposition to artificial contraception could be reasonably sustained but that opposition to birth control had little scriptural foundation. Paul VI, largely under the influence of Karol Wojtyla, overturned the Commission's conclusions. In 1967, a year before the publication of *Humanae Vitae*, Wojtyla was named cardinal. See especially, Szulc, *John Paul II*, 253–55.

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Chapter 4

## Catholicism Reappraised: Ireland Revisited

1 The explicit presence of Irish/European fiction in Moore's early Irish and North American novels is often portrayed as an aesthetic opposition to Catholicism. The presence of the Index of books banned by the Catholic Church and the Irish equivalent in post-Independence Eire, on which Moore's works appeared, was a demonstration of this aesthetic/theological conflict.

2 See E. McDonagh, "The Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*)," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 294–315.

3 See also: Rausch, "The Church and the Council," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 259–78; R. McBrien, "The Church (*Lumen Gentium*)," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 279–93.

4 For an outstanding historical overview from a Catholic perspective, and the most authoritative treatment of the relation between ecclesiology and soteriology, see Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*. For a range of primary sources on Catholic interfaith dialogue, see F. Gioia (ed), *Interreligious Dialogue: The Official Teaching of the Catholic Church (1963–1995)* (Boston: Pauline Books/ Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 1997).

5 See the reference in *Fergus* to Father Kinneally, "a captain in the Church Militant" (11).

6 See McDade, "Catholic Theology in the Post-Conciliar Period," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 422–43.

7 M. Walsh, "The History of the Council," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 35–46, and "The Conservative Reaction," also in Hastings, 283–88.

8 For a short overview, see Hebblethwaite's articles in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, including: "John XXIII," 27–34; "Paul VI," 48–55; "The Curia," 175–81; "John Paul I," 444–46; "John Paul II," 447–56. See also Walsh, *John Paul II*, and Szulc, *John Paul II*. For an excellent popular, but highly authoritative, account of the changing nature of the papacy in post-Vatican II times, again see Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*. The latter has an outstanding bibliography on all aspects of Church history especially relevant to the periods covered by Moore's fiction.

9 If brevity has made Keogh's an uneven treatment, his "Church and State" contextualizes elements of post-Vatican II conservatism with concordats of the Catholic Church—with Fascist Italy (1929), Nazi Germany (1932), and Franco's Spain (1953); see Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism,* 289–302. See also: J. D. Holmes, *The Papacy in the Modern World* (London: Burns & Oates, 1981); J. D. Holmes and B. W. Bickers, *A Short History of the Catholic Church* (London: Burns and Oates, 1983).

10 For an overview, see the outstanding one-volume survey, A. Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999). Hastings's volume contains excellent bibliographies on Church history and is most notable for its emphasis on the global geographical encounter of Christianity and the resultant cultural diversification and plurality of Christianity as a world religious tradition. In the context of complex global histories over many continents, the supposed "spiritual colonialism" of missionary activity was often, though not exclusively, an adjunct of territorial imperialism. Postcolonial studies are a little thin on the relations between theology and imperialism. In "Theology and Imperialism: Post-Colonial Ambivalence in Brian Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism," I argue that Moore presents Catholicism as variously colonized (in portrayals of Catholicism in Ireland) colonizer (as an adjunct of French imperialism in Canada and Algeria—*Black Robe* and *The Magician's Wife* respectively), and anti-colonial or post-colonial (as an ecclesiastical force against a range of imperialisms in, for instance, Eastern Europe and Haiti, in *The Colour of Blood* and *No Other Life,* respectively.

11 For one of the most succinct and authoritative recent overviews, see R. Charles, *Christian Social Witness and Teaching: The Catholic Tradition from Genesis to Centesimus Annus,* vol. II, *The Modern Social Teaching: Contexts: Summaries: Analysis* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998). Personal and social morality are not, of course, themselves unrelated in post-Vatican II theological terms; see Rausch's chapters in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology:* "The Church and the Council," 259–78; and "Sexual Morality and Social Justice," 403–33. The latter is particularly useful too for contextualizing post-Vatican II social teaching in the light of relevant encyclicals prior to the Council. Rausch identifies three stages of development in Catholic social teaching over the past century. Stage I (1891–1939) includes Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) on workers' rights in an increasingly industrialized society, Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) with its idea of social justice as a guiding principle for public institutions and the economic order, and Pius XI's *Mit Brennender Sorge* (1937), which criticized the Nazi violation of Catholic rights. Stage II (post-World War II) witnessed the internationalization of Catholic social teaching and was noted for John XXIII's *Mater et Magistra* (1961), which called for the eradication of the economic disparity between rich and poor and *Pacem in Terris,* against the nuclear arms race. This second phase included the key Vatican II documents on social justice, notably *Gaudium et Spes,* but also the 1967 encyclical by Paul VI, *Popularum Progressio.* Stage III (post-1971) includes the following social encyclicals of John Paul II: *Laborem Exercens* (1981), "stressing the priority of labour

over capital and of people over things ... an evenhanded critique of both liberal capitalism and Marxism;" *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (1987), a celebration and development of the themes of *Populorum Progressio* which calls for a preferential option for the poor; *Centesimus Annus* (1991), marking the centenary of *Rerum Novarum*; and *Evangelium Vitae*, John Paul II's encyclical on human life. The latter is a key instance of Rausch's thesis linking personal and social Catholic morality. The latter encyclical thus links a perceived contemporary lack of respect for life indicated by world poverty, war, and the arms race with practices such as the death penalty and abortion.

12 The literature on liberation theology is extensive. For a selection of historical and theological treatments, for instance, see the following (by date order): L. Boff, *Church, Charism and Power: Liberation Theology and the Institutional Church* (London: SCM, 1985); T. Witvliet, *A Place in the Sun: Liberation Theology in the Third World* (London: SCM, 1985); D. W. Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1986); L. Boff and C. Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates); P. Berryman, *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America* (London: Tauris, 1987); C.L. Nessan, *Orthopraxis or Heresy: The North American Response to Latin American Liberation Theology* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1989); A. Pieris, *An Asian Theology of Liberation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988); M. H. Ellis and O. Maduro (eds), *The Future of Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989); G.V. Pixley, *The Bible, the Church and the Poor: Biblical, Theological and Pastoral Aspects* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1989); A.F. McGovern, *Liberation Theology and its Critics: Towards an Assessment* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989); E. Dussel, "Latin America" in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 319–25; J. McDade, "Catholic Theology in the Post-Conciliar Period," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 422–43; C. Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991); E. Dussel (ed), *The Church in Latin America, 1492–1992* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1992); E. Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis,1993); I. Ellacuría and J. Sobrino (eds), *Mysterium liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1993); A. Hennelly, *Liberation Theologies: The Global Pursuit of Justice* (Mystic: Conn: Twenty-Third Pub., 1995); M. Prior *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke* 4. 16–30*)* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); M. Amaladoss, *Life in Freedom: Liberation Theologies from Asia* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997); I. Linden, *Liberation Theology: Coming of Age?* (London: CIIR, 1997); M. Prior, *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); J. Comblin, *Called for Freedom: The Changing Context of Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis,1998); A. Hastings, "Latin America," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 328–68. Issues related to liberation theology come particularly to the fore in *No Other Life*.

13 If the spirit of Vatican II represented a new radicalism, such radicalism was severely curtailed in the immediate aftermath of the Council by the Church's teaching on sexual morality, something not addressed by *Catholics* but taken up as a key literary/

theological theme by post-Vatican II Catholic novelists like David Lodge, perhaps also illustrating the limited theological range of such writers. Perhaps understandably, Paul VI's social radicalism, evidenced in documents such as *Popularum Progressio* (1967), were overshadowed by *Humanae Vitae* (1968). Such conservatism continues to be the mark of the papacy of John Paul II as well in personal morality. On social morality, while John Paul II's papacy has been marked by moves to restrict the influence of political ideologies of the left in theologies of liberation, elements of his social teaching are often more radical. See also Walsh, "The Conservative Reaction," in Hastings, *Modern Catholicism*, 283–88.

14 D. Cupitt's famous *The Sea of Faith* (London: BBC, 1984) epitomizes a trend which has some historical antecedents, for an extensive discussion of which see J. Hick's magisterial *An Interpretation of Religion: Human Responses to the Transcendent* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

15 Again, see Hastings, *A World History of Christianity*.

16 See Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*:

> A study of the main developments within Irish Catholicism in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries is a prerequisite for any informed understanding of the social and cultural history of modern Ireland. The great nineteenth century struggles in the Irish Church between the centralising apparently ultramontanist party led by ... the first Irish Cardinal, Paul Cullen, and older local more independent forms of Catholicism had been resolved in favour of a church loyal to Rome. (27)

Moore's *Catholics* reflects a very much ongoing tension between these two ecclesiastical factions, one finally resolved in favour of the ultramontanist (if liberalized) post-Vatican IV Rome.

17 In terms of both relevant ecclesiastical history and the preoccupation in *Catholics* with tradition and sacramental orthodoxy, the founding date for Muck Abbey of 1216, just after the Fourth Lateran Council, is most significant. In *Saints and Sinners* Duffy comments on the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216):

> ... the keynote of Innocent's pontificate was practical, pastoral reform. Theology at Paris when he was a student was dominated not by high speculation, but by practical topics such as the morality of laity, the celebration of the liturgy, the reform of the Christian life. These were issues that recur throughout Innocents' writings, and that characterise his greatest achievement, the Fourth Lateran Council, which met in 1215. The Council tackled an enormous range of issues, all of them practical: the establishment of orthodox teaching, especially on the sacraments—this was the council that defined the doctrine of Transubstantiation—new regulations requiring every Christian to go to confession and communion at least

> once a year ... rules for the better discharge of episcopal duties and especially preaching and catechising the people, and reform of the monasteries. (112)

18 Somewhat speculatively, the fictional disappearance of Protestant and colonial other might also imply a unity of Catholicity and nationhood in a future united Ireland; see L. Gearon, "A Theology of the Other: Some Postcolonial Themes in Brian Moore's Late Twentieth Century Fiction," in S. Porter, M.A. Hayes and D. Tombs (eds), *Faith in the Millennium* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

19 See A. Kavanagh, "Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*)," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 434–45.

20 See F. Sullivan, "The Church We Believe In," and "Evaluation and Interpretation of the Documents of Vatican II," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 316–34 and 335–48, respectively.

21 See C. Butler, "Ecumenism," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 349–98.

22 While a special relationship was stated as existing between Christianity and the religions of Judaism and Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism are also both explicitly cited in *Nostra Aetate* as possible means to salvation. See also G. C. Anawati, "Excursus on Islam," Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents*, vol. 3, 151–54; H. Dumoulin, "Excursus on Buddhism," in Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. 3, 145–50.

23 Indeed, *Nostra Aetate* had originally been intended as a statement on Catholic–Jewish relations but was latterly broadened to incorporate other faiths, in part as a response to the then delicate feelings of Middle Eastern Arab Christians. See J. M. Oesterreicher, "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," in H. Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents* of Vatican II, vol. 3 (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969). See also the following: J.A. Rudin, "The Dramatic Impact of Nostra Aetate," in E.J. Fisher, J.A. Rudin, and M.H. Tanenbaum (eds), *Twenty Years of Jewish–Catholic Relations* (New York: Paulist Press); D. Nicholl, "Other Religions (*Nostra Aetate*)," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 126–34. Moore returns to the issue of Catholic–Jewish (and indeed Western–Arab) relations in *The Statement.*

24 Linden, *Liberation Theology*, provides an accessible statement of the movement's defining "option for the poor:"

> This meant, first and foremost, the engagement of the poor in their own personal, socio-economic and political liberation. In the same sense, liberation theology is accountable to the poor as the people of God, rather than to any school of theologians or the international academic community. (6)

While liberation theology has its systematic, academic exposition, then, it is within Catholicism a theology in which the demands for doctrinal clarity meet the urgency of pastoral need. (More properly, we should speak of "theologies of liberation" rather than a monolithic "liberation theology" since one of its features is its recognition of the particularity of such need within the universality of salvation.) To its critics, such thinking reflecting a dangerous synthesis—expressed at its most extreme—of Marxism and Catholic theology. For its political and theological opponents, though (often one and the same) the decline of Marxist ideology in a post-Cold War world signalled the end too of liberation theology. As Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, speaking in 1996, said, "The fall of the European governmental systems based on Marxism turned out to be the twilight of the gods for that theology" (Linden, *Liberation Theology*, 4).

25 Medellin, Colombia, was the meeting place for CELAM, the council of South American bishops who met in 1968 to discuss the implications of Vatican II for their continent. A. Hennelly, *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1990) is the most authoritative single-volume source of primary texts, including the Medellin declaration. It is important to recognize, though, that the influence of theologies of liberation extends beyond South America, where it nevertheless found its most powerful definition in the work of Gutiérrez, Freire, and Boff. See again: Witvliet, *A Place in the Sun: Liberation Theology in the Third World*; Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies*; Pieris, *An Asian Theology of Liberation*; Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation*; Hennelly, *Liberation Theologies: The Global Pursuit of Justice*; Amaladoss, *Life in Freedom: Liberation Theologies from Asia*; Linden, *Liberation Theology: Coming of Age?*; Comblin, *Called for Freedom: The Changing Context of Liberation Theology*. Nor, of course, has the influence of liberation theology been restricted to Catholic theology. Most notably, see the work of the Protestant theologian José Migeuz Bonino, importantly his early *Liberation of Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1976). Bonino has recently spoken too of the challenges to Catholic hegemony in South America of the Faith in the Millennium Conference, Roehampton Institute London, 1999 (see J.M. Bonino, "The Protestant Churches in Latin America in the new Millenium," in Porter et al. (eds), *Faith in the Millennium* 20–31. On declining Catholic hegemony in South America, see P. Berryman, *Religion in the Megacity: Catholic and Protestant Portraits from Latin America* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1996).

26 G. Gutiérrez, *Teologia de la Liberacion* (Lima: CEP, 1971), English translation, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1973) was a defining text. See also the following by Gutiérrez: *The Power of the Poor in History: Selected Writings* (London: SCM, 1983); *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People* (London: SCM, 1984); *The Truth Shall Make You Free: Confrontations* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1990); *The God of Life* (London: SCM, 1991). See also J. B. Nickoloff (ed), *Essential Writings: Gustavo Gutiérrez* (London: SCM, 1996).

27 P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996).

28 L. Boff, *Jesus Christ Liberator: A Critical Christology for Our Time* (New York: Orbis, 1978).

29 See A. Hastings "Catholic History from Vatican I to John Paul II," in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 1–13.

30 A fine alternative theological reading is presented where Shepherd compares the Abbot's "null" to the dark night of the soul so famously characterized by St. John of the Cross; see A. Shepherd, "Place and Meaning in Brian Moore's *Catholics*," *Eire-Ireland* 15 (1980): 134–40.

31 James Clarence Mangan (1803–49) of course predates this movement (see "literary revival" in Welch [ed], *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*), but Mangan's importance cannot be overstated for his subsequent influence. Thus, see, for instance, D. Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). See also Deane, "James Clarence Mangan's Afterlife, 1850–1925," in *Strange Country*, 122–39.

32 Cf. Sister Innocenta in *Fergus* (38) reading Yeats' poetry as it were "holy writ."

33 See, for instance, Corcoran, "A Slight Inflection: Representations of the Big House," in *After Yeats and Joyce*, 32–56.

34 There is at least a parallel here between these and Moore's treatment of Irish nationalist empathy with Nazism before the bombing which brought Belfast into the Second World War. Moore's wider treatment of more active Catholic–Nazism relations in Vichy France is dealt with in *The Statement*.

35 In *An Answer from Limbo*, Brendan Tierney presents the clearest critique of this with his comparisons between religious and psychoanalytic priesthoods.

36 This is a persistent theme in Moore's early fiction, particularly for male characters. Early instances of the literary as aesthetic resistance to Catholicism include Rice in *Judith Hearne* and Diarmuid Devine in *The Feast of Lupercal*, a stance opposed by the Dean of Discipline, McSwiney as well the naturalized Irish-Americans, Brendan Tierney and Fergus Fadden. A crucial overview of the tension between literature and Catholicism in a post-Partition Ireland is provided in Carlson, *Banned in Ireland*.

37 On Moore's female portraiture, see E. H. Al-Jabbari, *A Study of Women in the Novels of Brian Moore* (PhD thesis, University of Dundee, 1995).

38 See, for instance, Corcoran, *After Yeats and Joyce*, 135–37.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 5

## North America Revisited
## Post-Vatican II and Postcolonial Perspectives

1 Again see Gearon, "A Theology of the Other: Some Postcolonial Themes in Brian Moore's Late Twentieth Century Fiction," in Porter et al. (eds), *Faith in the Millennium* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

2 For an early treatment see J. P. Frayne, "Brian Moore's Wandering Irishman—The Not-So-Wild Colonial Boy," in R.J. Porter and J.D. Brophy (eds), *Modern Irish Literature: Essays in Honor of William York Tindall* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), 215–34.

3 I use the terms colonial and imperial interchangeably here and in the classical sense of that cited by Said in chapter 2 where both colonialism and imperialism involve the removal or possession of territory by an external political and/or military force. Understanding that the nuances of cultural imperialism are ever-present after an occupier has departed, I interpret the postcolonial moment historically. From the Third Galway Conference on Colonialism, National University of Ireland, Galway, June 1999, I am especially grateful for Professor Robert Young's clarification of this issue of postcoloniality and historicity in his paper, "Assimilation and Violence." Adopting an historical interpretation too of the postcolonial moment, Young's paper compared and contrasted the states of postcoloniality in Ireland and Algeria, the contexts of course for Moore's first and final novels, respectively.

