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Part I

EDITORIAL: CO-OPERATION *versus* COMPETITION

*Nos esse quasi nanos gigantium humeris insidentes,
ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre,
non utique proprii visus acumine aut eminentia corporis,
sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.*

Metalogicon 111.4.

In a world riven by national rivalries yet containing societies which have accomplished miracles of corporate achievement, in a year that has seen the Olympic Games and the brilliance of the Apollo 8 flight, it is hard not to reflect upon the power of human co-operation in face of the stimulus of competition. The two are the obverse and the reverse of human living, though necessarily in that order. The values of life are found in the first, even if the astringency which hardens us to seek them lies in the second: and in some cases competition can be the very death of co-operation.

The essence of co-operation is the belief in growth, in the fruits of the habit of laboriousness, in mutual aid and cross-fertilisation, in the importance of the contribution above the contributor, in the value of the ground gained and ends established above the prizes attached to them: co-operation is inclusive and contributive. Untempered competition, in direct contrast, is essentially exclusive and distributive. It believes that the prize is the thing and the running only gives the prize its rarity value: it believes that the best alone is good enough, and that all other endeavours beneath the best are of no consequence and should go unrecognised and unrewarded. It believes that only the outstanding can make a significant contribution, only the most vital, the most energetic, the most "dynamic". It worships eagles, has little patience with doves and scorns sparrows. Taken to its extremes, it can stand on the threshold of those philosophies of domination which have expressed themselves down the ages in orgies of race arrogance (at their best, chauvinism; at their worst, xenophobia). In unalloyed competition there are many runners, but only one prize-winner—and that is exclusive and obliterative of the efforts of the others.

Growth versus prizes, maturity versus hero-worship, this seems to be an eternal stress in men's lives, and it is reducible to an analysis of values. The man who is by nature and development a co-operator will ask first, "what is the value in this function?", and there he seeks to accord it its

due reverence and regard; whereas the instinctive competitor asks, "what value has this function for me; how can I use it to serve my purposes?", a meaning which may degenerate into "how can this function serve my exaltation?". Both of these responses play their part in society and while the flesh is frail, the exterior goad of competition can never be entirely dispensed with; but the primacy must always go to co-operation, for it contains a more correct orientation of values.

When Professor John Ziman came to review James Watson's book, "The Double Helix", Watson's account of how he and Francis Crick won their Nobel Prizes by their discovery of the DNA structure, he rightly struck out at Professor Watson's orientation of values: "The Nobel Prize, by honouring deeds of the mind and spirit, is a splendid institution. But as the sign of absolute excellence in science, and as a focus for personal ambition, it is a false god. The experts themselves will tell you how many superb scientists have been passed over because their discoveries were not 'important' in the view of the day, or because they were only stepping-stones in a very long investigation by many different research workers. Those whom we should most honour are the pioneers, who glimpse the potentialities of an unexplored field, or who have the courage to look upon old problems in an entirely new light. An early craving for personal fame can carry one into the heart of an existing, highly developed, fashionable discipline, to contend ferociously for the answer to 'exciting' questions that everybody is already asking. The supreme achievement is to ask the question in the first place."

Professor Watson saw the wrong enemy, Nobel Prizewinner Linus Pauling of Cal Tech, whom he exposed for his errors, isolated from vital discoveries, treated with suspicion, and raced for an understanding that he alone might well have been able to effect, had not the Cambridge team rejoiced in remarkable luck both as to their colleagues and as to their experiments. This the author of "The Double Helix" admits without shame, for he is by nature a competitive animal who sees as his enemy the chap in the other lab, not human ignorance; and the priceless pearl to be a Nobel award, not the discoveries it indicates. His values are wrong; and again Professor Ziman takes him to task for it: "The fairy-tale morality may be good enough as a guide to action at the tender age of 23, but it is the wrong mythology for a long career. I believe that the proper ideal for the scientist is not the hero—the knight-at-arms—but the craftsman, the artist, the poet. The much abused adjective 'creative' is correct in spirit. We do better to strive, not for 'success', but for perfection. I do not deny the tensions and conflicts that must arise because scientific excellence can only be judged by other scientists, whose duty it is to criticise and question all our efforts: the purpose of the ancient courtesies and reticences is to keep these conflicts under control." As Benjamin Jowett humbly advised, "The way to get things done is not to mind who gets the credit for doing them".

Man's own history is a tale of the movement from competition to co-operation, however unsustainable that might be. The earliest picture is

of predatory tribes wandering in war-bands from plain to plain marauding, demonstrating Darwin's "survival of the fittest"; the picture is of Nordic longboats putting ashore men who devastate fertile fields, leaving ruin as their only fruit. The later picture is of agricultural societies caring for their lands, caring for their peoples, a beneficent community, a benevolent corporation, mutually defending and supporting, mutually lifted to a higher existence. Men who earlier had to build with a hand on the sword-hilt were later able to turn both hands to the plough, and later still several hands at once together to more complex and more rewarding instruments. As industrial society grew out of agricultural, machines grew still more intricate and many minds came to work on single projects—till we hear now that over two thousand aircraft designers were called in on the *Concorde*, and many more than that into the National Aeronautics and Space Agency responsible for the Apollo 8 project (almost certainly the greatest co-operative endeavour in science that man has ever undertaken).

So the ring widens. The intradependence of particular groups within a society becomes cross-knit with the interdependence of various societies, and socio-national blocs begin to depend on one another for their whole central culture. This is the way of civilisation, and it is an inexorable progress from the primitive predatory spirit of competitiveness to the sophisticated spirit of co-operation, which does not prey but shares. At the economic level one is wasteful and the other resourceful; at the social level, one is exclusive and the other inclusive; at the political level, one is exhaustive and the other productive; and above all, at the religious level, one is demoralising and the other the fulfilling of Christ's command.

I recently heard one of the most distinguished theoretical chemists in this country state that his own scientific drive was based upon two fundamental attitudes: "a conviction of my own responsibility" and "an awe at the beauty and harmony of nature". It is these attitudes which are and have always been the mainspring of the scientific enterprise. And it has often been suggested, most notably I think by Whitehead in 1929, that science as we know it could not have arisen except against a background of centuries of Christian civilisation; since only a belief in the value of the natural order could have given the stimulus for the life-absorbing urge of the pioneer dedicated scientists to study the natural world against such overwhelming odds.

PROFESSOR W. H. THORPE, F.R.S.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND THE REAL PRESENCE

by

HERBERT McCABE, O.P.

FROM THE SUMMER MONASTIC ECUMENICAL MEETING.

This paper brought out in discussion the dynamic of the sacraments. The reality of the eucharistic event is not the essential elements (the presence of bread and wine transformed) but the existential offering of the sacrifice and eating of the Lord's body. Many elements contribute to this, and the Sub Prior of Chevetogne suggested that one was that of Community; where two or three are gathered in Christ's name, there is an element of the eucharist. Liturgy is seen, then, as the highest expression of the unity of mankind in the Christian life: man's prime mode of thought is in action, and the highest of his actions is praise of his God, so his work becomes that also, but his direct praise in worship is the highest return to God. Abbot Ailred Sillem of Quarr added that, as we recognise various degrees of human personal presence, so should we expect the same of Christ in relation to ourselves: he gives himself entirely, but we are able to receive partially (*secundum modum recipientis*, as the scholastics would want to say!), this introducing the subjective element of our own disposition and also introducing the urge to seek out better media of that communication. That perhaps is a good account of what the liturgical movement is striving after, and it is certainly a good account of what theologians of the McCabe school are seeking after—better media of thought and expression in sacramental matters.

Fr McCabe is now at Blackfriars, Oxford, teaching theology and engaged on a research thesis. He has written a lot, notably his book "The New Creation", a volume contributing to the new edition of the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas, and now a new book entitled "Law, Love & Language" on the ethics of behaviour. In his time he took a degree in Philosophy at Manchester after going up to study chemistry! Dr Loudon, who delivered the Response, is Minister of the Kirk of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh.

In reading this paper, one caveat should be held in mind. The word *revolution* is often taken to be synonymous with *evolution* at a rapid rate: but evolution suggests organic growth along a path of true development that is already embarked upon; whereas revolution suggests just the opposite, an obliteration of the path already begun in order to embark upon a new and more correct path. Fr McCabe means revolution in that sense, and means to exclude evolution.

I WANT today to put forward a Catholic view of the eucharist. Any such Catholic view must find its way between two extremes. At one extreme is the view that when we speak of the food and drink of the eucharist as the body of Christ we are speaking merely metaphorically. Like a crucifix or a religious painting the food and drink serve as symbols which remind us of Christ and form a focus for our faith in him. On this view to say that Christ is present in the eucharist is not to say that the food and drink are in themselves in any way different from other food and drink, it is to speak of the role which they play in a particular religious ceremony. A bottle of champagne is just a bottle of champagne, but when it plays a role in a certain ceremony it becomes a Christmas present, a means of expressing friendship between people. To say that it is a present is not to refer to any change that has come over the champagne, it has not

become different from any other champagne, but it now serves as a symbol of friendship and a focus of our mutual affection. Any Catholic theory of the eucharist must distinguish itself from such a view.

At the other extreme is the view that a chemical change has come over the food and drink so that now it is food and drink no longer; it is in fact the body of Christ although this fact is hidden from us. On this view, in the eucharist the body of Christ is *disguised* as food and drink, possibly to make it easier to eat and drink, as a ferro-concrete house can be disguised as half-timbered tudor. On this view to say that Christ is present is to say that the food and drink have changed in themselves, have become something altogether different from food and drink, but that this change is hidden from us. The role of faith, according to this extreme position, is rather to believe that Christ is present despite all appearances to the contrary. Since the role of the sacrament here would be to disguise rather than to show forth the presence of Christ, the Thirty-nine Articles rightly say that it "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament".

The view I shall be putting forward is that in the eucharist the food and drink we enjoy has been radically or, as we say, "substantially", transformed, that it has become the body of Christ. It is not simply a matter of something remaining ontologically the same but acquiring a new significance, nor however is it a matter of something becoming a new chemical substance in a disguised form.

If I may begin by making what may seem an oversubtle distinction: it is one thing to ask about the presence of Christ in the eucharist and another to ask about the presence of his body. If you ask: How is Christ present to us in the eucharist, the answer I believe must be that he is present because the food and drink have become his body. If, however, you ask how his body is present, the answer is that it is present sacramentally. "This is the body of Christ" says how Christ is present to us. "This is the sacrament of Christ's body" says how his body is present to us.

St Peter in Galilee might have said, pointing to Jesus in the days of his flesh, "This is the body of Jesus" and he might have meant, amongst other things, "This is the way Jesus is present to us". He might have meant other things, too, and this is because the body of Christ in the days of his flesh (like our own bodies now) was not simply a mode of presence to others; it was also, to some extent, a mode of absence, a limitation of presence. We do not encounter the bodies of others *purely* as media of communication except on very rare occasions—perhaps sometimes when lovers touch each other—normally the bodies of others are also to some extent objects to us. But in so far as Peter saying "This is the body of Jesus" meant it as indicating the intimate human presence of Jesus to us—perhaps a better example would be the woman who desperately wanted to touch the hem of his garment—in so far as this was meant, then we mean the same thing when we say of the eucharist "This is the body of Jesus". I shall be arguing, however, that we can

say it with a greater intensity or with a deeper meaning when we say it of the eucharist than Peter could when saying it of Christ before his death and resurrection. This is because Christ is now more bodily than he was when he walked in Galilee.

I shall also be suggesting that the way in which we encounter the more bodily Christ, the way we come into his bodily presence, the way, if you like, in which his body touches ours, is through a transformation of the extension of our bodies which we call our media of communication—in shorthand, through a transformation of our language. Christ is present to us because our language has become his body. This is what is meant by saying that his body is present to us “sacramentally”—not exactly by being signified or symbolised, but by being our sign, our symbol. Much of what follows will be devoted to trying to make sense of this enigmatic utterance: “our language has become his body”.

It is quite important to be clear about the question we shall be answering here. To avoid some possible confusion may I say here in passing that the effect of the resurrection is that Christ (the bodily Christ) can be present to all men and not just to a few as we can (and as he could in the days before his death). Just because of his increased or deepened bodiliness he is more available than he was. But this is not precisely the reason why he can be present in many eucharists simultaneously. The reason why he can be universally present to all men—not just to Christians but to the whole world—is that his body is risen and in glory. The reason why he can be present at many *eucharists* is that his body is present in the mode of language—rather as meaning is present to a word. His body can be present as the medium in which we express our faith. There are certain things we want to say about Christ in the eucharist because he is the Risen Christ, and certain things we want to say about him because he is the sacramental Christ and we should be careful not to muddle these up. Thus the reason why Christ cannot be damaged by anything we do to the eucharist is not precisely because Christ being risen is beyond being damaged (though this is true) but because his body is present sacramentally, as sign, as language. Put it another way: Who is closer to Christ, Peter touching him in Galilee before his crucifixion or ourselves celebrating the eucharist.

In one way Peter is in closer contact, he actually touches the body of Jesus, they can share a common bodily life—a better example, of course, would be Mary who actually gave birth to Jesus, whose body gave life to his—on the other hand when they were in contact with his body it was not yet risen and was thus a less total communication of Jesus than is the risen body with whom we make a sacramental contact in the eucharist. The eucharist is a mere foretaste of the world to come when we shall have it both ways, we shall be present to the risen body of Christ as intimately as Mary was present to Jesus in his birth. (The typology of the virgin Mother Mary and the virgin Mother Church is, of course, based upon this.)

But to return to our enigmatic remark “Our language has become his body”. In order to make sense of this we need to say something about language, communication, and about the body.

Briefly I am going to say this: All life at any level is a matter of communication; what we think of as a low level of life involves a low level of communication but every organism is an organism in virtue of its power of communication. Human life is constituted by an especially high level of communication, the kind we call language. What makes a human body human is that it is involved in linguistic communication.

To treat something as an organism and not, say, as a machine is to see the activity of its parts in terms of the activity of the whole—to see this movement of this bit as an act of *walking*, to see these chemical processes as an act of *eating* and so on. An organism consists of bits that have roles, functions, in a larger unity. An organism inhabits a *world*. By this I mean that its environment is organised in terms of relevance to its activities and needs. The dog experiences part of its environment as food another part as dangerous and so on. Its environment has become a world which demands certain kinds of response. The modes in which a dog organises its world are called its senses. The senses are the ways in which the environment is meaningful to the animal. The senses are, of course, determined by the physiological structure of the animal's body. What sort of a world an animal will inhabit is genetically determined; the animal is born with a set of ways of interpreting the world, a set of media for experiencing a world. The animal body is a point from which a world is organised; what sort of world will depend on what sort of body the animal has. To share in the interpretation of a world and the response to it is to communicate.

I am afraid this must sound very summary indeed and even perhaps not very intelligible, but I do not want to spend a lot of time at the moment on philosophical matters. I want to say simply that the animal's body is the means of creating or discovering meaning in the environment and thereby turning the environment into a world. I say “creating or discovering” for this reason: When an animal acknowledges certain chemicals as food it thereby endows them with meaning—this stuff now has significance in the life of the animal. Apart from the animal life the chemicals would not have this special significance as food. In this sense the animal creates a meaning here. On the other hand, of course, it discovers a meaning; the chemical is the kind of stuff which, because of the structure of the animal's body, will serve it as food; it is therefore waiting to be food before the animal acknowledges it as such. Thus the transformation of an environment into a world, the transformation of mere chemicals into food, which is effected by the sensual life of the animal's body is a process which can be called both creation and discovery. In one way a living being imposes meaning on its environment, in another way it discovers a potential meaning in it. Notice that by meaning or significance we mean a role in the business of living. Chemicals

are significant as food because they have a role in the life of the dog. This piece of steel has significance as a sword because it has a role in the life (and indeed in the death) of men. There could not have been any swords before human life evolved on the earth; suppose that by some freak volcanic eruption before the emergence of man, a piece of steel had been formed into the shape of a sword, we would not say that it was a sword, we would say it was a piece of metal for all the world like a sword.

Similarly there could not be food before there was animal life. There obviously were chemicals which were potentially food but they were not food until they formed part of an animal's world.

The animal body, then, realises meaning in the world (I use this handy word "realise" because it is ambiguous; it could mean "discover" and it could mean "make real") and what meanings it realises depend on the physiology of the animal. The media in which it interprets its world, its senses, are determined for it from birth. The sharing of the meanings thus realised is communication. We could say communication is sharing a common world; or communication is sharing a common sensual life.

Now when we come to man we come to a new kind of animal body. The peculiar thing about man is that not only does he create his world as all the animals do through media built into his body from birth, but his body is also capable of extending itself, he is able to create new organs, tools, for coping with the world, and similarly new media for interpreting the world, for creating meaning. The life of man and the world of man is, in fact, not imprisoned within the built-in tools of hands and teeth or the built-in media we call the senses; man's body extends into other home-made media. This is what we mean by language. Man is able to realise meanings in his environment through media which he has made himself. The sharing of such meanings is called linguistic communication.

All this has been very summary and there is a great deal more that ought to be said, but I have said so much in the first place to dispose of two myths. I want to make it clear that when we talk of "meaning" we don't necessarily mean "standing for". To say that something is a sign or symbol—i.e. has meaning—does not imply that it stands for or stands instead of something else. To have meaning is to have a role in the business of living. Secondly, I want to make it clear that when we speak of communication we are not necessarily talking about the passing of messages. Communication is the sharing of a common world of meanings—the transfer of messages from one place to another is only a small part of communication. Besides disposing of these myths I also wanted to make clear the fundamental importance of the body in all communication. The body is the source of all communication, the human body is human because it is the source of human communication, of language. All human media of communication are extensions of the body.

It is important to see that the human body is not a means of communication in the sense that a telephone or a pen may be a means we

use to get in touch with others. The body cannot itself be such a means because we have to have a body in order to use such means. You cannot use a telephone to communicate with others unless you have a body to use it with. If the body itself were merely such a means, you would need another body to use it with. And this, of course, is what is supplied by one theory of the soul—it is an invisible body living inside this one and using it. As you know, such a theory leads to endless difficulties; the truth is simply that the body itself is not an instrument but the source of communication and the human body is the source of linguistic communication. The human body extends itself into language, into social structures, into all the various and complex means of living together, communicating together that men have created, but all of them are rooted in the body; there is no human communication which is not fundamentally bodily communication.

We should not then see human bodies as atomic units externally linked by media of communication; to be human, to have a human body, is to be in communication, a common language is an interweaving of extensions of the human body. The body is itself the basic medium of human communication, not, however, simply the body as we are born with it but the body as we have extended it through the creation of linguistic media.

The implication of this is that we have a task of becoming human. Humanity in its completeness is not something which we altogether receive; it is something we are summoned to achieve. Since the achievement of humanity means arriving at adequate media of communication with others, it is obviously not a merely individual achievement, it is a matter of establishing a certain kind of society amongst men. It is a question not just of biography but of history.

For reasons that I don't want to go into at length, the story of man's movement towards humanity is not one of improvement but of revolution. That is to say men establish a certain kind of communication, a certain kind of society which, however, is less than human, which involves a certain degree of non-communication, and they settle for this. Settling for the world as you have made it so far, settling for the established routine, the definition of man as currently achieved (which has to exclude foreigners or slaves or the lower classes or coloured people)—settling for this is called idolatry. Yahweh is represented as constantly summoning his people out from where they are into an unknown future, summoning them, in fact, to revolutionary change.

The characteristic of revolution as opposed to reform is that it involves entering a new world, not merely a modification of this world. A revolutionary does not seek improvements within the basic structures of this society, he seeks a radical modification of these structures themselves. For this reason the world he envisages is not wholly intelligible in terms of this world. He is out not just to change society but to change the meaning of the word "society". Revolution is not intelligible and

certainly not reasonable within the thought forms and language of this current world; revolution requires faith. When he speaks of the new world, the world to come, the revolutionary cannot describe it as a change of conditions within this world which, upon calculation, will be found to be preferable, he can only speak in parables, hoping that he will awaken his listener to share his vision and faith. I hope I have made fairly clear this point about the difference between revolutionary change and other kinds of change because I am going to make much use of it in what follows. Let me say it once more: We in Britain at the moment take certain institutions and structures for granted as part of what it means to be British, we think it is a pretty imperfect country that could do with a lot of improvement. There are reforms which common sense demands, and most of what we mean by politics is a matter of manoeuvring about such reforms. Politics is for us a discussion of *means*, there is much talk of technology and of the importance of experts. When a revolutionary proposes really radical changes in British life we say two things about him; first that he is not talking serious politics, he is not engaged in the detailed day to day struggle about which reforms to implement, which adjustments to make in society. (He neglects the serious practical business of deciding whether to pay tribute to Caesar or not.) He is a visionary who is not concerned with the real world. The second thing we say is that he is out to destroy the British way of life; he is not a doctor showing us how to get better, he is asking us to die. This is how the revolution must inevitably look to the non-revolutionary. The idea of a Britain which is not owned by a small group of people and governed by an even smaller network, which does not preserve certain class-distinctions and which does not consist mainly of people coloured a kind of pinkish grey—the idea of a Britain without these things seems like an un-British Britain, a destruction of the institutions, the media of communication which constitute the country as British. This I say is inevitably the outlook of those people (and this is always the majority of the people) who do not share the revolutionary vision. It is only after the revolution has occurred (when we have acquired new terms of reference, when we have a new meaning for the word politics) that because we have new institutions, new media of communications, new means of interpreting the world, we have new means of interpreting our history. It is then, after the revolution, that looking back we can see a new and unexpected kind of continuity between past and present. We can then see that the new society is not less but more British than the one it succeeded, that the revolution is not just a destruction but a death and resurrection, that it was the old society that was quietly departing from the real living tradition.

We could take as a similar example the Church, in particular the revolutionary change in the Roman Catholic Church which was the second Vatican Council; how changes in the institutions of the Church which before the revolution looked as though they would destroy its very foundations, have been shown to bring it more truly into line with its tradition.

I do not, of course, suggest that every proposal for radical change is revolutionary in this sense. You can have a summons to death which is not a summons to death and resurrection. I merely want to get clear for my present purposes the special character of revolutionary change.

I do not want to enter at length into the doctrine of sin and redemption but we can see how sin or idolatry consists, whether in the individual or in mankind as a whole, in settling for the present state of affairs, in resisting the call to faith, the call to the revolutionary change, the conversion, the death and resurrection out of which the new world is born. We may note in passing that since the Father is he who summons us to revolutionary change he will always seem irrelevant to the established society; he is not a matter of serious politics. Idolatry on the one hand and the Death of God on the other are two complementary counter-revolutionary theologies, the one seeking to accommodate the divine in the established order, the conservative God in the gaps, the other noticing the failure of this attempt; neither being open to the revolutionary perspectives of scripture. The Word of God does not essentially make a difference within this world, it makes a total difference to the world summoning it to a total renewal.

The Father, then, summons man to real communication, but it is more than a summons from outside, a call from the unattained future. The Father offers us this real communication in the present. This offer is Jesus Christ. He is the Father's giving of himself.

Jesus lived before his crucifixion in an imperfect society, a community of fear in which men could never finally meet each other. He was confronted by two forms of "settling for" this sort of society, two forms of idolatry: on the one hand the Roman colonial empire, on the other the Jewish religious leaders. In this context he offered himself as a new medium of communication between men. This we must be clear about. Jesus did not offer a new social theory, or a new religion, he did not offer even a full analysis of the contradictions in his society, he did not provide an ideal for a new kind of human community. He offered himself. The new kind of community was to be founded upon him, upon the new relationships he was able to establish with his friends, which released them from themselves, freed them from sin and made them open and able to risk becoming human. Jesus offered not a doctrine about what friendship of this kind might be, but the friendship itself. Such an offer involves, of course, a total vulnerability. Jesus put up no barriers to defend himself against others, he was absolutely at their disposal. When, therefore, the colonialist régime and the clerical establishment recognised him as a subversive threat and sought to liquidate him, he put up no defence and he was destroyed. So far we may see this purely within history; I will not say in humanist terms because the story is deeply pessimistic and the humanist is normally unreasonably optimistic. But we may see the story, without reference to God, as a commentary on the history of man. If you love enough you will be killed. Mankind inevitably rejects the only

solution to its problem, the solution of love. Human history rejects its own meaning. Mankind is doomed. In this way we may look on the crucifixion and despair. The resurrection changes the whole perspective. It says that Jesus is not only a man who happens to offer love in its absolute form, but that he does so in obedience to the Father, that this solution to the problem of mankind, the problem of communication, is the Father's plan, and that though men may reject it the Father does not. God comes into the picture for the Christian as "He who raised up Jesus from the dead". The love Jesus offers has its source outside history. Jesus, we discover, is not only totally for others, he is also totally of the Father. The spirit he makes available, what I have called the friendship that frees men, his own spirit, is the spirit of the Father. The communication he makes possible is a living into the Father's communication of himself. From one point of view the resurrection is a revelation of the Trinity, we see Jesus and his Spirit in relationship to the Father. For this reason there is for the Christian no unitarian halfway between atheism and the Trinity. Any worship of the gods other than as revealed in the resurrection of Jesus is idolatry. From another point of view, and this is the one we are at the moment concerned with, the resurrection is a revelation of death. It shows death as revolutionary. Let me try to explain that. First let me repeat something I said earlier, "The human body extends itself into language, into social structures, into all the various and complex means of living together communicating together, that men have created, but all of these are rooted in the body".

Ordinarily we think of a revolution as a radical change in these social and political structures that are an extension of the body. Death and resurrection is a revolution that gets down to the structure of communication which is the body itself. Death and resurrection, then, does not mean a departure from this world to some other separate world, it does not mean substituting another life for this one. It means a revolutionary transformation and hence intensification of this bodily life. Remember how I said that Britain after the revolution might have lost many of the institutions and structures that we think of as characteristically British and yet once it had happened we would recognise that it was more British than ever. Similarly the risen Christ has lost many of the characteristics we think of as bodily but in fact is more bodily than ever. This is not something we can pretend to understand because we still stand on this side of revolution, just as we cannot pretend to understand exactly what a revolutionary Britain would be like because we live here and now.

The resurrection means that Christ by the destruction of his life became not less but more bodily than he was before. In the days of his flesh, before his crucifixion, he offered himself, his body, as a medium of communication amongst men, he offered himself as a medium within history. The two things to say about that are that, first of all, he failed—he did not transform human society into a society of love, and secondly that in any case he was only present to a small group of men, his bodiliness was such that, like ours today, it could only be in contact with a few

friends. The resurrection means that he has passed through the revolution, he is available in his bodiliness more than he was, he is now able to be present to all men and not just to a few in Palestine.

It is worth asking at this point how we are to interpret the New Testament stories of the appearances of the risen Christ. In particular, are we to say that these appearances give us a clue to what the risen body is like. I think we have to say that in these appearances Christ was more bodily than he allowed himself to appear. In himself he was the risen man, his body was that of the future to which we are summoned, the future beyond the ultimate revolution, but in order to show himself to his followers he appeared more or less as a body of our own time, a body of this world—it is true that he passed through closed doors and appeared and disappeared and so on, but generally speaking he wished to emphasise that he was a body and not a ghost. "See my hands and feet that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a ghost has not flesh and bones as you see that I have." And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered, he said to them: 'Have you anything here to eat'. They gave him a piece of broiled fish and he took it and ate before them."

The emphasis in this as in the other stories of post-resurrection appearances is on the bodily reality of the risen Christ, but we are not to suppose that his bodiliness is restricted to the bodiliness of this era.

For our present purposes the interest of this point is that in these appearances Jesus presents an intersection of future and present. He is the future world, the body in whom our bodies are to find unity and final humanity, the medium of communication in which mankind is ultimately to realise itself, he is the future world but he appears as a body of the present world.

Now what I want to suggest is that in the eucharist we have a similar intersection, we have food and drink of the future world which appears as food and drink of this present world. In his post-resurrection appearances Christ is not appearing in bodily form though he is really something else, he is appearing in pre-revolutionary bodily form although he is really in the post-revolutionary and hence more intensive bodily form. Imagine a Cuban singer at an international song contest appearing in traditional Cuban peasant dress. As a matter of history this dress belongs to an era before the revolution; it is most properly worn, in that sense, by someone living in the old kind of society; but in so far as it represents Cuba it is worn with a *better* right by the people of the revolution. They are more truly Cuban than the peasants of an earlier age who wore this costume as part of their daily life. If, looking at the singer, you thought that he was part of the old Cuba you would be quite wrong, but not because he is Brazilian or Swedish. Now you could imagine Cuba taking part in such an international song contest in which most of the other participants were still in their pre-socialist phase, in which, so to speak, Cuba could only be recognised by others in terms of a

part of her history that she has herself surpassed—though it is still parts of her history.

Now the post-resurrection appearances of Christ are perhaps a little like that. Although in fact he has surpassed the present and belongs not to this world but to the world of the future, he is presenting himself amongst the men of this world and he can only be recognised by them in terms of a part of his biography that he has surpassed. The risen Christ appears as flesh and blood and eating and drinking with his disciples with a better right than we do—as the Cuban revolutionary wears the traditional dress with a better right than the original peasants who wore it—but it is not his natural state, he is not appearing for the whole of what he is.

Now I want to say that in a similar way when Christ appears as the food and drink of our era, he is not appearing for the whole of what he is, but he has a better right to appear as food and drink than bread and wine have. The doctrine of transubstantiation, as I see it, is that the bread and wine suffer a revolutionary change, not that they change into something else, they become more radically food and drink, but this food and drink which is the body of Christ, appears to us still in its traditional dress, so that we will recognise it. To look at this food and drink and say that it was bread and wine would be like looking at the revolutionary singer and saying he was a Cuban peasant or looking at the risen Christ and saying he is a man like ourselves; in all these cases you would be right and wrong, right because there is a continuity between what appears and what is; wrong because it is a revolutionary continuity, one that involves a radical re-making.

Now the point we need to fasten on here is this: Christ has a better right to appear as food and drink than bread and wine have. Why do we say this? Because food and drink have a role of bodily communication amongst men. It is important to my thesis that this role of communication, of being a means of sharing human life is what makes them what they are, this constitutes their meaning, their significance in the animal's world. I said earlier that communication consists in sharing a common world and what more primitive and fundamental a way is there of sharing a common world than eating together? Two animals interpret the same feature of their environment as food for their bodies and in feeding each other or otherwise participating in common hunting and eating they engage together in the basic exchange between body and environment. The only more basic form of communication is in sexual union in which the bodies themselves are shared. It is not just that the common meal has become an obvious symbol of unity as in the ceremonial banquet or the drink in the bar, but this conscious ceremonial event has its roots in the bodily form itself. At every level from the milk I receive from my mother's breast to the martini I receive from my host, food and drink is a communication of life. Food is a medium in which we communicate, come together, become more human. It is for this reason that

Christ can say that he is the true bread that comes down from heaven; since he is the medium in which we finally meet each other in which we are finally able to communicate ourselves to each other, he is more intensely food than meat and drink can be. We may say that all eating and drinking is an attempt to reach towards the communication we will only finally find in Christ. It is for this reason, fundamentally, that we say grace at meals. By saying grace, by saying thanks, we recognise this meal, this medium of human unity as gift of the Father, as ordered to the greater kind of unity he is to give us in Christ. When we say grace in Greek, that is to say when we make a *eucharist* of our meal, we are recognising it not merely as a remote reaching towards the meal which is Christ's body, but an actual presence amongst us of that future.

In the eucharist, then, we have an intersection of future and present, we have what is ostensibly language of the present, of this world, of this body, but which in fact is language of the future, of the world to come, of the risen body. This does not involve any disguise or deceit for what the bread and wine have become is not something different from food and drink, they have become food and drink in a deeper sense than we can imagine. We cannot say that the body of Christ is disguised as bread and wine any more than we can say that the risen Christ was disguised as a man of six feet high who ate broiled fish.

You will have noticed, I suppose, that my thesis sounds a little more plausible if we speak of food and drink, rather than of bread and wine. To say that the risen Christ is food in a new intensified and unimaginable sense sounds more likely than to say that he is a loaf of bread in a new intensified and unimaginable sense. But this does not disturb me. It seems to me obvious that the "matter" of the eucharist is food and drink and it does not matter in the end what this food and drink is made of. The quarrels about leavened and unleavened bread, about fermented or unfermented grape juice, seem to me to be quarrels about human traditions—and perhaps important ones but not theologically fundamental. The idea of celebrating the eucharist with a coke and a frankfurter seems to me utterly repulsive but I do not for that reason think it could be ruled out. The important considerations here are surely the traditions of the churches concerned. The reason why it is hard for me to envisage a coke and a frankfurter becoming the body of Christ is that I have difficulty in imagining them as food in the first place.

The language or body of the future is the medium in which we can communicate ourselves fully; by expressing ourselves in this medium we take part in the life of the Father (as by expressing ourselves in English we take part in the English culture). To belong to this culture of the future (to express ourselves through the medium which is Christ's body) by making use of the language of this world is the act of faith. Faith involves an intersection of present and future; it is a use of the language of this world to point beyond this world—it is for this reason that I said that the revolution demands faith. Another word for the intersection of

future and present is "mystery". The creed is an attempted expression in a language of this world (English) of mysteries that are only fully expressible in the language of the future. The sacraments are mysteries in the deeper sense that here as we deploy signs that belong to this world we are actually involved in the language of the future. The English language remains merely English as I use it to say "I believe in one God, the almighty Father. . ." In the sacraments the language itself is transformed and becomes the medium of the future, the language itself becomes the presence, the bodily presence of Christ.

In the sacraments, then, we are speaking the Word of God to express our faith. In this sense we can say that Christ is present in the eucharist, say, as the expression of our faith, as the language in which we communicate with the Father and with each other. Of course it is important to see that what is in question is *our* faith, and not merely the faith of this or that individual. The sacraments are expressions of the faith of the whole church in the way that the English language is the expression of the meanings of the English. Just as the meaning of an English word depends on its use in the community and not merely on my whim, so the sacraments depend for their meaning (for the presence of Christ in them) on their role in the Christian community. We have been promised that, whatever may happen to individuals, the faith of the Church will not fail, and it is for this reason that we believe the sacraments will not fail; though, of course, when faith is succeeded by vision (when we communicate directly in the language of the future) then sacraments, too, will cease. When our future is achieved there will be no intersection of present and future, no faith, no sacraments but only the immediate presence of our risen bodies to the risen body of Christ. Then it will no longer be a question of media of communication which are separate from ourselves (although extensions of our bodies) becoming the body of Christ, but we ourselves will be taken up into the body of Christ which is the incarnate word of the Father.

RESPONSE BY REV R. STUART LOUDEN, F.D., D.D.

To understand the Church of Scotland view of the Eucharist, the words of the Scots Confession (1560) should be quoted, as they indicate the Presbyterian rejection of any merely symbolic view of the sacrament:

" . . . We utterly damn the vanity of those that affirm Sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. . . . We assuredly believe that . . . in the Supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls. The communion . . . makes us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us . . ."

The Scottish view of the "Real Presence" is that at the Holy Table "they

that worthily communicate in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, do therein feed upon the body and blood of Christ, not after a corporal and carnal, but in a spiritual manner; yet truly and really, while by faith they receive and apply unto themselves Christ crucified, and all the benefits of his death".

While the Church of Scotland thus strongly affirms the presence at the sacrament of the Lord Jesus Christ, offering Himself to the faithful, it has found the Roman view of Transubstantiation perplexing, if not repellent. I see two main difficulties here.

(1) Transubstantiation has usually been defined and explained on the basis of an Aristotelian philosophy and epistemology now no longer applicable. I do not find that Father McCabe's linguistic analysis really provides much better a philosophical background for this doctrine. As Transubstantiation is a witness to the ineffable and supernatural, it is unlikely that one should ever find a permanently adequate epistemological theory to undergird this doctrine.

(2) A further difficulty found in many Roman statements of "Transubstantiation" and the "Real Presence" is that these appear to isolate the elements of bread and wine from the totality of the sacramental occasion. Bread and wine are a vital element in the Eucharist, which equally requires a situation in worship, with the fellowship, the baptized community, gathered together; also a ministry, carrying the commission of the Lord Jesus Christ given through His Body the Church; and only in the totality of all this situation, material and spiritual, is our Lord's command fulfilled and the sacrament celebrated. We have a Presbyterian dislike of referring separately to the consecrated bread and wine as the "holy sacrament"!

Over against the formalism and legalism seen in such attempts to describe the ineffable in transubstantiation terms, the Presbyterian sacramental tradition has always emphasised the activity of God the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist. In all our formularies the Epiclesis has had its place in the Eucharistic prayers:

"Wherefore, having in remembrance the work and passion of our Saviour Christ, and pleading His eternal sacrifice, we Thy servants do set forth this memorial, which He hath commanded us to make; and we most humbly beseech Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit to sanctify both us and these Thine own gifts of bread and wine which we set before Thee, that the bread which we break may be the Communion of the body of Christ, and the cup of blessing which we bless the Communion of the blood of Christ; that we, receiving them, may by faith be made partakers of His body and blood, with all His benefits, to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace, and to the glory of Thy most holy name."

One is uneasy about all over-definition in the sacramental sphere. So much of this Western tradition stems from the overlaying of the Greek

by the Latin tradition; from the transformation of the transcendent and evangelical into the legal; from the change from *mysterion* to *sacramentum*. The "mystery" implies transfiguration, and is the sense in which I could accept Father McCabe's element of "revolution"!

The Reformed sacramental tradition arises out of a proper emphasis on the transcendent: in the Lord's Supper wherein Jesus Christ, Reconciler, Mediator and Risen Lord, is Sovereign; and in a sense He alone is the ultimate celebrant of every Eucharist. It is the suggestion of a reversal of this sequence of grace which makes difficulties for me in Fr McCabe's suggestion that Christ can be sacramentally present for us, since "our language has become his body". Explication of the term "body", as the token of individuality and self-hood, is clearly important, for affirmation regarding the Body of Christ, and for our faith: "I believe in the Resurrection of the Body".

In the impressive concelebrated Conventual Mass here in the Abbey Church, I have recognised with devotional appreciation the elements in the Eucharist with which I am familiar in our Church of Scotland Communion Service, the Amamnesis and Epiclesis, the Sursum Corda and the Sanctus, the Actions and the Agnus Dei. Here is the place of deepest ultimate unity, namely at the Table of the one Lord.

Elsewhere, I have expressed my personal conviction that in the grateful or eucharistic response to what God has done for us in Christ, in the Supper of our Lord, is found the hope for unity—at the Eucharist which epitomises the scandal and sin of our dividedness, but which remains the act of the One Lord and Saviour, Who is transcendent over the worship of His Body, the Church.

The further and deeper we travel together, theologically and more important spiritually, in this sacramental realm, the more given, that is, God-created unity we shall discover. Merely social and even highly intellectual dialogue, without the profounder searching of faith, prayer, love and worship, will not achieve great ecumenical advance. Just because the Eucharist is objective in the sense of being real and transcendent, an event in the eternal realm where God is Subject and Christ is Celebrant, in the sacrament, there is a Unity manifested and bestowed in Jesus Christ's Self-offering, a Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. The Church's most ancient prayer, "Maranatha", "Come, Lord Jesus", is central to eucharistic worship, offered in the faith that He will come and make His people One.

CONCILIUM, 10.4 (December 1968) is devoted to "The Eucharist: Celebrating the Presence of the Lord". It includes studies of the Passover and Paschal Meal, the Last Supper, John 6, 1 Corinthians 11, the earliest Eucharists, Symbol and Reality, Eucharist and Church Unity, the Transformation of Roman Celebration.

DOUAI: SEED-BED OF ENGLISH MARTYRS

A CENTENARY ARTICLE, 1568-1968

by

THE RIGHT REVD BRIAN FOLEY, BISHOP OF LANCASTER

*The Seminary of Douai is as dear to me as my own life,
And hath next to God been the beginning and ground
Of all the good and salvation which is wrought in England.*

Cardinal Allen to Fr John Mush, March 1504.

We live in ecumenical days, when, by perhaps misdirected goodwill, we could be persuaded to paper the cracks and sink our differences. It is the mark of true ecumenism that we should acknowledge our differences, tolerating what we may not change; and this is specially so of the history of our Churches, which we may never "change" or deny to suit the exigencies of our present state. It may sometimes be imprudent to resurrect what still gives cause for pain, but it would do far more hurt to expunge whole pages of the truth because they are too painful to be borne at a given time.

Something of the kind is in danger of happening now, when gentler souls are seeking a spirit of reconciliation with the *Ecclesia Anglicana* by shuffling their own tradition, the very glorious tradition of the Church in England, under the carpet with diplomatic tact. It is misdirected tact, and it is over an issue in which it is the onus, not of the inheritors of this tradition to disguise it, but of those outside it to digest it and to reverence it for what it is. For the tradition of the so-called "Forty Martyrs", that is of the fifty martyrs of Henry VIII's reign, of the hundred and ninety martyrs in the reign of his daughter Elizabeth, of the more than three hundred martyrs in the bleak years 1535-1680, is one of the most glorious of records in any part of Christ's Church at any time. It is not to be swept under the carpet, but taken as a luminous example of how we should live. These men and women, Englishmen and Welshmen, died as witnesses to Christ for us: they are our most precious heritage, to be hymned to the heavens and to be followed in their faith and their steadfastness. To enshroud them in an aura of misdirected ecumenism is to cast out a very real light of guidance for our salvation. It is as if the Spaniards were to repudiate St Teresa or St John of the Cross; or the French the Curé of Ars, Bernadette or Soeur Thérèse. We are none of us so rich in grace that we can ever do that: nor are we any of us so universal in our tastes that we can feed upon the traditions of the Church at large without relating them directly to the Church in England. The saints that give Englishmen their greatest sustenance are not the saints of the universal calendar, but English saints—Bede, Cuthbert, Anselm, Becket, Fisher and More, Campion and Mayne, and Margaret Clitherow; and we might be forgiven for believing them among the foremost in the world. These are not lights to be shaded, but beacons to lead us home, and without them our path home will grow more treacherous.

Douai in Flanders provided the structural frame or springboard for most of these martyrs after 1568. The twenty-third session of the Council of Trent in July 1563 had promulgated eight canons on Holy Orders, including a decree that every bishop shall set up a college where selected boys were to be given a religious training, being taught to live the clerical life. This college "will become a permanently fruitful seed-bed (*seminarium*) of ministers of God". William Allen of Oxford responded within five years by founding the College which is the forerunner of St Cuthbert's College at Ushaw (Durham) and St Edmund's College at Ware. For twenty-five years he presided

over the College he had founded without "oath, nor statute, nor other bridle, nor chastisement". In doing these things, he almost certainly saved the Faith in England from total extinction—and Queen Elizabeth realised that no less than he. She tried to destroy the seminary by isolating it, by penetrating it with her spies, by reducing it to poverty of both wealth and numbers, and by hanging its products immediately they set foot in her realm. As quickly as her officials caught and imprisoned new priests, others were ordained to take their place; some being caught en route to their first cure, while others managed to survive over twenty years on the missions without ever being detected.

In all this time Douai had produced, besides its Cardinal founder, thirty-three archbishops and bishops and—more's the point—some hundred and fifty martyrs. It was swept back to England by the Revolution in France, by which time the hand of the law lay less heavily on English Catholicism, an Act of 1791 having allowed priests to say Mass and the faithful to worship unmolested. Douai split between Ushaw in the northern District, and Old Hall Green (St Edmund's) in the southern. A fresh tradition began, which is now undergoing a further evolution as English Catholic higher education is forming new close ties with the universities.

The following is the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Lancaster on the occasion of Douai's Fourth Centenary, 29th September 1968. Bishop Foley was himself at Ushaw before going on to the Gregorian University at Rome. Some editorial footnotes have been added to the Letter to fill out detail.

Four hundred years ago today there took place an event which, though at the time it seemed to be of small importance, was to have momentous consequences. Indeed, it was an event which may be said to have saved the Catholic Faith from extinction in this country. I refer to the founding of a College at Douai in the north of France on September the 29th, 1568, for the training of priests to serve this country.

Let me remind you briefly of the circumstances which led up to this event. Queen Elizabeth had ascended the throne in 1558. At once she and her ministers had begun to make new laws based on a document drawn up previously called "A Device for the Alteration of Religion".¹ These laws made it unlawful for Mass to be said in any of the churches or chapels of this land. From June 1559 Catholics, who at that time constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, had to go to Mass in secret in some country mansion or private house. Only in that way could they practise their religion.

Doubtless, they imagined that this state of affairs would soon pass. They remembered what had happened under Henry VIII and his son the young King Edward VI. They must have said to themselves that things would soon return to normal or at least that the Catholic religion would be tolerated. They proved to be mistaken in this. The years passed by and things did not improve. Indeed, even harsher measures began to be taken against the old religion. What was the worst feature and the most alarming was that the priests who were saying Mass in hidden places² were growing old and dying out. It began to seem that the extinction of the Catholic faith was but a matter of time.

¹ Strype, *Annals*, Vol. I (1709), p. 4.

² The so-called Marian Priests, remaining from the reign of a Catholic queen. They were to be replaced by what came to be called the Seminary Priests. There were even a few Henrician left, a generation older and even more staunch than the Marianists.

Then it was that an Oxford professor called William Allen,³ who had fled overseas for conscience sake, decided to set up in a very small way a college to train priests who would return to England and keep the Mass centres going. He fixed on a spot in the Pas-de-Calais at Douai. This was a place that had a new university. He rented a house beside this and started with five young men all of whom had fled, like himself, from Oxford. The story of this tiny college, started without resources and so humbly, is one of the great stories of Catholic history. It is the story of an astonishing achievement. One of our great English writers who was not a Catholic, Charles Dickens, has called it "the noblest page of English Literature". And before the end of her reign the Queen was reported to have said that she would give half her kingdom to close Douai College. Let me give you the barest details of this story.

Cardinal Allen, as he was to become, because of the urgency of the situation, obtained permission to ordain his priests after four years (later reduced to even two years). His students were already, of course, highly educated; it is said that the first 60 students almost all came from the universities at home. He was not able, however, to send any priests to England until the year 1574. From then until the end of the reign in 1603, 440 priests left the walls of Douai College. Other priests were ordained from other colleges which had been started from Douai during the reign of Queen Elizabeth at Valladolid,⁴ Rome and Seville.

Of these priests from Douai and her daughter colleges many, having come back to England, were arrested and executed. In one single year 20 priests, who had studied at Douai, were martyred; in another year 12; in another year 9, and so on. "They were racked not accepting deliverance, that they might find a more glorious resurrection. They had trials of mockeries and stripes, moreover also of bands and prisons. They were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword . . . of whom the world was not worthy." (Heb. 11.38). These words of the Apostle applied literally to the Douai priest martyrs.

Cardinal Allen was immensely proud of these young men of his who went so bravely to their death in England for the defence of the faith and especially for the Holy See and the Mass. He spread the news of their exploits everywhere. He caused an annual sermon to be preached in Rome before the Holy Father about their sufferings to the text: "Can you drink the chalice that I shall drink. They say to him, We can" (Ma. 20.22). Whenever news of another martyrdom reached the College, he assembled the students and sung a solemn Mass of Thanksgiving with *Te Deum*.

³ Born at Forton in Lancashire, 1532; graduate and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, 1550; Principal of St Mary's Hall, Oxford, 1556; resigned, retired to Louvain University, 1561; ordained priest at Malines and visited Rome, 1565; founded Douai, 1568; died, 1594. In his will, he hopefully left his vestments to Forton parish church.

⁴ In 1589 Cardinal Allen (created a Cardinal Priest two years earlier) co-operated with the Jesuit Father, Robert Persons, in founding the English College at Valladolid, Spain; he had assisted in the foundation of the *Venerabile*, Rome, in 1578.

He ordered that the last places in chapel and refectory occupied by one who had been martyred should be decorated with bay leaves.

But, as he tells us in numerous letters, his pride was mingled with great anguish. "I could reckon unto you," he writes, "the miseries they suffer . . . perils from thieves, from waters, from false brethren; their close abode in chambers without fire and candle . . . their often and sudden rising from their beds at midnight to avoid the diligent searches of the heretics, all which and divers other discontentments, disgraces and reproaches they willingly suffer . . . to win the souls of their dear countrymen."⁵

What were they like these priest martyrs of Douai? Like us, of course, they differed one from another. Even then there were those who clung to the old ways and those who had more advanced views. We are told that some of these priests, for instance, wanted to follow the old English usages for Mass—the Sarum or Lincoln or some other ancient rite—whilst others thought it right to adopt the new rite established following the Council of Trent. They differed among themselves. But there are two or three characteristics which they all share.

They were men, in the first place, of deepest devotion to the Pope and the See of Peter. This goes without saying, of course; it is the mark of the faith. But it is their intensity of attachment to the Holy See that is the first characteristic which springs to mind when considering them. There are in the British Museum among what are called the Lansdowne Papers many so-called "confessions" of these priest martyrs. (They are not, of course, confessions of guilt; they are simply signed statements of what they had stated to be their position at their trials.) These are the most moving of all our martyr documents. It is very touching to see the pathetic signatures, usually scarcely legible because the martyr had been tortured on the rack. The entries are without any attempt at adornment and are for the most part laconic. Here are a few of the things they said at their trial or at the scaffold:

Bl John Shert: "he saeth that he swerveth nothing from the Catholic faith".

Bl Robert Johnson: "he saeth that he teacheth the Catholic faith of which the Pope is supreme pastor".

Bl John Payne: "I die a Christian Catholike Priest".

Others repeat these sentiments in varying ways. One stated: "Neither fire nor faggot nor scaffold will separate me from the Catholic faith". One of the phrases they used much to the people before they died was St Paul's saying: "Watch ye stand fast in the faith" (I Cor. 16.13).

Another characteristic of our priest martyrs, and one that is very winning and attractive, was their *gaiety* and *high-spiritedness*. It must be remembered that most of them were young men, some of them very

⁵ "Seminary Priests", Vol. I, p. 2.

young indeed. There was, for instance, Joseph Lampton.⁶ He had been dispensed as he was under age for ordination. He was caught with another priest on arrival and barbarously put to death at Newcastle just after passing his twenty-fourth birthday. Being young they were light-hearted. They resembled those young pilots of ours during the last war who went so gaily to such appalling perils. There was something very "English" about these priest martyrs. They demonstrated the saying of St Thomas More that "it was possible to live and die for the next world and still be merry in this". Sometimes, they were almost truculent in their sentiments. I can give you now only a few examples.

One of the commonest descriptions of their demeanour as they passed on the hurdle to the scaffold was that they had gone "as to a banquet" or "a wedding feast". The young priest named above (Joseph Lampton) cried out: "Let us be merry for tomorrow we shall have a heavenly breakfast". A priest called Edward Morgan said to his executioner: "I pray thee, good Sir, teach me how to put on these things for I was never at this sport before". When rebuked for his levity by a minister standing by he replied: "Sir, I know that this is no jesting matter but good sober earnest. But God requireth a cheerful giver and I hope it is no offence to you or these good people if I go cheerfully and merrily to heaven". Another priest called Thomas Pickering pulled off the cap they had put on him and showing a shining countenance to the people said: "Is this the face of a man under some gross guilt?" A Welsh priest named Evans, told that he was to die on the morrow, asked for a harp so that he could sing for joy. Another told the crowd that he was prouder of his shackles, which he called his "little bells", than of anything that he had ever worn. And then at a later time there was the old priest John Kemble, who, when shown the scaffold, asked if he might sit down awhile and smoke his pipe for the last time. There was William Harrison who turned on his persecutor, Topcliffe, at Tyburn near the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and said: "So long as you have hands and halters to hang us you shall not want priests. We were three hundred in England; you have put to death one hundred; other two hundred remain. When they are gone two hundred more are ready to come in their places".

Incidentally, the same joy and eagerness for martyrdom was evinced by those who were parents and relatives of these priest martyrs. I will give one example of this. It comes from Preston. Here, the people had remained intensely Catholic as they have done to this day. On the occasion of the martyrdom of a priest called Greenaway, whose family lived at Preston, the people took possession of the church and began to ring sorrowfully a funeral knell. The mother of the martyr, however, coming into the church begged them to "peal the bells" for she said: "I have borne a martyr unto God". All these priests and people considered

⁶ Born at Old Malton, educated at Rheims and Rome, ordained 1592; he was taken to the gallows at Newcastle on 24th July 1593, where his executioner, an apostate who had volunteered for the task, cut him down too soon, watched him revive as his body was being ripped open, and then lost his nerve, refusing to go on. For hours none could be found to complete the quartering.

it the greatest of honours to suffer for the faith. As one of them kept repeating again and again: "Oh, how great a preferment for such a base creature!"

I have spoken only of the Douai priests who were actually put to death. There were many others, confessors for the faith, who did not achieve the crown of martyrdom; some of these died here in Lancaster Castle where many were imprisoned. Of these the old saying may be used: "It was not they who had missed martyrdom, but martyrdom which had missed them".⁷ At times, because of some change in Government policy, for instance, due to a revulsion from the cruelties being practised, priests would be kept in prison or banished. And there were, too, naturally some poor priests who broke under the torture. There is a short list of these in existence with the words "He died penitent" against some of the names.⁸

As well as being a nursery of priests and martyrs, Douai also became a place famous for its learning.⁹ Here were produced some of the great books of controversy in defence of the faith. It was at Douai that the version of the Holy Scriptures which has been in use until our day was produced. And many of the great books of devotion, such as "The Garden of the Soul", upon which Catholic devotion was nourished for centuries, were produced by priests of Douai.

We live at a time when it is not fashionable to look back over the past. It is a time of novelty and change. We are told that to recall the past may impede present progress and militate against the present happy relations between us and our fellow Christians. I do not think this is true. Indeed, it is precisely from the heroic past that we will be able to draw the inspiration to go forward with confidence into this new world. And it is by reminding our separated brethren of our past that they will better understand our attitudes. But, in any case, how could we English and Welsh Catholics ever forget such a story as that of Douai, that "noblest page in English literature"? As one of Shakespeare's characters says: "We cannot but remember such things were".¹⁰

For us especially who are priests, the story of Douai, whose four hundredth anniversary of foundation we celebrate this year, will surely prove a source of the greatest inspiration. What an immense pride should be ours of the secular priesthood of England and Wales! There is no company on earth to which a person could be prouder to belong than to that of the secular priesthood of this country. For we are the direct descendants of a multitude of priest martyrs. And here I would like to be allowed to make this point: it was due to the secular or seminary priests

⁷ *Non ipsi martyrio sed ipsi martyrium defuit.*

⁸ "Westminster Archives", Vol. I. *Mortuus est poenitens* is written against some of these names.

⁹ By the end of the sixteenth century the town of Douai housed Allen's College, the Scots Jesuit College, the Irish College, the Benedictines at St Gregory's (the forerunners of Downside), the Franciscans at St Bonaventure's, and the University founded in 1562. Some eighty institutions in Douai sent their students to the University.

that the faith was saved at this terrible time. Without in any way wishing to diminish the great and heroic services which the various religious orders rendered to the Church (whose glory in any case is such that nothing can ever dim), I feel that in this year of the Douai centenary attention might be drawn to the fact that during the reign of Elizabeth, when the persecution was at its most terrible, and when if the faith was to be saved there had to be prompt and staunch resistance to the imposition of the new religion, at this grave time, it was the secular clergy who had the supreme honour of standing in the breach. During this reign there were 125 priests martyred (the number is exactly known). Of these 116 were secular or seminary priests ordained at Douai or one of its daughter colleges. Of the other 9 priests, 4 at least were priests who were ordained at the seminaries and who enrolled in some religious congregation later. During one terrible period when 89 priests suffered, every one of these was a secular priest.

The reason for this was, of course, that as yet the older orders had not sufficiently re-established themselves to be able to send large numbers of their priests here, whilst the newer orders were not yet numerous. The monks and friars had borne their brave witness earlier in the reign of Henry VIII especially¹⁰ and the newer orders were to bear theirs later.

I am sure that in this year our good religious will not begrudge their brethren in the secular priesthood their pride in the fact that the preservation of the Catholic faith was due overwhelmingly at this time to the blood and labours of the Secular Clergy. If they had not been there to stand fast, England would assuredly have been completely lost as were certain countries of Northern Europe. Such is the glory of the secular priesthood of England and Wales.

They put on the walls of old Douai College the words (in Latin)¹¹: "Let not us be behind our forefathers in faithfulness". We priests have set before us models of the priesthood and ideals that are given to priests of few if any other countries. May we prove worthy of our heritage!

In the story of Douai there is inspiration too for our young boys and young men. To be a priest has always meant great sacrifices. At the time when Douai was founded it could, and often did, mean death itself. Yet there was never wanting an abundance of young men to come forward to serve God and their country in the priesthood.¹² Today, too, the Church

¹⁰ Bishop Foley does more than justice to the monks and friars, whose record, apart from that of the eighteen monks of the London Charterhouse, was conspicuously undistinguished. Glastonbury and Reading Abbeys each provided three martyrs, and Colchester a very reluctant abbot. Other than that the Franciscans provided five, and the Austin Friars and Bridgettines one apiece. It is a humble total.

¹¹ *Neque nos degeneres filii tantorum progenitorum.*

¹² At the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuit Father Robert Persons asked: "Has history since the memory of man anything more wonderful to tell than of youths both born and wealthy for the most part, who could live quietly and comfortably at home, and who solely from zeal for their faith have left parents and friends, and all that is dear to them in this life, in order to go into voluntary exile, with such greatness of soul and steadfastness, that they fear neither spies nor prisons, neither executioners nor instruments of torture, for the sake of religion and the salvation of souls?"

has need of many good priests. The sacrifices needed today are of a different nature from those of the past. May the example of the priest martyrs of Douai inspire many young boys and young men to turn their thoughts towards the priesthood.

And for all the laity, too, this heroic story of Douai surely has a striking lesson. There has always been throughout the Church everywhere an intimate affection and respect between clergy and people. This is something that those who are not "of the household of the faith" often remark. I think it would be true to say that in this country there has been an altogether special relationship between us of esteem and loyalty and love. This is not surprising. During two hundred years and more of bitter persecution, priests and people stood together. When to return to England as a priest could mean death or at best imprisonment and banishment, the young priests from Douai never held back; they never failed the laity of this land. And when to shelter a priest could mean dispossession of property and in extreme cases death also for the layman, there were never wanting houses all over the country where priests were not gladly received.¹³ We stood together through days as dark as any which the Church has ever anywhere experienced. Together we endured all trials without failing one another. In the years ahead changes will inevitably come in the relationship between clergy and laity. We must see that these changes do not loosen the links of affection and loyalty forged in such tremendous trials. We must work together without strife or dissension, "bearing one another's burdens", as the Apostle exhorts us.

For all of us, priests and people and especially for the young, the memory of these days of endurance will prove a source of abundant inspiration. It will help us to love more dearly, to value more deeply, and to cling more closely at whatever cost to that precious gift of faith which we are so privileged to possess. It will keep us also ever true and faithful to our Holy Father, the Pope, for whose office these Douai priests died.

¹³ In the valley of Ampleforth alone, the Fairfaxes of Gilling Castle and the Bellasyses (Fauconbergs) of Newburgh Priory stand as eloquent testimony to this fidelity, a fidelity to Recusancy which proved the cause of St Lawrence's Community coming to Ampleforth at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

To mark the Douai Centenary, Fr Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., author of "Vaux of Harrowden" and "A Hundred Homeless Years" has compiled a volume of short biographies of the 818 men ordained secular priests during the reign of Elizabeth, entitled THE SEMINARY PRIEST. Other volumes on the later period will follow. Bishop Foley has reviewed it in the "Ushaw Magazine", No. 232, December 1968, p. 152-6. Price 55/- from the Ushaw Bookshop.

“DID HE DIE ON THE CROSS?”

by

DR DAVID WILLIS¹

We have asked the leading English medical authority on the Holy Shroud to write this review article of "Inquest on Jesus Christ" by John Reban.² In Germany Reban writes under the name of Kurt Berna, and publishes his own work under his real name Hans Naber³: Reban is the name he uses in England. From a letter he wrote to Pius XII in 1954, copies of which were sent to German Bishops and President Truman, we learn that he had no scientific training; that he left school in 1936 to become a hotel waiter and after the war operated on the black market. In February 1947 he declared that during seven days and nights without sleep he was granted revelations of Christ. . . . The detail of these revelations is given in the book under review (p. 173-183), but the author seems shy of claiming them in English. He says simply that they were granted to a "young man". Throughout the book he reveals a penchant for the literary device of anonymity. All the "experts"—Professor Hirst of Cologne, Dr Ernst his assistant, and Professor Bo . . . —are imaginary persons introduced to sustain the author's theses. This is acceptable enough in a work of fiction, but simply confuses the issue in a work of "scientific" investigation, especially when these characters are made to have conversations with real people like Kurt Berna himself (p. 69), whose identity with the author is not revealed.

Today Kurt Berna is President of "The International Foundation for the Holy Shroud" established in Zurich, March 1964; this has succeeded "The German Convention for the Shroud of Jesus" set up in 1956. The imaginary Dr Ernst describes it as "a group of experts whose names are kept secret because experience has unfortunately shown that the sensational and important character of the subject and the discoveries about the Shroud are liable to expose members to vulgar attack. Once a scientist is subject to attack . . . his objectivity is bound to suffer and his authority vanishes." (p. 52). Fr Bulst, who investigated this "Society", describes it as "a secret 'Brains Trust' that works with Berna, composed of scientists who have a special 'code of honour', who refuse to reveal their names so as not to endanger their objectivity". He adds: "Anyone who has worked many years in science knows that such scientists do not exist; that the so-called 'Society' of which Berna leads us to believe he is the chief secretary . . . is in fact identical with himself and his so-called publisher, Hans Naber".⁴

It is an imposition to ask a man of Dr Willis' status to review such a book and compare it with the findings of the eminent scientists who have devoted their lives to the study of the Shroud. However, the book is selling all over the country and has reached our Public Libraries. Moreover, even its publisher has been taken in. His blurb states: "This book is a brilliant investigation into the medical circumstances

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² John Reban. "INQUEST ON JESUS CHRIST—Did He die on the Cross?" Leslie Frewin 1967 208 p 35/-

³ DAS LINNEY, 1957. A work of Kurt Berna, produced by the Publisher Hans Naber, Stuttgart. Naber and Reban are anagrams of Berna.

⁴ We are indebted to Professor Werner Bulst, S.J., for the above information. It is to be found in articles by him: (1) "Heretical fantasies of a Visionary", *Sindon*, Dec. 1960, 30-34. (2) His critique in the Swiss magazine, *Orientierung* (Zurich, 15th May 1960) of Kurt Berna's article, "Jesus did not die on the Cross" (*Illustrierte Sonderausgabe*, Easter 1960). Fr Bulst was Professor of Fundamental Theology in the Jesuit theological faculty at Frankfurt-Main and author of a scholarly work on the Shroud, translated into English, *THE SHROUD OF TURIN*, Milwaukee, 1957. Cf. Notes 133, 141, 143, for further information on Berna.

surrounding the crucifixion and resurrection. The author probes the new evidence and proves that the heart of Jesus was still beating ten minutes after he was taken down from the Cross. The author, who is the world's foremost authority on the Holy Shroud, was in 1964 nominated President of the International Foundation for the Holy Shroud. . . . If a publisher can be so deceived, readers may well follow suit. Only an expert can set the record right.

This preliminary review of the author and his methods will leave our medical reviewer free to give an objective appraisal of Reban's thesis. This he does in part A, Fiction. In part B, Fact, he outlines the most significant discoveries of the leading sindonologists⁶ in recent years.

A. FICTION

This "Inquest" is as much like a judicial enquiry as the trial in "Alice in Wonderland". "Sentence first—verdict afterwards," said the Queen. "Stuff and nonsense!" said Alice, "the idea of having the sentence first!" Yet here the enquiry begins after the verdict has been given—that Christ did not die on the cross and, therefore, did not rise from the dead; and the verdict is based on a private vision.

Prophecy, scripture, history and science are all tailored to fit this fantasy. The real experts are put in the witness box and pilloried (p. 71-85, 111-115). Pseudonymous "experts" are introduced to provide the "evidence" for the verdict (p. 34-107).

How does the enquiry proceed? Accepting the Turin Shroud as authentic, the author uses it as his chief witness to prove four main theses:

(a) *The authenticity of the vision and its secret revelation.*

Christ is said to have appeared to "a young man" and said: "I did not die on the cross . . . the lance thrust into my chest did not hit my heart . . . the heart still beat . . ." (p. 179). This hardly needs a reply, since it flies in the face of all scriptural evidence.⁸ How the author expected the Church,⁷ let alone unbelievers, to look twice at this vision must remain a mystery. How does he imagine that the Shroud confirms it?

⁶ "Sindonology" is the new science provoked by the first photograph of the Shroud taken in 1898.

⁷ The Roman authorities were much too experienced not to ensure that their victims of capital punishment were dead before handing over the body. Soldiers are expert in judging death and crucifixion was an everyday occurrence for Roman legionaries. St Mark's Gospel makes it quite clear: "Pilate, astonished that he should have died so soon, summoned the centurion and enquired if he was already dead. Having been assured of this by the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph" (Mk. 15:44). Mark is considered St Peter's interpreter. A few weeks after the crucifixion Peter threw down the gauntlet in the Temple and with complete assurance said: "You killed the author of life, whom God raised from the dead. To this we are witnesses" (Acts 3:15). If the Jewish leaders could have produced the body then Christianity would have been strangled at birth.

⁸ The private visions of Catholics with messages can only have validity in the context of and with the support of the Church's highest local authority; the Church's primary interest is this—do they conform to her authentic doctrine? Berna's vision in 1947 would never normally reach the point of serious examination since it stands condemned by its own obvious heretical nature.

(b) *Because it shows that the spear did not pierce the heart of Christ.*

We are told in the vision (p. 176) ". . . I only saw the blade of the lance and part of the shaft penetrate the chest and higher up, about 8-9 cms. over the left nipple, the point of the lance extruding . . .". On p. 90 the imaginary Dr Ernst says: "It is equally remarkable that the imprint of such a wound can be found on the Turin Shroud exactly in the place fixed by the vision. And since its shape differs so much from that of the other wounds, one is justified in saying that it was caused when the point of the lance extruded . . .".

Now this particular mark⁹ on the Shroud in Reban's pictures 12 and 26 would not seem very distinctive, unless 26 had been overprinted and the mark isolated by a large arrow and the marked-in point of the spear—hardly an acceptable procedure.

Did the spear strike the heart?⁹ The question is one that several experienced surgeons have dealt with in minute detail, carrying out experiments with cadavers, and X-ray experiments with living subjects. Reban's case rests on the spear missing the heart. In his picture 27¹⁰ (showing a view of the chest organs, with a line indicating the supposed position of the spear) and in the X-ray photographs 28-31 the spear misses because the entry wound does not correspond with the position of the wound on the Shroud.¹¹ It is meaningless to say a wound is in the space between the 5th and 6th ribs (5th space)—without qualification—because there can be a difference of 6-7 inches in height between the front and back of the space due to the downward slope of the ribs. Piercing this space in front at Reban's arbitrarily chosen angle of 29° it could not miss

⁸ Since 1898 none of the scientific authorities have singled out this mark from the surrounding scourge marks.

⁹ Cf. Buist, "The Shroud of Turin" (p. 51). "For the precise location of the incision we have a text from one who lived while crucifixion was still in practice (first half of third century)—Origen, in his commentary on Matthew. He declares that the lance thrust was delivered 'according to Roman custom: *sub ala*', i.e. below the armpit, and this agrees perfectly with the location of the wound in the side on the cloth of Turin. According to Sextus Empiricus, a second-century doctor, the cause of death was injury to the heart."

¹⁰ Reban's picture 27 is most misleading. Pretending to be that of an adult it shows, in fact, the circulatory organs of a foetus with the heart in a much lower position than in an adult. Further confirmation is provided by Ms Herman Douper, an American Sindonologist, in a personal communication of 1st May 1967. He writes: "I located a similar illustration of the chest (but of an adult) in Gray's 'Anatomy' and hid it and Reban's illustration enlarged equally life-sized. From them I made outline take-offs in contrasting colours on acetate. When the Reban illustration was superimposed upon the Gray illustration, it showed that the heart was about three inches below that in Gray's 'Anatomy'." Thus it is easy to see how Reban's spear misses the heart.

¹¹ In "The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (Dublin 1954) Dr Pierre Barbet (see note 20) describes on p. 117-120 his extensive researches to locate the position of the chest wound on the Shroud. Prof Judica Gordiglia (see note 20) quotes fully from Barbet's researches in his book "La Sindone" (1961) Padua. Though critical of many of the statements of Barbet whose book on the Shroud is well known in this country, he says (p. 136): "Barbet has localised scrupulously and precisely the lesion as observable in life-size photos". Barbet locates the wound in the right 5th space (between 5th and 6th ribs), its inner and lower end 2½ inches from the midline just below the lower end of the breast-bone and its outer and upper end about 6 inches from the midline.

the heart if in the right plane; at the back it would pass above it. (Plate 1)*

What happens when the location of the Shroud wound is used as the point of entry? There is no doubt that the spear would have struck the heart and I have recently confirmed it radiologically.¹² The reason why Reban's spear misses the heart is that, although he has placed it in the agreed 5th space it is further out and, therefore, above the Shroud wound. Reban is thus hoist with his own petard; the Shroud, read correctly, convicts him of error. (Plate 2)†

(c) *The heart of Jesus continued to beat after removal of the body from the Cross.*

I referred this facet of Reban's case (p. 63 ff) to my colleague, Dr Barrowcliff¹³ who is a medico-legal specialist. He writes: "The author's lack of medical knowledge and lack of expert medical advice has led him to draw conclusions which are unwarranted. He assumes, and indeed builds practically the whole of his case upon the assumption that blood will not flow from a dead body, and that the fact that blood does appear to have flowed from the wounds of the Man of the Shroud is, *ipso facto*, proof that the heart was beating when it did flow".

"What are the facts about the condition of blood after death? Is the blood in the recently dead body fluid, can it be shed, and does it coagulate (as distinct from dry up) after being shed? Under many conditions, including those in which Our Lord died, the blood remains liquid or is rapidly re-liquefied after death. It can be shed. After shedding it does not usually coagulate."

¹² With the help of a radiological colleague I had X-rays taken of my own chest (I am 5 feet 10 inches high and weigh 10½ stones, a little smaller than the Man of the Shroud). Using Barbet's localisation of the chest wound, metal markers were placed in the centre of the "wound" and also in the anterior axillary line (forward part of armpit) which is where Reban claims to have placed his marker in his X-rays. This latter position is further out and, therefore, 1½ inches higher than Barbet's localisation. X-rays were taken at 6 feet with the body lying flat and then standing with the arms raised in the position of crucifixion. Between these two positions we found that the "wound" only rose ¼ inch, not 1 inch as Reban claims. The results showed clearly that a spear thrust inwards at an angle of 29° would have struck the right border of the heart with the marker in the position of the Shroud wound. Using what we believed to be Reban's position, i.e. 1½ inches higher, it will be seen that it would still strike the heart at 29° in our X-ray (Plate 2), though it is conceivable that in different circumstances it might pass above it. This may explain why it does so in Reban's X-rays or his marker may, in fact, have been placed further back than the anterior axillary line and, therefore, higher up still.

¹³ Dr Derek Barrowcliff, M.A., B.M., B.Ch.(Oxon), F.C.PATH., Consultant and Home Office Pathologist. Personal communication 9th December 1968.

*Plate 1: This shows the relation of the adult heart to the rib cage and how a spear, piercing the chest in the 5th space in the position of the Shroud wound (oval shaded area) at an angle of 29°, must strike the heart if in the right plane. (Reproduced from Gray's "Anatomy" by courtesy of Messrs Longmans, Publishers). All photographs of the Shroud are copyright by G. Eric of Turin, and must not be reproduced without the permission of the author or Miss Vera Barclay (sole agents in the U.K.).

†Plate 2: X-ray picture of chest in position of crucifixion. Lines drawn at angle of 29° from markers in position of Shroud wound (a) and of anterior axillary line (b) in 5th space, would each strike heart (dark area) below upper border (c).

"It can be demonstrated in the mortuary that a short stab wound or cut of the back of the scalp comparable with the wounds made by the crown of thorns, or indeed a cut into any dependent part, will bleed freely, continuously, unimpeded by any of the natural mechanisms such as spasm of the blood vessel or clotting of the blood which in the living would tend to arrest bleeding. Blood will flow from an opened vein as long as the normal laws of gravity operate upon the hydrostatic pressure."¹⁴

"The Revd Prof Bernard Brinkman, S.J., who is quoted *in extenso* on p. 196, describes in simple terms what can be observed any day in the human body, alive and dead. The author's reply . . . (p. 197) is the more arrogant and presumptuous for being so very inaccurate. That the author is seen here to be so ignorant casts considerable doubt upon the credence which might otherwise be given to some of his other evidence and conclusions."

(d) *The blood and water issuing from the side of Christ is no evidence of death* (Chapter 16).

St John's observation of the result of the spear wound, ". . . immediately there came out blood and water"¹⁵ was a statement of fact, not a speculation about the origin of the "blood" and "water". Reban says: "The war-time practice of blood transfusion from corpses shows that the 'blood and water' . . . could not possibly be proof of medical death. If blood in a corpse only begins to disintegrate several hours after death,¹⁶ the water in the case of Jesus was obviously an oedematous liquid from a chest tissue, and not evidence of death. But the flow of blood suggests an active heart—and not the opposite. It is wrong to say, as has been said for so long, that there had been disintegration of the blood and, therefore, death" (p. 130).

You can fool many people if you assert strongly enough that your opinion has said things he never said. The flow of "blood and water" has not been used to prove death, since Pilate's soldiers were certain that Jesus was dead long before the lance thrust. The water is not "obviously an oedematous fluid", nor does the flow of blood necessarily "suggest an active heart". What the "blood and water" do suggest we shall see in a few moments.

¹⁴ These observations are in agreement with those of Prof Cordiglia who writes: "There can be bleeding from a corpse, either from the large blood vessels or from dependent parts where blood has accumulated during life". Op. cit. p. 141.

¹⁵ John 19.34.

¹⁶ Dr Barrowcliff comments: "That the 'water' might ever have been indicative of putrefaction of the blood, as discussed by the author, can only be put down to his ignorance of post-mortem changes. Putrefaction, had it occurred, would have led to the formation of a cloudy, uniformly deep wine-coloured liquid, which could never by any stretch of the imagination be described as water. In any case, putrefaction occurs much later unless the body is deliberately kept warm or unless there is sepsis. In three hours, naked on the Cross, these conditions did not exist". *Ibid.*

Before leaving this realm of fancy, a word must be said about the author's account of the history of the Shroud. A peculiarity of Shroud studies is that very few of its historians of the early centuries have checked their sources. Most have tried to make the scanty facts fit their theories. We can excuse Reban for falling into the same trap, though it is unfortunate that he has followed the most inaccurate and fanciful of them all, Dr Hynek,¹⁷ in Chapter 3. He supplements his mistakes with the errors of Mgr Savio¹⁸ in Chapter 30. Adding his own quota, Reban has produced the entirely false impression that the Shroud has an uninterrupted history throughout the centuries. A whole essay would be needed to correct him, since his errors run to four closely typed pages. Suffice to say that in very few particulars is he sound before the Shroud reaches Turin in 1578.¹⁹

B. FACT

Seven men have contributed most to the scientific and medical studies of the Shroud.²⁰ Enrie's superb photographs, taken in 1931, have given precision to the anatomical, physiological and medico-legal studies of Vignon, Barbet and Cordiglia. Pia's first photograph in 1898 revealed the image on the linen as a negative with its positive realism appearing on the photographic plate, thus removing it at one stroke from the realm of art and artifice and clearing the way for serious research. (Plate 3)*

The most significant of their discoveries or theories (supplemented by those of other investigators) that bear on the evidence highlighted by Reban are these.

¹⁷ Dr R. W. Hynek, "The True Likeness" (London-New York, 1951). A detailed refutation of Hynek's historical, medical and other errors may be found in Fr E. A. Wuenschel's outstanding contribution, "The Truth about the Holy Shroud", *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 129 (1953), p. 3-19; 100-114; 170-187. It is one of the tragedies of sindonology that this master died before his vast, accurate researches could be given to the public.

¹⁸ Mgr Pietro Savio, "Ricerche Storiche sulla Santa Sindone" (Turin, 1957). A mine of information and documentation, from which wrong or forced conclusions are often drawn. Reban has fallen especially for these.

¹⁹ He even gets that wrong, miscopying his own quotation from Hynek, p. 18.

²⁰ Two photographers, Secondo Pia and Giuseppe Enrie; two scientists, Yves Delage, late Professor of Comparative Anatomy at the Sorbonne, and his assistant Paul Vignon, late Professor of Biology at the Institut Catholique of Paris; three doctors, Pierre Barbet, late chief surgeon at St Joseph's Hospital and President of the Society of Surgeons, Paris, Professor Judica Cordiglia, former Professor of Forensic Medicine at Milan University, and Professor Hermann Mödler, Radiologist at St Francis Hospital, Cologne. All are convinced that the Shroud of Turin contained a human corpse, whose sufferings tally with those recorded of Christ in the New Testament and with no other known person.

*Plate 3: (a) The Shroud—14 ft. 3 in. x 3 ft. 7 in.—as it appears to the eye. Symmetrical triangles on either side are repairs to burns following the fire of 1532. The stain impression of the body, seen along the centre, is a negative image—the front of the body below and the back above. (b) The Shroud as it appears on the photographic plate. The negative images of the cloth are now reversed into positive images revealing the true appearance of the face and body. The blood marks, positive on the cloth, are negative (white) on the plate.

1. The Cause of Death.

The Barbet-Hynek theory is the most generally accepted in England. Briefly, this supposes that the Man of the Shroud was suspended by nails from his outstretched wrists with no other support than the nailed feet. This attitude is said to induce muscular spasm, rigidity and fixation of the chest in inspiration, leading eventually to death from asphyxia due to failure of the ventilating mechanism.

Records of the crucified living two or three days gave Professor Mödler his first doubts about this theory and drove him to experiment on himself and his students. Each in turn was suspended from his hands bound to a metal bar at the approximate angle of crucifixion. If the feet were unsupported, each fainted in 6-12 minutes due to profound lowering of blood pressure and death might be expected in under 30 minutes. If the feet were supported for a short time every 3 minutes, normal circulation quickly returned. The experiment had to be discontinued after an hour owing to the restriction to the circulation in the hands from the binding. At no point did anyone find difficulty in breathing or experience muscular cramp. Mödler concludes: "The determining cause is definitely the phenomenon known in medicine as orthostatic collapse, i.e. the pooling of blood in the lower parts of the body due to gravity . . . In crucifixion death must supervene because heart and brain receive insufficient blood".²¹

Mödler presupposes nailing of the feet to a foot-rest²² instead of directly to the upright of the cross, which would afford insufficient support to prevent orthostatic collapse. The crucified could thus survive for several hours or days till exhaustion prevented return from the final faint. Exhaustion from His previous sufferings would account for Christ's early death, whereas the breaking of the legs induced the immediate and fatal collapse of the thieves²³ since the support was transferred from the feet to the hands.

2. "Blood and water."

St John's observation is corroborated by the clear areas among the dark of the Man's chest wound (Plate 4a)*. Of the many theories about the origin of the mysterious "blood and water", the most likely, until recently, was that of Barbet and Cordiglia. They believed that the "blood"

²¹ From Prof Mödler's address at the International Sindonological Congress in Rome, 1950; quoted in "L'Uomo della Sindone" by Mgr Giulio Ricci (Rome, 1965), p. 271-274. Mgr Ricci is the latest writer on the Shroud with some novel ideas. Mödler's theories are also to be found in the following articles: (1) "Die Todesursache bei der Kreuzigung", in *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXLIV (1949), p. 50-59. (2) "Die neueste medizinische Forschungen über die Todesursache bei der Kreuzigung Jesu Christi", in *Der Gottesfreund*, III (1950), p. 40-51. (3) "La causa di morte nell'occlusione in alcuni esperimenti", S.S.R.M., 1951, p. 28-31.

²² *Suppedaneum*. The majority of scholars favour a suppedaneum and the earliest crucifixes show or suggest one. Alternative or additional support might come from a *sedile* or crutch-peg and/or ropes around the shoulders. History records their use but with a *sedile* the leg-breaking would not give rise to the rapid death. Foot support alone would permit this.

²³ John 19.31-33.

came from the right auricle of the heart, whereas the "water" was clear fluid from the pericardial sac, the two liquids flowing along the tunnel in the lung left by the receding spear. This theory was backed by experiments of meticulous care; but in practice Cordiglia never found more than 1½ ounces of "water" in the pericardial sac post-mortem and this would seem insufficient to be distinguishable from the "blood".

The most severe critic of this theory—for various reasons—is Dr Sava of New York.²⁴ He writes: "... The Gospel gives us a clear impression that no time elapsed between the piercing of the side and the gush of blood. One might be justified in suspecting that an accumulation of 'blood' and 'water' was immediately inside the rib cage waiting to be evacuated. . . . Experience with severe chest injuries has demonstrated that non-penetrating injuries of the chest are capable of producing an accumulation of haemorrhagic fluid in the pleural cavity. It may amount to as much as three pints. . . . The red blood cells tend to gravitate towards the bottom, while the lighter clearer serum accumulates in the upper half of the collection as a separate contiguous layer. . . . I submit. . . that the brutal scourging²⁵ of Christ several hours before. . . death. . . was sufficient to produce a bloody accumulation within the chest,²⁶ so that the settling by this fluid into layers and its ultimate evacuation by opening the chest below the level of separation must inevitably result in the 'immediate' flow of 'blood' and 'water' in that order." It will be evident that this theory does not require the piercing of the heart, though it does not exclude it. (Plate 5)*

3. The Blood marks and their formation.²⁷

What are we looking at? The Shroud has never been tested for blood.

²⁴ Dr Anthony Sava, M.D., F.I.C.S., "The Wound in the Side of Christ", *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (July, 1957), p. 343-346. Commenting on Barbet's theory that the blood from the right auricle of the heart, a theory which demands a gaping tunnel to the entrance wound, Sava writes: "The so-called 'gaping tunnel' described by Barbet does not obtain in fresh cadavers, Barbet's bodies were dead longer than 24 hours as required by French Law. I duplicated Barbet's experiments and this is what I found" (continued in text).

²⁵ The Gospel (John 19:1-16) suggests a definitive scourging sufficient for Pilate to satisfy the Jews. The Man of the Shroud seems to have suffered anything from 80-120 marks inflicted by the Roman flagrum, a two- or three-limbed whip with small dumbbells of bone or metal inserted into the ends of the thongs.

²⁶ Mïdder suggests that the "water" was a "transudation from the pleural sac" caused by the rough handling, the scourging, the bloody sweat in Gethsemane or during the protracted state of collapse due to the position of crucifixion. (Cf. Bulst, "Shroud of Turin", p. 69 and note 146.)

²⁷ This is where Reban's case falls to pieces. He assumes, without in any way proving, that the blood-stains on the Shroud are of liquid, fresh blood which has flowed on to the linen from a body still alive, with the heart still pumping. He does not even consider what would be the appearance of liquid blood which had flowed on to linen; nor does he doubt, as he should, the presence of blood on the Shroud.

*Plate 4: (a) Arrow indicates oval-shaped chest wound from which there is a large broken blood flow downwards for 6 inches to the costal margin. Indicates body in upright position.

(b) Horizontal double flow of blood across loins, presumably from chest wound, indicating different position of the body.

*Plate 5: Self-explanatory diagram of Sava's theory, which best illustrates St John's observation "... and immediately there came out blood and water" (Jn. 19:34).

The apparent blood stains are photographically positive and carmine mauve,²⁸ not the usual colour of old blood, as contrasted with the sepia colour of the negative body images. Without colour photographs this distinction cannot yet be fully appreciated. Deductions about the types of wounds and bleeding have been done from Enrie's photographs²⁹—a well-recognised and valuable tool in medico-legal work, even though incomplete.

Nobody studying the blood marks pretends that they admit of a simple explanation.³⁰ The consensus of opinion, however, is that they are chiefly from blood that has flowed during life, has clotted on the skin, and been somehow transferred to the cloth.³¹ They have this appearance as well as a directional flow. (Plates 6 and 8)† This directional flow, ante-mortem and post-mortem, is determined by the position of the body and limbs at the time of the blood's emission, e.g. the clots on the head, the chest, the left wrist and forearms, and the sole and toes of the right foot. (Plates

²⁸ The chemical reaction of myrrh and aloes with the blood may account for this colour. Dr J. Black, M.A., Ch.B.A., F.C.PATH., Clinical Pathologist, Royal Infirmary, Liverpool, notes, in this connection, that "decomposing blood in alkaline pH forms a bright red colour, alkaline haematin, etc., etc. . . . description of alkaline haematin". (Personal communication 27th Dec, 1968.)