4 See J. O'Donoghue, "Historical Themes, Missionary Endeavour and Spiritual Colonialism in Brian Moore's *Black Robe*," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 23 (1993): 131–39.

5 See J. Flood "*Black Robe*: Brian Moore's Appropriation of History," *Eire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies* 37 (1990): 40–55.

6 L. Gandhi's *Postcolonial Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) provides a most accessible general discussion of such issues. Accessible editions of these texts are F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1961] 1990) and S. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, with a new afterword (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995). In their *Postcolonial Criticism* (London: Longman, 1997), Moore-Gilbert et al. argue that such a distinction between postcolonial theory and criticism is an oversimplification. See also B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998) and two

earlier edited works by Ashcroft et al., *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* (London: Routledge, 1989), and *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994).

7 Amidst the wealth of material on ecclesiology, and for a review of post-Vatican II considerations, again see Rausch, "The Church and the Council," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 259–78, and McBrien, "The Church (*Lumen Gentium*)," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 279–93.

8 Again, for an outstanding historical overview from a Catholic perspective, see Dupuis, *Towards a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism.*

9 Again, see Flannery (ed), *Vatican II*, 738–42.

10 For a range of primary sources on interfaith dialogue, see again, Gioia (ed), *Interreligious Dialogue: The Official Teaching of the Catholic Church (*1963–1995*)*. For a treatment of the relation between ecclesiology and soteriology, see J. Dupuis, "The Church and the Religions in the Reign of God," in *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*, 347–57, citing *Lumen Gentium*, and discussing how "The necessity of the Church in the order of salvation is clearly affirmed by Vatican II" (347).

11 Again, see Charles, *Christian Social Witness and Teaching: the Catholic Tradition* for one of the most comprehensive overviews.

12 See Flannery, *Vatican Council II*, 903–1001. For an accessible commentary, see again, McDonagh, "The Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*)," in Hayes and Gearon (eds), *Contemporary Catholic Theology*, 294–315.

13 A. Kee, *Marx and the Failure of Liberation Theology* (London: SCM, 1990) provides a critical re-assessment of this accepted theological/ideological synthesis. Ferm, similarly distancing liberation theology from Marxism, writes of Marxism being used as the "red flag of denunciation" against liberation theologians while arguing that "There is no doubt that a definite preference for socialism and a strong opposition to capitalism are widespread among Third World liberation theologians, especially in Latin America." Yet, he argues that if "Marxism meant (1) state ownership and complete state control of the economy, (2) the overthrow of nonsocialist governments by force, and (3) an atheistic worldview," then it would be difficult to find a liberation theologian to qualify (107–15).

14 See Dussell (ed), *The Church in Latin America.* Dussell's survey provides an historical and detailed regional survey from pre- to postcolonial times. The position of the Church can be said to have varied from its identification with colonial powers, especially those of Portugal and Spain from the sixteenth century onwards, through

the periods of emancipation in the early nineteenth century to its ambivalent relation with the emergence of communist and fascist ideologies in the twentieth:

> From 1914 to 1945, as a result of two wars for the hegemony of the capitalist world, power passed from Britain to the United States.... The Russian Revolution of 1917 (and the Mexican one of 1910) raised the spectre of communism in the organs of the Roman Church. Germany, Japan and Italy, with other countries late to undergo the industrial revolution, sought in fascism ... the means of developing their industrial and colonial power.
>
> This is the context in which the two pontificates of Pius XI (1922–39) and Pius XII (1939–58) cover the whole of the period under consideration [1930–1959, that is, immediately preceding Vatican II] From the time of Pius XI, who sympathised with "nationalisms" and mistrusted socialism, two key years stand out: first, 1931, when he wrote the encyclicals *Quadragesimo Anno*, criticising socialism, and *Non abbiamo bisogno*, setting limits to the fascism of Mussolini; second, 1937, when he condemned Hitler's Nazism in *Mit Bennender Sorge*, while setting limits to socialism in *Divinis Redemptoris*.
>
> Pius XII, obsessed with saving the structures of the Church in the midst of a Europe in ruins, saw the German invasion of Russia as a lesser evil, but also appreciated the threat posed by fascist totalitarianism. (139)

The radical alignment of the Church with the poor as opposed to the powerful in the post-Vatican II period, prepared for by events in civil society as well as ecclesiastical, according to Dussell, is the mark of the Church's identification with truly post-colonial political structures in Latin America. Dussell's chapter, "Recent Latin American Theology" (391–402) identifies the preparation (1958–68) and formulation (1968–72) of liberation theology as well as the rise of its critics (1972–79). The successful Sandanista Revolution in Nicaragua, including its revolutionary priests, must be seen as one particular flowering of Marxist ideology and Catholic theology in a social structural synthesis; and it is this period (from 1979 onwards) in which Catholicism's ambivalence has become marked, Dulles writing of two currents: "One was made up of those church people who became closely linked with the ruling groups—military juntas, local bourgeoisie, or transnational companies—taking their line from the U.S. State Department; the other of those who, following another tradition, carried on the commitment to the poor that had developed since the Council" (396).

15 Gutiérrez's classic *A Theology of Liberation* is subtitled "History, Politics and Salvation."

16 In their introductory survey, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, Boff and Boff identify certain favoured biblical texts within liberation theology:

> *Exodus*, because it recounts the epic of politico-religious liberation of a mass of slaves who, through the power of covenant with God, became the people of God;

> the *Prophets*, for their uncompromising defense of the liberator God, their vigorous denunciation of injustices, their revindication of the rights of the poor, and their proclamation of the messianic world;
>
> the *Gospels*, obviously, for the centrality of the divine person of Jesus, with the announcement of the kingdom, his liberating actions, and his death and resurrection—the final meaning of history;
>
> the *Acts of the Apostles*, because they portray the ideal of a free and liberating Christian community;
>
> *Revelation*, because in collective and symbolic terms it describes the immense struggles of the people of God against all the monsters of history. (35)

Cf. M. Prior, *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997). Prior subverts many aspects of the books—especially biblical ones—key to liberation theology. Exodus, for instance, becomes a text of oppression and genocide as the Israelites supplant the indigenous tribal groups of Canaan.

17 For a selection of primary sources, see B. Harlow and M. Carter, "The Mission and Its Missionaries," in *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 262–77. More generally, see also Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999). For colonial geographies of relevance to the novels of Moore, see especially the editor's contribution, "Latin America," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 328–68; M. Heiman, "Christianity in Western Europe from the Enlightenment," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 458–507; R. B. Mullin, "North America," in Hastings, (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 416–57; K. Ward, "Africa," in Hastings, (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 192–237.

18 On contemporary perspectives on Canada's multicultural plurality, see C. Verduyn (ed), *Literary Pluralities* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press/Journal of Canadian Studies, 1998).

19 Opening on May 1, 1851, at the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham Hill, the Great Exhibition, in *Imperialism and Orientalism*, Harlow and Carter comment:

> ... followed on a half century of exhibitions, particularly in Paris, but it was no less significant as the premiere of nearly a century of international expositions to come, across Europe, but in particular to Britain, France and the United States. Whereas the earlier exhibitions in Paris had been intended to foster growth in national manufactures, the international expositions developed in an age that contemplated the increasing importance of free trade and global economic competition, and eventually came to celebrate the imperial and colonial enterprise. (332; see also 333–39.)

20 In *Postcolonial Theory*, Gandhi observes that the post-Enlightenment "birth of nationalism in Western Europe is coeval with the dwindling – if not the death— of religious modes of thought.... Nationalism ... fills the existential void left in the wake of paradise" (104); cf. Deniau's comment in *The Magician's Wife* on the new religion of nationalism, that "Today's true devotion was for the flag" (58).

21 Thus, for instance, Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, his treatise on the forces of civilization against barbarity at home and abroad, dates to the same period as "Dover Beach," his seminal poem on the decline of religious faith with the rise of nineteenth-century science and industrialization. *Culture and Anarchy* and "Dover Beach" in this sense mark the twin forces of the growth of Empire and the decline of religious belief apparent in *The Great Victorian Collection.* See Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, in P. J. Keating (ed), *Matthew Arnold: Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 202–300.

22 For an historical background, see, especially for the early colonial period, the classic study, R. T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). Also useful is J. Dolan "The Colonial Experience, 1500–1780" in his *The American Catholic Experience* (New York: Doubleday, 1985). For an up-to-date bibliography and summary study, see the recent chapter by R.B. Mullin, "North America," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 416–57.

23 See, Vatican, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), 226–41.

24 *The Gospel of John*, chapter 11, verses 1–44; cf. Alex Davenport's fear of becoming known as "a sort of Lazarus" (96), "the Lazarus thing" (142); and Marie Davenport's citation from *The Gospel of John*: "*I am the resurrection and the life*" (175, emphasis in original).

25 Cf. *The Doctor's Wife*, and Moore's portrayal of the French priest, M. Le Pere Michel Brault, "God's comedian, preparing some strange theatrical skit" (213).

26 Cf. *Dei Verbum*, in Flannery (ed), Vatican II, 750–65, especially chapter 2, verse 9: "Sacred Tradition and sacred Scripture, then, are bound closely together, and communicate with one another. For both of them, flowing out of the same divine well-spring, come together in some fashion to form one thing, and move towards the same goal."

27 M. Gallagher, "Religion as Favourite Metaphor," *Irish University Review*.

28 See Gearon, "A Theology of the Other: Some Postcolonial Themes in Brian Moore's Late Twentieth Century Fiction," in S. Porter et al. (eds), *Faith in the Millennium*.

29 Again, for an overview of the period see Mullin in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 416–57, as well as Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*, especially "Christian Outposts in the Western Wilderness," 5–30. For a recent treatment of writing and identity in Canada, including postcolonial perspectives, see C. Verduyn (ed), *Literary Pluralities* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press/Journal of Canadian Studies, 1998). For more specific historical and anthropological background for *Black Robe*, see also R. G. Thwaites (ed), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France* 1610–1791, vol. 22 (New York: Pageant, 1959). The essence of the latter provides the focus for F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: George N. Morang and Company, 1907). For an early treatment of archaeological evidence of the Huron, see W. Jury and E. McLeod, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953). From amongst the extensive literature on Canadian First Nations, see the anthropological treatments of A.D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada* (2d ed., Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1995) and J.W. Friesen, *Rediscovering the First Nations of Canada* (Calgary: Detselig, 1997).

30 Cf. O'Donoghue's comment "Historical Themes, Missionary Endeavour and Spiritual Colonialism in Brian Moore's *Black Robe*": "If one accepts ... that Moore intended the themes of this novel to be universal, not just limited to Quebec province in 1635 ... then it becomes possible to see *Black Robe* as an extension of *Cold Heaven*" (131–32). Yet I root the comparison in historical terms: both *Cold Heaven* and *Black Robe* are comparable not simply because of their shared North American geographical contexts but because of an increasing focus on those marginalized by the historical processes of colonization.

31 In "Imaginative Initiation" (*ILS* [*Irish Literary Studies*], 1985), Kelly comments: "Like many "historical" novels, *Black Robe* is a fable for our world, insistently contemporary in its exploration of the conflict between religious faiths, or rival sorceries, as they must always seem to each other" (45).

32 See, for instance, H. Dahlie, "*Black Robe*: Moore's Conradian Tale and the Quest for Self." Dahlie here draws comparison between Moore's historical novel and Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* but suggests that "On a simpler level *Black Robe* can be seen as Moore's obligatory response to the Canada he first became acquainted with as a new immigrant in the late nineteen forties, a land he saw as essentially empty and wild, a land where one could literally get lost mere moments from any habitation." (89)

33 Again, in "Imaginative Initiation," Kelly comments:

> In his efforts to create a realistic picture of part of precolonial Canada, Moore is careful not to idealize the Indian or caricature the Black Robe, but he is not always successful in his aim. His flexible narrative style generates a vivid and

> varied sense of separate racial worldviews. But the Indian ethic is used in an all too familiar way to point up the deficiencies of Christian practice. (45)

Kelly cites a passage in which Moore does highlight an Indian moral superiority—the one in which Daniel Davost's defence of Algonkin people begins, "The Savages are truer Christians than we will ever be"—but rightly concedes that, "In spite of this conventional idealization, the novelist shows himself to be resourceful at finding ways to present the Indian way of life in all its brutal reality" (45).

34 Again, Dahlie, "*Black Robe*: Moore's Conradian Tale and the Quest for Self," is worth citing to counterbalance this:

> Though this kind of wilderness situation, and the specific Algonkin-Iroquois-Jesuit conflicts, give the novel a particular Canadian or New World applicability, the clash of beliefs and cultures, as the Belfast-born Moore well knows, has no geographical restriction.... In his presentation of this conflict, therefore, Moore achieves both an historical and contemporary verification, and by allowing the third person point of view to be shared among a number of individuals from both the French and the Savages, he emphasizes the relativistic nature of belief and the proprietary interests that its disciples share, thus achieving a spiritual and psychological verification as well. (89)

35 Flood remains blatant in this approach. She retains her usual father–son psychoanalytic motif. See J. Flood, "*Black Robe*: Brian Moore's Appropriation of History," *Eire-Ireland* 37 (1990): 40–55.

36 The opening of a letter from Rev. Father Barthelemy Vimont to Rev. Father Jean Filleau, "Provincial of the Society of Jesus, in the Province of France," 1642, in Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 205.

37 Again, Dahlie, "*Black Robe*: Moore's Conradian Tale and the Quest for Self."

38 Being wary of universalizing the diverse patterns of colonization and liberation, histories of the Canadian First Nations nevertheless rarely reflect such a positive view of early seventeenth-century Catholic encounter. For further discussion, see, S. Castillo and V. Da Rosa (eds), *Native American Women in Literature and Culture* (Porto: Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 1997), especially M. Santos, "Good Indians and Bad Indians: The European Perspective of Native Americans as Depicted in "The Mission" and *Black Robe*," 185–90; though Santos deals with the contrast in film. Perhaps enigmatically, the post-Vatican II Church maintains too its commitment to "mission" while retaining a universal soteriology. See *Ad Gentes Divinitus*, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican II*, 813–56. In other words, post-Vatican II Catholicism holds in the balance the inherent (or potentially) contradictory stances of respecting and valuing other faith traditions (as in *Nostra Aetate*) while retaining a commitment to evangelization and mission.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Chapter 6

# Moore's Portrayal of the Church in the Modern World: Theological Universality and Cultural Particularity

1 I developed these ideas at the "Faith in the Millennium" Conference, Roehampton Institute London, May, 1999, and at the "Third Galway Conference on Colonialism," National University of Ireland, Galway, June 1999. See L. Gearon "A Theology of the Other: Some Postcolonial Themes in Brian Moore's Late Twentieth Century Fiction," in S. Porter et al. (eds), *Faith in the Millennium* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

2 McDade, "Catholic Theology in the Post-Conciliar Period" in Hastings (ed), *Modern Catholicism*, 423.

3 For Christianity under Communism in Eastern Europe, see P. Walters, "Eastern Europe since the Fifteenth Century," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999), 282–327; also S. B. Ramet (ed), *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). To commentators who have adopted a biocritical approach, the fictionalized world of Moore's novel reflects a universalized conflict of political and religious interests and deals with themes which transcend the particularity of setting. Following Moore's own interpretation, such critics argue that the novel, while strongly reminiscent of Poland, is set in a country which Moore had created from the synthesis of a variety of personal experiences. In his *A Matter of Faith* (95–97), for example, O'Sullivan sees Moore's time in post-War eastern Europe, in particular his journalistic reporting of Church–State relations, as a possible source of inspiration for this novel. Sullivan argues the novel's setting—at least in terms of the basic ideological conflict between communism and Catholicism—had probably changed little between the late 1940s and the late 1980s.

4 In "Eastern Europe since the Fifteenth Century," Walters comments, for example:

> In October 1990 the Soviet Union passed a new law on the freedom of conscience, at last replacing the harsh Stalinist law of 1929.... After decades of persecution all denominations found themselves legally the most free in the world: free to reopen churches, monasteries and theological academies, to publish, to engage in mission, social work and political activity. Similar freedoms of course came to believers in all the formerly Communist countries of Central and eastern Europe after the events of 1989. State persecution was however soon replaced by a whole range of different problems.

> The main task facing the Churches was that of re-establishing themselves as properly functioning organisms within society. In most Communist countries they had been severely restricted in their witness and their infrastructure dismantled; parish life had ceased to exist. They were generally speaking critically short of money, equipment, literature and the material sources of all kinds which were taken for granted by denominations in the West, and also lacked trained clergy. (321)

5 While the influence of a liberation-type theology was apparent in limited and unsystematic ways within Soviet eastern Europe, the fact that liberation theology in the communist world is the place where it was the least theologically developed indicates much; see Linden, *Liberation Theology Coming of Age?*. The Cold War separation of all Eastern European Churches (and not simply Catholicism) from global developments in Christianity tended to result in conservative Churches. For the Catholic Church, this meant separation from many of the influences of the Second Vatican Council. The delegation from Poland to Vatican II, which included the then Bishop Karol Wojtyla (subsequently Pope John Paul II), was initially refused permission to attend.

6 Again in "Eastern Europe since the Fifteenth Century," Walters comments:

> The Khrushchev anti-religious campaign lasted from 1959–1964 and led to the closure of two-thirds of the 20,000 legally operating churches. The total of some 7,000 churches still open in the mid-1960s was to remain more or less unchanged until the later 1980s.... The traumatic shock the Khrushchev anti-religious campaign delivered to religious believers inside the Soviet Union was one of the factors giving rise to the religious dissent movement of the 1970s and the 1980s. In 1971 Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for the first time identifying himself as a Christian, wrote to the Patriarch exhorting him to stand up to the state's anti-religious policies. (317)

As Walters also notes the official, state-sanctioned Russian Orthodox representatives on the World Council of Churches tended to downplay the actualities of religious persecution.

7 For the part played by the Catholic Church in this respect, see J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Harlow: Longman, 1998); specific on the Polish context, see "Poland: From Church of the Nation to Civil Society," 92–113. This trend is well summarized by Walters:

> Generally speaking the Communist governments which came to power in Eastern Europe after the Second World War attempted first of all to restrict religious practice, closing places of worship and arresting and even murdering clergy and believers, and then later attempting to co-opt the Churches for political ends.... These policies had least effect in countries with a Roman Catholic majority, the obvious example being Poland, where the Catholic Church retained far more authority and legitimacy than the government throughout the Communist period. (319)

See also, E. O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) and O. Chadwick, *The Christian Church in the Cold War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993). Characterized by a strong identity between nationalism and Catholicism, Szulc's *John Paul II* provides useful historical background on the resultant distinctiveness of Church relations with Polish communism, from the first decade of the post-War period (153–97) until the election of Solidarity in Poland in 1989 and eventual fall of Soviet communism itself (388–416).

8 This conservatism does not exclude some progressive social teaching. John Paul II's encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* ("On Social Concern"), 19 February 1988, marking the equally progressive Paul VI's *Popularum Progressio* (1967), condemns the excesses of capitalism and communism. As Hennelly comments, a careful reading of this social encyclical will show how John Paul II has incorporated "the major themes of liberation theology into a true synthesis." See Hennelly, *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, 521.

9 Such an analysis is presented by O'Donoghue, *Brian Moore.*

10 D. W. Ferm's study, *Third World Liberation Theologies* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1986), provides ample illustration of the global synthesis of Marxism and Christianity. The title of this volume also crucially indicates the post-Vatican II diversity of theology in particular, cultural contexts.

11 For a selection of theological reflections by Romero, see *Romero: Martyr for Liberation—The Last Two Homilies of Archbishop Romero of San Salvador with a Theological Analysis of his Life and Work by Jon Sobrino* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1982), *Archbishop Oscar Romero: A Shepherd's Diary*, trans. I.B. Hodgson (London: CAFOD, 1993). There are two useful compilations translated by J. R. Brockman, Romero's biographer: *The Church is All of You* (London: Fount Paperbacks, 1985) and *The Violence of Love* (Farmington, Robertsbridge: Plough House, 1998). For lives of and commentary on Romero, see J.R. Brockman, *Romero: A Life* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989), J. Sobrino, *Archbishop Romero: Memories and Reflections* (Maryknoll: N.Y., 1990), *Oscar Arnulfo Romero,* 1917–1980 (London: CAFOD, 1993).

12 The Church was at the forefront in the conflict. See, for instance, T. Whitfield, *Paying the Price: Ignaticio Ellacuria and the Murdered Jesuits of El Salvador* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994). The United States' Cold War stance against communist insurgency in its own South American backyard during the Cold War period is well documented. See, for instance, M. McClintock, *The American Connection: State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador* (London: Zed, 1985).

13 See again, Szulc, *Pope John Paul II*; and for a briefer account, Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 282–92.

14 Following Hartmann, Kinsella emphasizes Christianity's social rather than metaphysical teaching.

15 See *Gaudium et Spes*, on "Kinds of Atheism and its Causes" (para 19), "Systematic Atheism" (para 20), "The Attitude of the Church Towards Atheism" (para 21).

16 Kee's *Marx and the Failure of Liberation Theology* identifies both the Second Vatican Council and the Cuban Revolution as the twin forces for this theological/political synthesis in liberation theology; 131–46. Importantly, though, Kee questions the Marxist "credentials" of liberation theology. Essentially, Kee argues that amongst the important elements liberation theology neglects in Marxist ideology is Marx's critique of religion itself. Marxism thus becomes a convenient label for the desire for social "revolution" as a rallying cry for those wishing to effect social structural change just as, for the critics of liberation, the Marxist label presents an easy form of political critique, one used by the Vatican itself against liberation theologians.

17 For instance, Baily, *Observer*, 27 September 1987, 26.

18 See again, Charles, *Christian Social Witness and Teaching: The Catholic Tradition.*

19 Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) was the twelfth century monastic reformer and founder of the Cistercian Order. He was also an adviser to popes and was responsible for the elevation of papal status in the middle ages: "Why should you not be placed on high, where you can see everything, you who have been appointed watchman over all?" But this was a call "not to dominion, but to ministry through the office of your episcopacy" (cited in Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: History of the Popes*, 101.) The Papal Bull *Unam Sanctum*—issued to assert papal supremacy over the political struggles in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries—contained the infamous statement: "it is altogether necessary for salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff" and, cites Duffy in *Saints and Sinners*, "the Pope wielded both the spiritual and secular sword, but gave the secular sword to princes to use for the good of the Church" (121). As Duffy also comments, this document draws support from the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux. For sources of original texts of this papal Bull and related texts, see Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (2d ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 157–61.

There is a more subtle if not rather strained intertextual reference to Bernard in Moore's portrayal of Belfast's Catholic education in *The Emperor of Ice Cream*: the patron of Mr. Devine's school, St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh who died in 1146, according to Duffy, "died in the arms of St. Bernard" (109). For a recent study of Bernard of Clairvaux and the twelfth century theological climate, see A. H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Grand Rapids, Mi: Wm. B. Erdmans, 1996).

20 Concordats establish freedom of the Church within a state and thus offer, at least technically, protection for the rights of the faithful and for ecclesiastical governance. After the First World War, Vatican coordinated concordats were signed with the

following: Latvia (1922); Bavaria (1924); Poland (1925); Romania (1927); Lithuania (1927); Italy (1929); Prussia (1929); Baden (1932); Austria (1933); Germany (1933); and Yugoslavia (1935). Cold War accommodation of Christianity behind the Iron Curtain proved more difficult. The persecution was symbolized by the figure of Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, arrested, tortured, and given a show trail in Hungary, 1948–49. (The name Joseph given to Bem's loyal servant in *The Colour of Blood* may or may not be intentional.) It seems the Vatican found accommodation with the extremes of the right more easily than with those of the left. In 1949, Pius XII decreed excommunication against any who joined the Communist Party. After Russian tanks crushed the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, three encyclicals of denunciation were published in ten days and, as Duffy notes, "The contrast with the silences of the war years was striking" (267). The matter of Catholic-fascist alliance is the subject of Moore's 1995 novel, *The Statement.* The post-Vatican II world was of course very different again. The communist world universally acknowledged that key document of the "Church in the Modern World," *Gaudium et Spes,* did not denounce communism, and in fact did not exclude atheists from salvation. See also H. Jedin et al. (eds), *History of the Church,* vol. 10, *The Church in the Modern Age* (London: Burns & Oates, 1981), Holmes, *The Papacy in the Modern World* (London: Burns & Oates, 1981), J.D. Holmes and B.W. Bickers, *A Short History of the Catholic Church* (London: Burns and Oates, 1983), M. Heiman, "Christianity in Western Europe from the Enlightenment," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999), 458–507.

21 Most radically the Council—notably here from *Gaudium et Spes*—even places the blame for lack of belief on those Christians who gave such a poor account of their own faith:

> Without doubt those who wilfully try to drive God from their heart and to avoid all questions about religion, not following the biddings of their conscience, are not free from blame. But believers themselves often share some responsibility for this situation.... To the extent that they are careless about their instruction in the faith, or present its teaching falsely, or even fail in their religious, moral, or social life, they must be said to conceal rather than to reveal the true nature of God and of religion. (para 19; Flannery, *Vatican II,* 919)

22 As a delegate to the Council, Wojtyla contributed to the composition of *Gaudium et Spes, Lumen Gentium,* and *Dignitatis Humanae.* See A. Dulles, *The Splendor of Faith: The Theological Vision of Pope John Paul II* (New York: Crossroad, 1999).

23 1978 saw the deaths of Paul VI and John Paul I, as well as the election of John Paul II; see Szulc, *Pope John Paul II,* 269–83. This official biography is by no means an hagiographical work. In terms of historical range, it largely supersedes the biography by M. Walsh, *Pope John Paul II.*

24 Szulc, *Pope John Paul II,* especially, 214–38.

25 *Gaudium et Spes*, paragraphs 20 and 21, in Flannery (ed), *Vatican II*, 920–22. See also, Dulles, *The Splendor of Faith*. This provides a wide-ranging treatment of the Pope as theologian.

26 Szulc, *Pope John Paul II*, 233–34.

27 John Paul's first visit as Pope to his Polish homeland in 1979 predated the rise of the Polish worker's party, Solidarity, by a year. Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, maintained its strong Catholic identity as source of opposition to the communist regime in Poland. The martial law imposed by General Jaruzelski in 1980 arguably led to the beginning of the end of communism in Poland. The election of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 to the post of General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and the restructuring of Perestroika which followed saw improved relations with the Vatican. Democratic Polish elections occurred in Poland in 1989 and the symbolic fall of the Berlin Wall in the same year. When President Bush and President Gorbachev met in Malta to end effectively the Cold War on December 2 and 3 of 1990, Gorbachev met John Paul II on December 1. See Szulc, *Pope John Paul II*, 297–416.

28 Arguably, the satellite communist states around the Soviet Union, such as Poland, maintained a degree of autonomy, thus enabling a challenge to the use of the term "imperial" in relation to, say, Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. Both illustrate, however, the classical patterns of colonization demonstrated by earlier empires (say nineteenth-century European ones): that is all are characterized precisely by territorial gain and the attempted imposition of ideological hegemony. The battle for territory is followed by, indeed integral to, the war of cultural subjugation. In a world where war has become industrialized, systematic annihilation is often the most effective means of achieving such ideological hegmony; see E. Wyschogrod, *Spirit in Ashes: Hegel, Heidegger and Man-Made Mass Death* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

29 Again, see Kee, *Marx and the Failure of Liberation Theology*.

30 See Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 293–99: there have been eight Pope Urbans, the first between the years 222 and 230 and the last between 1623 and 1644.

31 Cf. Shepherd, "Place and Meaning in Brian Moore's *Catholics*."

32 See again, Gearon, "No Other Life: Death and Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, and L. Gearon, "Catholics: Sexuality and Death in the Novels of Brian Moore," in Hayes et al. (eds), *Religion and Sexuality*.

33 See L. Griffiths, *The Aristide Factor* (Oxford: Lion, 1997), a biography of Jean-Bertrand Aristide by the noted Methodist churchman whose experience in Haiti dates back to 1970; 50.

34 For Aristide's own account of the period and for theological reflections clearly influenced by theologies of liberation, see J. B. Aristide, *In the Parish of the Poor: Writings from Haiti* (New York: Orbis, 1991), *An Autobiography* (New York: Orbis, 1992), and *Dignity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1996). For an account of the reign of "Papa Doc" Duvalier and subsequent history, see A. Wilentz, *The Rainy Season: Haiti since Duvalier* (London: Touchstone, 1990); A. Green, *The Catholic Church in Haiti: Political and Social Change* (East Lansing, Mi.: Michigan State University, 1993); M.S. Laguerre, *The Military and Society* (London: Macmillan, 1993) and J. Ridgeway (ed), *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis* (Washington: Essential Books, 1994); A. Dupuy, *Haiti in the New World Order: The Limits of the Democratic Revolution* (Boulder, Co.: Westview, 1997); I.P. Stotzky, *Silencing the Guns in Haiti: The Promise of Deliberative Democracy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997); J. R. Ballard, *Upholding Democracy: The United States Military Campaign in Haiti* 1994–1997 (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998); E.D. Gibbons, *Sanctions in Haiti: Human Rights and Democracy under Assault* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999).

35 In *The Aristide Factor*, Griffiths lists Moore's *No Other Life* in his highly useful annotated bibliography. He comments:

> This extraordinary novel is so "in touch" with what was happening in the darkest times of Aristide's exile and has so captured the enigmatic nature of the Haitian president's character that it simply has to be described as a *tour de force*, as does its intriguing denouement—which might well have been the way things eventually turned out. (299)

As it happens, René Préval was elected successor to Aristide, the latter handing over the reigns of the Haitian presidency on 7 February 1996. In the year 2000, Aristide was returned to power.

36 On challenges to Catholic hegemony in Latin America from the rise of Protestantism, see A. Hastings, "Latin America," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*, 357–68.

37 Vatican resistance to "progress, liberalism and modern civilization" was notable from the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) under Pius IX. Rationalism and socialism were amongst its targets, though progressive social teaching was evident in *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Leo XIII's famous encyclical plea for the poor in industrial society. Nevertheless, the post-Vatican I tone of "Church against the modern world" set a trend encapsulated by the decree *Lamentabili* and the encyclical *Pascendi* (both 1907) which condemned theological attempts at reconciliation with "Modernity." If major advances in nineteenth-century rationalism delivered critiques of religion in the life sciences (notably with Darwin) and in the politico-economic sphere (through Marx), only five years after *Lamentabili*, Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1912) would advance the psychoanalytic critique of religion which would be developed in *The Future of an Illusion* (1927) and *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930); see A. Dickson (ed),

*Civilization, Society and Religion*, The Pelican Freud Library, vol. 12 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985). This is one of Moore's few literary portrayals of religion as distorted projection of human desire; indeed, *No Other Life* effectively conjoins both psychoanalytic and Marxist critiques.

38 See Hennelly (ed), *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, 224–32; 232.

39 See Hennelly (ed), *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, 269–71; 270. See also, M. Novak, "Liberation Theology and the Pope," in Q. Quade (ed), *The Pope and the Revolution: John Paul II Confronts Liberation Theology* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1982), 73–85. Novak judges both the then-dictatorial regimes in Latin America and liberation theology as "two systems of authoritarianism." Novak clearly highlights early on the growing antipathy of the Vatican towards liberation theology. Its harshest general condemnation, apart from dealings with individual theologians such as Leonardo Boff and Gustavo Gutiérrez, was instituted by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. See *Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith* "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation'," Vatican City, 6 August 1984, in Hennelly (ed), *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, 393–414.

40 Linden, *Liberation Theology: Coming of Age?*, 6.

41 See, for instance, J. M. Bonino, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) and *Christianity and Marxists: The Mutual Challenge of Revolution* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976). More broadly on the critics of liberation theology, see McGovern, *Liberation Theology and its Critics.*

42 Cited in Linden, *Liberation Theology Coming of Age?*, 4; cf. *Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith*, "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation,'" Vatican City, 6 August 1984, in Hennelly (ed), *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, 393–414.

43 Again, see Kee, *Marx and the Failure of Liberation Theology*. The latter's opening lines set the tone and focus for his provocative assessment of the theological and political progress of liberation theology:

> Latin American theology of liberation is widely assumed to be too Marxist: in reality it is not Marxist enough. It is frequently criticized for its unquestioning acceptance of Marx: on closer inspection there are crucial aspects of Marx's work it simply ignores.... Liberation theology continually declares itself to be on the side of the oppressed: through its resistance to Marx it perpetuates an ideology of alienation. (ix)

44 See again, Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies.*

45 Moore parallels the tone and inclination of Aristide's theological/political rhetoric. The following extract is taken from a post-coup d'état oration in 1986 (four years before Aristide was elected president in Haiti's first universal suffrage elections) addressed to Prosper Avril, the coup leader, the army, and the Haitian people:

> When we get to [our] distant [destination] we will have made a worthy revolution.
> We will upset the table of privilege so that we too will be welcome to sit and eat.
> We have come from far away in order to arrive at a remote destination.
> We want to get there.
> We will get there, in the name of Jesus who has helped us come all that great distance to arrive at our rightful destination.
> Amen.

As Griffiths comments, "all the way through his oration, it had been unclear whether this was intended as a sermon or a political speech." See Griffiths, *The Aristide Factor*, 122.

46 L. Boff, *Jesus Cristo Libertador* (Petropolis: Vozes, 1972), English translation: *Jesus Christ Liberator* (New York: Orbis, 1978).

47 Third General Conference of the Latin American Bishops—"Evangelization in Latin America's Present and Future"—at Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, 27 January–13 February 1979. See Hennelly, *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, 227.

48 Aristide's radical political views had ensured his expulsion from Haiti in 1982 by the bishops there. When they again demanded his removal from the island in 1986, a wave of popular support was demonstrated as the streets of Port-au-Prince were crowded by followers, bringing the city to an effective standstill. As Griffiths comments, "*Radio Soleil* announced that Aristide was still in Haiti because, '*il se trouve dans l'impossibilité de partir*,' it is physically impossible for him to leave." (119).

49 Referring to Wittgenstein's famous conclusion to his *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus*.

50 See L. Gearon, "*The Statement*: A Literary-Historical Reflection on Catholic–Jewish Relations," in S. Porter and B. Pearson (eds), *Jewish–Christian Relations* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 298–310, originally presented at the conference, "Jewish–Christian Relations," Roehampton Institute London, February 1999.