²⁹ Giuseppe Enrie, "La Santa Sindone rivelata della Fotografia" (Turin, 1933). During the 1931 exposition Enrie took 12 photographs, using the best available equipment and with every safeguard as to their genuineness and accuracy. The 12 photos included four of the entire Shroud, the entire Shroud in three sections, the complete dorsal imprint, the face and bust, the face in two-thirds the dimensions of the original, the face in the natural dimensions of the original, the wound and blood on the left hand enlarged sevenfold directly from the Shroud. This also provided a magnification of the weave of the cloth. They were guaranteed to be technically perfect in a notarised statement by a commission of professional photographers. Their purpose was to provide the necessary material for a scientific study. Some people deny their scientific value, regarding them as a substitute for the direct study of the Shroud. This is a misconception. They are a subject of scientific study in their own right and conclusions based on them are completely reliable. A magnificent example of Enrie's work is a full-scale print of the complete Shroud placed in the gilt frame used in the 1931 exposition. It rests above the high altar in the Church of the Holy Shroud in Turin.

³⁰ Except, of course, Reban.

³¹ Recent discoveries about the reliquification of blood clots under certain conditions may yet throw light on this problem. Dr Black writes: "The phenomenon of fibrinolysis in subjects who have undergone savage stress is now well documented. Clots formed on the skin ante-mortem could easily undergo fibrinolysis after death either due to the action of tissue fibrinolysins or bacterial action. Clots dissolved by fibrinolysis might be absorbed by linen, and experiments could be conducted to determine their shape". *Ibid.*

†Plate 6: (a) Frontal view of forearms with left hand covering right wrist (right and left are reversed on the cloth). Blood flow from nail wound in the left wrist clearly seen. Direction of flow is mirrored by further flows along the forearm, suggesting that the arm was raised above the head when blood was flowing.

(b) Enlargement of wound and blood flow on back of the left wrist. Note clear margins and how each thread of cloth is clearly visible. Suggests "portrait" of a clot that has dried and been transferred rather than direct flow on to the cloth. Note, also, "serous" halo below and above blood mark, suggesting post-mortem ooze.

3a, 8, 4a, 6a and 7)** These seem to have been formed of blood that flowed with the body in the erect position with the arms stretched above the head in the position of crucifixion.³² The clot above the left eyebrow illustrates that in its vertical flow it met some obstacle modifying its course, which has been identified as the wrinkling of the forehead from underlying muscle contraction. (Plate 8)†

These obvious downward flows could not possibly have been produced naturally on a body lying in the tomb as Reban's picture 22 suggests. The only exceptions to these downward flows are the horizontal flow across the back from the chest wound and the flow from the right foot wound—presumably after removing the nail—down to the heel and spreading out to the left on to the cloth. (Plates 4b and 7)** These seem to have occurred either on the way to or in the tomb. The latter has the "post-mortem" appearance of liquid blood directly staining the cloth, i.e. instead of the clear outlines of the clots on the hand and forehead, these are irregular and inverted—paler on the outside and darker on the inside with an outer "halo" of serum. (Plate 7—inset)**

As proof that the "ante-mortem" blood marks were not made by liquid blood flowing directly on to the Shroud, Barbet points out that liquid blood on linen diffuses itself and spreads rapidly. He describes how, on the contrary, a drop of blood on a non-absorbent surface like the skin forms a clot which takes on the shape of a sort of shallow basin, the fibrin and red corpuscles thicker on the circumference than in the centre, which will appear paler. A good example is the large flow on the forehead.³³ (Plate 8—inset)†

Can blood clots be transferred to linen? Our authority here is Paul Vignon who made exhaustive experiments in the belief that the dried clots reliquified under the influence of ammonia in the body sweat (urea)

³² On this point Dr Barrowcliff makes an observation that seems to have escaped Sindonologists: "If the interpretation of the photograph of the left hand and forearms is that bleeding did occur in more than one direction, it is much more probable that this occurred after lowering of the arms and after removing the nails, when the plugs of clot would have been disturbed. During the manoeuvres necessitated when lowering Jesus from the Cross, the arms and hands must have adopted a multitude of different positions, and in any of them "post-mortem" bleeding or drainage as it might be called, could have occurred". *Ibid.* If correct, this observation will induce some radical rethinking and the abandonment of cherished ideas. Against it we may have to set the "ante-mortem" nature of the blood clots on the wrist and forearms.

³³ Barbet, *ibid.*, p. 32-33.

**Plate 7: Posterior view of legs with scourge marks. (a) indicates ante-mortem wound in sole of the foot. (b) indicates subsequent post-mortem flow of blood to the heel and on to the cloth. Inset: Enlargement of flow on to the cloth. Note irregular outline darker on inside and paler on outside, suggesting flow directly staining the cloth.

†Plate 8: Face on the cloth showing blood marks on forehead and in hair. Inset: Enlargement of blood mark above left eye with directional flow downwards and altering course slightly at intervals with build-up. Outline clear, outer part dark and centre light, all suggest ante-mortem flow and clotting before transfer to the cloth.

released by the spices sprinkled abundantly over Christ's body.³⁴ He was never entirely satisfied. He allowed blood to clot on cardboard moistened with ammoniacal solution and then pressed the cloth on to it with a piece of glass. "When the blood is half dissolved—neither before nor after—then a good transfer is effected. If there is too little contact, it is only half transferred; or if the exposure is too long I obtain a smear." His successful transfers flaked off after three years whereas "the portraits of blood as transfers are found in varying thickness on the Shroud after so many centuries".

Vignon concludes: "Can you explain why the blood of the Shroud has remained intact? These questions must be answered by science . . . but, if one day science feels itself outflanked, then it should say so. It will still have made a discovery".³⁵ Or, as Geoffrey Ashe has crystallised it: "The Shroud is explicable if it once enwrapped a human body to which something extraordinary happened. It is not explicable otherwise".

Towards a solution?

In 1966 Mr Geoffrey Ashe³⁶ produced a theory that deserves more attention than it has received. Outlining the inadequacy of the various theories explaining the genesis of the Shroud image, including the famous one of Paul Vignon,³⁷ he writes: "A great obstacle has been the impossibility of deciding what sort of picture the Shroud is, irrespective of any conjectures as to the process of its formation. Nothing quite like it has ever been produced. In particular the inverted or negative relief is thus far unparalleled". He then describes a very simple experiment he did in producing a scorch image on linen using a heated brass ornament representing a horse in relief. The resultant image was due to a combination of direct contact and radiation across a small space.

Though the ornament was flatter in relief than a human figure, the resemblance of the "scorch-picture" to the Shroud image is striking and the photographic negative gave a positive picture of some realism. An

³⁴ John 19.39.

³⁵ Paul Vignon, late Professor of Biology at the Institut Catholique, Paris, "Le Saint Suaire de Turin devant la science, l'archéologie, l'histoire, l'iconographie, la logique" (1939), p. 22-3 and 200-6. This masterpiece, the fruit of over thirty years' investigation into all facets of Sindonology, remains the classic for all students. His "The Shroud of Christ" (Westminster, 1902) is still of great value.

³⁶ Geoffrey Ashe, "What sort of picture?" *Sindon* (1966), p. 15-19. (*Sindon* is the journal of the International Centre of Sindonology, Turin.)

³⁷ Vignon's Vaporographic theory followed the realisation that the Shroud image could not have been formed by contact. It has that photographic quality of a relief object projected on to a flat surface. The stain is darkest at the reliefs and fades away to the cavities which are represented by unstained cloth. Hence its negative appearance. So delicate are the gradations that a very subtle process would appear to have been operating. Vignon thought that only a vapour could do this. The theory depended on the hypothesis that the body was bathed in sweat, sweat contains urea which could change into ammonium carbonate. This released ammonia which acted on the aloes sprinkled on the Shroud and produced a brown stain, the vapour acting in inverse ratio to the distance between the outlines of the body and the surface of the linen. Most students treat this theory with the reserve of Vignon himself.

ordinary corpse could not, of course, give out any heat radiation to cause such an image, but, as Ashe says: "The Christian Creed has always affirmed that Our Lord underwent an unparalleled transformation in the tomb. His case is exceptional and perhaps here is the key. It is at least intelligible (and has indeed been suggested several times) that the physical change of the body at the Resurrection may have released a brief and violent burst of some other radiation than heat, perhaps scientifically identifiable, perhaps not, which scorched the cloth.³⁸ In this case the Shroud image is a quasi-photograph of Christ returning to life, produced by a kind of radiance or 'incandescence' partially analogous to heat in its effects. Hints at some such property are supplied by narratives of the Transfiguration and the blinding of Saul.³⁹ Also, the fact that the blood-stains on the Shroud are positive is now readily accounted for. The blood was matter which had ceased to be part of the body, underwent no change at the Resurrection, and therefore did not scorch, but marked the cloth differently."

Perhaps, in our present state of knowledge, that is as good an explanation as any. It is consistent with the present conception of matter as forms of energy and the fact of radiation images formed on stone following the dropping of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima.⁴⁰ It also ties in with Leo Vala's conviction that the Shroud image is in some way "photographic". Vala is a brilliant inventive photographer. As an agnostic his conviction is impressive: "I can prove conclusively that claims calling the Shroud a fake are completely untrue. Even with today's highly advanced photographic resources nobody alive could produce the image—a photographic negative—embodied in the Shroud". He devised his own technique of converting a flat picture into a profile.⁴¹ The Shroud Face (Plate 9)* had always fascinated him. Using his Transflex system of front projection, he produced a profile of Christ's head and then photographed it from different aspects. (Plate 10)†

³⁸ Col P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.D., M.D. THE HOLY SHROUD OF JESUS CHRIST: New Discovery of the Cause of the Impression. *Ecclesiastical Review* (Philadelphia, March 1940). A very important article. A similar article appeared in *The Catholic Medical Guardian*, 9 (1931) and was reprinted in *The British Journal of Photography*, 30th June 1967, in connection with Vala's 3-D image of the face of Christ (see note 41).

³⁹ Matthew 17:1-9; Act 9:3-9.

⁴⁰ "Hiroshima" by John Hersey. Penguin.

*Plate 9: The face from the Shroud as revealed by the camera (photographic negative). "Perhaps only the image of the Holy Shroud gives us something of the mystery of this human and divine face". (Pope Paul VI in the homily of a Mass celebrated in St Peter's, June 1967.)

†Plate 10: Leo Vala's 3-D profile image of the face, using the Shroud photograph of Plate 9. This represents a further step in realising the potential of this mysterious cloth image which the original photographing in 1898 first revealed. (Reproduced by kind permission of Leo Vala.)

Conclusions.

Now that we have compared the fiction of "Inquest on Jesus Christ" with the facts unearthed by eminent sindonologists, we may well wonder what drove John Reban, alias Kurt Berna, to fly in the face of all the evidence and try to make the Shroud do the impossible. What is the purpose of his book? Throughout it he seems obsessed with the naive conviction that by trying to prove that Christ was resuscitated and not resurrected from the tomb, he is doing humanity a service. In what way? By bringing Jew and Christian together who "would no longer be separated by the insuperable barrier of Christ's death" (p. 10). Resuscitation rather than Resurrection would, he believes, absolve the Jewish people of guilt for our Lord's death because "Jesus did not die on the cross . . . This means that we Jews did not murder him, could not have murdered him", as he makes one of his characters say (p. 98f).

Is there anything new in Reban's theories? Only the attempt to prove them using a singularly inappropriate instrument. Otherwise, they are the old "chestnut" that Christ swooned and recovered in the cool of the tomb as Schleiernmacher and Venturini first suggested at the end of the eighteenth century. The theory has recently been given a more sophisticated but just as improbable version by Hugh Schonfield in "The Passover Plot". He claims that Christ contrived to have himself drugged and revived after removal from the cross. It was the rationalist Strauss who, paradoxically, gave the death blow to such theories when he wrote: "It is impossible that a being who had stolen half-dead out of the sepulchre, weak and ill, wanting medical treatment and bandaging, could have given to the disciples the impression that he was a conqueror of death and the grave, the Prince of Life; an impression that lay at the bottom of their future ministry. Such a resuscitation could only have weakened the impression which he had made upon them in life and in death. . ."⁴²

⁴¹ Vala News Release and Press reports 24th Jan. 1967. Two full articles by the respective Editors appeared in the *Amateur Photographer*, 8th Mar. 1967 and the *British Journal of Photography*, 24th Mar. 1967 on Vala's achievement. Vala disclaims any skill as a sculptor. He says: ". . . a short period of blindness made me think more about vision than one normally does. . . . Photographers look at a picture and use all their skills to photograph solid objects and bring them down to a two-dimensional picture. . . . If we had a vehicle for it we could take a flat object and commit it back into solid. This is the basis of my process, which is very simple. It is a question of interpreting one's vision about the two-dimensional image and putting it in terms of depth. . . ." He uses two projectors with transparencies of the Shroud Face in each and projects them on to his three-dimensional screen of clay which provides the matrix on which he moulds it according to the three-dimensional image playing upon it. To see it for the first time is a most moving experience.

⁴² D. F. Strauss, "New Life of Jesus", Vol. 1 (1879), p. 412.

FAITH AND MIDDLE AGE

by

PATRICK BARRY, O.S.B.

It is generally agreed that a change comes over man in middle age. It is reflected in his physical and psychological make-up. It involves an adjustment to life, a new way of looking at things, a different set of responses. It is a gradual process, although the dividing line is more sharply defined for woman than for man. For some the change starts earlier and takes longer to reach completion. It does not involve a radical change of character—the extrovert will remain an extrovert, the shy and retiring will not suddenly become brash and demonstrative. The change will not change a man's character, but it will involve a development which calls for a considerable and sometimes demanding adjustment to life. For some it starts earlier and takes longer to be completed, for some it is delayed but it inevitably comes to all.

A full description of all that is involved in this change of life in middle age, of all the by-ways of psychological deviation, and also of the new and enriching perspectives which can open out for man when it comes about, would be work for one experienced in psychology. Certain broad outlines in the change which is involved can, however, easily be given.

It is a familiar theme and perhaps it is important to realise that it is no new thing. It has often been commented on. A useful example is from Bacon's "Essay on Youth and Age":

"Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success."

The contrast which I would wish to point between the response of youth and of middle age to life is simpler than Bacon's and perhaps more kindly because I would emphasise the positive qualities in both rather than the deviations and complications.

A young man lives in the future. He plans and looks forward. The more he is involved in life, and the more he believes in it, the more confidently he attempts to impose his Utopia on his contemporaries and realise it in himself.

In middle age his thoughts are centred more on the present than on the future. He sees his mistakes of the past and wishes that he could have

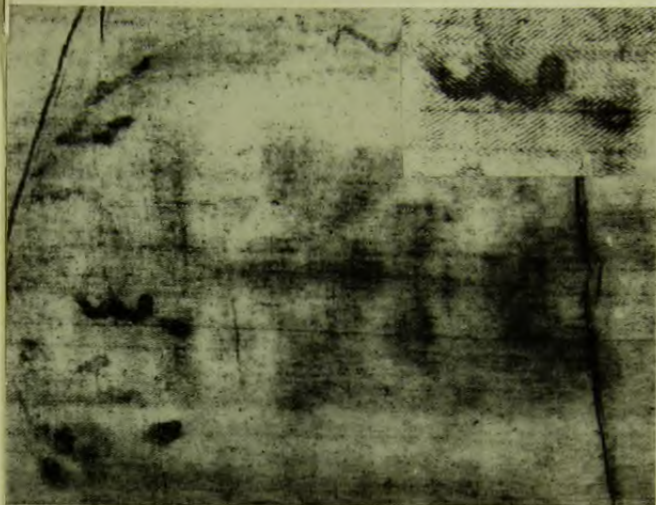


Plate 8 and inset

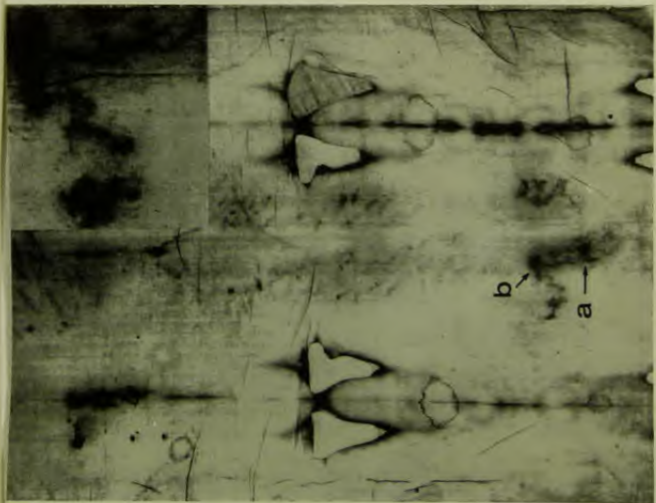


Plate 7 and inset

ordinary corpse could not, of course, give out any heat radiation to cause such an image, but, as Ashe says: "The Christian Creed has always affirmed that Our Lord underwent an unparalleled transformation in the tomb. His case is exceptional and perhaps here is the key. It is at least intelligible (and has indeed been suggested several times) that the physical change of the body at the Resurrection may have released a brief and violent burst of some other radiation than heat, perhaps scientifically identifiable, perhaps not, which scorched the cloth.³⁸ In this case the Shroud image is a quasi-photograph of Christ returning to life, produced by a kind of radiance or 'incandescence' partially analogous to heat in its effects. Hints at some such property are supplied by narratives of the Transfiguration and the blinding of Saul.³⁹ Also, the fact that the blood-stains on the Shroud are positive is now readily accounted for. The blood was matter which had ceased to be part of the body, underwent no change at the Resurrection, and therefore did not scorch, but marked the cloth differently".

Perhaps, in our present state of knowledge, that is as good an explanation as any. It is consistent with the present conception of matter as forms of energy and the fact of radiation images formed on stone following the dropping of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima.⁴⁰ It also ties in with Leo Vala's conviction that the Shroud image is in some way "photographic". Vala is a brilliant inventive photographer. As an agnostic his conviction is impressive: "I can prove conclusively that claims calling the Shroud a fake are completely untrue. Even with today's highly advanced photographic resources nobody alive could produce the image—a photographic negative—embodied in the Shroud". He devised his own technique of converting a flat picture into a profile.⁴¹ The Shroud Face (Plate 9)* had always fascinated him. Using his Transflex system of front projection, he produced a profile of Christ's head and then photographed it from different aspects. (Plate 10)†

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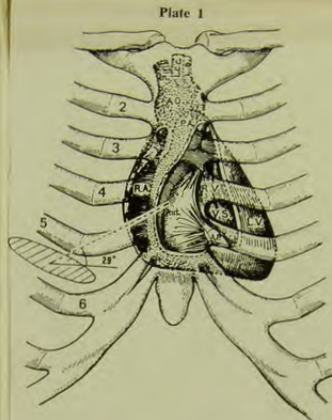
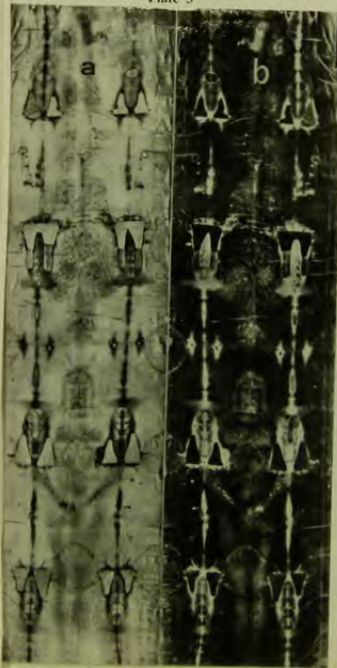
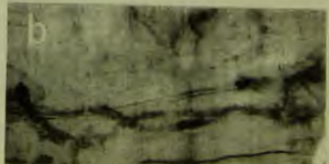


Plate 3

Plate 2
Plate 4

SAVA'S THEORY

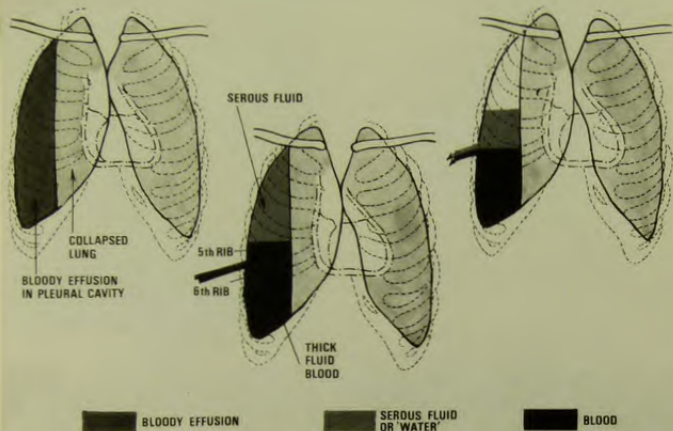


Plate 5

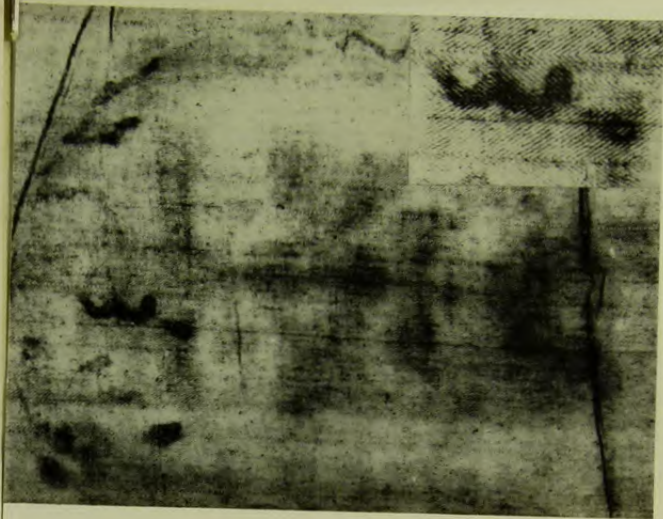


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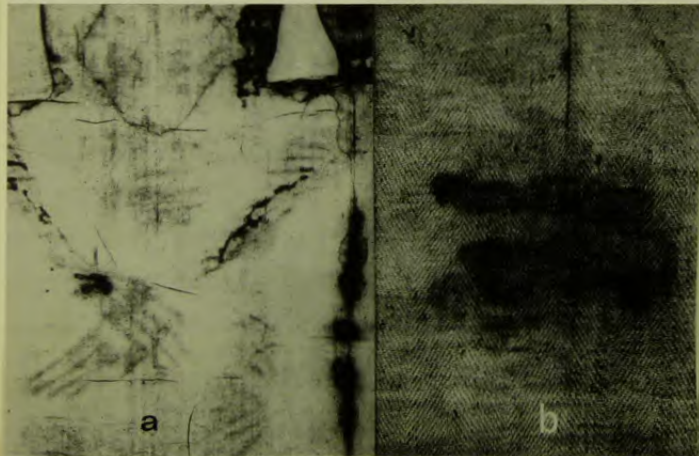


Plate 6

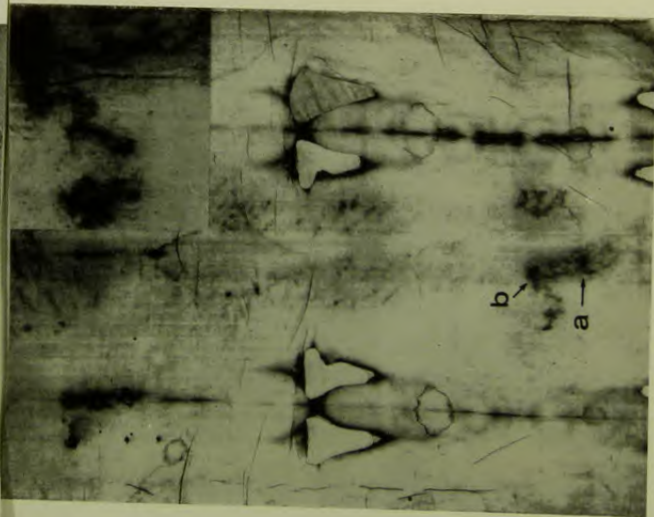


Plate 7 and inset

Conclusions.

Now that we have compared the fiction of "Inquest on Jesus Christ" with the facts unearthed by eminent sindonologists, we may well wonder what drove John Reban, alias Kurt Berna, to fly in the face of all the evidence and try to make the Shroud do the impossible. What is the purpose of his book? Throughout it he seems obsessed with the naive conviction that by trying to prove that Christ was resuscitated and not resurrected from the tomb, he is doing humanity a service. In what way? By bringing Jew and Christian together who "would no longer be separated by the insuperable barrier of Christ's death" (p. 10). Resuscitation rather than Resurrection would, he believes, absolve the Jewish people of guilt for our Lord's death because "Jesus did not die on the cross . . . This means that we Jews did not murder him, could not have murdered him", as he makes one of his characters say (p. 98f).

Is there anything new in Reban's theories? Only the attempt to prove them using a singularly inappropriate instrument. Otherwise, they are the old "chestnut" that Christ swooned and recovered in the cool of the tomb as Schleiermacher and Venturini first suggested at the end of the eighteenth century. The theory has recently been given a more sophisticated but just as improbable version by Hugh Schonfield in "The Passover Plot". He claims that Christ contrived to have himself drugged and revived after removal from the cross. It was the rationalist Strauss who, paradoxically, gave the death blow to such theories when he wrote: "It is impossible that a being who had stolen half-dead out of the sepulchre, weak and ill, wanting medical treatment and bandaging, could have given to the disciples the impression that he was a conqueror of death and the grave, the Prince of Life; an impression that lay at the bottom of their future ministry. Such a resuscitation could only have weakened the impression which he had made upon them in life and in death. . ."⁴²

⁴¹ Vala News Release and Press reports 24th Jan. 1967. Two full articles by the respective Editors appeared in the *Amateur Photographer*, 8th Mar. 1967 and the *British Journal of Photography*, 24th Mar. 1967 on Vala's achievement. Vala disclaims any skill as a sculptor. He says: ". . . a short period of blindness made me think more about vision than one normally does . . . Photographers look at a picture and use all their skills to photograph solid objects and bring them down to a two-dimensional picture . . . If we had a vehicle for it we could take a flat object and commit it back into solid. This is the basis of my process, which is very simple. It is a question of interpreting one's vision about the two-dimensional image and putting it in terms of depth . . ." He uses two projectors with transparencies of the Shroud Face in each and projects them on to his three-dimensional screen of clay which provides the matrix on which he moulds it according to the three-dimensional image playing upon it. To see it for the first time is a most moving experience.

⁴² D. F. Strauss, "New Life of Jesus", Vol. 1 (1879), p. 412.

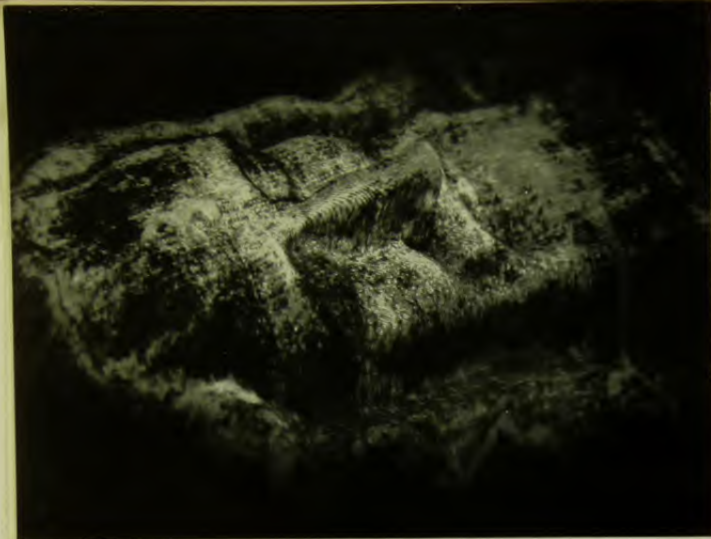
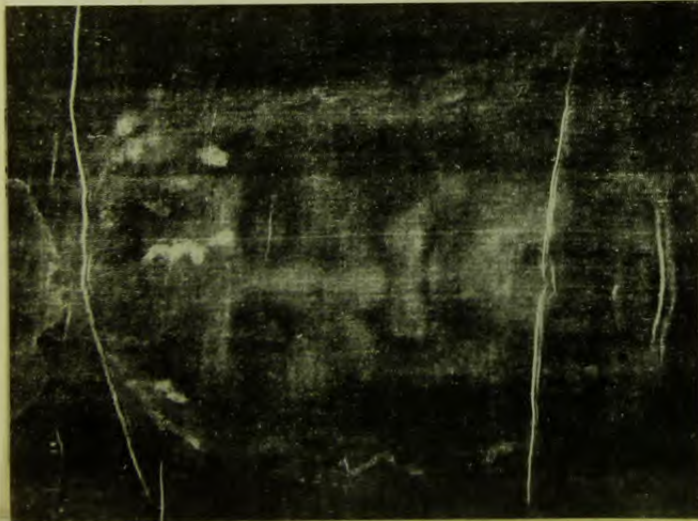


Plate 9

Plate 10



FAITH AND MIDDLE AGE

by

PATRICK BARRY, O.S.B.

It is generally agreed that a change comes over man in middle age. It is reflected in his physical and psychological make-up. It involves an adjustment to life, a new way of looking at things, a different set of responses. It is a gradual process, although the dividing line is more sharply defined for woman than for man. For some the change starts earlier and takes longer to reach completion. It does not involve a radical change of character—the extrovert will remain an extrovert, the shy and retiring will not suddenly become brash and demonstrative. The change will not change a man's character, but it will involve a development which calls for a considerable and sometimes demanding adjustment to life. For some it starts earlier and takes longer to be completed, for some it is delayed but it inevitably comes to all.

A full description of all that is involved in this change of life in middle age, of all the by-ways of psychological deviation, and also of the new and enriching perspectives which can open out for man when it comes about, would be work for one experienced in psychology. Certain broad outlines in the change which is involved can, however, easily be given.

It is a familiar theme and perhaps it is important to realise that it is no new thing. It has often been commented on. A useful example is from Bacon's "Essay on Youth and Age":

"Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success."

The contrast which I would wish to point between the response of youth and of middle age to life is simpler than Bacon's and perhaps more kindly because I would emphasise the positive qualities in both rather than the deviations and complications.

A young man lives in the future. He plans and looks forward. The more he is involved in life, and the more he believes in it, the more confidently he attempts to impose his Utopia on his contemporaries and realise it in himself.

In middle age his thoughts are centred more on the present than on the future. He sees his mistakes of the past and wishes that he could have

the chance of putting them right. He is tempted to wish that he could re-live his life and take the chances he has missed. He sees the present more realistically. His illusions about himself and about what it is possible to achieve dissolve. The present becomes more real and the future less attractive. He can no longer easily console himself with dreams about what he is going to achieve. He cannot escape the facts of his limited capabilities and with a more realistic concept of himself comes a more realistic appreciation of human nature. He does not expect so much from others and is more inclined to expect less from himself.

For the Christian who has made the faith his own this change in life involves a change in his response to faith. It is a change which should be an enrichment but can easily become an impoverishment of his spiritual life. A wide variety of problems may be involved and they will vary with his education, the circumstances of his life and the degree to which he has seriously faced the problems of living as a Christian in an increasingly secular world. There is, however, one central problem which is probably inescapable for everyone and from which most other problems derive. It is concerned with the concept of God and with prayer. God and the practice of the faith are not immune from the tendency to disillusionment in middle age. There is often a feeling of emptiness, the waning of enthusiasm about religion, a distaste for the more obvious practices of piety. The issue is often rather complicated and many personal and individual problems enter into it, but before the problem can be assessed in any individual case it is necessary to ask how a man has reacted to the general problem of middle age.

One can distinguish three typical responses to middle age, three different ways in which men commonly react to its onset. First of all there is the response which is an attempt to escape from it, to escape back into youth. It is noticeable with many people that their estimate of when middle age begins gets higher and higher as age advances, and, as it threatens more closely, they become more and more anxious to prove their youth. They will claim to be counted among the young, to understand their ways, to be youthful in their outlook, to be sprightly and athletic, to be young in mind. In fact they are attempting to escape reality by identifying with a group with whom they have less and less in common. A painful air of artificiality pervades their attempt to escape from what they really are.

A second reaction is that of the cynic. The dreams of youth, if they ever existed, have been shattered. He is faced with the broken remnants and the bitterness with which his failures have left him. He has not the resolution or the realism to build anew in a different idiom and he takes refuge in sour denial and often savage recriminations. He has not reached the stars. It is therefore of the utmost importance for him to prove that they do not exist. He takes refuge in the oldest of human follies, to blame his own failures on others, on the world, on God, on fate. It may be that many of these reactions have begun in youth, but it is middle age that brings them to their completion and sets the final stamp of sour or

querulous rejection on such a life. In men rejection is usually aggressive, in women it is more commonly querulous and self-pitying.

The third typical reaction to middle age is one of acceptance. It is inspired by realism, by an instinct which leads a man to avoid pretence and to refrain from allowing his failures to sour his whole attitude to life. He is led, therefore, to the only alternative. He is led to accept his limitations without bitterness or recriminations and to accept the consequences of his limitations and failures. He accepts the slowing of his physical powers and he accepts the gradual change in his mental outlook which middle age brings. In doing this, of course, he opens out to himself new vistas of life. Although the energy in him is not the energy of youth, it can be very formidable indeed. His mental power, his ability for self-expression and for helping others may be very much greater than it could ever have been in youth, but it will not become operative unless he is able to accept the change of life involved in middle age. On the basis of this acceptance he may well achieve a larger and more profound grasp of the meaning of life, deeper and more realistic appreciation of other people, a greater tolerance, a greater understanding, even a greater gaiety and relaxation, and there is a real sense in which all his powers may be enhanced. For such a man middle age may be the beginning of the flowering of that most elusive of virtues, wisdom. For many it may be a hard thing to accept the onset of middle age but that acceptance can bring a fulfilment and sense of achievement which could not have been dreamt of before. It also has the inestimable attraction of being realistic.

We may summarise then the three typical responses to middle age as the pretence of an escape back into youth, the rejection which cynical scepticism involves and the acceptance both of the limitations and the potentialities which a new phase in life brings.

In real life these three typical responses are not found separately and in isolation, although it has been convenient to distinguish them clearly here. Most men and women settle for a compromise. The variety of compromises is infinite, but in Christians the most common type is a balance between acceptance, to which God is calling them, and cynicism—between faith and incredulity—with an occasional excursion, sacred or secular, into nostalgia for youth; but these excursions become less frequent as time goes on. The danger which faces men and women in middle age is that of compromise.

What has been said refers to man's total reaction to life. If we look more closely at his life of faith, his response to God, we shall see a similar set of patterns emerging. The same temptation to cynicism, the same occasional nostalgia for a more youthful and generous response to the demands God makes on man. The same problem and difficulty of acceptance will be seen, and the same temptation to comparatively sordid compromise threatens a man's spiritual development.

Although the pretence of youthfulness is not so common in man's response to faith as it is in secular life, nevertheless the feeling that some-

thing has been lost when simple and uncomplicated faith of childhood is overlaid or dies in maturity is not uncommon. It is not so easy to pretend one has the faith of childhood as it is to pretend one is physically young, but at least the thought of youthful faith, even among those who have abandoned faith, not uncommonly arouses wistful admiration. Even among the irreligious it is not uncommon to find a protective attitude towards the generous faith of children. Very often they are protecting a memory of their own. Admirable though this attitude may be from many points of view, it often implies a failure to see that the faith of childhood is only a preparation for adult faith and that escape into the faith of childhood is a dangerous fantasy for the adult. The faith of childhood can only be valued rightly by those who recognise and accept the meaning of adult faith, to which it should lead. Nostalgic and protective encouragement of its immaturities will only place obstacles in the way of its proper development.

Little need be said about the temptation to cynical rejection of faith in God as middle age approaches. Just as at this time man is tempted to rationalise his failures by devaluing his former ideals, so in his response to God he is tempted to regard his former commitment to God as starry-eyed and to relapse into a passive if not resentful rejection of the demands God makes of him. At worst he falls into cynical rejection; at best he settles for an uneasy compromise which makes minimum demands upon him personally and can be dressed in the attractive but false guise of realism.

As in the secular context, so in the spiritual the problem of middle age is one of acceptance. It involves a re-adjustment of perspective but no lowering of ideals. On the one hand a man must accept his limitations; on the other he must accept the power of the Spirit influencing his life through prayer and the sacraments. The same sense of realism is found: realism in facing his own limitations without evasion or pretence, realism in admitting his failures without dramatisation or self-pity, and realism above all in recognising that all power to save man comes from Christ. Here is the beginning of the final commitment—the final surrender to Christ of which the consummation is death. Here also is the beginning of true wisdom—the realisation of the insignificance of man's efforts towards goodness and the power of the Spirit to achieve what man has failed to achieve.

No doubt it is in charity that this development is most clearly shown. The problem of adjustment, however, is most often centred upon faith; and in the context of faith the crucial problem is concerned with how he may think of God. Must he cling to memories of his childish concepts? Must he try to grapple with the half-understood abstract concepts of theology? Must he launch out into the uncharted waters of contemporary theological writing to discover whether God is political or dead?

There is no doubt that, as in secular life, so in the approach to faith a regression into childish concepts will not do. Theology will be more or less helpful according to each one's ability. But salvation cannot depend

upon ability and the crux of the matter must lie elsewhere—in one's approach to God in prayer. But even in prayer one must think of God; and how is one to think of him in this sophisticated age?

Fortunately the problem is not a new one and there are plenty of guidelines in the tradition of the Church. For one who has become tired of traditional symbolism it may be encouraging to realise that there is a real sense in which we must say that we cannot think of God at all; that is we cannot form concepts in our minds which are adequate to the nature of God.

This is no new idea in theology. St Thomas says: "What God really is will always be hidden from us, and this is the supreme knowledge which we can have of God in this life—that we know that he transcends every idea that we can ever form of Him". It is precisely those who have drawn most near to God—the mystics—who have seen most clearly the inadequacy of our conceptual knowledge in our approach to God. That is why the English mystic of the fourteenth century called his treatise "The Cloud of Unknowing". This is how he writes of the soul's approach to God:

"When you first begin, you find only darkness, and as it were a cloud of unknowing. You don't know what this means except that in your will you feel a simple steadfast intention reaching out towards God. Do what you will, this darkness and this cloud remain between you and God, and stop you both from seeing him in the clear light of rational understanding, and from experiencing his loving sweetness in your affection. Reconcile yourself to wait in this darkness as long as is necessary, but still go on longing after him whom you love. For if you are to feel him or to see him in this life, it must always be in this cloud, in this darkness."

St John of the Cross, the great Carmelite mystic of Spain, is more explicit in his analysis:

"Faith is a habit of the soul, certain and obscure. And the reason for its being an obscure habit is that it makes us believe truths revealed by God himself, which transcend all natural light, and exceed all human understanding, beyond all proportion. Hence it follows that, for the soul, this excessive light of faith which is given to it is thick darkness, for it overwhelms greater things and does away with smaller things, even as the light of the sun overwhelms all other lights whatsoever, so that when it shines and disables our visual faculty they appear not to be lights at all. So that it blinds it and deprives it of the sight that has been given to it, inasmuch as its light is great beyond all proportion and transcends the faculty of vision. Even so the light of faith, by its excessive greatness oppresses and disables that of the understanding."

We may seem here to have found a meeting point with the agnostics and there is a real sense in which we have. Mature faith must recognise that all the symbolism and metaphors of traditional language about God is inadequate to the reality it attempts to put into words. The point at

which a man sees the truth of this is the point of contact with the mystics and it is a sort of agnosticism with a difference. Why symbols and metaphors are used and how they can be valid is another matter and it is lucidly explained with reference to the nature of language by C. S. Lewis in Chapter X of his book on Miracles.

The point here is that the feeling in middle age that traditional language about God has lost much of its meaning and seems inadequate and barren may not in any sense be a loss of faith but the beginning of maturer faith. In order to achieve this maturity a man must accept the new experience he is beginning to have. He must resist the temptation to cling to inadequate concepts, as though they were the objects of his prayer. Even more he must resist the temptation to conclude that because the concepts are inadequate his faith is dead, as though the test of God's reality were that he should be within the compass of man's understanding. In fact the test of God's reality is that he should exceed man's understanding, and it is in accepting this that man realises the beginning of maturity in faith.

It is not suggested that all Christians in middle age must become mystics or perish. The vocation to mystical prayer is a special one, but that is not to say that the experience of the mystics is irrelevant to the ordinary Christian. It is highly relevant because it is very real. The lesson it has for everyone who thinks deeply is that, although traditional language and symbolism about God is valid within its limitations, it is inadequate and that (in St Thomas' phrase) "this is the supreme knowledge which we can have of God in this life—that we know that he transcends every idea that we can ever form of him".

The meaning of this in practical terms is that to perceive the inadequacy of traditional language about God is not to perceive a flaw in the presentation of faith. It is rather an invitation to greater simplicity in prayer in which the abandonment of familiar formulae, so far from being a loss, is an advantage which makes possible the increasing activity of the Holy Spirit in prayer. It was to ordinary Christians that St Paul made the point:

"The Spirit too comes to help us in our weakness. For when we cannot choose words in order to pray properly, the Spirit himself expresses our plea in a way that could never be put into words, and God who knows everything in our hearts knows perfectly well what he means, and that the pleas of the saints expressed by the Spirit are according to the mind of God."

The only problem is whether a man has the courage to accept the guidance of the Spirit in prayer. So long as he insists on attempting to solve the problems of his approach to God in purely conceptual terms he will meet with bafflement and frustration. A simpler approach based on a readiness to surrender to the facts of the situation will bring a renewal and strengthening of faith at a much deeper level. It is an essential step on the road towards spiritual maturity. The facts of the situation which

must be accepted are these: that the created mind cannot fathom the Creator and that the highest flights of human knowledge are nothing to the wisdom of the Creator. In so far as that wisdom can be reflected in man it must be through submission to the activity of the Spirit not through the mastering of the mystery of God through conceptual knowledge.

Nothing which has been said here invalidates the intellectual approach to the problems of God and human life. There are limitations to the scope of theology, but the work of analysing and re-stating the conceptual implications of the Christian revelation is essential. One of its aims, however, is always to define the limits of such knowledge as we can acquire by this process. The most important limitation is that the knowledge thus acquired is not the way of salvation. However much it may assist and clarify the issues it does not itself lead to God. There is another way—open to all—which is the way of prayer.

The most useful analogy to illustrate the two ways in which the mystery of God can be approached is to be found in the relationship between two human beings. It is possible on the one hand to embark on the closest analysis of all aspects of human nature, even of the deepest psychological responses and instincts. Even though this study may clarify individual relationships it does not achieve them and cannot be a substitute for them. It is possible for the most exhaustive theoretical knowledge to co-exist with great poverty in real relationships with other people. Equally, deep and real relationships may develop with very little theoretical knowledge to support them.

In the same way a theologian's knowledge is no substitute for prayer. The theologian cannot go beyond what St Thomas said. He must recognise that this way the furthest we can get is to recognise that God transcends any idea we can form of him. The created mind cannot compass the Creator. The other way, which is the way of love and prayer, does not go further in the same direction. It does go further, but in a different direction. The analogy with human relationships is not inappropriate. Analysis of another's personal and psychological qualities does not establish a relationship. A leap must be made in a different direction and it is so with God.

The point here in connection with middle age is that, as in all other aspects of his life, so in his approach to faith a man must learn to accept reality, accept his limitations and learn to abandon any attempt to shape his life in terms which are no longer real for him. Adjustment in other respects will help his approach to faith, but in faith especially courage and a readiness to surrender to God are the key to his development, the way to the wisdom and balance which should be characteristics of full maturity.

BELIEF — PAST AND FUTURE

TWO REVIEWS ON THE CRISIS OF FAITH

by

REV B. M. G. REARDON AND PHILIP HOLDSWORTH, O.S.B.

The ghost of Modernism has not been laid entirely yet, and the anti-Modernist oath is still uttered by some aspirant priests. Much that the so-called Modernists stood for and fell for has returned in orthodox guise to haunt the cloisters of traditionalism—critical biblical exegesis, personalism in place of intellectualism in theology, teleological analysis of truths, belief in the mutability of Church organisation, denial that blind faith overrides science data, and so on. Because the Modernist crisis was smothered by the most authoritarian and intellectually evasive procedures, it smouldered underground, unstified and unanswered. It is no surprise then that when the winds are again allowed to blow, it should flame forth in new attitudes of "concern", which refuse conformity while embracing fidelity.

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John Ratté *THREE MODERNISTS* Sheed & Ward 1968 370 p 45/-

The appearance of a new book on the Modernist movement in the Roman Catholic Church is always welcome. Even after the lapse of 60 years the names of Loisy and Tyrrell (to mention no others) still possess a remarkably evocative power. Their age has passed by, but their particular struggle has not entirely lost its relevance and even its urgency, as recent events have shown. The Modernists are of interest both for the example of their personal courage and for their intellectual far-sightedness. The most comprehensive attempt yet to chronicle the movement and contextualise its issues is M. Emile Poulat's "Histoire, Dogme et Critique dans la crise moderniste", published in 1962. This was preceded two years earlier by Père René Marlé's valuable edition of a number of Modernist documents in "Au coeur de la crise moderniste". Similar collections were included in Auguste Valensin's "Textes et documents inédits" and the Blondel-Laberthonnière correspondence, both published in 1961, whilst back in the fifties we had Luigi Paggiaro's "Il Modernismo a cinquanta anni dalla sua condanna" (1957). A study of Modernist theology—"Le miracle dans la controverse moderniste", by François Rodé—came out only lately. Now, in John Ratté's "Three Modernists", we have a further discussion of the movement focusing on the work and personalities of Loisy, Tyrrell and a little-known American Paulist, afterwards a Unitarian minister, William L. Sullivan, who died in 1935 at the age of 63. But it also extends its perspective to take in the present ferment of opinion in the Church.

Indeed an anonymous writer in *The Times Literary Supplement* for 26th August 1966 roundly declared that the current crisis, released, if unintentionally, by Pope John "is clearly the resurgence, at an apparently more propitious moment, of the Modernist controversy". It is not an isolated viewpoint. The veteran Jacques Maritain characterises the present debate as "neo-Modernist effervescence", but also representing, he adds, "a fever alongside which the Modernist crisis of the time of Pope St Pius X . . . was 'simply a case of hay fever'". If this judgment is correct it may well be that the forcible suppression of the symptoms of the complaint on the morrow of the papal condemnation has resulted only in an aggravation of its condition. There are respects in which the contemporary intellectual disquiet is more radical than was Modernism. As Mr Ratté says, it is not the identity of the historical figure of Christ but Catholicism and Christianity which today exercise the minds not merely of the theologians. In fact an inquiry like Leslie Dewart's, "The Future of Belief" envisaging as it does the whole problem of theism in "a world come of age", makes a good deal of what the Modernists had to say look a little academic. Nevertheless the more pertinent of the Modernists' questions yet remain to be answered. That of the person of Christ has, it would seem, been shelved, by Protestants as well as Catholics, rather than tackled. But the relationship between theology as a specialist pursuit and the devotional needs of the multitude of the faithful, continues to call for resolute clarification. Whether faith, as distinct from a mere willed assent, can exist at all without intellectual freedom is a question still being posed. The tendency of religious authority to maintain a "siege mentality" and to regard the secular life and progress of mankind as the stalking-ground of an ever vigilant enemy, rather than as the appropriate (and in any case necessary) stage for the enacting of human destiny, persists. Of such things the Modernists, in their generation, were unhappily conscious, and the passage of time, it may be thought, has not removed them.

For the Modernists were alive to the fact that the Church can and must learn from the world, as well as the world from the Church. The *ecclesia docens* and the *ecclesia discens* were effectually one and the same and not simply names for the hierarchy and the faithful respectively. The facile rule that *on est catholique ou on ne l'est pas*, like many other such maxims, does not meet the facts of the situation. Catholicism is not a fixed quantity identical in aspect from all angles. On the contrary, it is a living tradition sensitive to every movement of the historical process. Herein, indeed, lies its strength. "To live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often." Thus had Newman himself spoken, in one of the most remarkable theological treatises of the nineteenth century. The aphorism is the thesis in sum of "L'Évangile et l'Église". To describe Newman as the father of Modernism would be a wild exaggeration; but the Modernists had read him assiduously, and Loisy judged him to have been the most open-minded theologian the Church had had since Origen. Such a statement as:

One cause of corruption in religion is the refusal to follow the course of doctrine as it moves on, and an obstinacy in the notions of the past,

or:

A power of development is a proof of life, not only in its essay but in its success; for a mere formula either does not expand or is shattered in expanding. A living idea becomes many, but remains one, could have supplied a motto for the whole movement. Where the Modernists went beyond Newman was in recognising religious development as an organic process, subject to the unpredictable effects of inescapable environmental pressures. Hence to seek to establish *a priori* principles for a "true" development is a vain endeavour. Things are what they are and their consequences will be what they will be, and the life of faith demands a receptiveness of the future which an inert traditionalism renders all too difficult.

In retrospect no doubt the limitations of the Modernists' teaching become clear. They were the children of their time—as are we, of ours—and their critical conclusions were deeply coloured by the historicism they had learned from Liberal Protestantism. "The state, law, morals, religion and art", wrote Ernst Troeltsch, "dissolve in the course of the growth of history and are comprehensible to us only as constitutional parts of an historical development." The Modernists also saw matters thus. They, too, believed, implicitly at least, in a universal law of progress, given the right conditions of intelligence and freedom; although Tyrrell in his last book, "Christianity at the Cross Roads", found new inspiration in the apocalyptic idea. Their philosophy, with its Hegelian undertone, was accordingly immanentist. Not surprisingly they fell under the censure of port-liberal orthodoxy as certainly as did Harnack or Troeltsch. To read the Modernist writings today is to realise again what changes sixty years have wrought in our theological outlook. Even so, the theological affinities of Father Tyrrell and, for example, the Bishop of Woolwich are remarkable. But what is of interest is not whether the Modernists propounded final solutions to the problems that troubled them, for plainly they did not, but their recognition of the fact that modernity is a condition of things to be reckoned with otherwise than by mere denunciation. The Church in this seventh decade of the present century, as in the first, has been made conscious of the need for an *aggiornamento*. Now, however, it welcomes it, or at least refrains from silencing "progressive" voices as a recrudescence of old heresy. It is true no doubt that critical opinion, favouring change, is far more widespread now than during the pontificate of Pius X. The "enemy" then, numerically inferior—at the time the number of those holding Modernist views was often much exaggerated—could be more easily isolated and thus routed. In our day, moreover, the attitude of the laity is a factor to be weighed. Since Vatican II liberal ideas have become pervasive, but also, it must be added, more cautious and realistic, and hence perhaps more formidable.

Whatever may be thought of *Humanae Vitae*, a new *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* is incredible. As an account of the thing it condemned the latter document was notoriously ill-conceived. For its purpose it was very skilfully put together, but its aim was polemical and as a judgment it was unqualifiedly hostile. Its procedure was unscrupulous. Loisy dismissed it as a fantasy of the theological imagination, a mere schematism "conceived after the manner of the scholastic theories", in which no actual Modernist would ever recognise himself. Tyrrell impulsively trounced it in a couple of articles in *The Times* newspaper, and for his temerity was deprived of the sacraments. Its aim seemed to be to stifle all liberal opinion in the Church. Thus Mgr Mignot, Archbishop of Albi, wrote of it: "In the name of 'Modernism', a vague, undefined, imprecise word, fine souls who are in no way modernist in the sense condemned by the Pope will be sacrificed". Nor was he mistaken, for the condemnation turned out to be indiscriminate. Moderates like Laberthonnière found themselves implicated along with extremer men. Even a mere desire for reforms in seminary teaching could be made to look like a move to subvert the faith.

The Modernism described in the pages of the encyclical (as also the decree *Lamentabili Sane Exitu*) was essentially synthetic. Philosophers, theologians, biblical critics and social reformers were simply rolled into one, whereas in fact there were almost as many modernisms as Modernists. To contend that they all began, more or less consciously, with a philosophy of Kantian "agnosticism" is absurd. Loisy, the movement's most prominent figure, confessed that he himself knew virtually nothing of metaphysics and had hardly ever opened a philosophical treatise. His own approach to the problem of Catholicism in the modern world was simply that of a philologist and literary critic. On the other hand a philosopher like Edouard Le Roy, Bergson's successor at the Collège de France, had no interest in biblical studies. Tyrrell certainly was a theologian, but always with a touch of the amateur about him, and the prophet-publicist was the role he chose. Don Romolo Murri was primarily concerned with social questions. Semeria, a Barnabite and author of a work on primitive Christianity, was an evangelist. To portray these men as fulfilling a carefully selected aim in a concerted effort at heresy-mongering is to repudiate the obvious facts.

Nevertheless the Modernists envisaged an ultimate goal on which all of them could agree: the modernisation of the Church. The conviction they shared was that Catholicism in a fast-changing world was more and more losing touch with the actual needs of men. The thought-categories of the twentieth century were not and could not possibly become those of the sixteenth or the thirteenth. As a young seminarian at Châlons, Loisy had been advised by his spiritual director that "a religion which has satisfied geniuses like St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas, Pascal, Bossuet and Fénelon is surely not unworthy of our adherence". Long after, in 1913, the ex-Modernist could only comment on this that he "did not then dream of answering him that these men had not lived in the nineteenth century, and that no one could tell what might have been the turn of

mind of a Blaise Pascal who had been born a contemporary of Renan". The point, seen by all the Modernists, as by liberals generally, was that the Church's real tradition is not an immutable inheritance from a quasi-deified past but the continuing life and experience of Christian believers themselves, for whom the spirit of Christ will in future give birth to new forms even as once it did to the older. The eternal is not synonymous with the ever-fixed. "All our efforts," wrote a group of Italian priests in an address to the Pope, "are directed to inspiring souls with the renewed sense of the imperishable destinies of Catholicism in the world." But if the potential Catholicism of the future were to be realised much that had served the past would have to be cast off. "We cannot," wrote Tyrrell in 'Lex Orandi', "go on for ever stretching old bottles. When men are sufficiently prepared by an understanding of the principles of religious growth, we shall have to recognise the right of each age to put an end to this utterly needless conflict between faith and science which is a mere theological bogey." It is a statement the truth of which, in our day, has been increasingly brought home to Christians of all churches, and not of the Roman alone.

Of the three writers of whom Mr Ratté treats, Tyrrell remains the most interesting and attractive; and the section of this book which deals with him is the best. Loisy, first and last, was the brilliant scholar, the *savant*, comparable with the great German teachers of the age—a Hartack, a Trötsch, an Edouard Meyer. Sullivan, although the information about him which the author now gives us—his papers at the Harvard Divinity School are, one learns, still being catalogued—is welcome, is a very minor figure, scarcely to be classed as a Modernist at all, but rather as a fervent American patriot who believed also in a "free" church. Tyrrell, however, stands out as among the most remarkable religious personalities of his time. He was indeed a "personality" in the popular sense: shrewd yet impetuous, mercurial yet obstinate, ever eager in the pursuit of truth yet a lover of paradox and polemic. He described himself as a mixture of a German brain and an Irish heart—the latter, one may think, predominating. His mature opinions had been reached a good many years before 1909, the date of his death. His paper on "The Relation of Theology and Devotion", written in 1899, contained the essence of his later apologetic. Yet, as Mr Ratté points out, there was to the end a continuing process of interaction between his personal religious convictions and his published expression of them. And, as a creative thinker, he is not always self-consistent. At moments he resembles Luther; for like Luther he brought theology to the test of life, and what for him failed to pass that test was henceforth but dross. The *lex orandi* determined the *lex credendi*. Of all the Modernist leaders his message and example appear the most relevant to the situation today. Although in his death he was disowned by ecclesiastical officialdom he regarded himself to the last as a Catholic.

Tyrrell rightly saw that for modern Catholicism the problem of belief turns upon two basic issues: authority and revelation, though in the final resort the two are inseparable. Because in the light of history the whole

conception of revelation calls to be considered afresh, so likewise the structure of authority, which interprets revelation, is necessarily open to question. Tyrrell believed intensely that religion, being a social as well as an individual matter, demands an authoritative focus; but the existing form of the papacy was the outcome of an institutionising process no different in its cause or effects from "Czardom or any other despotism". To the ultramontane there was no alternative to "the individualism of anarchy and that of dictatorship". The liberal's task, however, was to destroy the notion "that narrowness and orthodoxy go hand in hand" and to show "that the deeper we dig into Catholic truth and the closer we hold to her word, the broader we can afford to be". How far such optimism was justified has yet to be proved.

Mr Ratté's book is readable and well-documented: the extensive literature of Modernism seems to be at his fingertips. And he combines accuracy with a balanced perspective. Any inaccuracies are trivial. He uses "Anglican" where "Anglo-Catholic" would be more appropriate, and the Richmond where Tyrrell was domiciled after leaving Farm Street is in Yorkshire, not Lancashire. A more punctilious proof-reading would also have eliminated a number of typographical errors.

Leslie Dewart THE FUTURE OF BELIEF Burns & Oates 1967 223 p 30/-

This book appeared some time ago, but its investigations are highly relevant to current issues in theology and are conducted in a penetrating fashion. It might have been better to have taken a simpler line of attack and to have discussed the questions arising in terms of the nature and prospects of religion (whose future, after all, is in doubt). However, no one can complain that a thorough enquiry has not been attempted even if some will regret that this has been done in a Teutonic style of American (influenced by Heidegger?).

In his introductory chapter Dewart states the problem: "whether one can, while complying with the demand that human personality, character and experience be inwardly integrated, at one and the same time profess the Christian religion *and* perceive human nature and everyday reality as contemporary man typically does". Those who experience this as a problem will probably regard his formulation as sharp: some may take the view that the questions should be asked oppositewise: "can one achieve any degree of integration unless one is attempting to be a Christian, and can one really do this without sharing contemporary experience?" But even if one opts for the latter formulation it will be still well worthwhile to read this book. On the same page Dewart recounts certain failures in Christian outlook: one may attempt to hold one's Christian faith and one's contemporary experience in separate and non-communicating compartments; one may attempt to regard Christian faith as solely valid and disregard everyday experience as deceptive; one may accept the validity of everyday experience and be atheistic, indifferent or dilutedly Christian in one's out-

look. These attitudes, in some form or other, are undoubtedly widespread and have frequently been, but are probably far more so now than ever before. His investigation into the causes for this therefore powerfully engages our attention.

Noteworthy and deep seated as well as long lasting among Christian spiritual maladies is the tendency to spiritual hedonism—"morals is the science of how man is to conduct himself so that the story of his life has a happy ending"—and this Dewart examines briefly. He recognises that it is not the whole story and he offers some suggestions about improving on it. But, he insists, at the root of all the problems raised is a misunderstanding about the concept of God, and this leads him to his second chapter, on contemporary atheism and Christian theism.

Early on he outlines the similarity of theism and atheism, at least in its anti-theistic form, as both being forms of faith. They are this because "they are total self-commitments" and therefore, as Kierkegaard observed, "existential leaps". He quotes Novak for the alleged similarity between theistic and anti-theistic positions including the remark about their sharing "the immediate task of diminishing the amount of suffering in the world". This is a revealing phrase and may contain a prime fallacy inherent in the current debate concerning Christianity, the supposition that the good news of the Gospel is of a redemption from pain rather than from sin.

The objects of theism and anti-theism, God's existence or otherwise, are similar in that they are both inevident and therefore if establishable at all only so by means of some sort of proof. Nevertheless such proofs would themselves be by nature inadequate to provide more than the occurrence of the object; they could not guarantee the rightness of the self-commitment, the existential leap. For this is required faith and this is something inadequately "represented by the Scholastic concept of an intellectual assent (under the impulse of the will) to the truth of revealed propositions". He would characterise it otherwise: "Faith is the existential response of the self to the openness of the transcendence disclosed by conscious experience. It is our decision to respect, to let be, the contingency of our being, and, therefore, to admit into our calculations a reality beyond the totality of being". Moreover it is important to think of the life of faith rather than of the act of faith, for faith like the act of existence is a coming-into-being, a perpetual achieving of the unachieved. It follows that Christian theism like Marxist atheism is not absolute but relative and conditioned. "Indeed, absolute theism would be an infidelity to the Christian faith." What does this mean? The relative theism of true Christianity avoids certain pitfalls which entrap any absolute theism, such as the danger of identifying creatures with God; or the undue worship of the name "God", so that e.g. a politician who mentions it might seem thereby to walk in especial divine favour. But religious people, including theologians, can fall into the same misguided habit. Often enough, one may add, we do the same when we rush eagerly to justify at all costs the ways of God to the afflicted. A mark of such attitudes is the undue certitude that they betray, whereas true Christian faith is unstable, search-

ing and agitated, though not necessarily worried. Moreover "belief in God does not settle anything about human life. In fact, to the degree that it rules one's life, faith is, if anything, unsettling". Christian faith must always be deeply concerned to believe only in the true God, not in some *deus ex machina* who supplements the deficiencies of the Welfare State, but at the same time it is in danger of being so preoccupied with His existence that it neglects His reality. Such a neglect explains why Christianity lost the Working Class, suffered the secularisation of culture and the apostasy of science. Above all, Christian faith must involve a commitment to truth, a recognition that belief is not logically necessary even if it is certain. For this reason Christians and Marxists can exercise mutual toleration; neither can offer a self-evident dogma. Of course they differ considerably, for "Marxism finds in the human experience of existence the absence of God, whereas Christianity finds in the same experience both the absence and the presence of God". The relative nature of Christian theism allows it room for development and readjustment. But herein lies a problem: how can Christian theism be dynamic, evolving and self-transforming and yet be originally and ever true? To this Dewart devotes his third chapter, "The Development of Christian Dogma".

Though it was not noticed until comparatively recently, Christian dogma is now generally held to be capable of, and indeed to have undergone, development. This, Dewart thinks, is of the nature of the case, on the ground that truth is not essentially constant and substantially immutable, but man is driven to look ever deeper into truth and to be dissatisfied with the truth of what he holds to be true. Man's intellectual life does not consist in the subject's assimilation of objects to itself but the "emergence of a self as it becomes present to itself by self-differentiating itself from the totality of being". "Truth is not the adequacy of our representative operations, but the adequacy of our conscious existence. More precisely it is the fidelity of consciousness to being." Truth is valuable only "because it is part of the process of man's self-creation and coming-into-being" and is a relation towards being only if it is a *fidelity* rather than a *conformity*, due to one's own nature in relation to the other rather than due to that other because of its nature. The consequences of this for development of dogma are then set out at length and summed up as: "The development of dogma can be understood as the historical transformation and evolution of the conceptualisation of the Christian faith. This is possible because the Christian faith is not wedded to any given cultural form, any more than it is to be found as a pure essence, devoid of a concrete cultural form. As it can endure through history and transcend cultures, it can transcend concepts. Therefore, the traditional Christian faith can be cast not only in the traditional concepts but also in the novel, emergent concepts that an evolving human experience creates".

The implications of this are explored in the next chapter, "The Underdevelopment of Christian Theism". Granting that there is an inherent and inevitable inadequacy of belief in relation to the divine mystery, whether on the part of the individual or of the Church, the author

considers a further inadequacy of belief that is unwarranted and inexpedient and finds the chief blame for this to lie in the undue hellenisation of Christian doctrine. This is an important point but quite as responsible for the defects he has in mind is surely the trend of the Church, contemporaneous with its hellenisation but not identical with it, to promote doctrine by conciliar decree, the imposition of an agreed formula hammered out by a meeting of bishops and theologians? This has had many disadvantages: the method was not natively Christian but both borrowed from and enforced by the State; the terms of the formulae were dictated by the heresy to be condemned—doctrine was not developed for its own value; the whole discussion was at the level of the thinking of theologians and bishops and resulted in dogmas which have always been unreal for most people. (This has become excruciatingly the case only fairly recently, and so only recently recognised.) These factors far more than hellenisation have been responsible for the petrification of the expression of Christian belief. The dismantling of the ecclesiastical machine unwittingly initiated by John XXIII, half wittingly executed by the Fathers of Vatican II and vainly stemmed by Paul VI may ensure that it will never be the same again and the problem will be rather to locate the appropriate place for the action of authority, episcopal and papal. A further section of the chapter argues that the scholastic conceptions of God have led to modern atheism and tries to suggest an alternative way of thinking about Him. This leads to the final chapter in which a tentative forecast is made about the future of theistic thinking: God will not be conceived as *being*, nor as existing, though as reality and above all as present, better not as a person (or persons), nor as omnipotent against nature but as omnipotent through it, not as eternal but as present to all history, not adorable though acknowledged as present, not supernatural though grace-giving and, logically enough, probably not to be called "God" or anything else either.

It may be wondered whether the argument of the book does not amount in the end to an excess of paradox, not to say wrongheadedness. The degree of this, however, falls short of that achieved by some recent classics in the field, not only "Honest to God" but, more extensively, Altizer's "The Gospel of Christian Atheism". Nevertheless, though one would contest strongly much of the conclusions drawn by Dewart, there can be no question but that he has most usefully opened up many issues hitherto too easily assumed to have been settled. A prime instance is his discussion of the Thomist theory of essence and existing in God and creatures. This parallels Flew's treatment of the matter in "God and Philosophy". It is not clear that either of them has finally discredited the Thomist doctrine; but to survive in some form it needs radical re-appraisal. This is only one of many valuable points contributed by Dewart. Another, unfortunately only briefly touched on, is the question of the future form, if any, of the worship of God.

BROKEN LIGHTS ON HUMANAE VITAE

The following are writings on various points in the Birth Control debate, by members of the Community at Ampleforth. It was hoped that Fr David Knowles would be able to contribute a note on Conscience, but he has accepted a prior request from C.T.S. to write a pamphlet on Authority in the Church today, in which he deals at some length with the nature of conscience. Cf. C.T.S./Do 413, p. 5-8, "Conscience & Authority".

NATURAL LAW AND HUMANAE VITAE

THE purpose of this article is to state briefly and clearly a couple of difficulties that are raised for a theologian by the treatment of natural law in the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. It is not intended as a protest or as a criticism: the encyclical is an authoritative statement by one of the Church's teaching offices. The Pope has the right and duty to give guidance in this matter, and to give it as a bishop. Good theologians know the difference between discussing each other's opinions and interpreting the teaching of the Church expressed by one of her legitimate authorities. If I say that I do not understand the encyclical, or that parts of it seem to be incompatible with the traditional catholic understanding of natural law, I must not be thought to be challenging the Pope's authority. On the contrary, it is because I do not want to be separated from the centre of catholic unity that I consider it a duty to mention this kind of theological difficulty.

There should be no need to justify the selection of natural law as a topic for special concentration. It is by no means the only important question raised by the encyclical, but certainly it is among the most important. Paragraph 4 states that the moral teaching of the Church on marriage rests on (*nittur in*) the natural law, illustrated and enriched by divine revelation, and reminds us of the Pope's authority to interpret the natural law. The sentence in sec. 11 containing the "definitive" pronouncement, that EACH AND EVERY MARRIAGE ACT must continue to be directly ordered (*per se destinatus*) to the procreation of human life, also states that the Church's teaching is interpreting the natural law.

Finding myself able to accept without any major reservations the teaching of St Thomas Aquinas on the natural law, I can readily dissociate myself from those popular theological journalists who cast aspersions on the whole idea of natural law and especially on its thomistic formulation. I do not even align myself with the more serious progressive theologians, whose views can be found, for example, in the majority report of the papal commission or in the great encyclopaediae and theological symposia produced on the Continent in recent years. Their approach, represented especially by German and by Jesuit thinkers, tends towards a greater integration of the natural law with the law of the Gospel. It is influenced

to some extent by ecumenical preoccupations, but I believe its roots lie in the anthropocentric theology or rather Christology that has characterised the Society of Jesus from its origins in the humanist renaissance. If I go back behind that trend to St Thomas I am at least not abandoning the traditional theology of the Church.

St Thomas' definition of natural law is "the sharing in the eternal law by the rational creature" (S.T. I-II.91.2). The eternal law is God's ruling idea of the world that his providence governs (I-II.91.1). The rational creature is man, and it is of considerable importance that St Thomas bases his theory of natural law NOT ON HUMAN NATURE AS SUCH, and certainly not on biological nature, but on man's natural ability to think for himself, and so share in God's idea of how the world should be organised.

In his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (in 2 Sent. d 24 q 2 art 4), Thomas explains how his theory works out in practice. Natural law is the name reserved for the universal principles of right behaviour. These we understand quite simply by a kind of natural instinct called *synderesis*, which proposes such general principles as, "All evil is to be avoided". The next move is made by the reason, contributing a more specific judgment such as, "Adultery is evil". This may be based on the superior reason, following the law of God or the guidance of the Church; or on the inferior reason, working out for itself that adultery is a bad thing, e.g. for the well-being of society. Finally, the conscience, which is an act of the practical intellect, applies those two general statements to a particular case, and concludes, "This act of adultery is to be avoided".

The commandments of the natural law are of two kinds. The primary precepts are completely general and unalterable: they hold true for all men, and they are equally known to everybody. In fact St Thomas usually speaks of the primary precept in the singular, and he formulates it thus: "Good is to be sought and done, evil to be avoided". All other commands of natural law are based on this. Secondary precepts are still very general, and cover such matters as self-preservation, procreation and education of children, freedom of intellectual enquiry, and the right to live in society. But none of these is absolutely unalterable: none of them applies necessarily to all cases, and they are not equally known to all men. Because here we are in the domain of human acts, "although there is some necessity in general principles, the more we get down to particular cases the more we can be mistaken" (S.T. I-II.94.2; 94.4).

That account of natural law I find entirely acceptable: it shows both common sense and sound reasoning based on experience. It gives due weight to the divine origin of all law, and to the importance of revelation and the Church's teaching in moral matters. It seems to me to belong to the broad, truly catholic tradition of Christian theology.

The appeal to natural law in the encyclical seems to diverge from St Thomas' approach in two important ways. Firstly, it appears to base the naturalness of the natural law on human physiology rather than on

human reason; and secondly, it seems to elevate the prohibition of contraception to the status of a primary precept, admitting no exceptions.

The first point is made clear in such phrases as, "the very nature of marriage and its acts" (sec. 10. Cf. also secs. 11, 12, 13, 24). Any scholastic theologian would immediately be embarrassed by this terminology. *Natura* is a technical term that is properly reserved for substances, in this context for persons. As a matter of fact this particular phrase has caused considerable scandal: the text refers to the Vatican II Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, sec. 50-51, but the Council's wording *PERSONAE eiusdemque actuum natura*—which is theologically accurate—has been changed to *MATRIMONI eiusque actuum natura*. The change may seem slight to the layman, but it is significant when we learn¹ that the encyclical's phrase was in fact submitted by some Roman theologians to the Council and deliberately rejected there. Attention has been drawn to the strength of the word "eiusdemque", intended to throw back the "nature" of the acts on to the nature of the person whose acts they are; and this personal rather than biological emphasis was accepted by the Council as the justification for this choice of words².

Secondly, there is the insistence that no single act of contraception could be in accordance with the natural law. This is clear enough in sec. 11: "The Church, warning men that they must observe the commandments of the natural law which she interprets by her constant doctrine, teaches that it is necessary that EACH AND EVERY MARRIAGE ACT (*quilibet matrimonii usus*) must continue to be directly ordered to the procreation of human life". It is reinforced by the assertion that contraception is "intrinsically wrong" (*intrinsece inhonestum*, sec. 14) and truly unlawful since it is of its very nature always (*semper*) repugnant to the true good of man, and so never (*numquam*) to be declared lawful (sec. 18). It is true that some commentators have managed to interpret these passages as allowing certain exceptions, but I do not understand how they do it, and so far as I know the Pope has not confirmed that broad interpretation since the encyclical's publication. Now according to St Thomas the only precepts of natural law that are binding in all cases without exception are the primary precepts, and it is a characteristic of these that they are equally known to everybody (*aequaliter omnibus nota*, S.T. I-II.94.4). It is manifestly not the case that the intrinsic evil of contraception is *aequaliter omnibus notum* at present. Hence the difficulty for a Thomist theologian in understanding the encyclical's conclusion.

Of course the Pope's theological advisers are not bound to follow Thomist theology, though they usually claim to do so. In this case I have been unable to find a coherent account of the natural law doctrine they are using. The "approved manuals" of moral theology that I have consulted (Genicot, Prümmer, Merkelbach) are faithful to the Thomistic theory.

¹ *The Tablet*, 16th Nov. 1968, Mgr P. Delhaye, "The Encyclical and the Council", p. 1133.

² *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Das II. Vatikanische Konzil, vol. 3, p. 442.

During the Council we became familiar with the disedifying fact that when extremist Roman theologians found their theology discredited in the expert commissions and rejected by the bishops, they resorted to pressure tactics and even to surreptitious interference with official texts³. It would seem that this sort of extra-theological influence is still at work in the text of the encyclical, and it is difficult to see how the real authority of the Pope's teaching office can be preserved from it.

PLACID SPEARRITT, O.S.B.

A CONFLICT OF EVILS

"And why not do evil that good may come?" as some slanderously charge us with saying: their condemnation is just.

Paul, Romans 3.8.

A conflict of conscience must not lightly be assumed to be that between a hard law and a comfortable life: there will be not a few cases of a conflict—real or apparent—of serious duties.

Karl Rahner, *Stimmen der Zeit*.

ONE of the best examples that history provides concerning a conflict of evils, resolved by a moral decision to choose the less evil course available, is close to our doorstep at Ampleforth. At York in 1586, the year after the Elizabethan penal laws reached their highest fury, the first woman to be arraigned under them for her life faced a grave moral dilemma. It took this form: should she plead at all at her trial?

On the one hand, she wanted to spare her children Henry (who later became a priest), Anne (who later became a nun), and two others too young to answer for themselves, from facing the judges and commissioners of the Council of the North. She did not want the Flemish boy who had betrayed her to be further terrified or coerced into detraction or calumny; for, she said, "I warrant you, he will say as much more (forged tales) for a pound of figs". She well knew the strength of her position and its vulnerability, should she choose to plead formally: "I think," she said to her judges, Clinch and Rodes, "you have no witnesses against me but children, who with an apple and a rod you may make to say what you will". To a friend she explained that "it would have been more grievous to me than a thousand deaths if I should have seen any of (my children and servants) brought forth before me to give evidence against me".

³ Cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Das II. Vatikanische Konzil, vol. 1, p. 355, translated in "Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II", ed. H. Vorgrimler, vol. 1, p. 303; German edition, vol. 2, pp. 38f; English edition, vol. 2, pp. 54-56 (but note that the word "not" should be deleted from line 21 on p. 55); German edition, vol. 1, pp. 41-43; English edition, vol. 1, pp. 25f (here the translation has itself surreptitiously suppressed an important sentence, of which I offer the following version: "Thus behind the heated debate lay not a dispute over wording, but the fundamental question of the bishops' real right to legislate in the liturgical field, which ought not to be understood as a right derived from above").

Secondly, she wanted to protect her property, notably her inheritance in Davygate, from reversion to the Crown following a conviction for felony, a conviction she saw would be more probable in view of the highly political colour of recusancy trials at that moment: the penalty for refusal to plead, on the other hand, precluded forfeiture of property. Thirdly, she wanted to spare the country's judicial officials, as many as possible and especially the jurymen whose consciences would be stained, from the sin of having her innocent blood upon their heads: "I know well the country must needs have found me guilty to please the Council, which earnestly seek my blood; and then all they had been accessories to my death, and damnably offended God". If she did not plead, only Judge Clinch himself would be that. Lastly, she wanted to protect her neighbour and accomplice-in-recusancy from incrimination for priest harbouring, which would have resulted from the parading and careful perusal of the evidence. The Continental tradition of what happened at the trial, necessarily suppressed in England at the time for reasons of the safety of the living parties, was that "she refused to answer as they wished or to name anyone else, and was unwilling to be the cause of another's death or to bring him to the misfortune of such terrible sufferings and to give him occasion for the shipwreck of his faith". She chose silence as a shield of another's fidelity and physical safety.

On the other hand, the wife of John Clitherow (for it was she, Blessed Margaret, née Middleton), to accomplish these vital safeguards against her children's misuse, her servants' perversion, her property's forfeiture, her countrymen's bloodstained consciences and her neighbours' mortal betrayal, had to choose, by her refusal to plead before the Queen's justices, the *peine forte et dure*, the old medieval punishment dating from the 1275 First Statute of Westminster, which Judge Clinch pronounced as follows—

in the lowest part of the prison, you will be stripped naked and laid down back upon the ground, and as much weight laid on you as you are able to bear, and so continue three days without meat or drink except a little barley bread and puddle water, and the third day be pressed to death, your hands and feet bound to posts and a sharp stone under your back.

This was not the end of her dilemma. In choosing the most terrifying and protracted form of self-destruction imaginable, she had to face the charges of the humanitarians that she was deliberately casting her husband and her children to ruin. To a woman, this was a compelling argument: when in 1594 at Durham Assizes Grace Claxton was condemned to die for harbouring a priest, she asked to have her children, whom she loved passionately, with her in prison, only to let her gaoler "object their tender estate unto her, lamenting their case before her, and accusing her of a cruel heart to forsake them". Both women faced the same charge: the second apostatised, while the first chose the *peine forte et dure* saying, "I have cared over my children as a mother ought to have; I trust I have done my duty to them to bring them up in the fear of God, and so I trust now I am discharged of them". She declared her duty and her love as

properly despatched, and time has proven her right. . . . But, at the time, the dilemma confronted her with yet another agony of evil choice. She had to pay two prices for her vital safeguards, that of a mother's apparent desertion and of a woman's life¹.

Here then, resolved on the day of the Annunciation 1586, was a conflict of evils of an order hardly surpassable. It may stand as a lesson to us today that in choosing good, we must more often than not be choosing at the same time (as a package deal) tolerable evils.

This is no new problem. It has been with every Christian since the dawn of Christianity. A well known example (to hark back) comes from the *Conferences*² of Cassian, the fourth century monk of Gaul, whose writings taught St Benedict so much 150 years later. The Seventeenth Conference is taken up with his justification of a breach of faith he made in leaving his inferior Bethlehem monastery to go to the decidedly holier hermits of the Egyptian desert. Before he left with his companion, they vowed to make the journey merely a visit, returning immediately. But after some months with the hermits, they found themselves—as they saw it—facing a decision involving a choice between two wrongs: if they remained, they broke faith with Bethlehem; if they returned, they condemned themselves to a lower ideal of life. They consulted the holiest of the hermits; for he, being filled with the Spirit, would make the judgment most acceptable to God. The hermit gave it as his opinion that if Cassian and his companion were really convinced in conscience that they were disregarding their highest ideal by keeping their initial oath, then they ought to break that oath. The purpose which had lain behind their pledge was the pursuit of the highest ideal, and that should claim their final attention: this was pure *epikeia*. This was his ruling, and they both followed it.

Convinced in conscience . . . that is the key. The *homo religiosus*, the man fundamentally orientated to God and listening to the still, small voice within him, but admitting of himself that he is nonetheless a *homo libidinosus*, subject to his passions and desire-drives in some degree, today faces a severe dilemma in a world that preaches a self-fulfilment louder than self-sacrifice (rights before duties). Of himself, he may be persuaded that his own nervous system or psychological metabolism virtually demands the use of birth control for a further (say) fifteen years; and the economics of his family life roundly reinforce that judgment. But he may well have an undiminishing reverence for the Papacy's real capacity to make pronouncements which are morally binding beyond the power of public opinion. In his dilemma, he turns to consult both Church and lay experts—pastors and theologians along with rulers and sociologists; and all of them tend to increase his dilemma either by undisguised confusion, or over-dogmatism, or fence-roosting: these men of authority with one breath

¹ Cf. John Morris, s.J., "The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers", III (1877), 331-440. Fr John Mush's Life of Margaret Clitherow; also Mary Claridge, "Margaret Clitherow", Burns & Oates, 1966, 196 p., 30/-.

² M. Petchenig, *Johannis Cassiani Opera*, XIII: *Collationes* (1886); transl. "Nicene & Post-Nicene Fathers", XI (1894), 460f; Owen Chadwick, "John Cassian", 2nd ed., C.U.P., 1968, 15f.

will urge the single soul to come to his own decision in his own internal forum, and with the next breath they will defy him to do anything of the sort. Our *homo religiosus et libidinosus*, willing but weak, conscious of his responsibility and of his incapacity to shoulder it entirely alone, driven to the further limits of doubt as to the right course when he does begin his search for advice, may then rebound upon himself with the fear that to cease the plea for advice and to move on to an act of judgment is an arbitrary act of self-will vitiated by self-interest. He neither properly knows how to go about evaluating advice, nor structuring what he is given, nor bringing it to the point of conscientious decision. He rests exhausted by his dilemma after a diligent search. All he can see before him is a conflict of evils beyond his power to resolve.

While this conflict has been experienced in the moral sphere since the dawn of man, it especially arises in many areas of Catholic life today, and notably in the issue of birth control. Some remarks here may loosen up the dilemma and help some people towards a solution. First we must ask, what is the fundamental morality of birth control, what do WE ourselves believe at ROOT? We can hold any of three essentially different attitudes. We may regard the subject, like cutting flesh (with the surgeon's scalpel or the assassin's knife?) as a morally neutral act, a purely physical act subject to right and wrong according to its context, its "equation of stresses": this is the middle view, which is of a different order of thought from the "relativist" view below. Next, we may hold with the present Pope, past Popes and the traditional theologians of the Church that interference in the copulative-procreative act is essentially wrong, what *Humanae Vitae* describes as "intrinsically shameful . . . of its very nature contravening the moral order"³, because the generative faculties as such have an "intrinsic ordination towards raising up life, of which God is the principle"⁴. The Pope holds that there are absolutely (i.e. without regard to ulterior or exterior circumstances) insurmountable limits to man's control of his bodily functions, which neither private individual nor vested authority may ever surpass (H.V., sec. 17); and those who can hold this with him have resolved their dilemma by siding with the Vicar of Christ on the word of his (in this case, less than infallible) authority—but not all temperaments or personal faiths are able to do that. Finally there is the hardest position of all, and perhaps the best in certain circumstances: we may hold the doctrine of relative evils of which the Encyclical says: "for true enough, it is sometimes licit to tolerate a lesser evil to avoid a greater evil or to promote a greater good". Let us be clear: this course of action is not the same thing as what St Paul and Pope Paul both warn us against,

³ *intrinsece inhonestum . . . quod ex propria natura moralem ordinem transgreditur*. H.V., sec. 14. It is here worth observing that of the 15 cardinals and bishops of the Commission appointed by the Pope, when at their meeting on 23rd June 1966 they voted on the question *is contraception intrinsically wrong?* 9 voted negative while 3 abstained and 1 voted affirmative with reservations—only 2 gave an outright affirmative (i.e. 13%).

⁴ *quoniam hae suapte natura ad vitam humanam progignendam spectant, cuius Deus principium est*. H.V., sec. 13.

doing evil that good may follow from it; no, it is an exercise of the principle of double effect following a given course of action—Mrs Clitherow's dilemma. A person in this state of conscience, riven between the needs of marriage and the obligations of the moral law would be quick to grant that contraception or ovary regulation were in themselves evil rather than merely neutral; but would want to go on to say that the situation created by not having recourse to them carries with it (at least in certain specific extreme cases involving a history of unusual stresses) even greater evils. There lies a conflict of evils and the need to search for value adjustments.

Some Catholics can say with certitude that the Pope is to be followed implicitly, without a reservation: they need neither read nor worry further. Some will want to say that the situation and intentions invest neutral acts with their morality: they must tread with the greatest caution, for they live on the brink of situation ethics which quickly avalanche into subjective morality—"what's good for me now; how may I be most fulfilled?" Some will agonise in the grip of a conflict of evils: they must be firm in their course of action. They must begin by giving full consideration to the traditional and papal position, argument by argument, as best they can grasp and judge it. They must seek the advice of the most qualified priest to whom they have access—advice, not merely discussion, which can be morally debilitating. They must then examine their own inner motives, whether they be self-regarding or ordered to the best life possible in the total circumstance. They may be sure, if these things are done, that they are in a high state of moral integrity, both equipped and ready to come to a decision that is the basis of subsequent action. While they should not close their mind to further reflection thereafter, they need not reassess their decision till there is insistent evidence that they should do so. A decision rightly taken is a right decision; and with its doubt passes its anguish.

For those who cannot at once follow the Pope in his judgment⁵, it might be well to distinguish the territory of the confessional from that of

⁵ Cf. P. E. Hodgson (Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and lecturer in Nuclear Physics), "Authority & the Scientist", *The Tablet*, 25th January 1969, p. 79f. He has recently attended a study group at Rome of forty scholars, which examined the methodology of research in science and theology and the relations between the two disciplines. This article is a study of the basis and exercise of authority in a range of human communities, particularly the scientific. It is written with an eye on the processes of authority in the Church today. It throws a lot of light on to the present situation. In the light of it, cf. the Louvain Professor, Mgr Philippe Delhay's article (referred to above), *The Tablet*, 16th November 1969, 1132-4; it shows "some discontinuity between (the Encyclical) and the pages that the Pastoral Constitution introduced to the draft at the Council by pontifical theologians as a counterweight to other views, but are now presented alone as the main and apparently only view, the counterweight entirely replacing the weight; that the Council discussed the problems in the light of faith, whereas the Encyclical takes biology and natural law for its basis; that the Council leaves the ultimate judgment to the parents, whereas the Encyclical apparently does not. (Mgr Delhay was one of the drafters of the Majority Report.)