51 Specific indications of an interest in Jewish–Catholic relations surface in Moore's early work. For instance, in *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, James Francis Coffey associates Irish Catholicism with anti-Semitism, a stance matching pre-Vatican II Catholic thinking on Catholic–Jewish relations, the traditional "Teaching of Contempt." Coffey's personal rejection of Catholicism seems, though, to distance himself from such an anti-Jewish stance: "He did not agree with many of his countrymen in their attitude to the Jews. None of his best friends were Jews, but that was no reason to

dislike Jews was it?" (31). In *An Answer from Limbo*, published in 1962, the year when the Second Vatican Council opened, the protagonist, Brendan Tierney, is also an Irish immigrant who has further distanced himself from his Catholic roots. Such distance is shown most markedly by the contrast between Brendan and his Irish Catholic mother. Brendan had asked her to come to New York to child mind his two children while his wife, Jane, worked, and he, having given up work, struggled to complete his first novel. On her arrival in New York from Ireland, though, Tierney's mother immediately causes offence to Jane, Brendan's part-Jewish wife. Thus, Brendan's mother comments on her son's changed appearance:

> "Sure, I didn't know him at all, when he met me," she said, smiling. "With those dark glasses on him I took him for some Jew man."
> "Mamma, Jane's mother is part Jewish." (38)

Brendan attempts to defend his mother by way of conciliation:

> "Well, she didn't really mean any harm, you know. It's not her fault either. She just doesn't know any Jews."
> "Come off it Jane, you're not Jewish"
> "I'm one quarter Jewish. And your children are one eighth Jewish, remember. What's going to happen if she fills them full of anti-semitism?"
> "She won't. I'll speak to her. Let's be fair, darling. Remember your grandmother and *her* remarks about the drunken goyim."
> "That's different. My grandmother had cause."
> "Your mother came from a backward environment, that was why she thought all Christians were drunks. And my mother comes from a backward environment too. Same thing." (39)

52 For one of the only translated English accounts of Touvier's discovery and trial, see R. J. Golsan (ed), *Memory, the Holocaust and French Justice: The Bousquet and Touvier Affairs* (London: University of New England, 1996).

53 On Vichy France, see, for instance, B. M. Gordon (ed), *Historical Dictionary of World War II France: The Occupation, Vichy, and the Resistance,* 1938–1946 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998). Also of particular relevance is R. H. Weisberg, *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

54 For wider treatments of this period of Church history, see again, Jedin et al. (eds), *History of the Church,* vol. 10, *The Church in the Modern Age* (London: Burns & Oates, 1981). The issue of Pius XII's position on the persecution of the Jews remains controversial and is at least indirectly relevant to the broader silence of the wartime Church to which Moore's novel alludes. Pius XII did make condemnation of systematic extermination of people simply because of their race or descent in his Christmas address of 1942 but many felt he did not go far enough. For the wider relation between the Third Reich and the Catholic Church, of general bearing to

the Vichy regime, see G. Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) and J. S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches*, 1933–45 (London, 1968). Also relevant is M. R. Marrus and M. Robert, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981). More recently, see W. D. Halls, *Politics, Society and Christianity in Vichy France* (Oxford: Providence, 1995).

55 See Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism.*

56 See J. Cardinal Willebrands, "Christians and Jews: A New Vision," in A. Stacpoole (ed), *Vatican II By Those Who Were There* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986), 220–36.

57 For a range of an extensive range of primary sources, see H. P. Fry (ed), *Christian-Jewish Dialogue: A Reader* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996).

58 See Sampson, *Brain Moore*, 286–88.

59 For an accessible account of this period, see Price, *A Concise History of France*, 244–77.

60 See Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 264–65. This matter came to special prominence in the 1980s.

61 Editorial, *The Tablet*, 21 March 1998, 371; also 390–91. This was in response to the Vatican publication of "We remember: A reflection on the Shoah," 16 March 1998, by the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. See also, R. Hill in the same issue, 372–73.

62 See E.J. Fisher and L. Klenicki (eds), *In Our Time: The Flowering of Jewish–Catholic Dialogue* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990).

63 See H. Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. 3, *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.*

64 This theme presages Moore's political and theological treatment of French–Algerian relations in *The Magician's Wife.* On stereotype in colonial Algeria, see M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: Tauris, 1995). On the status of Algerians in France, see N. MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France* (London: Macmillan, 1997).

65 See Price, *A Concise History of France*, on the rise of the National Front in France, 350–53; 356; 358; 369.

66 For an overview of literary representations between France and Algeria, see, for instance, A. Hargreaves, "Perceptions of Place among Writers of Algerian Immigrant

Origin in France," in King et al. (eds), *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995). See also, P. Dine, *Images of the Algerian War: French Fiction and Film,* 1954–1992 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) and O. Bencherif, *The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American Writings,* 1785–1962 (Oxford: University Press of America, 1997). For selected histories and cultural commentaries on French colonialism in Algeria and the subsequent struggle for independence, see, for instance, J. E. Talbott, *The War without a Name: France in Algeria,* 1954–1962 (London: Faber, 1981), C. R. Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from* 1830 *to the Present* (London: Hurst, 1991) and M. Evans, *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (*1954–1962*)* (Oxford: Berg, 1997). On post-Independence Algeria, see M. Willis, *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History* (Reading: Ithaca, 1996), M. Stone, *The Agony of Algeria* (London: Hurst, 1997) and M. H. Abucar, *The Post-Colonial Society: The Algerian Struggle for Economic, Social, and Political Change,* 1965–1990 (New York: Lang, 1996). More generally, see A. Cobban, *A History of Modern France,* 3 vols. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961 and 1965), especially relevant are vol. 2, *From the First Empire to the Fourth Republic:* 1799–1945 and vol. 3, *France of the Republics:* 1871–1962. For a concise overview of the nineteenth century in France, see R. Price, *A Concise History of France,* updated edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 142–208. For broader historical, Christian theological perspectives, see J. Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa* (Nairobi, 1994); Hastings, *The Church in Africa:* 1450–1950 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); K. Ward, "Africa," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999), 192–237, the latter containing an extensive bibliography on Christianity in Africa.

67 See Harlow and Carter (eds), *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook.* The latter focuses, however, predominantly on British empire-building, with references to French expansion into Algeria and related African colonies only marginally represented. In terms of the Christian encounter with Islam, and the reciprocal representations in a variety of cultural contexts, see E. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995).

68 See R. Aubert, D. Knowles, and L. J. Rogier (eds), *The Christian Centuries,* vol. 5, *The Church in a Secularised Society* (London: Burns and Oates, 1978); also, M. Heiman, "Christianity in Western Europe from the Enlightenment," in Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity* (London: Cassell, 1999), 458–507.

69 Moore's literary representation here of encounter between imperial France and Muslim Algeria arguably risks portraying opposed cultural hegemonies, something of which Said warned in *Orientalism*:

> I have been arguing that "the Orient" is itself a constituted entity, and that the notion that there are geographical spaces with indigenous, radically "different" inhabitants who can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture, or racial essence proper to that geographical space is equally highly debatable idea. (322)

70 For an overview of the shifting fortunes of relations between the Vatican and post-revolutionary France, see Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 194–244.

71 See Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*. Gandhi provides some discussion of how "the birth of nationalism in Western Europe is coeval with the dwindling—if not the death—of religious modes of thought." Of course, such a perspective naturally neglects religion in global context, as Hastings' historical overview mitigates against such Eurocentrism at least in the history of Christianity. More broadly, see J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) and J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Harlow: Longman, 1998).

72 On the increasing global influence of Islam, again see Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* and Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics*.

73 Cf. G. Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism" *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 242–61; also J. Sharpe (ed), *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); and A. Blunt and G. Rose (eds), *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York: Guildford Press, 1994). Gandhi's chapter, "Postcolonialism and Feminism" (81–101) has obvious relevance too. Also of broader interest to the terrain of women, travel writing and the colonial is S. Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991). On the socio-political place of Algerian women, see M. Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

74 Again, see Gearon, "No Other Life: Death and Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 19 (1998): 33–46, and Gearon, "Catholics: Sexuality and Death in the Novels of Brian Moore," in Hayes et al. (eds), *Religion and Sexuality* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 272–84. Both these publications predate *The Magician's Wife*, which further confirms Moore's frequent juxtaposition of metaphysical finality and textual limit.

75 On Catholic–Islamic relations in the immediate post-Vatican II period, see G. C. Anawati, "Excursus on Islam," in Vorgrimler (ed), *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. 3, 151–54. For a range of primary sources on inter-faith dialogue, again see Gioia (ed), *Interreligious Dialogue: The Official Teaching of the Catholic Church (1963–1995)*. Again, the key Vatican II statement is the *Declaration on the Relations of the Church to Non-Christian Religions* (Vatican II, *Nostra Aetate*, 28 Oct. 1965), in Flannery (ed), *Vatican II*, 738–42. See also Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*.

76 A potential area of contention here of course is that while retaining its openness to truth within all religious traditions, Catholicism remains a religion committed to evangelization and missionary activity in the widest sense.

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Chapter 7

## Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism: A Conclusion

1 We see a similar anachronistic use of theological and ideological perspective in *The Magician's Wife*; alternatively, of course, we can see the novelist using a privileged overview of history, both novels openly displaying Moore's perspective of the present for a view of the past.

2 This is epitomized in the range of interfaith dialogue; again, for instance, see F. Gioia (ed), *Interreligious Dialogue: The Official Teaching of the Catholic Church (1963–1995)*.

3 Whyte's models of opposition discussed in *Interpreting Northern Ireland* are still valid. Also relevant, of course, are the increasing number of post-colonial studies of Ireland which reassert the issue of catholicity and nationalism; see, for instance, T. Eagleton's provocative preface to *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*, ix–xii.

4 With a specific overview of theology and ideology, see E. O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987) and G. Burns, *The Frontiers of Catholicism: The Politics of Ideology in a Liberal World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

5 See the groundbreaking work of J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); cf. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987) and G. Burns, *The Frontiers of Catholicism: The Politics of Ideology in a Liberal World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

6 See, for instance, J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Harlow: Longman, 1998).

7 See A. Hastings (ed), *A World History of Christianity*.

8 For a wide range source of archival material on this encounter, see B. Harlow and M. Carter (eds), *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook*. The predominant focus on British Empire means of course that Protestant rather than Catholic missionary activity looms large.

9 See P. Lernoux, *People of God: The Struggle for World Catholicism* (London: Viking, 1987). Duffy's comment in *Saints and Sinners*, a decade later, is worth noting:

> Under John Paul [II], the authority of local hierarchies has been systematically whittled away. Vatican theologians have challenged the theological and canonical status of the National Conferences of Bishops, arguing that episcopal "collegiality" is only exercised by the bishops gathered around the Pope, never by the bishops acting independently. Joint decisions of Conferences of Bishops—like those of Latin America, or the North American bishops, represent merely collective decisions, introducing inappropriate democratic structures into the hierarchy of the Church which have no theological standing. In all this, one can see the reversal of trends inaugurated by his predecessors, like the devolution of authority to local churches which was so striking a feature of Paul VI's pontificate. (290; see also, 268–92)

10 Cf. M. Gallagher, "Religion as Favourite Metaphor."

11 See H. J. Pottmeyer, *Towards a Papacy in Communion: Perspectives from Vatican Councils I and II* (New York: Crossroad, 1998). This is a useful and authoritative account of the shift from a centralizing ecclesiology in Vatican I to a model of a Church conceived in terms of communion with the Second Vatican Council—the definition of the Church as "the People of God" in *Lumen Gentium* being an indication of the latter. On the subsequent conservative modification of this by a conservative hierarchy, see A. Dulles, *The Splendor of Faith: The Theological Vision of Pope John Paul II* (New York: Crossroad, 1999). Dulles comments:

> The doctrine of collegiality came to the fore in Vatican II, which pointed out that in the Catholic Church the entire body of bishops, together with the pope as their head, constitute a stable group that succeeds to the college of the apostle with and under Peter. As a group they are co-responsible for the supreme direction of the universal Church. They exercise their collegiality in the strict sense when the pope calls the entire body of bishops to collegial action, as happens, for instance, at an ecumenical council.

Dulles goes on to explain (60–63) how, under the papacy of John Paul II, there has been a distinct if subtle theological shift towards primacy over collegiality.

# Bibliography


Abbott, SJ, W. M. *The Documents of Vatican II.* London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966.

Abucar, M. H. *The Post-Colonial Society: The Algerian Struggle for Economic, Social, and Political Change,* 1965–1990. New York: Lang, 1996.

Adair, T. "Brian Moore in Conversation with Tom Adair," *Linen Hall Review* 2 (Winter 1985): 4–5.

Ageron, C. R. *Modern Algeria: A History from* 1830 *to the Present.* London: Hurst, 1991.

Ahmad, A. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures.* London: Verso, 1992.

Alberigo, G., J. Jossua, and J. A. Komonchak, eds. *The Reception of Vatican II.* Trans. M. J. O'Connell. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987.

Al-Jabbari, E. H. *A Study of Women in the Novels of Brian Moore.* PhD thesis, University of Dundee, 1995.

Allen, G. Intertextuality. London: Routledge, 2000.

Amaladoss, M. *Life in Freedom: Liberation Theologies from Asia.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997.

Anawati, G. C. "Excursus on Islam," *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II,* vol. 3. Ed. H. Vorgrimler. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969. 151–54.

Aristide, J-F. *In the Parish of the Poor: Writings from Haiti.* New York: Orbis, 1991.

———. *An Autobiography.* New York: Orbis, 1991.

———. *Dignity.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Arnold, M. *Culture and Anarchy. Matthew Arnold: Selected Prose.* Ed. J. Keating. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970. 202–300.

Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature.* London: Routledge, 1989.

———. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader.* London: Routledge, 1994.

———. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies.* London: Routledge, 1998.

Aubert, R., D. Knowles, and L. J. Rogier, eds. *Christian Centuries,* vol. 5, *The Church in a Secularised Society.* London: 1978.

Ballard, J. R. *Upholding Democracy: The United States Military Campaign in Haiti* 1994–1997. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998.

Barnes, T. J., and J. S. Duncan, eds. *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Bartlett, T., ed. *Irish Studies: A General Introduction.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988.

Baur, J. 2000 *Years of Christianity in Africa.* Nairobi, 1994.

Bemrose, J. *"Perpetual Outsider; Canada loses a writer the world could claim," Maclean's,* 112.4 (January 1999): 61.

Bencherif, O. *The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American Writings,* 1785–1962. Oxford: University Press of America, 1997.

Bentley, L. "Beyond the Liturgy: An Approach to Catholicism as Genre in the Work of James Joyce," *Literature and Theology* 12 (1998): 159–69.

Berryman, P. *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America.* London: Tauris, 1987.

*Religion in the Megacity: Catholic and Protestant Portraits from Latin America.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1996.

Bettenson, H., ed. *Documents of the Christian Church.* 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Bhabha, H. K. "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse." *Twentieth Century Literary Theory.* Ed. K. M. Newton. London: Macmillan. 293–301.

Bhabha, H. K., ed. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Blades, J. "Travels of a Literary Infidel," *Publishers Weekly* (1998): 44.

Blet, Pierre, A. Martini, and B. Schneider, eds. *The Holy See and the War in Europe: Records and Documents of the Holy See Relating to the Second World War,* translated by G. Noel. London: Herder / Dublin: Conmore and Reynold, 1968.

Blunt, A., and G. Rose, eds. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Post-colonial Geographies.* New York: Guildford Press, 1994.

Boehmer, E. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors.* Oxford: Opus, 1995.

Boff, L. *Jesus Christ Liberator.* New York: Orbis, 1978.

———. *Church, Charism and Power: Liberation Theology and the Institutional Church.* London: SCM, 1985.

Boff, L., and C. Boff. *Introducing Liberation Theology.* Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1987.

Bolger, D., ed. *The Picador Book of Contemporary Irish Fiction.* Rev. ed. London: Picador, 1994.

Bolt, C., and R. A. Lee. "New England in the Nation." *Introduction to American Studies.* Eds. M. Bradbury and H. Temperley. 3rd ed. London and New York: Longman, 1998. 66–89.

Bonino, J.M. *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976.

———. *Christianity and Marxists: The Mutual Challenge of Revolution.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976.

———. "The Protestant Churches in Latin America in the New Millenium." *Faith in the Millenium.* Eds. S.E. Porter, M.A. Hayes and D. Tombs, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. 20–31.

Bourden, P. "No Answer from Limbo: An Aspect of Female Portraiture," *The Crane Bag* 1 (1980): 95–100

Bourke, A. *The Visitation of God? The Potato and the Great Irish Famine* Dublin: Lilliput, 1993.

Boylan, C. "Brian Moore: Imagination and Experience." *The Agony and the Ego: The Art and Strategy of Fiction Writing Explored.* Ed. C. Boylan. London: Penguin, 1993. 47–54.

Boylan, C., ed. *The Agony and the Ego: The Art and Strategy of Fiction Writing Explored.* London: Penguin, 1993.

Bray, R.T. "A Conversation with Brian Moore," *Critic: A Catholic Review of Books and the Arts* 35 (1976): 42–48.

Bradbury, M., and H. Temperley, eds. *Introduction to American Studies.* 3rd ed. London and New York: Longman, 1998.

Brown, T. "Brian Moore," *Ireland Today* 20 (1985): 11.

———. "Show Me a Sign: The Religious Imagination of Brian Moore," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 37–49.

Bredero, A. H. *Bernard of Clairvaux.* Grand Rapids, Mi.: Wm. B. Erdmans, 1996.

Brockman, J. R. *Romero: A Life.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989.

Brown, T. *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History* 1922–1985. London: Fontana, 1985.

Burchell, R. A., and E. Homberger. "The Immigrant Experience," *Introduction to American Studies.* Eds. M. Bradbury and H. Temperley. 3rd ed. London and New York: Longman, 1998.

Burnet, J. *The Irish Famine.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Burns, G. *The Frontiers of Catholicism: The Politics of Ideology in a Liberal World.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992.

Burns, R. A. *Roman Catholicism: Yesterday and Today.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992.

Burtchaell, J. T. "Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis Humanae*)," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 118–25.

Butler, C. "Ecumenism." *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 349–68.

Cahalan, J. M. *The Irish Novel: A Critical History.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988.

Cairns, D., and S. Richards. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

Camara, H. *Church and Colonialism.* London: Sheed and Ward, 1969.

Cameron, D. "Brian Moore." *Conversations with Canadian Novelists,* vol. 2. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973. 64–85.

Camus, A. *The Outsider.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1942] 1983.

Carlson, J. *Banned in Ireland: Censorship and the Irish Writer.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Carm, D. "*Ad Gentes*: A Missionary Bishop Remembers," *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* Ed. A. Stacpoole. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987. 270–82.

Casanova, J. *Public Religions in the Modern World.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994.

Castillo, S., and V. da Rosa, eds. *Native American Women in Literature and Culture* Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 1997.

Chadwick, O. *The Christian Church in the Cold War.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993.

Charles, R. *Christian Social Witness and Teaching: the Catholic Tradition from Genesis to Centesimus Annus,* vol. II, *The Modern Social Teaching: Contexts: Summaries: Analysis.* Leominster: Gracewing, 1998.

Cobban, A. *A History of Modern France,* 3 vols. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961 and 1965.

———. *A History of Modern France,* vol. 2, *From the First Empire to the Fourth Republic:* 1799–1945. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961 and 1965.

———. *A History of Modern France,* vol. 3, *France of the Republics:* 1871–1962. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961 and 1965.

Comblin, J. *Called for Freedom: The Changing Context of Liberation Theology.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1998.

Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, "'We remember': a reflection on the shoah," Vatican, 16 March 1998.
Congar, Y. "Moving Towards a Pilgrim Church," *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* Ed. A. Stacpoole. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987. 129–52.
Conway, J.S. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches* 1933–45. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968.
Corcoran, N. *After Yeats and Joyce: Reading Modern Irish Literature.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Cosgrove, B. "Brian Moore and the Price of Freedom in a Secular World," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 59–73.
Craig, P. "Moore's Maladies: Belfast in the Mid-Twentieth Century," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 12–23.
Cronin, J. "Ulster's Alarming Novels," *Eire-Ireland* 4 (1969): 27–34.
———. "The Resilient Realism of Brian Moore," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 24–36.
———. *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Cultures.* Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.
———. "Shores of Exile: Brian Moore Obituary," *The Guardian,* 10 January 1999.
Cross, F.L., and E.A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Cupitt, D. *The Sea of Faith.* London: BBC, 1984.
Dahlie, H. "Hallvard Interviews Brian Moore," *Tamarack Review* (1968): 7–29.
———. *Brian Moore.* Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969.
———. "The Minor Marvel," *Canadian Literature* 66 (1975): 101–104.
———. *Brian Moore.* Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981.
———. *Varieties of Exile: The Canadian Experience.* Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
———. "Brian Moore: A Biocritical Essay," *The Brian Moore Papers First and Second Accession: An Inventory of the Archive at the University of Calgary Libraries.* Ed. J.F. Tener, and A. Steele. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987. ix–xxvii.
———. "*Black Robe*: Moore's Conradian Tale and the Quest for Self," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 88–95.
——. "Brian Moore and the Meaning of Exile," *Medieval and Modern Ireland.* Ed. R. Wall. Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1988. 91–107.
Daley, B. E. "Eschatology," *Commentary on the Catechism of the Catholic Church.* Ed. M.J. Walsh. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994. 205–24.
Daly, G. *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study of Catholic Modernism and Integralism* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Deber, N. "The Irish Novel Looks Backward," *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Eds. P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon. Lille: Publication de L'Université de Lille, 1976. 105–30.
Deane, S. *A Short History of Irish Literature.* London: Hutchinson, 1986.
———. "The Real Thing: Brian Moore in Disneyland," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 74–82.

———. *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing Since* 1790. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Deane, S., ed. *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Literature.* Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991.

Deutsch, R. "'Within Two Shadows': The Troubles in Northern Ireland," *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Eds. P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon. Lille: Publication de L'Université de Lille, 1976.

De Paor, L. *Landscapes with Figures: People, Culture and Art in Ireland and the Modern World.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998.

De Santana, H. "Interview with Brian Moore," *Maclean's* 11 (1977): 4–7.

DeWitt, H. "The Novels of Brian Moore: A Retrospective," *Ploughshares* 2 (1974): 7–26.

Dickson, A., ed. *The Pelican Freud Library,* vol. 12, *Civilization, Society and Religion.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985.

Diederich, B., and A. Burt. *Papa Doc: Haiti and its Dictator.* London: Bodley Head, 1970.

Dine, Philip D. *Images of the Algerian War: French Fiction and Film,* 1954–1992. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Doherty, R. *Irish Men and Women in the Second World War.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.

Dolan, J. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Dorenkamp, J.H. "Finishing the Day: Nature and Grace in Two Novels by Brian Moore," *Eire* 13 (1978): 103–12.

Duffy, D. "Life of Brian Moore More Literary than Biographical," review of D. Sampson, *Brian Moore:The Chameleon Novelist, Globe and Mail* (19 September 1998): 34.

Duffy, E. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Duffy, P. "Literary Reflections on Irish Migration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration.* Ed. R. King, J. Connell, and P. White. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. 20–38.

Duffy, S. "Catholicism's Search for a New Self-Understanding," *Vatican II: Open Questions and New Horizons.* Ed. S. Duffy et al. Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1988. 38–57.

Duffy, S., A. Dulles, G. Lindbeck, G. Baum, and F. Cardman. *Vatican II: Open Questions and New Horizons.* Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1988.

Dulles, A. "The Reception of Vatican II at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985," *The Reception of Vatican II.* Eds. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 349–63.

———. "Vatican II and the American Experience of the Church," *Vatican II: Open Questions and New Horizons.* Eds. S. Duffy et al. Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1988. 38–57.

———. *The Splendor of Faith: The Theological Vision of Pope John Paul II.* New York: Crossroad, 1999.

Dumoulin, H. "Excursus on Buddhism," *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II,* vol. 3. Ed. H. Vorgrimler. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969. 145–50.

Dupuis, J. *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997.

Dupuy, A. *Haiti in the New World Order: The Limits of the Democratic Revolution.* Boulder, Co.: Westview, 1997.

Dussel, E. "Latin America." *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 319–25.

Dussel, E., ed. *The Church in Latin America,* 1492–1992. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1992.

Eagleton, T. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture.* London: Verso, 1995.

———. *Literary Theory,* 2d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.

Ellacuría, I., and J. Sobrino, eds. *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1993.

Ellis, J. T. "Religious Freedom: An American Reaction," *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* Ed. A. Stacpoole. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987. 291–97.

Ellis, M. H., and O. Maduro, eds. *The Future of Liberation Theology.* Maryknoll. N.Y.: Orbis, 1989.

Evans, M. *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (*1954–1962*).* Oxford: Berg, 1997.

Fanon, F. *The Wretched of the Earth,* 3d ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin [1961] 1990.

Ferm, D. W. *Third World Liberation Theologies.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1986.

Fitzpatrick, D. *Irish Emigration* 1801–1921. Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1984.

Fisher, E. J., J. A. Rudin, and M. H. Tanenbaum, eds. *Twenty Years of Jewish-Catholic Relations.* Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1986.

Fisher, E. J., and L. Klenicki, eds. *In Our Time: The Flowering of Jewish-Catholic Dialogue.* New York: Paulist Press, 1990.

Flannery, A., ed. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents.* Dublin: Dominican Publications/New York: Costello, 1992.

Flood, J. M. *Brian Moore.* Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1974.

———. "*Black Robe*: Brian Moore's Appropriation of History," *Eire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies* 37 (1990): 40–55.

Fogarty, G. "North America," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 326–33.

Ford, D.F. *The Modern Theologians,* 2d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Foster, J.W. *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1974.

———. "The Geography of Irish Fiction," *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Eds. P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon. Lille: Publication de L'Université de Lille, 1976. 89–104.

———. *Colonial Consequences: Essays in Irish Literature and Culture.* Dublin: Lilliput, 1991.

Foster, J. W. "Crisis and Ritual in Brian Moore's Belfast Novels," *Eire-Ireland* 3 (1968): 66–74.

———. "Passage through Limbo: Brian Moore's North American Novels," *Critique* 13 (1971): 5–18

———. *Forces and Themes in Ulster Fiction.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1974. 122–30; 151–85.

Frayne, J. "Brian Moore's Wandering Irishman—The Not-So-Wild Colonial Boy," *Modern Irish Literature: Essays in Honor of William York Tindall.* Ed. R. J. Porter and J. D. Brophy. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972. 215–34.
Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1972] 1996.
Freud, S. *Civilization and its Discontents, The Pelican Freud Library,* vol. 12, *Civilization, Society and Religion.* Ed. A. Dickson. Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1929] 1985. 243–340.
Friesen, J.W. *Rediscovering the First Nations of Canada.* Calgary: Detselig, 1997.
Fry, H., ed. *Christian-Jewish Dialogue: A Reader.* Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996.
Fulford, R. "Robert Fulford Interviews Brian Moore," *Tamarack Review* 23 (1962): 13.
Fulton, J. *The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics and Religion.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
Galilea, S. "Latin America in the Medellin and Puebla Conferences: An Example of Selective and Creative Reception of Vatican II," *The Reception of Vatican II.* Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 59–73.
Gandhi, L. "Postcolonialism and Feminism," *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Post-colonial Geographies.* Ed. A. Blunt and G. Rose. New York: Guildford Press, 1994. 81–101.
———. *Postcolonial Theory.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
Gallagher, M. "The Novels of Brian Moore," *Studies* 60 (1971): 180–95.
———. "Brian Moore's Fiction of Faith," *Gaeliana* (University of Caen) 5 (1985): 89–95.
———. "Religion as Favourite Metaphor: Moore's Recent Fiction," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 50 – 58.
Gearon, L. "No Other Life: Death and Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 19 (1998): 33–46.
———. "Catholics: Sexuality and Death in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Religion and Sexuality.* Ed. M. A Hayes, W. Porter, and D. Tombs. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998. 272–84.
———. "Theology and Imperialism: Post-Colonial Ambivalence in Brian Moore's Portrayal of Catholicism," conference paper, Third Galway Conference on Colonialism, National University of Ireland, Galway, June 1999.
———. "Writing Worlds and Writing Communities," *English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum.* Ed. L. Gearon. London and New York: Cassell, 1999. 1–7.
———. "The Writing of Catholic Worlds: Landscape and the Portrayal of Catholicism in the Novels of Brian Moore,"*English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum.* Ed. L. Gearon. London and New York: Cassell, 1999. 286–311.
———. "*The Statement*: A Literary-Historical Reflection on Catholic-Jewish Relations," *Jewish-Christian Relations.* Ed. S. Porter and B. Pearson. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000. 298–310.
———. "A Theology of the Other: Some Postcolonial Themes in Brian Moore's Late Twentieth Century Fiction," *Faith in the Millennium.* Ed. S. Porter, M. A. Hayes, and D. Tombs. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. 387–408.
Gearon, L., ed. *English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum.* London and New York: Cassell, 1999.

Gibbons, E. D. *Sanctions in Haiti: Human Rights and Democracy under Assault.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999.

Giles, J., and T. Middleton, eds. *Writing Englishness* 1900–1950. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Gioia, F., ed. *Interreligious Dialogue: The Official Teaching of the Catholic Church* (1963 – 1995). Boston: Pauline Books/Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 1997.

Girault, R. "The Reception of Ecumenism," *The Reception of Vatican II.* Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 137–67.

Goetsch, P. "Brian Moore's Canadian Fiction," *Studies in Anglo-Irish Literature.* Ed. H. Kosok. Bonn: Bouvier, 1982. 345–56.

Golsan, R.J., ed. *Memory, the Holocaust and French Justice: the Bousquet and Touvier Affairs.* London: University Press of New England, 1996.

Gordon, B. M., ed. *Historical Dictionary of World War II France: the Occupation, Vichy, and the Resistance,* 1938–1946. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Graham, J. "Interview with Brian Moore," *The Writer's Voice: Conversations with Contemporary Writers.* New York: Morrow, 1973. 51–74.

Gray, P. "Writer of Mystery: Brian Moore: 1921–1999," *Time* (25 January 1999): 56.

Green, A. *The Catholic Church in Haiti: Political and Social Change.* East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1993.

Green, R. "The Function of Poetry in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream,*" *Canadian Literature* 93 (1982): 164–72.

Greene, G. *Collected Essays.* New York: Viking Press, 1969.

Gremillion, J. "Justice and Peace," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 188–93.

Griffiths, L. *The Aristide Factor.* Oxford: Lion, 1997.

Gupta, S. "Post-Colonial Literature and Metaphysics," *English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum.* Ed. L. Gearon. London and New York: Cassell, 1999. 348–71.

Gutiérrez, G. *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1973.

———. *The Power of the Poor in History: Selected Writings.* London: SCM, 1983.

———. *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People.* London: SCM, 1984.

———. "The Church and the Poor: A Latin American Perspective," *The Reception of Vatican II.* Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 171–93.

———. *The Truth Shall Make You Free: Confrontations.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1990.

———. *The God of Life.* London: SCM, 1991.

Halls, W.D. *Politics, Society and Christianity in Vichy France.* Oxford: Providence, 1995.

Halsey, W.M. *The Survival of American Innocence: Catholicism in an Era of Disillusionment,* 1920–1940. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Handy, R. T. *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Hanson, E.O. *The Catholic Church in World Politics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Hargreaves, A. "Perceptions of Place Among Writers of Algerian Immigrant Origin in France," *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration.* Ed. R. King et al. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. 89–100.

Harlow, B., and M. Carter. "The Mission and Its Missionaries," *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook.* Ed. B. Harlow and M. Carter. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. 262–77.

Harlow, B., and M. Carter, eds. *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

Harmon, M. "Generations Apart: 1925–1975," *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Ed. P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon. Lille: Publication de L'Université de Lille, 1976. 49–67.

Harthill, R. *Writers Revealed: Eight Contemporary Novelists Talk about Religion, Faith and God.* New York: Peter Bedrick, 1989.

Hastings, A. "Catholic History from Vatican I to John Paul II," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 1–13.

———. "The Key Texts," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 56–67.

———. *The Church in Africa:* 1450–1950. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.

———. "Latin America," *A World History of Christianity.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: Cassell, 1999. 328–68.

Hastings, A., ed. *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* London: SPCK/New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

———. *A World History of Christianity.* London: Cassell, 1999.

Hayes, M. A., and L. Gearon, eds. *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader.* Leominster: Gracewing, 1998/New York: Continuum, 1999.

Hayes, M. A., W. Porter, and D. Tombs, eds. *Religion and Sexuality.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Hayley, B. "Outward and Visible Signs: Dressing and Stripping in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 96–105.

Haynes, J. *Religion in Global Politics.* Harlow: Longman, 1998.

Hebblethwaite, P. "John XXIII," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 27–34.

———. "Paul VI," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 48–55.

———. "The Curia," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 175–81.

———. "John Paul I," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 444–46.

———. "John Paul II," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 447–56.

———. *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope.* New York: Paulist Press, 1993.

Heiman, M. "Christianity in Western Europe from the Enlightenment," *A World History of Christianity.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: Cassell, 1999. 458–507.

———. "The Key Texts," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 56–67.

Hennelly, A. T., ed. *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1990.

———. *Liberation Theologies: The Global Pursuit of Justice.* Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-Third Pub., 1995.

Hennessey, J. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Hick, J. *An Interpretation of Religion: Human Responses to the Transcendent.* London: Macmillan, 1989.

Hill, R. "Christians and Jews: Redeeming the Past," *The Tablet* (21 March 1998): 372–73.

Hirschenberg, S. "Growing up Abject as Theme in Brian Moore's Novels," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 1 (1976): 11–18.

Holmes, J. D. *The Triumph of the Holy See: A Short History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century.* London: Burns & Oates, 1978.

———. *The Papacy in the Modern World.* London: Burns & Oates, 1981.

Holmes, J. D., and B. W. Bickers. *A Short History of the Catholic Church.* London: Burns and Oates, 1983.

Hyland, P., and N. Sammells. *Irish Writing: Exile and Subversion.* London: Macmillan, 1991.

Jones, J. *Canadian Fiction.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981.

Jacobson, M.F. *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish and Immigration the United States.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Jamison, C., D. Lundy, and L. Poole. *"To Live Is To Change": A Way of Reading Vatican.* Chelmsford: Rejoice Publications, 1995.

Jedin, H., K. Repgen, and J. Dolan, eds. *History of the Church,* vol. 10, *The Church in the Modern Age.* Trans. A. Bigg. London: Burns & Oates, 1981.

Jeffares, A. N. *Anglo-Irish Literature.* London: Macmillan, 1982.

———. *Images of Invention: Essays on Irish Writing.* Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1996.

———. *The Irish Literary Movement.* London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998.

Joyce, J. *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1916] 1977.

Jury, W., and E. McLeod. *Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Kalilombe, A. "Africa," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 310–18.

Kavanagh, A. "Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*)," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 434–45.

Kearney, R. *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

Keating, J., ed. *Matthew Arnold: Selected Prose.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

Kee, A. *Marx and the Failure of Liberation Theology.* London: SCM, 1990.

Kelly, W. "Imaginative Initiation," *ILS* (*Irish Literary Studies*) (1985): 45.

Keogh, D. "Church and State," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 289–302.