Cf. also Cardinal Felici, "From *Gaudium et Spes* to *Humanae Vitae*", *La Documentation Catholique*, 3rd November 1968, 1877-82.

just dissent—for both the Encyclical (H.V., sec. 25, 29 end) and some English Pastors seem to have clouded the issue or left no due room for conscientious dissent. If we dissent in virtue of a radical or total disagreement with a value enshrined in a given decision, or at least with the reasons given for propagating that value, which without reasons remains in our minds neutral rather than obligatory, that is not confessional matter. If we dissent in virtue of our belief in conscience that either the value enshrined in a given decision, or the nature of the decision itself (wording, style, vehicle of promulgation) do not preclude other courses of action, then this too is no confessional matter. If we dissent in virtue of subjective circumstances which we believe override obedience both to the value or ruling itself, and to the mandate of the lawgiver; and in so doing we argue a form of *epikeia* (equity) in that, in particular cases, a more fundamental value requires to be protected, which the lawgiver would recognise, then this too is no matter for the confessional, though it carries a grave obligation to seek official consultation (as discussed above). If we dissent in virtue of a subjective failure to understand the nature of the value requiring a response, the standing of the authority and arguments underwriting it, or the coercive right of the Authority promulgating it, then this may become (in varying degree) confessional matter as “culpable negligence”. If we dissent in virtue only of the weakness of our flesh, then this is clear matter for the confessional. If we dissent in virtue of a deliberate wilful disobedience, then this is a serious matter for the confessional, or possibly the beginning of apostasy. Of course the ideal situation for all concerned and for the harmony of the Church of God is that Christians should be able to assent to the teaching of the Church out of respect for the values there taught, out of respect for the authority underlying them (both the arguments and their source), out of obedience to the Authority promulgating them and out of a subjective disposition to receive the ruling. But situations are never entirely ideal⁶, and, as the hierarchies of France, Canada, Belgium and Holland have all pointed out in relation to the Encyclical (see below, especially the French bishops’ statement), conscience has its essential part to play.

How can a Catholic be helped to his decision? The most important way is by being urged to open his mind to the proper processes of forming a conscientious conclusion—by reading, discussion, consultation of expert authority and hierarchic Authority, all leading to a purposeful judgment. Next, that he should be shown the complexities of the Pope’s most recent teaching (for no other teaching ever merits more attention). Next, he should be introduced to other issues which colour the problem—in this case, for example, the Christian sociological writings of such as Dr Dominian (see the JOURNAL of a year ago), and wider issues such as the

⁶ These words will not be unfamiliar to Amplefordians: “ideals are romantic and noble at a distance and they shine through men like light through alabaster, but the mechanism of their practical accomplishment in the world is often sordid in the extreme. And therein lies the real test which will show whether these ideals are only illusions or whether they are founded on experience and understanding”. “Hugh Dormer’s Diaries”, p. 9.

paramountcy of the family’s indissolubility, which bear on the final equation.

For those who see in *Humanae Vitae*’s consequences a conflict of evils, Blessed Margaret Clitherow’s plight may help them to recognise it for what it is, a vital element of living; and the remarks that followed may do something to loosen the conflict.

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

Dietrich von Hildebrand “Die Enzyklika *Humanae Vitae*—ein Zeichen des Widerspruchs” Josef Habel, Regensburg 1968 40 p n.p.

Those who have read “The Trojan Horse in the City of God” will know what to expect from “*Humanae Vitae*—a sign of contradiction” which received its imprimatur on 12th September 1968 and was in the shops by October. It is presently being translated into English, we hear. I have yet to see a more profound defence of the Encyclical. The subject is already becoming tired and many of us are still somewhat bewildered by the Goliaths of argument marshalled with seeming ease against the papal David with his few well-chosen pebbles and his deceptive sling. These pebbles, when described by papal supporters, usually seem to be largely magisterial in kind and when examined certainly don’t appear to have much nuclear content. Hildebrand unveils their power. He strides in with his slightly polemical confidence where more (or less) angelic theologians would look twice before treading—and probes the centre of the problem.

It all comes down to insight into values. Basically insight into values—right judgment of the worth of a certain reality—is in itself mysterious. I know that killing an innocent man is wrong even if I save New York from being wiped out thereby. I have an insight which tells me that I may never do something which I know to be against God’s law to prevent something else—however much worse this something else may be—from happening. I must not mix my value drinks and a moral evil—a sin—can never be justified however good the result (e.g. physical evil avoided) may be. I must die rather than do what I see to be morally wrong.

The mystery of the sexual act is something that we tend to play down today. The psycho-logians, bio-logians, socio-logians and so on don’t talk in terms that make us aware of this “mystery” side—if they did they would be betraying their proper sciences. Hildebrand does and succeeds in conveying—at least in part—the insight which, because it is an insight, cannot be proved. I cannot prove to you a value—you have to see it. If you do not see it and it is there, you are suffering from a certain blindness. The value here under consideration is the God-Husband-Wife relationship; that God has arranged it so that in the creation of a new person he invites the co-operation of the husband and wife. Their supreme act of love is to be the moment in time when this new person who will live for ever comes into being. Because the act is also in itself a thing of the highest worth as an expression of their love and unity, it is only on relatively few days

that it is to be linked with the possibility of the creation of a new person. This is because God sees its great value and does not want the partners to have to forego the act over long periods when for good reason they do not want a child. But to interfere, to intervene and make an act that by God's ordaining COULD HAVE BEEN fruitful in new life UNfruitful is to act in a way which is sacrilegious because it fails to respect the God-Husband-Wife partnership which is realised in a unique way in the sexual act. Man steps in and takes control where in a unique way God has the sovereignty. What God has put together let not man put asunder applies also to the marriage act.

If Hildebrand is right it is not difficult to see why so many people think the Pope is wrong. The mammoth influence on our value judgments exerted by other sciences which precisely because they are OTHER sciences leave no room for this kind of insight into value, is easy to see. With demographic explosions ringing in our ears it is difficult to find the silence that this kind of argument requires. Most theologians seem to be dynamic and deductive rather than ecstatic and intuitive today—but intuition is the basis of our understanding and all knowledge comes down eventually to insight. But who has got the insight to distinguish the genuine insights from the illusion? Answer: The Church.

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A CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRINCIPAL STATEMENTS MADE ON THE SUBJECT OF BIRTH CONTROL DURING THE PRESENT PONTIFICATE, WITH DOCUMENTATION

This is no more than a working study (i.e. by no means exhaustive) designed to help those who would like to examine the essential source documents, to find them in periodicals and books reasonably available to the general reader.

ABBREVIATIONS:

DC = La Documentation Catholique (fortnightly).

HC = Herder Correspondence (monthly).

HV = Encyclical *Humanae Vitae* on the Regulation of Birth.

OHL = "On Human Life: an Examination of *Humanae Vitae*" by Peter Harris, etc. Burns & Oates November 1968 264 p 12/6.

P&P = "Pope and Pill: More Documentation on the Birth Regulation Debate" ed. & intro. by Leo Pyle D.L.T. October 1968 306 p 12/6.

Tab = The Tablet (weekly).

Valsecchi = "Controversy: the Birth Control Debate, 1958-1968" by Prof Ambrogio Valsecchi, Professor of Moral Theology at the Claretianum, Rome. Chapman December 1968 xx + 235 p 35/-.

This is an able and important summary of the debate, listing most of the essential articles in their place covering over 300 authors in several languages. A twelve page "Ecclesiological Commentary on the Encyclical" by Gregory Baum, O.S.A., is prefixed.

Where a year date is not given below, it should be presumed to be 1968.

7th May 64. Statement of the English Bishops during the Council. Tab 9th May 64, 529-30; P&P 12-15.

23rd June 64. Pope Paul's intervention, a speech to the College of Cardinals. Theme: Asquith's "wait and see". AAS 56, 588-9; OHL 11 in part; P&P 5; Valsecchi 54-6.

Oct. 64 and May 66. Addresses to the Council and to the Magisterium on Family Problems, by an international group of lay Catholics. OHL 245-58; P&P 77-82.

Oct. 64. Debate in Council on *Gaudium et Spes*, touching on birth control: speeches of Cardinals Browne (Cúria), Léger, Suensens and Patriarch Maximos IV Sayegh. Tab 7th Nov. 64, 1255-8; P&P 27-31.

Dec. 64-Mar. 65. Pope Paul enlarges the Papal Commission to 50 members for its fourth session; members with their appointments named, OHL 259-62.

The Pope's address to the enlarged Commission on 27th Mar. 65, P&P 75-7.

30th Sept. 65. Debate in Council: speech by Bishop de Roo of Victoria on Married Love. Tab 16th Oct. 65, 1164; P&P 32-4.

7th Dec. 65. Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* (the Church in the World Today) promulgated. 11 c. 1, sec. 47-52—The Dignity of Marriage and the Family. An account of its construction during the Council is in Valsecchi, V. 119-52. Cf. Xavier Rynne, "The Third Session"; ed. Herbert Vorgrimler, "Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II", vol. IV (?).

23rd May 66. The so-called "Minority Report", a working document representing the conservative case, drafted and signed by four Commission theologians (John Ford, S.J., Jan Visser, C.S.S.R., Marcelino Zalba, S.J., Stanislas de Lestapis, S.J.). It was never put before the Papal Commission, nor was it in any way attached to the official Commission Report. Subsequent to the submission of that report to the Pope, Cardinal Ottaviani (President of the Commission) put this document before the Pope (on 1st July 66).

Tab 29th April 67, 478-85; OHL 170-202; P&P 272-96.

(a) The Strength of the Tradition.

(b) Philosophical Foundations & Arguments of Others and Critics.

(c) Consequences if the Teaching of the Church is Changed.

27th May 66. "The Argument for Reform", a working-paper reply to the "Minority" paper above, drafted and signed by J. Fuchs, S.J., P. Delhaye, R. Sigmund, O.P. Not submitted to the Pope; approved by a majority of the Commission theologians.

Tab 6th May 67, 510-13; OHL 203-15; P&P 296-306.

(a) The Past Teaching of the Church is not Decisive.

(b) A Systematic Examination of the Arguments from the Law of Nature.

(c) Intervention is well explained within the Limits of the Classical Doctrine.

(d) Moral Criteria with Regard to the Human Intervention in Conception.

26th June 66. "Pastoral Approaches", the Pastoral Introduction to the official Theological Report formulated by the Cardinals and Bishops concerned. Drafted by Mgr Dupuy, Bishop of Albi.
Tab 21st Sept. 68, 949-51; OHL 216-23; not in P&P.

28th June 66. The official Commission Report was taken to the Pope by Cardinal Döpfner, Pro-President (with Cardinal Heenan) of the Papal Commission. Drafted by A. Auer, R. Sigmond, o.p., P. Ancieux, M. Labourdette, o.p., J. Fuchs, s.J., P. de Locht, it was signed by the great majority of the Commission. To this day, it has never been published: what has been published—and is usually mistaken for it by the public—is an early draft working-paper, drafted by Mgr Delhay, R. Sigmond, o.p., J. Fuchs, s.J., known as "The Majority Report". This and the first two reports above were leaked to the *National Catholic Reporter* on 19th April 67, and thereafter widely published; cf. Intro. Note by Jan Grootaers, OHL 162-9.

Tab 22nd April 67, 449-54; OHL (as Pt. IV) 224-44; P&P 257-72.

(a) Fundamental Principles.

(b) Pastoral Necessities.

29th Oct. 66. Pope Paul's Address to the Italian Society of Obstetrics & Gynaecology—which gives an indication of an attitude to women later reflected in the Encyclical. OHL 23 in part; P&P 60-62.

Cf. Valsecchi VI 153-204, "The Various Positions Assumed since the Council"; also Bernard Häring, c.s.s.a., an illuminating statement (though surely prejudiced) in Tab 31st Aug. 68, 878-9.

31st July 68. Pope Paul's speech on how he had made up his mind upon HV. Tab 10th Aug., 803 (paraphrase with quotes); DC 1st Sept., 1457-60; HC Nov., 336-7.

Statement of Mgr Lambruschini, officially introducing HV, P&P 101-5.

29th July 68. ENCYCLICAL "HUMANAE VITAE" promulgated (Vatican Polyglot, copies to all National Hierarchies on 27th July).

Text LATIN: L'Osservatore Romano, 29th July; OHL 109-61; ASS LX (30th Sept., 68), 481-503.

Text FRENCH: DC 1st Sept., 1441-57.

Text ENGLISH: Tab 3rd Aug., 778-82 (cf. Tab 31st Aug., 872 where a part missing from the 3rd Aug. transl., sec. 29 end, is supplied by John Mahoney, s.J.); CTS/Do 411, "The Regulation of Birth", transl. Mgr Alan C. Clark, d.d. (Sept.); Valsecchi 213-29; OHL 108-60, transl. Robert Brogan, faulty in places; P&P 239-56.

STATEMENTS by Cardinals Heenan, Döpfner, Tisserant, Garrone, Zougrana, Lefebvre, DC 1st Sept., 1464-8.

STATEMENTS BY THE ENGLISH BISHOPS—(dates are sometimes of publication, not promulgation).

(6th Aug. Lambeth Conference Resolution, P&P 164-5).

10th Aug. Pastoral: Cardinal Heenan of Westminster, Tab 806; P&P 169-70.

Archbishop Dwyer of Birmingham, Tab 806-7*.

Archbishop Murphy of Cardiff, Tab 807; P&P 177-8.

17th Aug. Pastoral: Archbishop Beck of Liverpool, Tab 831.

Archbishop Cowderoy of Southwark, Tab 831 and 24th Aug., 851; P&P 173-6.

2nd Nov. *Ad Clerum* letter of Cardinal Heenan to priests and religious in his archdiocese (an agreed text used by most of the bishops). Tab 2nd Nov., 1103.

"... a priest who is unwilling to accept these conditions (above outlined) will be maintained by the diocese until he has been able to find suitable employment. . . Religious superiors have been invited to make similar proposals to those of their members who have publicly rejected the Encyclical."

Cf. the Cardinal's 21st Oct. Westminster Cathedral Address "On Authority", a severe statement. Tab, *ibid.* following.

6th Dec. Cardinal Heenan's ITV interview with David Frost, Tab 14th Dec., 1257-9.

"... the teaching of the Church is very clear. A man is bound to follow his conscience and this is true even if his conscience is in error . . . if they are really following their conscience in the sight of God, which is all that matters—the priest, the bishop, the Pope doesn't matter compared with God . . . don't let this prevent you from receiving the sacraments."

STATEMENTS BY THE NATIONAL HIERARCHIES—(dates are often not of promulgation, but of publication).

30th Aug. *Belgian Bishops*. Tab 7th Sept., 902-3; DC 15th Sept., 1603-7; P&P 159-63.

"... the Church believes that it is her duty to enlighten consciences in regard to family life and demographic problems. She claims, on the other hand, real freedom for all her sons to live according to their Christian conviction."

10th Aug. *Dutch Bishops* issued a preliminary statement, promising extensive consultation with theologians and experts; Tab 10th Aug., 796; P&P 157-8.

30th Aug. *German Bishops* at Königstein. HC Oct., 303-4 and Nov., 337-40; DC 15th Sept., 1607-8, 6th Oct., 1694-1701, 1701-4; cf. Tab 14th Sept., 924-5, "the Encyclical the main issue at 82nd Katholikentag" (biennial Congress of German Catholics, Essen).

"... a responsible decision on the matter that is dictated by one's conscience should be treated with respect by all concerned."

* A phrase from this Pastoral was lifted out of context and used in a very critical sense, first in the *Times* and the *Tablet* (17th Aug., 822; P&P 122-3) and then in the last JOURNAL. Here is the phrase in context:

(Husband and Wife) should be responsible parents. They should consider what size of a family they can honestly and properly raise. They may rightly use the natural rhythm which God has put into marriage. A husband must not make unreasonable demands on his wife. But they must not positively prevent children either before, during or after the act of marriage by contraception, sterilisation or abortion.

- 15th Sept. *Italian Bishops*. L'Osservatore Romano 15th Sept.; DC 6th Oct., 1689-93.
- 28th Sept. *English and Welsh Bishops*. Tab 28th Sept., 972-3; DC 20th Oct., 1791-6.
- 28th Sept. *Spanish Bishops*. Ecclesia 28th Sept.; DC 20th Oct., 1802.
- 12th Oct. *Canadian Bishops*. Tab 12th Oct., 1023-5 (cf. preceding article by Douglas Roche, "Collegiality in Canada"); DC 3rd Nov., 1869-75. It discusses those "who, accepting the teaching of the Holy Father, find that because of particular circumstances they are involved in what seems to them a clear conflict of duties: e.g. the reconciling of conjugal love and responsible parenthood with the education of children already born, or with the health of the mother. In accord with the accepted principles of moral theology, if these persons have tried sincerely but without success to pursue a line of conduct in keeping with the given directives, they may be safely assured that whoever honestly chooses that course which seems right to him does so in good conscience".
- 12th Oct. *Scottish Bishops*. Tab 12th Oct., 1025-6.
Sec. 6: "In the Encyclical, the Holy Father has given us the principles according to which Catholics are to form their consciences in this matter. The obligation of a Catholic to accept the teaching of the Church in any grave moral problem can never justifiably be regarded as an offence against the freedom of his conscience."
- 20th Oct. *Austrian Bishops*. DC 20th Oct., 1797-1802.
"The Holy Father did not define usage of the pill as a mortal sin . . . (contraceptive users) are not necessarily parted from the love of God and may accept Holy Communion without confession."
- 26th Oct. *Irish Bishops*. Tab 26th Oct., 1077-8.
"Regarding the role of conscience in this matter, we think it well to quote the actual words of the Second Vatican Council. . ." i.e. *Gaudium et Spes*, sec. 50-51.
- 26th Oct. *Scandinavian Bishops*. HC Dec., 376-8; DC 1st Dec., 2067-72; Tab 26th Oct., 1074. Pt. IV discusses "Individual Conscience": "It is understood that man, whatever the circumstances, may never act against his own conscience. It is possible that his conscience is in error, or that he should study the problem more deeply, but he may never contravene his conscience. When all possible steps have been taken to grasp the right norms, the way in which they are applied can never—by any means—be removed from personal responsibility. No one, not even the Church, can dispense from conscience and the bearing of responsibility."
- 16th Nov. *Colombia and Philippines Bishops*. Tab 16th Nov., 1150-1. Both left no place for conscience. The first stated that the Encyclical "binds Catholics in conscience even if it is not an *ex cathedra* definition". The second referred to Ma. 16.19, the power of binding and loosing.
- French Bishops*. Abstract in Tab 16th Nov., 1147; DC 1st Dec., 2055-62, with a presentation of "la Note Pastorale des Evêques français", 2063-66. "Contraception can never be a good thing. It is always a disorder, but this disorder is not always sinful . . . we simply recall the constant moral teaching: when one faces a choice of duties, where one cannot avoid

an evil whatever the decision taken may be, traditional wisdom requires that one seek before God to find which is the greater duty. The married couple will decide for themselves after reflecting together with all the care that the grandeur of their conjugal vocation requires."

- 5th Jan. 69. *Dutch Bishops*. Tab 18th Jan., 67-8; DC 16th Feb. (?). At the IIIrd Dutch Pastoral Council (a 109-member assembly of bishops, priests and laity) all 9 bishops voted for a resolution that the renewal of the ban on artificial contraception by the Pope was "not convincing on the basis of the arguments given"; (100 approved, 5 abstained, 4 disapproved the resolution). As to conscience, the resolution read: "the factors determining a well-considered decision in conscience of married couples must be respected . . . discussions about the way marriage is lived have not been closed; all activities in pastoral work and spiritual health are to be continued taking this into account".

THE POPE SPEAKS—

- 11th Sept. and 18th Sept. Audiences on the Magisterium, rebuking critics. Tab 28th Sept., 969.
- 20th Oct. Audience on the virtue of Obedience. Tab 26th Oct., 1072.
- 12th Feb. Audience on the following of Conscience in moral matters: "for conscience to be a valid rule for human action, it must be correct, i.e. sure of itself and true, not uncertain nor sinfully erroneous . . . (it) is not always infallible or objectively supreme".

ARTICLES ON HUMANAE VITAE—

- 11th Aug. *Observer*, Charles Davis on "The Pope & the Pill", P&P 202-6.
- 23rd Aug. *Commonweal*. Statement of Dissent by 100 American theologians, male and female, to which 500 signatures were later added. Valsecchi xi-xii. Cf. G. Baum, o.s.a., "The Right to Dissent", *Commonweal* 88, 553f.
- 31st Aug. Tab 878-9. Fr Bernard Häring, c.s.s.a. (member of the Papal Commission), Address at a biblical-liturgical conference, Holy Cross Abbey, Colorado (publ. National Catholic Reporter). Discusses the politics of the subject from preconciliar days onwards.
- 6th Sept. *Commonweal* 588-94. Bernard Häring, "The Encyclical Crisis: Contradiction can and must be a service of Love for the Pope".
- 14th Sept. Tab 918-9. Karl Rahner, s.J., "The Theology of Dissent", a précis by a correspondent of an article in *Stimmen der Zeit* (S.J. monthly). Provides six principles of dissent.
- 21st Sept. Tab 933-4. Dr John Marshall (Member of the Commission), "The Council & the Commission". He asks, "what is there about this particular theological issue which makes it unsuitable for public discussion by those whom it intimately affects?"
- Sept. HC 259-65. "Birth Control & the Papacy."
- Oct. The Newman No. 4, entirely on HV.
- Oct. HC 300-13. "Reactions to the Encyclical: the Hierarchy; the Press; the Doctors; the Theologians."

- Oct. CTS/Do 412. Mgr L. L. McReavy, "The Transmission of Life: an Explanation of the Encyclical".
 "It is unquestionably the kind of pronouncement to which *Lumen Gentium* requires religious submission of mind and will. It does not deprive the individual of his inalienable right to be guided in the final issue by the certain verdict of his honest conscience. It does, however, bind him to form his conscience in the light of its authoritative ruling."
- Nov. HC 333-5. "The Pope's Defence" (Appendix: the Pope's speech of 31st July).
- Nov. The Furrow. Denis O'Callahan, "After the Encyclical", 633-41.
- Nov. The Month. "Understanding the Encyclical", articles by John Mahoney, s.J., James V. Schall, s.J., Dorothy M. Berridge, s.u.c.J.
- Nov. The Clergy Review. Mgr L. L. McReavy, "The Essential Doctrine of *Humanae Vitae*", 861-7; D. C. Duivesteijn, "Personal Conscience & Church Authority", 868-73; Michael Gallon, "HV, a Pastoral Priest's Viewpoint", 874-8 (the Editor of the Clergy Review, Fr Michael Richards, is privately circulating a paper, "Lecture on HV", which discusses the doctrinal and then the moral significance of HV).
- Nov. CTS/Do 413. Dom David Knowles, "Peter Has Spoken: the Encyclical without Ambiguity", based on his article in Tab 5th Oct., 981-3. Like Disraeli, the author ranges himself on the side of the angels. "We must not allow ourselves to be confused or shaken by noise of words and the dust of dispute. The simple teaching of the Church has been lost sight of behind appeals to science, to conscience, to freedom and to what not. These have nothing to do with the spiritual issue at stake..."
- 16th Nov. Tab 1132-4. Mgr P. Delhaye, "The Encyclical & the Council" (see article above).
- Dec. Theological Studies XXIX.4, 707-41. R. A. McCormick, s.J., "Notes on Moral Theology—Moral Theology & the Magisterium; the Magisterium & Contraception before *Humanae Vitae*; the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae*". Ibid. 742-51. J. W. Glaser, s.J., "Authority, Connatural Knowledge & the Spontaneous Judgment of the Faithful".
- Jan. 69. HC 10-15. "The American Dispute over Authority." HC 28-30. "Roman Reactions to the Reactions."
- Feb. 69. New Blackfriars 241-50. "The Documents of the Papal Commission on Birth Control" by Michael Dummett, author of "The Question of Contraception", Clergy Review, June 65, 412-27.
- 29th Dec. 68. *Dallas*: 2,000 scientists, including four Nobel prize winners signed a strongly worded protest statement calling the Pope "un-enlightened" and his Encyclical "repugnant to mankind" (UPI).
- New York*: The Ford Foundation has made a grant of £130,000 to Cambridge University, and one of £72,000 to the University of Birmingham, to promote the basic research necessary for improved birth control methods "in the field of pre-implantation and early implantation events".

A.J.S.

31st Jan. 69.

THE DUTCH CATECHISM

by

DAVID GOODALL

The review below was a first impression, i.e. written for us when the English translation of the famous *Dutch Kat* first appeared in the autumn of 1967. The *Kat* has since forfeited some of its lives without losing any of its life! On 15th October 1968 a Commission of Cardinals appointed by the Pope to examine the orthodoxy of the Catechism (Frings, Jäger, Lefebvre, Florit, Browne, Journet) made a ten-point doctrinal declaration, showing faults of theology that run contrary to the Magisterium. The formula used was not that such was wrong, but "it is necessary for the Catechism to teach that . . ."; that angels do exist; that the soul is created immediately; that man at the beginning rebelled against God, handing on a real state of sin through propagation of human nature; that Christ was conceived of a virgin; that the central elements of the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ are to be proposed without ambiguity (he, innocent, died as mediator for sinful men); that the sacrifice of the Cross is perpetuated in the Eucharistic sacrifice—both a sacrifice and a banquet; that at the words of consecration, the bread and wine, not merely in their phenomenological, but their deepest aspect, change into the body and blood of Christ, who lies hidden there—and remains so after the Mass—in his humanity and divine person, so that the bread and wine take on a new significance precisely because of transubstantiation; that the infallibility of the Church does not give her only a safe course in a continual research, but the truth in maintaining the doctrine of the faith and in explaining it always in the same sense—so that the human intellect dimly grasps revealed mysteries in a way that is altogether true (not a mere conceptualisation); that the ministerial priesthood differs in essence and degree from the common priesthood of the faithful; that the magisterium and power to rule is given directly to the Holy Father and to the bishops joined with him in hierarchical communion (the office of bishop not being a mandate from the people, but from God for the people); that the people cling to the word of God (Tradition, Scripture, Magisterium) under the leadership of the Pope and bishops, to whom it belongs authentically to guard, explain and defend the deposit of faith; that the Pastor of the whole Church (the Pope) has the supreme and universal power of ruling; that the Persons of the Trinity are to be loved with filial devotion, not seen as data in the economy of salvation; that miracles are not divine action only when the normal course of nature is surpassed or contravened; that the souls of the just, once purified, immediately enjoy the vision of God, though the Parousia is yet to come; that there are moral laws which do bind in conscience, and that one of these is the indissolubility of marriage; that marriage should be presented more in accord with the teaching of Vatican II and the Holy See.

The proceedings which led to this declaration were fraught with theological politics, an account of which has been given by Prof Piet Schoonenberg, s.J., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Nijmegen, in *De Tijd*, 19th June 1968 (soon to be published in English). It is suggested that "Roman" and "Dutch" theology are incompatible ways of pursuing the truth, and that one is being forced upon the other.

The Dutch bishops, while remaining unwilling to revise the actual text of the Catechism, have agreed to issue a special supplement incorporating corrections based on the Cardinals' Commission declaration. This appears as a careful compromise, which leaves both "sides" undefeated and the common man (for whom the Catechism has been written) unrelieved of his bewilderment. The Dutch bishops regret that their own proffered 1967 amendments were not accepted. The Nijmegen Higher Catechetical Institute (responsible for the Catechism) has said more strongly that neither it nor authors nor censors are willing to accept the Cardinals' amendments in the present climate of theology and catechesis. At the IIIrd Dutch Pastoral Council in January, the plenary session (less the 9 bishops, who by agreement did not take part on this

issue) again expressed its respect for the Catechism "in its original form . . . it can be a safe guide for religious instruction for young people and for adults" (90 for, 7 obtained, 2 against). In other countries (e.g. France, Austria) the Catechism is to be published in translation as it stands, but with the Cardinals' recommendations appropriately amplified.

A NEW CATECHISM Burns & Oates 1967 xviii + 510 p 35/-

I am a convert to this book as a book, if not altogether as a catechism. I approached it with suspicion, reacting against the aggressive self-righteousness of Dutch Catholicism as reflected in the English press, and against all the ballyhoo about conservative pressure groups put about by progressive pressure groups, not excluding the Catechism's English publishers. I also thought, and I still think, that some of the more widely published passages suggested a minimalist theology, carefully trimming its sails to scepticism, secularism and collectivism.

But when the book is read as a whole the impression it leaves is very different and very much more positive. Of course, it is not in any ordinary sense a catechism. Hence the confusion and some of the indignation. A catechism is the Church's answer, in her authoritative, teaching capacity, to the question "What is the Faith?" The Dutch Catechism, despite its title, is more the answer by a group of like minded and talented theologians to the question "What does the Faith mean to you?"

As such, it is a *tour de force*. It has breadth and depth, sympathy and flashes of wisdom. Starting from man's search for meaning in the universe, it follows a majestic and generally illuminating course through the mysteries and practices of the Faith. Its tone is as conversational as the exigencies of translation permit. Its language is modern, avoiding old fashioned theological jargon, although not always avoiding more contemporary pitfalls with equal success ("Everything we do is a tender, strong and urgent request put to existence", p. 5). It sticks close to the scriptures and quotes approvingly from St Thomas, to whom I suspect the authors owe more than they acknowledge. No one could read it through with good will and come to the end without a deeper understanding of the Christian faith.

What then is all the fuss about? The explanation lies partly in the context of unrest from which the Catechism has emerged. For those engaged in the current controversies of Dutch Catholicism, each different shade of emphasis has a significance not always apparent to those less obsessively engaged in theological polemic. But even someone remote from the Dutch situation and relatively insensitive to theological nuances will be conscious here and there of a streak of what can only be called meanness in the authors' treatment of aspects of the Faith which do not appeal to them. Despite obvious efforts to be fair all round, they have allowed their own attitudes and prejudices to obtrude to an extent which would be unexceptionable in a personal statement of faith but is less acceptable in an authoritative presentation of doctrine by a national hierarchy.

This, rather than heresy, is I think the right assessment of the meagreness amounting almost to equivocation with which the Virgin Birth

is expounded (p. 74-5) and of the cursory and rather grudging approach to angels (p. 482); while the attenuated passage on devotion to the Blessed Sacrament reserved is a masterpiece of the concessive mood: "The constant presence of Jesus here *can* [my italics] be honoured by silent prayer, as when a housewife takes a few minutes off a shopping expedition to pray and give thanks . . ." (p. 346). All right for housewives, you notice; theologians doubtless have more privileged access to Our Lord.

I do not myself think that the Christian message gains in any way by being thus eroded at the edges. Truths which seem peripheral now in Holland may be central elsewhere or at another time, and the Church's responsibility is to all men. Hence the danger of "relevance" as the criterion of what is to be taught.

Other readily recognisable predispositions, which mark the authors out as being as much conditioned by contemporary intellectual fashion as the schoolmen were, are their High Victorian belief in the inevitability of progress (now called taking a "dynamic" view of creation) and the lengths to which they are ready to carry the distinction between the "literary dress" in which truths are expressed and the truths themselves (cf. the reference to St Paul on p. 262). Similarly, those brought up in the English empirical tradition may find the authors' existential approach lacking in rigour. Their constant use of a tense which I can only define as the "existential present" makes for lack of precision if not for illegitimate generalisation. What kind of statement, for example, is that on p. 402 that "Children are called into life in conscious love"? Or that on p. 386 that "The fact that they are in love enables the young people to speak honestly and conscientiously about the caresses they may indulge in"? Fact, exhortation, or wishful thinking?

But it would be a pity if these blemishes, which are more of attitude than of faith, were allowed to obscure what seems to me, as a non-theologian, to be the Catechism's underlying orthodoxy, or to devalue the force and originality of some of its reflections. Its treatment of the Resurrection as the central truth of the Faith is profoundly orthodox (see the Catechism *passim* and especially the last paragraph of the introduction and p. 178). It is equally sound on the Church's duty to conserve the truth (p. 205) and on the joy to be found in a right understanding of the Church's authority (p. 144). Original and illuminating perspectives are opened up on all sides; but the treatment of the Sermon on the Mount (p. 130) rates a special mention and the following thoughts on marriage (pp. 391-2) are another happy example: "The crucifix in the house becomes more than an ornament. It signifies that ultimately nothing is hopeless, where an effort at love has been made. It also means that the absolute indissolubility of marriage—even though it seems absurd in what are, humanly speaking, hopeless cases—still retains its profound significance, as participating in Christ's love even in the crucifixion . . . Hence Jesus' presence in Christian marriage does not mean that there will not be . . . illness, boredom and even necessary and final separation. But it does mean that for Christians there is always a third person present who

strengthens, consoles and gives hope, and reminds them that it is better to give than to receive. Those who allow themselves to be penetrated by this faith on their good days will be able to live by it in evil times."

I have quoted this passage at length because it contrasts so strongly with the cloudy jargon on birth control in the same section (p. 403); and because it is a tribute to the authors that, in the climate of contemporary Holland, they can so effectively point the "relevance" of pious and traditional customs—such as displaying the crucifix at home—which unthinking radicals would destroy without sympathy or understanding.

This Catechism, then, represents a mixed bag. At this juncture in the Church's history no one could produce a Catechism which would give universal satisfaction. The Dutch Catechism is far from doing this. Those who go to it to find the measured teaching of the Church in conclave will find instead a piece of scintillating apologetic which presents the palatable in depth and glosses over much that is inconvenient or—worse—unfashionable; but they will find that it is apologetic of a very high order, and that they are the better for having read it.

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

It has been suggested that a Society should be formed to further the understanding and appreciation of the life and works of *Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Will those interested please write to either of the following: Tom Dunne, 115 Long Lane, Brightmet, Bolton, or Revd A. Thomas, s.J., St Ignatius' Presbytery, 27 High Road, London, N.15.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Posthumous Reviews of Fr Basil Morison; Scriptural Studies; *Annus Mirabilis* Harringtonis; the God Question; New Concepts of Theology; Vatican Council—Outside, Inside and Afterwards; N.C.M.H. and T.R.H.S.; General.

I. POSTHUMOUS REVIEWS OF FR BASIL MORISON

C. K. Bartlett *JESUS AND THE GOSPEL TRADITION* SPCK 1967 xi + 116 p 25/-

J. Jeremias *THE PRAYERS OF JESUS* SCM (Studies in Biblical Theology, 2nd series, no. 6) 1967 124 p 18/-

Neville Clark *INTERPRETING THE RESURRECTION* SCM 1967 128 p 9/6

These three books are very different in scope and character, but they have certain features in common. They are all by Protestants. They are all written in real English—and this, after reading many works of Catholic theology, is quite a relief. And they are concerned in one way or another with the same problem: what do we really know about Jesus as a matter of history? And in what way is our theology dependent on this historical knowledge?

This is a problem that Catholics had hardly begun to investigate before Vatican II, but now that it is to be found in the text of the Constitution on Revelation they will have to get down to it. Not that most of them will feel happy in the company of those who have been working at it for years; this will be particularly true of Professor Barrett's book. It contains the Shaffer Lectures, originally given at Yale in 1965, and in it he appears as a theologian and exegete thinking aloud in the presence of other theologians. This is highly stimulating; but it is not milk for babes.

It is difficult to give a brief presentation of Prof Barrett's position and be fair to him. Roughly, his thesis is that Jesus was mistaken on several important points. Thus he did not think of himself as the Messiah, and he did not foresee his own death and resurrection. He did expect suffering and death both for himself and his followers as the term of his ministry, but he also expected God's speedy vindication, even before his death had taken place. This would usher in the "end"; there would be no interval before the glorious establishment of God's Kingdom; consequently there would be no place for "the Church", which again Jesus did not foresee. It was only after the resurrection when the Church had in fact come into existence that its members were able to look back and see what God had really meant in the events of Jesus' life; he then interpreted them, in a way that was "unhistorical", and inevitably so, but also showed profound insight into their theological meaning.

There is certainly more in this position than Catholics might at first sight be inclined to grant. At least the incredible complexity of the problem is evident—the difficulty of sorting out "history" and "interpretation". (Can you have factual history at any stage without interpretation?) But I am far from happy about Professor Barrett's position. I am not convinced by his picture of the "historical" Jesus, which he reaches by purely "historical" methods. It is a very human picture; perhaps an over-correction of the altogether divine picture usually seen by orthodox Christians in the past. But is it divine at all? If Jesus was God, it is puzzling to find him so far from a correct theological understanding of his own life, an understanding that was attained by the Church. (What does "Church" mean, anyway?)

The most interesting feature of the book to me was the use made of the Son of Man theme to account for the predictions of suffering and resurrection—and much else, too. The Son of Man appears in the Book of Daniel and in the apocryphal Book of Enoch; it is surprising how many "Christological" themes are in fact found associated with this mysterious figure.

Professor Barrett is deliberately putting the question in the most provocative way; Neville Clark starts from much the same critical position, but in the end gives quite a different impression. His purpose, of course, is different. He is attempting to show

the full theological significance of the resurrection—not just an apologetic proof of the divinity of Christ, but the greatest of God's mighty deeds that saved his people and introduced them into a new age. In order to do this he puts the resurrection into the full context of the Bible; of Jewish thought about man and "resurrection", understood not simply as the survival of the individual after death, but as the vindication by God of his faithful servants; of Jesus' own understanding of his ministry; the "social" character of the resurrection as something that belongs to all who are united to Christ; and the consequent importance of preaching the Gospel to all men, and of their sacramental union with Christ. It is only after all this that we come to an examination of the events of the first Easter Day—not to "prove" anything, but to show the connection between "what happened" and our faith. There is a sense in which the resurrection is historical, and a deeper sense in which it is not. On this level it is only attainable by faith, since it is a unique expression of God's sovereign power, by which he gives mankind a new kind of life—as St Paul so often insists. It is pleasing to find that the author's position corresponds perfectly with that of St Thomas—e.g. III.55.2. In the final chapter, on the preaching of the resurrection and its sacramental celebration, the author is again most pleasingly "catholic".

Neville Clark has written an exceptionally fine little book. Beginners may find it hard going, but those who have some familiarity with the Scriptures will find it most rewarding.

The title of Professor Jeremias' book is somewhat misleading. Apart from that, it is hard to do anything but praise every word of it.

It is a translation of four articles hitherto unavailable in English. The first, *Abba*, takes up about half the book. The substance of it has already appeared in English in his brilliant little work, *The Central Message of the New Testament*; now we have all the wealth of detailed scholarship by which the author substantiates his claim that the title "Father", as used by Jesus in addressing God, is something unique, something quite unparalleled in Jewish usage, an extraordinary innovation that must have been introduced by Jesus himself, and is a part of his revelation of God to man. In this one word "Father" we have a living—and theological—contact with the Jesus of history.

This first chapter is for specialists. The rest of the book is much easier, and could be read with profit by anyone who does not lose his nerve when he meets occasional words in Greek or Hebrew characters. These quotations are in fact regularly translated. First comes: *Daily Prayer in the Life of Jesus and the Primitive Church*. It was the custom of the Jews to recite their "creed" twice a day; but superimposed on this was the custom of praying three times a day, in the morning, afternoon and evening. Jesus followed this custom, but also went beyond it, in the time devoted to prayer, in the language he used (he prayed, and prayed officially, in the vernacular), and in content: the Our Father is a summary of his teaching about God's final intervention in human history.

The next chapter is a detailed treatment of the Lord's Prayer. It is essentially a liturgical prayer, and the longer form found in Matthew shows how it was used liturgically in Palestine. The early Church regarded it as liturgical; indeed more, it was a prayer to be used by the initiated, the peculiar privilege of those who were full members of the Church. It was surrounded by reverence and awe, and needed courage to say it: *Audemus dicere*. And the meaning? In a word, it is a plea for the fulfilment here and now of God's saving plan for mankind, and a confession that the plan is already being realised.

The final chapter, *Characteristics of the Ipsissima Vox Jesu*, is an appendix, and a summary. Professor Jeremias shows once again how the use of "Father" in addressing God is something altogether special to Jesus; and the use of "Amen" to introduce Jesus' own solemn statements is another peculiarity of his way of speaking.

Professor Jeremias is my ideal of a Scripture scholar. He is unbelievably learned, but can carry the learning lightly; he is meticulous in his search for truth; his judgments are balanced and reliable, and put forward with great humility; and his ultimate concern is always for God, and man's relationship with him. Scholarship with Professor Jeremias always leads to spirituality.

One last point. Catholic scholars today are all familiar with the works of Protestants. Is there enough communication the other way? These books under review do not suggest it, though Professor Jeremias is well informed about Catholic works. Perhaps the fault is entirely ours; we only write the sort of books that will be read by other Catholics.

Mount St Bernard Abbey,
Leicester.

BASIL MORISON, D.C.R.

The reviewer, before he went to be a Cistercian monk, taught Classics at Ampleforth both before and after the War. He was Subprior of his Abbey, their director of studies, and the Peritus to the Cistercian General Chapter—a man of many parts. On 26th January, the feast of the first abbot of Cîteaux (Abbot St Alberic), he was found dead in his room soon after he had concelebrated at the Community Mass. He is a great loss to us all, and especially to his Order.

II. SCRIPTURAL STUDIES

Luis Alonso Schökel, S.J. UNDERSTANDING BIBLICAL RESEARCH BURNS & Oates 1968
xii + 130 p 16/-

The Church is a living organism, pulsing with the life of the Spirit. The Christian message is something dynamic; and while there is an element of permanence about it, yet our understanding continues to evolve. Only by study, using new methods, can this understanding deepen. If God's word is not to become a dead letter, scholars must have the freedom to pursue their researches, to publish their views and to express opinions. All too often in the field of biblical research Catholic scholars labour under the handicaps of misunderstanding and suspicion.

Fr Schökel's book attempts to overcome this adverse atmosphere, dispelling the mists of distrust. It grew out of three lectures addressed to a Spanish university group; was translated into German and then English, being published in the U.S.A. in 1963 (why has it taken a further five years to appear over here?). In the first of his three chapters the author brilliantly sketches four centuries of changing attitudes to the bible, Protestant and Catholic. He concludes with a look at the present state of affairs, the suspicion which surrounds the modern scripture scholar, the scandal he can cause. Fr Schökel contends that public opinion is at fault and needs to be educated. Hence the second chapter explains the tools of the biblical expert's trade: textual criticism and transmission, literary criticism, archaeology. The last part examines some literary problems posed by the findings of modern research.

It is a valuable little book, deserving a wide public, written by an eminent professor of the Biblical Institute in Rome, who has himself been under criticism. The style is factual and demanding rather than popular, while the price is not cheap.

ROBERT MACKENZIE, O.S.B.

Fort Augustus Abbey,
Inverness-shire.

Walter Wink JOHN THE BAPTIST IN THE GOSPEL TRADITION CUP 1968 12 + 132 p 30/-

A developed form of a doctorate thesis, the subject of this book is less wide than the title might suggest, since the author investigates only how the traditions about the Baptist were changed and developed by the evangelists themselves; he is interested only in the significance which the evangelists themselves saw in John, and not at all in his significance in the pre-gospel tradition which the evangelists received from the early Church. But it does not seem to me that he makes out a convincing case for much development here. This was work which had to be done, and the author digs the ground over painstakingly, carefully sifting each clod of earth. But apart from

one or two discoveries already made by Trilling (and some valuable correctives of Conzelmann) the sieve remains empty when all the earth has been sifted through.

The book is extremely Germanic, both in its painstakingness and in the origins of its thought. It might well have been improved by a knowledge of French thought; the author is clearly unfamiliar with French writing (if not the French language; he refers to seven French books and articles only), including the very important work in this field of Père Boisard. He betrays only a minimum knowledge of Hebrew and none of Aramaic, which prevents him discussing the important sayings of the Baptist in Jn. 3, clearly Aramaic in origin. Many of his conclusions are not sufficiently founded, but simply assumed (e.g. that Jesus was once a disciple of the Baptist, that John was part of a whole baptist movement in the Jordan cleft—a movement which was in fact considerably later).

Because of the onesidedness of the book there is no impression of the fire of John the Baptist or of the importance of his message at the origins of Christianity. Consequently it is a laudably painstaking book but rather dull.

J.H.W.

ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, O.P. PAUL AND QUMRAN Chapman 1968 x + 245 p 30/-

Father Murphy-O'Connor has edited a series of essays by distinguished Biblical scholars on various aspects of the Pauline writings (including the Pastorals but excluding Hebrews) which can in some way be illumined by the writings from Qumran. This is a most valuable service of general communication in a field which has already become a speciality, and is comparable with a previous collection made in 1958 by Krister Stendahl under the title "The Scrolls and the New Testament" (Harper). Any such exercise involves some arbitrariness in selection from a vast field of literature, but the choice has been excellent, and presents the general reader with a good indication of the way Christian scholars are going about this rich field of comparative studies. One wishes they had been better served by those responsible for the editing of the texts, a very large proportion of which still remains unpublished.

A list of contributions will give the reader an idea of the scope of subjects covered in this book. They are: "Qumran and the New Testament" (Pierre Benoit, O.P.); "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Corinthians 11.10" (Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.); "2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1 in the light of the Qumran texts and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" (Joachim Gnlika); "The courts of the Church of Corinth and the courts of Qumran" (Mathias Delcor); "The Teacher of Righteousness of Qumran and the question of justification by faith in the theology of the Apostle Paul" (Walter Grundmann); "The Epistle to the Ephesians in the light of the Qumran texts" (Karl Georg Kuhn); "Mystery" in the theology of Saint Paul and its parallels at Qumran" (Joseph Coppens); "Contributions made by Qumran to the understanding of the Epistle to the Ephesians" (Franz Mussner); "Truth: Paul and Qumran" (the editor).

Fr Benoit's introductory essay lays down certain "guiding principles" he thinks might be followed profitably in comparing the Scrolls with the New Testament. He sounds a warning against assuming that correspondences need necessarily mean direct influence of the Essenes on the Church; they could be merely independent manifestations of a common trend at the time. Where direct influence does seem probable, and most of the cases cited in these essays come under that category, Benoit points out that such influence need not have been exercised on Christianity at the beginning, but only at a later stage, assisting the movement "only to express and organise itself". He adds "the contacts with Qumran came less through John the Baptist and Jesus than through Paul, John and even the faithful of the second generation". One is that have been bequeathed us by this "original" Christianity save through the traditions.

Space does not unfortunately allow of a detailed summary and discussion of the other articles in this most valuable collection, but I would recommend particularly Joseph Coppens' article on "Mystery". Introducing his discussion he has a most

useful summary of the Christian and Essene doctrines on the mystery/mysteries, which will serve as a handy basis for anyone wishing to pursue this subject in detail.

Faculty of Theology,
Manchester University.

JOHN ALLEGRO.

S. G. F. Brandon THE TRIAL OF JESUS OF NAZARETH Batsford 1968 223 p 42/-

Writing a book in a series on Historic Trials Professor Brandon sets out with courageous patience on his painful task of disabusing Christians of their most cherished beliefs about the central moment of Christianity. He falls over backwards to be understanding; the traditional interpretation of the trial of Jesus is "well-meaning", if "patently tendentious" (p. 6). The "esoteric interpretation" of the Cross which is the basis of Paul's theology (p. 13) was "so essentially mystical that he repudiates its connection with the actual historical event" (p. 19), and this was one of the elements in the war to the death between Paul and the Jerusalem Christians. For the Jerusalem Christians (practically all trace of whom vanished in 70 A.D. at the destruction of the city) were in fact ringleaders of the nationalistic Zealot movement which aimed to overthrow Roman rule; it cannot escape the careful historian that the gospels make no attempt to deny the charge of sedition on which Jesus was condemned; they certainly did not regard Jesus as God (p. 21).

The book reads, as any investigation of an incident in a period where all the witnesses have one axe or another to grind, like a detective story. Its appearance of being labouriously objective and heroically anxious to unravel problems which are frightfully difficult (and which the reader can hardly be expected to understand) cannot obscure the fact that the treatment is one-sided, ignoring factors which contradict the author's thesis. The thesis of opposition between Paul and Jerusalem can hardly stand up against the evidence of Acts that he had constant recourse to the leaders of the Church there to confirm his message, or his own grudging testimony in Galatians of his consultations with them. The cornerstone of B's view of the militant character of the Jerusalem church is the silence of Acts on certain anti-Roman movements at Jerusalem (the author of Acts does not want to admit that Christians were deeply involved in them). But he leaves out of account that Acts is concerned not with the history of the church of Jerusalem but with the spread of Christianity over the known world (Acts 1:8), and loses all interest in Jerusalem once this begins, apart from anxiety to record the fidelity of the other communities to the mother church of Jerusalem. Most fantastic of all is the idea that the Jerusalem Christians can have so misunderstood the whole message of the parables, the miracles and many other sayings of Jesus (including his one saying at his trial) whose purpose was precisely to correct this idea of a political messiahship.

The account of the political situation in Judaea during our Lord's life, the evaluation of Josephus' evidence for this period, and especially for the relations between Pilate and the Jews (p. 25-39) is excellent. But here it is ancient rather than modern authors who have the axe to grind.

HENRY WASSBROUGH, O.S.B.

Hamish F. G. Swanston THE COMMUNITY WITNESS Burns & Oates 1967 230 p 35/-

A combination of too much work and too little method resulted in a long gap between first reading this book and writing this review. When I finally took up the book to refresh my memory of it I discovered that though the first-reading impact of excitement and discovery was past, the whole argument and procedure of "The Community Witness" had already become part of my own way of thinking. There could hardly be a finer indication of Fr Swanston's achievement.

The book is subtitled "An Exploration of some of the Influences at Work in the New Testament Community and its Writings". Part of Fr Swanston's achievement

is that he makes it believable that the theme of the Exodus, the liturgy of the Old Testament people, and, above all, the "pattern" of the Resurrection event itself, were the Christian "language" of real people, and were the quite usual way in which they thought about themselves and Christ. His argument is sometimes detailed and complex, and sometimes only tentatively put forward, but the whole carries conviction by its internal consistency. He makes it evident that real people could feel and think like this, and, as a result, write like this.

Even more impressive is that Fr Swanson dares to ask the real questions that many people would like to ask but feel too afraid of the answers to take the risk; for example, "How do we know that a book is inspired by God?" and "What really happened to Christ at what we call the Resurrection event?" Others muddle up matters, fearing that they may end up either denying the traditional faith or appearing simple-minded, but Fr Swanson's common sense enables him to point out the plain truth with devastating effect. His is particularly helpful in his account of the resurrection narratives and the use of resurrection language in the miracle stories and in the evidence in the New Testament of a primitive Christian liturgy.

Fr Swanson's book is not addressed to "specialists in biblical scholarship", but they should read this lucid presentation of the subject, and enjoy the ease of style which makes the reader feel both welcome and stimulated.

ROSEMARY HAUGHTON.

Field Manor,
Oswaldkirk.

THE CATHOLIC CHILDREN'S BIBLE IN COLOUR Paul Hamlyn 1968 518 p 30/-

This book received an imprimatur in March 1963. It was printed in Czechoslovakia (just in time). It has been designed by *Editions Graphiques Internationales*, illustrated by Italians at the Fabbri studios (copyright 1962), and produced by arrangement with Western Publ. Co. Inc. (copyright 1965). There is at least one illustration on every page, and the total of illustrations adds up to at least as much space as the total of text. Whether they are good, or good for children, is a matter of taste; they are certainly clear. The publishers tell us that in the first month of sale (October), over 12,000 copies were sold: but then, the same sheet tells us that the book has 528 pages.

R.E.

III. ANNUS MIRABILIS HARRINGTONIS

Wilfrid J. Harrington, O.P. RECORD OF THE FULFILMENT: THE NEW TESTAMENT Geoffrey Chapman 1968 60/-

Books claiming to be introductions require double reviews: one by the expert, judging soundness of subject, the other from the standpoint of the beginner. This review is strictly in the latter class, the reviewer at once daunted and consoled by hearing recently one of our well known Scripture experts describe what he called the salutary experience of going with a competent teacher on a book-buying mission for the Scripture section of a teacher training college library. Only one book satisfied them both.

I doubt if it was by Fr Harrington. What, for example, is the beginner to make of the following:

"Acts has come to us in two different text forms. The text that figures in critical editions of the New Testament is of the Alexandrian or neutral type, represented by B S A C P45, while another form is represented by D, Old Latin, Syriac and Latin Fathers—the "Western" type." (p. 200)

Nowhere are we given the key to B S A C or D, and P45 is not a footnote! If the pruning or elucidation that is required here had been exercised throughout the text, this might have been a better book.

It is essentially a text book and seems to be the third of a trilogy. The first two, "Record of Revelation: The Bible" and "Record of Promise: the Old Testament" (Chicago: the Priory Press, 1965), are American publications, which seems odd, as parts of the third volume are obscure without the other two, and they are difficult to obtain. The author concentrates on literary criticism and examines the authorship, date and literary construction of each book of the New Testament, providing diagrams to illustrate structure and doctrinal summary. These could be quite useful, since he indicates where problems exist. The bibliography seems helpful.

The index is, in one sense, a fair reflection of the book. Modern scholars, copiously quoted in the text, are scrupulously indexed, with Benoit, Feuillet, Dodd and Wikenhauser well to the fore, though Harrington himself is in the lead with 35 entries. References to such theological themes as manage to achieve mention in the index are very inadequately recorded, and here the author is less than fair to his own work. The Holy Spirit just gets in with one entry.

NORREN HUNT.

College of Education,
Poulton-le-Fylde.

Wilfrid J. Harrington, O.P. COME, LORD JESUS: A BIBLICAL RETREAT Chapman 1968 207 p 25/-

This is a set of six discourses on Father and Spirit, *Christ our Life*, the true Vine, *Life in Christ*, *Life with Christ*, the Christian Life. The central theme is the movement of grace, the principal source the New Testament—always the one authentic source of Christian spirituality.

R.E.

Wilfrid J. Harrington, O.P. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST LUKE Chapman 1968 vi + 297 p 35/-

Helmut Flender ST LUKE, THEOLOGIAN OF REDEMPTIVE HISTORY Translated by Prof and Mrs R. H. Fuller S.P.C.K. 1967 x + 179 p 32/6

These two works on St Luke are poles apart, representing two utterly different levels of the scholarship which is necessary for the understanding of Christ's message in the gospels, each of which contributes to the other.

Fr Harrington's book is a commentary, taking the gospel story by story and sometimes verse by verse. It is the first commentary on any of the gospels by a Catholic to appear in English (the author is an Irishman, and the book was published in America) which uses the results of modern scholarship. This is therefore an extremely significant book, for it is only by means of such a continuous commentary that, in the last analysis, the fruits of so much research and new insights into the gospel can filter through (largely via schools) into Catholic spirituality. Indeed, the only other modern commentaries at all in English are, as far as I know, the Penguin commentaries, which though excellent are necessarily limited in some ways by their determination to be readable and acceptable also to non-believers. This commentary studies the text, but does not hesitate to include homiletic reflections here and there on the practical consequences for Christian life and devotion. Fr Harrington is not, of course, doing much original research here (it would be out of place), but gives a balanced assessment of research that has been done—he is perhaps too hesitant in opting for one of the possible solutions—and a consistent, well thought-out view throughout. There are a number of points on which the present reviewer finds Fr Harrington somewhat "square", betraying perhaps the relies of an Irish background; but these points are unimportant compared to the whole new attitude and approach which the book should succeed in mediating to the reader.

Helmut Flender's book is a highly scholarly investigation of Luke's theology. It is as well informed as one would expect a doctorate thesis to be, and includes a number of perceptive insights into the text. But somehow the questions asked do not seem especially profound or relevant, and the solutions are too often based on flimsy

evidence. It must, however, be added that the book has been widely acclaimed; translation by Professor Fuller and publication by the S.P.C.K. are in themselves considerable recommendations.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

Wilfrid J Harrington, O.P. *THE PROMISE TO LOVE: A scriptural view of marriage* Chapman 1968 141 p 21/-

This excellent little book on what the Bible has to say about marriage would make a first class wedding present for a Christian couple. The exposition is clear, warm and straightforward; it is easy but rewarding to read. The author, as might be expected from his other publications, shows throughout a firm grasp of biblical scholarship, and uses this with an admirably light touch to draw the sense and richness out of the texts. Gone is the disapproving, censorious tone when speaking about the realities of sexual relationships and the tenderness of lovers. The teaching of Vatican II on the dignity of marriage and the part it has to play in the sanctification of man and woman is fully backed up by the examination of the Bible.

Fr Harrington begins by showing that the companionship between man and woman is built into their natures by creation. Next he runs through various aspects of and attitudes to marriage in Israel (with some excellent pages on the honour of motherhood, and some interesting comments on the taboos which surround sex in the Old Testament). Then he launches into the theme of God's love for Israel, portrayed as the love of boy for girl by Hosea and the later prophets—a theme which is taken up and reaches its high point in the New Testament, where the Church is seen as the beloved spouse of Christ, one body with him. The Old Testament part ends with an examination of the importance of human relationships between the partners in marriage, as seen even in the Old Testament. The New Testament part begins with some pages on virginity; highly as it is praised, it is regarded distinctly as a special vocation for some people; those who do not embrace the state for the sake of the kingdom of God are not thereby made second-class citizens. Then comes a chapter on the marriage of Christ and the Church, the archetype of Christian marriage, and finally a chapter on the sacrament of marriage and its sanctifying role.

It would be hard to recommend this book too highly for those who wish to see the real Christian values of marriage, or simply for those who would like to see how the Bible can be relevant today.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

IV. THE "GOD" QUESTION

Jacques Durandeaux *LIVING QUESTIONS TO DEAD GODS* Transl. William Whitman Intro. Gabriel Vahanian Chapman 1968 160 p 30/-

This book gives the author's account of his attempt to validate his belief in the age of death-of-God theology. Durandeaux analyses the movements of belief and disbelief which he experiences. He begins with a "prose poem" which contains a succinct and spontaneous account of the thoughts which he says are "closest to my heart". The second section is an initial reflection on this prose poem. His main concern is to discover the conditions for a valid affirmation of God and for sound religious practice, taking into account the criticisms of Marx and Freud. Any movement from within man is suspect and we can only affirm God when we no longer care whether he exists or not (p. 35)—which would seem to make nonsense of any *naturale desiderium* for God. Hence Durandeaux requires a God who comes as an "irruptive presence" into man's world, unwanted and unanticipated, and who uses human words to put to man the ultimate question which only God can raise. Unfortunately the concept of "irruption" also becomes suspect since it is perhaps just a pretence for maintaining the problem of God. What is sought for is an "original, irreducible experience" of God's irruption.

The third section is described as reflection on the initial reflection and while containing some interesting ideas does little towards cutting the Gordian knot which the author has made for himself. He has adopted a Cartesian systematic doubt, taking for his basis the "ego", and the more elusive experience of the "other". Durandeaux analyses the believer-philosopher tension within man; the believer affirms his experience of the "other" while the philosopher constantly strives to show its invalidity.

The conclusion warns us against accepting God-as-product instead of God-as-other. The Churches, we are told, bring together people who take seriously the questions that Jesus raises, since the believer is one who is concerned with the question of Jesus' identity without necessarily committing himself (sic!). Presumably, then, the author is not particularly concerned that the churches should give answers to these questions. As an analysis of Christian agnosticism this book is no doubt frank and has its merits, but the author's approach must necessarily be somewhat inconclusive. Further, his concept of "belief" seems far removed from what is usually understood by it.

Quarr Abbey,
Ryde, Isle of Wight.

PETER BRADY, O.S.B.

Robert L. Richard, S.J. *SECULARIZATION THEOLOGY* Burns & Oates 1967 192 p 30/-

Theologians of secularization take seriously the statement that God is ineffable; they refuse to speak about him. Even that, consistently enough, is not a statement about God but about man. For the limits of our world provide the limits of our language; an other-worldly God is not part of our world, and is therefore beyond the reach of our language. Yet this theology is anxious to express what is most basic in the traditional language of belief in God. It turns therefore to the man who was most decidedly in this world, the man for others, Jesus Christ. Consequently it is empirical rather than metaphysical, christocentric rather than theocentric, and activist rather than contemplative.

In general terms this is the view of the three theologians whose work Fr Richard analyses in his book. They are Paul van Buren, Bishop John A. T. Robinson and Harvey Cox. For all of them the basic question is the possibility of talk about God, and Fr Richard goes a long way to understand their point of view. But he is not uncritical. He finds himself in greatest sympathy with Harvey Cox's "The Secular City", and most critical of van Buren's "The Secular Meaning of the Gospel". He says of the latter that its "ultimately apodictic exclusion of God . . . is neither critically justified in itself, nor actually representative" of the movement (p. 121). Van Buren's error is a doctrinaire empiricism. Bishop Robinson and Cox, on the other hand, are anxious to find a way to talk about God that does not use classical culture. They feel that classical culture, in which traditional philosophy and theology were articulated, has broken down and no longer communicates. Their empiricism, therefore, is not exclusive. None of them, however, achieves any satisfactory account of divinity and transcendence. Fr Richard also points out that, with their insistence on the this-worldliness of faith, they have not managed to integrate a Christian view of death and resurrection into their theology.

Yet their work is by no means worthless. In a final chapter Fr Richard shows how some insights of secularization theology have found expression in a recent pastoral letter of Cardinal Cushing, and how this is a legitimate development of the ecclesiology of Vatican II. If modern secular society is distinctive in kind, and if Christian faith is meant to speak to modern man, then theology must be expressed in terms of the interaction and opposition of both. Secularization theologians have come to grips with this situation and their efforts are worthy of sympathetic consideration. Fr Richard provides a reliable and interesting guide to the debate.

Fort Augustus,
Inverness-shire.

FRANCIS DAVIDSON, O.S.B.

Yves Congar, O.P. THE REVELATION OF GOD Transl. A. Manson and L. C. Sheppard
D.L.T. 1968 199 p 32/6

This miscellaneous collection of essays is rather disappointing: short radio talks, newspaper articles, and even a book review of 1937, are placed side by side with one or two first class theological articles. The first part of the book, occupying a quarter of the space, deals with general questions of Scripture in four essays; the second, consisting of ten essays, treats of the Persons of the Trinity in Revelation. The blurb on the dust-cover which states that "Congar concentrates on the two central areas of God's revelation—Scripture and the Eucharist", is inaccurate, as only two of the fourteen essays are devoted to the Eucharist, and other references are infrequent.

The seventh essay, "Dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus", is outstanding. Bishop Robinson, in "Honest to God", tries to do away with God's transcendence in order to save his immanence but Congar shows from the data of revelation that the two are inseparable. In the Incarnation God is seen as immanent in Christ's human nature; but since Christ is the revelation of the Father, all that he is, is a revelation of God's transcendence—and that includes the love that wants to communicate itself to men, and did communicate itself when God was born as man. You cannot separate God's "Absolute Being" from his love for men; the attempt to do so has resulted in the mistrust of the Faith that is so characteristic of the modern world.

Other valuable essays are the eighth: "Jesus Christ, Lamb of God"; the eleventh: "David and Solomon: the Foreshadowing of Christ's Two Comings"; and the last three, which provide some excellent theological reflections on the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist in the Church.

This collection of essays, ranging in date from 1937 to 1962, was first published in 1962 as part of the book entitled "Les Voies du Dieu Vivant". The translation is of very fine quality. Unfortunately there are a number of wrong references, e.g. p. 74, Ph. 7:11; p. 76, Ph. 2:65; p. 89, Jn. 4:16 & 18.

There is little in this book that will be of interest to the professional theologian, but it will be found valuable as a general introduction to a variety of questions in Scripture and Theology.

MATTHEW DUNN, O.C.R.

Mount St Bernard Abbey,
Leicester.

Marie Fargues THE GOD OF CHRISTIANS Geoffrey Chapman 1968 276 p 42/-

This is a catechetical book based on Salvation History. After a short introduction, the first chapter takes us through the Biblical Pre-History, while the second discusses Creation, the Eternal and Infinite, Evolution and the Creation of Man. Part two (chs. 3-6) goes through the history of Israel, concentrating on the four points of "Abraham and Faith", "Moses and the Law", "David and Repentance" and "Isaiah and Hope". Part three, at rather greater length, deals with the time of our Lord, and part four with "Our Life in the Church", taking the Church, the Sacraments and life after death in turn.

Although this book is said to be written for those teaching catechetics, it seems to presuppose little knowledge in the reader. We are told, for example, that God did not dictate the text of the Bible as a child might imagine, that the ancients' knowledge of science was very rudimentary and often completely inaccurate and that the Bible is more than one book. A footnote discussing the longevity of the patriarchs, after first mentioning its symbolic value, goes on to offer other explanations: we do not know how the Jews reckoned ages, that the indications are that longevity in the time of the patriarchs exceeded that of our own days (both points are false) and that 969 years means that Methuselah lived to a great age. It would have been more useful to have compared the Genealogies of Genesis with those of the Assyrians and other non-Biblical races. Other points are that John the Baptist is the son of Joachim, and on the following page our Lord is described as "clad in white, alone, saying

nothing". "Mary had taken vows of chastity, she had been dedicated to God as a very small child" (p. 128). The Sacrifice of Isaac is said to be in the Missal for Holy Saturday, although this lesson was omitted from the rite promulgated in 1955 (p. 233 fn). The Octave of Christmas, the Epiphany, Corpus Christi and SS Peter and Paul, are omitted from a list of Holy Days of Obligation.

What is more serious is that the writer has so little to offer. Much of the book is filled with padding. A whole page is taken up in describing people going to church and another with the arctic hare and a New Zealand lizard. Yet, to take only a few examples at random, there is no mention of Deutero-Isaiah at all (although quotations are frequent), there is not sufficient stress on the importance of Hezekiah's repentance and faith, or of the role played by Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah about the time of the Captivity. Nor is there adequate treatment of Original Sin or the liturgy. In the section on the Government of the Church, there are less than six lines about the Pope, and the College of Bishops is introduced without explanation. Finally, there is no bibliography.

Scattered throughout the book are a number of often moving stories of people under persecution; but on the whole this book cannot be recommended.

Quarr Abbey,

Ryde, Isle of Wight.

MATTHEW TYLOR, O.S.B.

V. NEW CONCEPTS OF THEOLOGY

Hugo Rahner A THEOLOGY OF PROCLAMATION Herder and Herder 1968 216 p \$5.95

This unfortunate book appears to have been published on the cynical assumption that anything bearing the famous Rahner name is assured of a ready market. It is not by the celebrated dogmatic theologian, Karl, but by his elder brother, Hugo, who finally succumbed to a long and lingering illness a few days before Christmas, mourned by generations of Innsbruck students who loved him for his deep spirituality, his dry wit, and his lucid and elegant prose. (He often said that he intended one day to translate his younger brother's works into intelligible German.) His scholarly work was chiefly in the Fathers and in the life and writings of the founder of his order, St Ignatius Loyola. During the 1930s, however, Hugo Rahner participated in the abortive attempt of some Innsbruck theologians to develop a "kerygmatic theology": this book is his contribution to the movement. It is carefully disguised in this slipshod American translation. The original date of publication (1938) has been expunged lest prospective purchasers should realise that they are buying an obsolete period piece. The title page lists no less than five translators, all American Jesuits, and states that their work has been "adapted" by a sixth. What his work consisted of is difficult to see. References to Denzinger are to a long-obsolete edition; and references to a number of older German works and authors quite unknown in the English-speaking world are left without explanation. There is no foreword to tell us what the book is really about, or how this inept translation was produced. (It originated some years before Vatican II in a seminar at a Jesuit house of studies in the United States, and has finally been printed over the objections of at least one of the translators.) If the translation is less uneven than one would expect in view of the number of those who had a hand in it this is due to the fact that it is wholly inadequate: it ranges from the clumsy to the unintelligible.

Anyone who buys this book as an aid to preaching is doomed to disappointment. It is an entirely academic exercise, and its relation to the post-Vatican II situation is remote indeed. Its chief value is historical. The "kerygmatic theology" presented in these pages was part of the remote preparation for the theological revival which bore fruit in the Council documents. It was a protest against the sterility of old-fashioned Latin scholastic textbooks of dogmatic theology (which are assumed throughout to be the only scholarly theological books available), which failed to take any serious notice of the major hindrances to divine faith in the contemporary world. The solution here proposed, the development of a separate "kerygmatic" theology parallel to "scientific"

theology, has long since been rejected on the ground that the most scientific theology is the most kerygmatic (and vice versa), and that if we wish to make the truths of faith relevant and intelligible to modern man we must ask highly scientific and profound dogmatic questions. It is difficult to see what purpose can be served in reviving such a protest at this late date, especially since it proved to lead into a blind alley.

Those who move in the gossip-filled world of publishing are familiar with complaints that the boom in religious publishing ushered in by Vatican II has collapsed. If this book may be taken as in any sense typical of the kind of thing now being offered to the public by catholic publishers, then it is clear that the fault for the deterioration of their fortunes lies neither in their stars nor in their readers but in themselves.

Thomas-Morus-Weg 13,
44 Münster.

JOHN JAY HUGHES.

Hans Urs von Balthasar: MAN IN HISTORY: A THEOLOGICAL STUDY Sheed and Ward
1968 x + 341 p 50/-

This book is a translation (by William Glen-Doepel) of "Das Ganze im Fragment", published in Switzerland in 1963, and resumes discussion of some themes already treated in an earlier volume the English version of which has the title "A Theology of History" (Sheed and Ward). Here again, however, it is not the author's aim to present a comprehensive treatise on the theology of man in history, but simply to deal with different aspects of a basic subject: where, in the actual fragmentariness of human existence, to discover a principle and tendency towards wholeness. For the danger above all others to which the cultural and spiritual life of man in the modern world is exposed is an acquiescence in its fragmentation and a consequent and compensating readiness to take the part for the whole. The very nature of time itself, with its necessarily "horizontal" movement, is a cause of the fragmentariness of truth. Experience comes to us piecemeal, our intelligence divides and selects, accepts and rejects. The resolution of the problem, therefore, as St Augustine realised, must be "vertical"—not, that is, by a vain disposal of human effort to correlate what, in an earthly perspective, are bound to remain disparate, but in response to the love of God. "The Christian, with Augustine, can know that which is longed for as the reality of sages, which is *theologia*, the self-communication of eternal love, which has received, in grace, a time-transcending, fully true answer." Such, then, is the thesis. To illustrate and enforce it the author covers a wide range of material in terms of what (following Karl Rahner) he calls a "theological anthropology"—a view of man as being ever "open" to the transcendence of God. The facile if attractive alternatives of a secularised society on the mediaeval pattern, or the presently fashionable "secularised" Christianity which identifies technological progress with the growth of God's Kingdom, he rejects for a narrower way ("the way of the Lamb") that avoids short cuts to integralism, either reactionary or progressive. Instead we must learn to see "wholeness" as it "streams and shines through the fragments". Indeed it is as if the renunciation of all effort to achieve wholeness is precisely to practise wholeness itself—"as if God is nowhere nearer than in the humility and poverty of indifference, in the openness to death, in the renunciation of every hold on or attempt to make certain of God". Of particular interest is the author's discussion of the significance of church history itself. The Church visibly is a structure, an institution, and as such historically definable. Yet paradoxically its historical forms do not determine the real nature of its historicity, which lies, rather, "in its constancy, which transcends history, as the one universal, apostolic, and holy Church"—the *locus* on earth of the spirit and presence of Christ. This is a difficult book, weighted down, perhaps, with an excess of teutonic "profundity". But it is not unrewarding to the patience which the conscientious reader will need to bring to it.

The University,
Newcastle upon Tyne.

BERNARD M. G. REARDON.

Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P. CONCEPT OF TRUTH AND THEOLOGICAL RENEWAL Sheed & Ward 1968 212 p 30/-

This is the second volume of Fr Schillebeeckx's "Theological Soundings", which have already been published in periodicals between 1952 and 1963. The theme which all of them touch on is the relation between our human knowledge and the divine reality. Our concepts are derived from creatures and, when applied to God, are only creaturely. Only when we realise that our concepts are inadequate though they have the value of a definite reference to reality, do we transcend conceptual knowledge and approach reality, but in a manner that is no longer open to expression. "Theologia" is our thought about God, but is based on God's entering into personal relations with us through his humanity of which the *Logos* is the person. This is *Oikonomia*. So Christian knowledge is the effect of grace, and what we know in terms of salvation history enters into the Christian definition of God.

These problems are further discussed in an essay on "New Trends in Dogmatic Theology", and in another on Aquinas' "non-conceptual intellectual dimension in our knowledge of God". The treatment is on these lines: the faith of thoughtful Christians, living in the midst of an intellectual quickening and renewal, has undergone clarification. The truth contained in the older insights has moreover not been proved untrue in this process. It has rather survived in a new theological whole where traditional insights have been purified and given new shades of meaning and even, here and there basically corrected.

This book is not easy reading, because of its profound subject which calls for prolonged meditation, and also because too many longer sentences in this translation are printed without enough punctuation. However, it is refreshing to find here both a certainty that the Catholic Church must never cease to defend the deposit of faith entrusted to her, and also an expression of conviction that Protestants will contribute much that is at present weak in Catholic religious life—notably Bible reading and the holy desire to hear the Word proclaimed. There are signs that Catholics are already beginning to appreciate these.

GILBERT WHITFIELD, O.S.B.

Karl Barth THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS Oxford Paperback 160 1968 547 p 15/-

The re-issue of this famous book is not untimely, for its author, theologian and Christian prophet of the first rank, died on 9th December at the age of 82. *The Times* described him as "a Reformed theologian, whose stature rivalled that of the giants of the Reformation epoch", who "accomplished a Copernican revolution in Protestant thinking". Son of a Basle New Testament professor, he studied under Harnack, being much influenced by W. Herrmann and Schleiermacher. As a pastor during the First War he was deeply disillusioned by the collapse of religious idealism, and by the poverty of the then fashionable liberalism. The fruits of this questioning were distilled in this book, published as "Der Römerbrief" in 1918, and revised five times in the years up to 1933. This is the ground-book of what has since come to be called "Barthianism—dialectical theology". Its effect on Europe and America was immediate and revolutionary, though it had to wait till 1933 to be put into English by Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, himself a considerable biblical scholar.

The revisions of this book, notably the 1921 revision, were drastic alterations of the original, inaugurating what came to be known as the "theology of crisis". In the year that Hoskyns was doing his translation, Karl Barth launched his "Kirchliche Dogmatik", by far the most original and weighty contribution to systematic theology that this century has seen. That is the measure of the man, a man of the stature of Aquinas; and both men, significantly, refused to bring their magisterial works to completion.

A.J.S.

Henri Bouillard THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD Burns & Oates 1969 127 p 22/-

This fine critic of Karl Barth published this little essay on the "natural" knowability of God, "Connaissance de Dieu", in 1967 (Aubier, Paris). It is a study extracted from a larger work on Barthian theology. Barth rejected the Catholic tradition of analogy-of-being on the grounds that all analogy was dependent on God, who revealed Himself only in Scripture. Bouillard counters this by examining the scriptural and theological understanding of God's knowability, showing that analogy-of-being is subsumed into (not set against) the analogy of faith.

Bouillard's discussion takes him into Anselm's proof for the existence of God, and into Barth's interpretation of the Anselmian proof; into the Thomistic thesis of analogy, and the Barthian antithesis ("less a light than a stimulus to research"). His conclusion is that "it is we who know God. Consequently the very knowledge of faith includes a natural knowledge of God capable of being demonstrated in a 'proof'; and human language, including that of the Bible, is not fittingly brought to bear on the incomprehensible God except by means of the internal negation which is the characteristic of analogic attribution". A brilliant little book.

A.J.S.

VI. VATICAN COUNCIL—OUTSIDE, INSIDE AND AFTERWARDS

George B. Caird OUR DIALOGUE WITH ROME: the Second Vatican Council and after (The Congregational Lectures 1966) OUP 1967 vi + 93 p 7/6

Those of us who depended on newspaper and radio reports for our knowledge of the Second Vatican Council may have gained adequate factual knowledge, but clearly did not appreciate the remarkable atmosphere which existed in and around the Council. This resulted both in a reappraisal among the Fathers themselves quite unexpected in its intensity and also in the genuine though unofficial part which the observers of other Churches were called upon to play. Both these elements have contributed to an ecumenical catalyst of which the ultimate workings are still imponderable, and to a release of good will which is the feature of the subsequent writings of those present at the Council. Suspicions, disagreements, criticisms remain, but these are now phrased in charitable and constructive terms. And it is this spirit which must eventually permeate all Churches and factions.

Dr Caird's book is firmly within this tradition, though as his specific audience is the Congregational Church, other readers will notice an obvious but natural imbalance. The book is remarkable both for the amount it covers in its 93 pages and for the quality of its writing. Dr Caird is lucid in the extreme, makes convincing and attractive use of quotation and literary allusion, and allows glimpses of an impish yet kindly humour.

The work of the Council is discussed under four headings, The Meaning of Dialogue, The Use of Scripture, The Nature of Authority and The Church's Mission. In each case Dr Caird outlines the effect of the aggiornamento on traditional Roman Catholic dogmas and attitudes, points out to the Protestant the limitations of these changes where they exist, and draws conclusions from them which Congregationalists and other non-Catholics can apply to their own doctrinal positions.

There is much that could be singled out for comment, but especially noticeable are the following. First, the new meaning that has been given to the concept of dialogue. "The purpose of dialogue, then, is not that two churches should confront each other with their separate traditions and endeavour by bargaining, compromise, and patchwork to reduce the two to one, but that together they should be able to achieve a more thoroughgoing and profitable reformation than either of them could achieve in isolation": and such dialogue must be extended to non-Christians also.

On the subject of the Bible, the author discusses the meaning of the unity of the Scriptures and the relationship of Scripture and Tradition in terms which will be generally acceptable to non-Catholics. But an Anglican may feel very uncomfortable

when Dr Caird turns to the problem of continuity and discontinuity of authority. He poses some questions from a nonconformist angle which deserve more honest answers than they have sometimes received in the past.

But to single out isolated matters of importance is hardly profitable as the book deserves reading in its entirety. Let us hope that it will contribute to the dialogue further material towards the realisation of the end to which the author looks:

"If in our ecumenical dialogue we start from where we are, still behind the walls of our separate cities, we shall find, like the two women shouting across the street, that we cannot agree while we are arguing from different premises. But if we start, not from where we are, but from where we all know that we ought to be, . . . then perhaps, sooner than any of us has yet dared to expect, we may see the Holy City, not waiting for us at the journey's end, but coming down out of heaven from our God, and discover that there is more room in it than we had been given to suppose."

ROGER KIEK.

St John's College,
York.

Christopher Butler, O.S.B. THE THEOLOGY OF VATICAN II Darton, Longman and Todd 1967 194 p 25/-

In the foreword to these, the 1966 Sarum Lectures, Bishop Butler tells us that these lectures are to be "taken rather as a personal interpretation than an historical record". This modest disclaimer is belied by every page of the book, which admirably illustrates how little mere objectivity means today either to the historian or to the theologian. History is a creative art (though never *creatio ex nihilo*); and a nation's history is, in a very real sense, what that nation makes of its past, and on what it makes of its past largely depends what it is going to make of its future. The history of Vatican II is to be found neither in piles of now dusty documents, nor in a rosy glow of memory, but in what the Roman Catholic Church is now making of that exciting slice of its past. The movement which began as an adaptation of the Church's institutions to the ethos of the twentieth century ended as a renewal of its mind; and, whereas institutions can be changed by legislation, renewal can be effected only by the personal response of which this book provides such an attractive and stimulating example. *O si sic omnes!*

The beginning of this renewal in depth came, we are told, in the first session, when the Council Fathers, by rejecting the prepared draft on "The Two Sources of Revelation", committed themselves to "a distinction between the Church as she ought to be or ideally is, and the Church as she actually exists". Once this principle is accepted, all doctrines, including the doctrine of the Church's infallibility, take on a different guise. Other evidences of renewal rapidly followed: the recovery of the biblical concept of revelation—not the communication of guaranteed propositions, but the personal encounter of the believer with his Lord; the idea of the Church as the pilgrim people of God, to which is entrusted the gospel tradition, the guidance of the interpreting Spirit, and the promise of divine protection from damaging error; the primacy of the sacramental over the juridical aspects of the ministry; the eschatological nature of the Church, with its perfection only at the end of the pilgrim way. These and other theological affirmations of Vatican II are set before us with a clear appraisal of their significance for the life of the church and a cogent statement of the reasons which prompted them.

It is impossible to discuss anything with anyone who is by definition always and fully right. But a Church which recognises a real difference between her attainments, even in doctrine, and the truth she is commissioned to proclaim, is a Church with which Protestants can and ought to be in dialogue, leading to the fullest possible co-operation. Yet Bishop Butler does not attempt to disguise the difficulties of ecumenism for the Roman Catholic, who still has to reconcile his Church's claim to be the only Church with dominical mandate with the incontrovertible evidence of Christ's presence and the Spirit's activity in other communions. "We seem driven to say that the Church, existing in its integral fullness in the Catholic Church, exists also by self-

transcendence in bodies out of communion with the Catholic Church." We cannot but applaud the sheer honesty that has driven the Council to this exceedingly uncomfortable position. Yet it is not a position that anyone could conceivably occupy for long. Individual Christians are Christians only by virtue of a self-transcendence which is made possible by the grace of God, and the question forces itself upon us whether a Church that can exist by self-transcendence does not achieve its true nature precisely in that self-transcending act, by rising above the legalism of the Old Covenant into the freedom of the New.

Such questions could be multiplied, for it is the merit of the book that it not merely reports, but invites and stimulates a real and candid theological discussion. And if the discussions of the future can be conducted in the urbane, sympathetic, self-critical, and profoundly religious temper of these lectures, there is hope that Catholic and Protestant will soon find themselves, if not already in one visible Church, at least in the one pilgrimage of grace.

Mansfield College,
Oxford.

GEORGE CAIRD.

Adrian Hastings A CONCISE GUIDE TO THE DOCUMENTS OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL
DLT 1968 Vol I 246 p Vol II 264 p 17/6 each

This book is almost a "must" for understanding the documents of the Second Vatican Council. It is unfortunate that the words in the title, "concise guide", may lead one to expect something dry. In reality it is a wise and balanced account of each document, its genesis and development and salient features and its practical applications. There are short, incisive and easily understood essays on important points, brief reading guides and questions for exercise. This first volume covers the Constitutions on the Church, the Liturgy and Revelation and the Decrees (which do not much differ from Constitutions) on Ecumenism, Non-Christian Religions and Missionary Activity.

We see in this Council the whole Church in dynamic action, working out her renewal with much labour and difficulty under the gradually effective breath of the Holy Spirit suggested by Pope John when he opened that study window. The supreme doctrinal achievement is the Constitution on the Church, "enormously rich both in its central affirmations and in the hints it throws out for further thought". Most of the other documents depend upon or are closely related to it. The juridical concepts so recently in vogue have been replaced by the great themes of the People of God of the New Covenant and the Mystical Body of Christ. The Church is seen to be a Communion, essentially sacramental, with her dynamic centre in the Eucharist. For the Eucharist alone makes full sense of the Church, the universal sacrament of a salvation which is union, fellowship and peace. This Eucharist, celebrated first in the local church, enters the universal communion of the episcopal college of which Peter is the head to open the charity of Christ to the service of the whole world. For—as the frequent term "minister" shows—the Church, like her Master, exists not to be served but to serve.

The first avenue to renewal was opened by the Constitution on the Liturgy, "the Charter for the most deliberate and comprehensive remodelling of the Church's worship that has ever taken place". Although subsequent developments have already dated it in some practical matters like the general use of the vernacular, its principles remain basic: the supreme importance of Scripture, the centrality of the Paschal Mystery, the need for all the People of God to understand and participate actively, the simplicity and authenticity required in public prayer and in the sacramental rites so that all can follow with ease, provision for variety and responsible freedom especially in the missions, restoration of the public catechumenate for adults, and finally the manifestation of the unity of the Church at the Eucharist. However, "it is possible to celebrate the liturgy so that nothing is manifested at all". To manifest unity the Council (with allowance for freedom) has reintroduced consecration; to associate communion with the altar rather than the tabernacle it urges that if possible hosts

be consecrated at the Mass; to enable the faithful to realise themselves to be the People of the New Covenant, it enables them, at least on great occasions, to "drink the Cup".

One of the most fundamental achievements of the Council, which "could in the long run have more effect on inter-Church relations than any other document" is the Constitution on Revelation. For it manifests the Church's love for Scripture, which it recognises as a unity. It takes account of literary forms and of the processes by which the Gospels came to be written for the early Christian communities while firmly asserting their historical character and apostolic authorship. It urges easy access to the Scriptures for all, suggests translation work in co-operation with separated brethren, and compares "unceasing" feeding upon the Scriptures to Holy Communion itself.

The ecumenical movement, which has flourished chiefly among non-Catholics, is one of those "signs of the times" which Pope John bade us observe, one of those things changing and fresh in the world under the impulse of the Holy Spirit to work with which actively and intelligently is to work with the will of God. "The chief contribution of the Council to ecumenism was its general policy of Church renewal", but the actual Decree was important in drawing lines of thought together and pointing the way to further advance, for it is essential to ecumenism to be on the move. To what goal? The achievement of unity in the Eucharist which involves unity of faith. The Decree says that all Catholics must be involved in ecumenism; and while no one may surrender a truth of faith, there is a hierarchy among these truths which are not all of the same importance, elements may exist better among separated brethren whose doctrines we should get to know, and the essentials, for growing nearer to Christ and so to one another, are change of heart and deep prayer.