Kerkhoff, J. "Western Europe," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 357–64.
Kiberd, D. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation.* London: Vintage, 1996.
King, R., J. Connell, and P. White, eds. *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration.* London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
Kinneally, T. *The Great Shame: A Story of the Irish in the Old World and the New.* London: Chatto, 1999.
Kirkland, R. *Literature and Culture in Northern Ireland Since 1965: Moments of Danger.* London: Longman, 1996.
Kissane, N. *The Irish Famine: A Documentary History.* Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1995.
Klinck, C. F., ed. *Literary History of Canada,* 2d ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
Knellwolf, C., and C. Norris, eds. *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* vol. 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Kosok, H., ed. *Studies in Anglo-Irish Literature.* Bonn: Bouvier, 1982.
Komonchak, J. A. "The Local Realization of the Church," *The Reception of Vatican II.* Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 77–90.
Konig, F. "The Right to Religious Freedom: The Significance of *Dignitatis Humanae,*" *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* Ed. A. Stacpoole. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986. 283–90.
Laguerre, M. S. *The Military and Society.* London: Macmillan, 1993.
Lane, D. A. "The Doctrine of Faith," *Commentary on the Catechism of the Catholic Church.* Ed. M. J. Walsh. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994. 36–49.
Latourelle, R., ed. *Vatican II: Assessments and Perspectives: Twenty-Five Years After (1962–1987).* 3 vols. New York / Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1989.
Lazreg, M. *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question.* London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
Lee, J. J. *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
Lernoux, P. *People of God: The Struggle for World Catholicism.* London: Viking, 1987.
Lewy, G. *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
Linden, I. *Liberation Theology: Coming of Age?.* London: CIIR, 1997.
Lloyd, D. *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and Post-Colonial Moment.* Dublin: Lilliput, 1993.
———. *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
Lodge, D. *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature.* London: Edward Arnold, 1977.
———. *The Art of Fiction.* London: Penguin, 1992.
Lohfink, N. F. *Option for the Poor: The Basic Principle of Liberation Theology.* Berkeley, Ca.: Bibal Press, 1987.
Longley, E. *The Living Stream: Literature & Revisionism in Ireland.* Newcastle: Bloodaxe Books, 1994.
Lorcin, M. E. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria.* London: Tauris, 1995.

Ludwig, J. "Brian Moore: Ireland's Loss, Canada's Novelist," *Critique: Studies in Modern Fiction* 12 (1962): 5–13.

Lyons, F.S.L. *Ireland Since the Famine.* Rev. ed. London: Fontana, 1973.

Lyotard, J-F. *The Postmodern Condition: An Enquiry into Knowledge.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

MacMaster, N. *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France.* London: Macmillan, 1997.

Mahon, D. "Webs of Artifice: On the Novels of Brian Moore," *The New Review* 3 (1976): 43.

Marrus, M. R. and Robert, M. *Vichy France and the Jews.* New York: Basic Books, 1981.

Martey, E. *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1993.

May, W.W., ed. *Vatican Authority and American Catholic Dissent.* New York: Crossroad, 1987.

McBrien, R. *Catholicism.* Rev. ed. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994.

———. "The Church (*Lumen Gentium*)," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 279–93.

McCaffrey, L.J. *The Irish Diaspora.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976.

McClelland, V.A. "Great Britain and Ireland," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 365–76.

McClintock, M. *The American Connection: State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador.* London: Zed, 1985.

McDade, J. "Catholic Theology in the Post-Conciliar Period," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 422–43.

McDonagh, E. "The Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*)," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M.A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 294–315.

———. "Excursus on the Jews and the Death of Jesus," *Commentary on the Catechism of the Catholic Church.* Ed. M. Walsh. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994. 162–65.

McGovern, A. F. *Liberation Theology and Its Critics: Toward an Assessment.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989.

McIlroy, "A Brian Moore Bibliography 1974–1987," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1998): 106–33.

McLaughlin, L. *The Pill, John Rock and the Church: The Biography of a Revolution.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1982.

McLoughlin, W. G. *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America,* 1607–1977. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978.

McMahon, S. "The Black North," *Eire-Ireland* 1 (1966): 67–8.

McMillan, A. D. *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada.* 2d ed. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1995.

McMurray, K. *Four Contemporary Novelists: Angus Wilson, Brian Moore, John Fowles, V. S.Naipaul.* Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1983.

McPherson, H. "Fiction 1940–1960," *Literary History of Canada,* 2d ed. Ed. C.F. Klinck. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976. 230–31.

McSweeney, K. "Brian Moore: Past and Present," *Critical Quarterly* 18 (1976): 53–66.

Meyer, B., and B. O'Riordan. "Brian Moore: In Celebration of the Commonplace," *In Their Words: Interviews with Fourteen Canadian Novelists.* Ed. B. Meyer and B. O'Riordan. Toronto: Anansi, 1984. 169–83.

Meyer, B., and B. O'Riordan, eds. *In Their Words: Interviews with Fourteen Canadian Novelists.* Toronto: Anansi, 1984.

Mills, K. "Religion and Literature," *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* vol. 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Mills, S. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism.* London: Routledge, 1991.

Moore, B. *Judith Hearne.* London: Flamingo, [1955] 1994.

——. *The Feast of Lupercal.* London: Flamingo, [1958] 1994.

——. *The Luck of Ginger Coffey.* London: Flamingo, [1960] 1994.

——. *An Answer from Limbo.* London: Flamingo, [1963] 1994.

——. *The Emperor of Ice-Cream.* London: Flamingo, [1966] 1994.

——. *I am Mary Dunne.* London: Vintage, [1968] 1992.

——. *Fergus.* London: Flamingo, [1970] 1994.

——. *Catholics.* London: Vintage, [1972] 1992.

——. *The Great Victorian Collection.* London: Flamingo, [1975] 1994.

——. *The Doctor's Wife.* London: Flamingo, [1976] 1994.

——. *The Mangan Inheritance.* London: Flamingo, [1979] 1994.

——. *The Temptation of Eileen Hughes.* London: Flamingo, [1981] 1994.

——. "Old Father, Old Artificer," *Irish University Review* 12 (1982): 13–16.

——. *Cold Heaven.* London: Flamingo, [1983] 1994.

——. *Back Robe.* London: Flamingo, [1979] 1994.

——. *The Colour of Blood.* London: Flamingo, [1987] 1994.

——. *Lies of Silence.* London: Vintage, [1990] 1992.

——. *No Other Life.* London: Flamingo, [1993] 1994.

——. *The Statement.* London: Bloomsbury, 1995.

——. *The Magician's Wife.* London: Bloomsbury, 1997.

——. "Going Home," *The New York Times Book Review,* 7 February 1999, 27. [Published posthumously, originally commissioned by *Granta.*]

Moore-Gilbert, B., G. Stanton, and W. Maley, eds. *Postcolonial Criticism.* London: Longman, 1997.

Morash, C. *Writing the Irish Famine.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.

Moss, J. *Patterns of Isolation in English Canadian Fiction.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

——. *The Reader's Guide to the Canadian Novel.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981.

Mosse, G. L. *The Culture of Western Europe: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* 3d ed. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1988.

Mullin, R. B. "North America," *A World History of Christianity.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: Cassell, 1999. 416–57.

Murray, C., ed. *Irish University Review, Brian Moore Issue* 18 (1988).

Murray, R. "Excursus on *magisterium* and *Magisterium,*" *Commentary on the Catechism of the Catholic Church.* Ed. M. J. Walsh. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994. 34–35.

———. "Revelation," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 13–24.

Nessan, C. L. *Orthopraxis or Heresy: The North American Response to Latin American Theology.* Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1989.

New, W. H. *Macmillan History of Literature: A History of Canadian Literature.* London: Macmillan, 1989.

Newton, K. M., ed. *Twentieth Century Literary Theory: A Reader.* 2d ed. London: Macmillan, 1997.

Nicholl, D. "Other Religions (*Nostra Aetate*)," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 126–34.

Nickoloff, J. B., ed. *Essential Writings: Gustavo Gutierrez.* London: SCM, 1996.

Novak, N. "Liberation Theology and the Pope," *The Pope and the Revolution: John Paul II Confronts Liberation Theology.* Ed. Q. Quade. Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1982. 73–85.

O'Connell, T. E. "The History of Moral Theology" *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 389–402.

Oesterreicher, J. M. "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II,* vol. 3. Ed. H. Vorgrimler. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969. 1–136.

O'Flaherty, K. "Catholicism and the Novel: A Comparative View," *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Ed. P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon. Lille: Publication de L'Université de Lille, 1976. 11–30.

O'Rourke, J. *The Great Irish Famine.* Dublin: Veritas, 1989.

———. "Historical Themes, Missionary Endeavour and Spiritual Colonialism in Brian Moore's *Black Robe,*" *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 23 (1993): 131–39.

Papali, C.B. "Excursus on Hinduism," *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II,* vol. 3. Ed. H. Vorgrimler. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969. 137–44.

Park, C.C. *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion.* London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

Parkman, F. *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century.* Toronto: George N. Morang and Company, 1907.

Pawlikowski, J. T. "New Trends in Catholic Religious Thought," *Twenty Years of Jewish-Catholic Relations.* Ed. J. Fisher et al. Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1986. 169–90.

Piar, C.R. *Jesus and Liberation: A Critical Analysis of the Christology of Latin America.* New York: P. Lang, 1994.

Pieris, A. *An Asian Theology of Liberation.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988.

Pixley, G.V. *The Bible, the Church and the Poor: Biblical, Theological and Pastoral Aspects.* Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1989.

Poirteir, C., ed. *The Great Irish Famine.* Cork: Mercier Press, 1995.

Porter, R. "Mystery, Miracle and Faith in Brian Moore," *Eire-Ireland* 10 (1975): 79–88.

Prosky, M. "The Crisis of Identity in the Novels of Brian Moore," *Eire-Ireland* 6 (1971): 106–18.

Porter, S., and B. Pearson. Jewish-Christian Relations. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Porter, S., M.A. Hayes, and D. Tombs, eds. *Faith in the Millennium.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

Pottmeyer, H.J. "A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council," *The Reception of Vatican II.* Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 27–43.

———. *Towards a Papacy in Communion: Perspectives from Vatican Councils I and II.* New York: Crossroad, 1998.

Price, R. *A Concise History of France.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Prior, M. *Jesus the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology (Luke 4. 16–30).* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

———. *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.

Quade, Q., ed. *The Pope and the Revolution: John Paul II Confronts Liberation Theology.* Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1982.

*Quill & Quire* (Anon). "Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist by Denis Sampson," vol. 64 (November 1998): 34.

*Quill & Quire* (Anon). "Brian Moore, 1921–1999," vol. 65 (1999): 17.

O'Donoghue, J. *Brian Moore: A Critical Study.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991.

Rafroidi, P. "The Great Brian Moore Collection," *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Ed. P. Rafroidi and M. Harmon. Lille: Publications de L'Université de Lille, 1976. 221–36.

Rafroidi, P., and M. Harmon, eds. *The Irish Novel in Our Time.* Lille: Publications de L'Université de Lille, 1976.

———. "The Temptation of Brian Moore," *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* 18 (1988): 83–87.

Ramet, S. B., ed. *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Rausch, T. "The Church and the Council," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M.A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 259–78.

———. "Sexual Morality and Social Justice," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M.A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 403–33.

Rhodes, A. *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators:* 1922–1945. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

Ridgeway, J., ed. *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis.* Washington, D.C.: Essential Books, 1994.

Richler, M. "Memories of Moore," *Saturday Night* 114 (1999): 45–46.

Ricks, C. "The Simple Excellence of Brian Moore," *The New Statesman* 71 (1966): 227–28.

Romero, O. *Romero: Martyr for Liberation – The Last Two Homilies of Archbishop Romero of San San Salvador with a Theological Analysis of his Life and Work by Jon Sobrino.* London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1982.

———. *Archbishop Oscar Romero: A Shepherd's Diary.* London: CAFOD, 1993.

———. *The Church Is All Of You.* London: Fount Paperbacks, 1985.

———. *The Violence of Love.* Farmington, Robertsbridge: Plough House, 1998.

Rudin, J. A. "The Dramatic Impact of *Nostra Aetate*," *Twenty Years of Jewish-Catholic Relations*. Ed. E.J. Fisher et al. Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1986. 9–18.

Ruggieri, G. "Faith and History," *The Reception of Vatican II*. Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 91–114.

Said, E. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1978] 1995.

———. *The World, the Text and the Critic*. London: Faber, 1984.

———. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage, 1994.

———. "Orientalism reconsidered," *Postcolonial Criticism*. Ed. Moore-Gilbert et al. London: Longman, 1997. 126–44.

Sale, R. B. "An Interview with Brian Moore in London," *Studies in the Novel* (1969): 67–80.

Sampson, D. *Brian Moore; The Chameleon Novelist*. Dublin: Marino Books, 1998.

———. "Home, 'A Moscow of the Mind': Notes on Brian Moore's Transition to North America," *Colby Quarterly* (1995): 46–54.

Santos, M. "Good Indians and Bad Indians: The European Perspective of Native Americans as Depicted in 'The Mission' and 'Black Robe'" *Native American Women in Literature and Culture*. Ed. S. Castillo and V. da Rosa. Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 1997. 185–190.

Scanlan, J. A. "The Artist-in-Exile: Brian Moore's North American Novels," *Eire-Ireland* 12 (1977): 14–33.

Schwarz, B. *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity and Cultural History*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Shannon-Mangan, E. *James Clarence Mangan: A Biography*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996.

Sharpe, J., ed. *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Shepherd, A. "Place and Meaning in Brian Moore's *Catholics*," *Eire-Ireland* 15 (1980): 134–40.

Sherry, P. "The End of the Catholic Novel?" *Literature and Theology* 9 (1995): 165–78.

Shorter, A. "The Secretariat for Non-Christians," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 185–87.

Sikorska, G. "Eastern Europe," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 345–56.

Simmons, J. "Brian Moore and the Failure of Realism," *The Honest Ulsterman* (1970): 8–14.

Smith, C. *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Sobrino, J. *Archbishop Romero: Memories and Reflections*. Maryknoll: N.Y.: Orbis, 1990.

———. *Oscar Arnulfo Romero*, 1917–1980. London: CAFOD, 1993.

Spencer, D. *The Second Vatican Council and the English Catholic Novel*. PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1996.

Spivak, G. "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism" *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 242–61.

Stacpoole, A., ed. *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986.
Staines, D. "Observance without Belief," *Canadian Literature* 73 (1977): 8–24.
Stone, M. *The Agony of Algeria.* London: Hurst, 1997.
Stotzky, I. *Silencing the Guns in Haiti: The Promise of Deliberative Democracy.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
Stovel, B. "Brian Moore: The Realist's Progress," *English Studies in Canada* 7 (1981): 183–200.
Stransky, T. "The Foundation of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity," *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* Ed. A. Stacpoole. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986. 71–73.
———. "Ecumenism (*Unitatis Redintegratio*)," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 113–15.
———. "The Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After.* Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 182–84.
Studing, R. "A Brian Moore Bibliography," *Eire-Ireland* 10 (1975): 89–110.
Sullivan, F. "The Church We Believe In," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M. A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 316–34.
———. "Evaluation and Interpretation of the Documents of Vatican II," *Contemporary Catholic Theology.* Ed. M.A. Hayes and L. Gearon. New York: Continuum, 1999. 335–48.
Sullivan, R. *A Matter of Faith: The Fiction of Brian Moore.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.
———. "Brian Moore: A Clinging Climate," *London Magazine* 16 (1997): 63–71.
Szulc, T. *Pope John Paul II: The Biography.* New York: Scribner, 1995.
*Tablet,* Editorial, 21 March 1998, 371; also 390–91.
Talbott, J.E. *The War without a Name: France in Algeria,* 1954–1962. London: Faber, 1981.
Taylor, M. C. *Erring: A Postmodern A/Theology.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984.
Tener, J. F., and A. Steele, eds. *The Brian Moore Papers First and Second Accession: An Inventory of the Archive at the University of Calgary Libraries.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987.
Thernstrom, S., ed. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.
Thwaites, R. G., ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travel and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France* 1610–1791. New York: Pageant, 1959.
Tiffin, H., ed. *De-scribing Empire: Postcolonialism and Textuality.* London: Routledge, 1994.
Toolan, M. J. "Psyche and Belief: Brain Moore's Contending Angels," *Eire-Ireland* 15 (1980): 97–111.
Turner, V. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
———. *From Ritual to Theatre: the Human Seriousness of Play.* New York: Performing Arts Journal, 1982.
Vandervlist, H. "Brian Moore: Irish at heart but still one of ours: Black Robe author goes back in history without repeating it," *FFWD* (9–15 April 1998): 10.
Van Gennep, A. *The Rites of Passage.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

Vatican, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994.

Vaucelles, L. "The Changing Social Contexts of Postconciliar Catholicism," *The Reception of Vatican II*. Ed. G. Alberigo. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 44–58.

Verduyn, C., ed. *Literary Pluralities*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press/*Journal of Canadian Studies*, 1998.

Visher, L. "The Reception of the Debate on Collegiality," *The Reception of Vatican II*. Ed. G. Alberigo et al. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1987. 233–48.

Vorgrimler, H., ed. *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. 2, *Decree on Ecumenism; Decree on the Bishops" Pastoral Office in the Church; Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life; Decree on Priestly Formation*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969.

———. *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. 3, *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions; Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation; Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, New York: Herder and Herder, 1969.

———. *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. 5, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969.

Wall, R., ed. *Medieval and Modern Ireland*. Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1988.

Walsh, F. *The Novels of Brian Moore: Technique as Discovery*. PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1973.

———. John Paul II. London: SPCK, 1994.

Walsh, M. "Councils in Christian History," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 14–19.

Walsh, M., ed. *Commentary on the Catechism of the Catholic Church*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994.

Walsh, W., ed. *Readings in Commonwealth Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

———. "Pius XII," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 20–26.

———. "The History of the Council," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 35–46.

———. "The Conservative Reaction," *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: SPCK, 1991. 283–88.

Walters, P. "Eastern Europe since the Fifteenth Century," *A World History of Christianity*. Ed. A. Hastings. London: Cassell, 1999. 282–327.

Ward, K. "Africa," in *A World History of Christianity*. London: Cassell, 1999. 192–237.

Weisberg, R. H. *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Welch, R., ed. *Irish Writers and Religion*. Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1992.

———. *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

White, P. "Geography, Literature and Migration," *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration*. Ed. R. King et al. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. 1–19.

Whitehouse, J.C. "Grammars of Assent and Dissent in Graham Greene and Brian Moore," *Catholics on Literature*. Ed. J.C. Whitehouse. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997. 95–107.

Whitehouse, J.C., ed. *Catholics on Literature.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.
Whitfield, T. *Paying the Price: Ignaticio Ellacuria and the Murdered Jesuits of El Salvador.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.
Whyte, J. *Church and State in Modern Ireland:* 1923–1979. 2nd ed. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980.
———. *Interpreting Northern Ireland.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
Wilentz, A. *The Rainy Season: Haiti since Duvalier.* London: Touchstone, 1990.
Willis, M. *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History.* Reading: Ithaca, 1996.
Willebrands, J. Cardinal "Christians and Jews: A New Vision," *Vatican II By Those Who Were There.* Ed. A. Stacpoole. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987. 220–36.
Wilson, C. *The Outsider.* London: Pan Books, 1978.
Witvliet, T. *A Place in the Sun: Liberation Theology in the Third World.* London: SCM, 1985.
Woodcock, G. "Away from Lost Worlds: Notes on the Development of Canadian Literature," *Readings in Commonwealth Literature.* Ed. W. Walsh. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973. 209–20.
Woodman, T. *Faithful Fictions: The Catholic Novel in British Fiction.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991.
Wyschogrod, E. *Spirit in Ashes: Hegel, Heidegger and Man-Made Mass Death.* London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
Young, R. "Assimilation and Violence," conference keynote, Third Galway Conference on Colonialism, National University of Ireland, Galway, June 1999.

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Index


## A

aesthetic alternative to religion, 45, 48–49, 51, 78, 96, 99, 111–12
aesthetic freedom, 43–44, 59
Africa. *See* Algeria
afterlife, 83, 89; eternal damnation, 32; heaven and hell, 143; immortality, 72; life as preparation for eternity, 89
*aggiornamento*, 101, 105, 166
agnosticism, 113, 117
Algeria, 61, 191–92, 194–95; colonial subjugation, 193; faith, 196; religious and secular power, 199; resistance to imperialism, 196; spirituality, 197–98, 259–60n
Algonkin, 152
alienation, 30, 177; from urban culture, 117
Allah, 197
alternatives to religion, 71, 82–84, 96; aesthetic, 45, 48–49, 51, 78, 96, 99, 111–12; economics as, 124; literary reputation as, 85; psychoanalytic, 112; sex as, 124
America, 36, 70. *See also* Canada; North America; South America; economic hope, 35; mythical status, 55; as secular antithesis, 13; as stabilizing reference point, 109
American dream, 63
American liberalism, 71, 75
*An Answer From Limbo*, 6, 13, 68–75, 157; aesthetic alternatives to Catholicism, 49; Ireland as background presence, 52; North American secularity, 56; writing and religion, 84
anti-heroines, 117
anti-Semitism, 187, 192–93, 257–58n, 259n; in *The Statement*, 185
*Apostolicam Actuositatem*, 15
apparitions, 84
Aristide, Jean Bertrand: fictional representation of, 172–74, 178–79, 181, 254n, 255n, 257n
atheism, 71, 117, 135, 163, 167–68; atheistic other, 121; atheistic philosophy, 121

## B

Banville, John, 34
Beckett, Samuel, 23, 55, 94
Belfast, 30, 36–38, 53, 99, 127–32; as alien place, 121; bombing, 49, 52; Catholic-Protestant conflict, 64; and Dublin, 97; in *The Feast of Lupercal*, 40–41; focal point of political struggle, 27; "insular world" of, 34; in Judith Hearne, 31; marginalization of Catholics, 29; political and theological landscape, 49; as representative of British Empire, 26; return to, 123; in Second World War, 47; sexually liberated lay populace, 122; violence of, 128
Belfast Catholicism, 8, 13, 27, 34, 43–44; narrow provincialism, 47
belief and skepticism, 120, 144
belief through negative theology, 122
Bem, Cardinal, 161, 163–65, 167–68, 170; assassination, 161, 169–70; religious doubts, 171
Bernard of Clairvaux, 164–65
big house, 110, 127
birth control, 84, 118

*Black Robe*, 19, 81, 117, 150, 152–58, 174–75, 193, 200; cultural confrontations, 94; exoticism of place, 61; French Catholic imperialism, 134; landscape of Canada's past, 107–8; missionary imperialism, 50, 136; North America revisited, 133; salvation for all, 158; unfavourable physical environment, 60
Boff, Leonardo, 102, 181
*Brian Moore: A Critical Study* (O'Donoghue), xi
*Brian Moore: The Chameleon Novelist* (Sampson), xiv
*Brian Moore* (Flood), x, xi
*Brian Moore* (Sampson), 9
Brossard, Pierre, 49, 185–88; assassination, 190, 192; Church involvement in protecting, 189
Buddhism, 135
Burke, Father, 108, 110
Burke, Gavin, 29–30, 47–49; aesthetic freedom and, 44; father's Catholicism, 48; identification with poetry, 51; Oedipal conflict, 50, 52
Butchersville Catholicism, 56, 59, 76–77, 82

## C

California, 84, 137; coastline, 56, 83, 86; sacralized American landscape, 143; seascape, 56
Canada: in *Black Robe*, 107–8, 150, 152–58; cultural identity in *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, 65; in *No Other Life*, 174–176; rural landscapes, 56
Cantave, Father Jean-Paul. *See* Jeannot
Caribbean, 61, 95, 150
Carmel, 146, 150
Catholic Church, 183; accommodation with other faiths, 19; alienated from the sacred, 146; authoritarianism, 12–13; authority of, 119; decline, 120; decline prior to Vatican II, 38; encounter with non-Christian religions, 20, 117; encounter with Protestantism, 55; extremist elements, 192; fictional defense of, 97; interfaith relations, 184; internal conflicts, 95; liberalized but weakened, 123; loss of authority, 131; marginalized by modernity, 96; and nationalism, 117; Nazi sympathy and, 48–49, 51, 184; as oppressive, 26; political right, 186; politicization and sectarianism, 96; poor and politically oppressed and, 20; post-Vatican II, 166; power of, 36–37; redefinition, 18, 135; relation with imperialism and colonialism, 136, 142, 200, 204; relations with Islam, 20; revisited, 19; revolution, 8; separation from world, 13; sexual morality, 76, 83–84; social control, 41; social teaching 234–35n; as spent force, 130; struggles in eastern Europe, 170; in theological conflict, 96
Catholic grandnarrative, 57, 142
Catholic–Jewish relations, 20, 188–89, 191–92, 257n–258n; anti-Semitism, 185, 187; in *The Statement*, 184, 237n
Catholic–Protestant divide: peaceful coexistence, 50
Catholic–Protestant otherness, 42
Catholicism: cultural difference in, 74; German sympathies, 52; and Irish nationalism, 97; lapsed, 118; non-Irish, 70; portrayal of, 5, 8, 10, 19, 157–58; post-Enlightenment French, 193; post-Vatican II, 11, 19, 61, 154, 188; pre-Vatican II, 13, 76, 114; and secularism, 58
*Catholics*, ix, 8, 61, 96–106, 148–49, 171; ecumenism, 101; generational differences in, 113; interfaith relations in, 94, 101; Ireland in, 98, 106, 133; key developments in post-

Vatican II Church, 96; liberation theology in, 94, 136, 163; liturgical change, 100; pivotal importance of, 100, 102; post-Vatican II–IV theology, 94, 96, 103; post-Vatican IV setting, 19, 96, 98; re-examination of place, 99; reappraisal of Catholicism, 133; as turning point, 151

*Catholics on Literature* (Whitehouse), 11

childhood: geography of, 69; interior monologues from, 60, 62; roots, 72

Christology, 181

*Church and State in Northern Ireland* (Whyte), 28

Church as hierarchy, 94

Church as "People of God," 16, 94, 101

Church Militant, 94, 104, 135, 159; ecclesiology, 83

Church mission, 141

Church-State relations, 160, 169, 183, 206; in *The Colour of Blood,* 158; Eastern Europe, 161; France, 199; in *No Other Life,* 179; priest -president, 179; in *The Statement,* 158

cinema, 36–37, 66

Clarke, Una, 42, 44–46

Coffey, Ginger, 56, 58, 61; abandoned Catholicism, 58; boredom of the Mass, 104; disillusionment, 64; on divorce, 63; economic hopes, 62; economic migration, 57; fantasies, 62–63; imagined redemption, 65; interior monologue, 60, 62, 67; metaphors of Catholic past, 66; school recollections, 60; self-doubt, 63

*Cold Heaven,* 19, 86, 120, 141–52, 157–58; California setting, 134; Church mission, 141; post-Vatican II liberalization, 144; postcolonial subversion in, 136; Spanish imperialism, 134, 141

colonialism, 24, 153, 173, 196, 200. *See also* imperialism; Catholic and Protestant encounters, 128; colonial relations, 26; conflict, 87; Ireland, 133–34; in *The Magician's Wife,* 151–52; spiritual, 134

colonizing other, 23

*The Colour of Blood,* 150, 158, 160–71, 198–99; Church-State relations in, 160–61; communist imperialism in, 150; liberation theology, 94–95, 136; Marxism in, 117; political oppression and the Church, 20; politics during Cold War, 103

Connolly, Father, 132; sectarian politicization, 131

Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. *See Sacrosanctum Concilium*

Council of Trent (1545–63), 13

Counter-Reformation, 13

Cronin, J., xiii, 34

cultural otherness, 30, 193

cultural plurality, 9–10, 68, 74–75, 94–95

*Culture and Imperialism* (Said), 25

cultures in encounter, 97

## D

Dahlie, H., xi, 5, 34

Davenport, Marie, 141; free will, 148; numinous encounter, 142–43; pre-Vatican II convent education, 147; right not to believe, 150; sexual and soteriological experience, 146; sexual infidelity, 143; skepticism, 146–47; visions, 143–45, 147, 149, 157

death, 142–43, 172, 174, 179–81. *See also* eschatology; and final judgment, 183; landscape of, 112; literary reflections on, 82

death of god, 69

Declaration on Religious Freedom. *See Dignitatis Humanae*

Declaration on the Relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions. *See Nostra Aetate*

Decree on Ecumenism. *See Unitatis Redintegratio*
*Dei Verbum*, 15, 17
democratization, 101, 162; of the Church, 17; in ecclesiology, 104
Devine, Diarmuid, 29–30; liaison with Protestant, 41–42; literary figure prototype, 45; rehabilitation, 46; sexuality, 43
diagesis, xiii, xiv
differences, generational. *See* generational theme
*Dignitatis Humanae*, 15, 17, 166
Dillon, Michael, 128–30, 132; death, 127; moral liberalization, 131
divorce, 63, 83, 128
*The Doctor's Wife*, 19, 97, 115–21, 123, 125, 130, 132; generational difference in, 114–21; Ireland in, 28–29, 44; love as alternative to Catholicism, 96
Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation. *See Dei Verbum*
Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. *See Lumen Gentium*
doppelganger, 107, 112
"Double-Minority Model," 29
dreams, 139–40
Dublin, 43, 97
Dunne, Mary: alienation from self and geography, 79; Butchersville and, 76–77; Catholic schooling, 76; descent into anomie, 89; distance from her Catholic upbringing, 80; geographical disorientation, 57; identity, 83; increasingly residual Catholicism, 77; Irish unconscious, 115; in Montreal as Mary Bell, 76–77; in New York as Mary Lavery, 76–77, 79; pre-Vatican II Catholicism, 59; psychological crisis, 82; relationship with mother, 82; relationships defined through place, 81; religious language, 77–78; return to childhood cultural roots, 82–83; sexual liberation, 56–57, 71, 76; suicidal impulses, 82; in Toronto as Mary Phelan, 76–77
Duvalier, François, 172

# E

Eastern Europe, 95
ecclesiology, 100, 103; pluralized, 205; surface change, 104
economics: as alternative to Catholicism, 124; success, 13; underpinning Canadian cultural identity, 65
ecumenism, 17, 100–101, 135
emigration, 55, 60; for aesthetic freedom, 59; economic necessity, 59
Emmeline, 196–98
*The Emperor of Ice-Cream*, 6, 13, 28, 43, 47–53, 114; Belfast Catholicism, 47; bombing of Belfast, 49; differences between father and son, 74; fear of "other," 44; Irish neutrality in W.W.II, 64; pre-Vatican II mould, 13, 50, 52; world wide political struggle, 51
epiphany, 144
eschatology, 36, 143, 171–72, 174, 176, 183. *See also* death
Europe: as cultural benchmark, 73, 79, 89
exotic landscapes: fable, allegory, and fantasy, 61
exoticism of place, 61

# F

Fadden, Fergus, 56, 118; aesthetic endeavour, 13; as defendant in trial, 87; father as pre-Vatican II, 84, 86; inescapability of culture of one's birth, 57; insecurity, 84; literary reputation as substitute for religious belief, 85; near-death experience, 90; persistence of belief, 88; prayers, 86–87; sexual insecurity, 83; visitations, 83, 87
"false black nun," 145

Famine, 24, 35, 48, 55
Fanon, F., 134–35
fantasies, 62; Catholic past in, 56; retreat into, 63
*The Feast of Lupercal*, 6, 13, 28, 40–47, 83; Belfast in, 40–41; as turning point in grandnarrative of Catholicism, 47; literature in, 45; moral repressiveness, 43–44; Protestant Catholic conflict, 42
female "other," 196–97
*Fergus*, 13, 56, 59, 61, 70, 88–90, 157; integration of Old and New Worlds, 87; prominence of natural environment in, 86; writing and religion in, 83–85
Flood, J. M., x, xi, xii, 5, 32
Foster, John, 24
Foster, John Wilson, 31–32, 69
France, 9, 116, 142, 192, 258–60n; geography used, 121; immigration issues, 191; political attitudes, 184; post-enlightenment, 193, 196–97; post-War political and ecclesiastical history, 189; as setting for Sheila Redden's affair, 115; in *The Statement*, 185–86; theological openness to doubt, 121
Freire, Paolo, 102

## G

Ganae (imaginary Caribbean island), 172, 176
*Gaudium et Spes*, 15–17, 19, 94, 102, 119, 121, 135, 166–67
generational theme, 48, 51, 83–84, 86, 114–19, 126, 142–43, 175; in *Catholics*, 113; in *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*, 74; in *Fergus*, 84–85
"Geography, Literature and Migration" (White), 57
global Church, 97
globalization, 141, 151–52, 160
*The Great Victorian Collection*, xii, 19, 61, 137–41, 142, 157–58; British Empire subtext, 134, 141; California setting, 134; colonialism, 136; North America, literary treatment of, 133
Greene, Graham, 186
Gutiérrez, Gustavo, 102, 238n

## H

Haiti, 26, 172–83
Harbinson, Mr., 128, 130–31
Hargreaves, Freddy, 50
Hearne, Judith, 9, 26, 29–30, 60, 123; devoted Catholic, 38; love failings, 39; marginalization, 37, 39; metaphysical alienation, 38; political consciousness, 36; quest, 40; social and ritual exclusion, 31–32
heaven and hell, 143
heresy, 105
Heron, Tim, 43, 46
hierarchy, 12, 32, 104, 116; power of, 32
Hinduism, 135
home, school and church, 41, 87
Hughes, Eileen, 122, 124; encounters with sex and near-death, 125; moral choices, 123; as object of religion, 125
*Humanae Vitae*, 76, 118, 235–36n; conservatism, 84
humanistic theology, 125