The last two Decrees considered in this volume are those on Non-Christian Religions and on Missionary Activity. There is no contradiction here. At last we have from the Church a friendly, public, positive account of other great world religions, and especially the famous passage on Judaism which at least attempted, all too tardily, to make reparation for the terrible injustices of the past. Finally there is a condemnation of any discrimination, racial or religious. The Decree on Missionary Activity shows that the Church of Christ must be missionary through and through, even in the young churches (for it is quite wrong to identify the missionary vocation with the white man). The author of this book, himself a missionary, is able to bring out a number of the practical needs mentioned in the Decree, including radical missionary adaptation, and the use of married deacons. Clarity of thought and strength of touch characterise all his comments on these documents and aid us to make the thought of this great Council our own.

Volume II, now also published, maintains the same high quality. It takes in the Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, the Decree on Religious Freedom, and the rest of the documents. Analyses are clear and comments shrewd and helpful. A chapter follows on "Some Special Themes" of the Council: Christology, Dialogue, Being Human, Marriage Difficulties, the Catholicity of each Diocese, the Synod of Bishops, the Church of the Poor, the Development of Dogma. A final chapter considers basic affirmations: the primordial significance of the Eucharist and the Bible, the re-discovery of the local church, the altered shaping of the Church's ministry, temporal service. There are appendices and indices.

Downside Abbey,
Bath.

RALPH RUSSELL, O.S.B.

VII. N.C.M.H. & T.R.H.S.

ed. R. B. Wernham THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, III: THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND PRICE REVOLUTION, 1559-1610 CUP 1968 598 p 60/-

To Catholics who are trying to establish a satisfactory relation with the founding-period of modern Catholicism it may come as a consolation that historians are in something of the same position: the title of this volume could hardly reveal more

clearly unresolved claims of tradition and innovation. Some day "the Economy of Europe, 1539-1609" (F. C. Spooner's opening chapter) and "The Papacy, Catholic Reform and Christian Missions" (by T. M. Parker, which follows) may lie down together more comfortably than they do at the moment. In the meantime Dr Parker's chapter is something to be most grateful for, the distillation of much thought, governed by a sympathy which stands out against the rather unenthusiastic tone of his account of Protestantism during this period. He is sceptical about the originality of the Council of Trent, and of the notion that it is adequate, or even accurate, to describe modern Catholicism as "Tridentine"; he explains what made Roman centralisation attractive to serious people. Although most of the detail on missionary matters is kept back for a final chapter on colonial development (by J. H. Parry and J. B. Harrison), he gives them due weight, and has some very helpful things to say about the relation between them and theological arguments about grace. After considering how much the relative success of the Counter-Reformation in Europe owed to government interest, ignorant popular passion and enlightened individual faith, he concludes:

"Stained as it was by fanaticism and cruelty and too often chained to Machiavellian nationalism, lacking as it now seems to have been in what is now known as the ocumenical spirit, there was a depth, a realism and above all a zeal inspired by deep spirituality about later sixteenth-century Catholicism which makes it impossible for the historian to dismiss it as an aberration of Christianity."

This is so good, and hits so many nails on the head, that it seems somehow necessary to add, as a complement, the final word of a historian who, while the Cambridge book was assembling, took on the whole period by himself (J. H. Elliott, "Europe Divided", Fontana History of Europe, 1968):

"[Europe's civil wars] had nevertheless bequeathed to a basically unified society that most vitalizing of legacies—a diversity of cultures and a diversity of faiths."

This volume illustrates the diversity better than the unity, but is full of good things.

JOHN BOSSY.

The Queen's University,
Belfast.

ed. Professor C. L. Mowat THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. XII: THE SHIFTING BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES, 1898-1945 CUP 1968 xxvii + 845 p 60/-

The half-century that is the subject of this volume was revolutionary in almost everything except its morals. In wickedness, saintliness and heroism the only innovation (and this is characteristic) was the cold-bloodedness, efficiency and magnitude of the Nazis' genocide of the Jews, a crime which the editor rightly underlines in his introductory survey.

One of the revolutions was in the conception of the field of history. The original "Cambridge Modern History" was planned by Lord Acton in 1896, just before the date at which the present volume of the "New History" opens. Acton aimed at producing a history of mankind, but his executors made few excursions beyond the confines of the West, and they still thought of history almost exclusively in political terms. Acton's own interest in ideas, though intense, was concentrated on ideas about politics. The editor of the present volume is to be congratulated on the catholicity of his conception of the historian's field. He does include the whole world—Eastern Asia, the Middle East and Russia, for instance, as well as the West—and besides politics and war, he brings in economics, social life, science and technology, philosophy and religious thought, painting, sculpture and architecture. He observes that, in this revolutionary half-century, the world became "one world" in the geographical sense, whether for good or for evil. But the series of questions with which he closes his introduction does not include the question of the relation between the manifold forms of human activity that he has assembled on his stage. Is there any unity among these?

This question is raised by the contrast between one chapter and all the rest. Professor McKie's chapter on science and technology is a "success story"—with a catch at the end of it, which the writer points out. The other chapters are stories of failures

resulting in frustration, chaos, blunders, misdeeds and suffering. In all fields of human activity except science and technology, human beings have to cope with themselves and with their fellows; in science and technology they only have to cope with non-human nature—but here comes the catch on which Professor McKie has put his finger. As soon as mankind and its rulers awoke to the fact that science, applied to technology, churns out wealth and power, they enslaved the scientists and exploited their new knowledge to serve old bad human purposes. Scientists have become professionals; they are now set to work in teams to follow directives laid down for them by commercial corporations and by governments. The increasing cost of scientific research is making independent individual research—work like Thomson's, Rutherford's, Ramsay's, Einstein's—increasingly difficult. The employee scientist is well paid, because his work is valuable for his employers' civil or military practical purposes; but for the same reason the traditional freedom to publish new scientific discoveries has been ominously restricted. The last five pages of Professor McKie's chapter are the key pages of this volume.

On the other hand, the most stimulating chapter is Sir Basil Liddell Hart's on the Second World War. By a skilful use of his space, he has managed to give us a narrative of the events and an illuminating appreciation of their significance. It is good that able minds should devote themselves to the study of grievous maladies. Study is the road to curative treatment. The only cure for war is to abolish this always evil institution now that science has given military technology the tools to do the job of liquidating the human race.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

Chatham House,
St James' Square, S.W.1.

ed. R. W. Southern ESSAYS IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY Macmillan 1968 276 p 50/- cloth, 25/- paper

The Royal Historical Society is commemorating its centenary with two volumes of essays selected from the first four series of its Transactions, covering the years 1871-1950. Here a dozen medieval essays have been resurrected, from those which still prove valuable and have not been reprinted. It is interesting to see how time and their own industry have honoured the writers since they delivered their papers to the Society.

In January 1946 Fr Francis Dvornik delivered his paper on "The Kiev State and its Relations with Western Europe". This year he has crowned his reputation with his vast study of "Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy", in two volumes.

In May 1949 Professor Joan Hussey delivered her paper on "The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century; Some Different Interpretations", where she criticised Ostrogorsky and others on their interpretation of the years 1025-81. She has since translated his great book and mothered into print the two massive volumes of the C.M.H. IV, which replace Bury so conclusively.

In April 1941 Dr Dorothy Whitelock read her paper, "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman", and has now gone on to present to the Anglo-Saxon world (both the English and the History Schools) her priceless jewel, as comprehensive as anyone could want, "English Historical Documents I, 597-1042".

And so it goes on, from Philip Grierson to Stenton, Dr R. W. Hunt, Mabel Mills, Richardson without Sayles, Rees, N. B. Lewis, Helen Suggitt and ending most fittingly with K. B. McFarlane's "Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism'". It was he who began this volume as its editor; and Professor Southern writes of him that "his successor is conscious that (the inclusion of his essay after his death) is perhaps the only improvement he has been able to make". It is an essay that few of us have been able to avoid reading on a hot afternoon in the Codrington.

A.J.S.

ed. Ian R. Christie ESSAYS IN MODERN HISTORY Macmillan 1968 304 p 50/- cloth, 25/- paper

This is a companion volume to the one reviewed above. The oldest paper recovered from T.R.H.S. volumes is Sir Charles Firth's "The Raising of the Ironsides" (1899) and the newest is W. L. Burn's "Free Trade in Land: an Aspect of the Irish Question" (1948). Chronologically the first is J. Neville Figgis's "Respublica Christiana" (1910) and the last is Dame Lillian Benson's "The New Course in British Foreign Policy, 1892-1902" (1942). There are two Alexander Prize Essays among the collection, Sir John Neale's study of the Tudor Commons Journals, and Sir Henry Phillips' account of the demise of the Court of Star Chamber. There are twelve papers in all.

VIII. GENERAL

Rosemary Cramp ANGLIAN AND VIKING YORK Borthwick Inst. of Hist. Research No. 33 1967 21 p 9 pl 5/-

This is a very professional piece of work by the senior lecturer in Antiquities at Durham. Using as yet unpublished evidence, she shows that the apparent continuity of life, after Rome had contracted her frontiers, was broken during 450-550 by persistent flooding: under the Norman motte of Clifford's Tower a bed of marl "of very variable thickness, apparently deposited by a tidal river in pools" has been found. Life began again with the coming of Paulinus, and York was raised to metropolitan status in the year that Bede died, 735. Soon a great cathedral school tradition grew up, and its finest flower was Alcuin, Charlemagne's Lanfranc. But they were rough days, and twice we are told (p 7, 12) that between 758-96 five of the seven Northumbrian kings met violent ends or were deposed. The minster burned down in 741 and had to be refurbished by Archbishop Aelberht who called it "the new basilica" hallowed to God as *Alma Sophia*, with its high strong columns, curved arches, different levels and some thirty altars. Parts of it are now being rediscovered under the Minster foundations, and it is a pity that the author did not delay publishing to take in this new evidence.

With eight photographs and two plan-maps of archaeological evidence and a good deal more in the text, the author tells of the transition to Viking rule. Her evidence supports Stenton's judgement concerning "the extraordinary density of the Scandinavian colonisation of York in comparison with any settlement of the kind south of the Humber". York prospered as a royal and ecclesiastical centre of administration, and more so as a nexus of trade with wide contacts in Scandinavia. The days just before the Conquest were its halcyon days.

A.J.S.

J. W. & L. F. Bird THE FREEDOM OF SEXUAL LOVE: A CHRISTIAN CONCEPT OF SEXUALITY IN MARRIAGE Hodder & Stoughton 1968 189 p 25/-

With an *imprimatur* and a Foreword by Mgr J. D. Conway, this extremely candid book has the backing of the Church. Joseph Bird is a clinical psychologist and psychotherapist, and he and his co-author wife live with their nine children in Saratoga, California (one wonders how many of the nine are the by-product of experimentation during the researching of this book). The cover remarks speak of the subject being treated "candidly and explicitly, yet with sensitivity and sympathy"; perhaps the third is wanting, but not the others. A now fashionable stress is laid on the inseparability of flesh and spirit, and involvement of the total personality in a "commitment in love".

R.E.

COMMUNITY NOTES

OBITUARY

FR CHAD BOURKE, O.S.B.

JOHN BOURKE was born near Ballina, Co. Mayo, in 1903. The family came to England when he was about five and settled at Edmonton, North London. He was the eldest of six children, four sons and two daughters. As a boy he joined the choir of the Church of the Redemptorist Fathers. This early experience in the great musical tradition of the Church was the start of a life-long love for choirs and choral music in which he became moderately expert.

His own voice developed from early treble to a pleasant light tenor and later, after completing his Novitiate at Ampleforth (where he came from two years at Osterley), he became a regular and reliable cantor in the choir.

At St Benet's Hall he read History; he then did his Theology with the Dominicans at Blackfriars, and then studied German, spending six months at the Benedictine Monastery of Grussau, where he received the Sub-Diaconate. He was ordained Priest at Ampleforth in 1931 and was on the School Staff for a year before beginning his Pastoral work at St Mary's, Bamber Bridge, remaining there four years. In 1937 he was appointed assistant at St Benedict's, Warrington, and after one year there to St Peter's, Liverpool. During his 14 years there he took charge of the choir, bringing together men and women animated by a common love for the great polyphonic Church music of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Always a perfectionist in whatever he did, he gave all his own knowledge, experience and talent to the task of rendering the Mass-singing in the best tradition of reverence and dignity. There was never any thought of mere "concert performance", but always what was fitting and right for the most sacred and solemn act on this earth.

When the blitz on Liverpool started, one would have expected someone so highly strung to have cracked under the strain of anxiety and terror; but he did not, even though the Priory itself was hit. There was so much more pastoral work to be done, attending to the injured and dying, consoling the people, that he forgot himself in his priestly service.

In addition to his regular parochial duties, Fr Chad was much in demand as a confessor to Religious Sisters and a retreat-giver.

When Fr Bruno Dawson was appointed elsewhere, Fr Chad succeeded him in charge of the Parish, but the burden of this responsibility undermined his health, and after a period of recuperation he was sent as assistant to Fr Edward Croft at Our Lady and St Patrick's, Maryport, in October 1953. Here he took up again the work for which he was so well equipped, the forming and training of a choir. Served loyally by its members, again

there was heard at many a *Missa Cantata* on the great Festivals of the Church and in Holy Week, the lovely strains of Palestrina, di Lasso, Verdana, Vitoria, and others.

His happiness at Maryport was marred by development of phlebitis in both legs. At first this did not inhibit his walks along the coast of the Solway Firth, watching the bird life of the estuary. But gradually he had to shorten the walks and then give them up altogether. This was a great trial to him but much more so was having to give up his daily Mass and his choir work. One never heard a complaint from him: he still had his music on records to enjoy. Eventually gangrene set in in one foot and he was taken to Workington Infirmary and in due course there was no other alternative but to amputate.

After several months at Workington he was transferred to Boarbank Hall Nursing Home at Grange-over-Sands and from there to St Catharine's Convent, "The Minorities", Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for the fitting of his artificial leg. After some months there he was moved to Ince Blundell Hall, Formby. It was evident that he would never make much progress in the use of the artificial leg and his condition gradually deteriorated until towards the end of October 1968 it was seen that he had not long to live. The last Rites were administered and he died peacefully in the Convent of Park House Nursing Home, Waterloo, on 5th November. He was buried at the Abbey, as he wished.

THE ABBEY

DURING the last year the following of the Community were ordained priests: Fr Bede Emerson, Fr Finbar Dowling, Fr Aelred Burrows, Fr Leo Chamberlain. The following were ordained deacons: Br Laurence Kriegshauser, Br Bonaventure Knollys; and the following were made subdeacons: Br Gregory Carroll, Br Ralph Wright, Br Alberic Staepoole, Br Andrew Beck, Br Edgar Miller, Br Gilbert Whitfield.

Our reach extends even to Africa. Fr Columba Cary-Elwes is in Kenya and Uganda giving a series of Retreats to the Mill Hill fathers for a year. Fr Alban Rimmer is in Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) to those who have not amended their maps) similarly engaged with the Church in Africa. Both speak in their letters of long journeys and few priests, a large harvest but not many harvesters.

SAINT LOUIS PRIORY

BUILDING AND PLANNING PROGRESS

In September the Junior School moved into its new building which was completed on schedule. Frs Ian and Nicholas now for the first time have adequate space in which to perform their task of civilising the future entrants to the Upper School. They also have the help of Mr Wilkes, one of the lay staff, to take care of the extra boys who started in September in the first phase of our expansion programme.

Work on the plans for the Upper School buildings has been continuing, and important decisions are being made. A special committee appointed by Fr Prior addressed itself to the vexing problem of the desirability and feasibility of amalgamating the monastic and school libraries. They were able to produce a proposal which received the unanimous approval of the Community at conventual chapter. Building operations will begin on time in the late spring.

SUMMER SCHOOL

The Summer School was judged by the Poverty Programme officials to have been a great success, and this has had the important result that we are assured of their continued financial help. Even more gratifying is the fact that its success has encouraged a number of other private schools in the area to plan similar schools this coming summer.

During the Christmas vacation we held a re-union for the students of our two Summer Schools. This consisted of a social gathering (with do-nuts and 7-Up), followed by attendance at a Priory basketball game in the school gymnasium. Most of the boys attended and enjoyed themselves, though some were unable to come for reasons which pleased us. Several boys were playing basketball for their schools, and there was one who could not come because he had to leave St Louis the previous day to return to a seminary in Wisconsin.

ST ANSELM'S PARISH AND THE ARCHDIOCESE

Our ties with the parish have now been cemented by the drawing up of an agreement with the Archbishop of St Louis for the Priory church to be used permanently as the parish church. Fr Leonard acts as assistant pastor and liaison between the pastor and the Community, some of whom also help with renewal groups and other parochial activities.

For several years we have made our playing fields and the gymnasium available to parochial teams playing football and basketball in the Archdiocesan C.Y.C. League. The Junior School plays in this League and has more than once been champions of it. Fr Ian is making his contribution to the smooth operation of the football league, as Secretary.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN CIVIC LIFE

Living as we do on the fringe of a large city, it has been relatively easy for members of the Community to apply their peculiar talents to the enrichment of the educational and cultural life of the area. Fr Timothy serves on the Higher Education Co-ordinating Committee, a body composed of the heads of the local Universities and Colleges, and other institutions of higher learning. It clearly has a vital influence on the educational life of the area. That Fr Timothy should have been invited to serve on it is a gratifying recognition of the Priory's contribution to education in the area as well as providing us with channels to keep informed of the needs and opportunities arising from time to time.

St Louis has an excellent planetarium named for the founder of the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation which makes the Gemini space capsule and the Phantom plane, whose generosity made the building possible. He also provided a substantial sum of money to set up educational courses in astronomy and space science from the grade school level to College graduate level on condition that the programme be directed by a committee of scientists and teachers appointed by the Mayor of St Louis. Fr Thomas was invited to be a member and later to become chairman of the committee which made him *ex officio* a member of the Planetarium Commission. In this capacity he meets science professors and teachers, school superintendents and city officials, contacts which are beneficial to the school, and particularly to the science department.

Fr Austin, not surprisingly, has made a personal impact on the music-loving section of the local community. Having discovered the nucleus of a small orchestra among the nuns and faculty of St Joseph's Academy, he developed it into the St Louis University Chamber Orchestra of which he is the director and conductor. He has also been guest conductor of the Kirkwood Symphony Orchestra and for the St Louis Chorale which on one occasion he conducted at a special concert held in the Episcopal Cathedral of St Louis.

ST SYMEON'S HOUSE, OSWALDKIRK

In January three boys came to start their Orthodox formation at St Symeon's and their general education at Ampleforth. Three more are expected in September, one of them an orphan whose father died recently. Two more have already applied for September 1970, and a theological student in Belgrade has applied to do an A level course at Ampleforth after finishing his theology.

It is earnestly hoped—and prayed for—that the flow of boys through St Symeon's will feed the higher Orthodox educational establishments in the West, the Pan-Orthodox Centre in Oxford, St Sergius Institute in Paris, St Vladimir's Seminary in New York, and so on.

At present, Fr Vladimir Rodzianko supplements the theology lectures at the Abbey by lecturing on the Eastern Orthodox version of the subject in hand. His wife teaches Russian in the School, the first woman on our staff. They are both also involved in lecturing widely over England, and on the B.B.C. to Russia.

FIRST PONTIFICAL MASS IN YORK MINSTER SINCE THE REFORMATION

It was a glorious occasion, when the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, the Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow in Western Europe, celebrated for the first time in history an Orthodox Pontifical Liturgy in York Minster on 7th December 1968. The Orthodox Liturgy is equal in its liturgical and theological meaning to a Catholic Mass, and

is now recognised as such by the Catholic Church (the Vatican Council Fathers made it clear that the Sacraments and the Liturgy of the Orthodox Church are exactly the same as the Catholic). One can then say that this was the first Pontifical Mass since the Reformation celebrated at York Minster. There have been Orthodox liturgies celebrated at York in the recent past, but so far they were not pontifical, though in the Orthodox tradition the liturgy, in its complete form, is always pontifical, and a mass celebrated by a priest always has a link with the bishop: symbolically it is shown by the way the priest stands behind the high altar before the gospel reading: never in the middle, but at the side, the centre being the place of the bishop. And indeed the bishop is there mystically, for in the Orthodox concelebration tradition (every liturgy is a 'concelebration'—that is the meaning of it in Greek) the Liturgy is cosmic and one, every celebrant being a mystical participant with the bishop celebrating somewhere afar (in his cathedral, or elsewhere) and all the bishops being concelebrants with each other all over the world.

Speaking in Western terms this was a real Pontifical Mass, with a Bishop celebrating personally at the high altar of York Minster, and in that sense it was the first Pontifical Mass there since the Reformation.

V.R.

St. Symeon's House.

On the evening of Saturday, 25th January, the Feast of the Conversion of St Paul, the first Unity service, Vespers of the Orthodox rite, was held at St Symeon's House. Readings and prayers were said by an Anglican and a Catholic priest and by a layman. Fr Rodzianko, who officiated, said in his homily that, though we now planted seeds of unity among us, we would not live to see their full flower: what we did and do, we do for generations to come after us. One man plants, another waters, and God in his own good time gives growth.

BORSTAL WORK

DURING the autumn Fr Theodore spent a fortnight at Hindley Borstal. He writes: "During the day I used to go round the shops, for I found this a good place for making contacts, or for consolidating those already made in the Houses. I also had meals with the boys, which proved rewarding, for it immediately gave a topic for conversation—'what do you think of the meals?' 'Not much good, but not much worse than a monastery!' After a bit I started getting invited to various tables, where the conversation was sometimes general and sometimes personal. Early on I was asked, 'what have you come here for?' 'Last time I saw you was in the Governor's office,' I said, 'not the best place to get to know anyone. The only thing to do is to live with them—so here I am for a fortnight. I may get to know and like a few of you, and some of you may come to know and like me; and some I may not like, or be liked by.' That usually made good sense to them.

I did not try to sort out the Catholics. Early on I took a group discussion of about fourteen of them, arranged by themselves. It soon revolved around sex and I got the impression that they wanted to find out how I would react. They ended by bringing out a whole string of complaints (record player left unattended for weeks, etc.), which I was able to bring to the Governor and get fixed.

The following week our group went deeper—'what are the real reasons that land a chap in trouble? Can others help you to live a fuller life? What sort of others? What about priests?' These got things going—about instability at home, the uselessness of returning to the same situation, the misery of being unaccepted, whether they trusted Probation Officers (only two did). They said that this was the first time they had ever talked to a priest. We went on to Christ and his friends in his lifetime . . . and then ran out of time.

Near the end Fr Gordon arrived with six students from Upholland (seminary). This time we did have separate discussions for the Catholics, in small groups led by the students. They found the boys a bit sticky because they had not had a fortnight of living with them; my group was much more ready to discuss things.

On All Saints' Day we had an evening Mass to which about twenty boys came, gathered round the altar—one of those Masses they really enjoy. We followed this on All Souls' Day with a series of talks in the Houses on Confession, ending with Confessions. The next Mass, not four but forty of the hundred there came to the Sacrament: it was a gay Mass, with Fr Gordon's hymns lustily sung to popular tunes.

It is the caring that counts, and we who are in a position that is clearly both voluntary and unpaid can show our care best. I remember one boy, whom I persuaded to teach me darts and who often came and talked to me afterwards, told me that when he first came into the recreation room and saw me, he said to himself, 'what the **** does he think he is doing here?'

CHILDREN DANCING

The children dancing photograph is an illustration of the kind of studies Fr Damian Webb has been making over the last few years on our parishes. He writes:

My interest in children's street games came about by chance. I took a number of photographs in colour in the early fifties while staying with the fishermen or peasants of Portugal. These photographs included many of the local children who played endlessly after the heat of the day had passed. In due course the pictures were used to illustrate talks to local clubs in England. It occurred to me one year that it might be fun to illustrate some of the photos with sound recordings, so I invested in a Ficord portable recorder, and a ribbon microphone: not the best outdoor combination but cheap.

I submitted some of these recordings to the B.B.C., whose archives showed interest; but the engineers, helpfully, advised changing over to a Swiss Nagra tape recorder. In the next few years my tape library, together with notes and translations of some hundreds of games, quickly paid for the recorder. My collection came to include games from Italy and Sardinia as well as from Portugal.

It was much later that I became aware of the rich heritage of children's games on my own West Cumberland doorstep. Parents constantly said that it was a pity that the English collection hadn't started forty years ago as children no longer played singing games in the street. How wrong they are! The tradition flourishes all over the country but more vigorously in Scotland and the North of England. Workington proved a superb centre from which to work, and there were constant surprises until the day I left.

Some time ago I made contact with Iona and Peter Opie, the writers and antiquarians, and their friendship led to a regular exchange of information.

Today I rarely use my recordings to accompany slide lectures. The tapes are carefully indexed as the collection grows, and I have a parallel collection of several thousand photographs (some of which appear from time to time in the Boys' Passage at Ampleforth).

I have done two light-hearted talks on the Home Service, and recently the B.B.C. have asked for a forty-minute programme on the Third on "The life and death of a singing game"; my task is to comment more seriously on the evolution of child folklore. This programme is due on the air sometime in April 1969.* I shall find it hard to treat the subject very seriously, for children at play are always fascinating, often exasperating, but never serious.

* BBC 3, Sunday 30th March: "The Life & Death of a Singing Game", 9.20-10 p.m. Repeat a week later. [Ed.]

BRIGADIER AND MRS C. F. T. HAIGH

BRIGADIER AND MRS C. F. T. HAIGH, parents of Fr Martin, celebrated their Golden Wedding on Wednesday, 9th October. They were married in the closing month of the Great War. It is not quite the first Golden Wedding we have had connected with the Community within living memory, for Fr Ambrose's parents celebrated theirs only last year.

The following Saturday the family gathered to mark the remarkable anniversary. Fr Martin said Mass (the Nuptial Mass) at Brompton Oratory, served by his brother Peter. Brigadier and Mrs Haigh came in at the last moment arm in arm, accompanied—*mirabile dictu*—by their one-time bridesmaid, who had been married and widowed in the meantime and was again able to play the part, so to speak! Then the family repaired to the Rembrandt for another Reception, fifty years on. Many of the Community wrote, and all of us remembered this day with gratitude to God in our prayers.

A HOSPITALLER CHAPLAIN FROM MEDIEVAL AMPLEFORTH

At least one inhabitant of medieval Ampleforth entered a religious order. In 1338 Fra Philip de Thame, Grand Prior of England of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem and Rhodes, sent an account of his Priory to Grand Master Fra Elyon de Villeneuve. The report on the Commandery of Shingay in Cambridgeshire, which he had recently visited, was attested by its three resident brethren, the last signature being that of "Frater Johannes de Ampelford, Capellanus".

There were three classes of Hospitaller, Brother Knights, Brother Priests and Brother Sergeants, the second being further divided into Priests-of-Obedience who stayed in Europe and Conventual Chaplains who were liable to service "at the Front". This meant Rhodes where under a Conventual Prior they staffed their Order's great church besides acting as ships' chaplains on "caravans" against the Turks and Mamelukes on the Sea of Marmora, the Aegean, the Bosphorus or the Black Sea; at dawn Mass was said on each galley at an altar on the poop and oars were also shipped to allow slaves to join in saying the Angelus.

Fra John was probably one of these Conventual Chaplains and may well have led an adventurous life before retiring to a placid existence by the upper reaches of the Cam. Commanderies were mainly concerned with running the Order's farms and sending revenues to Rhodes though they also recruited novices, dispensed charity to the local poor and entertained travellers and pilgrims as well as providing homes for elderly brethren. Estate management was onerous enough in itself for the Hospitallers, who were never numerous, had to supervise their serfs' boon work on the Commandery's glebe and in its mill, exact all the other feudal dues and hold manorial courts, yet nonetheless they maintained a full monastic observance. At Shingay (an important house with its own windmill and watermill and three granges or "Members"), besides the Chaplain there were only his Commander—a Sergeant, Fra Nicholas Basset—and a Brother Knight called Nauntoy; all three would have worn the Hospitaller habit of black cassock, skull cap and mantle with an eight pointed white cross on the breast. There were also seven servants and officials, a clerk, an old corridan or pensioner who acted as gatekeeper, and two priests, not Chaplains, who lived at the granges but must have sung the Office with Fra John in the Commandery's round naved chapel; no doubt he himself led his brethren-at-arms' daily recitation in Choir of their own Little Office, joined by the corridan and the officials.

It is possible that later he was promoted, as Chaplains were sometimes given Commanderies, but no other record is known of him (perhaps he died in the Black Death) and nothing remains of Shingay save a dry moat and an avenue of ancient lime trees. However, Fra John of Ampleforth deserves to be remembered as the only medieval regular of any order, military, mendicant or contemplative, who is so far known to have come from the village.

D.S.

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died:—J. Forshaw (1907) who died in 1966; M. F. M. Wright (1908) on 30th September 1968; M. O'Brien (C 56) on 1st October; F. G. Davey (1919) on 2nd October; D. E. Walker (1926) on 23rd October; J. R. McDonald (B 29) on 26th November; Lt-Col D. A. Bond (B 40) on 10th December; Canon W. S. Clifford on 15th December; A. W. Goodall in December; and A. S. Beech (1904).

D. E. WALKER

THE following notice appeared in *The Times*:

Mr. David Esdaile Walker, for many years a well-known Fleet Street foreign correspondent and author of some 15 books, died suddenly in Malta on 23rd October at the age of 61.

The son of Major-General Sir Ernest Walker, K.C.I.E., he was born at Darjeeling and educated at Ampleforth and Christ Church, Oxford. He became a journalist in 1932, his first foreign assignment being with the *Daily Mirror* in 1936.

He was abroad for the *Mirror* until 1952 and during that time acted also for Reuters in the Balkans from 1939-1941 and *The Times* and *Christian Science Monitor* in 1943-4 while in Lisbon. He was chief leader writer of the *News Chronicle* from 1955 until the paper closed.

Among his better known books was his autobiographical "Lunch with a Stranger"; "Eat, Drink and be Merry"; and "Adventure in Diamonds". The latter two were dramatised for television. "Adventure in Diamonds" was also made into a film by the Rank Organisation under the title "Operation Amsterdam".

When the *News Chronicle* closed Mr Walker joined W. S. Crawford as a senior advertising public relations executive.

Fr Cuthbert Rabbett adds:—The barren account of *The Times* obituary notice provokes one contemporary hero-worshipper to give the schoolboy impressions that have remained with him to this day. D.E.W. belonged to that basic Ampleforth upon which the Pauline structure was erected and from which it developed. He was a hero of the playing field. At stand-off half to Sam Whitfield, he removed all fear of debacle. None kept a straighter bat and his sixes were confined to the plane containing the bat and the bowler. He dedicated one of his books to Fr Placid Dolan who "taught me English under the guise of Mathematics".

ARTHUR GOODALL

THE news of Arthur Goodall's death in Nairobi on 17th December was somehow as unlikely as it was sad. Those who came to know him well while his son David (W 50) was in the School found in him a personal and physical vitality so complete that death seemed to have no right to

claim him. The secret of his inexhaustible kindness and enthusiasm was the whole-hearted simplicity which extended from his faith to his love of cricket. Treasurer for many years of the Lancashire County Cricket Club, he had just been elected its President. He was also a director of the District Bank. His friends were never surprised when his integrity brought him eminence, but what they will really remember about him is that eminence was the thing he cared about least and that the only person whom he never praised was himself. He laughed with people all his life, but was never known to laugh at them.

He was, with his wife, a devoted friend of Ampleforth. To her and to his son we extend our sympathy on their great loss.

WE congratulate the following on their marriage:

Dr Brian Hawe (A 51) to Jacqueline Atkinson at St Joseph's Church, Birkenhead, on 22nd June 1968.

Desmond F. Hawe (A 53) to Lynne Irving Cosgrove at St John's Catholic Church, Tadworth, on 20th July.

Peter J. Marsden (T 62) to Valerie Frances Lane at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Tunbridge Wells, on 3rd August.

J. Alec Stephenson (B 63) to Carol Jennifer Austin at St Anthony's Church Hall, Wolverhampton, on 17th August.

Nicholas Oliver Piers North (O 61) to Virginia Ransby at St Mary's, Cadogan Street, on 14th September.

David Glynn (T 58) to Wendy Pusinelli at St Richard's Church, Chichester, on 14th September.

Richard Walsh (D 52) to Jennifer Kirchel at St Dominic's, Croydon, on 14th September.

Benjamin Lister Marriner (T 59) to Rosemary Helen Alexander at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Stroud, Glos., on 28th September.

Michael Cubitt (C 38) to Lavinia French at St Mary's, Cadogan Street, on 9th October.

Henry Pattinson (T 60) to Gill Curran at Bishop Eaton Monastery, Liverpool, on 10th October.

Henry F. Caley (E 61) to Margaret Gould at Our Lady of Lourdes, Hesse, on 12th October.

Peter Rudolph Feilding (A 60) to Diana Mourne Cox at the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Marylebone Road, on 9th November.

John Christian Tyler (O 65) to Katharine Cornelia Rader at St Ethelreda's, Ely Place, on 23rd November, 1968.

Anthony Benson (J 67) to Carole Ann Grieve at Ampleforth Abbey on 4th January, 1969.

David Andrews (O 62) to Merilyn Parker at Our Lady of the Assumption, Warwick Street, on 12th January, 1969.

Richard Worsley (E 61) to Stephanie Youens at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, on 16th January, 1969.

AND the following on their engagement:

Captain Ian Flanagan (D 57) to Jane Williams.

Dr David F. H. Wardle (B 61) to Evelyne de Martini.

Dr Fergus J. F. Madden (C 59) to Felicity Gains.

Jonathan Stokes (E 60) to Karen Harper.

Richard Batho (E 60) to Ann Chadwick.

Michael Spencer (H 65) to Helen Dickinson.

Bernard M. C. Fogarty (A 63) to Patricia Mary Leatham.

Richard Dawson (H 66) to Gillian Howeson.

David Ogilvy Fairlie (W 41) to Ann Constance Bolger.

Peter Hickman (A 62) to Patsy Ambrose.

Francis C. J. Radcliffe (E 57) to Nicolette Randag.

Lieut-Col Prince John Ghika (O 46) to Judith Mary Davidson-Smith.

Dr Bryan Abbott (D 58) to Marie Hennigan.

Christopher Hugh King (A 65) to Carol Horsley.

Dermod Gray (H 62) to Barbara Thorsen.

Hugh Maclaren (C 62) to Patricia Kennedy.

Andrew Dudzinski (B 64) to Lyndy Dexter.

BIRTHS

Carol and Cyril Seymour-Newton, a son, Rupert Edward Cyril.

Lord and Lady Windlesham, a son, James Rupert.

Sally and Duncan Cumming, a son.

Helen and Hugo Young, a son, Dominic Gerard.

Jean and John White, a son, William John, brother for Nicholas.

Mary and Tim Birch, a son.

Mary and Peter Lingeman, a son.

Dagmar and Christopher Pickles, a son (Martin), brother to Adela and Stefan.

Elizabeth and David Peers, a daughter (Emma), sister to Nicholas, Simon and Catherine.

FR ADRIAN SMITH, W.F., is working for the Episcopal Conference at the Catholic Secretariat in Lusaka, Zambia. He was recently appointed by the Holy Father as a consultant for the Secretariat for the Union of Christians.

FR TIM FIRTH (A 57), who was ordained last year, is now a parish curate at 41 Brook Green, W.6. He spends his day ministering to three schools, a hospital, and a parish which (to measure the work involved) has about 200 marriages a year. He spends his evenings on what he describes as "a crash course in catechetics"—this after studying without cease since the day he left Ampleforth.

His brother, A. E. FIRTH, Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Dean of the College, has been appointed Junior Proctor of the University for the year starting May 1969.

VINCENT GRONIN (W 39), whose book "The Florentine Renaissance" appeared in 1967, has just completed a book following up the same theme, "The Crisis of the Renaissance". He is now going to write about Napoleon, whom he contends is a barrier between a proper English-French rapport.

J. CLANCY (1905) is managing director of J.C. Hotels Ireland Ltd.

P. DUNNE-CULLINAN (1917). The following appeared in the *Irish Times* on 5th December:—Mr Dunne-Cullinan is the new president of the Royal Dublin Society. He was educated at Belvedere College, Dublin, and Ampleforth College, and founded the Ampleforth Beagles in 1916. A member of the National Hunt Committee and Turf Club, he has judged at all the leading shows in Ireland and England.

DR GEOFFREY DEAN (1939). The following appeared in the *Port Elizabeth Evening Post* in September:—A Port Elizabeth consultant physician, Dr Geoffrey Dean, has been appointed Director of Medico-Social Research for the Republic of Ireland. He leaves next week for Dublin.

Dr Dean, 49, has accepted the post for five years, after which he plans to return to South Africa. Dr Dean's job will be to establish the main medico-social problems that exist in Ireland and to take steps to deal with them. Examples of these problems are alcoholism, cigarette smoking and the tendency of men in Ireland not to marry.

Dr Dean came to Port Elizabeth from Britain in 1947. He set up a consultant practice, but has also done a great deal of research which has given him a world-wide reputation. The three main fields of his research have been inherited diseases, especially the prophyrias; the cancers, in particular lung cancer; and multiple sclerosis, a disease of the nervous system.

Dr Dean was born in Wales. He was educated at Ampleforth College, Yorkshire, and Liverpool University, where he received his M.B., Ch.B. and M.D. (Neurology). In 1964 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, after becoming a member in 1947.

In 1956 he was awarded the Hamilton-Maynard Memorial Medal by the S.A. Medical Association for the most original research of the year. He was given a research grant in 1959 by the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, New York.

Dr Dean is on the Advisory Board of the International Federation of Multiple Sclerosis Societies. He is founder President of the S.A. Multiple Sclerosis Society.

CDR R. H. BRUNNER (B 37) has relieved Cdr H. S. May (W 38) as the Inspector of H.M. Coastguard, North Western Division, at Formby. Hugh May has become the Inspector in the South Eastern Division, at Shoreham. LT-COL W. D. MANGHAM, R.H.A. (O 42) has been promoted Brigadier and appointed C.R.A. 2 Division, B.A.O.R.

JOHN DICK (O 49) has been appointed a director of Arbuthnot Latham and Co., Merchant Bankers.

R. W. WILBERFORCE (1922) has retired as Chairman of the Butterly Co. Ltd., recently the subject of a successful take-over bid.

HON MARK FITZALAN HOWARD (O 52) has been appointed Managing Director of the Guardian Investment Trust.

PETER S. REID (A 41) has been named Vice-President of Golightly and Co. International Inc., the New York-based management consultants. Conarroc Associates Inc. released this information about him:—A native of Scotland, he has been a consultant in Europe for more than 16 years . . . in organisation and growth planning, financial analysis, as well as . . . inventory control and distribution systems. His clients include U.S. financial institutions, and both American and European manufacturing companies.

J. C. BAMFORD was made a C.B.E. in the New Year honours.

DR A. PORTER (E 46) has been awarded a Doctorate of Medicine by London University.

DR PATRICK WEAVER (E) has been awarded the D.M. and M.Ch. at Oxford University.

J. J. M. KOMARNICKI (D 57) is European Sales Manager for Granada Publishing, a subsidiary of Granada TV.

P. BYRNE-QUINN (D 57) is working at the Head Office of the Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company.

P. J. LINGEMAN (E 48) is a Magistrate for the City of Lincoln, and on the Executive Committee of Ruston-Bucyrus Ltd. He is also on the Overseas Policy Committee of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.

A. L. BUCKNALL (A 63) has played in two of this year's England Rugby trials, but with fierce competition in the back row of the scrum he is having to wait his turn for further honours. He plays regularly for Richmond and Eastern Counties. R. C. LISTER (W 66) played at No. 8 for the LX Club against the Greyhounds and after one promising match for Cambridge University against Northampton must be in the running for a Blue in 1969. R. T. AHERN (T 66) played for Trinity College, Dublin, in the Dublin University match against University College at Lansdowne Rd. D. J. K. TRENCH (A 60) is Captain of Roslyn Park and has been playing for Middlesex.

PETER J. MARSDEN (T 62) is working with the Thomson Organisation.

C. J. VICKERS (T 63) is studying Business Administration at the graduate school of business at Chicago University.

J. T. G. ROGERSON (W 57) is a Squadron-Leader in the R.A.F. Medical Branch, and a specialist anaesthetist in the R.A.F. Hospital, Wegberg.

J. D. POLONIECKI (H 63) got an Honours Degree, 2nd class, for the Bachelor of Technology Mathematics (Honours) at Brunel University.

W. R. MARRINER (T 64) was called to the bar of the Inner Temple on 26th November.

J. J. JEPHCOFF (H 61) was awarded a 1st class Honours Degree B.Sc. at Newcastle University.

A. F. LAMBERT (H 61) is lecturing at Bristol University.

J. D. K. CAVANAGH (H 63) is on the editorial staff of Burns and Oates.

The following entered Universities or Further Education in October 1968:

HISTORY. J. Greenfield (*Trinity*), R. Barrett and N. Rodger (*University*), R. Nairac (*Lincoln*), D. Dubois (*Oriel*), OXFORD; J. Walker (*Caius*), M. Festing (*St John's*), CAMBRIDGE; M. McIlvenna, D. West, F. K. Friel, W. R. MacDonald, LONDON; M. C. Gilbey, ST ANDREWS; P. Nevill, ABERYSTWYTH; J. Fresson, EXETER; J. Larkin, BRISTOL; J. T. M. Dalglish (School of Oriental and African Studies, London).

MODERN LANGUAGES. P. Carter (*Queen's*), M. Inch (*Worcester*), C. Villeneuve (*St John's*), R. Satterthwaite (*New College*), OXFORD; J. Fenwick (*Clare*), CAMBRIDGE.

CLASSICS. D. Wakely (*Wadham*), OXFORD; J. Freeman (*Pembroke*), CAMBRIDGE.

MEDICINE. M. Twohig (*Caius*), C. Collins (*Queens'*), L. Le Fanu (*Clare*), CAMBRIDGE; D. J. Lintin (*St Thomas's*); I. K. Sienkowski (*Westminster*); A. O'Brien (*Bart's*).

ENGLISH. M. Le Fanu (*Downing*), CAMBRIDGE; C. Petit, BRISTOL.

SCIENCE. R. Rimmer (Biochemistry, *St Peter's*), OXFORD; J. Hatfield (*St John's*), CAMBRIDGE; A. C. Shaw (Physical Sciences), SURREY; C. Townsend (Liberal Studies), MANCHESTER; I. R. Broxup (Chemistry), BIRMINGHAM; G. R. Thorniley-Walker (Chemistry), BRISTOL.

GEOGRAPHY. J. Wetherell (*St Catharine's*), CAMBRIDGE.

GEOLOGY. J. Hill, SUSSEX.

MATHEMATICS. K. Williams (*Jesus*), CAMBRIDGE.

ENGINEERING. M. Morrison, EDINBURGH; N. Anthony (Civil), NEWCASTLE; J. M. F. Peet (Electrical), DUNDEE.

BUSINESS STUDIES. P. C. R. L. Penno, Regent Street Polytechnic; R. E. Barton, Preston College; M. McGreanor, BRADFORD.

SOCIAL SCIENCES. J. Nihill, EXETER.

DENTISTRY. A. F. Markus, NEWCASTLE; M. Chisholm, Royal Dental Hospital.

ART. A. Gormley (Fine Arts and Architecture, *Trinity*), CAMBRIDGE; A. Grant Peterkin, DURHAM.

A. G. West is at Writtle Agricultural College, G. Trapp at the Hammer-smith College of Art, P. Boys at the London College of Law, J. A. Liddell at the London College of Estate Management. W. A. Mineyko is at Aberdeen University, R. Bramley at Exeter, J. de Trafford at Bristol, N. Powell at Sussex, C. G. Dawson at Edinburgh, M. Lamb at Bedford College, London. N. P. Wright passed into the R.N.C., Dartmouth, and M. A. H. O'Neill and C. Grieve into Sandhurst.

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN CRICKET CLUB

CRICKETER CUP 1969

On Sunday, 25th May 1969, the Old Amplefordians' C.C. will play the Old Cliftonians in the 1st round of the Cricketer Cup at Ampleforth.

The competition started in 1967 largely under the influence of E. W. Swanton, General Editor of "The Cricketer". For the past two years 16 teams have been invited to take part and the two winners to emerge have been Repton and Malvern. This year 32 teams have been invited, including ourselves as the only representatives from the North.

Given fine weather and evenly matched teams, the matches which have to be over in a day—and are to be played under Gillette Cup Rules—cannot fail to be exciting, while the possibility of meeting a Dexter, a May or a Cowdrey on the way ensure that there will be no lack of skill.

The Club is fully aware of the standard it will have to achieve in order to succeed and is hoping that those who have played recently for Oxford Authentics and Minor Counties will be available. As Malvern showed last year, brilliance is not so necessary as aggression and good fielding. For the school, the match should provide an interesting contrast to the type of cricket they have been used to playing and watching.

Nothing could put the team, and incidentally Ampleforth cricket, in better heart than a winning start, and the Club hopes that as many as possible will make the journey to give their support.

M. F. M. WRIGHT.

THE DRAW

Stowe v. Radley	
Cheltenham v. Highgate	
Bradfield v. Merchant Taylors	1st Round: 25th May
Lancing v. Dulwich	
Harrow v. St. Edward's, Oxford	2nd Round: 15th June
Ampleforth v. Clifton	
Uppingham v. Whitgift	3rd Round: 6th July
Eton v. Repton	
Tonbridge v. Brighton	Semi-final: 27th July
Felsted v. Charterhouse	
Blundells v. Shrewsbury	
Rugby v. Sherborne	
Haileybury v. Westminster	
Winchester v. Downside	FINAL: 17th August
Malvern v. Marlborough	
Wellington v. Oundle	

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS WERE:

Head Monitor	... .. R. L. Bernasconi
School Monitors	P. Hadow, D. S. Norton, P. B. Conrath, J. W. Fane-Gladwin, A. D. Harries, C. K. Kilkelly, C. Donlan, J. F. Tufnell, C. J. Raven, C. H. J. Buxton, N. S. Boulton, S. J. Shuldham, A. J. Mache, D. J. Hughes, M. W. S. Knapton, M. C. A. Pender-Cudlip, S. Morris, J. R. Parker.
Office Men	J. W. Fane-Gladwin, A. J. Macfie, D. J. Hughes, J. R. Parker, D. P. Horn, A. Meyrick, J. P. Christie, G. V. B. Thompson, G. R. Hatfield, S. A. Price, S. A. Willbourn, J. H. Leeming, T. M. Fitzalan-Howard.
Librarians	A. C. H. Mafeld, D. S. P. Solly, P. W. James, P. D. Clarke, J. P. MacHale, R. F. Sheppard, M. Reilly, P. J. Ford, R. G. Watson, P. St J. Baxter, M. C. Blackden, P. Grace, G. R. Gretton, S. G. Callaghan.
Bookroom Officials	C. J. Barnes, J. R. Dawson, T. A. Doyle, N. C. D. Hall, N. S. McCraith, D. A. McKibbin, M. C. Liddell, R. G. Killingbeck, J. C. H. Rigby.
Captain of Rugby	... .. S. J. Shuldham
Captain of Boxing	... .. D. J. West
Captain of Shooting	... .. J. H. Leeming
Master of Hounds	... .. T. M. Fitzalan-Howard

THE FOLLOWING BOYS LEFT THE SCHOOL IN DECEMBER:

St Aidan's:	N. S. Boulton, D. S. Norton, J. P. G. Slater, E. F. Spender, P. J. Viner.
St Bede's:	P. B. Conrath, M. A. Everall, C. G. Peake.
St Cuthbert's:	S. R. Heywood.
St Dunstan's:	J. D. Cape, J. F. P. Eddison, A. D. Harries, D. F. Murphy, J. R. Ryan, W. A. Ryan.
St Edward's:	A. E. J. Heaton-Armstrong, C. K. Kilkelly.
St Hugh's:	P. R. Davey, C. Donlan, R. H. Staveley-Taylor, S. A. Willbourn.
St John's:	N. P. G. Boardman, D. N. M. Coggon, J. L. Crosthwait, P. Hadow, M. W. S. Knapton.
St Oswald's:	J. P. Cahill, A. Mafeld, M. C. A. Pender-Cudlip, J. F. D. Tufnell.
St Thomas's:	C. J. Raven.
St Wilfrid's:	C. H. J. Buxton, W. W. R. Kerr.

THE FOLLOWING BOYS ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN JANUARY:

J. F. Barber, W. H. Braithwaite, H. G. Buckmaster, J. H. O'N. Craig, M. Cuddigan, A. N. Dagnall, C. T. A. Forster, T. G. Fuller, J. P. Hartley, J. G. Hutchinson, K. D. McCarthy, J. M. Moorhouse, Hon R. W. B. Norton, A. P. Oppe, M. Pery-Knox-Gore, J. M. Ponsorby, D. G. Poyser, P. F. Quigley, P. J. H. Reford, R. H. J. Skinner, N. A. Slattery, Hon W. H. Smith, B. G. Tabor, D. Pavlovich.



Children at Play

"Take her by the lily-white hand
lead her across the water . . ."

From the traditional singing game ROSY APPLE LEMON AND A PEAR (Leyland version)

See Community Notes



The Royal Irish Rangers

Iceland 1968



Miss Duckworth's farewell, 8th October
See Preparatory School Notes



The Fz.Howard-Hatfield-Howard hand-made harpsichord
See School Notes



Rugby 1st XV
From Left to Right,
Standing: D. Callaghan, T. Howard, S. Fane-Hervey, M. Simonds, M. C. Pender-Cudlip,
D. Young, A. Wojciechowski, A. Kennedy, S. Price.
Sitting: W. Reschwald, J. Cahill, J. O'Connell, J. O'Connell, J. O'Connell, J. O'Connell,
D. N. O'Connell, C. McCann, M. Sheehan, A. D. Lacey.

We congratulate the following on their election to University awards in the recent examinations:

CAMBRIDGE

- D. N. M. Coggon. Exhibition (Mathematics), Clare College.
C. Donlan. Exhibition (Classics), Jesus College.
D. F. Murphy. Exhibition (English), St John's College.

OXFORD

- C. H. J. Buxton. Scholarship (Classics), Wadham College.
M. W. S. Knaption. Scholarship (Mod. Studies), Corpus Christi College.
N. S. Boulton. Hastings Scholarship (History), The Queen's College.
J. D. Cape. Exhibition (Classics), Merton College.
J. L. Crosthwait. Exhibition (Classics), University College.
M. C. A. Pender-Cudlip. Exhibition (History), Worcester College.

AMONGST our visitors this term were Vincent Cronin (W 39), author of a recent book on the Florentine Renaissance, who spoke to the History scholars; and Miss Sally Trench (now Mrs Janiurek), who spoke to the senior boys about her work with London's "down and outs" as described in her book, "Bury me in my Boots".

A COLLECTION of discs and tape recordings is being developed under the general title of "The Library of the Spoken Word". Based on material already acquired by individual departments, it includes, in addition to poetry and drama (mostly Mr Haughton's province), recordings of historical interest and a section devoted to twentieth century oratory.

It is not practicable to provide a lending library service for the school as a whole. But keen debaters, for example, who would like to study the technique of Churchill or Hitler, Fidel Castro or Martin Luther King, could use the Library by consulting their Housemasters or Mr McDonnell.

On 18th October 1968, 26 of Mr R. A. Goodman's former pupils gave a dinner in his honour at the R.A.C. Club in London. Dr A. H. Willbourn was in the chair and made a handsome presentation on behalf of 70 Old Boys.

At the end of the Summer Term, Mr E. S. R. Dammann of the Masters' Common Room married Miss Susanna Haughton, eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs E. A. Haughton. The Nuptial Mass was celebrated in the Abbey Church by the Prior of Blackfriars, Rev Guy Braithwaite, O.P., and the reception was held at Gilling Castle. (By kind permission of Father Abbot.)

We congratulate Mr and Mrs R. F. Gilbert on the birth of a daughter, Lucinda, on 9th January 1969.



RUGBY 1ST XV

From Left to Right.

Standing: D. Callighan, T. Howard, S. Fane-Hervey, M. Simonds, M. C. Pender-Cudlip,
D. Young, A. Wojciechowski, A. Kennedy, S. Price.

Sitting: W. Reichwald, J. Cahill, D. Norton, A. D. Meehan, C. J. O'Sullivan (Capt.),
D. N. Ogilvie, C. McCann, M. Skehan, A. D. Lucey.

At the end of term Mr Houghton took a party of 36 boys to Stratford-upon-Avon to see the Royal Shakespeare Company's performance of "Troilus and Cressida".

The Christmas Term of 1968 saw two contrasting productions staged in the theatre. The first was a performance of "The Dock Brief" by contemporary playwright John Mortimer, which, directed by C. M. Johnston, presented N. D. Blane and J. R. O'Grady as the two characters in a long one-act piece. A few days later, the scenes were shifted to accompany another production—this time of "Sweeney Todd", an old Victorian melodrama, recently returned to popularity. S. McCarthy headed a large cast in his role as the infamous barber, and the action was directed by Mr Houghton. Justifying the efforts put in backstage, both plays were deservedly successful, performed to full houses, and enjoyed considerable response from the school.

The York Arts Theatre Company has moved from its old home in "The Cellars" at King's Manor to more spacious and better equipped quarters in St John's, Micklegate, where it is now presenting an exciting season of modern plays "in the round". We have already seen Edward Bond's grim little study in violence, "Saved", and the first performance of a new play, "The Exploding Dream" in which the author (Richard Drain) directed a large cast in an imaginative interpretation of the Guy Fawkes plot—a virtuoso production.

This young company has brought much needed life to the York cultural scene, and deserves support. More members would be welcome (VIth Form only).

An Ampleforth ski-party of 31 boys went during the Christmas holidays to Engelberg, Switzerland.

STEPHEN MORRIS

The news of the death of Stephen Morris, who was killed in a motor accident on the night of 4th November while spending the half term with friends, came as a numbing shock to all of us.

"Steve" Morris came to Ampleforth, the youngest of three brothers, via Gilling and the Junior House, in September 1964, a quiet, unassuming and gifted boy. He was to have left at Christmas, after sitting for a scholarship in Classics at Clare College, Cambridge.

The impact which his death made on his host of friends was remarkable, but then, he was in many ways a remarkable person, whose influence was considerable, not only among his contemporaries, but also throughout the School, so that his tragic death has left a void in the lives of many. Perhaps what distinguished him especially was his complete integrity. He was in many ways shy and reserved, but his relaxed and humorous individuality was increasingly in evidence, and his ready sympathy for others gave depth and substance to his friendships.

To his mother and his two brothers we offer our deepest sympathy in their tragic loss.

THOMAS LOWCOCK SARGISON

The death of Tom Sargison on the morning of Christmas Day will have saddened the wide circle of his friends. This had been a poor year for him. The six months in hospital, separated from his family, was a great trial to him, although his fortitude in such depressing circumstances was marvellous to see. A lesser man could not have withstood the many disappointments of that time. That he was able to spend his last three months in familiar surroundings was a great encouragement to him, and at Christmastide the family were all at home together. A frail appearance belied his tremendously wiry tenacity and determination; back at home he was sure he would get well again—he even put on some weight; right up to the last few days it looked as if he was weathering yet another temporary setback.

Tom came to the College as laboratory steward in the spring of 1928, soon after the opening of the first stage of the new science block. His skill and reliability quickly showed, and in the years that followed the science teaching staff came to lean more and more on his efficient control of the practical side of laboratory management. He was a past master in the art of improvisation, and his ingenuity was never beaten by a problem in the construction or maintenance of apparatus. Watches, fountain pens, spectacles were all brought to him for attention. It was confidently reckoned that given some string, a few drawing pins, and a piece of Faraday's wax, he could make a typewriter play gramophone records.

His insistence on perfection and attention to detail in his handiwork probably showed itself best in his layout of a room for a practical examination. Nothing was overlooked that could contribute to the confidence of the candidate. In an hour the scene would be a wreck of spills and breakages, but he was happy in having done his best for the boys, who in any successes owed more to his labours than they could possibly imagine.

With it all he was so easy to get along with. Fr Paul used to say that he had never come across a man with so many masters, who, in spite of the widest variety of temperaments, were completely satisfied with his work. He was devoted to his job; his last look outside every night was to see that all was well with "his labs.". His family used to wonder whether they or the labs, came first in his affection—indeed, to an outsider it would be hard to tell.

In a time when loyalty has almost lost its meaning in the field of employment, and when the question is how little must I offer, how much can I get, his modesty and devotion to his work stand out as from a past age. He was one of the few remaining of a generation whose like we shall not see again.

PETER WEARE

His former colleagues were much saddened to learn of the death of Peter Weare, of a coronary thrombosis.

From Stonyhurst he went up as a scholar to Pembroke College, Cambridge, and served during the war in the Royal Artillery. After a

short spell in business he joined the classics staff at Ampleforth in 1947, taught Greek, Latin, Ancient History and Economics throughout the School, and left in 1959 to become Senior Classics Master at Beaumont. He subsequently moved to a similar post at Belmont, where he died calmly, and in character, on 2nd December, fortified by the Last Sacraments, and remarking, after Johnson, that the approach of death had "wonderfully concentrated his mind".

His pupils, to whom he was known, most aptly, as "Vir", will remember him as a four-square, scholarly unbending figure, tirelessly thorough and imperturbably patient: their persisting notion that he had gained a wrestling Blue at Cambridge was based on appearance rather than on reality.

To his colleagues he was an exemplar of reliability and integrity; sociable, good-humoured, and intolerant only of cant. His massive commonsense, judicious impartiality and transparent straightforwardness earned him universal esteem, and enabled him to perform valuable services to the Common Room.

To his widow and four children we tender our deep sympathies. *Requiescat in pace.*

AMPLEFORTH'S CENTURY OF HISTORY SCHOLARSHIPS

We have to report that, counting 53 Exhibitions, Ampleforth has passed its hundred mark in Oxford and Cambridge scholarships in History, with 70 to Oxford and 31 to Cambridge. Of these, 10 were given by University College, and 7 each by Corpus Christi and Lincoln Colleges at Oxford; while at Cambridge 7 were awarded by St Catharine's College and 4 each by Peterhouse, Trinity, Clare and Gonville and Caius Colleges. The first award was V. G. Narey, a Scholarship to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1910-11; and this was followed in the years up to 1948 by others that included the names of Harman Grisewood and John Beekwith, to make up a round dozen. Then suddenly Ampleforth History "took off", with 4 awards in 1948-9, then 6 the following year (including A. E. Firth, now Dean of University College, Oxford, and Michael Donelan, now a lecturer at the London School of Economics), then 5 followed by a pair of 7 awards and a 5. Thereafter, from 1954 to date, we have managed to keep up an average of nearly 4 awards a year, of which the best was Julian Lefanu with the Balliol Brackenbury in 1966-7. This year, the first year following Oxford and Cambridge's considerable reduction in their open scholarships, we managed 3 awards: M. W. S. Knapton* (whose brother, Peter, was a Corpus Christi Scholar at Oxford and went on to a double First) won a scholarship at his brother's college; N. S. Boulton (son of Mr Eric Boulton on our staff) won a Hastings Scholarship to The Queen's College; and M. C. A. Pender-Cudlip followed his brother as an Exhibitioner at Worcester College. Our score is now 101, of which a third were won in the halcyon days of 1948-54 (34 awards in 6 years), and over 90 since the war.

*This was in fact a Modern Studies Scholarship, i.e. History and French.

Pietas encourages us to add a note from home. Probably no man at Ampleforth has done more towards this achievement than Mr Tom Charles-Edwards, and the tribute he would most like here is to single out his own son, Thomas, who in 1961-2 became a Corpus Christi Scholar at Oxford, going on to win the Sir John Rhys prize. Pietas prompts us further to remark that the second of our awards was to N. J. Chamberlain in 1912-3, who became an Exhibitioner at University College; his son G. F. Chamberlain (now Fr Leo, on our History staff) bettered that in 1958-9 by becoming a Scholar at University College.

CAREERS

THE December term is always busy, with the completion of the U.C.C.A. forms and the problems which arise therefrom. We are grateful to Messrs S. Gegg, G. Radford and J. Snow for giving careers talks on: The Company Secretary, Social Work, and Newspaper Journalism, respectively. It is to be regretted that these talks have been very poorly attended. We have also had visits from Captain W. J. Graham, R.N., and Major-General J. Deedes (School Liaison Officers) and from Mr P. Craven, our link officer from I.C.I. Mr Craven has kindly contributed the article below on a relatively unknown field in Careers. The highlight of the term was a visit from the Industrial Society which is also reported below.

J. B. DAVIES.

THE INDUSTRIAL CHEMIST AND THE CHEMICAL ENGINEER

ALTHOUGH it may often be the case in the Chemical Industry that a given job can be done by an industrial chemist or a chemical engineer, the training each has received radically affects the approach, and may affect both the way in which problems are solved and the adequacy of the solutions.

The industrial chemist will almost certainly have graduated in chemistry, and will probably have opted for the industrial rather than the academic world because of a predilection for practical problems with useful solutions. The title "industrial chemist" is more likely to refer to a man's training than to his occupation, and indeed he may be employed in almost any of the chemical industry's activities, e.g. research or development, plant design, plant operation, sales, etc.

The industrial chemist's approach to a problem is essentially practical, and he cannot in general afford to follow up lines of investigation unless they offer a potential economic or technological advantage. This is in contrast with the research chemist outside industry, who can, within the limits of his resources, pursue knowledge for its own sake.

Initially the chemistry graduate will be employed in industry in a post where his training is directly relevant, and during the first few years of employment he will require skills in other fields which will enable him to tackle more complex problems which do not involve only chemistry. Once competence in these skills has been acquired the industrial chemist

is well placed for promotion to higher managerial positions with wider responsibility.

Unlike the industrial chemist, whose university training is not specifically orientated towards his career, and who needs some industrial experience before he is really effective, the chemical engineer is trained with a strong emphasis upon industrial practice. In general, therefore, a chemical engineering graduate will very quickly feel at home in industrial employment.

Chemical engineering is involved with translating a string of "test tube" experiments into an economically viable process. This entails a quantitative study of the reactions involved with emphasis on yields, quality and by-products, an accumulation of physico-chemical data for the reactants and products, and in addition extensive experimental work may be necessary before a process can be designed. The methods by which reactions are to be carried out, and separations and purifications effected must be decided, and then a flowsheet can be specified. Equipment must be selected, designed and manufactured; control systems must be designed, with special consideration for the safe operation of the plant. Finally a plant must be built, commissioned, and then run economically for several years. In all these operations the chemical engineer plays a crucial part. He is at the hub of the project, and must work in close collaboration with specialists in other fields such as mechanical engineering, control engineering, chemistry, and even marketing, and he is well suited for this, because his training overlaps into most of these fields.

The chemical industry is a relatively new and rapidly expanding industry, whose success relies upon the successful application of modern technologies. Chemical engineering is an even younger profession, which is still rapidly widening in scope and has an essential role to play in the development and utilisation of novel and improved methods of processing. Because of the chemical engineer's key position in the industry, his utility as a manager is clear, and his prospects of promotion to higher management are therefore good.

THE INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

This term we benefited from a visit of the Industrial Society. The second year "A" level and above gained an insight into modern-day industrial relations between management and unions. This involved discussion on the nature of a factory: whether it is a production unit existing for the benefit of the shareholders or a social unit existing for the benefit of those whose living depends on it. In addition, it provided most of us with our first contact with a "live and kicking" trade unionist who won the hearts if not the minds of the audience. The most pleasing thing about the visit of the Industrial Society was that it was not a retreat about money but an aid in the furthering of understanding between people.

Mr John Spence of the Industrial Society, Mr Davies, Mr Sasse and Mr Gilbert deserve our warmest thanks, as do the two main speakers, Mr Norman Street and Mr Bernie Ward, the Group Leaders and all those

"behind the scenes" who made this most successful conference possible.

The following were Group Leaders: Messrs P. Hobson, F. Lyon (Industrial Society), P. Kerry (George Bray Co.), P. C. Bonavia (British Rail), A. E. Alderson, P. J. Peers (British Ropes), A. F. Smith (David Brown Corporation), J. S. K. Stevens (Dundee Pasteurised Milk), B. M. Gibbs (Glass Tubes & Components), M. Beard (I.C.I. Fibres), C. Farrar (International Sports), A. Holmes (Shell-Mex & B.P.), A. J. Coward (Joseph Terry), S. O. Harwood (Yorkshire Imperial Metals Ltd.).

M. EVERALL.

MUSIC

Music in the Autumn Term lacked neither variety nor enterprise. It has had its surprises and its disappointments but in all it has maintained a high standard of performance. On each Tuesday evening there has been something of interest.

On Tuesday, 1st October, Holst's Fugal Concerto for Flute, Oboe and Strings was played by P. W. James, Hon W. J. Howard and our own strings. It is an elusive work, full of rhythmic complexities. We had an agreeable performance and most of its points were made. There was some crisp Bach playing in the Suite in D for Strings and P. W. James' account of Vivaldi's Flute Concerto in D was a model of neatness.

On the 8th October, Mr Dore gave an illustrated talk on the Bach Organ Chorale Preludes. He dealt with their historic significance, their aesthetic content and upon the techniques employed in their composition.

The first movement from Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G was the main piece on 14th October. Neville Mortimer played the solo violin part and R. F. Sheppard and J. W. Macdonald were the flautists. Two slender pieces for Flute and Piano by Arthur Duckworth got us out of the eighteenth century. They are contemporary in style, well proportioned and grateful to player and listener alike. R. F. Sheppard phrased expressively. His playing was alive, rhythmic and elastic. We are lucky with our flautists. Torelli's Concerto in G for Strings concluded the programme.

29th October consisted largely of individual performances. M. J. Macdonald gave us piano solos by Scarlatti, Haydn, Brahms and Richard Rodney Bennett. H. O. Hetherington sang Lieder from Schubert's Die Schöne Müllerin and Howard's piano accompaniments were first rate. Later, P. W. James, Howard and P. B. Newsom breathed life into the dry bones of Handel's Sonata in E minor for Flute, Harpsichord and Cello. The first movement of Mozart's Piano Quartet in G minor, K-478, was an adult affair. Fr Aelred, Fr Adrian, Fr Anselm and Mr Dowling communicated its strength and vitality to us with evident relish.

On 29th October we had a distinguished visitor. Ronald Styles was a pupil of the late Frederick Lamond and Louis Kentner. With these credentials, and a massive technique, he did credit to his masters and to his own artistic accomplishment. Schubert's Impromptu in B flat, Op. 142, was followed by Liszt's Variations on the Crucifixus from the B minor

Mass. Chopin's Barcarolle and Debussy's Suite Pour le Piano were a convincing finish.

The School was away on 5th November, but on 12th November we had Bach's Coffee Cantata—a charming little work with a libretto no more absurd than a good many others. Anne Moreton sang the soprano part with zest and relish and N. H. S. Armour and H. O. Hetherington gave good accounts of the baritone and tenor parts. The concluding Trio was quite a tour de force. J. C. Bach's Quintet in D for Violin, Flute, 'Cello and Harpsichord provided the right sort of contrast. It was nearly in the period and not quite out of it.

The York Chapter House Singers, conductor Andrew Carter, visited us on 19th November. We are grateful to them for a stimulating if not provocative evening. The first part of the concert consisted solely of Bach's motet Jesu Priceless Treasure. It was sung in the Abbey Church. This building is kind to singers. Tuning, intonation, balance and fluidity is enhanced by its acoustic properties. The second half was sung in the Concert Hall. Moeran's Songs of Springtime and three folk songs arranged by Mr Carter needed a different approach. On the whole it got it.

The Ryedale Choral Union together with the School Orchestra gave a shortened version of Handel's Solomon on 26th November. In the edition they used the eight-part choruses are boiled down to four to make them acceptable to choirs of limited resource. On this occasion the chorus work was lively and colourful, while the orchestra did all that was necessary. The solo parts were taken by Anne Moreton, Marjorie Mortimer, H. O. Hetherington and John Moore.

The same chorus and the same soloists came a week later to sing the first part of the Messiah—with the Amen Chorus tacked on to give it finality.

The last concert of the term, on 9th December, was partly a summary of the preceding programmes but some of the music had not been heard before. The Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 in D had P. W. James, Neville Mortimer and Horace Perry in the solo parts. Telemann's Concerto in G for Viola and Strings was given with neat precision and restraint by H. O. Hetherington. J. Seilern-Aspang made his debut as a 'cello soloist in pieces by Lœillet, and Herbert Murrill and J. C. Rapp played three pieces for Clarinet and Piano by Howard Ferguson. Herbert Chappell's jazzed up version of David in the Lions' Den rounded off the evening.

There were ten public concerts. To this must be added the music sung in the Church each Sunday and Holy Day and quite a lot of organ music.

A word of acknowledgment to a few individuals. P. B. Newson's 'cello continuo playing is always a model of what it ought to be. Howard has done splendid work on the harpsichord. Mr. Mortimer has led the orchestra on all occasions and the music staff as a whole have been good backroom boys.

P. DORE.

THE HARPSICHORD

For many years now there has been talk of building a harpsichord at Ampleforth, stimulated originally by Fr Damian after he had made his own violin and set of Northumbrian pipes. One heard that kits could be obtained, but enquiries revealed that these were now out of production. Finally, Mr Dore came across an advertisement by Zuckermann of New York, and a kit was ordered from them and arrived—an astonishingly compact and improbable parcel—by air freight almost exactly a year ago. This consisted of the soundboard, the keyboard, tuning pins, bridge and nut pins (the bridge itself had to be made), tuning wrench, jacks (each one had to be assembled with adjustment screws, end pins, tongue felts, leather plectra—the cutting of which was perhaps the most critical operation), stringing wire, and—most important—a full scale drawing, construction manual and voicing knife.

These were the bare essentials, and the work involved in producing a finished and playable harpsichord was considerable. It goes without saying that the project would never have been undertaken at all had it not been clear from the start that the enthusiasm and skill was there among the boys who were to make it, and it is fair to say that the prime enthusiast was W. E. Hatfield. The actual construction was in the hands of T. M. Fitzalan-Howard ("the boss"), W. E. Hatfield and the Hon W. J. Howard.

They started work about the beginning of February last year, and it was used for the first time in public at the Exhibition Concert, three months later, still lidless and legless, and propped up on elegant Thompson waste-paper baskets! It has often been used since—by Dr Francis Jackson to accompany the York Minster choirboys in the Abbey Church when they visited us last June; at the Ordination Concert; at several chamber concerts last term; and at the end of term Christmas Concert. Now, as the accompanying photograph shows clearly, complete with legs and lid, all beautifully made, it represents a remarkable achievement of enthusiasm and skill, the result of many hours of patient work, thanks to which the Music Department can now boast of an excellent continuo instrument, admirable for solo and ensemble work, consisting of one keyboard of 4½ octaves, one set of strings, with two stops, one enabling the player to go from loud to soft and vice versa, and one which produces a harp or lute effect, so that four combinations of sound can be achieved. The volume is surprisingly good, and so is the tone, and it cuts through even a large ensemble of instruments.

There is a prize, which is only rarely awarded, for projects of outstanding achievement. This deservedly won that prize.

AMPLEFORTH ICELANDIC EXPEDITION 1968

As I put down my rucksack on the northbound platform on York Station I felt out of place. Wearing gym shoes, with my boots dangling from my pack, I was on my way to Iceland—the unknown; all these other people on the platform in their natty suits were in a world apart. My momentary loneliness was dispersed as Harry Rosenvinge appeared to greet me, equally heavily laden, wearing a warm teddy-bear coat and a knitted cap, and carrying his fishing rod carefully protected by an aluminium tube. Awkwardly we piled ourselves and our luggage into the front coach of the Edinburgh train to find Charles O'Connor and Ian Broxup already comfortably ensconced. The party was gathering, and our conversation leapt forward to the adventure we were about to share. Around us in the open coach we were plied with helpful hints and second-hand stories of Iceland. It was as though the world were trying to cling on to us, to prevent us from leaving it, as stories of the dreadful cold, the rumbling volcanoes, and the dangerous hot springs were thrust at us from every side. The leader of the expedition, Mr Gilbert, joined us at Newcastle, and Michael Burnford and Neil Walker wandered up the train and found us soon afterwards. Mr Gilbert was showered with questions. Had we enough food? Where was the camp site on the map? What would happen if someone got appendicitis? Patiently he tried to answer, but in most cases he had no more information than we had—he, too, was setting forth into the unknown. On arrival at Waverley Station we found Miles Parker, Andrew Mafeld and Michael Morrison waiting for us, and Michael Skelvan and Christopher Burbury arrived with Dr and Mrs Skehan soon afterwards. The party was complete, and we were given a good send-off by John Peet, who arrived with his motor car, and David Ogilvie. On arrival at the dockside at Leith we had a long wait for Customs and Immigration, but our boat, the Icelandic Steamship Company's "M.S. Gullfoss", was right alongside. Our food was waiting for us in the Customs shed and looked sufficient to feed an army for a month. We got on board at five o'clock and located our four second class berths in the stern of the boat. The cabins were comfortable but small, with German-type feather beds, but with little room to stow our rucksacks and the boxes of food. We sat down to an excellent buffet supper at six o'clock and sailed almost immediately.

The first 24 hours of the crossing were rough, but as we got away from the coast of Scotland, waving to the Old Man of Hoy as we passed, the weather steadily improved and we began to enjoy life. There were two other English school parties on board, one from Manchester Grammar School and the other from Frome Grammar School. After tea on the second day we got our first glimpse of Iceland in the distance, and as we got nearer we began to make out details of the coastline, and some impressive peaks mysteriously hiding behind a thin veil of cloud. In the twilight, which does not occur until late in the evening, we passed between the mainland and the Vestmanna ayyer, and saw in the distance the volcanic island of Surtsey which literally rose from the ocean in 1963. When I woke in the morning the sun was shining and we got a good view of the capital of Iceland, Reykjavik, as we waited to get into the harbour. It looked an enchanted place with its whitewashed houses and brightly coloured red and green corrugated iron roofs. We had arrived, and Iceland was smiling at us in welcome.

Our one-night stop in Reykjavik was intended to enable us to lose our sea legs and sort out the food supplies into two-man packs. In fact we were able, in addition, to watch an international football match between Norway and Iceland, play football ourselves by the light of the midnight sun, and revel in the delights of an outdoor heated swimming pool. And so it was with slight nostalgia that we left the capital in a 15-seater bus heading out into the unknown on an 80-mile journey. The driver spoke no English and the roads were no more than tracks scraped out of the larval dust. We left in a steady drizzle of rain at 6.45 p.m. and hoped to arrive at the camp site by 10.30 pm. The journey was punctuated by the messages on the two-way radio the bus carried, and soon after we turned off the main road the reason for this became apparent. The driver missed a turning and we found ourselves in a farmyard! However, the radio redirected us and we were off once more. As we began to climb up and down the foothills, and dusk began to draw in, it was as though we had landed on the moon. The bus tortuously wound its way between small black boulders that sprang up out of the sandy desert. The illusion would have been complete if we had not had occasional glimpses of towering craters with occasional white flashes of snow sheltering in the crevices, and been forced to ford fast-flowing, rock-strewn streams. Slowly it got darker, but we were all awake expecting to see round the next corner the valley with the green field and the shepherd's hut that was to be our home for

the next week. From time to time the bus had to stop while the driver got out and surveyed a detour where the road had been washed away by the melting snow, or while he moved boulders from the bed of a stream. The pace got slower and we began to understand why the road had only become passable a month ago, why the bus was equipped with a four-wheel drive, and why it was built with its chassis so high off the ground. Midnight came, and still we had not arrived. It was soon after this that the driver seemed to miss a gear as the bus laboured up a steep slope and we began to go backwards. He applied the brakes, but these got no grip from the sandy soil and we still slithered backwards. Miraculously the driver brought the bus to a halt, and I looked out to find one of the back wheels already hanging over a steep slope down to a stream. We had broken a half shaft, and although we unloaded the bus and pushed, we were stuck. The driver tried the radio but could make no contact, and only after an hour's effort, while we set up camp at the top of the hill and cooked something hot, was he able to raise a reply. We turned in thankfully at 3 a.m. knowing that help would come tomorrow.

The next morning was fine and Mr Gilbert set off to find out how far we were from the camp site. When he returned with the news that it was only two miles away, we decided to walk on with the tents and our personal belongings, leaving the food with the broken-down bus. As we walked we had a good view of the countryside that was to be ours: sharply pointed peaks rising steeply from the plain, with occasional patches of green relieving the stark blackness of the rock; crater-like hills with their distinctive flat tops looking as though someone had seen them off half way up; and in the distance the girt of a glacier as the sun caught the snow and ice. As we climbed round the shoulder of the last hill and looked down into the valley with the hut nestling in a sheep compound and flanked by two small streams, my own eye was caught by the breathtaking sight of our own glacier, the Myrdalsjokull, a shimmering field of snow and ice spreading out to the horizon on either side, with peaks rising up out of it in the distance. We stopped spellbound, awed by the sight, before scrambling down the slope to the hut. This turned out to be a large building with stables underneath for the farmer's horses and a large room upstairs under the eaves which we were able to use as our cooking and social centre. There was only time to erect our tents before we had to set off back to help load up the food on to the repaired bus and drive back with it to the camp site.

The following days were spent in leisurely exploration. We left the hut at about 11 a.m., taking a light lunch with us, and returning soon after six in time to cook a hot supper. Although we never slept a night away from our base there were plenty of things to explore, and we soon became accustomed to getting wet at least up to the knees in whatever direction we went. Parties went up the nearest peak, Storavatn (908 m), on to the glacier Myrdalsjokull, over the hills to the nearby lake Alftavatn in an unsuccessful attempt to find fish but finding Whooper Swans and Arctic Harlequin Ducks apart from the ubiquitous Golden Plovers, up the snow-covered peak Haskerdingur (1,278 m), and up the valley to the Hot Springs that boiled up through the ground right up near the snowline, giving off a strong sulphurous odour. A little rock climbing was done by the enthusiasts under the guidance of Mr Gilbert, but the rock was very soft and liable to crumble so that few good stretches could be found. The days rushed by and the evenings were gay gatherings in which the day's adventures were recounted over the cooking pots: the day Miles Parker led the way across a river and found himself up to his neck; the day Mike Morrison, trying to cross a torrent on the end of a rope, got swept off his feet and had to be hauled out; the day Chris Burbury, Ian Broxup and Mike Skelvan nearly got lost in the mist; the day Mike Burnford, Neil Walker and I tried to climb Utangabohidi (980 m) and got to within 100 m. of the summit before discretion got the better of valour. These were incidents in what was a very full week, but by the end our minds were turning towards the walk-out in which we planned to cover 40 miles of this wild country with all our gear in order to get to the nearest bus stop at Fjotisdalur.

It was with regret, mingled with mild anxiety about how we would stand up to this journey, that we set out on the first day's walk. Passing what were now friendly landmarks I found their stark beauty softened by familiarity. We walked along the river bank and managed to find suitable sheep tracks to guide our faltering steps. At one point we had to make a detour up a steep slope as the track became no more than a thin thread clinging to the hillside above the river. We finally reached the camp site at 4.30 p.m. glad to have made it, tired by our exertions, but secretly pleased that we had survived so well. The second day we set off in good spirits, crossing the river and climbing up through the hills and down to another river on the other side.

We stopped and had lunch here and were able to admire the magnificent gorge through which it ran before it opened out, swollen by the glaciers, into the valley which we were heading for. Because of the many streams which fed it we had to move away up into the hills to avoid crossing these streams too near the main river, the Markarfljot of Njial's Saga fame. As we said farewell to the river, new views appeared with breathtaking rapidity, and loaded as we were we were glad to stop and admire them. Mike Skehan was having trouble with a strained tendon but struggled on gamely with his pack. At the end of the day, when we were at our most tired, we came to the worst river crossing of the trip, but having put a rope across we stumbled through the treacherously rock-strewn river bed pulled by the vicious currents and camped gratefully on the other side. The third day's march was the most rewarding as we traversed high up above the Markarfljot seeing the mud flats below us and another glacier with a textbook glacier tongue feeding a lake on the other side. In the late afternoon we skirted round behind a hill to find an incredible series of gorges which led us down into the valley and the bus stop.

We had made it, and we camped there for the night before catching the daily bus at 9 a.m. This brought us safely back to Reykjavik and civilisation, and here we relaxed for three days, seeing the sights of the capital. On one afternoon we were royally entertained to tea by a former master at Ampleforth, Mr Boucher. He is now teaching in the University, and he and his family told us much about the island, past and present, and answered our many questions.

The return trip on "M.S. Gullfoss" was a bit of an anticlimax, and the dispersal of the party at Edinburgh was so quick and efficient that once again I found myself alone on a station platform! But this time I was satiated with memories of an unforgettable trip, with the satisfaction of having achieved something, and with the ambition to do it again.

The expedition party consisted of: Mr R. F. Gilbert, Fr Michael, Harry Rosevinge, Miles Parker, Mike Burnford, Nell Walker, Andrew Mafeld, Mike Skehan, Chris Burbury, Mike Morrison, Charles O'Connor, Ian Brouxp.

SHACK.

If my memory serves me rightly, Paul de Guingand (1926) writes the name SHACK was coined in the following way:

Circa 1923/4 in the days before Fr Hugh de Normanville—ably supported by Bernard Boyan (then a boy)—entertained us with silent films, itinerant troupes would occasionally visit us to give a show. One such troupe arrived just about the time that it was first learnt that the centre of the school building was likely to tumble down. I well remember the embarrassment following the laughter which greeted the announcement that the next song was to be a sentimental American ballad entitled "MY TUMBLEDOWN SHACK IN THE WEST". The name stuck and the building stood, even to this day.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

The President writes: All over the country, judging by the notes of other schools, there is a decline in debating. The accounts are measurably the same: Winchester complains that even the advent of girls as guest speakers, while it enlivens the evening in terms of animation, fails to enliven the speeches in debating quality. Other schools echo the complaint that hard arguing is now at a premium and balm to starved hearers. The *Stonyhurst Magazine*, for instance, laments the dismal attendance, and refuses to put the excuse upon pressure of exam. work. It goes to the root of the matter, asking what use has the present world for the gracious art of persuasion: "it would be absurd in a school which pretends to look especially to the needs of the present world, to insist upon (oratory) an art which, depending as it does essentially on the observance of form and on clear thought, is directly opposed to the strongest trends in contemporary culture". It is interesting to see where the writer puts his finger when he seeks to touch the nerve centre of the trouble: "it is difficult to resist the conclusion, as one looks through the Debating Notes of former years, that the Debating Society has suffered considerably from the abandonment of that rigid and elaborate structure which characterised it until the 1960s; a falling off which has directly accompanied the falling off of interest in debating". This is the opinion of one who has yet to leave the school, not one who puffs his pipe in Arcadia; and it is to be taken as a sign of the times as much for ourselves, admittedly in a far less parlous state than they.

At risk of being platitudinous, let me add that permissive informality is not the sole cause of the falling off of debating interest. Much must be laid at the door of L.P. records which have driven out both personal performing and concert-going, of television which has driven out all serious protracted discussion on any platform anywhere, and on Gallup Polls which have substituted instant consensus for considered opinion. Of these, by far the most insidious is television, not only because it reduces the vast masses of Britain to total passivity for extensive periods of their day, but (and this is more lethal) because it has steadily killed first audience reaction (for the audiences, however multitudinous, live like bees in a honeycomb, separated) and then the whole critical faculty. Where once men were required to provide weighed arguments and reasoned decisions, now they are asked to divert the minutes of millions with swift responses attuned to the intimacy of the fireside. The speaker is accorded minimal notice of the questions he must face, in the interest of "spontaneity"; he is asked to distill the experience of a lifetime into as few minutes as the restless audience can stand; and he is positively prevented from being reflective, since this is thought to prejudice "liveliness". The broadcaster must never walk with kings, nor lack the common touch. He must be personal rather than official, daring rather than responsible,

immediate from the scene rather than considered. He is asked for off-the-cuff confidences rather than on-the-record judiciousness. The craving is for the passing instant, and never for a pondered understanding of the present state. This attitude, built into the nation by television, is destroying serious debate, both in the Mother House of all such oratory, and in the lesser places.

Secretary's Notes: Although the Society was passing through a difficult period, with low attendances save for the "Richmond" (sixth) and Harrogate (ninth) debates, the standard of debating speeches was on the whole better than the attendance suggests, although relying on comedy rather than rhetoric or logic for their effect; indeed they did not warrant this apathy amongst the School.

Mr R. L. Bernasconi was elected Leader of the Government for the first period, and Mr N. Boardman Leader of the Opposition—both deserve to be praised and congratulated, Mr Bernasconi for his wit and his personal presence, and Mr Boardman for his logic and powers of argument. Among others who led the benches during the term were Mr C. Donlan and Mr N. Blane (although having made his maiden speech only this term), the former relying on his graceful eloquence, the latter on his buffoonery; and Messrs Everall and Studer, who also performed with credit, particularly so on the last evening.

Other speakers were Mr C. Peake, who tickled the House with his near-obscene humour, Mr Lillis with his sardonic manner, and Mr Reilly, who was the source of some charming allegories. The maiden speeches were of a high standard throughout, notably those of Messrs Dagnall, Lewis, Simpson and Rosenvinge.

Some 30 members from the Society went to the Convent of the Holy Child, Harrogate, to spend an enjoyable evening there, debating the freedom of the individual. As was fitting, the climax of the term's debating was the last meeting of the term, when, in the presence of 30 girls from Harrogate Convent, Mr Powell's racial policies were debated to some effect. Debating at last got off the ground, which made it a highly enjoyable evening.

The following motions were debated:

"This House applauds student violence." Ayes 22, Noes 20, Abstentions 7.

"This House believes that grave injustices within a country do not give other countries the right of interference." Ayes 23, Noes 19, Abstentions 8.

"This House considers, dress being the outward show of inward graces, that kinky karnaby kit and long lank locks are signs of modern man's moral malaise." Ayes 20, Noes 16, Abstentions 4.

"This House considers that the literary arts are now irrelevant." Ayes 16, Noes 21, Abstentions 4.

"This House holds that romantic love is an illusory Western European, middle-class attitude of mind." Ayes 32, Noes 34, Abstentions 5. [Harrogate Guest Debate.]

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"This House approves Germany's return to primacy of power in Europe." Ayes 16, Noes 12, Abstention 1.

"This House supports Enoch Powell's racial policies, both his views and his methods." Ayes 70, Noes 35, Abstentions 7. [Richmond Guest Debate.]

(President: Br Alberic)

D. S. SOLLY Hon. Sec.

THE JUNIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

THE Society has without doubt had a very successful session. Throughout the term the standard of debating has risen considerably, and the attitude of the members towards debating has undergone a complete change from what it has been in recent years. This became obvious in a number of ways: the results of motions were unpredictable, speakers took much more care in preparing their speeches, and most important of all the House was more ready to listen to what was being said. Two results followed: first, maiden speakers found more confidence, and so a great deal of potential was discovered in the 1st year. Secondly, from being a passive audience, the House became a forum where debating skills were put to the test for the enjoyment of all.

The Debate was led by a hard core of 2nd year speakers, most notably Mr Thomas, Mr Hubbard, Mr Rodger, Mr Roberts, Mr Hall and Mr Kinsky, all of whom helped a great deal to maintain the atmosphere of debate. Mr Fitzgeorge-Parker was clearly the most eloquent speaker while Mr O'Mahony, who was respected and yet feared for his devastating counter-attacks, was equipped at every meeting with an inexhaustible supply of facts, and seemed quite capable of quoting passages from *The Economist* ad lib., while at the same time correcting the mis-quotes of others. Mr Fane-Hervey held the House's attention with his fiery and passionate speeches, and for humour there was always Mr Cullen, Mr Hubbard, who has a delightful debating manner, and Mr Pritchard, who will soon be very good.

In addition to Mr Pritchard, Mr Killingbeck, Mr Durkin, Mr Hamilton-Dalrymple and Mr Donnelly can be counted among the best speakers in the Society, and Mr Dowley and Mr Lister are gaining confidence. One would like to hear more from Mr Schlee, who can demolish an argument quicker than most but who has as yet only once risked putting his own arguments to the test.

Br Felix has made an excellent Chairman, keeping the House in good order during the meetings, never stopping but rather encouraging the cut-and-thrust of debate. The House is deeply indebted to him.

The climax of the term was the guest debate at which Mr Davie and Mr Davidson were present as guest speakers, and we are grateful to them for an enthralling evening in which the House scorned tradition by 26 votes to 24.

At the first meeting of the term Mr M. H. Ryan was elected Secretary and Mr Rodger, Mr Fane-Hervey, Mr Hall, Mr Powell and Mr Roberts

were chosen to be Committee Members. Mr Kinsky, Mr O'Mahony and Mr Killingbeck were added later in the term.

The following motions were debated:

"This House believes that the new postal rates should be abolished." Ayes 38, Noes 21.

"This House believes that Mr Enoch Powell was speaking for the good of his country." Ayes 29, Noes 29. (On the basis of the quality of the speeches and arguments presented, the President used his casting vote to give victory to the Government.)

"This House believes that there is too much freedom of choice in Society." No vote taken.

"This House applauds Nationalist movements in the British Isles." Ayes 19, Noes 32.

"This House supports the British Government's policy of supplying arms to Federal Nigeria." Ayes 29, Noes 22.

"This House believes that the only course open to student demonstrators is violence." Ayes 14, Noes 28.

"This House believes that sport is an essential part of a proper school education." Ayes 15, Noes 12.

"This House scorns Tradition." Ayes 26, Noes 24.

In a parachute debate at the end of term, the House preferred to give a longer life to Winnie the Pooh rather than to her more illustrious fellow travellers.

M. H. RYAN, *Secretary.*

(*President:* Br Felix)

THE FILM SOCIETY

UNDER an able Secretary, M. Everall, and Committee, M. Jayes, P. Donovan, the Society flourished and attained its highest membership. The films chosen for the term were generally widely appreciated. *This Sporting Life* was enjoyed for its topicality and the way Lindsay Anderson probed the subconscious of a rugby star. *Kanal* was less successful than *Ashes and Diamonds* had been, and many found it too grim. *Blow Up* was a success for those who had not been unduly influenced by the posters for its commercial showings, but the Society still showed a distressing lack of enthusiasm for discussion. The two evenings of shorts during which *Renaissance*, *Scorpio Rising*, *Dream of Wild Horses* (perhaps the most popular), *6 Sided Triangle* and *Charlotte et Son Jules* were shown, have now become an accepted part of the term's fixtures and are greatly enjoyed.

M. EVERALL, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President:* Fr Stephen)

THE MUSICAL SOCIETY

THIS term, the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation on 18th November 1918, the Society appeared to carry on much the same as usual. The record department made a sudden leap into the twentieth century at half-term with representative works of various contemporary composers including Berg, Webern and Schoenberg. The absence of any lectures this term was more than compensated for by the numerous excellent and varied concerts given not only by distinguished guest artists and the Ryedale Choral Union, but by members of the Society themselves in the capable hands of Mr Dore. Another innovation is the Sunday morning record concert/lecture to give new members an idea of what is available to them.

As most housemasters now have good gramophones and adequate numbers of records, the Committee has been debating throughout the term the rôle of the Society at Ampleforth. Details of changes have not yet been worked out, but should be published sometime at the beginning of the Easter Term.

N. ARMOUR, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President:* Fr Adrian)

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

DURING the term the Society enjoyed a most gratifying rebirth: membership almost doubled, and attendance at meetings improved beyond all recognition. There was enthusiastic support for a "dig" at the medieval glassworks in Rosedale, which had been organised through the good offices of the President and Mr McDonnell, but unfortunately this had to be cancelled because of bad weather.

At the first meeting of term two films were shown: "A Century of Indian Archaeology" and "Himalayan Heritage"; this was followed by a talk from Mr Theodore Nicholson, a Past-President of the Helmsley Archaeological Group, on "English Furniture, Tudor—Regency". Two films on Egypt were shown at the next meeting, "Temples of Egypt" and "Egypt Old and New", and our 100th meeting was marked by a lecture from Mr Smiley on "Human Sacrifice and Cannibalism—An Introduction to Anthropology", which received its due recognition. "In Search of a City—Jerusalem" was an excellent film, and Fr Thomas' talk on "Expo 67", although slightly unarchaeological, was no less enjoyable. A talk from the President on "The Gardens of the Euhesperides—Roman North Africa" concluded the varied activities of a most successful term for the Society.

M. STUDER, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President:* Fr Henry)

THE CHESS CLUB

THE Chess Club only had 13 members—which is perhaps just as well, remembering the number of chess sets—but those who did join attended nearly all the weekly meetings. Though the standard was not as high

as perhaps it could have been, there was plenty of enthusiasm, much delight being taken in beating Fr Henry, the President of the Club.

At the first meeting of the term M. Rowland was elected Secretary and T. A. M. Myles became the Treasurer. We entered the *Sunday Times* National Schools Chess Tournament and played Archbishop Holgate's Grammar School, who easily beat us. They were much better and more experienced than we were and on average they were a year older than us. However, I think we were unlucky not to win one game at least. The teams' scores were as follows:

AMPLEFORTH	ARCHBISHOP HOLGATE'S
R. P. Honan ½	G. Ray (Capt.) ½
D. N. M. Coggon (Capt.) ... 0	M. Rose 1
R. S. G. Watson 0	L. Miller 1
A. S. Gibbs 0	R. Roscow 1
H. M. Duckworth 0	G. Bland 1
A. S. I. Berry 0	G. Fernie 1

M. ROWLAND, *Hon. Sec.*

(President: Fr Henry)

THE COMMONWEAL

ALTHOUGH the membership of the Society was large, attendance at meetings was not consistently high. The President, Mr Anwyl, gave the opening lecture of the term, entitled "World Politics—A New Phase". Our first guest speaker was Dr John Golding, a physician, who examined the moral problems involved in the transplantation of organs. He did not go into any technical details but posed the ethical problems which were then discussed by the Society. Mr John White, the Editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Press*, was our next visitor. He explained the basic differences between national, regional and local newspapers, and showed how the problems involved in keeping a paper on the market restrict the freedom of that paper. So even without external pressures, the press is not completely free. At the first meeting after half-term, Mr Michael Meacher gave a talk entitled, "The Welfare State: Scroungers' Charter or the Caring Community?" Mr Meacher is lecturer in Politics at York University and Vice-Chairman of the York Labour Party. He explained the situation clearly, illustrating his points with some remarkable statistics. The next and last guest speaker of the term was also the most distinguished. Sir Eugen Millington-Drake gave an illustrated account of the "Graf Spee" and the Battle of the River Plate. The attendance was so good that people had to be turned away. At the final meeting of the term Br Felix looked critically at the Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson. He admitted to slight exaggeration, but produced sound evidence for most of his arguments and gave a fascinating insight into life and tactics of the retiring President.

R. L. MINIO, *Hon. Sec.*

(President: Mr Anwyl)

DIONYSUS SOCIETY

AFTER a year of comparative turmoil, the Society is back on its feet again. Under its amended constitution, a number of lay masters and their wives have joined; this enables us to hold our tastings in surroundings a lot more agreeable than the Science Lecture Room.

We have had two tastings this term, both of which were very successful. Most of the wines at the first meeting were intentionally of poor quality in order to illustrate the mistakes that can be made through buying poor claret.

The second meeting was held at the President's house. Here we tasted several rather good clarets.

On the whole the Society has had an interesting and enjoyable term. Our thanks are especially due to the President, Mr Stewart, without whom the Society could not function; also to Messrs Pickin, Dowling and Macmillan for providing transport at the last meeting.

A. R. FRASER, J. SEILERN-ASPANG, *Hon. Secs.*

(President: Mr Stewart)

THE FORUM

THE following meetings were held:

G. M. Hopkins; Attitudes and Techniques—Fr Dominic.

A reading of poetry—particularly Sonnets.

Shaw's St Joan—The Secretary.

The poetry of Ted Hughes—Mr T. L. Fisher.

Poetry post Auschwitz and Hiroshima—Mr I. Davie.

There was a distinct literary bias to the term's meetings which were well attended and at times provoked lively discussion. It is some disappointment to the Secretary that we do not seem to have found the secret of successful poetry reading; a more serious attitude and more careful preparation would ensure a more fruitful meeting than we have hitherto achieved. Our two guest speakers were particularly stimulating and we offer them our thanks for the time and trouble they took in the preparation of their papers.

We were all shocked by the death of Steve Morris at half-term. He was on our Committee, and the Forum, among other things, seems incomplete without him.

C. DONLAN, *Hon. Sec.*

(President: Fr Dominic)

(Vice-President: Mr Smiley)

THE HISTORICAL BENCH

THE Society elected a new Secretary, Mr J. R. Parker, and a new Treasurer, Mr C. J. Raven, at the beginning of the term to replace Mr L. H. Robertson and Mr D. S. Norton, the previous officials.

There were six lectures throughout the term and as usual the Society is greatly in debt to the President, Mr Davidson, for giving us the first

lecture, the spine-chilling story of Ayme Robsart's death at Cumnor Place in 1559. The speaker introduced many cunning twists and the sinister details of the whole episode provided an excellent talk. Next Mr Colin Kilkelly, an expert on the First World War, gave a magnificent lecture entitled "The Price of Glory 1916", where he discussed the battles of Verdun and the Somme in bloodthirsty detail with many illustrations. Following this, Dr Roger Mettam of York University, a specialist in seventeenth century French history, told the Society how the Absolutism of Versailles was bunk. Despite many attacks after he finished he held on tightly to his theme and convinced his very large audience of the truth of his statement. He must be warmly congratulated on his efforts because he had already given three other lectures to other parts of the School throughout the day. An interesting film made by the Russians in World War II provided light entertainment after this meeting.

A joint meeting with the Commonweal, for which we express our great thanks, followed with a mammoth and magnificent lecture on the Drama of the Graf Spee and the Battle of the Plate delivered by Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, British Minister in Montevideo at the time. The thunderous applause was fully deserved. Finally Mr Charles Edwards gave an excellent and long-promised talk on Modern Abyssinia. It was the Bench's first excursion into Africa and was well received.

J. R. PARKER, Hon. Sec.

(President: Mr Davidson)

THE JUNIOR SOCIETY

THE First Year Society ran successfully for four years but this year it was changed into a first and second year Society. This is not solely the same Society with its intake doubled. It has been almost completely renewed and its aims are much more ambitious.

This term Fr Patrick very kindly gave us a room on which the Society centred. A great deal of free time was put into this room by the boys who decorated it themselves, and it now provides a centre for the boys to meet during the evenings and a place where guests may be entertained.

The Society's present aim is to give the boys a chance to achieve an ideal. In it they can do almost anything within reason. Their free time may now be spent doing an activity which they may well have instigated. Boys are now encouraged to further their ideas from their own initiative rather than a master's.

The Sixth Form last year ran most of the Society but this year they played a much more noble part by standing back from the leadership whilst being at hand to help prevent any disasters, and for this they deserve great praise.

This term two plays, numerous coffee evenings, an art and photographic exhibition, a bring and buy sale and a poetry magazine are the fruits of an expanding Society.

We feel we must thank Fr Patrick, the Housemasters, the Sixth Form helpers, Fr Ignatius and B. A. McSwiney whose help and tolerance were invaluable to the members.

P. DUGUID.

(President: Fr Ignatius)

THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

EIGHT meetings of the Society took place this term, starting with the Annual General Meeting, which was followed by several excellent lectures and three films. Dr J. D. Curry first spoke on "Whales and Whaling", followed by Fr Julian Rochford whose talk on "Skin Diving" featured a fine display of aqualung equipment. A. D. Harries showed 100 colour slides on the African Game Reserves which proved, as always, most interesting. The President talked on "Natural History and Travel", showing some first-class slides on the subject. Three films followed on Natural History Photography, Salmon, and the Locust Plagues. The last lecture of term was given by Br Jeremy on "Fungi", which proved to be a most fascinating topic. The Society concluded the term's meetings with some 60 members.

It is with much regret that we hear of the President's resignation due to pressure of work, and we wish the new President, Br Jeremy, every success.

A. R. LEEMING, Hon. Sec.

(President: Mr Davies)

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

FOR a change, it is not possible this term to talk enthusiastically about the tremendous progression of the Society. Some dark cloud of apathy, so distant in the past, seemed to have descended, which stifled any bright hopes that might have been held earlier. However, we stumbled on in an unexciting fashion, and occasionally there was something achieved on the way. One minor success worth a mention was the introduction of some high-contrast photography, exploited by one or two more enterprising individuals. One hopes, perhaps, that this will be an incentive of some kind to those who seemed to have lost interest.

Many thanks are extended to Fr Alban, just retiring as President, for successfully restarting the Society four years ago, and for piloting it ever since. We look forward to a new era under Fr Stephen, now assuming this position.

C. JOHNSTON, Hon. Sec.

(President: Fr Alban)

RESPONSE

THIS is a newly formed Society. Its aims are to make personal contact with a village in one of the poorer areas of India. This term it sent out £35 to two women; the first is an expert dressmaker who needed a sewing machine to earn her living and we bought one for her; to the other we gave money to build a small dwelling on a plot of land given to her by the Indian Government.

We have raised this money by various means, including a coffee evening, a cheese and wine party, potato picking, holiday work and private donations. We would like to express our gratitude to Mr and Mrs Lawrence Pratt at whose house the cheese and wine party was held and also to Br Gregory for his help.

E. THOMAS, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Br Gregory*)

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

THE Society has had a change both of name and President. On the regrettable death of Fr Oswald, Professor O. Heavens of York University very kindly accepted the Chairman's invitation to become the Honorary President of the Ampleforth Scientific Society. This brings me to the next point, that of name. It has been changed from the "Scientific Club" to the "Scientific Society".

Though it is disappointing to record that there were only three meetings this term, it was pleasing to note that they were of a high quality and exceptionally well attended. Mr R. F. Gilbert presented the first lecture of the year in magnificent fashion. He produced a thrilling 50-minute lecture-demonstration, with the aid of 12 litres of liquid nitrogen, on "Very Low Temperatures". The following meeting was a Film Night at which two films were shown; the first, "The Revealing Eye", was a history of the development of the ciné camera to observe phenomena which because of their speed are invisible to the naked eye. The second, "The Cornish Engine" was a documentary on the Cornish mine pumping engines of the nineteenth century. The term was ended by A. R. Leeming, who packed 120 people into Lab. 5 to hear his long awaited lecture on "Explosives".

A. J. WALKER, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Professor O. Heavens*)

(*Chairman: Dr C. Briske*)

YOUNG FARMERS' CLUB

THE Society continued in its sixteenth year this term when R. E. Baker was elected to Secretary and D. J. West became the new Treasurer. The Club is undoubtedly flourishing and under our President, Fr Aidan, whose assistance has been invaluable, the attendance has been very good.

It was unfortunate that proceedings began rather late in the term as only three meetings could be conveniently arranged. However, a selection of very interesting films on the subject of agriculture in general were shown. These films ranged from Jimmy Edwards, as a most eccentric farmer, showing members how not to produce milk on the farm, to the production of the well-known drink, Ovaltine!

It is regretted that no outside speaker could be arranged to lecture to members this term, but in the Easter Term it is hoped that at least two such meetings and an outing can be planned.

(*President: Fr Aidan*)

R. E. BAKER, *Hon. Sec.*

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE FIRST FIFTEEN

Played 10. Won 3. Lost 7. Pts. For 57. Pts Against 134. (School matches.)

THE 1st XV did not have a good season. Not only were they a very young and inexperienced side but they were also the victims of appalling luck in the matter of illness and injury. In only three of their ten matches were they able to field a full side, excluding the captain who was injured before the term started and never played. But the tackling was very brittle and most uncharacteristic of Ampleforth sides; and they never seemed to believe in their own ability. At times they could play fine rugby but they would only do so for half a game: the matches against Sedburgh and Leeds were examples of this, though most of the other matches might be cited as well. And very often they made an abominable start as though they wished to make things difficult for themselves. One is left with the impression that this was a better side than its record suggests.

The Captain, S. Shuldham, did all he could; he never missed a single practice or game throughout the term and remained cheerful in much adversity and, indeed, pain. His Vice-Captain, A. Harries, wore his heart on his sleeve: the most loyal of all, he did an admirable job in most trying circumstances and played above himself wherever he was asked to play. No praise can be too high for these two and they were admirably backed up by D. Ogilvie, an excellent blind side, M. Pender-Cudlip who, though missing three games, developed an aggression lacking in some of the others, and A. Lucey who shows every sign of continuing the high standard of scrum-half play set by C. Grieve last year.

The pack were slow at first but by the end of the term were becoming very good in the loose. J. Gaynor at No. 8 earned his place when Harries unfortunately had to move to the threequarters but played so well there that he earned his half colours after the last match. C. McCann, open side, and A. Wojciechowski, tight head, were limited players but tried very hard, while S. Price improved with every game at hooker. D. Young should be a force next year in the second row if he learns the whereabouts of his opponents' line and develops some real fire. Perhaps A. Kennedy made the most progress—he learned fast and is beginning to use his strength in the rucks.

The threequarters on the whole lacked pace but their main deficiency was their inability to tackle hard consistently. There were signs that this was improving and the late move of Harries, with his deadly tackling, to the centre added a degree of confidence to the line which in its turn helped the forwards. W. Reichwald at fly-half has numerous gifts and should be a good player next year but he was inclined to hesitate under pressure. This made his tackling flabby at times and in attack caused him to move at half pace or give a bad ball. Callighan was another who has much to learn but shows signs of great improvement. When his intelligence matches his fire, both his attack and defence will benefit. Much will be expected of these two. All the wings tried during the term performed creditably but all were short of pace and the tackling of all except J. Cahill was poor. A. Norton and M. Skehan were inter-changed at full-back and one could only wish that the gifts of both could have been combined.

The Captain awarded colours to: A. D. Harries, D. N. Ogilvie, M. C. Pender-Cudlip, A. D. Lucey, and half-colours to: A. Kennedy, S. Price, J. Gaynor, A. McCann, W. Reichwald, D. Callighan and J. Cahill.

The team was: A. Norton, T. Howard, A. D. Harries, D. Callighan, J. Cahill, W. Reichwald, A. D. Lucey, A. Kennedy, S. Price, A. Wojciechowski, D. Young, M. C. Pender-Cudlip, D. N. Ogilvie, J. Gaynor and C. McCann.

v. O.A.R.U.F.C. (at Ampleforth, 29th September)

The Old Boys brought a very strong side for the School's first match and in the event they were far too strong for the boys. The 1st XV saw little of the ball except in the tight scrums and spent most of the afternoon tackling. For the School XV none did better than the acting Captain, Harries, and Ogilvie at loose head, while Cahill and Hughes displayed great tenacity and courage in defence.

Lost 3—40.

v. MOUNT ST MARYS (at Mount, 5th October)

The 1st XV seemed to have left its fire and spirit at Ampleforth in what was a sad beginning. The pack were cowed by a physically smaller eight and beaten to the ball in both tight and loose. The weak tackling was the most disappointing feature and one which is most unusual in the Ampleforth 1st XV. There were exceptions: Harries and Ogilvie in the pack, Norton, Skehan and Cahill in the backs. Skehan kicked a penalty for the School in the first half and Norton scored an unconverted try in the corner to give the School the lead until the final quarter. But it was undeserved and Mount went ahead with a goal from a set scrum near the posts. In the final minute they scored a further try by the left wing who ran through five tackles on his way.

Lost 6—14.

v. DURHAM (at Durham, 9th October)

AMPLEFORTH paid the penalty for trying to run the ball in their own 25 against a weakened Durham XV and before very long were nine points down. These three easy penalties were followed by a Durham score under the posts when the Ampleforth backs tried to be too clever and the School turned round 14—0 down. The School played with more fire in the second half and obtained many loose heels, but the backs were running across and snatching at their passes. Hughes scored one try in the corner but despite numerous other opportunities from the loose, this was all the team could manage. A further penalty widened the difference between the two teams and Ampleforth slumped to a most disappointing defeat.

Lost 3—17.

v. GIGGLESWICK (at Ampleforth, 12th October)

THERE had been a few changes in the XV for this match and these seemed to do the trick: not only that, the fire and fury that the side had lacked in its previous two matches was at last present. The team spent all the first half in or near the Giggleswick 25 and within ten minutes had scored twice, through Cahill on the wing after a good loose heel and through Lucey who made a quick break from a set scrum. This left the School with a lead of 8—0 at half-time—a thoroughly deserved lead. The team did not dominate so much in the second half but Giggleswick were not able to take control in the fierce wind and could only reply with a penalty.

Won 8—3.

v. DENSTONE (at Denstone, 23rd October)

THE School were well on top for the first half of a scrappy game. Long periods were spent in the opposing half and the School ought to have scored by the posts when Howard carelessly failed to ground the ball. A penalty by Skehan rectified this in some way but the School only turned round 3—0 up. A careless clearance enabled Denstone to draw level with a dropped goal and it was just after this that Norton went off injured. This seemed to depress the side unnecessarily and Denstone managed an unconverted try in the corner. The School hit back with a good try from Howard after an excellent loose heel in the opposing 25, and as this was converted the XV led 8—6 until the last minute when lack of cover enabled Denstone to get the winning score.

Lost 8—9.

v. LEEDS G.S. (at Ampleforth, 26th October)

IT was pleasant to welcome Leeds to Ampleforth for the first Autumn Term match between the two schools and the game was worthy of the occasion. The Leeds forwards were too powerful and knowledgeable for the young Ampleforth eight and most of the first half was spent in Ampleforth territory. During this time Leeds scored a penalty, a goal and a try and the School XV could only reply with a good penalty by Skehan. The second half brought a tremendous improvement and even though Leeds drew ahead to 14—3 when Skehan was off injured, the School replied with a lightning attack by Howard who ripped through the defence at great speed, kicked over the full-back and won the race for the touch-down. He converted his own try, and although the Leeds pack was still dominant, the School were beginning to unsettle them. Reichwald's cover tackling and Callaghan's crash tackling in the centre were an inspiration to the side who had the last word with a glorious try by Reichwald after Cahill had cross-kicked; Howard caught the ball on the run and passed to Callaghan who in turn transferred to Reichwald intelligently backing up on the outside—he just made it to the corner.

Lost 11—17.

v. STONYHURST (at Stonyhurst, 30th October)

THE School XV did well to hold a powerful Stonyhurst side to three points at the interval, and indeed up to this point the pack, well led by Ogilvie, had given a good display. But the uncertain and very often weak tackling of the backs in moments of crisis let the team down; and when Stonyhurst scored immediately after half-time through a horrible defensive muddle, the match ceased to be a competition. The forwards gave up tackling and covering, and a barrage of high kicks by Stonyhurst gave them acres of land which they were quick to exploit. As defensive lapse followed defensive lapse, try followed try and the XV could only admire the ball-getting prowess of the strong Stonyhurst forwards and the hard running of their backs.

Lost 0—32.

v. SEDBERGH (at Ampleforth, 9th November)

AMPLEFORTH started in very sleepy fashion and looked as though they were going to be trounced. They defended desperately and with some luck kept the powerful Sedbergh backs out for 15 minutes. But then a good passing movement and some weak Ampleforth tackling saw the Sedbergh left wing over in the corner. At this the XV woke up and with Ogilvie and Pender-Cudlip working like Trojans began to rattle the Sedbergh side. Lucey was all but over after a fine break on the blind side and Ampleforth were attacking hard at half-time. For 20 minutes of the second half they continued the good work and Fane-Hervey was unlucky not to get over after two very good runs down the right wing. But the strong Sedbergh forwards outlasted the lighter and younger Ampleforth eight and were in control in the last 10 minutes in which their captain and No. 8 went over for a try which was converted. The 1st XV did extremely well against an older, tougher and more experienced side in an excellent match.

Lost 0—8.

v. ST PETER'S (at Ampleforth, 16th November)

AMPLEFORTH started the match in the same sluggish fashion which has characterised most of their games this season and for 25 minutes St Peter's were very much on top. Indeed during this period they missed three or four very kickable penalties. But the Ampleforth pack, beaten in the tight phases, were winning most of the rucks and it was from one of these on the halfway line that Lucey broke through to the full-back and put Reichwald in for a try. The boot was on the other foot in the second half, with Ampleforth on top and spending long periods in the opposing half. Howard, after several attempts, put over an easy penalty and the match seemed to be won. St Peter's came back with a good try and it was not until the closing minutes that

the XV made certain of victory with another good ruck, presenting Lucey, who had a fine attacking game, with a try.

Won 9-3.

v. HEADINGLEY (at Ampleforth, 1st December)

HEADINGLEY brought a very powerful side including two internationals and several county players, most of whom play regularly for Headingley 1st XV, and they were too strong for the boys who, however, were by no means disgraced. The risk of playing Harries in the centre was fully justified for both he and his understudy at No. 8 played excellent games. Pender-Cudlip was a tower of strength in the pack and Callighan and Reichwald in the backs showed their potential. Cahill and Gaynor tackled well on the wings and Lucey had another courageous game at scrum-half.

Lost 12-34.

THE TOUR

v. DULWICH (at Dulwich, 19th December)

THE Dulwich side were too good for the School who performed very creditably under difficult circumstances. The pack fought hard and it was no fault of theirs when the first two tries were scored. Indeed, they had given some good loose balls to the backs and had nearly scored themselves with some fiery play involving Pender-Cudlip and Kennedy. Lucey, too, was playing a fine game in both attack and defence, and Harries was holding the line together with some sterling defensive tackling. It was only 9-3 at half-time, but the weight and age of the professional Dulwich side took their toll thereafter, and some odd tackling lapses cost the School more points. But they never gave up and were attacking at the end.

Lost 3-25.

v. WHITGIFT (at Whitgift, 21st December)

AMPLEFORTH made a disastrous start in very wet conditions and for 15 minutes Whitgift did everything but score. The Ampleforth line held and gradually the pack woke up and began to control affairs with Ogilvie, Gaynor and McCann in good form. Callighan kicked a penalty goal to put the School in the lead at half-time: afterwards, with the slope and the sun in their favour, the School took charge. A good loose heel and a smart run by Callighan put Howard over in the corner and Callighan and Whitgift responded with an unconverted try, Ampleforth increased their lead when, from another good loose heel, Reichwald went blind and Howard again finished the job. With five minutes left, Whitgift launched a furious assault on the School line and poor tackling cost the School a try near the posts. The match ended with Ampleforth back in the saddle and fully worth their victory.

Won 9-6.

THE SECOND FIFTEEN

Played 8. Won 4. Lost 3. Drawn 1. Pts. For 114. Pts. Against 92.

THE 2nd XV built up a wonderful team spirit under the leadership of P. A. Thomasson at fly-half, ably backed up by B. McGing at full-back. This was all the more creditable because together with D. J. West at hooker and A. Mafeld in the second row, only these four played in all the matches. Injuries, and the demands of the 1st XV, meant a continual reshuffle. In spite of this the team worked together well, and were only beaten once by another 2nd XV, and although beaten heavily by Archbishop Holgate's 1st XV, they were matched against a much more mature and talented side. The highlight of the term was reached in the last minute of the last match, when from the moment that the ball was put into the scrum the try was as good as scored. West hooked well and the ball came out cleanly to M. A. Grieve, who passed out to P. A. Thomasson. The ball went briskly down the line and B. McGing came in from full-

back to make the man over, and, with a beautifully timed pass, put C. E. P. O'Connor over in the corner. No one could claim this try as their own, or wanted to. Each had his part to play, and the try came as the reward of much hard work and practice in the course of the term.

If it is fair to single out one member of such a side as the leading player the honour would fall to B. McGing. His catching and positioning as full-back improved as the term went on, and his punting under the new touch laws was mastery. But perhaps his greatest ability was in judging the moment to join in the attack, and when he did so he took the ball at speed, and timed his pass to perfection. At fly-half P. A. Thomasson improved his technique and learnt to kick the ball high and long down into the opponents' 25. With a pair of hands that stuck to the ball in any conditions his only limitations were his lack of speed on to the ball, and a tendency to send his line running across the field. As his partner at scrum-half he had in turn N. Boulton, A. D. Lucey and finally M. A. Grieve. N. Boulton was the unluckiest player of them all. He played for the 2nd XV and the 1st XV, but in the end was unable to find a place in the 3rd XV. A. D. Lucey became the 1st XV choice, and after two matches M. A. Grieve settled down as the 2nd XV scrum-half. His service from the base of the scrum improved in every game and his kicking when in trouble in the line-out became one of his outstanding features. He learnt to resist his tendency to break from the base of the scrum from a loose heel, and this enhanced the value of his quick and decisive breaks from the tight.

In the centre P. M. Horsley and S. F. Fane-Hervey started off the season together. When D. A. Callighan appeared from the 1st XV, S. F. Fane-Hervey moved on to the wing, where his good hands and jinking run eventually earned him a place in the 1st XV. P. M. Horsley, with his sure hands and neat pass, was a great asset to the side until he had the misfortune to break his leg again in one of the matches. P. R. Davey came in to replace him and proved most effective. When D. A. Callighan, with his determined running and his improved tackling, won his place back into the 1st XV we were happy to welcome M. P. Skehan into the side. His safe hands and effective place-kicking were a considerable asset to the side. On the wings S. A. Willbourn and A. J. Walker started off the season together. A. J. Walker possessed a very effective hand-off, and was a determined runner in attack, but he lacked the elusiveness to hold off the challenge of other players, and was dropped from the side in favour of S. F. Fane-Hervey. S. A. Willbourn lasted longer as he was a shade faster and had a slightly safer pair of hands. He, too, ran strongly for the line, but his defence was suspect, and lost his place to C. E. P. O'Connor whose tackling improved as the term went on. When S. F. Fane-Hervey was promoted to the 1st XV we were glad to welcome R. J. Hughes whose defensive tackling and covering were an encouragement for the whole team.

In the scrum D. J. West was the only fixture in the front row. He hooked well and kept order at the front of the line-out. On either side of him A. H. Wojciechowski and D. H. Powell were the regular players. A. H. Wojciechowski improved enormously as the season wore on. His back was straight in the tight and he became the centre of things in the loose. D. H. Powell was not so strong in the tight, but quick and full of fire in the loose. At other times M. M. Simonds and A. N. Kennedy played in the front row. Both these players appeared for the 1st XV. M. M. Simonds, however, was not quite strong enough in the back to hold the loose head position, although his tackling made him a strong contender. A. N. Kennedy kept his position in the 1st XV mainly for his speed about the field. He has yet to learn to hunt with the pack, but is very quick on to the loose ball. In the second row A. Mafeld was a stalwart member of the side. He trained hard; his shove in the tight was considerable, and his catching of the ball in the line-out improved steadily. He was partnered in turn by D. N. Young, A. R. Fraser and J. P. Knowles. There was little to choose between the first two, but whereas D. N. Young improved steadily, A. R. Fraser only began to show fire at the end of the season. J. P. Knowles filled a useful gap both as lock and in the front row. He is not really tall enough for the lock position but he became a useful addition to the side and learnt quickly. The regular trio in the back row were J. P.

MacHale (open), J. C. Gaynor (No. 8) and P. Moroney (blind). J. P. MacHale was certainly the fittest member of the side, but although quick to the ball he was slow to learn what to do when he got there. He was unfortunate in being plagued with a broken nose, and his tackling technique must improve if he is to avoid further mishaps. J. C. Gaynor was a tower of strength as No. 8. He was quick to seize the loose ball and to spot an opening. P. Moroney played with a lot of fire and was strong in defence. His positioning in attack improved and he could be counted on to ferret out the ball in a ruck. S. J. Dowling also played on the blind side with much determination.

As for the matches played, the side started off in grand form against Barnard Castle and Durham. It was the Scarborough 1st XV who first showed up a weakness in defence which Ripon 1st XV exploited and Archbishop Holgate's 1st XV riddled with holes. Meanwhile they had a very good close game losing to Leeds, and ought to have beaten Sedbergh but drew. And finally they finished the season with a good win against St Peter's.

The following played for the side: B. McGing (full-back); A. J. Walker, S. A. Willbourn, S. F. Fane-Hervey, R. J. Hughes, C. E. P. O'Connor (wings); P. M. Horsley, P. R. Davey, D. A. Callaghan, M. P. Skehan, M. J. Poole (centres); P. A. Thomason, N. Boulton, A. D. Lucey, M. A. Grieve (halves); D. J. West (hooker); A. H. Wojciechowski, D. H. Powell, A. N. Kennedy, M. M. Simonds, J. P. Knowles (props); A. Mafeld, A. R. Fraser, D. N. Young (locks); J. P. MacHale, J. C. Gaynor, P. Moroney, S. J. Dowling, P. G. Aylwin (back row).

The following were awarded colours: B. McGing, P. M. Horsley, M. M. Simonds, A. Mafeld, A. R. Fraser, P. Moroney, J. C. Gaynor, M. A. Grieve, R. J. Hughes, M. P. Skehan.

RESULTS

a. Barnard Castle	Won	19-3
a. Durham	Won	37-3
a. Scarborough 1st XV	Won	20-12
a. Ripon 1st XV	Lost	3-19
a. Leeds	Lost	6-8
a. Archbishop Holgate's 1st XV	Lost	3-35
a. Sedbergh	Drawn	6-6
a. St Peter's	Won	19-6

THE THIRD FIFTEEN

Played 6. Won 4. Lost 2. Pts. For 100. Pts. Against 42.

The team had a very satisfactory season, winning four out of the six matches played, and scoring 100 points with 42 points scored against. The most notable features were the excellent loose play of the forwards, ably led by Fane-Gladwin, and the general competence of the half-backs, Poole and Hardcastle.

The following played as regular members: A. Young, A. J. Walker, J. C. Rapp, W. A. Ryan, R. J. Watling, P. J. Stilliard, M. J. Poole, A. M. P. Hardcastle, J. M. Kentish, C. S. Dixon, A. J. Coghlan, E. A. Blackledge, J. W. Fane-Gladwin (Capt.), S. Baillieu, M. W. Knapton, J. P. Rochford, S. J. Dowling.

The results of the matches were as follows:

a. Richmond G.S. 1st XV	Lost	0-15
a. Giggleswick 3rd XV	Won	28-0
a. Scarborough College 2nd XV	Won	43-3
a. Leeds G.S. 3rd XV	Lost	6-10
a. Archbishop Holgate's G.S. 2nd XV	Won	11-3
a. St Peter's 3rd XV	Won	12-11

UNDER SIXTEEN COLTS

Played 8. Won 6. Lost 2. Pts. For 126. Pts. Against 22.

If the first requirement from an Under Sixteen Colts team is good grammar of the game, this year's team were a good side, witness the fact that of the 35 tries scored in the eight matches no less than 21 were scored by the wings. This is a testimony not only to these two players—Gaynor with his strong and determined thrust, Ruck-Keene with his lighter but swift acceleration outside an opponent—but also to the whole threequarter line which fed them. Any movement must start from the base of the scrum, where Judd played an outstanding game; as scrum-half he still has plenty to learn, but his ubiquitous covering and general play added greatly to the strength of the side. Moore, though not the fastest runner in the side, set the line going with his fine handling and unshakable composure, in spite of playing half the matches with a cracked rib; he was well supported by his centres, Pinkney, who towards the end of the season developed into a handsome player, and Skehan, who joined the side from the Under Fifteen Colts and proved to be its strength at kicking; before his arrival only one of the 17 tries had been converted. Tackling may have seemed slightly unsafe at times, but the fact remains that until the untidy last match our line was crossed only twice.

Nor should the credit go only to the backs; as a pack the forwards played a purposeful and disciplined game, hard driving into the loose scrum leading time after time to a clean heel. As in so many other ways, Redmond firmly but unobtrusively gave the lead in this, captaining a side united behind him. In the forwards it was perhaps the line-out play which was weak, though Lewis did dependable work at No. 2. There was also plenty of initiative in the forwards, especially by Simpkin and Henderson and above all Dowling, one of the outstanding players in the side. They were ably supported by Berner, a player of sterling worth (or more, nowadays), and McKibbin, who, though no bigger than a hooker should be, by his wiry determination made an impression in the loose out of all proportion to his size. The initiative was, however, kept well under control by Cape's ferocious leading of the forwards.

In the early matches there was never any doubt which was the better side, but the team was slightly disappointing until a hard battle against Ashville brought out its potential. Away at Stonyhurst the team played perhaps its most determined game to gain a rather lucky win, though the finest exhibition of rugby came against St Peter's—a match which it was a joy to watch. The Sedbergh game was a disappointment; neither side was yet back in form after the half-term break, and the lack of Marshall, our unflustered full-back, gave some measure of uncertainty to the whole threequarter line; nevertheless we were unlucky to lose.

The team was (double initials for colours): T. G. Marshall, N. G. Gaynor, A. Pinkney, B. Skehan, J. G. Ruck-Keene, W. A. Moore, D. C. Judd, M. A. Henderson, D. A. McKibbin, F. Cape, P. P. Redmond (Captain), E. A. Lewis, J. D. Dowling, A. B. Simpkin, T. J. Berner. There also played M. Rymaszewski, A. Harries (D), D. Houghton.

RESULTS

a. Durham	Won	18-3
a. Giggleswick	Won	14-0
a. Pocklington	Won	21-0
a. Ashville College	Won	19-3
a. Stonyhurst	Won	3-0
a. Sedbergh	Lost	6-8
a. St Peter's	Won	39-0
a. Barnard Castle	Lost	6-8

UNDER FIFTEEN COLTS

Played 8. Won 7. Lost 1. Pts. For 178. Pts. Against 26.

The term was most successful: only one game was lost on a day when the team played very badly. The most pleasing feature of the games played was the manner in which the team met the challenge when faced by strong opposition. As a result they were able to defeat two schools who had beaten them at Under 14 last year. In the other games, however, there were moments of carelessness and ineffectiveness which did little justice to the team's true capabilities, and played havoc with the coach's nerves!

Throughout the term the strongest aspect of the team was the forward play and none did better than Harris who took over the captaincy after Skehan moved up to the under 16 colts. Harris was a tireless player, strong in the attack and with a fine ability to join with the backs in attack. As Captain he controlled the team well and can be well-pleased with the playing record. In the second row Sandeman and McAuley were seldom beaten in loose or line-out and by the end of the term they had developed into an excellent combination.

It took a long time to find the right combination in the threequarters, but once Stapleton moved to fly-half things looked decidedly better and by the final match in which a hitherto unbeaten Ashville side were defeated there was no doubt that the backs had emerged as an effective unit well able to capitalise on the ample possession provided by the forwards. Skehan returned for the later and more difficult games and his all-round ability, eye for an opening and reading of the game were fully exploited by Stapleton's careful passing and control of the game from fly-half. Stapleton's subsequent performance in senior House matches suggests that he should develop into an excellent player. At scrum-half Lintin was irreplaceable—his service was both long and accurate and his ability to break from the scrum led to many tries. His great virtue is consistency: not once did he have a bad game. Of the wings only Fane-Hervey played regularly and in the Ashville game his speed and anticipation gained two vital tries.

Despite the mention of individuals this was more than ever a good team, the foundation of whose success was laid by those members of the Set who turned out without complaint to provide opposition and help in the training. There was keen competition for places in some positions and next term I am sure that others will get their chance.

The team was: F. Fitzherbert, R. Ryan, C. Bowie, F. Skehan, R. Fane-Hervey, M. Stapleton, T. Lintin, R. Richmond, P. Golden, M. Lister, G. Sandeman, T. McAuley, N. Hall, C. Entwisle, C. Harris (Capt.).

S. P. McCarthy, P. Duguid, J. Robinson, A. Allen, B. de Guingard, P. Garbutt also played.

Colours were awarded to: C. Harris, R. Ryan, C. Bowie, F. Skehan, R. Fane-Hervey, M. Stapleton, T. Lintin, R. Richmond, P. Golden, M. Lister, G. Sandeman, T. McAuley and N. Hall.

RESULTS

v. Scarborough College	Won	69—3
v. Leeds G.S.	Lost	0—11
v. Pocklington	Won	31—0
v. Coatham	Won	14—6
v. St Peter's	Won	3—0
v. Barnard Castle	Won	21—3
v. Archbishop Holgate's G.S.	Won	17—0
v. Ashville College	Won	23—3

UNDER FOURTEEN COLTS

Played 6. Won 4. Lost 2. Pts. For 99. Pts. Against 59.

It was evident from the start that the Under Fourteen team, whatever skill it had or might develop, would be a small team. The usual sprinkling of big, mobile forwards was missing, and the pack which eventually emerged found it difficult to gain its share of the ball from the line-outs and set scrums when playing against other schools. However, practically every member of it was fast about the field, and towards the end of the term, when they were playing really well together, the threequarter movements which sprang from their work in the rucks was a delight to watch.

The first two matches were won, but unconvincingly. The team seemed to lack confidence and many tries were lost through poor positional play and dropped passes. The same weaknesses were evident in the match against Coatham, but it was a turning point: it taught the backs many valuable lessons in positional play which they had been very slow to learn. Although well beaten in the next match by a much heavier and faster Leeds Grammar School side, the team now started playing with determination and confidence and finished its two remaining matches with displays of first-class rugby.

P. S. Gaynor at blind-side wing-forward captained the side very well and his backing-up and covering reached a high standard. Doherty and Moroney, the other two members of the back row, were fast and determined players and it was the quickness of these three to gain possession of the ball in the loose that gave the backs such favourable opportunities to move it out to the wings. Ainscough, Lewis and Clayton gave excellent support, and by the end of the term the whole pack looked experienced and well-drilled.

Potez took over the fly-half position half-way through the term and was almost an immediate success. Though it was his first experience of playing in that key position he at once struck up a good understanding with Durkin and the threequarter line at last began to really move. H. Cooper and Murphy thrived on his accurate, well-timed passes, while M. Cooper and Ryan scored plenty of tries when the ball reached the wings.

To sum up one might say that the team, after a shaky start, eventually developed into a side capable of playing with great confidence, determination and precision. A few extra inches and an extra pound or two in weight in the forwards and it would have been a very good side indeed. Let us hope that some of the forwards are, physically, "late-developers".

The following played regularly for the side: P. S. Gaynor (Capt.), J. Potez, W. Doherty, N. Moroney, C. Ainscough, S. Willis, J. Stillard, R. Lewis, S. Clayton, J. Durkin, R. Hornoyd-Strickland, S. Murphy, H. Cooper, P. Ryan, M. Cooper.

M. Galloway, M. Liddell, E. Briscoe, T. Powell, M. Lloyd, N. Fresson played in one or two matches.

Colours were awarded to: P. S. Gaynor, W. M. Doherty, J. A. Potez, J. A. Durkin, S. C. Murphy, C. H. Ainscough, R. M. Lewis, H. P. Cooper, M. R. Cooper, S. M. Clayton, P. J. Ryan, N. Moroney

RESULTS

v. Scarborough College	Won	23—0
v. Pocklington	Won	14—8
v. Coatham	Lost	0—14
v. Leeds Grammar School	Lost	0—28
v. Archbishop Holgate's	Won	45—3
v. Ashville College	Won	17—6

THE HOUSE MATCHES

The usual surprise was this year engineered by St Hugh's who beat St Oswald's 12—5 in the first round. The heavy St Oswald's pack was unusually lifeless: St Hugh's owed much to the Dowling brothers, Willbourn, Callaghan and Davey. In the other first round match St Bede's easily dealt with St Wilfrid's 24—3.

In the second round there were some very close matches: St Cuthbert's beat St Bede's by two penalties, St Thomas's beat St Dunstan's by two penalties to one, and St Aidan's, rapidly taking on the mantle of favourites, defeated St Hugh's by 9—3, St Edward's, for whom Kennedy and Henderson were the best players, defeated St John's 9—0.

St Cuthbert's put paid to the latter in the semi-final with a fine display by their pack which were driven forward by the skills of Price at scrum-half and Moore at fly-half. St Aidan's despatched St Thomas's, Norton getting his third try of the competition thus far.

St Aidan's went on to win the final rather more easily than than the score of 6—0 suggests. The young St Aidan's pack were surprisingly more powerful and co-ordinated than St Cuthbert's and Norton used his speed from full-back to create the two tries that were scored. St Cuthbert's fought back strongly in the second half but did not appear likely to score and St Aidan's in the end gained a comfortable victory.

In the Junior matches St Dunstan's and St Wilfrid's fought their way through to the final. In this final St Dunstan's just gained a narrow victory 9—6, engineered largely by F. Skehan. It was a good game which went to extra time, and which brought great credit to both sides, not least to the losers.

THE BEAGLES

The new term and season opened with T. M. Fitzalan-Howard succeeding as Master of Hounds, and he appointed J. P. Rochford and J. J. W. Wadham as first and second Whippers-in respectively, and A. R. Leeming as Field-Master. The harvest was in in good time, and so a fairly early start was possible. The first hunt was on 25th September, with the Opening Meet at East Moors on the 2nd October.

The pack soon settled down and the young entry, perhaps the best we have ever had, were most impressive; this was the more pleasing as scenting conditions during the whole term were far from good, and we remembered, with fear, the disturbed nature of last season. There was, in fact, no really good scent until 2nd November, and even after this the scent was usually bad until later in December. The pack did its best and hunted well but in these conditions good hunts were few and far between. The mildness of the weather, which was often heavy and damp, was responsible for this; it may perhaps bring us an open winter with better luck later on.

On the 4th November, during the half-term holiday, we had one of the best days so far when we met at Garlon Towers, near Selby. We are sincerely grateful to Baroness Beaumont and Lord Howard of Glossop both for their kind invitation to hunt there and for their great hospitality to us. There was a good scent on this day and the pack showed what they are really like, hunting all the day and with no little success.

In some parts of our country meets are becoming more difficult, because of such things as shooting and fences; it is therefore pleasant to be able to record two new meets. The first of these is Yatts Farm on the Newton Road behind Pickering. We met there for the first time on the 27th November and we had a pleasant and successful day, though it was at times confused since it was foggy and the country was new to all. The second is at Hollins Farm, Farnedale, half-way between Church Houses and Ash House. There we met for the first time on 23rd December. Most of this day was spent hunting in the dale; scent was good and it was pleasant and successful.

To summarise the term and the first half of the season it must be said that scenting conditions have been very poor but even so the pack seems to be extremely good, and one hopes that the second half of the season may give a chance to see them at their best.

THE ROVERS

This term the Rovers developed into a much more versatile organisation, continuing the normal activities, but branching out into several new fields, both in and out of the School. The membership reached a record level. The visits to St Mary's Hospital, York, continued, six Rovers going each week, and also 15 went to Aine and Clay-penny. As well as this we visited the Poor Clare's Convent each week in order to help keep up their kitchen gardens.

There was a visit from Miss Elizabeth Fitzroy who gave a lecture to the Sixth-Form about her homes for handicapped children, and it is hoped that at the end of the Summer Term there will be a camp at the Junior House, run for them by the Rovers.

The term began with a visit from a new Borstal, namely the open Borstal at Wetherby. This proved to be very popular and we made a return visit there later in the term. A group from Hatfield Borstal came to stay for a weekend at Redcar but the return visit to Hatfield was cancelled due to circumstances beyond our control. At the end of term the Rovers gave a concert at St Mary's Hospital, and also at Aine Hall, at which outtalent was much in evidence. On 5th November a party of Rovers built a bonfire at Aine Hall, and in the evening helped set off the fireworks at their Guy Fawkes celebration.

The Junior House scouts flourished this term with nine members of the Rovers taking part. We were asked to organise football for the village primary school and we provided two coaches each week.

The Rover Room this term took on a new look, and all thanks are due to D. J. Hughes who spent a lot of time in redecorating it.

THE VENTURE SCOUTS

ALTHOUGH the hazards of the term were highlighted by the customary puncture in the middle of nowhere, they were more than compensated for by a wide range of activities, including pot-holing, sailing, white-water canoeing, fell-walking and a visit from Welburn Hall.

Goyden Pot eluded us because of wet weather and the likelihood of flooding, but the Browgill and Calf Holes system proved a good substitute, offering a wide selection of differing types of caving and pot-holing. The long subterranean marathon which constituted the Pennine weekend was the highlight of the term, ranging from the constricted Sunset Hole (a cave for thin people), to the gradual descent through the stalactite passages of Lower Long Churn and the "sewers" of Magnetometer Pot, where the coincidence of time running out and the proximity of the Wet Crawl has not gone unnoticed.

The three peaks walk, over Pen-y-ghent, Ingleborough and Wharfedale, saw us back in the Pennines, and was enjoyed by all, despite the early hour of departure. Fortunately the weather held, and the views from the summits, although occasionally obscured by mist, made the climbing well worthwhile: the short hours of daylight were the main limiting factor, but the walk was completed with only the descent of Ingleborough being done in darkness.

The return trip to Magnetometer Pot was effected a fortnight later; memories of the wet 40-foot entrance pitch, the tightness of the near series leading to the low and never-ending Wet Crawl and the equally wet Dry Crawl were dimmed by the grandeur of the River Styx, with its static black water and wide arched roof, and the high passages leading to the traverse above Caton Hall, 50 feet below.

Other activities included sailing at Filey, in ideal conditions; white-water canoeing at Appletreewick; and a visit from Welburn Hall to see the Marx Brothers' film. Work on the new Venture Scout loft above the Troop room has advanced appreciably and it is hoped that it will be completed by the time this article appears.

Br Jeremy is running the troop in Helmsley for a year and Fr Thomas is taking his place during this period.

Of his many contacts outside Ampleforth with other school contingents, Northumbrian District, Northern Command, the C.C.F. Association in which he was a member of the Council and of the Executive Committee, and many others, we at Ampleforth cannot pay adequate tribute since he never said much about them. We know that such contacts were extensive and that his opinion was much sought after and valued. What we know best from personal experience is that he had a great love and appreciation of the Services and a strong faith in the value of the C.C.F. and that he fostered this spirit whenever he found it in others. The award of the O.B.E. which he received in 1951 was a recognition of his outstanding contribution to the Cadet Movement, and just after his death it was learned that he had been awarded the Cadet Force Medal, though he did not know this when he died. The Ampleforth C.C.F. may achieve higher standards, but it will never have a higher reputation than that won for it by Er Peter, because the contingent was judged by its commander and none could doubt that he was a giant personality.

THE C.C.F. TODAY

With the first change in command of the corps for 30 years there are bound to be some alterations. The climate of opinion in the country is generally inimical towards military affairs and this is reflected in the school. Not so long ago a young man, though he grudged the time and effort involved, did not question the nobility of bearing arms in the defence of his country; at a lower level he valued some basic military knowledge gained in the corps which would enable him more quickly to take his place in the Services if called upon. All that is now changed and although the country still needs men who are partially trained and who could become the leaders of a new citizen army in a future emergency, patriotism is a dirty word and this form of service appears less attractive.

The aims of the C.C.F. as laid down by the Ministry of Defence are:

- (a) To provide a disciplined framework within which a boy may develop qualities of endurance, leadership and initiative.
- (b) To give all boys some basic knowledge and understanding of the Services and to encourage those who may be considering a Service career.

(These are very abbreviated versions of the official aims but they give the gist of those aims.) The problem of the new Commanding Officer is to examine the Ampleforth C.C.F. in the light of those aims and take whatever steps are necessary to see that they are implemented.

After what was said in the first paragraph it is clear that it would be possible to minimise the military aspects of the C.C.F. and this might increase its popularity. It would, however, be against the spirit of the second aim. On the other hand too rigid and narrow an adherence to the military might minimise the first aim. Somehow both have to be accommodated. The solution which has been put into effect this term has been to ensure that every boy has purely military training for a minimum of two years and more often three, but thereafter those who cannot be used as instructors or commanders in charge of junior cadets shall have an opportunity to develop the qualities listed in aim (a) in a wider choice of alternatives.

The present set-up is therefore as follows.

In their first year all boys join the *Basic Section* (Captain R. A. Gilman, 2nd/Lt T. M. Wright, U/O Hon A. R. M. Prasser) where they are taught by instructors from each of the three Service Sections and given a grounding in basic military training.

In the second year boys enter one of the *three Service Sections* (Royal Navy: (Lt-Comdr) E. J. Wright, Lt E. Boulton, U/O S. J. Shuldham. Army: Captain M. E. Corbould, C.S.M. Baxter, U/O N. H. S. Armour. Royal Air Force: Fl/Lt S. P. Wright, F/O J. B. Davies, U/O A. Thomasson). Here they work up to Proficiency standard and some go on to Advanced Proficiency, specialist and technical training and N.C.O.'s Cadres.



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Finally, those who are not required as instructors or commanders in their own Section or the Basic Section progress into the *Joint Services Section* (Major A. N. Haigh, U/O J. W. Fane-Gladwin) where a great variety of possibilities exists. For a small number of volunteers who want to continue with strictly military work Lt-Col E. M. P. Hardy has kindly arranged for three of his senior instructors from the Yorkshire Volunteers to run a most enterprising Skill at Arms course. Lt D. Nicholson and members of his Green Howards Army Youth Team have taken a weekly rock-climbing course. Another group has been going to the Home Office Civil Defence School at Easingwold for instruction; the rest, under Major Haigh and U/O Fane-Gladwin, have carried out various exercises designed to test endurance and initiative. The instructors of this course organised and ran a marching competition for the whole contingent which took place on the last parade of the term. It was admirably arranged and was won by the Army Section Instructors' Course under Corporal P. Baxter.

In addition to those mentioned above and those who have assisted the Service Sections our thanks are due to Mr Philip Beck for the very generous gift of a small motor—we hope to use it to power a hovercraft—one of the enterprises envisaged for the Joint Services Section. Col R. Vinning from Northern Command Headquarters gave a lecture on the Development of Tanks and the Armoured Battles of the North African Campaign which was very much appreciated, and we were also honoured by a visit from Brigadier R. C. H. Barber, Deputy Commander of Northumbrian District.

The most dramatic event was a second visit of the Band, Drums and Pipes of the 3rd Bn. Royal Irish Rangers who beat Retreat on the Top Walk in the afternoon, and in the evening the Band gave a most polished concert before a large and appreciative audience. Our grateful thanks are due to Lt-Col D. O'Morchoe and Major J. Major who made the visit possible.

ARMY SECTION

The new intake of 88 cadets spent the term training for the Army Proficiency Certificate and these were joined by 15 who failed the test in the summer. The remainder of the Section was divided up into a number of courses taken by units of the Regular Army, No. 12 Cadet Training Team under Captain H. Cartwright ran a very successful Method of Instruction course; there were Signals and R.E.M.E. courses each run by regular units from Catterick. We are most grateful for this generous help.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

The reorganisation of the contingent was reflected in the work of the Section. Most of the senior ratings were engaged on instructional duties and it was praiseworthy that Leading Seamen Rapp and Hornoyld-Strickland were successful in the Advanced Naval Proficiency Examination as the preparation for it had to be done in their own time.

The Section was extremely pleased that two of its Petty Officers, N. S. Boulton and M. W. Knapton, both of whom have given great service to the Section, gained awards at Oxford. In congratulating them we should also like to thank them for their efforts in the past.

U.O. S. J. Shuldham, despite the handicap of an injured knee, ran the Section very well, particularly the new entry for whom, assisted by four Leading Seamen, he was entirely responsible.

Again at Easter the contingent will be sending a Joint Service party for training in Malta and the majority of the party will come from the Naval Section. A report on the camp will be in the next issue of the JOURNAL.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

This term saw a loss of the more senior members of the Section to the newly-formed Joint Service Section. Consequently the majority of the Section was comprised of cadets. This confined our activities to basic training and instruction in

air proficiency. This was punctuated, however, by several lectures and films. These included a lecture by Sgt Nunn on Aircraft Evolution which was highly interesting and informative. Sgt Leeming ran a course on R.A.F. Signals Procedure with a signals set made by the Section. We are very grateful to him for the time which he devoted to this.

We are grateful to R.A.F. Topcliffe, who provided both instructors and flying facilities. The flying, however, was severely hampered by the weather, and consequently we were able to fly on only one of the days provided. It is hoped that weather conditions will improve enough during the forthcoming term for our flying activities to become more regular.

PROMOTIONS

ARMY SECTION

To be Sergeant: Ogilvie D. C., Clive C. E. F., Brennan P. D., Studer M. E. W., Fitzalan-Howard T. M., Wagstaff A. M., Berry J. C. H., Fane-Hervey S. F., Simmonds M. M. N., Williams P. J., Guly H. R. L., Weaver D. L., Hallinan M., Gilbey T. N., Howard T. E. B.

To be C.Q.M.S.: Hardcastle A. N. P., Russell S. M., Ramsay P. W. M.

To be C.S.M.: Ogilvie D. C.

To be Under-Officer: Fraser A. R. M., Armour N. H. S.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

To be Leading Seaman: Gaynor J. C., Hughes D. J., Hornoyld-Strickland H. C., Horsley P. M., Mackay R. E., Meyrick A., Rapp J. C., Rochford J. P., Sheppard R. F., Baker R. E.

To be Petty Officer: Thompson G. F. B., Hatfield G. R.

To be Under-Officer: Shuldham S. J.

To be D/Major: Rapp J. C.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

To be Sergeant: Hetherington H. O., James P., Nunn P., Donavon P. C.

To be F/Sergeant: Walker A. J., Macfie A. J.

To be Warrant Officer: Powell D. H.

To be Under Officer: Thomasson P. A.

JOINT SERVICES SECTION

To be Sergeant: Fermor-Hesketh Hon R., Jacks W., Russell P.

To be F/Sergeant: Baillieu S.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

At the beginning of the term Fr Cyril Brooks took over the Housemastership of the Junior House. Fr Simon remained as Second Master and Fr Alban, who was in the House temporarily last year, became permanent.

The Head Monitor was A. P. Marsden and the other Monitors were M. B. Spencer, J. P. M. Craig, D. V. O'Brien, S. D. Mahony, N. A. Spence, T. C. Hooke, J. J. Hornoyld-Strickland, P. H. K. May.

The Captain of Rugby was A. P. Marsden and J. J. Hornoyld-Strickland was the Vice-Captain.

Mrs ASHE, who used to be Matron of St Thomas's House, became our Matron and after half-term Mrs Mallory arrived to be the Nurse.

The term was an unusually long one, but it was broken by a five-day half-term at the beginning of November. On the whole this seems to have been a successful experiment: a short rest and change helped both boys and staff, and it was not long enough to disturb the work routine.

THERE have been a few innovations. There is now only one free afternoon each week (on the Saturday half-holiday), but there is a variety of occupations. Rugby is still the main game and boys normally play three times a week. Each boy also swims in the indoor bath on one afternoon under the care of Fr Anselm or Fr Alban. Once a week there is also an inter-form soccer league run entirely by the boys. The remaining afternoon is on Sunday when most of the House are scouting while the rest do carpentry or play golf with Fr Simon on the Gilling Golf Course.

SPARE time activities have had a number of additions. First, two things which have proved very popular: basketball goal posts on the skating rink and a television set in the cinema room. This latter was particularly appreciated during the Olympic Games when many boys got up early in the morning to watch the 7.0 a.m. transmission from Mexico.

MEMBERS of the Upper School 1st and 2nd Year Society have also come over on several occasions to help us. The 2nd year play — "Mr Scrooge" — was performed before a large audience in the cinema room and was very well received. Bernasconi, the Head Monitor, came and conducted a debate, and preparations and rehearsals for a Junior House play next term were also begun. Finally there should have been a performance of the 1st year play — "Everyman" — on the last Sunday of the term but this was unfortunately impossible because the oven went out, delaying the Christmas dinner by 1½ hours. To all those members of the Upper School who have helped us we offer our thanks.

FR STEPHEN and his quintet kindly gave an evening's entertainment towards the end of the term.

FR KENNETH gave the retreat and we would particularly like to thank him for undertaking this at very short notice.

FINALLY there was the traditional Carol Service on the last Sunday at which Fr Edmund presided. He and Fr Henry, our organist, then joined us for the magnificent Christmas dinner.

SCOUTS

THE scouts, along with the rest of the House, were, of course, very pleased to welcome Fr Cyril to the Junior House, but more especially so since he himself formerly had charge of the troop. We were also very happy to have Br Nicholas as our new Assistant Scout Leader in place of Br Gregory, who is now working with the Sea Scouts in the Upper School. We owe Br Gregory very many thanks for three years of devoted service and wish him every success in his new post. We also welcome the following Flowers to our team of instructors: W. Charles, B. McGing, J. MacHale, M. Poole, D. Dees, W. Ryan, R. Watling and P. Horsley.

We have had an enterprising term's scouting. After two training camps at the beginning of term, the following were appointed Patrol Leaders: C. Durkin (Senior Patrol Leader), S. Finlow, T. Clarke, H. Dowling, A. Foll, P. Marsden,

P. May and J. O'Connor. The Patrol Leaders and their assistants undertook 12-mile hike-camps in pairs before half term as part of their qualification for the Advanced Scout Standard. The remainder of the second year enjoyed a weekend hike in early December, spending the night in the Wheeldale Youth Hostel. The programme of ordinary Sunday scouting has been a varied one, with half the troop each week at the middle lake, while the remaining four patrols have been divided between activities centred on the mole-catcher's cottage and hikes in the surrounding countryside, usually combined with an element of stalking.

At a meeting of the troop in the Junior House on 6th December, 33 new scouts made their scout promise, bringing the present total of the troop to 69. This occasion was enhanced by some lively entertainment provided by a group of the second year. It is hoped that the new scouts will be introduced to the more ambitious activities of the troop in the Spring Term.

RUGBY

THE 1st XV played 7 matches and lost 2. This was quite a good record and some good rugby was played (by no means all the time) by the first team. But the standard of Junior House play in general was only moderate. We fielded two other sides during the term. A first-year XV was well beaten in all its three matches and a mongrel 'A' XV lost its two.

The 1st XV beat Leeds, Barnard Castle, St Martin's and Pocklington twice. 59 points were scored and 16 conceded. St Olive's and St Mary's Hall were our victors. A strong and ever-improving pack proved to be the main strength of the team. There was some really excellent play from the booker, M. B. Spencer, from the tight-head prop, C. J. Foll, and from lock forward C. A. Sandeman. These three thoroughly deserved the colours awarded

to them. The only colour outside went to A. H. Foll. He was the most competent of a rather slow team of backs. The trouble really stemmed from a slow pair of half-backs, though these two, J. M. T. O'Connor and the Captain, A. P. Marsden, got to know each other's play well enough by the end of the season. On the whole, this was a team of only fair ability, but if individual inspiration was lacking this was made up by a determination to play as a team and think out the game.

The following played for the 1st XV at one time or another: J. N. Wakely, J. J. Hornvold-Strickland, S. R. Finlow, S. D. Mahony, A. H. Foll, A. P. Marsden, J. M. T. O'Connor, S. N. Lintin, J. P. G. Peckin, C. J. Foll, M. B. Spencer, M. A. Spence, J. A. Stourton, C. A. Sandeman, B. P. Lister, C. M. Durkin, P. H. K. May, T. G. Hooke.

THE SPRING TERM

It is just possible, before going to press, to add one or two more points to the general House notes. We were very sad to hear that Mrs Ashe was taken ill during the Christmas holidays. She is still not back to look after us and we do hope and pray for a complete recovery. In the meantime, Mrs Mallory has nobly come to our rescue.

Snow has produced a lot of entertainment and sledges have been put to constant use. Only one snowball has so far gone through a House window but there is still plenty of snow about.

The Debating Society is popular. The House has so far decided that it would prefer wealth to health and that fagging is a bad thing and should not be introduced.

Other societies have sprouted. Stamp and coin collectors are to be found in the House. Play rehearsals are going well. Classical guitar lessons are available on Mondays. Photographers are at work and so are fly-tiers. Artists, too, can now paint in the House.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

The Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: M. Thompson.

Captain of Rugby: M. J. P. Moir.

Captains: S. J. Bickerstaffe, C. P. Myers, M. W. A. Tate, C. H. Soden-Bird, P. J. Lees-Millais.

Secretaries: J. D. Harrison, M. J. Brennan, R. T. Harney, S. W. Ellingworth.

Sacristans: M. E. N. Shipsey, Lord Ralph Kerr, P. A. Graham, C. A. Vaughan, A. E. Bond.

Ante-Room: J. A. Dundas, M. J. Pierce.

Bookmen: M. R. F. Griffiths, D. H. R. Lochrane, R. T. Harney, B. L. Bunting, S. B. Glaister.

Art Room: D. G. M. Griffiths, D. A. J. McKechnie, S. D. Nuttall, P. C. Velarde.

Librarian: B. Finlow.

Woodwork: C. G. E. Heath, S. P. O'Carroll-FitzPatrick.

Office Men: F. Brooks, J. C. E. Moreton, M. E. N. Shipsey, R. A. Duncan.

Dispensary: C. de Larrinaga, R. A. Duncan.

The following boys entered the School in September:

R. S. J. P. Adams, D. J. Barton, E. J. Beale, D. C. Bradley, M. J. Blenkinsopp, A. C. Burt, E. T. B. Charlton, D. Craig, P. K. Corkey, A. de Larrinaga, S. J. Dick, D. S. C. Dobson, B. P. Doherty, L. R. Dowling, E. A. Duncan, B. J. M. Edwards, R. G. Elwes, R. P. Ellingworth, S. P. Finlow, T. J. F. Fincher, N. J. Gaynor, A. R. Goodson, P. M. Graves, D. W. R. Harrington, F. Howard, C. C. Howard, T. B. P. Hubbard, T. M. May, P. B. Myers, A. J. Nicoll, J. F. Nowill, A. M. G. Rattrie, M. F. Russell, C. T. Seconde, M. H. Sutherland, M. P. Trowbridge, C. M. Waterton, P. C. Wraith.

On 8th October Father Abbot, the Procurator, members of the staff and friends attended a party arranged by Fr William for Miss Joan Duckworth on the occasion of her retirement as Matron. In January 1949 Miss Duckworth started as Matron and with the exception of three years' Hospital Training has been

with us ever since. It would be hard to exaggerate the debt owed to her by generations of boys and their parents, by her own loyal staff and by all members of the Gilling community. Over the years she has contributed greatly to the efficient, successful and happy running of the School through her genius for organisation and sheer hard work, but more than all this she will be especially remembered for her kindness, her sensitive skill as a nurse, her unsparing help to anyone in need, her readiness to see any problem wherever possible as a human problem whose solution called for the utmost consideration for the individual. Those who were present at Speech Day last July will recall how Father Abbot spoke of his own personal feeling of gratitude for what Miss Duckworth had done for members of his community and how Fr William remarked that when she came to leave Gilling she would leave part of her heart behind. On this occasion in a brief speech Fr William said that the hall-mark of her work at Gilling was whole-hearted service. Occasions such as these tended to have about them a note of sadness but he emphasised that this was not a "farewell" party but just a "thank-you" party and he was most anxious that she should pay its frequent visits in the sure knowledge that she would always be welcome. Presentations were made of a silver teapot, a leather brief-case and a barometer. On the previous day the boys had arranged their own presentation party when they gave her an oak coffee table made by Mr Hutchinson of Huthwaite. There was no disguising the pleasure given to Miss Duckworth by these gifts and by what they signified. May God bless her in her new work.

We welcome Mr Julian Buxton who has joined the teaching staff and Miss Anne Willis who has taken on the onerous duties of Matron. Half-way through the term her sister, Miss Elizabeth Willis, came as Assistant Matron and she also is most welcome. The School year began with 38 new boys who settled in quickly and soon everything was running smoothly. It was a happy if unremarkable term.

Some would say its most notable feature was its length and a few were somewhat dismayed to learn that their brothers from the College were going home for a half-term holiday, leaving them behind. However, they were more than satisfied when they discovered that they would arrive home a week earlier than their brothers at the end of the term. It was a very healthy term and work and play went forward without interruption.

On 13th November, the feast of "All Monks", D. C. Bradley, S. J. Dick, R. P. Ellingworth, M. H. Sutherland, D. W. R. Harrington and C. M. Waterton made their First Communion.

The last few days seemed busy with the usual festivities: Captains' and Officials' teas culminating in the "Christmas Feast" on the last evening. As always this was a gay occasion helped not a little by the most sumptuous "spread". After the Concert which included delightful and well-sung carols, the Head Captain, M. Thompson, thanked the Matron and all her staff for this Feast and all the good things provided during the term and for looking after the School so well. Endorsing the Head Captain's words, Fr William congratulated the Matron on maintaining all the best traditions of Gilling. He also sent a message of thanks to Mrs Blackden who, though absent, had played a big part in all these festivities and he wished her a speedy recovery from her operation.

As if to show that the art of entertainment has not been entirely submerged beneath the film and the television screen, an informal concert was held in the Gallery one Sunday evening after tea, and was greatly enjoyed by performers and audience alike. The programme was varied. An exhibition of Scottish Dancing by some of the Second Form led by Duckworth was followed by a sketch in which R. Duncan and P. Lees-Millais showed how important it is to keep friendly with the sound effects man in amateur dramatics; S. Peers and S. Claster were the actors, and S. Ellingworth very ably took the difficult but key part of Narrator. Then, after the singers had obliged with two songs, M. Craston, S. Reid, M. Morgan and D. Moir

illustrated what might be heard over the loudspeaker system of a railway station if one could, in fact, hear anything.

Mr Capes then played the piano with his customary expertise, and was followed by his "teacher", Fr Hilary, who in spite of impressive preparations, never actually got round to playing a single note. S. Durkin, D. Ellingworth and J. Tate continued with a demonstration best summarised perhaps as Team Gargling in Quick Time, and then IB gave a spirited rendering of the Fate of Untruthful Matilda. This brought a very enjoyable hour to a close just as the bell sounded for Benediction. It is to be hoped that this type of entertainment will become a regular feature of life at Gilling, but this, of course, rests entirely with the members of the School.

AFTER some useful discussions last year the seeds of a new idea for spare time activity were sown; this resulted in a Gilling version of the increasingly popular game of volleyball being played in the Gym on non-games afternoons and Sunday mornings. A badminton net was unearthed and stretched across the Gym at a suitable height and, once the rules had been worked out, volleyball became very popular and very fast. The discovery of this net provoked further thought, however, and after suitable lines had been painted on the Gym floor by three boys, with the aid of a lot of Sellotape, the game of badminton returned to Gilling after a very long absence.

Before long the Badminton Ladder had proved to be a great success, and contained over 40 names. When it finally closed on the last Sunday of term the first four places were occupied by B. Hooke, M. Pierce, P. Moore and J. Dundas. These then played semi-finals and finals amid great tension, to decide the Championship order, and from these Pierce emerged as the Champion, with Hooke second, Dundas third and Moore fourth. Throughout the term the standard of play improved remarkably, and it seems that both badminton and volleyball have gone some way towards satisfying the need for indoor winter games. The construction of a 17-foot long net, with the able assistance of Morgan and Hooke, makes it probable that volleyball will be played outside in the Summer Term as

well, when the Gym is filled with swimmers or cricketers.

SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCING

Fr Piers is very grateful to Matron and Nurse Willis for the valuable help which they gave him in teaching some of the boys in the School a few of the basic principles of Scottish Country Dancing. Dancing practices took place in the Gymnasium after tea on Sundays. About 15 boys were taught the Reel and Strathspey steps, which they learnt with varying degrees of success. By the end of the term the boys had made sufficient progress to put on two small exhibitions of Scottish Country Dancing in front of the rest of the School for which they received very hearty applause. In these exhibitions they danced the Ninesome and Foursome reels, but during practices they also learnt the Petronella, the Eightsome and the Gay Gordons. Miss Kendrick very kindly made nine red sashes which were worn by the "ladies" to distinguish them from the gentlemen. Maclaren, Bailey, Duckworth and Sandeman wore kilts.

During the term the boys made steady progress in mastering the technique of their foot formations and moving their feet rhythmically in time with the music played from a tape recorder, and they began to appreciate that the better they danced the more they could enjoy the lively and sociable recreation of Scottish Country Dancing.

ART

SECOND FORM ART

ALL the boys in the Second Form worked hard and successfully with pencil and brush in the Art Room during the term. Their work included pencil drawings of squirrels, deer, hares, puppies and horses; they were allowed to use colour in producing illustrated Mass Cards for the mass of St Teresa of the Child Jesus, and the mass for Family Fast Day, in which the Church in missionary countries was the subject for the illustrations. Near the end of the term the boys set to work on some two dimensional figures to be arranged in four tableaux around the ante-room showing four scenes from the story of the birth of our Lord. In the Jerusalem tableau E. Dowling painted a striking figure of King Herod the Great.

The desert tableau depicted five wise men on their way to Bethlehem; the best figure in this group was painted by M. May. Murray's Madonna and Child in the crib tableau was well done. In the shepherd's field tableau on the window-sill the most striking figures were done by Connolly and Grant.

SWIMMING

DURING the first part of the term until the weather became colder, the swimming pool was put to good use. During the morning break Fr Piers and Fr Julian gave individual tuition to all the beginners in the Second and Third Forms, and with the exception of one or two boys, who will be receiving more attention in the Summer Term, all the beginners managed to swim one length of the pool unaided. Several strong swimmers in the Second Form were able to demonstrate their speed by taking part in some exciting relay races and water polo matches between 2A and 2B.

RUGBY

This has been a term to remember, and a team to remember. Six matches were played, on the dates planned, and playing conditions were never bad. The team turned out to be one of the best in recent years. Results can be misleading, but four matches were won, and two lost; Points For 72; Points Against 27.

Five experienced players returned from last year's team. M. J. Moir captained the team well, playing at prop forward. M. Tate and M. Thompson came together in the second row, and formed one of the great strengths of the pack. Then there were two good threequarters from last year. C. Soden-Bird was fly-half for a second season; very reliable with his handling and in defence, and launching S. J. Bickerstaffe, now at inside centre, on many a scoring run. There was considerable competition for the remaining places in the team, but in the end C. A. Vaughan and S. P. Reid joined Moir in the front row; D. Griffiths developed into a good No. 8; D. McKechnie and S. B. Glaister were quick-thinking and untiring wing-forwards; M. Griffiths never let the side down at full-back; F. Brooks and R. Harney played well as threequarters; and a variety of good players occupied

the remaining place in the threequarter line without any of them establishing a permanent claim to it. Indeed, one of the strengths of the games this term was the high standard of play and the keenness of so many of the first set, which made team selection very difficult.

Our first opponents were St Martin's, and a very even match was eventually won by three tries to one. The St Martin's try taught us a salutary lesson: a well placed up-and-under by their fly-half landed just short of our posts, then the quick heel, and a try was scored while some of our forwards were still trotting back. But it was our forwards who won the match in the end. M. Tate scored two of our tries, and Dundas slipped over for the other from a scrum close to the line.

The second match was against Glenhow, and this we won by four tries to one. Dundas scored twice and Bickerstaffe and Moir scored one each. It was in this match that two of the lessons which the team needed to learn became apparent. The forwards were playing as individuals and not as a pack, and the scrum-half was breaking on his own too often, so that our threequarters were wasted. Of the seven tries scored in the two matches only one had been scored by a threequarter.

By the third match these faults had been rectified, but the Malsis team gave us a wonderful display of the way a team of this age can play rugby. They surpassed us in their quickness to snap up a loose ball, and in the way their forwards backed each other up and turned to give the ball to the next man. In the first half they crossed our line four times, and in the second half they scored twice more. But our own team was improving steadily, and in fact our pack began to gain the upper hand. However, in spite of continuous attacks from our threequarters, and though Soden-Bird on one occasion was within inches of a try, their defence held out and we were unable to score.

How much had been learnt in that match was soon clear in the return match

with Glenhow. Our forwards were much quicker to gain possession of the ball, and the threequarters made good use of it. Bickerstaffe, Harney and Reid scored two tries each, Brooks scored one, and Dundas converted another by Soden-Bird. The team then played equally well against St Olave's. Bickerstaffe scored twice, Dundas, McKechnie, Glaister, Harney and Moir each scored once, and Dundas succeeded with two conversions.

So the time came for what was to be the real test, the return match with Malsis. The team was now playing far better than it had been the first time we had met, but unfortunately Thompson was unfit so our pack was not at full strength. The first half was very close indeed, both teams playing superbly but neither being able to score. The second half was even more exciting. Malsis scored, and then, soon after, Bickerstaffe, broke through the centre and ran three-quarters of the length of the field. It looked like a certain try, but he was caught in the corner, five yards from the line, by the Malsis wing covering across from the other side of the field, and the ball was scrambled into touch. The equalising try was denied us, but it had been a glorious match, and a fitting end to a very good term's rugby.

In the course of the term colours were awarded to M. Moir, M. Tate, Soden-Bird, Bickerstaffe, Thompson, Dundas, D. Griffiths and McKechnie. M. Griffiths, Harney, Brooks, Reid, Vaughan and S. Glaister all played regularly for the team, and B. Bunting, E. Dowling, R. Duckworth, C. Heath, T. Judd, S. O'Carroll-FitzPatrick and N. Sutherland all played in at least one match.

There was also plenty of talent and keenness lower down the School, as could be seen in the T.A.R.S. League matches, and in the lower sets tackling colours were awarded to P. K. Corkery, C. de Larringa, B. J. Edwards, N. J. Gaynor, B. Hooke, J. B. Horsley, C. C. Howard, T. B. Hubbard, P. R. Moore, J. M. Murray and P. A. Ritchie.

As a rule . . .

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EDITORIAL : PRAY FOR PAUL OUR POPE

*Strengthen in faith and love your pilgrim Church,
your servant Pope Paul and all the bishops.*

English Canon.

THERE are moments of time, seen by a few in their day and by academics afterwards as hinge points of history, cardinal moments of development. For the papacy, and so for the whole central structure of the Church as *societas Christiana*, we may judge these as having occurred during the reigns of Sylvester I (314-35), Leo I (440-61), Gregory I (590-604), Gregory VII (1073-85), Innocent III (1198-1216), Eugenius IV (1431-47), Paul III (1534-49) and Pius IX (1846-78) all long pontificates of from twelve to thirty-two years, almost all distinguished by the holiness of the holders of the office.

Such a cardinal moment of time is upon us again now from last mid-summer, if we read the signs aright, until the end of December next, when the resolutions of the Synod of Bishops will doubtless have been promulgated and digested. Seen more widely, it is a time of radical change on every front, so much so that it would be imprudent to buy in any permanent form a Bible (for where is Knox now?) or Commentary (for where is the Catholic Commentary now?), a breviary (for where stands the Office at present?) or missal (for which Canon or *missa normativa* is finalised?), a martyrology (for which saints are still venerated?) or rituale (for which rite remains unassailed?), a book of Moral Theology (for what sin is still mortal?) or a code of Canon Law (for which canons are not under revision?). Theology moves so swiftly that it takes the paperback revolution to keep up with it; and Church history is not a lot less changing under the hand of the ecumenist—for, as Butler said in *Erewhon*, "although God cannot alter the past, historians can". As swiftly as thought and procedure change, concepts of authority, responsibility and obedience change under the stresses of modern articulateness, advanced education, communication, democratic principle and tendency to interdependence: these have fathered a shift from uncritical obedience to responsible accountability to superiors (an altogether deeper levelled and longer rhythm obedientary relationship), and with this a desire for participation in



decision making. Men want to share in the life-movement of Christian society (Church as much as State) into which they are born. In the personal sphere, there has been a like shift from the ideal of Christian asceticism to one of psychological expressiveness, premeditated discipline giving way to impromptu responses: the accent, so to say, is on action rather than inhibition. And with it has come a shift even more dangerous, from the eschatological to the temporal: "Today the Church is witnessing a crisis under way in society . . . a world which exalts itself with its conquests in the technical and scientific fields, but which brings also the consequences of a temporal order which some have wished to reorganise excluding God. This is why modern society is marked by a great material progress to which there is not a corresponding advance in the moral field. Hence there is a weakening in aspiration towards the values of the spirit; hence an urge for the most exclusive search for earthly pleasures, which progressive technology places with such ease within the reach of all" (Pope John, convoking the Council). These changes, where they are advocated by the Council, are in the main a matter of giving up some of the good of the past to buy what we judge to be the greater good of the future: indeed we are abandoning nothing good, but resuming what is good into what is better. These changes have their stresses, their tears, their nostalgia; and they have their appalling dangers, as the casualties tell us monthly. But they represent growth, and growth is the prime sign of life.

"The Council," Cardinal Suenens tells us, "was like a sun which produced a sudden melting of glaciers so that great torrents poured down the side of the mountain, bearing along with it masses of stones, enormous trees and so on: they are trying to break through and find an outlet. The chaos is inevitable and one may hope that it is merely temporary." At the centre of it all is one man, whom we must sometimes at least give a thought to not as the Supreme Pontiff, Vicar of Christ and Visible Head of the Church, but as Giovanni Battista Montini, son of Giorgio Montini (a lawyer-journalist) and Giuditta Alghisi, a man like other men in all things, even sin, baptised to Christ and called to the priesthood, a man whose day is twenty-four hours long, whose emotions are not muted or atrophied, whose life has reached its winter, whose energies are ebbing and whose mind is largely conditioned by his experience stretching from the First War to the Cold War. Born in the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee (1897), schooled in ecclesiastical circles while his contemporaries were dying in the trenches, Apostolic Attaché in Warsaw after the war, called to the service of the Vatican State in 1924, he lived his adult life till quite recently in the Curial machinery that is said by some to be screening him from the world now. He saw the rise, apogee, decline and fall of Mussolini's Fascism, and in some detail the pontificates of two very different Popes, Pius XI (Achille Ratti, 1922-39) and Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli, 1939-58). Pius XI's Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, had singled out the young Montini for special training. At the time, the 1930s, he was specially interested in Catholic youth organisations at university level, and this brought him into the orbit of the anti-Fascists Fr Luigi Sturzo,

Dr Luigi Gedda and Vitorino Veronese, the last two future presidents of Italy's Catholic Action movement: Veronese judged the future Pope as "such a very rich personality that it is impossible to classify". Under Pius XI he was appointed Deputy Secretary of State in 1937; and under Pius XII in 1944 he was made the same with Mgr Tardini, both being elevated to the offices of Pro Secretary of State in 1952, Montini in charge of Ordinary Affairs and Tardini External Affairs. They did not always agree; for Montini believed in the value of indirect action above direct interference. He supported the Worker Priest movement, the Catholic Action movement, and UNESCO (with Roncalli), building a reputation for himself as a forward-looking liberal. Then for a short but priceless invaluable period between 1954 and his election in midsummer 1963, he experienced high pastoral office in the See of St Ambrose as Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, now heavily industrialised (it is the Cologne of Italy, cathedral city and industrial complex), where he was known as the "workers' archbishop", always bringing a portable altar on his factory or mine visits. During this time Pope John sent him first to the United States, then to South America, then to Africa to report on the state of the Church there (and the testimony and fruit of these visits is his sadly neglected but richly germane encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*). At the Council, Cardinal Montini spoke just twice, but with that unusual authority and effectiveness which marked his whole priestly career: he urged that the Fathers of the Council should define the collegial nature of the episcopate and give a truly ecumenical outlook to the Church; he urged emphasis upon the mission of the Church, not upon the rights of the Church in a world suspicious of neo-colonialism. At the same time, in a Pastoral to Milan, he laid at the door of the Curia with their curial schemata the slow effective start of the Council.