## I

*I Am Mary Dunne*, 13, 56, 70, 76–83, 157; identity, 81, 83; post-Vatican II conservatism and, 84; religious language in, 77–78
identity, 81, 83, 157; between Catholic and Protestant, 119; fictional loss of, 30; and fixity of place, 77; and identity-crisis, 57; literary (Tierney's), 72; public Catholic, 119; residual Catholic, 83
immigration and emigration, 23–24, 55–56, 59–61, 64, 67, 75
immortality, 72

imperialism, 49, 111–12, 139, 152–53, 194–95, 198. *See also* colonialism; anti-imperial thinking, 163; British, 26, 35; Catholic missionary, 50; communist, 150; cultural and territorial, 200; French, 196; French Catholic, 134; post-Enlightenment European empire building, 139; postcolonial post-Vatican II perspective, 192; relationship with Catholicism, 196; theological underpinning, 156
Index of Banned Books by the Catholic Church, 45
indigenous "other," 152
individualism: in *Emperor of Ice-Cream,* 47; of Protestantism, 43; rise of, 68
inequality, 136–37
insanity, 146
interfaith relations, 94, 100–101, 188, 233n
interior monologues: of Catholicism, 67; of Old World theology, 62; persistence of theological thinking, 56, 60; theological perspective, 62
*Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Whyte), 28
intertextuality, 3–4, 8, 10, 93–94, 99, 103, 115, 163, 187, 212n; of the big house, 127; *Black Robe,* 174; geographical reference.., 175; intertextual ghosts, 83; literary theology, 101; literature and theology, 11; old and new narratives, 87; return to Ireland, 107; scriptural, 143; theological, 94–95
*Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (Kiberd), 23
IRA, 129, 131; violence, 119
Ireland, 13, 52, 97; and America, 97; in American novels, 53; Atlantic seascape, 106; of *Catholics,* 98; and Empire, 27; fictional closure, 127; focus for Moore's rejection of Catholicism, 18; in *The Mangan Inheritance,* 106; neutrality in World War II, 48, 64, 97, 114; political decline, 131; political situation in Northern Ireland, 28; post-Irish Free State, 120; post-Partition, 24, 26, 28, 42–43, 48; post-Vatican II Catholicism, 53, 119, 126; pre-Troubles, 126; relations with England, 24; revisited, 19, 124; secularized Catholicism, 96; Six Counties, 34; spiritual ascent and religious dissension, 99; sympathetic presentation, 19; through eyes of Americans, 116; Troubles, 128
Irish as pejorative "other," 35
"Irish cause," 145
Irish exile: as Catholic in North America, 55
Irish Free State, 27, 48
Irish Literary Revival, 106
Irish literature of cultural resistance, 40
Irish nationalism, 36; Catholicism and, 120
Irish Revival, 116
Islam, 135, 193; Islamic "other," 196; re-identification with, 200; strength and weakness, 197; theological simplicity, 198

## J

Jeannot, 173, 175–78, 182–83; as Christ-figure, 180–81; machete speech, 179; return to the masses, 174; as revolutionary figure, 181
*The Jesuits of North America* (Parkman), 154
*Jesus Christ Liberator* (Boff), 102, 181
Jewish-Catholic relations. *See* Catholic-Jewish relations
Jewish persecution: in *The Statement,* 150
Joyce, James, 9, 23, 37, 55, 74, 99, 109, 115; influence on Moore, 40, 76; intertextual references, 93; Moore compared to, 32
Judaism, 135; Catholic teachings re, 184

*Judith Hearne*, 3, 6, 13, 28–31, 34, 37–39, 55, 60, 158; naturalistic realism, 114; pre-Vatican II representation, 32–33, 35–36, 40

# K

Kiberd, D., 23–26, 35, 55
Kinneally, Father Maurice, 83
Kinsella, James, 97–98, 102–3, 105, 149; "ecumenical" clothing, 104; encounter with Abbot O'Malley, 100; mission, 104

# L

Laforgue, Father, 153, 155, 161; identification with Indigenous people, 157; metaphysical doubt, 156; personal transformation, 152, 154, 156
Lambert, Henri, 193, 197, 199; as infidel sorcerer, 198; magical powers, 194; trickery, 196; used for imperial political ends, 198
*Lamentabili* (decree), 13
Latin America, 178; liberation theology, 102, 161
Latin Mass, 94, 103–4
Lavery, Terence, 76, 78–80
liberation theology, 17, 94–97, 102, 135–37, 159–63, 165, 169, 175, 178–80, 182–83, 206, 235n, 237n–238n, 250n, 252n, 255n–256n; Church's critique, 176–77
*Lies of Silence*, 19, 28–29, 44, 96–97, 117, 127–32; generational difference, 113; metaphysical conclusion, 132; priesthood and IRA violence in, 120
liminal space, 123
liminal states, 81
literary-meteorological rain motif, 84
Literary Revival, 112
literary theology, 133
literature: as alternative to Catholicism, 45, 85, 124
literature of migration, 58
liturgy: changes to, 100–101; Latin, 17; renewal of, 19; resistance to change, 187; vernacular, 17
London, 123, 125–26
Lourdes, 147
love: as alternative to religion, 96; for Eileen Hughes, 124
love, divine: theological paradigm of, 122–24
love, obsessive, 123
love-adultery: in *The Doctor's Wife*, 122
Lowry, Tom, 116–17
*The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, 6, 13, 61–67, 70, 157; interiorized theological monologue, 56, 60; meteorological motif, 59
*Lumen Gentium*, 14, 94, 101, 117, 119, 121, 135, 166–67

# M

"machete speech," 179
Madden, James, 26, 35, 39; American allegiance, 36; as false hope, 39; return to Ireland, 55
*The Magician's Wife*, 3, 20, 50, 61, 76, 94–95, 117, 121, 151–52; postcolonial perspectives, xiv, xv, 158, 192–200, 205; colonial geography in, 192; Muslim–Christian relations, 62; theology and imperialism, 141
Maloney, Anthony, 137; denial of religion, 138; dream, 139–40; megalomania, 141; psychological deterioration, 139–40; suicide, 140; vision, 142
Mangan, James, 112; North America and, 106; parallel to poet ancestors, 110–11; resurrection, 107
Mangan, James Clarence, poete maudit, 107–8
Mangan family Bible, 107
*The Mangan Inheritance*, 61, 96, 106–12, 123, 127, 132, 198; absentee

landlord in, 110; Freudian overtones, 112; generational difference, 113; marital abandonment in, 107; post-Vatican II, 106; priority to the political and aesthetic, 107; unity of Ireland in, 106
marabouts, 194–97
Marxism, 51, 160, 237–38n; and Catholic Church, 117; Catholic critique of, 163; and Catholic theology, 177; and communism, 163; decline of, 29, 178
Marxist analysis, 136
Marxist critique of religion, 182–83
Marxist politicization of Christianity, 169
Marxist terminology, 177
*A Matter of Faith* (Sullivan), 4
McAuley, Bernard, 123, 125, 127; economic success, 123; failed vocation, 124; humanistic theology, 125; obsessive desire for Eileen Hughes, 122; suicide and funeral, 127
Medellin Conference, 102, 135, 151, 159, 178, 206, 238n, 1151
Mesters, Carlos, 102
metaphors of consciousness, 88
"metaphysical exclusion" excommunication, 32
Michel, Father Paul, 172–74, 176, 178–79; crisis of belief, 180; mother's deathbed, 175; mother's skepticism, 175–76; theological meditation on death, 182
migration, 25, 75; Coffey's from Ireland, 67; as geographical and theological, 56; and sin, 61
mission: postcolonial reconsideration of, 175; as soteriological conquest, 157
Modernism, 13
Modernist preoccupations, 76
modernity, 32, 183, 200
monasticism: as reactionary force within the Church, 186
Monterey Coast, 142
Montreal, 56, 59, 67, 79–80, 137; contrast with Dublin, 56
moral authority, 119
moral choices, 123
moral liberalization, 131
moral obligations, 114
mortality, 181
Mother St. Jude, 148
mothers. *See* generational theme
Muck, 98–99, 102; landscape of, 106
Muslim–Christian relations, 62, 261n
Muslim other, 193
"My Dark Rosaleen," 108
mystical theology, 67
mysticism, 144
myth and miracle, 103
myth of west coast Irish idyll, 111

# N

naturalistic technique, 61, 81, 105–6; in *Judith Hearne*, 114
New World, 6, 55, 70
New World/Old World, 59
New York, 56, 58, 68, 72, 78, 80; "new Rome," 56; secularism, 69; "the Rome of our day," 68
*No Other Life*, 75, 94–95, 171–83, 199; Caribbean in, 26, 61; death, Catholic reflections on, 171; generational difference, 113, 175; liberation theology, 136; Marxism in, 117; poor and politically oppressed, 20, 150; postcolonial perspective, 158
"no salvation outside the Church," 135, 152, 154, 223n
non-Catholic other, 56
North Africa: in *The Magician's Wife*, 192–200
North America, 106; cultural imperialism, 35; emigration, 117; fictional return to, 157; history as colonization, 57; history of migration, 57; landscape, 140;

literary treatment of, 133; in *The Mangan Inheritance,* 115; revisitation, 19
*Nostra Aetate,* 15, 17, 19, 94, 101, 135, 184, 189
numinous, 144–45, 147

## O

obedience, 105
O'Donoghue, xi, xii, 5, 7–8, 26, 34, 62
Old World, 6, 53, 55; of Brendan's mother, 70; and New, 57, 64, 87, 89
O'Malley, Abbot Tomas, 103, 105, 171; lost faith, 148
*Orientalism* (*Said*): postcolonial theory, 134–35
other, 116, 151; Catholic and non-Catholic, 95; colonizing other, 23; fear of, 44; female "other," 196; indigenous "other," 152, 154; Irish as pejorative "other," 35; Islamic "other," 196; marginalized and oppressed, 137; of migratory experience, 58; Muslim other, 193; Protestant other, 42, 117, 129; religious, 135; respect, 44; secularized others, 59
otherness, 152, 155; Catholicism as, 70
"Our Lady of Monterey," 143
"overworked Irish soil," 34

## P

papal infallibility, 12, 50
parents. *See* generational theme
Paris, 121
Parkman, Francis, 154
*Pascendi* (encyclical), 13
Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World of Today. *See Gaudium et Spes*
pastoral theology, 102
*Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire), 102
"People of God," 101, 135, 159
*Perfectae Caritatis,* 15
persona. *See* identity
physical as theological distance, 84
politicization of clergy, 117
Pope John Paul II, 95, 163, 166, 168–69, 176–77, 181; assassination attempt, 161; radical-turned-conservative, 162
Pope John XXIII, 8, 14, 37, 47, 110
Pope Paul VI: pronouncements on birth control, 118
Pope Pius IX, 13
Pope Pius X, 13
Pope Pius XII, 12
*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Joyce), 32, 37
post-Conciliar documentation, 94
post-Conciliar period, 184; direction of Moore's fiction, 96
post-Vatican II: accommodation with atheism and communism, 163, 169; authority, 120; encounter with colonial counter-Reformation Catholicism, 141; and postcolonial perspectives, 134, 151–52, 157; reactionary forces, 186; reassertion of authority, 183; in *The Statement,* 184; transformation, 127, 173
postcolonial criticism, 25, 134–35
postcolonial perspective, 133, 152, 154–55, 157; convergence with post-Vatican II, 134, 136–37, 151–52, 154, 157–59, 200
postcoloniality, 134–36, 160, 205
pre-Vatican II, 11, 13, 30, 83, 126; Irish Church, 86; residual attitudes, 192; uniformity, 32
pre-Vatican II–pre-Vatican IV Catholic tradition, 97
priests as existentialist thinkers, 117
primitive and existential outsider, 31, 69
propagation of the faithful, 84
Protestant, Unionist, and British "other," 28
Protestant other, 42

Protestant Reformation, 105
Protestantism, 24, 70; freedoms, 43; moral and aesthetic liberalism, 55
provincialism, 40, 47
psycho-sexual self-definition, 13
psychoanalytic alternatives to religion, 112
psychoanalytic critique of Catholicism, 176
psychoanalytic dependency. *See* psychotherapeutic culture
psychological fragmentation, 76
psychotherapeutic culture, 114

## Q

Quebec, 152–53; in *No Other Life*, 174–76
Quigley, Father, 36, 39–40, 60; influence, 38; sermons, 32–33, 35, 37, 104

## R

rational philosophy, 37
rationalism, 139
rationalism, Enlightenment, 200
rationality, modern scientific: *vs.* pre-modern faith of Islamic Algeria, 193
Rausch, T. P., 12–13
*realpolitik*, 166, 169–70
Redden, Kevin, 116, 119, 130
Redden, Sheila, 121, 123, 132; affair, 116, 118; alienation, 117; freedom, 118
rejection by God, 124
religion: encounter with secularism, 56; of love, 124; public role of, 204
religious and ideological grandnarratives, 97
religious and theological grandnarrative, 171
religious freedom, 17, 166, 168
religious nationalism, 161
religious "others": Buddhism, 135; Hinduism, 135; Islam, 135; Judaism, 135
religious pluralism, 184
religious ritual, 144
religious–secular encounter, 123
Republic of Eire, 27
resurrection, 142–43, 150
revolutionary Catholic extremists, 170
rites of passage, 31
*Rites of Passage* (van Gennep), 32
ritual of inclusion and exclusion, 32
romanticism of place, 72
Romero, Archbishop: assassination, 161; conservative turned radical, 162

## S

*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 14, 17, 19, 84, 100–101
Said, Edward, 25, 134–35
salvation, 18, 32–33, 152–54, 156, 160. *See also* soteriology; historical context, 136; outside the Church, 61, 159; universal, 135
Sampson, D., xiv, xv, xvi, 5, 7, 9
*Samson and Delilah* (film), 35
San Francisco, 145
Saul of Tarsus, 146–47
schooling, 40, 61; Mary Dunne, 76
science, 37, 82
Second Vatican Council, 3, 8–9, 11, 17, 76, 93, 95–96, 166, 184, 200, 203–4; documents, 14–15
sectarianism, 119, 129–30; sectarian–political violence, 27; sectarian politicization, 131
secularism, 55–56, 82; liberal, 70; post-War, 69
secularization, 205; of post-Vatican II clergy, 116
secularized others, 59
semiotics of belief, 9
separation of the Church from the world, 17
sex: as alternative to Catholicism, 124
sexual abuse, 111
sexual humanism, 118–19

sexual liberalization: post-Vatican II, 121
sexual licence, 45
sexual morality, 59, 76, 235n; liberalization, 118, 121; post-Vatican II conservatism and, 84
sexuality, 71; defined by place, 83; liberalism, 70; repression, 44
Shaw, Bernard, 23, 115
silence of God, 132, 171, 183
sin, 60
skepticism, 157, 175–76; deathbed, 113; in post-Vatican II American Church, 86
social justice, 19, 102, 135, 151, 173, 206
social reform, 167
social teaching, 95, 100, 105, 178
soteriology, 102, 159, 200, 230n. *See also* salvation; mission as soteriological conquest, 157; negative aspects, 60; redefinition, 135; universal, 166, 205
Soubirous, Bernadette, 144
South America, 162; Marxist ideology, 163
Spain: historical significance to Tierney, 73
spiritual experience, transformative, 144
spirituality, 197
St. John of the Cross, 144
*The Statement,* 9, 20, 48–49, 75, 94, 121, 151, 158, 183–92, 198–99; Catholic-Jewish relations, 184; competing political ideologies in, 190; competing theologies in, 190; eschatological themes in, 183
Stations of the Cross, 67
suicide, 125
Sullivan, R., xii, xiii, xiv, 4–5, 8–9, 34, 41, 62
*Syllabus of Errors,* 13
Synge, John Millington, 23, 74, 94, 99; Aran Island, 99, 103

# T

"Teaching of Contempt," 184, 192
*The Temptation of Eileen Hughes,* 19, 96–97, 122–23; generational difference, 113; romantic love-adultery, 122; secular substitution for religious belief, 124–27
Teresa of Avila, 144
Teresa of Lisieux, 144
"the Algonquin," 80
"The Cold Heaven" (Yeats), 143
"The Writer as Exile" (Adair), 6
theological critique of politicization, 162
theological diversity, 151–52
theological inclusion and exclusion, 75
theological transference, 127
theology: of atheism, 103; differentiated from imperialism, 157; and imperialism, 141, 200; of imperialism, 196; relationship to Marxism, 160
theology of liberation. *See* liberation theology
*A Theology of Liberation,* 102
Third World, 102, 178
Tierney, Brendan, 56, 69; aesthetic endeavour, 13; ambivalence, 75; breakup of marriage, 71; Europe as cultural anchor, 72–73; immortality through writing, 71–72; limbo state, 68; mother, 56, 58, 68, 74; quest, 72; rejection of liberal American culture, 71; renunciation of Catholic heritage, 57, 70–71, 104; self-imposed exile, 74; writing as vicarious form of sexual activity, 71
Touvier, Paul, 184–85, 189
traditional Catholicism: symbolic death of, 75
*The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics and Religion* (Fulton), 27
transcendent mysticism, 147

transformation in Catholicism, 17, 93, 100, 121
Troubles, 27, 116, 119, 127

## U

Ulster, 27, 48, 119, 130, 127–32; as desert, 116; minority Catholic community, 42; minority political and religious status, 43; repression of Catholic community, 43; violence, 115
Ulster, post-Partition, 24
*Unitatis Redintegratio,* 15, 101, 135

## V

van Gennep, A., 31–32
Vatican censure, 102
Vatican I, 12–14, 17, 30, 75, 215n; authoritarianism, 37, 41
Vatican II, 9, 14, 16–17, 19, 37–38, 75, 94–95, 97, 117, 133, 150, 179, 215–16n; literary influence on Moore's fiction, 135
Vatican IV (imagined), 18, 98; in *Catholics,* 105
visions, 142, 144–47, 157; divine intervention, 145
visitations, 87, 89

## W

*Weir's Guide to Religious Monuments,* 98
"What rough beast, its hour come round at last," 99
White, P., 57–58
Whyte, J., 28–29
Wilde, Oscar, 23, 55, 74
Wojtyla, Cardinal, 161, 168–69
world-wide political struggle, 51
*The Wretched of the Earth* (Fanon), 134; postcolonial criticism, 134–35
writing: Brendan Tierney and, 71; as link, Catholic Ireland and secular America, 85; relationship with landscape, 85; and religion, 84; replaced Catholicism, 71; as replacement for religious belief, 83; vicarious sexual activity, 71; writer as immigrant and exile, 23

## Y

Yeats, W. B., 23–24, 51, 94, 103, 109, 112; Fergus's attachment to, 85; prophetic poetry, 99