When he became Pope and took the name of Paul VI, he said that he hoped to emulate his three immediate predecessors, "Pius XI for his strength of will, Pius XII for his knowledge and wisdom, and John XXIII for his limitless goodness". The mind he brings to the problems of the Church is a scholastic and Curial-trained mind late turned to pastoral concerns in a context of high pressure business; it is also the now older (both wiser and more aged) mind of a former professor of the history of pontifical diplomacy; and it is—let us never forget—the mind of a single man, human and frail though vastly experienced, given to a life of ascetic devotion both in prayer and in work. A layman close to him has judged him, coming to the papacy, as "a Gothic priest not only in physical appearance but in spiritual formation; with a subtle intelligence and a strong hand".

Consider with all sympathy this man set aside so extremely for the Gospel of God. In his office, the latest in unbroken succession of 264 Popes (who have seen dynasties come and go and none survive this institution from its inception), he is Bishop, Metropolitan, Primate, Patriarch, Prince and Pontiff with papal plenitude. In his person, he has to bear the petrine burden of being the prime living symbol of unity in Christ's pilgrim

Church. In his duties, he must represent social justice to the Communists, peace to the United Nations, Christian charity to the Latin Americans, ecumenical love to the Jewish peoples, fraternal love to the Eastern Churches (and *sub modo* to the Anglican Church) and paternal love to more than five hundred million of his own flock. With the aid of a delicate—though sometimes insufficiently sensitive—co-ordinative nervous system of divine-human life at the Curia, he must perceive the implications of all change, canalising what is fruitful and preventing what is heretical. All this in a world grown larger, faster, more mutually self-conscious and more determined than ever before upon its own secular insights. His is possibly the most difficult pontificate that any Pope has yet undertaken, simply because of its magnitude. Therefore pray for Paul our Pope.

This issue, after it has attended to the pieties of northern Benedictinism, stands in Rome to survey the Church's growing co-responsibility. It then looks eastwards to the "Catholicity" of the Orthodox Church, and westwards to the ecumenical value of the new Eucharistic Canons. It then looks back to the modes of thought of nineteenth century theology and forward to late twentieth century technology. One matter it lacks, if we are to give balance to the selection, and that is a southward glance to the impoverished countries of "Populorum Progressio": this we promise to redress in the future. There indeed lies much of the future.

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THE FIRST NORMAN ABBEY IN NORTHERN ENGLAND

THE ORIGINS OF SELBY: A NINTH CENTENARY ARTICLE

by

R. B. DOBSON, M.A., D.PHIL.

*Officina vero, ubi haec omnia diligenter operemur,
claustra sunt monasterii et stabilitas in congregatione.*

Regula Benedicti, IV.

Perhaps the most significant date in the history of English monasticism—if it is not 940—is 597. In that year the crown of Celtic coenobitism, St Columba of Iona, died; and as he died St Augustine and forty Roman monks set foot on the coast of Kent. We know from King Alfred's verse translation that they brought with them at least one rule, the *Regula Pastoralis* of Pope St Gregory the Great, who had sent them. We may take it that this was the rule of life in the familia of Christ Church, their Cathedral at Canterbury; and perhaps (of this, though, there is no substantial evidence) they brought also the *Regula Benedicti*, as the rule of life at St Peter's (later St Augustine's), the monastery founded nearby. Roman monasticism spread westwards and northwards, making inroads into the older and ruder Celtic coenobitism, until the 664 Synod of Whitby proved the eclipse of one by the other. The first unimpeachable evidence we have of the Rule of St Benedict in England (following its appearance in Gaul in 625) is that of the most Roman of Britons, St Wilfrid, who brought it to Ripon and Hexham in 660. Thereafter it spread from abbey to abbey, at first in competition with other worthy rules, gradually replacing them altogether. Bede tells us nearly nothing about Benedictinism, though his *Historia Ecclesiae* is pervaded by phrases which seem strongly to come from the Rule.

Be that as it may, Benedictine monachism was wiped out in the North by the depredations of the Danes; and it had to be replaced by the Normans, with some help from the Saxons. The first stone laid in that steady process of recovering the ravaged North to civilisation and faith after 1066 was Selby Abbey, founded soon after the Conqueror set foot in Yorkshire. This is the story, told here more fully and more authoritatively than before in English, of the founding of Selby.

The author read modern history at Oxford, and then taught for six years in the Medieval History department at St Andrew's University. He is now a senior lecturer in the Department of History at York University. His main research interests are the ecclesiastical and social history of northern England in the medieval period. His Oxford Doctorate was on the subject of the Cathedral Priory at Durham in the fifteenth century; and it was this which led to his present interest in Selby, whose Benedictine tradition was prior to and in some ways influenced Durham.

In an age of provincial festivals and anniversaries, the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Selby are currently celebrating the nonacentenary of the foundation of their abbey is impressive without being especially surprising. But it would be unfortunate if this particular anniversary remained an occasion for purely local patriotism. The inauguration of regular monastic life at Selby a few years after the Norman Conquest certainly deserves considerably wider fame than it has usually received. By any standards the century which followed William I's invasion of England was the most vigorous and expansionist age in the history of



DURHAM CATHEDRAL
The Nave pillars

SELBY ABBEY
The Nave pillars

The same design is found in the Nave of Dunfermline Abbey, 1120



English monasticism; and the foundation of Selby Abbey marked the opening of the golden era of monastic history in northern England. Although almost every aspect of its foundation is mysterious and controversial, there is no serious doubt that Selby was the very first monastery founded north of the Trent since the legendary and very different age of Northumbrian monasticism. The significance of this event has tended to be overshadowed by the slightly later but more spectacular plantations of Benedictine monasticism at Durham, Whitby and St Mary's, York, three abbeys which went on to enjoy a wealth and reputation that Selby failed to rival. It must be admitted that Selby's later history never quite lived up to the remarkable circumstances of its beginnings.¹

Selby was not, of course, the first of all Benedictine houses in northern England. That distinction must go to seventh-century Ripon and Hexham where, according to his biographer, Eddius Stephanus, St Wilfrid "brought about great improvements by introducing the rule of St Benedict".² How far St Wilfrid's communities and those of his friend and associate, Benedict Biscop, at Jarrow and Wearmouth fully replaced local Celtic custom by the Benedictine Rule remains a somewhat open question. But in any case not one of the famous monasteries within the kingdom of Northumbria survived the devastating impact of the Viking raids that began with the sacking of Lindisfarne and Jarrow in 793-794. The most formidable of all Danish invasions of northern England, that of the so-called "Great Army" which captured York in 866, apparently led to the rapid as well as total obliteration of monasticism in the north. All attempts to prove the survival or revival of some form of monastic life in the area during the last two centuries of Anglo-Saxon history have proved unsuccessful; and between the Danish invasions and the Norman Conquest the traditional monastic life of Northumbria had been replaced everywhere by a much more chaotic organisation of groups of secular clergy living semi-communal lives at a few fixed centres.³ Although St Oswald, a leading figure in the monastic revival of tenth-century southern England, became Archbishop of York in 972 he apparently made no permanent impact upon the religious life of the northern provinces and at the date of the Conquest Peterborough was still the most northerly monastery in England. Later generations of Benedictine monks within the dioceses of York and Durham, particularly the community of St Cuthbert at Durham itself, had a natural vested interest in attempting to trace their origins backwards to the golden age

¹ Nevertheless, Selby Abbey enjoyed a continuous and relatively prosperous existence until its surrender on 6th December 1539. During the last 150 years of its existence it maintained an average population of between twenty-five and thirty monks. See R. B. Dobson, "The Election of John Outhorp as Abbot of Selby in 1436", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XLII, Part 165 (1968), pp. 38-40.

² *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), Chapter XIV.

³ *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. H. Thompson (Oxford, 1935), pp. 90-101; J. Cooper, "Some Aspects of Eleventh-Century Northern History with special reference to the last four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York" (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1968), pp. 246-9. I am grateful to Miss Cooper for allowing me to read this thesis.

of the seventh century. But the fact remains that in 1066 monasticism in the north had not so much to be revived as to be re-created. It was at Selby that this process began.

In 1066 Selby was neither an important urban or ecclesiastical centre nor a site hallowed by past experience of Christian sanctity. Few places would seem less likely to have become the scene for the inauguration of regular monastic life in northern England. Appropriately enough this remarkable event has a remarkable explanation. The origins of Selby Abbey have admittedly to be traced amidst a jungle of intriguing legend, absolute fiction and inadequately substantiated fact: none of the problems surrounding the circumstances of its foundation are simple and many seem likely to be for ever insoluble. Nevertheless the survival, in one solitary manuscript, of a narrative account of the monastery's early history written by a Selby monk more than a century later provides an invaluable, because unique, guide to what probably happened at Selby nine hundred years ago. This so-called *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii* takes the form of a long letter, of over twenty thousand words, written to an anonymous recipient by an unnamed Selby monk in 1174. It has itself a curious history. The *Historia* was first printed by the prolific Jesuit historian, Philippe Labbe, in 1657 as part of a collection of hagiographical material relating to the life and miracles of St Germanus of Auxerre.⁴ The original manuscript used by Labbe then disappeared and was thought by subsequent historians of Selby to have been lost forever: in 1820 a Selby banker, Barnard Clarkson, is said to have visited Paris in search of the original text of the *Historia*, but met with no success.⁵ Consequently for the last three hundred years all investigations of the origins of Selby Abbey have been compelled to rely upon Labbe's inadequate and sometimes inaccurate edition.⁶ Only in the last months has the original manuscript of the *Historia* been re-discovered at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by M. Pierre Janin, a pupil of the Ecole Nationale des Chartes. Plans are already alleged to exist for the publication of a full and scholarly new edition of the *Historia* accompanied by a translation into modern French or English.

Although this is not the occasion to anticipate the conclusions which will emerge from the new assessment of the manuscript at Paris, it is already clear that the study of its original text makes the *Historia* seem more rather than less authentic. It belongs to that very popular twelfth-century genre of semi-legendary accounts of the foundation of distinguished monasteries, evidently designed—as is explicitly stated in the case of the Selby *Historia*⁷—to resolve the doubts and uncertainties on the part of

⁴ P. Labbe, *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptorum Librorum* (Paris, 1657), Vol. I, pp. 594-626; reprinted in the *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum* (1868), July, VII, pp. 301-15.

⁵ W. W. Morrell, *History and Antiquities of Selby* (Selby, 1867), p. vi.

⁶ Most accessibly reprinted as pp. [1]-[54] of Vol. I of *The Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series, Vols. X, XIII; 1891, 1893).

⁷ *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, pp. [1]-[2].

monastic communities and their patrons as to the precise circumstances by which they had come into existence. Inevitably such "histories" were intended to edify as well as to instruct their readers and contain a good deal of supernatural material as well as outright hagiology. The second half of the Selby *Historia* dwells at inordinate length on the many somewhat conventionalised miracles wrought by the agency of St Germanus in a manner which is often reminiscent of Reginald's life of St Godric, the twelfth-century hermit and founder of Finchale Priory three miles north of Durham.⁸ On the other hand there is no doubt that these narratives incorporate accurate factual information. In this respect, the Selby *Historia* often seems considerably more reliable than such analogous chronicles as the account of the early years of Battle Abbey (also composed c. 1170) and the controversial *Narratio Fundationis* of Fountains Abbey.⁹ The Selby monk who composed his account of the beginnings of his abbey's history did so at the command of his prior and was at obvious pains to check the authenticity of his sources of information. Whenever possible, for he had few documentary records before him except for some early abbey charters "he spoke by the mouths of those who saw" ("*illorum ore locutus sum qui viderunt*").¹⁰ Although only twenty-two years old, this anonymous monk possessed considerable literary skill and his work is liberally sprinkled with allusions to the classics and, more especially, to the Bible. He combined intense devotion to Selby itself, which he described as a "terrestrial Paradise", with a somewhat critical approach to the careers of the early superiors of the Benedictine monastery there: not even its founder and first abbot, Benedict of Auxerre himself, escaped condemnation for tyrannical actions which resulted in the moral decline of his community. The Selby *Historia* therefore certainly conveys the impression of having been written in reasonably good faith. No exaggerated claims are made, as was the case with Symeon of Durham's "History of the Church of Durham" written at the beginning of the twelfth century, for the privileges and immunities of the abbey. More surprisingly still, this Selby monk had no vested interest in stressing the antiquity of his abbey's foundation. He was under the mistaken impression that at the time of Benedict of Auxerre's arrival in Yorkshire the great community of St Cuthbert at Durham, where monastic life was introduced by Bishop William of St Calais as late as 1083, was already a regular monastery.¹¹ There are, therefore, few *a priori* grounds for believing that the author of the Selby *Historia* was deliberately fraudulent: his account of the first phase of the abbey's history honestly reflects the traditions and beliefs current within the convent two and three generations after its foundation.

According to the *Historia*, the story of the foundation of Selby Abbey began—more or less exactly in the year of the Norman Conquest of

⁸ *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, ed. J. Stevenson (Surtees Society, 1847).

⁹ R. Graham, "The Monastery of Battle", *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London, 1929), pp. 188-208; *Memoriale of Fountains*, Vol. I (Surtees Society, 1863), pp. 1-128; cf. Mr L. G. D. Baker's unpublished thesis, "Studies in the *Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii*" (Bodleian Library MS. B.Litt., d. 883, 1967).

¹⁰ Selby *Coucher Book*, Vol. I, p. [2].

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. [14].

England—within the walls of the great French Benedictine monastery of St Germain d'Auxerre situated one hundred miles south-east of Paris. Here there lived a talented but apparently restless monk named Benedict who had previously rejected the possibility of a knight's career for the regular life and was then subsacrist of the convent and hence directly responsible for the safe keeping of its most precious relics. One night Benedict was confronted with an unexpected vision of St Germanus, the famous sixth Bishop of Auxerre (418-448), who commanded him—like another Abraham—to depart "out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee. This is a place in England called Selby (*Selebia*), prepared for my honour, ordained for my worship and destined for future fame and glory in my name. It is situated on the bank of the river Ouse, not far from the city of York. I have chosen and selected you as the founder of this place in my name: and you are to establish there a cell to be held from the King".¹² At first Benedict hesitated to obey such a summons and only after two further and more threatening visitations by St Germanus did he ask his chapter at St Germain d'Auxerre for licence to leave the monastery. As Benedict suppressed all mention of his visions, such licence was not unannaturally denied him and he had no alternative but to steal away from Auxerre in the middle of the night. He carried away with him one of Auxerre's most prized relics—the middle finger of St Germanus's right hand, which the saint had ordered him to secrete within the flesh of his upper arm. On the following morning the absence of both Benedict and the relic were discovered, to the consternation of the community at Auxerre. But Benedict evaded his pursuers and reached England after a safe and uneventful journey across the Channel.

Immediately after landing on English soil, Benedict of Auxerre made his way to Salisbury under the mistaken impression that this was the place to which he had been directed by St Germanus. Here he was befriended by a local magnate, Edward of Salisbury, who not only comforted the expatriate monk but bestowed several lavish gifts on him. The most valuable of these was a gold reliquary still used to contain St Germanus's finger at Selby Abbey almost a century later. Although Benedict was soon aware that Salisbury was not his predestined objective, he remained at a loss for some time because "Selby was a place virtually unknown at that period". The monk was only rescued from his anxiety by yet another appearance from St Germanus, who on this occasion not only re-emphasized the name Selby but showed Benedict the site of his future settlement in a vision. On the following morning Benedict informed his host of the need to leave Salisbury, and in the company of a clerk named Theobald, who acted as his interpreter, Benedict travelled to a port where he boarded a cargo-boat bound for York.¹³ According to the *Historia*, the prior of Selby

¹² *Ibid.*, p. [7]. The Biblical quotation is from Gen. xii, 1.

¹³ The printed text of the *Historia* is corrupt at this point; but it seems that Benedict sailed from either Lyme Regis on the south coast or King's Lynn in Norfolk, from which there was probably regular water-traffic to York.

Abbey in 1174 had once met an old woman who remembered seeing Benedict at this stage of his travels. After a fortnight's delay due to adverse weather conditions, the ship took passage for York. As it approached the final stage of its journey, Benedict at last recognised the site divinely selected for him and went ashore with his companions. After raising a Cross on the river bank, "he constructed a small dwelling from leaves and branches under an enormous oak tree called *Sitihac*, by the natives and a place in royal possession". According to the *Historia*, Benedict's arrival at Selby took place circa 1069 "qui est annus quartus Willermi primi Regis".¹⁴

Once established at Selby Benedict devoted himself to the worship of God and St Germanus, gradually attracting the favourable attention of the inhabitants of the area. As his little cell was situated in full sight of the many ships which navigated the Ouse to and from York, there was little danger of his settlement languishing in obscurity. Soon after Benedict's arrival, Hugh fitz Baldric, the sheriff of Yorkshire, noticed the new Cross as he was sailing along the river on a military expedition directed against the then violent Anglo-Saxon resistance to the new Norman regime in northern England. Hugh landed at Selby and proceeded to interview Benedict, who showed him St Germanus's finger and asked for the sheriff's protection and assistance. The latter willingly agreed and had his own tent erected at Selby to provide temporary shelter for Benedict. The sheriff then sent carpenters, presumably from York, to build a wooden oratory on the site—one later occupied by the *capella* or *parva ecclesia* of medieval Selby. But as Benedict's first church had been built on royal demesne land without the king's own permission, Hugh thought it advisable to arrange an interview between William I and Benedict. The results of this confrontation were decisive: not only did William order the foundation of a monastery at Selby under his own patronage but he endowed Benedict with some of his own local estates—Flaxley Wood, the vill of Rawcliffe, half a carucate of land in Brayton, a fishery at Whitgift and the indispensable carucate of land at Selby itself.¹⁵

On his return to Selby after his meeting with the Conqueror, Benedict could at last plan the establishment of a monastery to replace his previous anchorite's cell. Rudimentary communal accommodation was constructed around the wooden chapel and there soon gathered around the person of the Auxerre monk a group of recruits to the Benedictine Rule. Monastic life at the early abbey was still extremely insecure and, according to the *Historia*, only a series of miraculous inventions by St Germanus ensured its survival and prosperity. One night the monastery was attacked by a certain "prince of thieves", Swain, son of Sigge, presumably the chieftain of a gang of dispossessed Anglo-Saxon outlaws and robbers who roamed

¹⁴ The 4th regnal year of William the Conqueror is, of course, the year following Christmas Day, 1069; and it should be stressed, however unsettling in 1969, that the *Historia* makes no attempt to date Benedict's arrival more precisely.

¹⁵ All these properties were confirmed to Benedict in William I's later foundation charter (see below, p. 170). But the *Historia* provides the only evidence that they formed, c. 1070, the initial endowments of Selby Abbey.

the forests south of York. While trying to lift the door of Benedict's church from its hinges Swain's hand stuck to the wall: only after confessing his sacrilege to the Selby monks on the following morning did he secure his freedom. On another occasion the finger of St Germanus worked a more conventional miracle: the son of Erneis de Burun, Hugh fitz Baldric's successor as sheriff of Yorkshire, was cured of epileptic fits, and his father accordingly endowed the abbey church with two lights in perpetuity. Of the other lay patrons of the monastery in its earliest phase the most generous were two prominent Norman barons, Geoffrey de la Guerche and Guy de Rainelecourt, who alienated to Benedict their vills of Crowle in Lincolnshire and Stanford in Northamptonshire respectively. An even more significant bequest was that made at about the same time by Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman Archbishop of York, who gave the abbey the two vills of Fryston as well as that of lesser Selby. Archbishop Thomas was the prelate ordered by William the Conqueror to consecrate Benedict as first abbot of the monastery of Selby. Benedict himself made a special journey to London in order to obtain a royal charter confirming himself and his successors in possession of their new endowments. At the same time William I dispatched a writ informing the archbishop and his sheriffs that the church of St Germanus at Selby should enjoy the same protection and immunities as those already held by the cathedral church of York.¹⁶ At this point the story of the foundation of Selby Abbey can be said to have been brought to its formal close.

Such is the account of the origins of the monastery at Selby provided by the late twelfth-century *Historia*. How reliable is it? It seems perfectly possible to reject the most dubious elements within the narrative—St Germanus's miracles and his successive nocturnal appearances to Benedict—and yet accept the main outlines of the story. Admittedly, legendary accounts of the erratic journeys of divinely inspired individuals who transported the relics of famous saints to new centres of worship are among the common-places of early medieval monastic tradition. It is easy to understand that twelfth-century Selby monks, like the contemporary Augustinian canons of St Andrews in Scotland who believed that the bones of their patron saint had been brought to them from Patras in the Mediterranean by St Regulus, should have found in such a journey a convincing solution to the problem of their origins. But for the modern historian as well as the medieval monk, the great attraction of the story of Benedict's wanderings is that it explains the otherwise almost inexplicable—the dedication of the abbey to St Germanus of Auxerre.

Thanks to the popularity of the *Vita* written by Constantius of Lyons about thirty years after his death in 448, St Germanus was, of course, one of the most celebrated of all medieval saints: at the end of the twelfth century the Bishop of Auxerre actually claimed feudal independence from King Philip II of France on the grounds that he was the successor of

¹⁶ Both of William I's "foundation charters" were copied into the text of the *Historia* as well as the abbey's early fourteenth-century general cartulary: *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, pp. [18]-[19], 11-12.

St Germanus.¹⁷ But the fact remains that merely a handful of English medieval churches were ever dedicated to St Germanus and only in Cornwall does there seem to have survived a distorted memory of his two visits to combat Pelagianism and the Picts in early fifth-century Britain.¹⁸ Much the most plausible explanation of Selby's association with St Germanus is that his *cultus* was brought directly to Yorkshire by a member of the Benedictine community at Saint Germain d'Auxerre, the centre of his legend. Originally founded in the Merovingian age on the site of the oratory where St Germanus had been buried, this monastery achieved its greatest fame under the Carolingians when it not only produced two of the greatest figures in the history of Dark Age learning (Heiric of Auxerre, c. 840-c. 876; and Remigius of Auxerre, c. 841-c. 908) but is said to have contained no less than 600 monks.¹⁹ At the time of the Norman Conquest, Saint Germain d'Auxerre was still one of the largest and most prestigious religious houses in France. Set against the background of a monastery recently reformed under Clunian influence but situated in a turbulent and chaotic area of the French kingdom (the abbey itself suffered from armed attack during the war of the Auxerrois in 1057), Benedict's flight to England seems more rather than less intelligible.²⁰ Auxerre had long been a well-known halting-place for travellers from England and north-western France along the pilgrims' route to Rome; and the news of the Norman Conquest of England and the welcome which might lie in wait there from a king and magnates eager to promote the cause of reformed monasticism conceivably had a more decisive effect on the restless Benedict than the supposed apparitions of St Germanus.²¹

Once across the Channel the details of Benedict's adventures are also readily reconcilable with what little is known of English political and social conditions in the late 1060's, a period just before Lanfranc's elevation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070 inaugurated a more disciplined and ordered organisation of the Church. At exactly what stage

¹⁷ Constance de Lyons, *Vie de Saint Germain d'Auxerre*, ed. R. Borius (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 112; Paris, 1965); *Cambridge Medieval History of Europe*, Vol. VI (1936), p. 290.

¹⁸ F. Arnold-Foster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London, 1899), Vol. I, pp. 453-64. Canon J. Solloway's hypothesis in his *Selby Abbey, Past and Present* (Leeds, 1925), pp. 18-20, that the monastery owed its origins to the memory of a supposed visit to Selby by St Germanus himself in the 440's is even more fanciful than the *Historia*. This theory rests only on Solloway's unconvincing interpretation of the place-name "Garmon Carr" two miles north-west of Selby.

¹⁹ René Louis, *Austriodurum Christianum. Les Eglises d'Auxerre des origines au IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1952); *Saint Germain d'Auxerre et son temps* (Auxerre, 1950).

²⁰ J. Richard, *Les Diocèses de Bourgogne et la formation du Duché du XI^e au XIV^e Siècle* (Paris, 1954), pp. 4, 12, 30, 66-68.

²¹ William I unsuccessfully applied to Abbot Hugh of Cluny for a dozen of his best monks immediately after the Conquest, and the first members of his own new foundation of Battle Abbey were transplanted from Marmoutier on the Loire. At no time in English history was it easier or more common for French monks to migrate to England than during the generation that followed the battle of Hastings: see D. J. A. Mathew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 27-65; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd edn.; Cambridge, 1963), pp. 100-129.

Benedict first heard the name of Selby and decided to settle on that site must inevitably remain an open question. But there seems every reason to treat as authentic the Selby tradition that this expatriate monk spent some time at Salisbury: Edward of Salisbury, Benedict's host there and an otherwise mysterious figure, was one of the witnesses of William I's later foundation charter to the abbey.²² Domesday Book and later evidence also makes it abundantly clear that the river-route along the Ouse to York was one regularly taken by Anglo-Norman clerks, soldiers and merchants. Given the large areas of intractable forest and marsh surrounding Selby in the late eleventh century, it would indeed have been most unlikely for Benedict to have approached the site of his future monastery by land rather than water.²³

Much more significant is the *Historia's* identification of Benedict's first powerful Yorkshire sponsor with Hugh fitz Baldric, a Norman magnate who later patronised several other monasteries, including the nascent St Mary's, York.²⁴ Hugh replaced William Malet as sheriff of Yorkshire during the course of 1069; but as he continued to hold this office until at least 1078, the year in which he discovered Benedict's cell by the Ouse cannot be fixed at all precisely. As we have seen, the *Historia* itself dates Benedict's arrival at Selby to circa 1069 but leaves the story of later events in a state of chronological vagueness. It is just conceivable that Benedict's initial settlement escaped the attention of Hugh fitz Baldric for several months or even years after his landing at Selby. On the other hand, the later months of 1069 marked a period of large-scale revolt in northern England, a time when the sheriff was eminently likely to have been patrolling the Ouse with a force of armed men. If it was at this time (and it cannot have been earlier) that Hugh first met Benedict, nothing would have been more natural than his rapid arrangement of an interview between the expatriate monk and the Conqueror while William was himself in the north suppressing the native rebellion. It is tempting to suppose that Benedict held his first and decisive meeting with William at York while the latter was celebrating Christmas there during a pause in his "harrying of the north" in the winter of 1069-70.²⁵ During the course of 1070 Thomas of Bayeux became Archbishop of York and would thereafter have been in a position—as the *Historia* suggests—to formalise the foundation of the monastery at Selby by consecrating Benedict as its first abbot. All in all, the marginally most likely hypothesis is that Benedict disembarked at Selby in 1069 and that his monastery began its official

²² *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, pp. 191, 12. Cf. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914), Vol. I, p. 359.

²³ D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114-1140)* (York, 1964), p. 16, stresses the barbarity of conditions in Yorkshire a generation after Benedict's arrival.

²⁴ W. Farrer, "The Domesday Survey", *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, Vol. II (1912), pp. 176-9. As Hugh also guided Aldwin, Reinfrid and Aelfwig on their fateful mission from Evesham in 1074 (Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 167) he deserves notice as the most influential lay patron in the history of the northern monastic revival of the late eleventh century.

²⁵ E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest of England*, Vol. IV (Oxford, 1871), pp. 295, 796.

existence, thanks to the support of the sheriff and king, during the next year. These at least seem to have been the foundation dates upheld by later Selby tradition. Against the year 1070 in a fragmentary late twelfth-century Easter Table compiled at Selby Abbey, there survives the annotation "*fundata est ecclesia Sancti Germani in Seleby*".²⁶ More interesting still is a medieval interpolation added to the solitary surviving manuscript (in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge) of the late twelfth-century continuation of Symeon's "History of the Kings of England", "*Anno MLXIX coenobium Sancti Germani de Selebi sumpsit exordium*".²⁷

Selby Abbey was therefore probably founded towards the beginning of the Conqueror's reign: and by the time of William I's death in 1087 there is no doubt that Abbot Benedict was a substantial landlord in southern Yorkshire and northern Lincolnshire. Here the evidence of the Domesday Survey and of the early Selby charters at last begins to insert some fixed points into the previously confused scene. The Yorkshire Domesday, notoriously unreliable as a comprehensive guide to the tenurial structure of the post-Conquest county, includes no detailed description of the Selby estates in 1086. But it does record the fact that the Abbot of Selby (*Selebi*) held seven carucates of land which originally pertained to the Archbishop of York's great soke of Sherburn in the West Riding. These seven carucates can be identified with the land at Monk Fryston (four carucates) and Little Selby (three carucates) alienated to Benedict by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux.²⁸ Elsewhere in the Domesday Survey may be found confirmation of the fact that by 1086 the Abbot of Selby had entered into possession of Stanford-upon-Avon and Crowle, estates mentioned in the *Historia* as having been acquired from Guy de Raineclourt and Geoffrey de la Guerche.²⁹ These Domesday references, however cryptic, are of particular value in that they confirm the authenticity of the Conqueror's own "foundation charter", much the most important document in the history of the foundation of the abbey.³⁰ Rejected as spurious by Freeman, a conclusion too readily adopted by H. W. C. Davis, William I's charter was shown to be almost certainly genuine by Farrer almost sixty years ago.³¹ The list of witnesses, nearly all substantial Domesday Book tenants-in-chief, suggests that Benedict made his visit to London to obtain this royal charter towards the end rather than the beginning of the 1070's. But this dating too is readily consonant with the narrative of the *Historia*.

²⁶ British Museum Additional MS. 36652, fo. 5. The relevant section of this Easter Table is illustrated on p. 14 of R. B. Dobson, *Selby Abbey and Town* (Leeds, 1969).

²⁷ Symeonis *Monachi Opera Omnia* (Rolls Series, 1882-85), Vol. II, p. 186; Symeonis *Dunelmensis Opera* (Surtess Society, 1868), p. 83.

²⁸ *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, Vol. II, p. 210; *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, p. 291.

²⁹ Domesday Book I, fo. 369b; *V.C.H. Northants*, Vol. I, pp. 287, 342b; *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. II, pp. 258-9, 279-80.

³⁰ See above, p. 167.

³¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV, pp. 796-7; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, Vol. I (1913), pp. 48-9; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. I, p. 360.

More generally the impressively critical analysis of early Yorkshire charters conducted by William Farrer and Sir Charles Clay during the course of the last half century (too detailed to include here) has confirmed rather than impugned the evidence of the *Historia*. Occasionally an eleventh-century Selby charter has been shown to be a forgery, most notably the purported gift of property at Gunby by Gilbert Tison, who is made to describe himself as "chief standard-bearer" of the Conqueror and to include the Anglo-Saxon Archbishop Ealdred among his witnesses.³² But most of the stories preserved in the *Historia*, for example Erneis de Burun's veneration towards St Germanus in the 1080's, can, in fact, be confirmed from charter evidence.³³ More significant still is the discovery that Selby (the Scandinavian "-by" suffix itself suggests a Danish settlement) was already the site of an agricultural community before Benedict's arrival. "*Uper Seleby eal*" ("all upper Selby") was one of the places listed as dependent on the soke of Sherburn-in-Elmet in a pre-Conquest survey of the estates of the Archbishop of York.³⁴ Benedict's isolation when he landed at Selby can therefore only have been relative. Moreover, the vill itself was then already divided, probably in equal portions of three carucates, between the King and the Archbishop of York. The establishment of a monastery at Selby was absolutely conditional on the close co-operation between William I and Thomas of Bayeux revealed by both the *Historia* and the early charters.

Finally, the evidence of William's charter leaves no doubt that the king regarded himself as the founder of the abbey. On the other hand it does nothing to suggest that Benedict's arrival in Yorkshire was itself due to royal initiative. According to the traditions current at Selby in the late twelfth century, the Conqueror merely seized the unexpected chance of Benedict's settlement by the Ouse to create a regular monastery there. For this reason alone, it seems advisable to reject the most famous of all Selby legends—that William's youngest son, the future King Henry I, was born at Selby, an event which his father later commemorated by the establishment of a religious house on the site. Not unnaturally the glamour of this legend has tended to mesmerise later historians. Even Farrer went to ingenious lengths to prove that it was physically possible for Queen Matilda to have given birth to Henry at Selby while travelling to York in March 1069; and for Freeman "it is the very unlikelihood of the tale which suggests that it must have some ground-work of truth".³⁵ But if this story had been at all authentic, it is almost inconceivable that it would not have been mentioned either in the *Historia* or the preambles to William I's and Henry I's own charters to Selby Abbey.

³² *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. XII, "The Tison Fee" (1965), pp. 47-50; cf. *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. II, pp. 18-19.

³³ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. X, "The Trusebut Fee" (1955), p. 1.

³⁴ W. H. Stevenson, "Yorkshire Surveys and other eleventh-century documents in the York Gospels", *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII (1912), p. 15; cf. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. I, p. 363.

³⁵ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. I, pp. 362-3; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV, pp. 230-1, 790-1. The exact date of Henry's birth still remains controversial.

In fact, the belief that Henry I was born at Selby cannot be traced back to before the dissolution of the monastery. Unknown to both Leland and Holinshed, it only achieved wide popularity with its appearance in Camden's *Britannia* of the late sixteenth century.³⁶ The pride of later Selby citizens in the painted chamber "wherein they pretend that this King was born" was as unfounded as the other intriguing legend which derives Selby's coat of arms (*sable, three swans argent*) from three swans which met Benedict on his first arrival there.³⁷

According to yet another tradition, preserved by the St Albans' chronicler, Matthew Paris, William I deliberately created an abbey at Selby as a complement to his other post-Conquest foundation of Battle. Both monasteries were designed to expiate the Conqueror's guilt "in killing one of his close kinsmen while hunting", an allusion to the scandal caused by William's part in the slaying of Conan of Brittany.³⁸ As there is no evidence whatsoever of any connection between Anglo-Norman Selby and Battle, this story, too, may be dismissed as a piece of ingenious rationalisation by a much later writer. More convincing is the general argument that William I had strong political interests in the establishment of a small colony of dependent and loyalist monks within a region of violent native opposition to his new regime. The Conqueror's well-founded fear of "Northumbrian separatism" during the years after Hastings presumably induced him to favour the introduction of Benedictine monasticism to the north just as it led him to enforce the primacy of the See of Canterbury over the authority of the Archbishop of York.³⁹ On the other hand it is extremely unlikely that William did more than exploit the opportunity provided for him by Benedict of Auxerre's arrival at Selby. The *Historia* is at its most convincing when it demonstrates that religious life there owed its origins to the free enterprise of an expatriate monk rather than to royal will and governmental policy. Benedict, like Aldwin and Reinfrid, the first abbots of Durham and Whitby, was a restless pioneer, better suited to found a new monastery than to control its later development. Selby Abbey, like so many Yorkshire religious houses—Bridlington, Whitby, Kirkstall, Kirkstede, Nostell and others—evolved on a site first made sacred by the presence of an anchorite's cell. The story of Benedict is consequently representative of a common and paradoxical theme within the history of early medieval monasticism. Although dedicated to the ideal of *stabilitas* and communal worship, the new monasteries (Citeaux is the most famous example of all) were often the creations of dissatisfied, nomadic

³⁶ Leland's *Collectanea*, ed. Hearn (London, 1774), Vol. II, p. 355; Holinshed's *Chronicles* (London, 1807), Vol. II, pp. 9-10; Camden's *Britannia*, ed. E. Gibson (London, 1722), Vol. II, p. 886.

³⁷ J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758), p. 387; *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817-30 edn.), Vol. III, p. 498.

³⁸ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, (Rolls Series, 1866-9), Vol. I, pp. 30-34: cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV, p. 798.

³⁹ Hugh the Chantor, *History of the Church of York*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1961), p. 3; cf. R. A. Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1969), pp. 76-7.

and "solitary" figures, months who found it not altogether easy to practise what they preached. Benedict's own last years at Selby were marred by a collapse of discipline and morale within his cloister; and according to the *Historia* it was in a state of deep personal disillusion that he resigned his abbacy in 1096 or 1097 and retired, perhaps to Rochester where he is said to have died some time later.⁴⁰

Benedict's disillusion with monastic life at Selby in the 1090's appears to have been thoroughly justified. Although the abbey had been formally established at an earlier date than Durham, Whitby and St. Mary's, York, it apparently experienced a severe crisis of confidence at exactly the time when these three other northern Benedictine houses were passing through their most expansionist phase. Until the first decade of the twelfth century the monks of Selby still lived in a primitive settlement of wooden huts around a timber church on the river bank. In a revealing writ of between 1100 and 1108, Henry I informed the Archbishop and Sheriff of York that "the abbey of St Germanus of Selby shall remain peacefully in the spot where it was founded by my father and mother, and not be moved to another place".⁴¹ The only obvious reason for such a command was—as Farrer noticed—that news had already reached the King of a planned migration by the Selby chapter to a new situation. Despite the close proximity of running water, Selby was undoubtedly an unattractive monastic site by medieval standards; and it is not at all unlikely that the early community contemplated removing itself to a more salubrious and convenient location within some other part of its estates. The migrations later in the twelfth century of Cistercian monks from Barnoldswick to Kirkstall, and from Old Byland to Byland, make it clear that a change of locale was a very real possibility during the early stages of a monastery's history. In other words, the foundation of Selby Abbey was only absolutely complete when the community there became irretrievably committed to remaining in the vill by its building of a permanent church and monastic buildings. The story of the establishment of the abbey must consequently be carried a little further.

The insecurity of the monks' position at Selby during the years immediately before and after 1100 is not in itself particularly difficult to explain. According to the evidence of its later cartulary, lay patronage towards the new monastery began to languish soon after the initial endowments provided by William I and Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux. Except for the gifts of land made by Ilbert de Lacy and Gilbert Tison,⁴² the abbot and convent of Selby received remarkably little in the way of substantial lay benefaction in Yorkshire until after the end of the eleventh century. No doubt the foundation in the mid-1080's of the monastery of St Mary's just outside the walls of the city of York had a deleterious effect on Selby's

⁴⁰ *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, p. [21]; cf. Henrietta (Mrs Karl) Leyser's unpublished thesis, "The New Eremitical Movement, 1000-1150" (Bodleian Library MS., B.Lit., 1967), a reference I owe to Dom Alberic Stacpoole.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. I, p. 362.

⁴² *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. III, pp. 123, 196-7; Vol. XII, pp. 47-50.

fortunes by diverting the attentions of prospective patrons towards a religious house which soon became the most prosperous in northern England. It is symptomatic of the new situation created by the rapid growth of St Mary's to monastic primacy in the north that on one occasion William Rufus is alleged to have ordered its first abbot, Stephen, to arrest Abbot Benedict of Selby.⁴³ But the fundamental weakness of the position of the early community of St Germanus lay in the uncertainty which surrounded its exact constitutional status within the organised Church. Although a royal foundation, Selby attracted the hostility rather than the favour of William Rufus. In 1093 this king formally bestowed the abbey (together with the then collegiate church of St Oswald at Gloucester) on the Archbishop of York as part of his ingenious scheme to persuade the latter to renounce his claims to metropolitan authority over the bishopric of Lincoln.⁴⁴ In the words of Rufus's charter, now considered to be indisputably authentic, the Archbishops of York were thereafter to hold Selby "sicut archiepiscopus Cantuariensis habet episcopatum Roffensem". This curious analogy with Rochester may have been intended to suggest that future prelates of York might henceforward treat Selby as their own real property, as a type of *Eigenkloster*. At first sight it seems as if Rufus had deliberately sacrificed the independence and welfare of Benedict's abbey on the altar of political and financial profit.⁴⁵ Although this, in fact, proved not to be the case (medieval Archbishops of York rarely intervened at Selby in ways unwarranted by their normal rights as ordinaries), one can hardly resist the conclusion that in Rufus's reign the abbey was under pressure from powerful external forces which threatened its autonomy and hence its future.

From this unhappy situation the new monastery of Selby was rescued by the talents and labours of its second abbot, Hugh, who ruled at Selby for the twenty-six years from 1097 to 1123. The tradition that Abbot Hugh was a member of the powerful Anglo-Norman baronial family of de Lacy cannot be traced back beyond its appearance in Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense* (1758).⁴⁶ But of the importance of Hugh's abbacy in consolidating the prestige and possessions of the convent at Selby there can be no doubt whatever. To a later generation of Selby monks he was the

most distinguished of all their abbots and a personification of the ideal Christian and monastic virtues, "a simple and God-fearing man, one who shunned evil and was of outstanding charity, humility, piety and chastity".⁴⁷ Hugh was also able to attract substantial sources of revenue—as well as important recruits—to his monastery in a way that Abbot Benedict had failed to do.⁴⁸ More significantly still, it was Abbot Hugh who supervised the rebuilding of the abbey church and monastery in stone. Perhaps because Henry I had prohibited a migration of the community outside Selby, Hugh and his chapter decided to transfer the site of their monastery within Selby itself. The place of Benedict's original cell and the early wooden buildings was abandoned (a dependent chapel stood in this quarter of the town during the later middle ages) in favour of a new situation 150 yards farther away from the river. Abbot Hugh's personal contribution to the building of the new abbey church is recorded in the most famous passage of the *Historia*. "Every day, clothed in a workman's smock, he carried on his shoulders stones, lime and whatever else was needed for the building of the walls: every Saturday he received his wages like any other labourer, wages which he later gave to the poor."⁴⁹ By the time of Hugh's resignation of the abbacy in 1123 both church and monastic accommodation were sufficiently complete to have allowed him to "lead his sheep into their new fold". In the thirty years that followed, the prestige of Selby Abbey underwent partial eclipse once more—due to the exploitation of the convent's estates by local magnates during the turbulent "anarchy" of Stephen's reign as well as the criticisms of reforming churchmen influenced by the coming of the Cistercians to Yorkshire in 1131-32. But despite the difficulties that lay immediately ahead, in 1123 the monastery was at last securely established and its long-term future was assured.

Fortunately the surviving abbey church at Selby still preserves—as the ruins of Yorkshire's other two great Benedictine houses of Whitby and St Mary's, York, do not—substantial remains of its original Romanesque building. Abbot Hugh's church was planned to comprise an aisled nave of eight bays, an aisleless transept with two semi-circular apses and an aisled chancel.⁵⁰ The chancel itself, presumably the first part of the church to be built, was pulled down two centuries later to make way for the present Decorated choir; and the Norman south transept was destroyed by the collapse of the central tower in 1690. Moreover, the construction of the nave was subject to long building delays, with the result that only its eastern bays and the north transept give the modern visitor an impression

⁴³ *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, pp. [20]-[21]. The most recent study of the obscure first phase in the history of St Mary's is D. Bethell's, "The Foundation of Fountains Abbey and the State of St Mary's, York in 1132", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 17 (1966), pp. 17-24.

⁴⁴ *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, Vol. 1 (Lincoln Record Society, 1931), pp. 11-12, provides the best published text of this famous charter.

⁴⁵ According to Hugh the Chanter (*History*, p. 9). "All England knows that Bishop Robert gave King William £3,000 for this". For descriptions of this strange episode, one of the major mysteries in the history of Selby Abbey, see E. A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus* (London, 1882), Vol. 1, p. 447, *Facts Eboracenses*, ed. J. Raine (London, 1863), p. 151. Cf. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 402, 631, and the comments by A. H. Thompson in his review of the original edition, *English Historical Review*, Vol. 56 (1941), pp. 647-51.

⁴⁶ W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966), p. 58.

⁴⁷ *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, p. [22]; cf. *Acta Sanctuarum*, July, VII, pp. 290-304.

⁴⁸ A convenient summary of the convent's major landed possessions by the mid-twelfth century is provided by King Stephen's confirmatory charter of 1154: *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. 1, pp. 368-9. Abbot Hugh's presence at the court of Henry I at Winchester is recorded in W. Farrer, *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry I* (Oxford, 1919), p. 76.

⁴⁹ *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. I, p. [23]. The interest of this reference to an organised system of wage-labour for building purposes at a very early date in the twelfth century needs no urging.

⁵⁰ C. C. Hodges, "The Architectural History of Selby Abbey", *Selby Coucher Book*, Vol. II, p. iv*.

of the early twelfth-century original design.⁵¹ But these parts of the present church clearly reveal not only the large scale of the building but its debt to the most famous of all Norman cathedrals, the priory church of Durham. Nor is it surprising that Selby Abbey was "probably erected by the Durham masons' yard".⁵² Abbot Hugh visited Durham to witness the translation of St Cuthbert's relics to his new shrine in September 1104, a date by which much of Bishop Flambard's new cathedral was already standing.⁵³ Among the many architectural motifs which reveal Selby's dependence on Durham the most obvious are the alternation of massive circular with composite nave piers and the early use of abundant zig-zag or chevron decoration. One of the Selby piers, the so-called "Abbot Hugh's Pillar", bears the deeply incised lozenge or diamond pattern familiar at Durham, Holy Island and Dunfermline. Similarly, the precocious adoption of rib-vaulting in the eastern bays of the south aisle of Selby's nave relies heavily on the revolutionary vaulting methods first pioneered at Durham.⁵⁴ Even the detailed carvings of the capitals of the columns at Selby are recognisably the work of a school of Durham masons.⁵⁵ It is not without irony that the very first Norman Benedictine foundation in the north should owe so much of its physical appearance to the influence of a later if greater monastery. But in Yorkshire at least, Selby Abbey still provides the most impressive memorial there is to the physical impact of the Norman Conquest and to the truth of William of Malmesbury's famous comment: "After their coming to England they revived the rule of a previously moribund religion. You might see great churches rise in every village, and in the towns and cities monasteries built after a style unknown before".⁵⁶

⁵¹ The western sections of the nave, together with the famous west and north doors, can be dated to the last twenty years of the twelfth century, by which time the architectural influences on building at Selby derived from York rather than Durham: see C. E. Keyser, "The Norman Doorways of Yorkshire", *Memorials of Old Yorkshire*, ed. T. M. Fallow (London, 1909), pp. 207-9.

⁵² T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100-1216* (Oxford, 1953), p. 19.

⁵³ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, Vol. I, pp. 248-258.

⁵⁴ As appears from the similarities between the roll-mouldings on the ribs themselves. The use on external walls of a raised billet-moulding to form the window head, most readily seen in the Norman west window of Selby's north transept, is another characteristic Durham motif.

⁵⁵ G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140-1210* (London, 1953), pp. 94-5.

⁵⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Rolls Series, 1887-9), Vol. II, p. 306.

SHIFTS IN THE EMPHASIS OF PAPAL AND EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY

A STUDY WITH THE EXTRAORDINARY SYNOD OF BISHOPS
IN VIEW¹

by

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

*Qui vocatur ad episcopatum non ad principatum vocatur,
sed ad servitutem totius Ecclesiae.*

Origen, PG 13.239.

THE two central ideas which characterise—or, more precisely, distinguish—the Roman Catholic Church among Christendom are surely the Mass (incorporating the Real Presence of Christ as divine-human, and the theology of Sacrifice) and the Papacy. It is a chill wind which blows for any who wantonly embark on an unguarded discussion of these subjects, too structurally fundamental to be treated with anything but the utmost seriousness. That is why the present tensions in the Church of Rome are so bitterly felt and uncompromisingly contended. For both these subjects are under constant current review, and each of them is of the very tap-roots of the Church.

The Real Presence was discussed in the last JOURNAL and the nature of ecclesial authority has been the subject of discussion since before the publication of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*; and that has made the subject even more ripe for scrutiny. We have looked at the encyclical itself (Autumn issue, 379-95) and then at two matters, the nature of the Natural Law arguments in *Humanae Vitae* and the limits of Conscience in face of Obedience (Spring issue, 56-72). It is inevitable that we should return to the foundations of the document, the papal authority which devised and promulgated it and now demands obedience to it. That authority is in the throes of a crisis so complex that it is hard to know where to begin if one tries to unravel it.

The *Times* of Holy Saturday (5th April) carried a leader which touched the neuralgic point: "What distinguishes the present period from any other since the Counter-Reformation, and gives a common character to the diverse points of disagreement, is that the principle of authority which has served the Church for centuries is itself called in question. The most popular of the disputes about the morality of contraception illustrates this. It was not merely the Pope's judgment that was challenged, but the validity of the process by which that judgment was formed and delivered . . . the movement for change and diversification . . . is certainly greater than the historic instruments of unity—the administration of the Roman

¹ The aim of the October 1969 Extraordinary Synod will be, in the Pope's own words, "to examine the proper forms and to ensure a better co-operation and more fruitful contacts of the individual episcopal conference with the Holy See . . . (resulting in) mutual help based on a principle of collegial collaboration and common responsibility".

Curia and deference to the person of the Pope—are any longer able to regulate . . . exclusive reliance of centralism, which is the historic form of authority in the Roman Catholic Church, will not check the fragmentation which the Pope so much deplors. The Vatican Council defined a co-equal and more hopeful principle of authority, but it has not yet been brought into play". That sketches the problem as well as any other words in so short a space.

That same short leader went on to suggest a solution: "The Council, without formally diminishing the authority of the papacy which its predecessors had defined, inscribed in its acts a complementary source of universal authority—namely, the College of Bishops. Their collective authority was seen as coming not from papal delegation but from divine institution. At the level of doctrine this was clearly stated. But for the doctrine to have practical force, institutional arrangements are necessary to allow the collective voice of the bishops to be heard and to be decisive. Nothing has been done in that direction since the Council dispersed, except the weak innovation of an advisory Synod of Bishops". There is a lot of explaining to be done and there are many caveats to be made before we can settle for a solution so simply put, that is, two complementary poles of authority, Episcopacy and Papacy; and to see the forthcoming Synod of Bishops as a beginning of that process is to misunderstand the nature of ecclesial authority. For the Synod is not of the same order as the Episcopal College, differing in degree, as a wedge in a door to widen a precedent accomplished; no, it is of a different order. The Synod is essentially consultative and *ad hoc*, with no more power accruing to it than is delegated by the Pope and College of Bishops together, and principally the Pope who has summoned it; its powers are delegated and not inherent. The power of the Papacy is inherent in virtue of the petrine claims resting in Scripture; the power of the Episcopal College is likewise inherent in virtue of the apostolic claims resting in Scripture; and the synodal powers are not of this order, but derived from these two sources of authority. We are not here dealing with natural authority, which can broaden down from precedent to precedent, gathering its own momentum from the exigencies of practical expediency: we are dealing with a more final authority, divine authority, which is not ours to manipulate or restructure at will.

At the ceremony of 30th April, one of four days of ceremonies instituting the 33 new cardinals (two remaining *in petto*),² the Pope spoke of the different rôles of the College of Cardinals and of the Synod of Bishops, and of their relation to him as supreme Head of the Church (an inalienable title admitting of no delegation). Speaking of the assistance the cardinals are expected to give to the Pontiff, he said that it "involves collaboration and a certain co-responsibility. This function does not take the place of the Synod of Bishops, just as the latter does not take the place of the Sacred College; for the two bodies complement one another. The functions of both bodies are essentially consultative, equally linked and

² Cf. Stephan Kuttner, "Cardinals: the History of a Canonical Concept", *Traditio* III (1945), 120-214; this is summarised in C. N. L. Brooke, "Europe in the Central Middle Ages" (1964), 263f. These days the Pope used to proclaim the new Theological Commission, to publish the new Order of the Mass and the new Liturgical Calendar, and to announce the split of the Congregation of Rites into two (Divine Worship and Causes of Saints). As His Eminence of Malines would say, the glacier is beginning to melt faster.

subordinated to the supreme office of the Vicar of Christ. The Synod reflects more directly the episcopal collegiality around the successor of Peter, without taking from the Pope his prerogative of personal, universal and direct government. The consultative function of the Sacred College underlines this prerogative and secures for the supreme pontiff daily and closer assistance in governing the Church" (italics mine). This statement perfectly underlines the functions and relationships of these two bodies, both entirely subordinate to the Pope: but to complete the picture we must add the Episcopal College, the other co-ordinate, which is by no means entirely subordinate to the Pope, but is in many respects complementary. The Synod of Bishops is as a committee drawn from the Episcopal College by the Pope and invested with consultative authority by him, not by the bishops; it is not a delegate committee from and of the Episcopal College, with powers conferred from there.³ The network is complex, and it is vital to distinguish the two co-ordinates of power in the divine order, the Pope and the Episcopal College.

I. THE ROMAN CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

Let us be clear that there is a crisis of authority at Rome at present. That is made clear enough by studying the documentary account of the build-up to and reactions to the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, given in the last JOURNAL; and especially the Pope's audiences devoted to Authority, Obedience and Conscience. But to confirm the point, it might be well to give a record of papal utterances between the beginning of the year and the end of Holy Week.³ On the Epiphany, the Pope ordained twelve new bishops and took the opportunity to make a very full statement of the office of a bishop. He quoted St Irenaeus that the Apostles, together with men of their circle, committed the news of salvation to writing and then "in order to keep the Gospel forever whole and alive within the Church, they left bishops as their successors, handing over their own teaching rôle to them". He went on to say: "You (bishops) are the heirs of this treasure of revealed truth; you are the custodians of the deposit (of faith); you are qualified representatives of Christ; you are the ministers of his magisterial, priestly and pastoral powers; and with respect to the Church you represent

² Cf. *Motu Proprio Apostolica Sollicitudo* on The Synod of Bishops: Latin, *L'Osservatore Romano* 16th September 1965, English, ed. Austin Flannery O.P., *Vatican II on the Church*, 348-51.

³ It is always difficult to know what are the Pope's own words and thoughts. He has so many addresses to give, and their style and underlying mood or philosophy are so changeable, that it seems evident that he is given scripts to deliver which are not part of his own inner thought structure. For instance, *L'Osservatore Romano*, 27th March, gives the text of the following addresses he made during the day of Saturday, 15th March: to the fifth session of the Council of the Laity, to a delegation of the International Commission for Development, to an ecumenical pilgrimage from England and Ireland en route to the Holy Land; and this was the day before a very full Sunday. To show how occupied the Pope is with his public duties, it might be well to list his published utterances in any month taken at random—say, October last year. *L'Osservatore Romano* of 9th January lists the following: 6 broadcast/public messages, 9 occasional discourses, 5 general audiences, 25 special audiences; and this is a total of 45 public utterances, an average of 3 every two days. This is before he begins his administrative work (policy planning and the like). And then he has to fit in his tours, Jerusalem yesterday, Geneva tomorrow, Bombay in the East, Bogota in the West, and the United Nations betwixt. And then he is a priest, with the spiritual duties of a priest . . . He must want to say with Goethe, "more light" and add for himself, "more time".

the Lord in the authentic and fullest form—for 'where the bishop is, there the community is assembled (quoting St Ignatius of Antioch), just as where Christ is, there is the Catholic Church'. You are its rulers, and as such you are responsible for her". In his general audience of 5th February, the Pope spoke on freedom and certain false concepts of freedom: "Another fashionable deformation of freedom is to consider it as consisting in an intentional *a priori* attitude of conflict with the existing order, or with the opinions of others". In his general audience of 12th February, the Pope spoke of the field of inner judgment: Conscience, he said, is not the source of good and evil, but a warning, illuminated by the intuition of certain normative principles deeply rooted in human reason—"it is the subjective and immediate intimation of a law, although many people today do not wish to hear any more of natural law. . . . Conscience is not the only voice that can guide human activity; its voice becomes clearer and stronger when the voice of law, and therefore of the lawful authority, unites with it. That is, the voice of Conscience is not always infallible, nor is it objectively supreme. And this is particularly true in the field of supernatural action, where reason cannot by itself interpret the way to goodness". In his post Lenten Retreat audience of 12th March, the Pope stressed the Christian ascetical tradition of *contemptus mundi*, which assumed a definition of world, he said, completely different from that proposed by the Vatican Council, but one equally valid. When three days later he addressed the Council of Laity, he issued this warning: that "the mind of man, drenched with ideas sweeping through our profane world, distrusts everything that goes beyond the sphere of conscious experience and scientific proof". At his audience on 19th March, the Pope hinted that he hesitates to share authority with the Church's bishops (indeed, it is not entirely his to withhold, as his Epiphany address shows),⁴ while authority is under attack from Catholic dissenters: "how can the Church, when troubled by internal protests, more actively put into practice the idea of collegial co-responsibility or a joint effort to perfect her apostolic and religious activities? How can she perform her missionary rôle without internal unity? How can she re-establish unity with all her fellow Christians in an authentic ecumenical spirit without the active and obedient interior unity of all those who have the good fortune and the responsibility of calling themselves Christians?" In his general audience of 24th March, the Pope again spoke on Authority, suggesting that the Holy Spirit gives his inspiration "by preference" (perhaps this is an unfortunate translation) to the Pope above other members of the Church: he said that the inspirations of the Spirit were given to the ecclesial community in order to build the Church, and "by preference to the one who has a special directive function".

⁴ In an interview with the Editor of *Informations Catholiques Internationales*, Cardinal Suñens had this to say: "for ecumenical as well as for theological reasons, it is important to avoid presenting the rôle of the Pope in such a way as to isolate him from the College of Bishops whose leader he is. While we emphasise that the Pope has a right to act or speak alone, the word 'alone' never means 'separately' or 'in isolation'. Even when the Pope acts without the formal collaboration of the bishops—as he has a legal right to do—he is still acting as their leader. Christ entrusted his Church to Peter and the Eleven, who are diversely but indissolubly linked in a twofold way: there was the link between the Eleven and Peter, and the link between Peter and both the Eleven and the People of God. I am struck by this text from Acts 2: 'Peter standing with the Eleven, lifted up his voice. . . .'
Inf. Cath. Int. 336, 15th May, Supplement; *Tablet*, 17th May, 484.

Then came the statements of Holy Week. *The Tablet* (12th April, 1976) records that the Pope's continual warnings reached an unprecedented pitch during "a sombre Easter", causing widespread attention in the world press. In the Pope's opinion the Church was in a virtual state of schism—a harsh word to use, indicative of how deeply disturbed the Pope now is over the crisis that confronts him. On the Wednesday he gave a general audience to two thousand pilgrims: he said that the Church was suffering trials because so many Catholics were abandoning "the loyalty which the tradition of centuries requires of them, and which pastoral efforts, full of understanding and love, should obtain from them. . . . the Church itself is reliving the passion of Christ . . . (suffering from) restless, critical, unruly and destructive rebellion of so many of its sons, including the most dear—priests, teachers and laymen dedicated to the service and witness of the living Christ in the living Church, against its intimate and indispensable communion, against its institutional existence, against its canon law, its tradition, its internal cohesion, against its authority, the irreplaceable principle of truth, of unity, of charity, against the very requirements of sanctity and of sacrifice". He seemed to desert something of what the Vatican Council stood for, returning to his Lenten theme of Christian asceticism: "we could almost see in the Council the intention of making Christianity acceptable and amiable, an indulgent and open Christianity free of any medieval rigorism and from any pessimistic interpretation of men, of their morals, their mutations and demands". The following day, Maundy Thursday, the Pope returned to the attack after his Mass at St John Lateran: it was judged to be perhaps the bitterest speech of his pontificate. "People speak of a renewal of the Church's doctrine and awareness," he said, "but how can the Church be authentic and enduring, if the spiritual and social bond uniting it suffers such attacks and opposition, or neglect of its hierarchical structure? How can it be a Church—that is, a united people—when a ferment that almost amounts to schism divides and sub-divides it, breaking it into groups attached more than anything to arbitrary and selfish autonomy disguised as Christian pluralism or freedom of Conscience?" In this speech, the Pope has shown his mind without reserve upon matters that he had earlier broached with far greater caution—freedom, co-responsibility, Conscience, the Council; and all of these have emerged in a partially critical light.⁵

⁵ In the Autumn a new book is expected from the pen of the so-called Xavier Rynne, *The Pauline Crisis* (Farrar-Straus, New York \$5.95). The author holds that *Humanae Vitae* ushered in a new era, a new hard-line policy, condemnatory and regressive, which turns away from Pope John's *aggiornamento* and the spirit of the Council. It sets off a crisis in the Church, a crisis of conscience, of theology, of authority. The Pope, it is suggested, is fighting what he sees as a threat of Modernism, and what is in fact a threat of *Romanità*, that mode of mind which tried at the outset to prevent and then to sidetrack the Council and later to repudiate its decisions. (This is a new use of an old word, *Romanità*, which once had a magnanimous meaning).

In his celebrated interview, Cardinal Suñens painted a word-picture of *Romanità*: it is "an essentialist, bureaucratic, static, juridical, centralising tendency. . . . (unifying) as closely as possible in relation to the centre, through a close network of detailed rules and regulations. . . . closer in spirit to Vatican I than to the year 2000, more anxious to repress abuses than to understand and foster the new values and aspirations which are coming to the fore in the Church as in the rest of the world. The tendency of such men, perhaps even in spite of themselves, will be to think of local Churches as administrative departments who carry out the wishes of the central authority, and of any decentralising of powers as the dangerous prelude to a latent schism". *Tablet* ib. 484.

On Good Friday, the Pope told the thousands outside the Colosseum that the way to salvation was not force, reprisals, violence, war, but the Cross. Meanwhile Vatican Radio was saying that "the Church is undergoing the same trials that Christ did in his life . . . the mortal hatred of the priests and elders of the peoples, the defections of the disciples, and finally the betrayal of one of the chosen ones . . . the world rejects the Church today as it rejected Christ then". That same day, the *L'Osservatore Romano* (the official organ of the Vatican) carried an article by Hans Urs von Balthasar, the Swiss theologian, suggesting that priests challenging papal authority should leave the Church; he quoted St Paul, "if any man does not love the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema". He went on to say, "he who cannot or does not want to share responsibility in the essence of the Church has already shown his non-belonging: therefore his exclusion is only a formality for both sides". This is the first time that any semi-official writer had been able to suggest that rebellious priests are *eo ipso* outside the Church. The article went on to underwrite the Pope's own remarks on modern mass media: "corrosive acids which today are pouring into the hearts of millions through the press and radio, and come even from the pulpits under the pretext of clarifications, of scientific progress or of a turn towards, or even conversion to, the world—these corrosive acids have been prepared not by people who love the Lord". The next day the editor of the same paper (a man close to the Pope's own ear, Raimondo Manzini)⁸ wrote of "the errors and the evils that afflict the Church after the Ecumenical Council" (*post hoc, propter hoc?*) and warned of the false prophets that were sowing seeds of error among the faithful. On Easter Day, the Pope gave his blessing *Urbi et Orbi* with unsmiling gravity: he spoke of Christianity as "a hard teaching . . . a severe teaching in continual contrast with the illusion of easy instinctive habit, through which degrading licence would clothe itself in the exalting dress of liberty"; he spoke of the duties of Christianity as "unpleasant for modern man's ears, open as they are to the lures of the sweet life of opulence, power and self-sufficiency".

* * *

In his new book, "The Great Church in Captivity", Sir Steven Runciman twice spoke of absolute impotence,⁹ saying that if absolute power corrupts, so does absolute impotence; and showing that the overwhelmed Greek Church under the Ottoman Sultanate found itself less and less certain that its rights would be regarded, and therefore it inevitably took refuge in intrigue, and then it began to forget the need for mutual loyalties, and then began its demoralisation amid sectional self-interest and jealousies. Now there is a lesson in this, and it is not the obvious one: it is that communities thrive on an exchange of rights and an exchange of respect and a complex harmony of functions, each dynamically (I mean from day to day in a living action); and that if rights are lost sight of, or subordinated too drastically to other rights or interests, or if power is

⁸ Cf. *Time*, 24th January, 1952: "The Pope's Bulletin Board". *L'Osservatore Romano* is owned by the Holy See and supervised by the Vatican Secretary of State. The Pope himself takes a close interest in the paper, sometimes marking important proofs. Its policy is expressed in this editorial remark: "the Church does not admit the same degree of liberty for the true and the false, for the moral and the immoral".

⁹ CUP (1968), viii and 187. It is reviewed elsewhere in this JOURNAL by Desmond Seward (E 54), who read the book first in typescript.

centralised too much into one place and the principle of subsidiarity is lost sight of, and if the proper dialogue between levels of hierarchy, or planes of function, or geographical areas, or climates of mind, or schools of theory (be it theological or institutional) ceases to occur, and if the interflow of life force in an institution is channelled through arteries too constricted to bear the traffic or too predisposed to take new life (as new wine in old skins), and if the whole edifice appears to its perimeter to be aging at the centre, weighed down by conservatism, then the fearful principle of "absolute impotence" may come into play, with all its attendant vices.

Bearing this in mind, one remembers that the present papacy is the trained and predisposed heir, not of the papacy of the Council, but of Pius XII, who was fond of secrecy, centralised control and unconsultative decision. Great as Pope Pius was as a scholar and as a saintly man, he tried to use modes of government suited to Rome but not to the Roman Church, which is worldwide and breathtakingly diverse, striking to the very division of spirit and soul. His form of pontifical rule was probably the greatest single factor that brought about the Second Vatican Council, though admittedly the forces of growth—notably the Biblical and Liturgical Movements—were already running strong. But to read today that other encyclical, *Humani Generis* (1950), is to understand in great measure the present crisis of the papacy.

Pope Pius speaks of "an unwholesome itch for modernity" in three separate places (sec. 11, 13, 40). He complains of the undermining of absolute truth, absolute laws, and the false use of historical method, and the leaving out of sight of the unchanging essences of things. He refers to the natural law which the Creator has implanted in men's hearts. He talks of Catholic teachers who are "afraid of seeming ill-informed about the progress which science has made in our day; at any rate, they are eager to emancipate themselves from Authority; and the danger is that they will lose touch, by insensible degrees, with the truth divinely revealed to us". He speaks of an indiscreet zeal for souls, which leads men "to break down all the barriers by which men of good will are now separated from one another . . . a policy of appeasement", which is so akin to Pope Paul's account of "a wave of serenity and optimism", set in motion by the Council, now washing over the whole Christian world. He prophesies that "the views which are put forward obscurely today, hedged about with safeguards and distinctions, will be proclaimed tomorrow by others, bolder spirits, openly and extravagantly. Many among the younger clergy especially will be led astray by this bad example, and Church discipline will suffer". The passage on the danger of dogmatic relativism (sec. 14-17) was a lyrical plea for a return, in our exposition of Catholic doctrine, to the language of Scripture and the Fathers; to the terms and concepts hammered out and polished with utmost care and ever-increasing accuracy by scholastic theologians; to the labours of men of no common intellectual attainment, under the watchful eye of Authority and the light of the Spirit. On the matter of the teaching Authority (sec. 18-21) and especially Encyclicals (sec. 20), he is especially explicit: it might be useful to quote here at length:

It is not to be supposed that a position advanced in an encyclical does not *ipso facto* claim assent. It is true that in writing encyclicals, the Popes do not exercise their teaching authority to the full. But such statements come under the day-to-day teaching of the Church, which

is covered by the promise "he who listens to you, listens to me". For the most part, the positions advanced, the duties inculcated by these encyclical letters are already bound up under some other title with the general body of Catholic teaching. And when the Roman Pontiffs go out of their way to pronounce on some subject which has hitherto been controverted, it must be clear to everyone that, in the mind and the intention of the Pontiffs concerned, this subject can no longer be regarded as a matter of free debate among theologians.

To say all this is not to criticise, but to categorise. This is a long tradition of the papacy, and the intermission of John XXIII could never hope to become the norm (for window-opening is a draughty process). If these sentiments are shared by Pope Paul, it goes far to explain the Pope's present apparent antipathy to the forces released by the Council, which he did not begin but did so much to guide to a fair end. His is a tradition of preservation rather than of innovation, though admittedly huge innovations are steadily occurring. Here it is perhaps essential to distinguish three aspects of the papacy. One is the perennial institution, guaranteed from all time "even unto the consummation of the world", the irremovable vicariate of Peter in Christ's Church. Another is the person of the reigning Pope; and for a century now we have been unusually blessed with men of unimpeachable sanctity—Pius IX (mooted for beatification in the early days of the Council), Leo XIII (a little political, but a genius at his office), Pius X (a Saint), Benedict XV (too smothered by the Great War to show his qualities), Pius XI (a visionary social reformer and hammer of dictators), Pius XII (who showed the accepted signs of sanctity in his lifetime), John XXIII (a Saint unproclaimed), and now a man of exceptional personal piety. Lastly, there is the character of the papacy as seen in historical terms: it is this that shows Paul VI to be continuing a long tradition, a tradition from which only Leo XIII and John XXIII stand apart.⁵ This tradition has as its main structure a veneration of accepted teaching, combined with a cautiousness towards change and radical thought: for Pius IX, it showed itself in his condemnation of rationalism, liberalism and pantheism; for Pius X, it was a fear of biblical fundamentalism, historical scepticism, pragmatism;⁶ for Pius XII, it was a fear of existentialism,

⁵ Pius XI does not perfectly fit into the pattern, and indeed in some regards fits better into the cross-pattern of Leo XIII—John XXIII. For instance, the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) and *Mater et Magister* (1961) are a steady development of the single policy, the right of government intervention, limited and specified, directed to action in support of the more vital private groups "motivated by an interior principle" (herein lies the principle of subsidiarity or subsidiary function) and in protection of "the unhappy multitude possessing no security from its own resources" (*miserrima vulgus, nullis opibus suis tutum*). *Rer. Nov.* 54. So important is the principle of subsidiarity in the context of the present development of the Church, that it might be well to quote Leo XIII: "let the State protect these lawfully associated bodies of citizens; but let it not intrude in their internal affairs and order of life; for vital activity is set in motion by an interior principle, and it is very easily shattered by outside interference". *Rer. Nov.* 75. Both of the other encyclicals stress this principle and the October 1967 Synod of Bishops accepted it as valid in the theological order, at least in theory. *Cf. Quad. Anno* 79; *Mat. Mag.* 65, 117, 152.

⁶ A *Times* Lit. Suppl. reviewer has this to say about anti-Modernism: "the maledictions under Pius X in this first decade of the century were appalling. Priests were commanded to teach that Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch; and Rome declared, under pain of excommunication, that there was only one Isaiah. This meant

(Continued on next page)

relativism, anti-authoritarianism and also quietism;¹⁰ and now for Paul VI, it is a fear embracing something of all of these things, under the general heading of syncretism, latitudinarianism and indifference. In each of those pontificates one sees the reaction to those fears, an attempt to use the *plenitudo potestatis*, the ultimate powers of the papacy, to effect an end for which they were not precisely designed: Pius IX's encyclical seemed to make his *Syllabus Errorum* dogmatically binding; Pius X's decree *Lamentabili* and *motu proprio* imposed on all clerics the anti-Modernist oath: Pius XII's encyclical condemning false trends stated that once the Pope had spoken a matter was closed to theologians; and Paul VI has stated that *Humanae Vitae* carries the fullest force of the office of Peter short of infallibility, "in virtue of the mandate entrusted to Us by Christ". One sees, too, a love of the hallowed doctrine of Transubstantiation in as many words (cf. Pope Paul's *Credo*) and of Mary's special relationship with the Church; in short, a protective fondness for the older pieties and—as the Dominican Fr Cornelius Ernst has recently put it—a deep and commendable anxiety to preserve the real values of the older Catholic consciousness. This is all unimpeachable, but of itself insufficient.¹¹

Against all this manifest goodness and concern for the pastoral care of the faithful, there must be put the colder facts of the present world. In the last quarter century there has been an explosive revolution among the intelligentsia—and a wider circle a little below it—of sheer understanding, and capacity for greater understanding, technical, philosophical and theological. No longer is it a prelate's task to provide hand-outs on faith and morals, while engendering a warm and sincere devotion in a simple flock. Hand-out theology is no proper substitute for the penetrating probes into real understanding of which most of the educated world are now capable; and hand-out theology only clouds the explorations of scholars

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that biblical research was pretty well brought to an end in the Roman Catholic Church for fifty years and could only begin again in the tolerant reign of John XXIII" (*TLS* 8th May, 1964). This is to say too much: even if Père Lagrange's exegetical career was seriously halted and he was driven to volunteer to "disappear" into a Charterhouse, there are after him the solid achievements of the encyclicals *Spiritus Paraclitus* (1920) and *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), the growth of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem under Père de Vaux and the Pontifical Biblical Institute under the Jesuit rector Augustin Bea, the flourishing of such journals as the *Revue Biblique*, and then the Suhard-Vostre letters of 1948 which did so much to relax the pressure on scholars investigating delicate subjects. Against this trend, admittedly, we must place the 1950 encyclical *Humani Genesio*—but only that until the unfortunate insighting that immediately preceded the Council.

¹⁰ *Humani Genesio* deals with a long list of errors: idealism, immanentism, pragmatism, existentialism, appeasement, relativism, modernity (in a technical sense), narrowed inerrancy in Scripture, symbolic exegesis, pre-eternity of matter, necessary creation, non-existence of angels, transignification, transfinalisation and others. Some of the arguments on these subjects now seem rather old-fashioned.

¹¹ A Rome correspondent, Canon W. A. Purdy, has suggested that the present enfranchisement (infrancification?) of the Curia—Cardinal Villot, former Archbishop of Lyon, promoted Secretary of State, thereby joining Cardinals Marone, Martin and Daniélou; the new Theological Commission containing five Frenchmen, including the Jesuit de Lubac and the Dominican Congar; a new high post possibly about to be offered to Cardinal Daniélou, and so forth—reflects a certain francophilia in Pope Paul's reading and intellectual affinity. But, he adds, "this affinity is far from being a post-Vatican II affair; the right bank of the Garonne looms larger than the left bank of the Seine". But here again, can we really distinguish the Pope's thought from that of his advisers and speech-writers?

at the higher levels, engenders indifference at more general levels and at the lower levels promotes superstition. No longer is the Church accepted as a perennial salyfic club to which laymen can subscribe sufficient of their resources and energy, hiring a "pro" to see to the rest. And, without the putting too much weight upon this point, it is one of the causes of the present crisis that the papacy (I mean the whole curial complex) has in-sufficiently seen this important shift in men's potential.¹² There is new thought, and it is using new language and new intellectual techniques; and the piety of the past, and especially its conceptual structures, is past. Growth is change, and man must grow or diminish; it is the law of life.

* * *

II. THE ROOT OF THE CRISIS: A ONE-SIDED DEVELOPMENT

But the problem is deeper than that, and it might be well to search at the root of the papal tradition to look for the causes of the present malaise. Let us return to the petrine primacy, starting in Scripture.

It is irrefutable that St Peter was given a primacy among the Apostles, and five kinds of examples show this. Firstly, he was to the fore in the "inner cabinet" of Peter, James and John who were called to the Transfiguration, the raising of Jairus' daughter and the Agony in the Garden. It was Peter who said "let us build three arbours . . ." and to him Christ said, "Peter, art thou asleep?" Secondly, there are the much debated (even to this day, when Form Criticism has given the debate new life) petrine texts, namely "Thou art Peter . . ." (Ma 16),¹³ "I will confirm thee . . ." (Lk 22) and "Feed my flock . . ." (Jn 21); and these are backed by many innuendos, as for example the fish caught by Peter with the coin in his mouth to pay the taxes of Jesus and himself. Thirdly, in a way quite unique to himself, the Resurrection visions were directed first to Peter: "Go and tell Peter and the rest of his disciples . . ." (Mk 16, 5); "Only Peter rose up and ran to the tomb, where he saw the grave-clothes . . ."

¹² Cardinal Suenens, in his interview, spoke of theological oppression over these years, which had halted research projects, "an oppression emanating from those who consider themselves as having the monopoly of orthodoxy (which is to them synonymous with that fixed and scholastic philosophy which they tried—generally, however, in vain—to impose on the Council). Quite an impressive list could be made of theological positions taught in Rome in the recent and more distant past as the only true ones, which were simply done away with by the Council Fathers. We all know the prolonged sufferings of our finest theologians, held suspect, if not positively condemned, in the name of that theology: Rahner, Congar, Murray, de Lubac . . . to say nothing of those men who were the 'heroes' of my young days: Cardinal Mercier, whom the Curia of his time suspected of Modernism; Dom Lambert Beauduin, whose heresy was ecumenism; and Père Lebbe, whose crime was to defend the ideal of native Chinese clergy, including bishops and cardinals". *Tabl.* lb. 488; cf. reply 24th May, 524, which supports my contention in note 8: *Lex XII* shielded Mercier from Louvain persecution as he reverted to scholasticism, where Pius X allowed him to be labelled "Modernist".

¹³ For an exegesis of this extremely difficult text (which cannot be read simply at face value), see Cornelius Ernst O.P., "The Primacy of Peter; Theology & Ideology—11", *New Blackfriars*, May, 1969, 399-402 (with references to weightier works). Mark 8:27-30 and Luke 9:18-21 both emphatically stop short of the *Tu es Petrus* passage, which is quite unique, and may be of late provenance. Cf. Otto Käver, *Peter & the Church: an Examination of Cullmann's Thesis*, Quaes. Disput. VIII (1963); this discusses Oscar Cullmann's view that Ma 16,18 will not bear the weighty interpretation given to it, and that Peter possibly yielded his primacy latterly to James. It is an interesting but unacceptable view, but it shows the doubt.

(Lk 24, 12, cf. Jn 20, 3); "Peter sprang into the sea, the other disciples following . . ." (Jn 21); "The chief message that I (Paul) hand to you . . . that (the Risen Christ) was seen by Cephas, then by the eleven Apostles . . ." (I Cor 15). Fourthly, the other Apostles looked to Peter as their spokesman and leader, both before and after Calvary: "Whereupon Jesus said to the Twelve, would you too go away? Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom?" (Jn 6, 69); the election of Matthias is conducted by Peter (Acts 1, 15); "Peter, with the eleven Apostles at his side, stood there and raised his voice to speak . . ." (Acts 2, 14); "Ananias and Saphira laid the money at the feet of the Apostles, whereupon Peter said . . ." (Acts 5, 3); "Peter and the other Apostles answered the Sanhedrin . . ." (Acts 5, 29); "When three years were passed, I (Paul) went up to Jerusalem, to visit Peter, and stayed a fortnight there in his company" (Gal 1, 18). And fifthly, Jerusalem looked to Peter as the spokesman of the Twelve: "Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said to them, Rulers of the people, Elders of Israel, listen to me . . ." (Acts 4, 8, cf. 5, 29); "They brought sick in their beds . . . in the hope that even the shadow of Peter might fall upon them here and there . . ." (Acts 5, 15, cf. 3, 1); "Herod, finding the beheading of James acceptable to the Jews, laid hands on Peter too and imprisoned him . . ." (Acts 12, 3); the family of Tabitha who had died sent for Peter to raise her up (Acts 9, 36).

Now it is often taken that this primacy was without limit, and was passed on in petrine succession to every Pope at Rome without diminution or check. Surely the boldest statement of this view is contained in the famous (though still mysterious) *Dictatus Papae* of Gregory VII¹⁴—e.g. IX, the Pope is the only one whose feet are to be kissed by all princes; XII, he may depose emperors; XIX, he himself may be judged by no one; XXIII, the Roman Pontiff, if canonically ordained, is undoubtedly sanctified (made a saint) by the merits of St Peter;¹⁵ XXV, without convening a synod, he can depose and reinstate bishops; XXVII, the Pope may absolve subjects of unjust men from their fealty (allegiance to proper superior). It has been held through the centuries that the Pope has power without limit (the so-called *plenitudo potestatis papae*) both over laymen, and— and this is more crucial—over the legitimate successors of the Apostles. But Scripture suggests that there is a limit to the primacy of Peter, whose powers are in the form of a service rather than a jurisdiction; as Gregory the Great was to call himself, the Pope is properly *servus servorum Dei*. Again we can find five separate examples to show this limitation at work in the pristine Church. First, we are shown the Apostles at Jerusalem, hearing that Samaria had received the word of God, sending out Peter and John (Acts 8, 14). Secondly, we see Peter made to explain his breaking

¹⁴ Register 11.55a, probably drafted by Gregory VII himself (so G. B. Borino estimates) as a table of contents for a small collection of canonical authorities emphasising the petrine claims (he had earlier asked Peter Damian to do that for him, and then approved Anselm of Lucca's compilation and *Deusdedit's*, all stressing the Roman primacy). Dr Julia Gauss suggests that this is Gregory's agenda for a conference between Rome and Constantinople; and it has long been recognised, indeed, that over half of the 27 *Dictatus* are directed towards the East. Cf. *JTS* XXI (April, 1969), 335.

¹⁵ Discussed by Prof. Walter Ullmann in *Studi Gregoriani* VI (1959-61), 229-64; and Eric John in *Papacy & Hierarchy* (1969), 66-71. This book is reviewed elsewhere in this *JOURNAL* by Dr John Watt, author of *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the 13th Century* (1965).

of his circumcision policy, having to spell out his vision and the Cornelius incident (Acts 11). Thirdly, Paul makes a stand against Peter both for his circumcision doctrine and for his eating with the gentiles and then pretending to hold aloof (Gal 2, 11). Fourthly, at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15), "when the Apostles and presbyters assembled to decide about this matter, there was much disputing over it, till Peter rose and said . . ."; Paul and Barnabas are then made to corroborate his evidence and theology before the whole assembly; James, who is presiding at the first Church Council,¹⁶ then said, "Listen to me, Simon has told us . . ." and thereupon it was resolved by the Apostles (and that is very important) and the presbyters (and that also), with the agreement of the whole Church that . . . and so forth. The fifth example comes from a pregnant passage in Acts 6, where it is apparent that the seven deacons are in no specific way subordinate to Peter and the Twelve¹⁷; they may well have been the first Elders of the Church in Jerusalem (unless Elders and Presbyters are interchangeable) with a different sphere of function from the Twelve.

From these apparent curtailments of the power of St Peter, it is arguable that his office cannot be described simply as total in its compass, reaching everywhere at all times, covering every issue and being the final court of arbitration after which *causa finita est* (that has been called "creeping infallibility").¹⁸ Surely the office, and the whole nature of society, be it spiritual or temporal, is not of this kind. No office is without limitations, if it is legitimate—if only because it brings into play Runciman's law of absolute impotence for those who have to live under it. And anyway, Christ set up a second pole of authority when he gave to his College of Apostles (in Ma 18) virtually all that he had earlier given to Peter: "I promise you, all that you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and all that you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"—here is the specifically papal power *ligandi et solvendi* extended to the bishops of the whole Church at large. But of that, more anon.

I would like to suggest that the years have seen a real shift from the pristine Church's concept of the papacy, whose authority was closely inter-

¹⁶ It is now the necessary procedure that the Pope summons a General Council, that he is represented at it, and that he confirms its decrees. But this was far from established procedure in the early Church Councils (from the first (Jerusalem) onwards. Nicæa was summoned by Constantine in 325, the Constantinople by Theodosius I in 381, and Chalcedon by Marcian in 451: at the 381 Second General Council, neither papal representative nor a single western bishop were present.

¹⁷ "The Twelve called together the general body of the disciples and said: it is too much that we should have to forgo preaching God's word, and bestow our care on tables. Come then, brethren, you must find among you seven men who are well spoken of, full of the Holy Spirit and of wisdom, for us to put in charge of this business, while we devote ourselves to prayer and to the ministry of preaching. This advice found favour with all the assembly; and they chose . . . these they presented to the Apostles, who laid hands on them with prayer. . . . Stephen, full of grace and power, performed great signs and miracles among the people". From this, it is clear that the Church at large selected the seven Deacons, that the Apostles both instituted the office and ordained them sacramentally, that they received real spiritual power which gave them a charismatic independence, and that they were administratively answerable as much to the Church as to the Apostles.

¹⁸ In an interview last October, Bishop B. C. Butler said: "what we have got to teach the faithful is that papal inerrancy—the incapacity of Popes to be wrong—has its limits. Plainly this is a most unpopular doctrine in some circles in the Church. But it is theologically true, and with the spread of education it becomes more and more necessary to make the point clear". *Sunday Times*, 6th October, 1968, 49.

linked with that of the bishops, presbyters and deacons, and was integrally part of the living structure of the ecclesial society; to the modern concept of an unlimited authority, unhampered by the episcopacy, above synod or council or even *sensus fidelium*, able to depose and reinstate bishops at will, almost as if it were above and beyond the structure of the people of God. I would like to suggest that the key to an understanding of this lies in the shift from the title *Vicarius Petri* to the reality (in the reign of Gregory VII) and then also the title (in the reign of Innocent III) of *Vicarius Christi*—and whether this is an authentic development or an accident of human history is for others to say. This shift of title and power has been accompanied by a shift of function, loosely from *diakonia* (service) to *monarchia* (rule), from the shepherd of Ezekiel or the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great to the dominion or hierarchism of the high Middle Ages, the time of the Gregorian Reformers and then of the Canonists;¹⁹ and this has had a seriously deforming centralising effect upon the Church at large, affecting most heavily the full functions of the episcopacy. After 1050 a new hierarchy came into being composed of the Lord Pope, the curial cardinals, the legates *a latere* (sent out with plenary powers from Rome), the legates-native (again with exceptional delegated powers), and only then the episcopacy. Long before this, the geographical primacy, and the *primatum honoris* of Rome among the sophisticated Churches of North Africa, the Fertile Crescent, Antioch and Byzantium had been changed by the encroachments of Islam and the Eastern schism to an absolute primacy of juridical rule, best expressed in Innocent III's claim to be *iudex ordinarius omnium* (every Christian's immediate superior), a title confirming a reality whereby the Pope had ordered about the bishops, as they complained, "as if they were bailiffs on his estate". In sum, a ministerial concept of ecclesial authority gave way after 1050 to a monarchical concept of papal authority, a hierarchical concept of hierocratic office and an over-judicial concept of Church. Gone was the principle of subsidiarity, the conciliar principle and the harmony of functions when that happened; and Innocent IV was able to say *omnis creatura vicario Creatoris subdita est*, a claim previously only made by St Benedict for his Abbot in his own monastery.²⁰

The petrine primacy has many meanings to many groups. It may mean an honorary primacy, as with Montecassino in the Benedictine Confederation. It may mean a successional primacy, i.e. that the Bishop of Rome is the successor of the first Apostle in his see, on the Roman law principle that the heir continues the deceased (*haereditas sedis*) in an office rather than a charismatic or sacramental function. It may mean a geographical and apostolic primacy among the patriarchates, which in all

¹⁹ I have traced this tendency in "The Institutionalisation of the Church in the Middle Ages", *Autumn Journal*, 337-32; these two articles could be read in conjunction.

²⁰ The term *plenitudo potestatis papae* sums up this tendency. Pope St Leo I in 446 said of it, *Vices nostras in tuo ordinis charitati, ut in partem sis vocatus sollicitudinis, NON in plenitudinem potestatis*. By 1870, it had become firmly embedded in the dogma of papal primacy (*vide infra*, in text), ". . . Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepit . . .": between these dates, principally during the thirteenth century, it had acquired a technical meaning. Rivière wrote a pioneer article, "In partem sollicitudinis . . . Evolution d'une formule papale" in 1925, and since then such as Jacqueline Gerbard Ladner, Hof, Ullmann, Cantini and Watt; Cf. J. A. Watt, "The Use of the term *plenitudo potestatis* by Hostiensis", *Proc. 11 Internat. Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, August, 1963, 161-87.

ages and even today the Eastern Orthodox Church has been prepared to accord; for, as they recognise, the claims for Jerusalem were broken by the destructions of 70 and 135, the claims by Alexandria for Mark were always rather tentative, the claims by Antioch for Peter were clearly subordinate to the same claims by Rome, and the claims by Byzantium for Andrew were by admission a seventh century fabrication: the Roman patriarchate could claim both Peter and Paul (the two first princes of the Church) as its founders, whereas no other patriarchate could make any certain claims—and Ephesus, with its strong claims for John, was not a patriarchate.²¹ It may mean a natural, historical *de facto* primacy in Christendom, and that the Anglican Church is prepared to accept today.²² It may mean a juridical and jurisdictional primacy in that the Pope has the powers given to Peter: as Leo I put it in the mid-fifth century, *vice Petri fungimur*.²³ Or it may be a primacy of unity, where the reigning Pope is the living nexus of the Church—*ibi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*—a demonstrable centre of the Church's consciousness. Or it may mean a sacramental primacy in virtue of the powers possessed and effected by Peter in his own time and now sacramentally effected by the graces of Peter in all Popes: as Fr Yves Congar (a member of the new Pontifical Theological Commission) has written: "L'idée de vicarius comportait alors une valeur en quelque sorte sacramentelle de présence opérante de Pierre sous et dans une autre existence historique".²⁴ This last form of primacy is clearly, though perhaps unexpectedly, found in all the major deliberations of Gregory VII, always undertaken as a dialogue between himself and St Peter: *Beate Petre apostolorum princeps, inclina quæsumus aures tuas nobis et audi me seruum tuum*. (Register 111, 6; the whole passage bears reading). Nevertheless it is the juridical primacy which has most come to the surface, though the sacramental is surely the most important.

But we should say that successional primacy is a rich and insufficiently explored vein. For the Greek Church succession meant essentially a living

²¹ In 1526, for example, (i.e. after the catastrophic 1054 split) Nicetas, Archbishop of Nicomedia was able to say to a western bishop-emissary, "My dearest brother, we do not deny the Roman Church primacy among the five sister patriarchates; and we recognise her right to the most honourable seat at an Oecumenical Council; but she has separated herself from us by her own deeds when through pride she assumed a monarchy which does not belong to her office. . . . How shall we accept from her decrees that have been issued without consulting us and even without our knowledge? . . . If the Roman Pontiff wishes to judge us and to rule us and our Churches, not by taking counsel with us but at his own arbitrary pleasure, what kind of brotherhood, or even what kind of parenthood can this be?" Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (1935), 116; cf. J. Meyendorff et al, *The Primacy of Peter in the Orthodox Church* (1963).

²² At the Council in October, 1963, the leader of the Anglican observers, Bishop John Moorman of Ripon, said that he believed the Anglican communion as a whole "would be prepared to accept the fact of the papacy, although they would find great difficulty in recognising the basis on which the primary rests": both historically and in the interpretation of Scripture. "far too much has been made of the words of Our Lord to St Peter"; but, he went on, if there was ever to be final unity among Christians, "there will have to be a central head of the Church, and that head will clearly have to be the Bishop of Rome". *Tablet*, 26th October, 1963, 1158. This can be matched by statements by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Michael Ramsey.

²³ W. Ullman, "Leo I & the Theme of Papal Primacy", *JTS* XI (1960), 25-51.

²⁴ *L'Ecclesiologie du Haut Moyen-Age* (1968), 189, quoted by Cornelius Ernst O.P. in *New Blackfriars*, April, 1969, who has a valuable discussion on sacramental primacy.

traditional of action; whereas for the Latin Church it was more akin to an unliving tradition of property, ownership of a specific *cathedra* physically located being of the essence (behind this lurks Roman law). The concept of "succession" as we now know it is traceable to Hegesippus' great work of 180 (Eusebius, *HE* IV, 8, 1; H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana* 198f). He records from his study-journeys that the Corinth Church had lived "in the right word" up to the time when Primus was bishop, and that the same was so of Rome, where Soter "succeeded Anicetus, who was succeeded by Eleutherus in the succession of teaching and office"; so "in each succession (*diadoche*) and in each city things are as the Law and the Prophets and the Lord preach" (*HE*, IV, 22, 2-3). Hegesippus has two demonstrations of pure orthodoxy, unanimous doctrine, and the unbroken chain of bishops which guarantees the undistorted transmission of that doctrine. Here he is underlining the continuous tradition of teacher and taught, not either sacramental or juristic tradition which could safeguard that teaching: he is in earnest to prove transmitter and receiver, which led to later "lists of bishops". Where Anicetus had been content to appeal, in regard to the Roman Easter tradition, to "the presbyters before (me)", Hegesippus later "made" a *diadoche* of bishops to confirm the matter, thereby introducing a new frame of thought, successional authority. St Irenæus and Tertullian both took it up and developed it: the former speaking of the *potentior principatus* of Rome (PG 7, 848). It was then taken on by Hippolytus, priest (or Bishop?) of Rome in the third century, in his famous *Apostolic Tradition*, which spoke of both the *traditio* of teaching and the *traditio* of the special sanctifying powers conferred by episcopal consecration: "we are (the Apostles') successors, and share in the same gifts of high priesthood and teaching; we are numbered among the guardians of the Church, and for that reason we neither blind ourselves nor remain dumb as to right teaching" (Elench. I pref 6). Sacramental high priest, teacher of received doctrine, guardian of the past, how far removed he is from the later sense of Bishop of Rome, central governor. In the first instance, the primacy accrues to the Roman Church, in the second to the Roman Vicar. The link between the two concepts is St Cyprian (d. 258), just a generation later, but a huge step on.²⁵

In the very early stages of the Church, these primacies were scarcely invoked at all, for the concepts were not yet distinguished either as to themselves or over against each other. The perfect combination of official and charismatic authority was, of course, in Jesus himself. Apostolic authority was not so much either of these as that authority which came from the historical encounter with the Risen Lord, together with his mandate "Go teach all nations . . ." (Ma 28 end); the Apostles were not men in office, but single perpetuating sources of all Christian tradition. Those who followed are continuators of a tradition, holders of a continuing commission, and their individual identity is not particularly important. Nor are they, as were the Apostles, the principal ("sole" is too strong) repository of the testimony of Christ, for all Christendom has become that: *securus iudicat orbis terrarum* (as Vincent of Lérins put it, "what all men have at all times and everywhere been believing must be regarded as the

²⁵ Cf. Hans von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority & Spiritual Power in the Church in the first Three Centuries* (Tübingen, 1933; Black, 1969), VII. Tradition and Succession in the Second Century; XI. Cyprian and the Episcopate. Also K. Rahner & J. Ratzinger, *The Episcopate & the Primacy*, Quæst. Disput. IV (1962), and G. S. M. Walker, *The Churchmanship of St Cyprian*, *Ecumenical Stud. Hist. IX* (1968).

pursues the unitary and monarchic principle; his *civitas* is the Christian body politic ruled by Christ through his vicar: the Pope is the vicar of him who was *verus rex et pontifex*. As the Saint's disciple, Pope Eugenius III, said: *the universa christianitas* knows that St Peter had been entrusted by Christ with the *jura terreni simul et coelestis imperii*".

So the tradition gathered force, and the papacy increased its claims, at the same time increasing its powers to implement those claims, through Innocent III to Innocent IV to Boniface VIII and on. All that is claimed in that Pope's notorious 1302 Bull *Unam Sanctam* was pre-empted in the writings of St Thomas Aquinas, who embedded the new bernardine theology of papal rule in his writings: *ostenditur*, he wrote, *quod subsesse Romano pontifici sit de necessitate salutis*.³¹ And so the doctrine gathered momentum. When the great Counter-Reformation theologian, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, came to define the Church, this was his definition:

"There is only one Church, not two. And this one Church is the Community of men brought together by profession of the true faith and communion in the same sacraments and under the administration of recognised pastors and especially of the sole Vicar of Christ on earth, the Roman Pontiff."³²

When the fathers of the First Vatican Council came to determine the power and the nature of the Primacy, this was their final decree, after much debate:

"The Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff possess the primacy over the whole world, the Roman Pontiff is the successor of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and is true Vicar of Christ and Head of the whole Church and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and full power was given to him in blessed Peter to feed, rule and govern the universal Church by Jesus Christ Our Lord. . . this power of jurisdiction, truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all of whatever rite and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individual and collective, are bound by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience to submit, not only in matters which pertain to faith and morals, but also in those that pertain to discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. . . the Roman Pontiff is the supreme judge of the faithful, and in all causes the decision of which belongs to the Church, recourse may be had to his tribunal, and none may reopen the judgment of the Apostolic See, than whose authority there is no greater."³³

³¹ Cf. *de Romanos* XIII.1 et 2; *Contra Gentiles* IV.76, 3-4; *Summa Theol* 111.82; *II Sententiarum* xlv. 2.4 ad fin.

³² Quoted and discussed in Jerome Hamer O.P., *The Church is a Communion* (1964), 83-4.

³³ 1st Dogm. Const. Ch. 14, 1870; Denz 1834. Bishop Butler (*Sun Times* lb.) wrote of this definition, "the Church's protest against the Reformation became a protest against the whole great stream of human development in the European West. We stood apart from progress and from democracy, and looked with suspicion on natural science, and with grave suspicion on historical science. This reached its culminating expression in 1870, with Vatican I, when the universal primacy of the Pope and the infallibility (under certain conditions of his teaching) was laid down. The doctrine thus defined was true, but it was as if we were throwing down a gauntlet in the face of modern liberalism and freedom of thought." The exaggerated Ultramontanists went on to stretch these principles until they were close on snapping, stating truths in most paradoxical and even insupportable form. The prince of these was Henry, Cardinal Manning who maintained that the Pope's infallible authority, for instance, extends

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When the fathers of the Second Vatican Council spoke about the Church, they said of the Pope:

"In virtue of his office, as Vicar of Christ and Pastor of the whole Church, the Roman Pontiff possesses full, supreme, universal power over the Church, and he is always able to exercise it without impediment."³⁴ It is a magnificent build-up of doctrine from the smallest seed to a magnitude that does justice to the word Development.

* * *

III. THE OTHER ROOT OF THE CRISIS: THE OTHER SIDE LEFT UNDEVELOPED

But in this development of the petrine claims, that other pole of authority than Matthew 16, i.e. Matthew 18, 18, remains until very recently insufficiently accounted for. The true Apostolic succession of episcopal power—independent magisterial and ruling power within each little Church called a diocese—has been encroached upon in the process of the development of the central power. This encroachment began quite early on. We find in the pontificate of Leo the Great in the 400s that the Pope is claiming that, though a bishop receives his sacramental *ordo* direct from Christ at his consecration, his jurisdictional office comes by derivation and delegation from the papacy: in a letter to a bishop, Leo I wrote, *auctoritatem tuam vice nostra te exercere volumus*.

But the more serious encroachment came with the advent of real universal power for the papacy, in the developments of the Gregorian Reform movement. The beginning of that movement, traditionally, can be fixed very exactly at 1st October 1049, the Feast of St Remigius, Patron of Rheims. Leo IX held a provincial council in the cathedral at Rheims and accused the bishops of "the heresy of simony", i.e. buying their offices.³⁵ The Archbishop of Rheims was ordered to Rome to report to the

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to the smallest limits of the doctrinal authority of the Church. In this, as in the nature of the Pope's rule, he placed him above the Church, almost untouchably outside it: "the definition does not decide the question whether the infallibility of the Church is derived from (the Pope) or through him. But it does decide that his infallibility is not derived from the Church nor through the Church. . . this divine assistance is his special prerogative, depending on God alone; independent of the Church, which in dependence on him is endowed with the same infallibility" (italics mine). Newman fought this overcentralisation, both as to the wisdom of the definition at all and as to the exaggerations it engendered; "considered in its effects both upon the Pope's mind and that of his people, and in the power of which it puts him in practical possession it is nothing else than shooting Niagara", he said; and he firmly replaced the Pope within the Church and within the infallibility that was primarily the Church's. He saw, as Fr Dessain has shown, the corporate relationship of the whole Church, font of indefectibility: "the Church moves as a whole; it is not a mere philosophy, it is a communion; it not only discovers, but it teaches; it is bound to consult for charity as well as for faith. You must prepare men's minds for the doctrine, and you must not flout and insult the existing tradition of countries". He called for a wise and gentle minimalism. Cf. Manning, *Petri Præilegium* (1871), 11,90f and Dessain, "What Newman taught in Manning's Church", *Infallibility in the Church* (1968), 59-80.

³⁴ *Lumen Gentium* 22; Cf. 18, "Peter's successor, the Vicar of Christ and visible head of the Church in its entirety."

³⁵ The most luminous account of this is in R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1953), 125-7; Cf. Dom Jean Leclercq, "Simoniaca Heresis", *Studi Gregoriani* I (1947), 523-30.

Easter synod; the Bishop of Langres was excommunicated; the Bishop of Nevers was forced to resign his pastoral staff to the Pope, who gave him another one in sign of forgiveness; the Bishop of Nantes was reduced to the status of priest; other bishops, contumacious or absent, were excommunicated. In all, a quarter of those bishops assembled were forced to confess simony (the normal practice of the time, the time of *Eigenkirche* and *Eigenkloster*), and then judged and sentenced as having committed a crime. They had, but the sentences were very severe.

This was the tenor of the Gregorian papacy. When one of Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz's suffragan bishops, Jaromir of Prague, quarrelled with the Bishop of Olmütz in 1073, one of Gregory VII's legates suspended him, though the quarrel was over land-tenure and not ecclesiastical matters. The Archbishop of Mainz wrote to the newly elected Pope: "While I knew nothing of it, (Bishop Jaromir) was accused before the legate by his enemies. The legate gave a verdict contrary to custom, that he, unheard by his fellow bishops his brothers, summoned not canonically before the legate, was suspended, stripped of his goods and of the revenue of his Church. The legate sent messages to his clergy and laity to regard him as excommunicated. Out of this a great disgrace has descended upon all our brethren. The office of Bishop, holy before God and man, has borne intolerable dishonour". Gregory wrote (Register 1, 60) accusing the Archbishop of presumption in raising the issue, and of wanting to exacerbate the contention, of neglect and contempt; he spoke of papal leniency and his refusal to reverse the legatine decision; "you have no rights", he said, "against the Holy Roman Church, for you live by virtue of her favour". This was one of many cases where, for reasons all too understandable at the political level, the Gregorian papacy rode roughshod over the episcopacy of Europe. The following year, Liemar, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, suspended for failing to report to the Easter synod, was complaining that he had been suspended not by his fellow bishops in full synod: "this dangerous man", he wrote of the Pope, "wants to order the bishops to do what he wants as if they were serfs—otherwise they have to come to Rome or be suspended without judgment".³⁶ That October, Gregory wrote to Bishop Udo of Trier concerning the dismissal of Bishop Pibo of Toul: he demanded that Udo should call a gathering of the lower clergy at Toul to judge and act as a jury of presentment. The Christmas assembly of the Lorraine episcopacy was shown this letter (Register 11, 10), and declared their annoyance in that they themselves had not been called on to judge their own fellow bishop, and that the lower clergy had been invited to judge superiors. And there are other occasions when Gregory wrote to princes, admonishing them to curb and discipline the episcopacy in their territory, the laity playing jury to their bishop.

It is not surprising then that the German Bishops at the 1076 Synod of Worms, in their renunciation of the Gregorian papacy, should make it their first charge against "Brother Hildebrand" that he had usurped the rights of the bishops. "The flame of discord which you stirred up through terrible factions in the Roman Church, you spread with raging madness through all the Churches of Italy, Germany, Gaul, Spain. For you have taken from the bishops, as far as you could, all the power which is known to have been divinely conferred upon them through the grace of the Holy

³⁶ Hildesheimer Briefe 15, *MGH Die Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit V* (1950). The whole letter repays reading.

Spirit, which works mightily in ordinations. Through you all administration of ecclesiastical affairs has been assigned to popular madness. Since some now consider no one a bishop or priest save the man who begs that office of Your Arrogance with a most unworthy servility, you have shaken into pitiable disorder the whole strength of the apostolic institution. . . . You arrogantly usurp new powers, powers not due to you, to the end that you may destroy the rights due to the whole brotherhood (of the episcopacy). For you assert that if any sin of one of our parishioners comes to your notice, even if only by rumour, none of us has any further power to bind or to loose the party involved, for you alone may do it, or one whom you delegate especially for this purpose" (i.e. a legate).³⁷

Gregory VII's pontificate went on in this tenor, bishops being summarily deposed *sine spe recuperationis*, as the phrase went, other bishops being appointed in their place by both emperor and Pope, until the chroniclers complained that "all things were made double: two Popes, two kings, two bishops to every diocese". The effect this had upon the proper balance of the Church (and I mean specifically the delicate balance between the two focuses of Apostolic Authority, from Ma. 16 and Ma. 18), took a very long time to work itself out of the system.

For purely historical reasons also, the late medieval episcopate was under siege for its very survival. When Europe shifted its economic base from that of a feudal allegiance to cash payment (rents, leases, wages); when a money economy came to replace a service economy; when governments developed elaborate fiscal systems and the Italians ramified banking systems; when urban society grew up on the fruits of new capitalism and enhanced commerce, with its own patriciate of highly educated and highly independent laymen, possessing leisure begotten of wealth; when both learning and administration, culture and art fell into the hands of laymen, then the landowning high ecclesiastics, the bishops whose feudal position and intellectual pre-eminence had given them an assured place in earlier society, had to fight hard for a modicum of that former place. Attacked from above by the strongly centralising papacy, itself professionalising its fiscal methods (with the benefice system, *commendams*, etc.), from within by such abuses as pluralism and absenteeism (Milan saw no resident archbishop for a hundred years before Trent), and from below by the rising tide of the laity flooding towards the Renaissance, the episcopal body saw lean times from which it has never fully recovered, despite the efforts of the Fathers of Trent. The Council of Trent went far to strengthen the bishop's position in his diocese and vis-à-vis Rome: the Council delegated to the diocesan powers formerly exercised by Rome, the episcopal sentences taking immediate effect. Bishops thus became agents of reform "as *delegated* for this by the Holy See" (and that phrase tells its tale!); they might make chapter and pilgrimage centre visitations, deal with appeals and dispensations, correct clerical subjects, suppress abuses (especially concerning the Mass), redraw parish boundaries, compel the repair of Church property, finance religious training (including seminaries) and the like. Mgr Hughes has said of Trent that "one sometimes hears the nonsense that never have bishops really been bishops since the Council of Trent. Actually with Trent there came to an end once and for all that reign of the exemptions from episcopal authority which had plunged the

³⁷ Morrison, *Imperial Lives* 148.

Church into an anarchy that had well nigh destroyed her religious life, so that (Cardinal Reginald) Pole as legate at the Council could speak of 'the almost ruined Church.' The process of rehabilitating the episcopacy began thereafter, but much remains to be done. Perhaps the best example of this process is the 1875 German Episcopate statement on Papal Elections (in truth a commentary on the abortive 1870 tractate *de Episcopato*), expressly endorsed by Pius IX without qualification: Dom Olivier Rousseau summarises its seven points as these—"The Pope cannot arrogate to himself the rights of bishops, nor substitute his power for theirs; the episcopal jurisdiction has not been absorbed in the papal jurisdiction; the Pope was not given the entire fulness of the bishops' powers by the decrees of the (First) Vatican Council; the Pope has not virtually taken the place of each individual bishop; the Pope cannot put himself in the place of a bishop in each single instance, vis-à-vis governments; the bishops have not become instruments of the Pope; they are not officials of a foreign sovereign in their relations with their own governments"³⁸

* * *

IV. THE PRESENT STATE: NEW HOPE

The Gregorian imbalance, accelerated by the Innocentian claims to the title *Vicarius Christi*, had not wholly righted itself at Trent, where indeed much was done to encourage the bishop to build up his own Church. In some measure the fathers of Trent were closing the door after the horse had bolted, for much of the Reformation catastrophe can be laid at the door of papal over-centralisation combined with the collapse of the diocesan Churches as strong living ecclesial communities.

Then, before the Church was ripe for it, came the First Vatican Council, which was foreclosed before it could make the necessary safeguards for the episcopate. It left the imbalance on paper increased; and only when the Second Vatican Council ninety years later formulated the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen Gentium*, notably chapter III, The Hierarchical Constitution of the Church and the Episcopate in Particular (sec. 18-29) was the balance formally redressed. The subheadings of that vital chapter tell the tale of the redress:

- Bishops as successors of the Apostles
- The College of Bishops and their Head
- The Office of Bishop
- The Ministers in the Church

But in this case formal declaration has preceded reality, and ahead lie the painful years of re-establishing the proper balance between the unified

³⁸ Cf. W. K. Ferguson, "The Church in a Changing World: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the Renaissance", *American Historical Review* LIX (1953), 1-18; Philip Hughes, *The Church in Crisis* (1961), 279-82; O. Rousseau, "La Vraie Valeur de l'Episcopat dans L'Eglise d'après d'importants documents de 1875", *Irénikon* XXIX (1956), 121-50.

central Church and the local Churches led by their bishops.³⁹ All the signs are in evidence: His Eminence of Malines, Cardinal Suenens has written a seminal book entitled "Co-responsibility in the Church",⁴⁰ which has been widely noticed with approval; two university lecturers have written a series of analytical articles which they have put together in what promises to be an important book in its turn, "Papacy & Hierarchy"; Bishop B. C. Butler has written, among several articles,⁴¹ one entitled "A Grave Issue in the Church" (*Tablet*, 29th March, 311f); symposia have been run and then reported in book form, with titles like "Authority in a Changing Church" (ed. Fr John Dalrymple, a Spode House Conference, 11th-15th Sept. 67, chaired by Bishop Butler); CTS have produced a pamphlet by Dom David Knowles entitled "Authority" (CTS/Do 416, Feb. 69, 6d.); the April and May *New Blackfriars* carries an article by Fr Cornelius Ernst, o.p., Regent of Blackfriars, Oxford, entitled "The Primacy of Peter: Theology and Ideology"; four writers (the Anglicans A. M. Farrer and J. C. Dickinson, the Catholics Robert Murray, s.j., and Fr C. S. Dessain of the Oratory) have produced an Anglican-Catholic Dialogue, "Infallibility in the Church"; and there are many other like studies afoot.

At a more constructively significant level, two events loom large. One is the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, concerning which something has been said in previous issues of this JOURNAL. The other is the coming Synod of Bishops in October, the second and more important of its kind since the Council. Its task in the present moment will clearly be to turn the doctrine of Collegiality and the principle of subsidiarity into a living reality. Bishop Butler remarked of the Neo-Ultramontanist that we have seen earlier in this century that "it was as though all the authority latent in the Church had been absorbed into the lone person of the successor of Peter";⁴² and it

³⁹ Bishop Butler observed (*Sun. Times* ib.) that "there is a good deal of evidence that since 1965 the old habits of autocratic action in Rome have survived the Council. A great many Catholics and some non-Catholics, whatever they think of the actual teaching of the latest encyclical (I am not criticising its teaching) are profoundly disturbed by the history of its genesis and the mode of its promulgation. The subject was withdrawn from the Council and given to a Commission of very learned people. The Commission's conclusions were rejected, it seems, in toto. The Synod of Bishops, meeting in Rome last autumn (1967), was not allowed to discuss it as part of the agenda." Cf. also Dr Robert Markus, "The Impact of *Humanae Vitae*" in *Papacy & Hierarchy* 116-28, an analysis to be commended.

⁴⁰ Reviewed elsewhere in this JOURNAL by Bishop Wheeler, who was the Cardinal's host for a night last April, during the Malines-York ceremonies.

⁴¹ Cf. *In the Light of the Council*, DLT 1969, fourteen articles reprinted from recent issues of *The Tablet*; esp. VII. The Limits of Infallibility, X. Responsible Freedom, XIV. Conscience & Authority.

⁴² It has been the Pope's recent policy to "de-Italianise" the Church. Of the 30 members of the new Theological Commission, only two, the senior member who is the Pope's personal theologian and the Benedictine Cipriano Vagaggini, are Italian; the new Secretary of State is French, and he is replaced at the head of the Congregation for the Clergy by Cardinal Wright of Pittsburgh. Only three Italian cardinals now hold senior posts in the Curia, Cardinals Confalonieri, Samore and Antoninelli. Two years ago 20 of the 24 highest posts in the Vatican bureaucracy were held by Italian prelates, of which 12 have since been replaced by non-Italians (so that now Italians hold only a third of these offices). Cardinal Wright has remarked of this trend that "the Pope is meeting us more than half-way". Nevertheless, of the 33 new cardinals announced in March, 8 are Italians; that is twice the number of any other nationality (4 for USA). At present 41 of the 136 cardinals are Italian: the whole continent of America, North and South, only claims 31.

is this that must be reversed. What has been called "creeping Infallibility", the attribution of the sanctions of infallible utterances to situations and statements that are clearly sub-infallible, so to say; the suggestion that there are degrees of infallibility within the definition of the First Vatican Council (like military secrecy ratings); the proposition that when the Roman Pontiffs go out of their way to pronounce upon a subject, that subject can no longer be regarded as a matter of free debate among theologians (*Humani Generis*, sec. 20), all of these will need future dispassionate examination. So also will the distinctions between the Pope as head of the visible Church on earth, with power to convoke and confirm councils, power to give a synod of bishops deliberative power by special delegation, and power to direct the sacramental reality of the Church's life; and the Pope as spokesman of the Episcopal College, which he does not call into being, and does not invest with its power, which he has no authority to ignore or dismiss, and which he represents in assigning bishops to their province and governance. Then distinctions must be drawn, with all their ramified consequences, between the juridical status of the Cardinalate and the curial congregations, essentially a secretariat for the day-to-day functioning of the complexified life of the Church, deriving its power from the Pope himself as an adjutant or staff officer in any organisation derives his power; and the College of Bishops, each of whom possesses of himself (and not by papal delegation or as representative of the sovereign Pontiff in a diocese) the fullness of the priesthood, with power to sanctify, to rule and to teach.⁴³

It is interesting to ask (as Bishop Butler has done in his Sarum Lectures and in his *Tablet* article, "A Grave Crisis in the Church")⁴⁴ what becomes of the power of the papacy, its infallibility and its ultimate ruling power, when a Pope dies. One might expect that the first would lie in abeyance and the second revert to the Cardinalate which goes on to elect a successor. But if the cardinals are seen as the Pope's delegates, their power, surely, dies with the death of the subject of that power? And yet, by the movements of history (again begun in the anomalous Gregorian period—it would need another essay to tell it), the cardinals, and they need not even be priests, never mind bishops, elect the next Pope. While this is so, the papal authority does not lapse, nor is the College of Bishops rendered impotent in that it is inconceivable without its Head. No, the powers of the Pope reside temporarily, *sede vacante*, in the College as the living authority of the universal Church, which as a moral body in *universam ecclesiam* (i.e. in relation to the Church and, like the Pope himself, never *supra ecclesia*) does not die, but which does seek urgently to normalise a seriously inadequate situation by lawfully filling the vacant Bishopric of Rome. Bishop Butler suggests that it is they, the Episcopal College who have that right and power, and implicitly they delegate it to the College of Cardinals. Their power is a reality of the sacramental order, given by Christ, a prior reality to the power of the cardinals, which is of the jurisdictional order and of human institution. Episcopal power is ontologically prior to all others except the power of Peter, and it is independent of it, derived from the same source: this is not to say that it can operate in the Church separately from the Petrine power, for they are

⁴³ Vatican Decree *Christus Dominus* on the Bishops' Pastoral Office, sec. 3, 6, 8, 15.

⁴⁴ *The Theology of Vatican II* (1967), 99-103; *Tablet* 29th March, 311f.

a necessary harmony, two principles of the one authority, Christ's authority.

This brings us to a last point. What I have tried to show is that the Church is a living sacramental reality, whose members are each directly and intimately dedicated not to formulae or doctrines, not to particular traditions or customs, or interpretations of history, not to individual Popes, bishops or theologians or theological schools of thought, but to the person of Christ the Man, Son of God, Only begotten, Only Redeemer and Only Mediator. All living prelates are vice-gerents of Christ, dedicated to the service of men in their pilgrimage to Christ and to the Father, and that is the only and proper end of all their ruling actions—to serve men in their journey to God. To speak of "protecting doctrine" or of "protecting the Church" is either to speak of something subordinate to that end—or possibly, if it is wrongly thought of, something frustrating that end. The end of all action must be men seeking God.

SOBORNOST: ASPECTS OF EASTERN ORTHODOXY

by

THEODORE STROTSMANN, O.S.B.

On the last full day of the Council, 7th December 1965, when most of the decrees were promulgated, the Fathers witnessed an act of profound historical importance for the whole Christian world. With great earnestness and a sincere desire to make amends for ancient and long-standing dissensions, Pope Paul announced the lifting of the mutual ban with which Rome and Byzantium had excommunicated one another in the fateful year which sealed the Great Schism, the year 1054, when Cardinal Humbert placed his notorious Bull on the altar of *Sancta Sophia*. It is now a matter consigned to history, no more able to affect the present.

But there is much leeway to make up, much damage to repair, much growing together to be done if the past is really to be expunged. Our first task is to seek to understand the eastern branch of the Church of Christ, *quaerens intellectum*, for knowledge covers a multitude of misunderstandings. Part of this knowledge is an understanding of the "climate of thought" within which the theology of both parts of the Church are carried out respectively. This paper, originally delivered to the Ampleforth monastic ecumenical meeting last summer, goes some way to uncover Eastern Orthodox ways of thought; and it goes far to show how many of our aspirations are already their possessions.

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It must be stated at the outset that the question of authority and freedom in the Church is at the heart of the whole problems concerning the divisions within Christianity.

Because we are here in England and we all must have love and sympathy for Pope Gregory the Great, it is worth while to hear his voice on a most central point in this whole matter, expressed through the word *sobornost*—a term which in the liturgical slavonic is the translation of "catholicity". This theological notion does not mean in the first place universality in an exclusively geographical sense, but points particularly to a spiritual fullness of human relations within the Christian community, the Church, through the unifying presence of the Holy Spirit. This Catholic togetherness and unity implies a basic equality of all in Christ in spite of the diversity in functions. We have here a very essential aspect of what the Church is in ancient Christian tradition, and that is why Pope Gregory feels so uneasy about the assumption of the title "oecumenical", "universal", by the patriarchs of Byzantium at his time (a title which had, for the rest, not quite the geographical sense which Gregory seems to have given it). If Pope Gregory rebuffed so insistently and vigorously what he regarded as

a dangerous usurpation, it was because of his deep conviction as to the equality of all bishops and because he felt bound to uphold this against any false attribution of authority and honour. He says that at the Council of Chalcedon the title "oecumenical" had been offered to the occupants of the See of Rome, but none of his predecessors had been willing to adopt this "profane epithet", for if one was to be called universal patriarch, so he said, the name of patriarch would no longer have any meaning for the others.¹ All are members united with a single head, Christ; but by the self-conceit of this "pompous word" an attempt is made to subjugate to oneself the members of Christ.² By this title "all the bowels of the Church are upset".³ To Athanasius of Antioch Gregory writes: "You must not say this is unimportant, for if we once admit it, we shall corrupt the faith of the whole Church".⁴ So Gregory does, after all, see here a certain danger for the unity of the faith. He cannot admit that among the bishops who are all fathers in God, there is one who might be the "common" or "general" Father.⁵ Such adjectives are a cause of division in the Church, he says, and of great scandal for all the brethren.⁶

It is one of the great paradoxes of history to find this opposition against a "universalist ecclesiology" expressed with such force and clarity in the letters of one of the greatest of Roman Popes writing to eastern bishops, whom he accuses of being at fault on this very point.⁷ To Eusebius of Thessalonica and other Greek bishops the Pope wrote that if one is universal, it follows that you are not bishops.⁸ In other passages of his letters he expresses himself still more forcefully: oecumenical is truly a

¹ *Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uli consensit, quia videlicet si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen caeteris derogatur. Sed absit hoc, absit a christiani mente. . .* Cf. P.L. 77, 711C (et 740C).

² *Ita ut universa sibi tentet ascribere, et omnia quae soli uni capiti cohaerent, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatiei sermonis ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membro subjugare.* Cf. *ibid.*, 773C.

³ *Tota universalis Ecclesiae viscera perturbantur.* Cf. *ibid.*, 771B.

⁴ *Vos tamen eandem causam nullam esse dicere non debetis, quia si hanc aequanimiter portamus, universae Ecclesiae fidem corrumpimus.* Cf. *ibid.*, 883A.

⁵ *Quid ergo, frater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis iudicii dicitur es, qui non solum pater, sed etiam generalis pater in mundo vocari appetis?* Cf. *ibid.*, 742C.

⁶ *Ecce ex hoc nefando elationis vocabulo Ecclesia scinditur, fratrum omnium corda ad scandalum provocantur.* Cf. *ibid.*

⁷ It is impressive to read in the *Index rerum et sententiarum* to Vol. III of the Maurists' edition of St Gregory, under the entry *Universalis* (cf. P.L. 77, 1587): *Universalis episcopi nomen dicitur a Gregorio, erroris nomen, 742. Stultum ac superbum vocabulum, ibid. Perversum vocabulum, 742, 743. Nefandum vocabulum, 745, 850. Sequestum vocabulum, 747. Nomen blasphemiae, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor admittitur, 749, 771. Verbum superbiae, per quod grave scandalum in ecclesiam generatur, 878. Hoc vocabulo universam Ecclesiae fidem corrumpi dicit, 873. After this litany, what is one to think of the so often used expression "the universal bishop" for the Popes?*

⁸ *Nam si unus, ut putat, universalis est, restat ut vos episcopi non sitis.* Cf. *ibid.*, 1004D, 1005A.

word invented by "the first apostate".⁹ Whoever uses it, is a forerunner of Antichrist.¹⁰

Having that in mind, we can better understand why orthodox theologians frequently emphasize the fullness of catholicity residing in each particular Church by virtue of its bishop in communion with the other bishops. In St Ignatius of Antioch's "Epistle to the Magnesians, 6", the idea is expressed that the union of the faithful with their bishop is as it were an initiation into the incorruptible union with God, an image, or "type", of eternal life. In such thought on Church order in general and the episcopal charge in particular, there is not first the question of Canon Law, but of a conception which is essentially mystical and spiritual. This in no way makes the question of the primacy in the life of the Churches an empty matter. It seems, on the contrary, to become then much more valuable, insofar as it appears as holding a less legalistic and a more strictly theological content: the whole of the episcopate inasmuch as it is for the whole people of God the mystery of unity (*sacramentum unitatis*; cfr. St Cyprian, *De Unitate* 4, 7), illuminated as such by the presence of Him, who was willed to unite in one family all who were scattered abroad. We have here, in the words of Cyprian, the "unity which derives from the divine solidarity and is welded together after the heavenly pattern".¹¹

The word "apostolic", used to designate the nature of the Church, reflects precisely this mystical wholeness of the Christian community which, being built upon the apostles, is in the image of the ineffable unity in the divine life itself: "That they may be one, as we are one". These words were said to the apostles, but their meaning embraces the whole Church. The whole Church is in this sense in the apostolic succession.

The whole Church as the mystical body of Christ, "in whom all the fullness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily" (Col 2, 9), is called to reflect this consubstantial communion of the Son with the Father and the Holy Ghost. We may rightly apply this trinitarian doctrine to the Church by analogy, as is done by orthodox theologians such as Fr Alexander Schmemmann, who writes: "Just as the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity do not divide the divine nature, but possess it fully and live by it each one of them, so the nature of the Church as the Body of Christ is not divided by the multiplicity of Churches. But, just as the divine Persons are distinct in

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 883A.

¹⁰ *Ego autem fidenter dico quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum praecurrit, quia superbiendo se caeteris praeponit. Ibid.*, 891D.

¹¹ *De Unitate* 6, Roman Catholics for a long time were not in the habit of thinking in this manner on Church unity. In this respect there is in the Encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* (1864) a typical misquotation. Urging the necessity of unity around the Pope, the Encyclical quotes St Jerome (*Dial. contra Luciferianos*, No. 9; P.L. 23, 173) in this way: *tot in Ecclesia efficiuntur schismata quot sacerdotes*. But instead of "in Ecclesia" the text runs "in Ecclesiis". In the whole context there is no question of the papal function, but only of the local churches with their bishops, called *summi sacerdotes*, as centres of unity for their people.

number (to use the expression of St Basil the Great) so also are the Churches distinct in number, and among them there is a hierarchy. In this hierarchy, one Church is first and one bishop is first. This hierarchical ordering does not impair the Churches' dignity nor subordinate one to another; its only purpose is to manifest in each Church the communion of life of all the Churches, for this life of all in one and one in all is the mystery of the Body of Christ, of the fullness which filleth all in all".¹²

The intimate nature of the divine image in man is *liberty*, according to St Gregory of Nyssa: "It is by his freedom that man possesses his resemblance with God and his eternal happiness, because sovereignty and independence are the essential characteristics of divine beatitude".¹³ Here on earth this freedom is a responsibility which cannot rightly be abdicated or supplanted by an impersonal functioning of laws and institutions. This true exercise of liberty will find its first and best guarantee in the Church through an authentic unfolding of the episcopal ministry. The classical concept of the episcopate expresses a lively awareness of this ministry as a providential appointment of tutors to lead believers into the freedom proclaimed by the Gospel.

Excessive organisation and centralisation in the Church have frequently been responsible for depriving the episcopal role of its real spiritual content and effect. In the present ecumenical situation there is every reason to believe that this is by no means a secondary question. The diocese as a predominantly juridical entity is becoming less and less conceivable for an increasing number of Christians. We have been reminded time and time again in recent years—and we needed the reminder—that the local Church is not simply an administrative unit of the whole Church. The existence of vast, overloaded dioceses with their ideal of an essentially external businesslike orderliness, the accumulation of coadjutor, auxiliary, assistant and purely titular bishops that this produces, together with other Spirit-killing factors, all this has led to a whittling away of much that goes to make up the true notion of the bishop as the guardian. He is (or should be) the steward of the spiritual growth of his flock, which, being always in danger of depersonalisation in the midst of a secular environment, has to be protected against the loss of his truly human (i.e. Godlike) dimensions. The world cannot be saved by the methods of the world, but only by the power and action of the divine Spirit. That was clearly marked at the outset of the apostolic mission and activity (cf. Acts 2, 3). With that same

¹² In "La Primauté de Pierre dans l'Eglise orthodoxe", Neuchâtel, 1960, p. 143. A little previously, on the universal primacy as always recognised in the ancient Church, the same author writes: "It is not possible to quote here all the evidence of the Fathers and the Councils which unanimously recognise in Rome the senior Church and the universal centre of the Churches' agreement. The evidence, its universal acceptance and its meaning, could only be denied in the heat of polemics. But unfortunately what happened is that Catholic historians and theologians invariably interpreted this witness in legal terms, whereas Orthodox historians systematically underestimated its importance. Orthodox theology is still waiting for a really Orthodox appreciation, contaminated neither by polemics nor by apologetics, of the place of Rome in the history of the first thousand years".

¹³ Cf. P.G. 46, 524A.

ministry and task the bishops in the Church as a collegium in freedom are charged during this time of our pilgrimage when the Kingdom of God is proclaimed.

* * *

All this is necessary to be said speaking about "sobornost", because true sobornost, real catholicity as a new life in relationship and communion, cannot be safeguarded in the people of God if the *diakonia*, the service of these god-given ministries, is failing to carry out their proper nature and implications more faithfully and spontaneously than is possible under the present still strongly prelatical mass-system, too much based on external solidity and security. Of course, we shall not forget that the Church is hierarchical and this important aspect of the doctrine about the Church must not be obscured by a kind of "charismatic sociology". But the main task of the hierarchy seems to be exactly to guarantee the living *sobornost* of the Church as a "symphony of free personalities" (G. Florovsky). Integral catholicity implies complete transfiguration of the human life and is a task which each generation again and again must fulfil for herself, each local community and finally each believer. For everyone is called to realise a measure of catholicity in himself, true catholicity being the quality or behaviour of personal consciousness which overcomes its limitations and exclusiveness and rises to a really catholic level without the social pressures of collectivism and false unitism. The catholic transformation in this sense enables everyone to know and to live not only in and for himself, but in and for all, to be in relation with all in the *communio sanctorum*. The *Ekklesia*, the *Qahal*, means more than what the translation indicates: convocation, assembly. The word in the New Testament means the living social body, the congregation of believers constituted by the calling of God in order to lead mankind to his ultimate goal. We are in Christ, with all the ecclesiological implications of the mystery of Incarnation as a visible entity in this world. But being in Christ implies also the life in the Holy Spirit which gives to the "catholic" soul that openness and, so to say, that cosmic universality whereto the whole Church must incessantly strive and progress.

The studies which are going on in the milieu of the World Council of Churches, as those concerning the Assembly of Uppsala (July 1968), stress almost exclusively the aspect of the missionary duty of the Church, the necessity of presenting the Christian witness to the world. But it is sure that the Church as a community must first of all live as an example the reality of a new common life within her own bosom, in all the deep dimensions of her spiritual nature. The orthodox tradition has a living sense of the Christian people as the whole Body of Christ where "to each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor 12, 7). All the parts of God's People are bound in intimate fellowship and as such the Church is and should always be the efficient sign which precedes and promotes universal knowledge of God, love and peace.

With regard to the true realisation of that particular Christian fellowship, orthodox theologians use to emphasize three main aspects:¹⁴

¹⁴ Cf. J. Grootaers, "The Function of the Christian People in Orthodox Theology", in *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 1964, pp. 140-149.

1. They agree in rejecting any external organ, any authority, any mediation, which would be placed *above* the Church rather than *within* the Church.

2. They reproach the Roman Catholic Church with making too much a separation between the *Ecclesia docens* (the teaching Church) and the *Ecclesia discens* (the learning Church), the one actively proclaiming and directing, the other passively hearing and receiving.

3. The Orthodox conception of the Church is dominated by the idea of the intimate union between the heavenly Church and the earthly Church, which are indivisible and undivided, unity which is so to say experienced in the liturgical life, where heaven and earth are in celebration, around the heavenly Throne and the Lamb.

* * *

I think that the second Vatican Council in this respect promises a significant ecumenical rapprochement with Orthodoxy and a quite new possibility of more true catholicity and unity. In the dogmatic Constitution on the Church we see that the infallibility of the Church is not considered as that of a "separate organ"—whether Council or Pope—but as it is in the truth lived within the Church by the whole Body: "The universal body made up of the faithful, whom the Holy One has anointed (cf. 1 Jn 2, 20 and 27), is incapable of being at fault in belief. This is a property which belongs to the people as a whole; a supernatural discernment of faith is the means by which they make this property manifest, when from bishops to the last layman" (St Augustine), they show universal agreement in matters of faith and morals" (No. 12). Having that in mind, we can better understand why so many people were not very happy with the text of the recent confession of faith of Pope Paul VI (June 1968); and it was asked, for example by officials of the Assembly in Uppsala, why such an important statement was not formulated and promulgated by the Pope together with the whole Catholic episcopate. Even in the Catholic world this text seems to have missed his immediate goal and that is a pity, because a new expression of the faith is highly needed in our days of so much confusion.¹⁵ We must see in the outpouring of the Spirit on the whole Church a sign that the ministerial priesthood is rooted in the whole ecclesial body (Fr G. Florovsky); the hierarchy is in the midst of the Christian people, not over them nor apart from them.

It is quite clear that in the Oriental tradition the faithful are not simply considered as the "taught" and the hierarchy as the "teachers". In this tradition the conviction is very alive that it is the community of all the faithful which plays an active part in the teaching function of the Church. Many Orthodox laymen are in current practice commissioned to preach and to teach the faith. While it is true that the administration of the sacraments requires ordination and necessarily remains a function of the ministerial priesthood, it is equally true that the preaching of the Gospel should be considered as the work of all the faithful, for all

¹⁵ Since July 1968 the troubles around the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae* give still more evidence to this point.

participate in the life of faith, all are called to believe actively and all have to bear witness to the common heritage of God's Revelation in Christ. Orthodox theologians will therefore reproach the Roman Church and having too much divided the Church into the teaching Church and the learning Church, a division which may seem to imply an opposition between those who direct and are active, and the passive flock. We can resume all this with the quotation of the Russian theologian, John Meyendorff: "The Spirit of truth lives within the community of the faithful which is united in the bond of charity, and if this is normally expressed by the mouth of those who possess the charisma of teaching, the bishops, still it belongs properly to the Church as a Body".¹⁶

And finally there is the orthodox vision of the Church as placed here below in constant communion with the heavenly Church. They are one great community around the heavenly throne of God, and in the Liturgy we are celebrating together, concelebrating in a universal cosmic communion of saints. At the head of the central apse in an oriental church, in the place which symbolises the divine glory, there stands, in keeping with the symbolism of the Revelation of St John, the throne as the focal point of the whole temple. Before the seat, free in the middle of the sanctuary, stands the altar, the place of the Lamb. Hence, all is directed towards "Him who sitteth on the throne" (Apoc 4, 3), whom St John depicts only as a vision of light, taking care not to describe Him under a human form. The whole arrangement expresses very well how in her liturgical prayer the Church celebrates our return to the Father through Jesus Christ in the Holy Ghost. The Son has become a way for man, the way back to the paternal home. This Godward, dynamic movement of returning is completely unfolded in the mystery of the eucharistic celebration; here the Christian is pre-eminently brought up to and restored to his Creator. In this sense the eucharistic meal is a sacrificial meal, uniting man in a unique way with Christ our Saviour, setting him in the only right direction, leading him out of himself far beyond the closed circle of mere earthly life and giving him back to God.

This conception of the Church is thus dominated by the idea of the intimate union between the Church militant in *statu viae* and the Church triumphant in *statu patriae*. In replying to Fr Congar's reproach that Orthodox teaching neglects the situation proper to the Church in her temporal situation, Fr G. Florovsky declared that this "neglect" is nothing but the desire to see the parts in relation to the complete whole: "The true synthesis which will finally show forth the very essence of the Church is only possible in terms of the future life, of the age to come".¹⁷ As applied to the Church, the word "catholic" (*Katholon*) first of all implies the idea of fulness; wherever Christ is, there is the fulness of his indivisible Body.

If it seems to western people that the Orthodox insist too unilaterally upon the eschatological perspective, does it not also appear that the

¹⁶ Cf. his book, "L'Eglise orthodoxe", 1960, p. 165.

¹⁷ Cf. Grootaers, *loc. cit.*, p. 148.

Christian life in the West of today sin in the opposite direction in insisting so strongly on the horizontal dimension, in trying to organise the Church on this earth as immediately efficacious as possible? Here again the Constitution *Lumen Gentium* on the Church can help us to acquire a new look on the most fundamental aspects of the Church: "The end of the age has already reached us and the world is irrevocably set on the renewal which is anticipated in a real way in this life. . . The Church is on pilgrimage until the coming of the new heavens and the new earth in which righteousness dwells. In her sacraments and organisation, which belong to this life, she is wearing this age's fashion, a transient mode, and she spends her time surrounded by creatures who groan in travail, as they wait for the revealing of the sons of God" (No. 48).

The idea of *sobornost* is a very rich one, but nowhere was it or is it fully realised. It will be when the Lord comes back in his Glory. We must see it as a growing reality, until the fulness will be attained in the final victory of Christ.

* * *

In concluding let us remember our starting-point and express our conviction that the problem of restoring and intensifying the spiritual function of the People of God as a whole is closely allied to the problem of reviving the true sense of the episcopal function as guarantee of openness and receptivity to the action of the Holy Spirit within the whole Christian community. The Church is not a secular society and so it cannot be said simply that the Church is a democracy. The Church is a divine institution, founded not by man, but by Christ, receiving her life from God. The whole Church, in all her aspects and activities, in the totality of her existence, is governed primarily by Christ, who is the Head of the Church. This is why we must emphatically reject the very idea of a "democratic Church". But, for the same reason, the idea of an "autocratic" Church is equally wrong. The alternative "autocratic" or "democratic" simply does not apply to the Church. The Church is hierarchical. This means that power and authority in the Church are always related to and proceed from the ultimate source of life, Christ himself. And so, those who by divine appointment and consecration exercise this authority are not "autocrats"; their function is a service, a *diakonia*, where they remain subordinated to Christ and to his Spirit who dwells in all the members of his Body. The goal of their leadership is to assure the growth of the Church into the "full stature of Christ".¹⁸

We need to consider carefully the vital questions which are here in discussion. True *sobornost*, true life in catholicity, is, of course, not in the first place a matter of theory or doctrinal definitions; it must manifest and radiate its credibility and veracity on the very practical level of the concrete life of our communities, in our dioceses and parishes, and—be it added for our monasteries—in our monastic common life, where it must shine forth much more brightly, as a prophetic sign for the whole Church.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Schmemmann, "The Church is Hierarchical", in *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 1959, pp. 36-41.

CORESPONSIBILITY

A VIEW FROM A YORKSHIRE DIOCESE

by

THE RIGHT REVD WILLIAM GORDON WHEELER, M.A., BISHOP OF LEEDS

An insufficiently scrutinised Vatican Council Decree is the one on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church, promulgated on 28th October 1965. Its framework has gone far to provide the model for Cardinal Suenens' celebrated book. Its three chapters deal with bishops in relation to the universal Church, the diocesan Churches and inter-diocesan groupings (like national hierarchies). Perhaps at this moment the first of these chapters is the most portentous; for it sets a principle and programme which is being realised today: "Bishops from various parts of the world, chosen by means determined by the Pope, provide more valuable assistance to the Supreme Pastor in a committee or council which has the title *Synod of Bishops*. As this takes the place of the whole or Catholic episcopate (which can nevertheless act collegially while dispersed, if it is summoned so to act by the head of the College), it signifies at the same time that the Bishops share in concern for the universal Church in hierarchical communion". There is a Cabinet-joint-responsibility analogy in the responsibility a bishop holds towards his own diocese (his department, so to say) and the whole Church: "by God's institution and the obligation of the Apostolic office, each one is answerable for the whole Church together with the rest", and especially those areas as yet insufficiently evangelised or ill served through scarcity of priests or too poor to prosper. This being so, a bishop's responsibility does not end where his diocese ends: "there is a wish for bishops, especially diocesan, to be co-opted among the members of the Curial and like departments. There they could report more fully to the Pope on the mind, the wishes and the needs of all the Churches". Where the Pope carries final overriding responsibility for the Catholic Church, the bishops carry a lesser way do all levels of the Church likewise. Where the Cabinet analogy breaks down is in this, that the responsibility is not to the People of God but to Christ as Head of the Mystical Body, who is the ultimate source of all power, given by the Father.

These matters are much en vogue just now, strong winds blowing across the Channel from the Archdioceses of Malines and Utrecht, and doubtless other winds being generated in Munich, Vienna and further afield. One of these Bishop Wheeler discusses here, giving it a much needed English context. Born in 1910, ordained in 1940, he came from Administrator of Westminster Cathedral to be coadjutor Bishop of our diocese before being translated to Leeds in 1966.

CARDINAL Léon-Joseph Suenens was one of the Moderators—and I would add one of the giants—of the Second Vatican Council. He was regarded by some as a sign to be contradicted. This in no way distressed him or surprised him since he clearly thought of himself as possessing a kind of charisma for contradiction and he always undertook the role with humility and with a readiness to pay the price of misunderstanding. In the post-conciliar period he has shown himself entirely faithful to this particular charisma and hence we have "Coresponsibility in the Church" and the supplementary interview which appeared simultaneously in *Informations Catholiques Internationales* (15th May) and in *The Tablet* (17th May).

I first met him in Brussels in the fifties during the celebrations in the Vatican pavilion at the international exhibition. He was then auxiliary to Cardinal Van Roey. One always thought of him however as more specific-

ally in the line of Cardinal Mercier from whom he derived much of his inspiration. A gifted scholar and linguist, he was already something of an international figure and a certain fearlessness was one of his characteristics. He succeeded to Malines in 1961 and was named Cardinal by Pope John in the following year. There was a great rapport between him and the Pope who called the Council.

It clearly gave him great joy to be host for the celebrations in Malines which commemorated the 40th anniversary of the Conversations. I stayed with him, together with the Bishop of Winchester, at the Archevecherie when members of the Halifax family and other distinguished representatives of both communions were present. The Mass by the tomb of Cardinal Mercier in the Cathedral of Malines was said by Cardinal Suenens in English and was an occasion of great simplicity, dignity and inspiration.

In April this year I was able to return the Cardinal's hospitality. He stayed with me, together with the indefatigable Canon Dessains and his Vicar General, and I had the pleasure of escorting them to Mirfield where they prayed at the tombs of Bishops Gore and Frere and were greeted by the Archbishop of Canterbury who made a special journey for the occasion. Next day, the party moved on to Bishopthorpe and were entertained also by the Halifaxes at Garrowby before the ceremony in York Minster which was the highlight of the visit. After the unveiling of the plaque commemorative of the Malines Conversations and presented by the Cardinal, we had a concelebration in the Bar Convent in which the Abbot of Ampleforth participated. It was fitting that the Cardinal himself chose the Bar Convent for this occasion in view of the forthcoming tercentenary celebrations. Unfortunately, the Chapel was in process of renovation and so the Mass had to be held in the adjacent school hall. All the same, the good Sisters had made it a truly fitting rendezvous. The Mass was followed by a Civic Banquet in the Mansion House at which the Lord Mayor of York was host.

I relate all this because the Cardinal's visit was a happy sign of a continued dialogue between Malines and the sturdy Christianity of the north and in particular bore witness to coresponsibility in the ecumenical field of which the Cardinal is so deeply aware.

G. K. Chesterton in his life of St. Francis of Assisi has this passage: "St Francis was so great and original a man that he had something in him of what makes the founder of a religion. Many of his followers were more or less ready, in their hearts, to treat him as the founder of a religion. They were willing to let the Franciscan spirit escape from Christendom as the Christian spirit had escaped from Israel. They were willing to let it eclipse Christendom as the Christian spirit had eclipsed Israel. Francis, the fire that ran through the roads of Italy, was to be the beginning of a conflagration in which the old Christian civilisation was to be consumed. That was the point the Pope had to settle; whether Christendom should absorb Francis or Francis Christendom. And he decided rightly, apart from the duties of his place; for the Church could include all that was good in the Franciscans and the Franciscans could not include all that was good in the Church".

What is said here of St Francis seems to me to apply to some of our post-conciliar thinkers. They are often in danger of imagining that real religion only began with Vatican II. They have a deplorable lack of any sense of history. They fail to realise that Vatican II was one of twenty-one General Councils. They do not understand that it could not have happened unless the other twenty had preceded it. They fail to see the intricacy as well as the simplicity of the tapestry of salvation history. They could in fact invent a new religion which would ultimately be found to have no part in Christianity just as the Fraticelli had no part in the genuine Franciscan ethos.

No such danger is to be found in Cardinal Suenens' book and it is a valuable corrective to much of the paper-back type of thought.

"Coresponsibility in the Church"—and indeed the subsequent interview already mentioned—are also far more measured and generally acceptable than many of the commentaries made on both of them. These latter have sometimes given an impression so contorted as to alienate moderate opinion in a manner never intended by the originals. Press sensationalism is too often the enemy of true communication. Those who study the original documents in this case as in so many others will find little with which to quarrel: though more in the interview than in the book.

There are of course some things which will be questioned. The Cardinal, generally speaking, is objective in all that he says. I am inclined to think, however, that he does not give full recognition to the really impressive acts of Pope Paul for the promotion of collegiality and the internationalising of the Sacred College and the Roman Curia to facilitate this. However, I find I am not alone in thinking that he tends to overstate the case against the Curia. There are many of us who could pay considerable tribute to the Roman Congregations for the wisdom and pastoral help they have given to us in our ministry, despite the excessive legalism that may sometimes have crept in. There are perhaps also a number amongst us who might have fallen away little by little from the life of prayer if we had not some objective norm by which to measure ourselves. When a priest decides that he is no longer bound by the Church's law to recite the Divine Office, for example, the People of God are deprived of something for which they are the poorer. And every Bishop will tell you that when the Office goes, scripture reading will gradually go also and by then mental prayer has probably already gone.

Of course, the Cardinal is right in stressing the primary importance of Baptism. It is not the Pope or Bishops or Priests who alone constitute the Church: but the whole People of God. Nevertheless, there is a Sacrament of Holy Order and it is the essence of priesthood in all religion to be something apart. Recently I consulted the Laity Council of the diocese in my care as to the things they looked for most in the priesthood. They were unanimous in wanting their priests to be in the closest dialogue with them. They were equally unanimous that they expected him to be a man apart. I

consider, therefore, that it is a complete *non sequitur* of his argument that a Bishop or Priest must "secularise" himself "even down to the kind of clothes he wears". The laity, in my experience, do not like a man to pretend to be something other than he is. I heard a very caustic comment the other day from a young girl who said, "Father says he dresses as a layman for our convenience. But we know well that it is for his convenience". Anything symptomatic of the devaluation of the Sacrament or Order is surely to be deplored.

I think that the Cardinal has perhaps never quite known the sort of relationship which exists in this country between priests and people: due mainly to the great stress over a long period on regular pastoral visitation. So many continental clergy are bound up in a bureaucracy which they now rightly deplore and which we, thank God, have never really known. They are accordingly tempted to think that they can only make up for lost time in communication by an act of desecralisation. I believe they will find that they are following a false trail.

You will perhaps have realised by now that the little criticisms I have made are directed against *The Tablet* interview rather than against anything to be found in the book "Coresponsibility in the Church". I consider the latter a measured and scholarly work which is an important contribution to the post-conciliar scene. Its exegesis of the Papal position and the Petrine claims should disturb no one. Indeed the Cardinal shows himself a loyal and devoted son of the Church and Papacy on every page.

The book begins with an evaluation of Vatican II which can be adequately summed up in one of the Cardinal's own sentences: "If we were to be asked what we consider to be that seed of life deriving from the Council which is most fruitful in pastoral consequences, we would answer without hesitation: it is the rediscovery of the people of God as a whole, as a single reality; and then by way of consequence, the coresponsibility thus implied for every member of the Church". A straightforward elucidation of coresponsibility, in all its aspects, follows as regards Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, the Roman Curia, Priests, theologians, deacons, religious and the laity, each in turn.

There is no need here to analyse further the author's admirable clarity of thought so fully based, as it always is, on the documents of Vatican II. In the section on the Roman Curia, for example, he sticks so faithfully to the Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office that few, if any, would take issue with him. And it seems to me that no Pope could have implemented these matters more faithfully and fully than Pope Paul. I find it therefore very difficult to understand remarks in the interview which castigate the Curia for "imprisoning" the Pope who not only rides the horse in full control, applying the spurs as he will (and as the Council would have him do) but also grooming it and prescribing its diet. I would go further and prefer one Master of the Horse to three thousand absentee grooms (viz. the pastoral bishops of the world) whose pull on the reins could never be effective. Peter needed Mark and the papacy will always need its secretariate. We know from our own officialdom that bureaucracy of any kind

needs a watchful eye. That is surely something of which the present Pope is intensely aware and for which he is particularly equipped by the very grace of his office.

It is true that there must be co-responsibility at the top. I believe, however, that the most important contribution of the Cardinal's book is at the other levels. We all know from experience that unless a thing is effective at the grass root levels it will be atrophied from the rest. And I think that in this book there is a message not just for bishops or members of the Synod but for parish priests and for all groups of the lay apostolate to study.

What then, you may ask, is the relationship between the book and the interview? I think I know the answer. It is not just the difference—which can be considerable—between a book and an interview. The key is to be found in the forthcoming Synod of Bishops. As Pope Paul declared during the Council, the Synod is to be an expression of collegial action. And the Cardinal, like many others, is anxious that this should be worked out on a truly effectual basis. Not all will accept the full thesis put forward in "Co-responsibility in the Church". It is, however, a thesis that should be heard and at any rate some of its insights accepted.

The "interview" has all the dynamism of a manifesto. Those who have not read the book will certainly have heard about the "interview". In secular society one has to ask for a lot to get a little. One has to shout loudly to be heard at all. And it seems to me that the Cardinal, taking note of the fact that the children of the world are often wiser than the children of light, is employing this technique. If in fact the interview moves people to the more measured diagnosis of the book, his purpose will have been achieved.

His Eminence knows that I share some of his hopes. He kindly invited me to let him know my reactions to the "interview". I have done so with all sincerity. He knows that I would anyhow accord him the highest tribute as one of the great dynamic leaders of our time and the Church has always had and always must have such dynamism: for she is a People on the move towards eternity.

The book, "Co-responsibility in the Church", Burns & Oates, 1968, 30/-, was translated by Francis Martin. It was reviewed in a review-article in *The Tablet*, 18th January 1969, p. 52-3, by Bishop B. C. Butler, who said of the author, "Cardinal Suenens was an outstanding figure in the Council. It was mainly through his influence that the Constitution on the Church centred its teaching on the notion of the People of God . . . He had behind him the theology of Louvain; and one of the *motus* of the Council affirmed that Vatican II was a Council of the Belgian Church with the rest of the episcopate in the rôle of Observers".

THE ECUMENICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW EUCHARISTIC CANONS

by

AELRED BURROWS, O.S.B.

The enemy is no longer the Roman Canon.

Y. T. Brieth.¹

The first of the Vatican Council's Constitutions was on the Liturgy, and it was followed in September 1964 by the first major instruction implementing it. Meanwhile the Liturgy Consilium began its work of reforming the whole Roman Missal. A new spirit was in the air, which gave rise to the granting of the vernacular Canon in May 1967. This was followed by the development of eight new Prefaces and three new Eucharistic Prayers in the vernacular, negotiated with the Bishops during 1968 and authorised for use as from Lent 1969. In the meantime the Pope presented to the October 1967 Synod of Bishops the *Missae Normativae*, developed by the Liturgical Consilium. Modified in accordance with the Bishops' observations and the Pope's wishes, this *Missae Normativae* has now been published and is due to come into effect, together with the revised liturgical calendar, next Advent. "Thus in a great diversity of languages one unique prayer will rise as an acceptable offering to our Father in heaven, through our high priest Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit".

Somewhat similar changes have been occurring in the Anglican Communion during the course of this last decade, though more cautiously: for, by a paradox that must surely cause us to smile, theirs is now the more conservative Church in liturgical matters. The reason is simple, the root reason in both Churches—language, the hallowed tongue. The Roman Church has deserted the Roman tongue; while the English Church still clings to the English tongue in all its archaic glory. Once Latin was dropped, there was room for rapid advances and for broad experimentation; but across the divide the Book of Common Prayer and the King James Bible and other cherished usages took some dislodging, "one step enough".

This article shows how far both liturgies have moved in converging towards what will surely one day become a *Missae Normativae Anglicanae*.

1. Introduction.

It was rumoured that Cardinal Browne, asked for his views upon the experimental version of the *Missae Normativae* witnessed by the bishops of the Synod in Rome on 24th October 1967, replied that he "could see nothing in it against faith or morals".² True or not, this statement expresses one sort of reaction to the work of liturgical renewal. Over the last five years certain major changes have taken place in the structure and wording of the Roman Mass: the re-introduction of the language of the people, the involvement of the laity in the action, a clear division between the Service of the Word and the Service of the Table, the ousting of the

¹ "Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic" (London, 1930), p. 140.

² Quoted in Peter Hebblethwaite, S.J., "Understanding the Synod", p. 98.

idea of a "private" Mass, the introduction of concelebration, the adoption of a westward (facing the people) position by the priest, and the gradual return to communion in both kinds as the normal practice.

These changes have been crowned recently by the introduction of three alternative Eucharistic prayers to supplement the Roman Canon,³ and are to be given a framework, in which the keynote will be flexibility, in the form of the *Missa Normativa*. What is not so well known to Roman Catholics is that over the same period, other churches in the West have been experimenting with their Eucharistic practice.⁴ This is especially true of the various churches of the Anglican communion which are close to ourselves in their theology and practice. Very recently these Anglican experimental liturgies have been conveniently gathered together into one volume edited by C. O. Buchanan, and entitled "Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968".⁵

This article will attempt to assess what positive considerations and conclusions, if any, can be drawn from an encounter between the two traditions as each begins to accelerate the evolution of its own liturgical practice in the context of the same scriptural, patristic and theological revivals.

2. Some general criticisms of the new canons.

Firstly, some general points about the three new canons. One is struck first, perhaps, not by how different they are, but by how far they conform to a certain structure. This, of course, is to some extent necessary; any Eucharistic prayer must conform to certain basic essentials. But was it necessary to fit these canons into such a tight mould? Was it, for instance, necessary to stereotype the Words of Institution so that each was virtually identical with the others, when there are four scriptural accounts to choose from?⁶ Was it necessary to conclude each canon with exactly the same doxology (the Roman one) especially when the Canon of Hippolytus, on which Canon II is supposed to be based, has a rather beautiful variation of its own?⁷ Finally, was it necessary to fit intercessory and petitionary prayers into each canon, especially into Canon II, whose third-century prototype, as the translators admit,⁸ had nothing of the kind, and benefited thereby in simplicity and directness?

Surely there must be among the Roman Consilium's liturgists some who are broad-minded enough to admit the value and efficacy of Eucharistic prayers such as those of the Didache, Justin or Hippolytus, that achieve a certain clarity, a concentration on priorities by omitting any

³ "The New Eucharistic Prayers and Prefaces", Chapman, 1969, 7/6.

⁴ See especially, "Church and Eucharist", ed. M. Hurley, s.j., Gill, Dublin, 1966.

⁵ Edited by Colin O. Buchanan, OUP, 1968, 63/-.

⁶ Matt. 26, 26-30; Mark 14, 22-26; Luke 22, 14-21; I Cor. 2, 23-25.

⁷ "Through him all honour and glory is yours, with the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, now and forever. Amen."

⁸ "New Eucharistic Prayers and Prefaces", p. 24.

intercessory material? It would certainly seem an unnecessary duplication now that the Prayer of the Faithful has been restored to its original importance. It is to be hoped that these centralising indications do not point to any tendency to continue the long-established papal liturgical imperialism, even if under the guise of reform!

On the other hand a certain flexibility and easing up of the rubrical mentality is evident, both here in the three new canons, and in the form of the forthcoming *Missa Normativa*.⁹ There are, for instance, four alternative Acclamations which may be selected "ad libitum". There is also a clear avoidance of imperatives in the "Norms for the use of the Eucharistic Prayers". Here the authorities seem deliberately to be seeking flexibility. They refuse to lay down laws, but rather make suggestions, "... is particularly appropriate . . . it may be used with other prefaces . . . may be inserted . . . it is preferable to use this . . ."

Thirdly, why could not the Canon of Hippolytus stand in its received form and have been authorised for liturgical use? Instead, as has been indicated above, it has been so distorted by numerous subtractions and additions, largely for the sake of what one can only describe as uniformity, as to have been rendered almost unrecognisable in the form of Canon II. There is nothing more certain than that liturgical uniformity is on the way out; this has been recognised in the matter of language, but it still has to be officially recognised as far as practice and formulae are concerned—though the *Missa Normativa* is an attempt to recognise this to a certain extent. Meanwhile, throughout the world, groups and communities are quietly experimenting, officially and unofficially, seeking prayers and rites that will be meaningful to today's world.

Another completely unrelated point about the canons in general: the doctrine of the real presence underlying the various references to the elements after consecration is of great interest. In Canon II we find, "... this life-giving bread . . . this saving cup . . . may all of us who share in the body and blood of Christ". In Canon III, "... this holy and living sacrifice . . . the victim whose death has reconciled us to yourself". In Canon IV, "we offer you his body and blood . . . all who share this bread and wine". This terminology is nothing if not balanced! The consecrated elements are referred to both as "this bread and wine", and as "his body and blood". This usage expresses the great paradox of the Eucharist, that what to all intents and purposes is bread and wine, and would normally be called such, is also in fact the sacrament of his risen body. It will prove to the average worshipper, through the Church's constant use of these prayers, that both a realist and a symbolic use of Eucharistic language are acceptable to the Catholic tradition. Even if the

⁹ For the *Missa Normativa*, see "Notitiae", 35, Nov. 1967, pp. 371-80.

dogma of Transubstantiation remains a suitable way of expressing this mystery, so too will the phrase "all who share this bread and wine".¹⁰

3. *The value of the new canons.*

However, these Eucharistic prayers represent in most respects a vast improvement upon the unreformed Roman Canon (Canon I). In a previous article in this journal¹¹ I outlined what was to be expected in the way of canon reform, and these new prayers fulfil most of those expectations. Firstly, the primacy of thanksgiving, of giving God thanks and praise for his mighty works, is made more evident. This has been done (a) by increasing the number of prefaces, and by replacing the very unsatisfactory Common and Trinity prefaces by four alternatives; (b) by restoring a Eucharistic prayer, Canon IV, which dwells at considerable length upon the whole history of salvation as a motive for our thanks; (c) by constant references throughout the canons to the giving of praise and thanks, even after the consecration, thus linking the initial preface to the final doxology.

Secondly, the work of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharistic mystery is again made clear. This is a feature which had fallen out of the Roman Canon altogether, to the very great impoverishment not just of the text itself but of the Eucharistic spirituality of Catholics in general. These canons each express the role of the Spirit in two ways: firstly, they show the Spirit's work in consecrating, by an invocation of his power upon the gifts (e.g. "let your Spirit come upon these gifts to make them holy so that they may become for us the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ"); and secondly, a further invocation of the Spirit calls upon him to complete his work of love and unity amongst the faithful who receive (e.g. "grant that we who are nourished by his body and blood may be filled with his Holy Spirit, and become one body, one spirit in Christ").

Another valuable element in these new canons is the re-introduction of the eschatological dimension. This slight mouthful simply means, of course, the awareness of the power of the Kingdom at hand NOW, and the struggle and search for its completion and fulfilment in the love of Christ. Each of the new memorial Acclamations brings in very strongly this dimension of the here-and-now urgency of the Resurrection life, as also does the reference in each canon to Christ's coming in glory, and our looking forward to that happening.

Fourthly, these canons cut down the excessive number of references to sacrifice that make the Roman Canon so unbalanced. Here the notion of sacrifice is firmly linked to the other basic activities of thanking and making memory.

¹⁰ On Real Presence, see E. Schillebeeckx, O.P., "The Eucharist" (1968); Karl Rahner, "The Word and the Eucharist" and "The Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper", in "Theological Investigations" IV; J. de Baciocchi, "L'Eucharistie" (1964); E. L. Mascall, "Christ, the Christian and the Church", chaps. 9-11; "Corpus Christi", chaps. 7 and 8; J. M. Powers, "Eucharistic Theology" (1968); Charles Davis, "Understanding the Real Presence", in "The Word in History" (ed. T. P. Burke, 1968).

¹¹ AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, 73, Summer 1968.

4. *Ecumenical considerations.*

Most of these points will have occurred to many who have given thought to the wording of these new canons; but what may not be so widely recognised is the great ecumenical value that they possess. For any formula or rite to have true ecumenical value it must be attempting to respond to the whole truth, not just to part of it. A facile attempt to compromise, by ignoring or trying to gloss over difficulties, has no ecumenical value, but will only succeed in the long run in holding up true dialogue rather than promoting it.¹²

For at least the last fifteen years, churches other than our own have also been engaged in liturgical reform. Outstanding among these have been the Church of South India,¹³ and the different churches of the Anglican communion.¹⁴ The latter were given a great boost in their work of reform and revision by the reports and documents of the Lambeth Conference of 1958. Since that date many new experimental Eucharistic rites have come into use not only in the Church of England, but also in the Anglican Churches of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, South Africa and the other different provinces of Africa, Canada, U.S.A., the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, and the other Anglican Churches of Asia and the Middle East.

Now a comparison between their work and our new canons makes a very interesting occupation, although it must constantly be remembered that they are usually approaching the problem of liturgical reform from the opposite liturgical and doctrinal direction from our own.¹⁵ We must first, therefore, look at the service of "the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" found in the Book of Common Prayer. The two great Eucharistic values that the Prayer Book service did preserve were an emphasis upon the meal aspect of the Mass, and a clear expression that what was being done was a memorial of Christ's death. But what of its defects? Some of these have been quite the reverse of ours: an almost complete lack of sacrificial references (to be understood, though, in the context of the heated sixteenth century debates), and a structure so drastically simplified that

¹² Cf. Vatican II "Decree on Ecumenism", Section II. "Nothing is so foreign to the spirit of ecumenism as a false conciliatory approach which harms the purity of Catholic doctrine and obscures its assured genuine meaning".

¹³ See Appendix VI of Hurley (ed.), "Church and Eucharist", where the Church of South India Eucharistic Liturgy is reproduced. Cf. Fr Bouyer's words, "Now there is no doubt whatever that, while it skilfully incorporates quite unexceptionable Protestant customs, still, from the point of view of even a conservative Catholic (or Orthodox) liturgist, this eucharistic liturgy seems much more satisfactory than any liturgy that emanated from the Reformation . . . supposing that validly ordained ministers used it, it seems difficult to deny that they would validly consecrate the eucharist" (*Theology* LIX, Jan. 1956).

¹⁴ See R. E. Turner, "Modern trends in Anglicanism in Eucharistic thought and practice", in Hurley (ed.), *op. cit.*

¹⁵ "Roman liturgical reforms therefore should not be followed too slavishly by other Christian communions, for it is very likely that in these other communions any imbalance in eucharistic doctrine or practice will be very different from the Roman one, and will need to be compensated for in quite a different manner." John Macquarrie, "Principles of Christian Theology", p. 420.

nothing was left between the Words of Institution and the administration of Communion. On the other hand, some of the Prayer Book's defects are similar to our own: a lack of references to the Holy Spirit's work, not sufficient thanking and praising, and the whole service altogether too Cross-centred with an absence of paschal and eschatological thinking. Many of these must be understood as late medieval Catholic assumptions that Crammer accepted and retained unquestioningly.¹⁶

5. *A comparison between modern Anglican and Roman Catholic Eucharistic prayers.*

How do the modern Anglican Liturgies compare with our own in detail? In the first place, the new Anglican Liturgies show the same flexibility of ceremonial that we find in the new canons and especially in the *Missa Normativa*. The rubrics governing rites and actions have been stripped to a minimum, partly reflecting the new simplicity of the liturgical movement, and partly reflecting an era of experimentation which refuses to prescribe anything but the most basic activity, leaving everything else to find its own level. This flexibility finds its logical conclusion in the Anglican world in the Church of England 2nd series Liturgy of 1967, where the few rubrics of the imperative form, "Here the priest shall", are joined by a whole host of "may be's" and alternatives.¹⁷ Thus we have, "One of the following may be used; either the Ten Commandments, or our Lord's summary of the Law, or the Kyries in English or Greek", and "But instead of the foregoing dismissal, or in addition to it, the Priest may say". Such a flexibility will be found more and more necessary if the liturgy is to remain meaningful for the rapidly changing world situation into which we must take the Gospel.

Combined with flexibility and part of the same attitude is a greater simplicity. This is reflected in our own case by the elimination of the multiplication of crossings and kisses of the altar that used to adorn the Canon, and by the cutting down of the private offertory prayers in the *Missa Normativa*. In the case of many of the Anglican Liturgies, the need for simplicity was much less obvious, but in general we see a clearer and better ordered structure, and much less insistence upon the 1662 manual acts.¹⁸

Thirdly, many of the new Anglican rites have a memorial acclamation much on the same lines as the ones in our three new canons, "His death, O Father, we proclaim. His resurrection we confess. His coming we await. Glory be to thee, O Lord". This is an old Syrian corporate response which was taken up by the Church of South India in its Liturgy, whence it spread to the experimental liturgies of New Zealand, Australia, and the various Anglican Churches of Africa.

¹⁶ See C. W. Dugmore, "The Mass and the English Reformers".

¹⁷ Buchanan (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 131-142.

¹⁸ These were the actions prescribed to accompany the consecration in the 1662 "Book of Common Prayer" which omit any elevation of the species.

Fourthly, as far as liturgical language is concerned, the great dilemma for the Anglicans and Protestants who have had vernacular liturgies for some centuries, is the question of the use of archaic or of modern forms, especially the use of "Thou" or "You". Our own international committee for English translations seem definitely to have opted for the modern form of speech, and on the whole most of us have found it surprisingly easy to make the transition. But our Anglican friends will find it much harder, and this is reflected in their basic conservatism on this question in their recent liturgies. Only the Australian and New Zealand Churches are experimenting with an all-"You" liturgy. Most of the others have moved into a sort of RSV English, which still calls God "Thou" but has a fairly terse sentence structure.

In another respect, too, there are interesting parallels between the modern Roman and Anglican Eucharistic prayers: namely in the primacy of thanksgiving. In the 1662 rite, the preface, which sounds the note of thanksgiving, is cut off from the rest of the Prayer of Consecration by the Prayer of Humble Access, a prayer expressing deep sorrow and unworthiness. The prayer of consecration itself lacks all mention of thanks or praise, and centres round the memorial of Calvary.¹⁹ In the new rites of the Anglican Communion, however, almost all introduce the theme of praise into the prayer of consecration itself (usually beginning, "All glory be to thee, Almighty God"), and the subject of thanksgiving is generally the totality of the "magnalia Dei" (cf. our Canon IV), rather than just Calvary. "The events for which thanksgiving is made in the Consecration Prayer are not to be confined to Calvary but include thanksgiving for all the principal 'mighty works of God', especially the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and his return in glory."²⁰ The trend in both Churches towards the revival of thanksgiving as a living part of Eucharistic spirituality is unmistakable.

6. *Eucharistic sacrifice.*

One vital issue which I have so far avoided is the old question of Eucharistic sacrifice.²¹ For so long the two sides, Catholic and Protestant, seemed to hold irreconcilable opinions on the subject. Roman Catholics

¹⁹ Elsewhere in Protestantism there has been an almost exclusive concentration upon Calvary. "In some parts of the Netherlands it was even the custom to attend the annual Communion in mourning. We have not lost this trait. Many a Reformed or Presbyterian congregation would find a Christmas or Easter Communion almost a contradiction." H. A. Hageman, "Pulpit and Table", p. 116.

²⁰ The Lambeth 1958 Sub-Committee report on the "Book of Common Prayer" 2, 81. Compare O. Casel, "The Mystery of Christian Worship", pp. 151-4, and M. Thurian, "Eucharistic Memorial", Pt. 2, pp. 38-9.

²¹ On Eucharistic Sacrifice, see St Thomas Aquinas, S.Th. III, 83, 1; K. Rahner, "Theol. Invest.", III, pp. 161-171, and IV, pp. 287-311; K. Rahner and A. Haussling, "The Celebration of the Eucharist"; J. P. Schanz, "The Sacraments of Life and Worship", pp. 143-98; Mascall, "Corpus Christi" (2nd ed.), pp. 105-198; C. B. Naylor, "Eucharistic Theology Today", in R. E. Clements and others, "Eucharistic Theology Then and Now" (S.P.C.K., 1968); H. B. Green, "Sacrifice in the Eucharist", in W. R. F. Browning (ed.), "The Anglican Synthesis"; Franz Hildebrandt, "I Offered Christ".

asserted that the Mass was a real sacrifice, identical with that of Calvary, or even occasionally declared to be a repetition of Calvary.²² Protestants, and most Anglicans with them, rejected such teaching as detracting from that "one sacrifice once offered for sins", which the Prayer Book describes as "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world".²³ Rather, the Eucharist was simply the sacramental remembrance of that precious death, using the symbols Christ gave us.

However, the Protestant Churches, and certainly the Anglican Church, have never completely rejected all sacrificial elements in the Eucharist.²⁴ Let us look at the old 1662 Communion rite itself. There we find after the Communion the phrase, "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving". This should immediately recall to mind the phrase from the Roman Canon, "hoc sacrificium laudis", and that from Canon IV, "a living sacrifice of praise". Can we so easily say that this refers simply to the attitude and words of praise themselves, and not to what has been done in that attitude of praise? Surely the sacrificial element is inseparable from the Eucharistic praise that makes use of the Lord's words and actions? In Canon III ("we offer you in thanksgiving this holy and living sacrifice") and Canon II ("we offer you, Father, this life-giving bread, this saving cup. We thank you for counting us worthy to stand in your presence and serve you") this intimate link between the two aspects is made quite clear.

The same Anglican prayer continues to talk of another sacrificial feature, "we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee". Is this, too, not part of the Catholic tradition of Eucharistic sacrifice, except that most of us have been taught to express this at the so-called Offertory? Do we not pray the same, "in spiritu humilitatis . . . suscipiamur a te, Domine, et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum . . ."? Finally, the Anglican rite prays, "and although we be unworthy to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service". Is this "bounden duty and service", explicitly regarded as sacrificial, not the series of actions that has just ended, viz. the Eucharistic celebration itself?

These examples are taken from the old 1662 Book of Common Prayer. If to these we add some specimens from the official modern liturgies we shall see that the basically Catholic impression is further strengthened. In the Liturgy for Africa, 1964, we find, "Wherefore, O Father, we do this as thy Son commanded, offering to thee, with this holy Bread and Cup, our praise and thanksgiving for his one sacrifice once offered upon the cross,

for his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension".²⁵ In the Scottish Liturgy of 1966, "Wherefore, O Lord . . . we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make".²⁶ The Liturgy of New Zealand (1966), "Therefore, Father, we do this . . . offering to you our praise and thanksgiving for his one perfect sacrifice . . . his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, which we recall before you in this sacrament of the bread of life and the cup of salvation. Accept us, in him . . . with this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving".²⁷ And a final example from the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. (1967), "Wherefore, O Lord and holy Father, we thy people do celebrate here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy Gifts, which we offer unto thee, the memorial of the blessed Passion and precious Death of thy dear Son, his mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension, looking for his Coming again in power and great glory. And herewith we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, which is our bounden duty and service. And we entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept, through the eternal mediation of our Saviour Jesus Christ, this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving".²⁸ Such expressions will bear comparison with the oblation formulas in any of the primitive or modern Catholic Canons. They only seem to be lacking when compared with the Roman Canon, which has acquired over the centuries a grave imbalance and over-repetition of sacrificialism; cf. "haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata . . . hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam", etc.

What conclusions can be drawn about the Eucharistic sacrifice? It seems to be agreed by both Roman and Anglican liturgies that the sacrifice is one of praise and thanksgiving, which means at least that the Eucharistic prayer is itself an offering to God. It is agreed, too, that the Eucharistic sacrifice is "in memory" of Christ's sacrifice/resurrection.²⁹ If it were not in memory of him there would be no sacrifice in the Mass at all. This *anamnesis* is the foundation for any true doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, and it is in this context that most liturgies "offer the Bread and Cup". Both sides agree, too, that we must offer ourselves in Christ's service, and that this constitutes a Christian's "reasonable service" (rationabile servitium).³⁰ But this offering of ourselves, if it is not to savour of

²² In a book as recently published as 1955 (with an Imprimatur) we find the following: "According to Catholic belief, in every Mass God himself is offered as a sacrifice repeating the sacrifice of the Cross" (Z. Aradi, "The Pope", p. 108).

²³ "The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion."

²⁴ See P. E. More and F. L. Cross, "Anglicanism", pp. 495ff, C. W. Dugmore, "Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland"; M. Thurian, "Eucharistic Memorial", Pt. 2, pp. 76ff.

²⁵ Buchanan, op. cit., p. 66.

²⁶ Buchanan, op. cit., p. 157.

²⁷ Buchanan, op. cit., p. 337.

²⁸ Buchanan, op. cit., p. 212.

²⁹ Cf. St John Chrysostom, *Hom. on Heb.*, 17, 3, "We do not offer another sacrifice as the high priest of old, but we ever offer the same; or rather we make a remembrance of his sacrifice".

³⁰ Cf. St Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, 10, 6, "This is the sacrifice of Christians: We, the many, are one body in Christ. And this also is the sacrifice which the Church continually celebrates in the sacrament of the altar—which is known to the faithful. In it the Church learns that in the offering which she makes she herself is offered".

Pelagianism, must be in and with Christ here sacramentally present. In this sense Christ is offered in the Eucharist.³¹

A carefully thought out expression of their doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice was that of the Anglican archbishops in 1897 in their *Responsio* to Pope Leo XIII. It is worth quoting as it is not very widely known: "Further we truly teach the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice and do not believe it to be a 'nude commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Cross', an opinion which seems to be attributed to us by the quotation made from that Council (Trent). But we think it sufficient in the Liturgy which we use in celebrating the holy Eucharist—while lifting up our hearts to the Lord, and when now consecrating the gifts already offered that they may become to us the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ—to signify the sacrifice which is offered at that point of the service in such terms as these. We continue a perpetual memory of the precious death of Christ, who is our advocate with the Father and the propitiator for our sins, according to his precept, until his coming again. For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; then next we plead (proponimus) and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's passion for all the whole Church; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblations of his creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice."³²

7. Further points of contact.

Three other features worth noting occur to one studying the new Anglican Eucharistic prayers. Firstly, the idea of a silence following the canon. This is found in the Hong Kong and Macao Liturgy of 1957 in the form of the rubric, "Silence is kept for a space, all kneeling". The desire for reflective silence in the Liturgy is certainly a legitimate one, and this point would be a very suitable time, coming immediately after the Great Thanksgiving and just before Communion.

Secondly, the idea of a formula for further consecration. In the various Anglican rites there exists a formula (a kind of mini-canon) for further consecration of bread or wine should the elements run short at the time of Communion.³³ This would be a great convenience in certain situations, where one hasn't a tabernacle to turn to as a last resort. All priests must recall occasions on which such a formula for further consecration would have been invaluable in preventing the unseemly division of already small wafer breads into even smaller crumb-like particles. Could not such a formula be incorporated into our rite?

³¹ "To say 'we offer Christ' in the Eucharist is the only sure way in which we can avoid claiming the right to offer anything of our own merit." C. B. Naylor, op. cit., p. 112.

³² "Anglican Orders", S.P.C.K., 1957, p. 35.

³³ See, for example, Buchanan, op. cit., p. 89.

Finally, a third new Anglican feature which we would do well to consider adopting ourselves is the prominence given to the rite of Breaking the Bread. This, after all, is one of the four basic actions of the Last Supper rite (taking bread and wine, giving thanks, breaking the bread, giving to the faithful), and should be seen to be such.³⁴ At present in the Latin rite it is quite overshadowed by the prayers going on at, or about, the same time: the Embolism, the Pax and the Agnus Dei—all subsidiary activities. A suggested reformed usage which reverts to an earlier pattern, and is followed by some of the Anglican Liturgies, would be the following. At the end of the canon there follows a period of silence; then the priest takes the Bread into his hands and says, "The Bread which we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ?"; the people reply, "Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one loaf".³⁵ The priest then breaks the Bread in full sight of the people. The Our Father would follow after the Communion as an invariable post-Communion prayer, or else would occur earlier as a conclusion to the bidding prayers.

8. Conclusions.

Finally, what conclusions can be drawn from this comparative study of new Anglican and Catholic rites? (1) It would appear that the idea of the canon as a long clerical monologue is rapidly on the way out. It should not be long anyway but clear and concise, and preferably uncluttered by intercessions. The principle of popular participation by means of acclamations, and the communal recitation perhaps of the immediate post-consecration section should be warmly welcomed.

(2) We are brought to see the need for the reform not just of the canon, but of our Roman offertory and Communion rites. The *Missa Normativa* has already gone some way to remedy what a memorandum to the Council of Trent called the "abuses" of the present Roman offertory,³⁶ in which the evangelical action of bringing in bread and wine has been turned into a kind of preliminary canon, with sacrificial language of a kind that would only be meaningful after the consecration. The *Missa Normativa* has replaced the present seven offertory prayers by three which are to be used "pro opportunitate". So, too, with what happens after the canon. Something considerably simpler than the present rite is required to bring out the primal activity. It should be unnecessary to state that the sooner Communion in both kinds becomes the norm, and not the exception, the sooner will popular sacramental participation conform to Christ's explicit command.

(3) We see the need to work together more and more with other Christians in the matter of achieving a common liturgical language, and

³⁴ So prominent was this feature in the primitive church that the earliest name for the eucharistic celebration seems to have been *Klasis Artou*, the Breaking of Bread.

³⁵ I Cor. 10, 17.

³⁶ See "Notitiae", Nov. 1967, p. 374.

common texts for such prayers as the Our Father, Kyries, Gloria, Creed, etc. If we are not careful, each Christian body will have become so much more accustomed to its own usages that a common liturgical drawing together will seem further away than ever.

(4) However, on the deeper level of doctrine, especially that of the nature of Christ's Eucharistic presence, the gap between Catholic and Anglican, at least in the liturgical sphere, has very clearly narrowed if not disappeared. The doctrine of Christ's presence as expressed in the terminology of the new Anglican rites is much more Catholic than that of the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles; while that of the new Roman Canons is considerably less materialistic than certain crude expressions of the doctrine of Transubstantiation (compare "this bread and this wine" of the consecrated elements in Canon IV, with "this bread and cup" of the Anglican rites).

(5) So, too, in the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice. As has been shown above, the usages of each side have grown so close to each other that it has now to be proved that there is any problem remaining about this question.³⁷ Both Churches should state clearly that certain extreme expressions on both sides are things of the past, conditioned by the controversial theological and political climate of the period.

(6) Finally, it remains to point out that this remarkable coming together of the two communions in such a basic matter as the Eucharistic mystery is largely the result of the great scriptural, patristic and liturgical revivals. These under the direction of the Holy Spirit have been responsible for so much of the renewed life of the old Church.

Such conclusions, especially 4 and 5, seem all the more remarkable when one considers that it was over this very question of the Eucharist that the widest splits occurred during the sixteenth century. Let us hope that a further coming-together over the other great subject of dispute—Church authority—will be forthcoming on the basis of sound Scriptural and theological thinking.

³⁷ "On the Catholic side there is whole-hearted determination to rebut the charge that the once-for-all sacrifice is taught as repeated in the Mass; with equal determination many Protestants are anxious to avoid the conclusion that the Eucharist is a bare memorial, whether by word or symbol, of a past and distant event." C. B. Naylor, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY O.S.B.

A BISHOP FOR ALL SEASONS

by

GERARD SITWELL, O.S.B.

In May 1836, the first issue of the *Dublin Review* (the title comes as an antithesis to the *Whig Edinburgh Review*) appeared on a market that had to wait four years to see *The Tablet*. It began, all unheralded and unintroduced, without so much as an editorial (Michael Quin, a Tipperary journalist, was its first editor), with a dozen articles, one of which was a 24-page review of "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk". In due course Dr W. G. Ward became its proprietor and editor, and he was succeeded in January 1879 as editor by Dom Cuthbert Hedley of Ampleforth, who remained in that post until October 1884, writing many articles, few of which he signed. He then handed the task over to Dr Herbert (later Cardinal) Vaughan, the proprietor. The *Dublin Review* has this July at last expired, or rather lost its separate existence, being incorporated into the Jesuit *The Month* (founded in 1864).

Recently Fr Gerard was asked to write the note on Bishop Hedley for the "Dictionnaire de Spiritualité". It seemed a good opportunity to ask him to write a more general note on Bishop Hedley's best known work, especially his contributions to the *Dublin Review*. Some footnotes have been added by the Editor.

It is interesting to see how much frames of thought and heated controversies of an age ago now seem faded and somewhat off-centre: *max nobis quoque*.

THERE is no doubt that the greatest man produced by the Ampleforth community in the nineteenth century was Bishop Hedley. To my generation at Ampleforth his was still a well-known name, now it is probably hardly known at all, so it will be best to begin by setting out briefly the facts of his life.

John Cuthbert Hedley was born in 1837. He was educated at Ampleforth and joined the novitiate there in 1854 and was ordained priest in 1862. It is worth mentioning that he did his philosophical and theological studies for the priesthood at Ampleforth directly from the works of St Thomas Aquinas. That is a very remarkable fact, because in the mid-nineteenth century, for a variety of reasons which cannot be gone into here, ecclesiastical studies in the Church were at a low ebb, and it was not till 1879, when Leo XIII published his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, that they were re-vivified by a return to the great scholastic tradition as represented by St Thomas. That Hedley was able to study the text of St Thomas himself, twenty years before this revival was inaugurated, was due to the presence in the Ampleforth community of a certain Fr Thomas Bury. A discerning and far-sighted prior had sent him to do his studies at Parma, which was at the time one of the few places in Europe—Rome was not one of them—where the pure milk of Thomism could be imbibed, and Fr Thomas journeyed home across the revolutionary Europe of 1848 to teach philosophy and theology at Ampleforth. A classical scholar of the old school who in his old age could still declaim long passages of Homer and

Aeschylus, and take an intelligent interest in textual emendations unknown to the texts of his youth, he not only knew his "Summa", but paved the way for it with St Thomas's "Commentary" on the Metaphysics of Aristotle, and even added Cajetan's "Commentary" on that of St Thomas. It may be doubted whether many of his pupils could take such strong meat, but Hedley could, and Abbot Bury, as he then was, said in later life that the only thing he had ever had to do which he thoroughly enjoyed had been teaching St Thomas to such a pupil as Bishop Hedley.¹

In the year 1859, when the young Br Cuthbert Hedley and Fr Bury were studying Aquinas at Ampleforth, the monastery of Belmont, near Hereford, was founded. It was designed to be, and became, the common Novitiate and house of studies for the English Benedictine Congregation. Here, immediately after his ordination in 1862, Hedley was sent to teach philosophy, and, as the diocese of Newport and Menevia had been given to the English Benedictines and had the monastic church of Belmont as its pro-cathedral, he was at the same time made a Canon. He remained at Belmont for the next eleven years, teaching philosophy and acting apparently very much as senior tutor or director of studies for the young monks, and very soon in his career there he started writing for the *Dublin Review*, almost the only Catholic periodical of any intellectual standing in England at the time. For six years he was its editor and he wrote for it at fairly frequent intervals during the rest of his life. In 1873 he was made Auxiliary to the Bishop of Newport, and in 1878 succeeded to the diocese. It was a poor and scattered diocese, but Hedley had been brought up in the English Benedictine Congregation at a time when its principal work was very definitely that of what was still called the English mission, and it must have come as a matter of course to him to put his pastoral work first for the rest of his life till his death in 1915. But he became a prominent figure in the hierarchy, much in demand as a preacher on special occasions and as a giver of retreats, and he was said on good authority to have been the runner-up for the Archbishopric of Westminster on two occasions, on the death of Manning and again on the death of Vaughan. Under the circumstances it was remarkable that he should have found time for literary work, but during his lifetime he published three volumes of sermons, a retreat, "*Lex Levitarium*" on the training of priests,² and a book on the theology of the Eucharist, in addition to upwards of thirty articles in the *Dublin Review*, not to mention numerous articles in THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL.³ It is typical of the interest he always took in Ampleforth that the JOURNAL was founded largely at his instigation, although he had already then been long a Bishop. In 1930 "The Life of Bishop Hedley" by Fr Auselin Wilson came out, and in the following year a selection of seven of his articles for the *Dublin Review* was published under the title "Evolution and Faith".

¹ See "Evolution and Faith" (1931), Introduction by Abbot Cuthbert Butler, p. xxix f.

² Written in 1905, it is a resurrection of St Gregory the Great's "*Regula Pastoralis*" with a commentary designed to give it contemporary relevance; "What is required in the training of priests is to combine the wisdom of the fathers with the clear perception of present day needs".

The greater part of Hedley's writings are concerned with the spiritual life and they have enabled him to claim a modest place in the "Dictionnaire de Spiritualité", one of those monumental works of French scholarship which is in the process of coming out in many volumes, and which will necessarily be the accepted work of reference on the subject for a long time. The interesting thing about his spiritual writing is that it brings out very clearly the extent to which spirituality had become divorced from theology. There is no doubt that he had a clear and powerful mind with a strong philosophical bent, about which something will be said later. As has been pointed out, he had a good training in scholastic theology, for which his natural abilities fitted him particularly well, and these qualities are manifested in the opening Conferences of his "A Retreat (1896)", where he deals with the soul and the nature of God. One wishes that he could have developed the themes, but the space of even a week's retreat, which aims at a comprehensive survey of the spiritual life, does not permit real development. Sanctifying grace, the Holy Spirit, and the work of God in the soul are all treated with something more than competence, but they are treated individually, as isolated units, reminiscent of the text-book theses into which theology had come to be divided. There seems no recognition that the raising of the soul to God in grace, which is really the result of, and the reflection of, the mysterious divine indwelling, is the very heart of spirituality, as well as the key to large portions of theology. There is, indeed, evidence that Hedley appreciated this, but the fact that he did not make it the matter of his retreat is simply due to the fact that his spirituality reproduces the tradition in which he had been brought up, and which was inherited from the Counter-Reformation. It was natural that at this time, of the two elements always necessary, in the spiritual life, grace and human effort, more emphasis should be put on human effort. Moral reform was seen as the first requirement in the much needed revivifying of religion, with the result that spirituality came to be man-centred rather than God-centred, and remained so till well into this century. It was the publication of Abbot Marmion's "Christ the Life of the Soul" a year or two after Hedley's death which really marked the beginning of a new approach, and the very title brings out the change to a less man-centred spirituality. There is no doubt that a Thomistic theologian of Hedley's calibre would have appreciated this more directly theological approach to the spiritual life. His own writings are full of sound theology. Mention has already been made of it in his "Retreat", and it comes out frequently in his sermons, often in statements of great depth, but which he has no scope to develop. Thus he says that no one can understand what is meant by the Word of God as preaching, unless he first sees clearly that the Word of God is a

³ Cf. Cuthbert Almond, O.S.B., "Bishop Hedley and the Ampleforth Journal", AMP. JOURN. XXI (1916), 177-82. In 1885, Hedley wrote to Prior Burge, proposing a "breakout" to a superior magazine, where the literary and artistic part was given pride of place. "Don't let the JOURNAL be parochial," he wrote; "to be parochial means to be little and insignificant, even if it brings you a cheap popularity." He added this: "above all, avoid self-laudation as far as possible; a little of it is unavoidable . . . the JOURNAL will help the College better by its high standing and value than by making it a show-window for our goods".

Person.⁴ Or again, Christ suffered "in order to give a peculiar character and a peculiar intensity to that Act of his Sacred Heart by which he redeemed the World". The theological insight behind that remark, which would require much elaboration, was certainly rare in his day. But he could also write, "If a man conquers himself during a short probation, it is right and natural that he should rule as a conqueror when probation is over". The trouble about talking of conquering oneself in this way is that, even if all the theological safeguards have been mentioned, it cannot help giving the impression that all depends on our efforts in a sense which is really Pelagian, though, of course, not thought of as such. The reality is we have God with us and within us, but also here on earth our fallen human natures, and there will always be tension. The Christian life is always a conflict, as St Paul so often portrays it, but our only hope is to throw ourselves on God now. The temptation is to think we have to make ourselves perfect first. Hedley was in great demand, as a preacher on special occasions, and he had the kind of oratory which was popular in his day. Today we find the rhetorical exhortations and the elaborate similes drawn from nature rather trying—also, in the sermons, the ecclesiastical triumphalism, the appeal to the organisational Church. It is unfortunate that his published sermons were all set pieces, because it makes them date more than his other writings, but we should be wrong to think that they have no more than a period-piece value. There is much of worth in them.

It is not proposed to say anything here of his "*Lex Levitarum*", which is essentially a book for seminarians, with the subtitle "On Preparing for the Cure of Souls". It is impossible not to admire it for the very sound teaching it gives on the priestly life, but it is a book of its time. His book on "The Holy Eucharist" (1907), written for a series, not as a text-book, but as a sort of refresher course for those whose theological training lies some way behind them, gives an extremely competent summary of the scholastic teaching on the Real Presence and the idea of sacramental sacrifice. Here there is only space to draw attention to a few of his articles for the *Dublin Review*.

First we may take an article on Fr Baker's "*Sancta Sophia*" reprinted later as a C.T.S. pamphlet under the title "Prayer and Contemplation", and again in "Evolution and Faith".⁵ The article shows Hedley in many ways at his best, and this is not surprising, because the testimony of those who knew him was that before all things he was a man of prayer, and he obviously wrote with a deep appreciation based on experience. Nomenclature in this field is notoriously difficult, and authorities do not agree about what really constitutes contemplation, but Hedley confines himself to what Baker called active contemplation—a degree of prayer which cannot be called ordinary, but to which anyone who seriously cultivates prayer may aspire. His treatment cannot be discussed here at length, but

⁴ "Christian Inheritance" (1896), 79; the quotations following are from *ibid.* 275 and 68.

⁵ *Dublin Review*, October 1876; "Evolution and Faith" (1931), 163-206; it is a review of Dom Norbert Sweeney's edition of 1876.

I should like to draw attention to one point. He refers to the objection that Baker undervalues the work of the understanding and memory in prayer, in order to exalt the operations of the Will. Hedley's treatment is masterly and of great value. His contention, and it is ably developed, is that apprehension of an idea and adhesion, which in the realm of prayer mean understanding and love, go together from the very nature of the soul. It is the whole soul which rises in prayer, there is no loving without seeing, no seeing without loving, and this, he says, is what Baker means by actuation. It is achieved intermittently in all true prayer, comparatively permanently in contemplation. Hedley thought that what Baker did perhaps disparage was reasoning, but this, Hedley contends, is only one operation of the understanding, it is a process for setting up intuition, or the actuation of true prayer.

In 1871 and 1873 Hedley wrote review articles on Vois. I and II respectively of Bede Vaughan's "Life and Labours of St Thomas of Aquin."⁶ They constitute a fine and learned survey of theology and St Thomas's place in it, in which he discusses the fundamental influence exerted on theology by the thought first of Plato and then of Aristotle—the patristic theologians were, broadly speaking, Platonists, and the scholastic ones Aristotelians—and he thus sets scholastic theology in its true perspective. His approval of St Thomas and Aristotelianism by no means blinds him to what he thought shortcomings or inadequacies.

When in August 1879 Leo XIII published his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*⁷ in which he established Thomism as the official teaching for philosophy and theology in ecclesiastical studies in the Church, Hedley was naturally interested, not to say enthusiastic, and he saluted the event in an article in the *Dublin Review* in 1880,⁸ and followed this up with one on "Text-books of Philosophy" in April of the same year. The first of the two articles gives a judicious summary of what the encyclical really demanded and what its effects were likely to be. The second article, in spite of its unpromising title, is of great interest. It is a review of a number of recent books, but it goes much further than that. He goes on to give his own thoughts on philosophy. He writes, of course, as a metaphysician, as any scholastic theologian must, and he brings out vividly the difference between those who have the gift for metaphysical thinking (which he evidently had) and those who have not. He had, indeed, already written on this subject in an equally self-revealing way in an article in the *Dublin Review* of 1879 entitled "Catholicism and Culture".⁹ He puts it very well in the latter article when he says, "Terms like 'substance', 'person', 'essence', 'existence', 'relation', 'matter', 'spirit', are seen by many minds only

⁶ *Dublin Review*, Jan.-Apr. 1871, 111-138; *ibid.* Jul.-Oct. 1873, 429-462. Both are unsigned.

⁷ English text in the Blackfriars 1920 English translation of the "*Summa Theologica*", I, ix-xxxiii.

⁸ *Dublin Review*, Jan.-Apr. 1880, 190-210; "Pope Leo XIII and Modern Studies".

⁹ *Dublin Review*, Jan.-Apr. 1879, 3-26; republished in "Evolution and Faith" (1931), 221-253.

as ships at sea are seen by gleams of summer lightning. They do not stop to be studied—and what is attained by the flash of intuition fades from the mind before a second revelation comes". There must be many who could vouch for the truth of that description. But he continues, "Yet it is in this thickly-peopled darkness of knowable things that the mind of the true thinker learns to see", and he then goes on to a remarkable description of what is, in effect, philosophical contemplation. One understands why Fr Bury enjoyed doing philosophy with the young Hedley.

In the July *Dublin Review* of 1871 he wrote an article on "Evolution and Faith",¹⁰ Darwin had published his "Origin of Species" in 1859, and the occasion of this article was the recent publication of his "Descent of Man" together with some other recent works of kindred interest. The full impact of what we now understand in a general way by evolution—and not merely natural selection—was making itself felt. Not all scientists had accepted it, but it was creating panic in the religious world, and not merely among Catholics. Hedley's article was designed to have a steadying influence. "We are not disposed to attach too much importance to Mr Darwin's speculations, considered from the point of view of Faith. It has been too hastily assumed that the 'evolution' theory is a smashing assault upon orthodoxy that is carrying terror and confusion into the ranks of all believers in Revelation. It is nothing of the kind."

Evolution need not, and of itself does not, call in question God the Creator, though Hedley deplors the fact that the scientists of his day pay no more than lip service to the idea of creation, if they do not ignore it altogether. What he is concerned with in this essay is the theological aspect of the question. Does the theory of evolution contradict revelation as made in scripture? He points out that the teaching of the Church is that we are only bound to accept the interpretation of the Bible given by the Fathers when it is unanimous, and that although most of them take the six days of creation as given in Genesis literally, there is one notable exception, namely Augustine. Augustine held that all things were created instantaneously, but not as they now are. They were created in their seminal ratios. The six days are only a literary device—a statement that all we see was created by God. After a full and able discussion of the theory of evolution and the text of Genesis as interpreted by Augustine, Hedley concludes that a Catholic may lawfully hold the evolution of all living things with the exception of man; that is God had created matter with the power of developing in this way. He maintained that it was rash and perhaps proximate to heresy, to hold an evolutionary theory for the production of man's body, and certainly heretical to hold it for the human soul, and the second part of his essay is devoted to refuting the possibility of applying the theory of evolution to the development of man's mind. It is a full and able re-statement of the argument that abstract intellectual knowledge must transcend the senses. There is a distinction in kind between sense knowledge and abstract thought, and the latter power

¹⁰ Republished as the title essay in 1931, 1-56.

demands a new and immaterial origin. In 1898 he wrote another *Dublin Review* article on "Physical Science and Faith"¹¹ in which he re-asserted his former opinions and seemed to go further in recognising the probability of the evolutionary theory theistically interpreted, but he was chagrined that it was unfavourably received in Rome, where the anti-modernist feeling was approaching fever pitch. Today, most theologians, supported it would seem by the 1950 encyclical of Pius XII, *Humani Generis*,¹² would accept his conclusions, but would go further than he did, and say that the evolution of man's body was at least an open question. Hedley's was an impressive contribution to an important subject at the time at which it was made, and it was particularly so in the calm and judicial way in which he made it. He kept his head and made a balanced judgment, when many religious writers on the subject were conspicuously failing to do so.

The conditions under which he wrote precluded any extended and exhaustive treatment of a subject, but his power of summarising extensive fields of thought, even such as that of Plato and Aristotle, his discussion of what real metaphysical thought involves, and his exposition of the arguments for the spirituality of the soul in "Evolution and Faith", can only have been possible to one who had a profound grasp of his subject, and who was not merely reproducing second-hand stuff. But he was aware of his limitation, and when someone suggested that he had some big intellectual work on hand, he replied quite simply, "I could not do it, if the advantages which these young Oxford men have, had fallen to my lot, I might perhaps have been able to do something".¹³ He may well have been right in his judgment, and his performance as it is may put to shame many who have had greater advantages than he had. He was, in fact, largely instrumental in obtaining permission from the hierarchy for Catholics to go to Oxford and Cambridge on the death of Manning.

The above will give some idea of a very real achievement, and, of course, it is not fair to blame Hedley for being a man of his time, and what is, in fact, amazing is the extent to which he escaped being just a Catholic higher ecclesiastic of his time. In the first number of the *Dublin Review* issued under his editorship in January 1879 he wrote an article entitled "Catholicism and Culture",¹⁴ in which he discusses the needs of the educated and intellectual Catholic laity. Today it is perhaps hard for us to realise the significance of the fact that he should have considered their needs sympathetically in 1879. They were emerging in very small numbers—in England chiefly the Oxford converts—but the official Church at large

¹¹ *Dublin Review*, Oct.-Dec. 1898, 241-261.

¹² "False Trends in Modern Teaching", C.T.S./Do. 265, sec. 36: "the teaching of the Church leaves the doctrine of evolution an open question, as long as it confines its speculation to the development, from other living matter already in existence, of the human body. That souls are immediately created by God is a view which the Catholic faith imposes on us". But the question does not rest there: much work has been done upon it, notably by the Jesuit Fathers Maurice Flick, Z. Alsieghy and Karl Rahner in the last decade.

¹³ J. Anselm Wilson, o.s.a., "Life" (1930), 226.

¹⁴ Republished in "Evolution and Faith" (1931), 221-253.

hardly recognised them, certainly did not encourage them. The Pascals of this world could be left to look after themselves, for the rest, if they chose to be intellectuals who were Catholics, that was their concern, but they became Catholic intellectuals at their peril. It must, of course, be remembered that the number of Catholic educated laity was very small. It has been estimated that ninety per cent of Catholic laity were *illiterate* at the end of the nineteenth century. Even in England probably as many as that were semi-illiterate—just had the three R's, as they used to be called, and many could still not sign their names.

In "Catholicism and Culture" Hedley endorses the official view of ecclesiastical authority within the Church that any knowledge not directly concerned with our last end is of no value. It was held that for the majority of men, unintellectual and uncultured, if not absolutely illiterate, as they were presumed to be, the most important thing was to keep them from any knowledge which might be harmful to their religion, and to enable them to master rather better any knowledge that was profitable for their salvation. The first point, that they must be kept from any knowledge that was harmful to their religion, may have been practicable and salutary for the simple and uneducated, but Hedley accepts it tacitly for the educated, which means that these must be kept from the knowledge of what men around them were thinking, and in this he was surely profoundly wrong. To start with it cannot be done. It involves a contradiction in terms—a man who is not aware of the climate of opinion around him is not educated. Hedley said with truth, that if you deprive a man of one sort of intellectual life, you must give him another, and he proposed to give the emerging educated Catholic laity theology. What he was in reality urging was that they should be treated as the seminarians of the time were treated, cut off from the world they lived in and given an esoteric training. They would certainly have found it unreal and uninteresting, and Hedley's plea for metaphysics could only have satisfied the very few. There is no denying that the vast majority of seminarians themselves were only sustained in the long course of their studies by the thought of the Ministry for which it was held to be a necessary preparation. What was really wanted was that seminarians and laity alike should be educated so that they could distinguish what was harmful from what was not; that they should have an attitude that was at once critical and open-minded, and a readiness to admit that all was not always immediately clear, and in many cases judgment might have to be suspended, but that gradually out of a welter of speculation and theory, facts would emerge which have to be received as true. The pity was that the theologians themselves were out of touch with the thought of the world and would not face it. They had too long been living inside a ring fence, and were obsessed with the idea that anything anybody outside the Church said must be wrong. Hedley in this essay had shown awareness of a problem that not all were aware of, but he does not go beyond a solution which would fall within the official lines. Nor should he be blamed for not being a hundred years ahead of his time. And yet he had, indeed, already glimpsed the truth

that the theologians ought to come out from their enclosure. In the article on St Thomas in the *Dublin Review* of 1873 already referred to (note 6), he makes the interesting remark that he wishes that another St Thomas would arise in the nineteenth century to write the "Summa" completely afresh, and he goes on, "But no one can deny that, to all appearance, there is at present a wide divorce between current intellectual thought and scientific theology. This is not sufficiently explained by saying that the science of the Catholic Schools is right and modern thought all wrong". That was an exceptional insight in 1873, but it was to be long before the official Church would recognise that truth must be one, and if there is truth which has bearing on men, as all truth known to men ultimately does, a reconciliation must be effected between it and theology. It was the refusal of the Church to acknowledge the significance of the unprecedented break-through in man's knowledge of the past and his control of nature in the last two hundred years, which is now causing her such trouble. On a larger scale it is the situation caused by the Copernican revolution over again, but now it is being played out before a world-wide audience.

It is interesting to note that at the age of seventy Hedley was still to a remarkable degree able to sense the shape of things to come, even if he was not concerned to develop his thoughts. In his extremely competent book on "The Holy Eucharist" he foretells the disappearance of Christian States, and of the pomp of public worship, and also the coming of what Karl Rahner was later to describe as a diaspora condition for Christianity—groups of Christians living among a predominantly non-Christian population. He goes on to a most interesting statement, that the condition of men in the world is becoming what he calls more refined. It was a true insight, though he certainly did not grasp how much lay behind it. What it really meant for the Church was the widespread advent of an educated laity. This is something that the Church has never met before, but she will have to face it, and it is the cause of her most fundamental problem at the moment.

Hedley had the reputation of being formidable, and the story is told of a certain junior monk at Ampleforth who, finding himself alone in the calefactory with the bishop, felt it incumbent on himself to make conversation, so he eventually plucked up courage to remark that the rain was coming down. Whereupon he was asked if he had ever seen it going up. But the testimony of a friend of many years standing, the late Abbot Cuthbert Butler, was that he had a character that was above all things kindly,¹⁵ and one feels that the obvious veneration which was felt for him, at any rate in his old age, bears this out.

¹⁵ "Evolution and Faith", *Introd.*, xlii.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

AND ITS APPLICATION TO ACADEMIC SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN GENERAL AND TO AMPLEFORTH IN PARTICULAR

by
ADRIAN STEWART

Europeans speak of a technological gap . . . of (U.S.) technological colonialism . . . It is not so much a technological gap as a managerial gap, and the brain drain (of scientists and technicians) occurs not merely because we have more advanced technology here in the United States, but rather because we have more modern and effective management.

Robert S. McNamara, *The Essence of Security*.¹

If one was to search for the pioneer of the Technological Revolution, one would settle on Sir Henry Tizard (with men like Lindemann, Blackett, Watson-Watt and P. V. Jones close behind). Tizard was a test pilot and an academic, pulled into politics in 1935 as Chairman of the famous Committee for the Scientific Survey of Air Defence, which gave birth to the radar that saved Britain in 1940. Tizard taught the R.A.F. to use radar a year before he had built the radar chain that made their drills operationally viable: he brought together scientists and fliers as never before. In the dark hours of September 1940 he did the same in the United States, as he said himself, "bringing the American scientists into the War before their Government". In 1946 Attlee appointed him Chairman of two Governmental scientific councils. His mission to bring scientific method into relation with practical action at the governmental, civil and military levels bore fruit in these latter years; but much more so after his death in 1959. The space programme, above all, has accelerated the Technological Revolution, so that the lines between pure science, technology, government and industry can no longer be drawn. It was in the year that Tizard died that a Minister of Science and Technology appeared in the Cabinet: in a real sense, Tizard was that Minister long before Governments realised that they needed one officially appointed.

But if the Technological Revolution has invaded the political field, it has insufficiently invaded the social field and has left the educational field untouched below university level. This article argues for its need to invade and pervade the educational field down to the secondary school level as urgently as may be.

The author is an Old Amplefordian (C 43), who became a regular Naval Officer and spent the last two years of the war at sea in the East Indies. He spent a total of 31 years on professional and technical courses, qualifying on the submarine course, the long and the advanced gunnery courses, and to command a destroyer. His sea experience in the post-war period included service in three submarines, and as Gunner Officer in a destroyer squadron and two cruisers. He also served as Senior Naval Officer of a Joint Services unit carrying out trials on a guided missile at a factory in the U.K. and at Woomera, and his last appointment was to the Surface Weapons Division of the Admiralty, from which he took a golden bowler in 1960. He then took a Second in Maths at Leeds University, followed by a First in General Honours Physics. He now teaches physics and sometimes some maths at Ampleforth. He is married, with three children.

The thanks of the author and the School are due (and it is noticed in the School Notes) to the kindness of Sebastian de Ferranti (C 45) and to two senior members of the Wythenshawe Systems Analysis Group, Mr Colin Roberts and Mr John Bottomley, who have been able to give us equipment of a value far beyond anything which we could have afforded for ourselves (see School photographs, *infra*).

In 1961 C. P. (now Lord) Snow published his lectures on *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*,² which has since had a vogue as a thought cliché as influential as Disraeli's "Two Nations". Both have the attraction of being over-simplifications. In Disraeli's time there were at least three nations, the old landed gentry, the new mill and factory owners, and

Shaftesbury's "fearful multitude of untutored savages"; and today in Snow's time there are at least three cultures, Arts, Pure Science and Technology. I believe that a balanced education should provide an awareness of all three, and that at present education in academic secondary schools frequently fails to do so, at least as regards the third. The danger implicit in this failure is that ignorance breeds prejudice. This prejudice may be for or against technology, and in either case can be dangerous.

* * *

PART I: THE ARGUMENT FOR TECHNOLOGY IN A GENERAL EDUCATION

An interesting parallel can be drawn between some modern attitudes towards technology, and the attitude of the Greeks of Plato's time and later.

The arts/science syndrome in modern times has been adequately noticed by Lord Snow, and needs no further labouring here. Benjamin Farrington,³ from whom I have taken most of my quotations, suggests that Plato had nothing but contempt for techniques, and quotes Plato as "proving" that it is the user, not the maker of a thing, who has the true scientific knowledge of it (car drivers, please note). He also quotes other authorities as showing that Aristotle shared this view. I do not practise what I preach on the three cultures sufficiently well to check Farrington's sources, and at least one classicist I know regards him as merely mad. I have been lent Professor Zimmern's book⁴ as an antidote to Farrington, but in fact I find even Zimmern quoting Xenophon on *banaisia*, and admitting that the later philosophers thought the connoisseur a greater man than the creator. Farrington attributes Plato's views on this to his approval of a slave-owning society.

"You cannot enter here unless you know geometry", wrote Plato over the entrance to his academy—an ancient equivalent to the Dainton report, perhaps. Plato was invited by the young Prince of Syracuse to put his ideas to the test, and he tried to improve the government of Syracuse by teaching the Prince and his court geometry. "Thus early," writes Farrington, "did the word academic come to have its present significance".

The addition of Cambridge to Euclidean geometry is a matter of record—see, for instance, Professor Bell⁵—and for many years many of their mechanics questions were really exercises in geometry. Professor Littlewood records that when Professor Hardy introduced his ideas on mathematical analysis at Cambridge in 1908,⁶ he had to lecture "like a missionary preaching to cannibals".

Hardy himself⁷ wrote in 1940 that if anyone found a use for his mathematics he would do something else, that the mathematics needed by engineers was done in the first year of a maths degree course, and prided himself that his mathematics could do no-one any harm, unlike the poison gas and high explosive produced by chemists. Hardy did a great deal for British mathematics, and I have no wish to emulate those modern authors who denigrate the great dead because it is safe. Nonetheless, in his views he showed himself ignorant of contemporary technology, for Nyquist⁸ published his famous paper on the stability of servo-mechanisms (automatic control devices) in 1932, and this depends on Cauchy's theorem on functions of a complex variable and corollaries to that theorem which not even Hardy studied in his first undergraduate year. As a prophet Professor Hardy was even less successful, for his own pet mathematical analysis, together with differential geometry, was being used by Einstein, con-

temporarily with Hardy's active days, to develop the theories of special and general relativity which led to far more dreadful weapons than those to which Hardy objected. Yet Hardy was in the direct line of Plato and Aristotle—at least as represented by Farrington, and, *malgré lui*, by Zimmern—in his contempt not merely for the misuse of science, but for its use.

For the parallel between the ancient and the modern administrator, manager, or soldier, I will take the standard example of the Greek view of *barausia*, from Xenophon: "What are called the mechanical arts carry a social stigma, and are rightly dishonoured in our cities for the workers at these trades simply have not got the time to perform the offices of friendship or citizenship. Consequently they are looked upon as bad friends and bad patriots, and in some cities, especially the warlike ones, it is not legal for a citizen to ply a mechanical trade". We have also seen above that Plato thought the user of a thing to have a greater scientific knowledge than the maker.

The modern counterpart to this thinking can or could be found, among other places, in the Services, where the "user" frequently has greater status and opportunities for promotion than the "maintainer", although the latter often has higher technical qualifications, and, at least in the Navy, shares the same risks as the "user". In fact the Navy has tried, with the establishment of the general list and the abolishing of distinguishing marks on uniforms, to change this attitude, and even before these changes it was by no means the worst offender in this respect. (Having once been a "user" myself, I must plead guilty to some sympathy with Plato's argument, but not to the lengths to which he took it).

It would be unjust to fail to record some of the excessive opinions on the other side of the fence. The hubris of the nineteenth and early twentieth century scientists has nearly died, although some inheritors still live on like new born stars in clouds of primeval or continuously created gas. Sir James Jeans⁹ and Sir Arthur Eddington¹⁰ spring to mind, as writers of popular scientific books, and they have been duly castigated by Professor Stebbing.¹¹ Professor Andrade¹² brings a far more refreshing clarity and humility to his "popular" book. It is far more disturbing when the earlier hubris penetrates serious works, as when Lord Rayleigh and Sir James Jeans failed to explain certain radiation phenomena by classical physics and called the result a "catastrophe"; and this attitude can still be found in such books as Richtmeyer, Kennard and Lauritsen.¹³

Despite these latter examples, more from pure science than from technology, my thesis here is that the general trend of English academic education and training has been to belittle technology, and that this is a major mistake. I have seen evidence for its bad effects in all three armed Services, and I have heard of similar cases in industry, where technologists have simply not discussed technical problems with management on the grounds that management wouldn't understand them anyway. My own view on the best educational cure for this situation is in full agreement with that of Captain Roskill:

"My emphasis on the importance of humane studies must not cause the reader to jump to the conclusion that I would disparage the importance of science. Indeed, to do so would be absurd at a time when the natural sciences are exerting a profound influence on every aspect of human life. What I do believe is that science alone cannot prove

adequate in education, and that technological competence alone cannot unlock the doors of leadership. I have noticed that the greatest scientists whom I have been privileged to know have invariably been what I would call humane scientists, that is to say they have possessed a clear understanding of the value of humane studies, as well as the understanding and the skill to further their work in their own special fields. By the same token, the finest humanists of my acquaintance have been those with knowledge of the philosophy and methods of the scientists and technologists. In sum, the leader has to achieve a balance between the essential need for professional competence in his own field, and that broader understanding of human problems which can only come from a wide and largely self-acquired education."¹⁴

The fact that Captain Roskill limited his classes in the way he did only serves to emphasise what has been said earlier about the general trend in academic education.

* * *

Three bad effects arise from this ignorance and hence prejudice about technology. One is to exaggerate the capacities of science and technology, so that they become a sort of modern witchcraft, the age-old blasphemy whereby man seeks to create and mould in his own image and likeness, or at least to become more God-like. This is fed by some of the "popular science" texts noted above, by cheap popular journalism and some brands of science fiction, the phrase "electronic brain" for digital computer being a sample of this non-thought, at least when taken seriously.

Then there is the opposite camp, that of the new Luddites, which ascribes all our modern woes to technology, again an age-old trait, whereby we blame the fruits of our own follies on everything except ourselves. Technology in itself is an enormously powerful tool, open to misuse due to the personal selfishness or ignorance of individuals, or the collective political or economic selfishness of groups, and widespread ignorance of technology is hardly likely to lead to wise use of it by groups. Man's misuse of the instruments man has made is more likely to be the fault of the user than of the maker of the instrument. All too often, those who inveigh loudest against technology, being themselves without much practical creative talent, would be the first to suffer were the fruits of modern technology suddenly removed from them, in medicine, or food, or transport, or water supplies, or clothing, or housing, while they themselves may be responsible for the misuse of technology, from weedkillers and insecticides to motor cars and automation, either through their own ignorance and selfishness, or through their ignorance or apathy allowing misuse by the group.

More often, these first two effects of the ignorance of technology, regrettable though they may be, are amusing or irritating depending on one's frame of mind as one listens to the victims, but, being the product of past failures and prejudices in education and elsewhere, they are beyond the scope of this article.

The third effect of the ignorance of technology, and the one that in the present moment we can do most about, is that it is given altogether insufficient attention at present in the education of boys at academic secondary schools throughout the country, not least at Ampleforth.

This has two results, of which the first is the "swing away from science", causing a shortage of *applied scientists* and *technologists*. A large number of recent reports and projects and proposed re-arrangements of

academic courses are now attempting to deal with this. To mention only three, the Dainton Report recommends that all sixth-formers should study maths, and makes one or two other proposals of doubtful validity even in an "ideal" society, where maths masters abound and all sixth-formers avidly study subsidiary subjects. Four examining boards have produced an "A" level syllabus in engineering. I have seen one, which appears to be a physics syllabus with some changes in emphasis, plus proposals for technological projects which will be examined. It has not yet been accepted by all engineering faculties, and it has been rejected by several physics faculties, whereas ordinary "A" level physics qualifications are acceptable to both faculties in all universities.

"Project Technology" sponsored by the Schools Council and centred on the Loughborough Colleges aims at developing the curriculum to encourage engineering and technology generally in the schools. Whatever its aims may be on paper, it does at present give the impression that it is mainly concerned with increasing the country's supply of technologists by direct encouragement of boys and girls into specialising in technological topics. As discussed below, I believe that this is a mistake, and is treating symptoms rather than the disease itself. This is not meant to imply criticism of the excellent work being done by the Project Technology team, to whom both Ampleforth and I owe our thanks for practical help in the form of the sale and gift of equipment, and advice on various topics.

Another result of the dearth of technology in academic secondary schools is the shortage of the technologically efficient *manager*, or even of the manager with an understanding and appreciation of the problems of technologists. If and when this is rectified, the pay and status of technologists will improve, if they themselves are worthy of it, and the problem of the supply of technologists will solve itself. This shortage of the technologically efficient manager is perhaps the most serious deficiency in this country today. I have little sympathy for the academic who criticises the administrative work of others, being himself devoid of administrative responsibility, so in support of my thesis I call the opinion of Mr McNamara, quoted at the head of this article, and that of Mr Hugh Parker, a member of the American management consultancy firm of McKinsey's, who was interviewed on British television on 17th January this year. He was asked why his American firm should have been called in to advise on management by British firms, and the gist of his reply was that while the best of British managers were very good indeed, as good as any in the world, there were not enough men in management who were fully qualified to do their jobs, and that our managers have fallen behind the times, and show an opposition to change, partly due to tradition, and partly due to the fear of the effects of change on themselves.

* * *

The reasons for this shortage of managers with adequate knowledge of technology are not far to seek. A boy at Ampleforth, especially if he takes full advantage of his Remove C year, has an excellent opportunity of getting a broad general education to "O" level in both arts and pure science subjects. Until recently he has had virtually no opportunity for formal education in technology in the school at all, and to judge from the spate of recent literature on the subject, both official and otherwise, the school is not very far different from many others in this respect, although undoubtedly some good academic secondary schools are well ahead of us in

this field. If a boy from one of the many schools which offer little education in technology reads arts or pure science at his university, he may again have little contact with any formal education in technology. He may then, if he goes into industry and does well, end as a manager with highly competent technologists under him, without having much, if any, conception of what they do, and without the "ability to communicate" or "facility for dialogue". The same can be true if he goes into the Services, although there he may be given technical courses which will fit him for his job. Most of all does this seem to have been true in the recent past in the Civil Service, where some appalling decisions have been taken on technological subjects, some of which have hit the headlines. They are by no means the only offenders, however. For one example of military misuse by Britain of a major British technological advance in weapons, I believe that the Army signally failed to make use of the true abilities of the tank when it appeared in the First World War, while for an opinion of its use in the Cyrenaica campaign of 1941/2 by British commanders I will quote Sir Basil Liddell-Hart: "None of those who were put in command of our armoured corps and divisions during the period came from the Royal Tank Corps, which I knew well, and I have always thought that their tactical aberrations were mainly the product of ideas and instincts derived from the era of horsed cavalry. By contrast the German commanders, from Rommel down, were students of my writings, and my theory of the conduct of mechanised operations, a fact amply acknowledged by them. It is evident (from the campaign), that they understood (my theory and writings) much better".¹⁹ I should add that it is not Service chauvinism which leads me to pick an example from a Service and era other than my own, only native caution and the Official Secrets Act.

To descend to a rather lower level, and my own experience, there was a piece of test equipment for a missile with whose testing I was once associated. This test rig stood five or six feet high, weighed several hundredweight, and cost several thousand pounds. The instructions for its installation and use stated that it had to be brought to within about a quarter of a degree of the vertical with the aid of a small spirit level built into the machine. I have been present at a meeting at which a senior manager of the main contractors for the missile stated that this equipment had to be installed in every sea-going ship of the Navy which was to carry the missile. I assume his opinion was affected by the fact that the instrument was painted a battleship grey and had a large brass-rimmed hole in one side. I could multiply instances of this nature, with examples drawn from the then Ministry of Supply, the Services involved in the testing of the missile, and the firms involved in making the equipment.

PART II: THE GENERAL ARGUMENT PARTICULARISED

If there be anyone on whose ear my frequent and honourable mention of practical activities has a harsh and displeasing sound because he is wholly given over in love and reverence to contemplation, let him bethink himself that he is the enemy of his own desires. For in nature practical results are not only the means to improve well-being but the guarantee of truth.

Francis Bacon, *Cogitata et Visa*.

If my arguments about the ignorance of technology and the most important effects of this ignorance are accepted, one must now discuss how this ignorance can best be dispelled in general and in the particular case of Ampleforth.

I do not believe that the solution lies in the direction of a new "A" level syllabus in engineering, nor in the direction of all sixth-formers doing maths, even as a subsidiary subject. Nor do I believe that the solution lies in the provision of more and better facilities for machine shops or practical electronics, understood in the sense of making rather than using electronic devices. I am all in favour of improving these facilities, but this improvement is not a major contribution to the solution of the main problem, which is that of providing all boys, and especially those who are studying arts or pure science, with some acquaintance with the more important aspects of modern technology. Unless they are very unlucky, boys intending to go in for any form of engineering should get an adequate introduction to modern technology after they leave the school, but this is by no means so likely for all the rest, who form the vast majority.

There is one possible exception to my resistance to proposed syllabus changes. This is with regard to the digital computer techniques now being taught at "O" and "A" level, which are included in some of the new maths syllabuses and in at least two books on computer programming for schools, one in the computer language known as "FORTRAN" and the other in "ALGOL". It would be most interesting to see a contribution from the mathematicians on this topic. One thing on which both mathematicians and physicists are agreed is that if we do go in for computer programming here, it should be via postal services for card or tape systems, or possibly via a direct line to a computer if the idea becomes very popular. We do not want a large (by school standards) digital computer here, as we have not got the maintenance effort available for the older computers, nor the money to get the newer ones. Buying time on a large commercial computer will undoubtedly prove cheaper and better at the moment.

Fortunately, we are now extremely well placed at Ampleforth to continue with traditional arts and pure science courses, including such modernisations as the Nuffield projects in science where these prove useful, and to superimpose on these the introductions to the third (i.e. technological) culture which I have suggested are vital to modern education, especially for the future manager and administrator. Three main channels are open to us—the Remove "C" year, in which a boy intending to specialise in arts or pure science should get his pure science "O" levels, and his "O" level in additional maths or in "AO" maths as long as this option is open. In the Remove "C" maths courses, such topics as linear programming and circuit logic are already being taught to some mathematics sets and some of these boys will get the opportunity to see the digital computers at Messrs Rowntree's or at Catterick Camp in operation. In pure science, starting late in science as most of our boys do compared to most grammar school boys, we can only hope to bring our boys up to a good standard in the normal syllabus, without going much outside it. It is also highly desirable that some introduction to statistics should be achieved in the Remove "C" year or later. Both this and the digital computer techniques mentioned above are the province of the mathematicians, and there I will leave the topic. My argument carries as much force in their field as in mine.

The main application of this article is to the boy who has finished his Remove "C" year, preferably with "O" levels in pure science and additional maths as well as his arts subjects. If he has clearly decided that he wants to go in for a technological career, the new prize scheme whereby he can either exercise practical skill in the making of some instrument, or study

some technological subject and write a thesis on it, give him more openings for his emergent skills than have been available hitherto. Recent examples in this field are two counting devices for use with Geiger-Müller counters, and a television transparency scanner, of which the former are in use in the laboratories here. The third opening for the introduction of technology, besides the Remove "C" year and the prize scheme, is the scheme whereby boys choose one General Studies course of two periods a week for each of their first five terms in the Sixth Form. This choice can be made from a variety of thirty or more courses offered each year. It is important that the choice should be absolutely free, and from as large a selection as possible. This goes some way towards eliminating or at least reducing the common resistance to non-examined subsidiary subjects, or even minor examined subjects, of which the writers of the Dainton Report do not seem to have heard.

I believe that the boy who has decided to specialise in technology should not choose technological subjects for his general studies course, but that his general studies could well be directed more towards logic, philosophy, history, languages or psychology. The boy who is wondering whether or not to read technology may get some help from technological general studies courses, but possibly more from private thought and perhaps a prize thesis in the field which he is thinking of entering.

For the rest, the boys hoping to take arts degrees or a professional qualification, and the pure scientists, I believe that their general studies should include as much technology as possible, since their formal education has already emphasised both arts and pure science, especially if they have taken "O" levels in additional maths and science in their Remove "C" year. An exception to this generalisation is probably the pure scientist or mathematician, who should strike a balance between arts and technology in his general studies.

One thing that is quite certain is that technology is at least as academically respectable as either arts or pure science, and in many gatherings the topic of conversation is at least as likely to be technological as it is to be on literature or the arts. If the conversation is informed as well as polite, so much the better.

* * *

A large number of topics for possible projects have recently been published, and there are others for which we have, or could fairly easily produce, the necessary facilities. These possibilities include a simple course on the thermal efficiencies of engines and on metallurgy and strength of materials. A more demanding problem might be to compare scale effects between model boats on a test tank and full-size boats on the lakes. All of these are more suitable as projects for intending technologists than as courses for embryo managers and administrators, and it is necessary to discuss the type of course necessary for the latter much larger class.

The two examples I quoted earlier of mismanagement—Army ignorance of the new tactics necessary for tank warfare and a senior manager's ignorance of details of a piece of equipment in which his firm was closely concerned—were deliberately chosen to illustrate two different types of ignorance of technology, with only one of which we can begin to deal at school. The range of technology is so vast and grows so quickly that it would be ridiculous to try and deal with detail in any one topic, nor should the embryo manager allow himself to get lost in a wealth of

technical detail so that he can't see the wood for the trees. Nor can we even try to cover all the possible topics. But we can teach some ideas of wide general application, and we should aim at the tactics and strategy of the user of technology, teaching only enough technical detail to illustrate the kind of problem he will meet, and some of the possible methods of solution of those problems, so that he no longer thinks of tank warfare in terms of the horse, nor of the computer in terms of the abacus or slide rule.

Accepting that it is up to the individual to get and keep up to date with the technical details of his particular business, which he will not in general learn on a first degree course, let alone at school, let us then consider the types of course which are most suitable. They should obviously be of wide general application. The equipment required must be available, and the specialist knowledge required to give them must be already available or reasonably easily acquired.

The biggest modern advances in technology, simultaneously offering the biggest advantages and posing the biggest problems, both to managers and in the fields of economics, sociology, politics, and many other aspects of social studies, are probably the digital computer and automation. The digital computer, besides the vast new design powers offered by its immense speed of computation, offers a release from the mechanical side of all forms of book-keeping, whether in banks or stores or spare parts departments, which for the first time offers a morally acceptable substitute for Plato's slaves. Automation similarly offers release for thousands from the mechanical repetitive operations of the assembly line and the mass-production machine shop. In both cases the machine does, both better and quicker, jobs which in any case are degrading for a human being, since they require neither thought nor real skill. But release from doing something, however unsatisfying, to doing nothing at all, is no release. The people released have to be trained, or re-trained, to do jobs, which should be real jobs, not depression-inspired substitutes like digging holes and filling them in again, nor a cottage-based industry of potters and weavers; for modern problems are not solved by retreating into the past. Perhaps the biggest challenge of all here is to future educators. I do not suggest that we can offer solutions to these problems, but at least an awareness of the capabilities and limitations of modern and projected future equipment will make it possible to comprehend the existence and the magnitude of the problems, which gives hope that the problems may be solved, since a problem ignored will never be solved.

Of lesser importance than the digital computer, but still of great importance to the designer, and of some direct practical application on a school "A" level physics course, is the analogue computer. This has the advantage of ease of programming, and the disadvantage of reduced accuracy, as compared with the digital computer. Newer applications tend towards hybrid computers, in which an analogue computer feeds problems or parts of problems requiring higher numerical accuracy into a digital machine, which may feed back into the analogue machine at a later stage, or print the answer itself. At present there are no school problems for which a digital computer is required, although statistical problems could always be expanded in this direction, and possible changes in the maths syllabus could also cause a change in this opinion, as indicated above. However, boys do now meet, in an "A" level physics syllabus, differential equations for the solution of which an analogue computer is admirably

suited, and Mr Sellers of the Physics Department has made a simple six-amplifier electronic analogue computer during the last year. This has already been used on one sixth-form physics course, and is now being used on a sixth-form general studies course. The first four boys on the general studies course have all been scientists, but future engineers will meet the computer in their physics course, and I hope that later the general studies course will contain mainly boys from arts and pure science courses.

The techniques learnt on the School's analogue computer are directly applicable in the field of automation. Here we have been extremely lucky, thanks to the servo-mechanism and allied equipment given to us by Ferranti Ltd., photographs of which are in this issue.

The ideas involved in the servo-mechanism are in use throughout all forms of heavy and light industry and the Services, wherever automation is used, and the principles of feedback involved are also used in the design of electronic equipment; hence the transfer of ideas from the analogue computer to the servo-mechanism implied above. This has now become a distinct branch of engineering, that of the control engineer. A first course in the equipment is being given this term.

Having introduced these two forms of technology, it is essential to show the future manager how he can use them. Just as the armed forces need to develop their ideas on tactics and strategy as weapon technologies change, so the manager needs to develop management techniques as the technology of his industry develops and changes. In both cases, an understanding of the capabilities and limitations of the equipment in use is essential, and a broad but not detailed understanding of the technical problems involved and of possible methods of solution is highly desirable for the efficient management of men and materials. This problem was first tackled, as the editor has indicated, by the pioneers of radar, Sir Robert Watson-Watt, with Sir Henry Tizard, Professor Blackett, and others. It was developed first in the R.A.F., then in the other two Services, in each case being initiated by the need to use radar efficiently. Sir Robert Watson-Watt¹⁶ claims to have launched the first two Operational Research studies in 1937, and to have made urgent recommendations for its introduction in the U.S.A. in January and March 1942. For a brief history, see Rivett and Ackoff.¹⁷ Operational Research became firmly enscathed in the three Services, but it penetrated American industry and universities far more quickly than it did over here, with the result that many of the source books in the subject are American, as for instance Churchman, Ackoff and Arnoff,¹⁸ and Miller and Starr.¹⁹ Operational Research has only recently been established as a discipline in English universities, and we are again in the position of seeing American industry using an original British idea long before the British started to make real use of it in industry, and even longer before it penetrated British universities. Operational Research has been defined in Churchman, Ackoff and Arnoff as: "the application of scientific methods, techniques and tools to problems involving the operations of systems, so as to provide those in control of the operations with the optimum solutions to the problems". I do not particularly like this definition as it stands, since it could apply equally well to any form of systems analysis, and I would like to add to the definition the words: "Unlike other forms of systems analysis, Operational Research concerns itself with the entire system and all its implications, including especially the men as well as the machines, the way

in which the men control the machines, and the administrative processes which the men themselves should obey, including all forms of management to the highest level". The importance of such an aid to management will readily be seen.

It should be stressed that Operational Research is only an aid to management, not a substitute for management itself, which still has to take the decisions; the function of Operational Research is to remove some of the need for crystal ball gazing from the decision-making process, just as radar is an aid to safe navigation, not a substitute for it. It is true that Operational Research, as found today in some British firms and government departments, does not fulfil all the rôle indicated in my definition, but is emasculated and turned into a department for statistical analysis, or mathematical analysis of parts of problems found within the firm. This, perhaps, is what Mr Parker meant when he said that some British managers show an opposition to change, partly due to tradition, and partly due to the fear of the effects of change on themselves. Although mathematical and statistical analysis are very important weapons in the armoury of the O.R. team, they are by no means the only ones, and the O.R. teams envisaged in Churchman, Ackoff and Arnoff, for instance, include mathematicians, physicists, electrical and/or chemical engineers, industrial psychologists, economists and statisticians.

Two approaches to teaching these ideas are useful. One is to treat the problem as one in mathematics, and teach the necessary techniques in probability and statistics, linear algebra and linear programming—although here again the iterative techniques actually used normally require the use of a digital computer—queuing theory, etc. It is possible to give a useful introduction to the mathematical ideas involved without the use of very complex mathematics or of a digital computer, and this is already being done with some mathematics sets. Another approach is to study individual case histories, having given adequate information on the men and machines involved. As the techniques of the servo-mechanism are themselves often used to study O.R. problems, and as O.R. problems are often concerned with man/machine systems involving computers and servo-mechanisms, the third General Studies course which I intend to offer here in the near future is this one of concrete application of case histories to systems involving the analogue computer and the servo-mechanism which have already been studied by the boys earlier; my reason for this is the opinion given in Miller and Starr (p. 116) that concrete models have advantages over abstract models for communication and observation, or, in plainer English, that most people will understand the problem more easily if they can see and understand the hardware involved. On the other hand, to quote Miller and Starr again, abstract models have greater flexibility for analysis and manipulation; in other words, having understood the problem, you still need to be able to solve it, and then you will need some maths. I believe the two approaches are complementary and between them they offer a better introduction to the broad ideas of technology and its applications than has been available at Ampleforth before—or indeed at most other schools, if one may judge from the educational journals.

* * *

As a schoolmaster, one is necessarily out of the main stream of advances in technology and management techniques. Comments on the thoughts outlined in this article from those with more knowledge and experience, especially with more recent experience in this field, would be very welcome. Suggestions for courses, or case histories for the Operational Research courses, preferably with current lists of books on the subjects suggested for courses, would also be welcome. If the course suggested involves equipment, concrete aid in the form of obsolescent working equipment would be most welcome of all. By "obsolescent" in this context is meant equipment that is still entirely useful for teaching modern principles, but inadequate in performance for a research laboratory or testing section in a factory. Our available maintenance and repair effort is very limited, so we have only a limited capacity for equipment that is not working, but if you are in doubt whether to scrap it or give it to us, please try us first.

Since writing this, I have read de Ferranti²⁹, who applies to the national field much of what I have tried to express in the educational field.

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BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Scriptural Studies; the Church in England, 300-1603; the Church in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century England; the Church's History—Assisi, Byzantium, Rome; Matters Military; General.

I. SCRIPTURAL STUDIES

Hamish Swanson THE KINGS AND THE COVENANT BIRTHS & Oates 1969 XVIII + 214 p 25/-

A most readable book, a popular account in the best sense of that phrase, written in a clear and vigorous style which yet sacrifices nothing to accuracy and sound scholarship. It is an account of the Hebrew people from the election of Saul as their first king (c. 1020 B.C. in the author's estimation) to the fall of the southern kingdom under the onslaught of the forces of the neo-Babylonian Empire in 587. But the writer does not confine himself to treating of events within that chronological framework. He deals with the nature of Israelite history and historians, with the latter's narratives of creation and subsequent pre-history. We are given rich and rewarding insights into various perplexing questions; particularly into certain puzzling aspects of the Exodus narratives. We can better understand such things as the giving of the Ten Commandments to Moses; the pillars of cloud and fire that guided the Israelites through the wilderness; the episode of the golden calf. Indeed, the whole chapter on the Yahwist of King Solomon's court is both fascinating and enlightening. These are just some of the good things, and one hopes that the book will be widely read.

However, I must confess that, given the book's title, I was a bit disappointed by the overall impression. The wood of the major theme is obscured somewhat by the trees of historical fact and interpretation. Yahweh's relationship with Israel is best expressed through analogy with the covenant, as exemplified by Hittite sovereignty treaties of the 2nd millennium B.C. The covenant is initiated by Yahweh through election; Israel is his people by choice. Though an act of love, it yet carries with it responsibilities and obligations on the part of the recipients: of faith in God and obedience to his commands. Thus the unity of the people is religious, not ethnic. The only genuinely political society in the O.T. is the monarchy. The monarchy ended in invasion and defeat, deportation and captivity. And it is also the story of the nation's recurring rebellion against Yahweh, her pleas for forgiveness, her pardon and restoration. Now in the ancient world a god without a people vanished. But not so Yahweh. He endures despite the defeat and exile of his people. This in turn extends hope for the continued existence of Israel. Now the author states all this, but somehow it doesn't emerge with the clarity one would like to see. The author does not seem to bring out the basic theme of the book of Judges: election—sin—repentance—forgiveness; a theme which extends through the whole period of the monarchy. Indeed, one does not find election mentioned until p. 189. And in considering the import of the Davidic monarchy insufficient emphasis has been attached to the prophecy of Nathan (II Sam. 7). The *herem* or Holy War is several times mentioned but not satisfactorily discussed; while the thorny problem of Bethel-Ai seems to have escaped the author.

Misprints are few. I noted one on p. 96 (Yahweh for Yahwist two lines from foot) and two names in the bibliography (should read *Mawinkel* and *Noth*) where one is surprised by the omission of Mendenhall's pioneering study on the covenant. Finally, there is no substitute for reading the Word of God for oneself; it would greatly have helped to have the passages from Scripture identified.

Fort Augustus Abbey,
Inverness-shire.

ROBERT MACKENZIE, O.S.B.

Jean Daniélou THE INFANCY NARRATIVES BIRTHS & Oates 1968 126 p 14/-

Cardinal Daniélou need not, I hope, be introduced to readers of this JOURNAL. His work in the liturgical and ecumenical movements, and his reputation as a church historian, as a renowned patristic scholar, and as co-founder of the *Sources Chrétiennes* series of Greek and Latin fathers, is widely known. In this book, which makes invaluable Christmas reading, he again manifests that admirable blend of critical erudition in the fields of biblical and patristic studies, and a deep prayerful spirituality, that makes the reading of any of his works a "spiritual experience" in the strict sense of that phrase. Although most apt for the Christmas season, this study of the different stages in the growth of the infant Christ might be read with profit at any time.

V.A.B.

Rudolf Schnackenburg THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST JOHN Volume I BIRTHS & Oates/ Herder & Herder 1968 638 p 115/-

There has been a strange dearth of scholarly commentaries on the gospels written by Catholics, almost since the days of the modernist crisis at the beginning of this century. There was virtually nothing of the standard of world scholarship except Lagrange's great commentaries, constantly reprinted since the first decade of the century. Nor, indeed, was there much in the way of non-Catholic scientific commentaries on the gospels available in English. But in the last three years two commentaries on Saint John, both by Catholics, have become available in English, which did fair to become standard works of enduring scholarship. These are Raymond Brown's commentary in the American Anchor Bible series (covering only chapters I-XII), and now Rudolf Schnackenburg's work in the Herder series of Theological Commentaries on the New Testament (covering only chapters I-IV, in spite of its 638 pages).

The first two hundred pages of Schnackenburg's work form an introduction. One might think that in this length all the fundamental questions could be treated exhaustively; but in fact the book is produced on such a generous scale (large print and thick pages) that there is less matter than might be expected. This is not to say that the author skimps any questions. His reading is immense; the 36-page bibliography to this first volume contains, at a rough calculation, some 1,500 titles of books and articles. On each question he gives a sympathetic and respectful exposition of views which have been held, and then draws a conclusion. One of the joys about his conclusions is that they are seldom black-and-white; he is never dogmatic, and leaves open possibilities where the question cannot be finally decided. There is no nervous clinging to insubstantial certainties for the sake of Catholic truth. A particular example of this is his treatment of the question of authorship in chapters 4 and 5. He does not insist *a priori* that the gospel must have been written by the apostle John. The erstwhile Catholic insistence on this was the result of a reaction against those who put the gospel late in the second century, a dating which is now excluded by the discovery of a papyrus of 130 A.D. containing fragments of the gospel. It is no longer held to be so important that the gospels should actually have been written by the evangelists whose name they bear, so long as they are "considered 'apostolic'", that is, the testimony of the authorised guarantors of the primitive Christian kerygma" (p. 77). The author does not bury his head in the sand, as the older Catholic school of exegesis too often felt itself compelled to do, but uses the results of what was once originally hostile criticism to reach a broader and more profound view of inspiration.

The primary impression left by this introduction is one of balance. Transitory excesses and enthusiasms are avoided; the vogue for the displacement of pages in an original text of John is now more and more abandoned (p. 54), but there is still room for it in a limited number of cases; the rush to explain John's ideas by Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls has subsided, and Schnackenburg soberly concludes that the ideas of Qumran are rather parallel to John than sources of his thought (p. 128-135).

Compared with this excellent introduction the actual commentary on the text is a little disappointing. It is not very clearly set out, and the mammoth paragraphs make it somewhat turgid reading; the pearls tend to be rather buried. On the more

general questions the author is still at his best; it is only in the verse by verse commentary that he is less rich theologically than might have been hoped. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that he is writing for initiates, and pre-supposes a good deal of elementary knowledge (e.g. on the wisdom literature and rabbinic writing as a background to the Prologue). But he is full of wise and interesting comments. The reconstruction of the Logos-hymn which went to form the Prologue is fascinating, though the author modestly claims that any reconstruction is inevitably personal (p. 226). The comparison of the treatment of John the Baptist in the fourth gospel and in the synoptics is very well done (p. 283). Typical of the author's approach is his refusal to opt for a single symbolism of the marriage feast of Cana to the exclusion of all others; he takes all the possibilities as all contributing to the revelation of Christ at this first sign (p. 339).

These are but random dips at points which happen to have appealed to this reviewer; there are countless others. This monumental work will form the crown of many years of work by one of the most respected figures of German Catholic biblical scholarship.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

II. THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND, 300-1603

ed. M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson. CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN 300-700 Leicester University Press 1968 221 p 50/-

No period of Christianity in Britain is more opaque than the Roman and sub-Roman era. The Christians of that time elude the historian "like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing": we sense, rather than see, their presence. A few, like Patrick or Ninian, appear in so many places at once that the speed with which they move blurs the image which they leave; like Will o' the Wisp they lure scholars across dark, mist-wreathed moors and trap them in textual quagmires or philological quicksands or plunge them headlong down forgotten shafts of chronology. Notwithstanding all this, a group of learned and ingenious "necromancers" assembled at Nottingham University in 1967 to grapple with wraiths; this important book, published by Leicester University, records their efforts and success. A manifesto to encourage the defeatist, a chart to guide the confused, a model (on the whole) of technique, its appeal is primarily to professional scholars and students, but since it presents as clear and comprehensive a picture of the British Church as can be found anywhere its contents deserve wider publication.

Christianity is known to have reached these shores (on the evidence of Tertullian and Origen) by the early third century, perhaps brought by Jews like Aaron of Caerleon. The martyrdom of St Alban (recorded in impressive sources) is better dated to 208-9 or 250-60 than to Diocletian's persecution (303-12) which was never implemented in England. It was, however, only with Constantine's conversion in 312 that Christianity in Britain offered a serious challenge to the old faiths. Being very much a "state" and a Roman religion it flourished chiefly in urban and military centres, in the south-east and the north that is. If Gaul was the pattern for the ecclesiastical, as it was for the civil, government of Britain, each *civitas* and some lesser communities must have had a bishop, some 28 in total and perhaps under four metropolitans. All we know for certain are the sees of three bishops who were at the Council of Arles in 314 and that three who attended the Council of Rimini in 359 were so poor that they accepted a state subsidy towards their expenses; the presence at Colchester—going out of use, while the mosaics and wall-paintings at Frampton, Hinton St Mary and Lullingstone witness to the Christianising of the villa aristocracy outside the towns. We even find Christian sub-urban communities growing up round a martyr's shrine, as at Verulamium, alongside the still pagan town. As yet, however, there are few signs of monasticism,

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which only reached northern Gaul, under the stimulus of St Martin of Tours, in the 380s; possibly before the century closed Victorius, Martin's disciple and bishop of Rouen, introduced it into Kent where Augustine later found churches dedicated to Martin; whether Ninian had contact with Martin, or even belongs to the fourth century, and whether he established a religious community or developed an existing one at Whithorn in south-west Scotland are questions which elicit conflicting answers in this book. Narrowly based as Christianity in Britain might be, it profited from the cultural advantages of a vigorous *romanitas*, which was sustained by flourishing schools of grammar and rhetoric. Christian art in the villas showed the same readiness as on the Continent to express Christian ideals in pagan symbols and myths: Bellerophon slaying the Chimera represents the victory of truth over falsehood, of virtue over vice and of life over death. Theology when expounded by a master like Pelagius took on a Stoic hue and aroused enthusiastic support from the classically educated British Christians.

Early in the next century things began to change. In 410 the Empire washed its hands of Britain, and the neglect, coupled with Saxon wars and invasions, altered the context of the faith. The Saxon barbarians enlisted by the British in the 420s rebelled in the 440s; a long and bitter struggle, during which some British fled abroad (perhaps to north-east Spain where a distinctly British Church is detectable later), ended in native victory in the 490s; war broke out again in the 550s and became a Saxon conquest and settlement in the last thirty years of that century. The Roman administrative machine worked on after 410, but was operated by men who increasingly failed to understand it; Latin became an official language of Church and government only, no longer a spoken vernacular in what had been—according to Professor Greene—a "massively bilingual" people; schools of rhetoric continued to function throughout the fifth and early sixth centuries, but to an elite who ever more rarely heard Latin spoken, so that in the early sixth Gildas (here reassembled after some distinguished efforts to dismember him) could write Latin that was grammatically correct and stylistically aspiring, but rhythmically uncouth. By his time the unity of Roman administration had been displaced by numerous local kings and sub-kings; the urban bishop had disappeared with the *civitas* and been replaced by the tribal bishop; metropolitans are unheard of and not even implied; monasteries were beginning to assume their later importance as centres of administration, education and evangelism. Soon after his time Christianity was expelled from lowland Britain by the Saxons.

The same period, however, witnessed notable developments. In Wales in the fifth century the Church emerged from almost total darkness and was soon to experience its heyday, stimulated perhaps—though Professor Davies would challenge this—by sea-way contact with the Mediterranean Church. It was from Wales in all probability that Patrick came (despite an attempt here to find his origins in Carlisle); according to Professor Bieler's fresh reading of the evidence, Patrick, after early rejection for orders by the British Church, was trained and encouraged in Gaul by Germanus of Auxerre, and was only reluctantly entrusted with the British mission to Ireland after the premature death of Palladius. It was from Wales, too, one writer surmises, that Galloway first received Christianity. The only certainty about Ninian's mission is that he did evangelise the area, even if he was not the first to do so; his influence was probably felt in Strathclyde in his own time and perhaps is detectable in the Forth and Tweed basins in the sixth and seventh centuries; the conversion of north-east Scotland by Ninian is convincingly refuted. The rest of Scotland waited on the Irish mission of Columba.

Thus as Christianity was edged out of the area we know as England, it expanded in the so-called Celtic fringe; there, in a society never acquainted with, or long separated from, Roman social and political organisation, and under the influence of ideas and institutions from the eastern Mediterranean, the British Church developed characteristics which were to have immense importance for England and Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Such is the picture, necessarily tentative, conveyed by this volume. If enlargement of it rests, as Professor Hanson says, chiefly for the archaeologists, clarification seems

to the present reviewer more likely to result from the textual and literary work outlined by Dr Morris and so well exemplified by M. Kerlouégan.

PETER HEATH.

University of Hull.

Charles W. Jones *SAINTS' LIVES AND CHRONICLES IN EARLY ENGLAND* Archon Books 1968 232 p \$7

This book was first published in 1947 and its reappearance twenty-one years later in unaltered form is both fortunate and embarrassing: fortunate because it is an essay of vast erudition and penetrating insight which has received too little recognition on this side of the Atlantic, embarrassing because the two appendices (translations of Felix's "Life of St Guthlac" and of the Whitby "Life of St Gregory the Great") while understandably inadequate in the immediate post-war years, are unforgivably so now. It was no doubt impossible to attempt to translate afresh from original manuscripts in the Europe of 1945-6, but since then both these texts have been edited and translated—in 1956 and 1968 respectively—by the late Dr Colgrave. This said, the rest of the volume is indispensable for the serious student of Bede and contemporary sources; indeed, many of Dr Colgrave's points were first made by Professor Jones.

Secular learning so forcefully expelled from the monastic curriculum by St Benedict came back in through the *opus Dei*. The choirman had to teach the novices to sing—and therefore to read and count; he had to know when a saint's feast was due and when Easter would occur—and therefore he had to keep almanacs. The solar calendar provided a table of days of the year, against which the names of appropriate saints were entered in the margin. The lunar calendar afforded a table of years, the date of Easter being entered in one margin, unique happenings (eclipses, floods, royal deaths) which helped to identify the year in the other. One man kept both tables and eventually expanded both margins. The saint's name was enlarged by edifying material into a lesson for his Mass. The lesson grew into hagiography, a form which by the annual recurrence of the feast defied originality and by its separation from the Easter tables defied chronological precision, which was anyway irrelevant to meditation; to enlarge a name, about which little was written down and possibly too little known until posthumous recognition aroused efforts of recollection—to enlarge this into a lesson which would inspire and elevate its hearers the writer fell back on commonplaces, chief among which were miracles. Thus Bede, author of many scientific works, wrote the "Life of Cuthbert"—meditative, vague, and absorbed by miracles; the form partook of romance, a book of manners. Contrast his factual, concrete, precise *Chronicle* (embedded in a work on chronology as a practical example of the theory), from which miracles were ruthlessly excluded. This chronicle grew out of the marginal notations of the Easter tables, which from the first were arranged by years. These tables were clearly borrowed and copied, and earlier annals were prefaced to later ones. Unfortunately, not all tables used the same era, few the year of Incarnation; so, as one table was grafted on another, years which began on 1st September, 24th December, 1st January, and 25th March were indiscriminately concealed beneath disarming uniformity. Writers who attempted to reconcile different eras and to produce a consistent record invariably fell into error; Bede did when he tried.

Thanks to Dr Jones we now know how and why Bede came to write in these divergent ways. We can also appreciate better the originality of his greatest work, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which for the first time married both traditions. More than this, Dr Jones shows that in this work Bede was not infallible in chronology and did not begin his year on 1st September, but simply quoted the year given in his sources, vainly attempting to correct those expressed in other eras. Not only this, but by his understanding of the plagiaristic conventions of hagiography and by his wide knowledge of the sources Dr Jones is able to identify borrowings where other scholars have hitherto detected Bede's *ipsissima verba*.

All this is a dry summary of a humane, though technical, book in which even the notes illuminate as well as convince. By the light which it sheds on Bede's dates

("When did he begin his year?" is a Becher's Brook to students of Anglo-Saxon England) it is an important aid to the mechanics of modern historical scholarship, but it is also a major contribution to our understanding of historiography in the seventh and eighth centuries, revising much that Plummer, Poole, Stenton and Colgrave have written. Its reprinting makes us all the more impatient for the new Oxford edition of Bede.

PETER HEATH.

University of Hull.

Rosalind M. T. Hill *THE LABOURER IN THE VINEYARD* Borthwick Paper: 35 1968 5/-

The subtitle is "the Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond". The author is Reader in Medieval History, Westfield College, London University. She is discussing William, born at Melton (East Riding) in c. 1275, a curial servant of Edward II who rose to be King's Treasurer in 1325-27 and again in 1330-1. Through King's favour, he was elected Archbishop of York in January 1316, made by the Cardinals to cool his heels at Avignon till September 1317 when John XXII consecrated him, and enthroned in February 1318 at York: it was not an age of rapid action.

Archbishop Melton does not seem to have merited much attention until Mr L. H. Butler of All Souls' borrowed his Register from the recently died Canon J. S. Purvis, then Diocesan Archivist, to write his 1951 *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* article (cited here as *op cit*), "Archbishop Melton, his Neighbours, and his Kinsmen, 1317-1340". Knowles and Pantin had given him a nod en route, no more; Hamilton Thompson had looked deeper and put Butler up to writing his paper—which he has promised to follow with one on Melton's ecclesiastical kinsmen.

This whole study seems to be little more than a footnote to Mr Butler's work, full of time and place and name and little else. The author rigs her own gibbet when she writes: "visitation records were not usually preserved with conspicuous care. They very quickly got out of date, and once this had happened they would have had little interest or value for the archbishop and his household, or indeed for anyone else . . . few things are less instructive than a list of sins, shortcomings and deficiencies ten years out of date"; she suggests that many of these records were cut up for spare parchment—but perhaps not enough of them.

A.J.S.

Peter Heath *THE ENGLISH PARISH CLERGY ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION* Routledge and Kegan Paul 1969 xiii + 249 p 45/-

In this scholarly study Mr Heath surveys the state of the English parish clergy in the half century before the break with Rome. Setting aside the assumptions of both the rhetorical critics of the late medieval Church and its equally indiscriminating defenders he goes, for his evidence, direct to the surviving contemporary ecclesiastical records. His conclusions, meticulously documented, are cautious. He finds that the parish clergy on the whole were performing their duties adequately, indeed more than adequately when compared with the clergy in some other parts of Europe, but that they were still highly vulnerable when confronted by the new standards of sixteenth century reformers.

Charges of clerical ignorance seem to have been exaggerated. By the early sixteenth century graduates formed a significant proportion of the beneficed clergy; they made up a sixth of the parish clergy in the diocese of Norwich, for example, but the laity and seem infrequently to have profited from their incumbents' learning. Graduates by and large appear to have been pluralists and non-resident, and employed in royal or ecclesiastical administration while their parochial duties were carried out by vicars or stipendiary curates. These men, though often diligent according to their own lights, seem to have been singularly untouched by the new ideals which inspired Colet and More. It was all too easy for a local vicar not given to private study to be outclassed in biblical knowledge by an enthusiastic parishioner.

Mr Heath shows that the equally familiar charge of scandalous indiscipline has similarly received undue emphasis. Apart from their failure to observe the rules of celibacy, the parish clergy were not persistent criminals. It was rather those in minor orders, to all intents and purposes still laymen, who by claiming benefit of clergy in the common law courts brought discredit on the whole clerical estate.

Tithes provided another perennial source of hostility between the laity and their priests, and the price rise of the sixteenth century only aggravated the problem. The very real poverty of many incumbents, particularly those holding inappropriate livings, meant that they could not choose but be rapacious. The wealth of the Church had come to be most unequally distributed.

Already by 1500 practices were emerging which foreshadowed the post-Reformation English Church. Parishioners, as at Thundersley and Wennington in Essex, or Braughing in Hertfordshire, had taken upon themselves to see that their villages were properly served by resident priests. In appointing to benefices the influence of the crown and other lay patrons had already proved to be well nigh irresistible to the episcopal authorities. By becoming the lessors of tithes, some laymen had developed a proprietary interest in ecclesiastical revenues a considerable time before the Reformation.

The very nature of the ecclesiastical records which survive (episcopal registers, consistory court books, visitation returns) makes it inevitable that any impression of the English Church to emerge at this period is artificially gloomy: the crimes or omissions of the unsatisfactory are recorded; the actions of the satisfactory are not. It seems we cannot know how a zealous parish priest actually passed his days around 1500 (as opposed to how ideally he should have lived), whereas this sort of information concerning individual clerics is available later in the sixteenth century. Within these limitations which the evidence imposes upon him, Mr Heath has written an illuminating new account of the pre-Reformation English Church.

CLAIRE CROSS.

The University,
York.

Godfrey Anstruther, O.P. *THE SEMINARY PRIESTS: I. ELIZABETHAN 1558-1603* Ware/Ushaw 1968 xxvi + 422 p 60/-

The subtitle of this book is "a Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England & Wales, 1558-1850" and it is clear that this is the first of a series—though it is less clear whether the others will ever get done, for this has been a heavy toil. It is launched by St Edmund's College in conjunction with Ushaw College as a material offering to mark the fourth centenary of the founding of Douai on 29th September 1568 (see last JOURNAL, p. 19-26). It carries a Foreword by Cardinal Heenan, which admirably sets the pace.

What Foley did for the Jesuits, and Birt for the Benedictines, the Dominican Fr Anstruther has now begun for the oldest order—the secular priests. Their record on the English mission during penal times far exceeds that of all the Orders, and it is well sometimes that the Orders should not forget it: in the bloodiest part of the Elizabethan persecutions, the late-middle period, of some ninety priests made martyrs not one was other than a "seminary priest" (a term first used in 27 Eliz c. 2, 1585) from one of the continental colleges. When Prior Chauncy of the Carthusian community removed from Sheen to Bruges for safety wrote complaining to William Allen at Douai about his seminarians, who were (he said in 1577) too young and decked out with feathers, he received from Dr Allen the reply he deserved: "though they were never so old, would there be no fault spied among them, think you? . . . Till they have hoary heads, neither the seminary can bear them nor England well bear without them, though some worldly and timorous persons that would take their rest rather in this life than in the next, had rather still lack the use of them than buy it with worldly loss (as they take it) too dear. . . I could reckon unto you the miseries they suffer in night journeys, in the worst weather that can be picked; peril of thieves, of water, of watches, of false brethren; their close abode in chambers as in prison or dungeon without fire or candle

lest they give token to the enemy where they be; their often and sudden raising from their beds at midnight to avoid the diligent searches of heretics; all which and diverse other discontents, disgraces and reproaches they willingly suffer, which is great penance for their fathers; and all to win the souls of their dearest countrymen; which pains few men pity as they should do, and not many reward them as they ought to do." (the full letter to "F. Chase" is set out in old English in T. F. Knox, "Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen" (1882), 31-37, esp. 36). In his patient reply, Dr Allen had insisted that his ordnands were never under the canonical age of twenty-five; but if we simply comb the Yorkshire priests, we will find as martyrs Fr Joseph Lambton of Malton, who died aged 24 years and 2 months ("surely the youngest priest-martyr", as Fr Anstruther wrongly says) and Fr Robert Watkinson, who died at Tyburn in April 1602—surely, aged 22 years and 4 months, the youngest priest-martyr.

In a book so detailed, and so full of intricate cross-referencing, it is hard to escape faults, and I have found odd ones. For instance, we are told that Fr Francis Lockwood died before 1632, his property being granted away in January 1638: we might expect from that that he died in fact in 1637, and H. Aveling, "Northern Catholics", p. 154, does tell us just this, with a good reference.

But enough of this scratching. Here at last is a magnificent and meticulous record of some 800 priests trained in Cardinal Allen's seminaries, among them many martyrs.

ALBERT STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

III. THE CHURCH IN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

ed. Michael Hurley, S.J. *JOHN WESLEY'S LETTER TO A ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN* & Epworth 1968 64 p 7/6

"John Wesley's conversation is good but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to hold his legs and have out his talk as I do." Such was the impression of restless activity that Dr Johnson had of the founder of the Methodist movement, the eighteenth century Anglican, John Wesley. If it is true that a church must contain elements both of "movement" (life, flexibility, growth) and of "institution" (order, direction, discipline), then the eighteenth century Church of England was certainly lacking in the former. This gap was largely filled, except for the activities of some individual High Church and rationalist divines, by the Methodist movement. Although it was itself to prove no exception to the law of the inevitability of institutionalisation (cf. the thirteenth century Franciscan movement), yet during Wesley's lifetime and its immediate aftermath, Methodism was to prove a way to God for the semi-literate and illiterate, for whose needs the formal devotions of the Church did not cater.

But Wesley was no premature "Christian of the New Left". Thus he denounced the French revolutionaries as limbs of Satan, and the American colonists as irresponsible rebels. What made him so different from the Establishment divines of his day was an immense zeal and enthusiasm for souls, for plucking brands from the burning. So zealous was his spirit that we find it overflowing denominational boundaries: this is obvious in his gradual separation from the Church of England, but we see it in a remarkable way in his attitude to Roman Catholics, especially on his visits to Ireland.

It is against this background of a zealous love/hate relationship for Roman Catholics, love of their souls and hatred for their perversities of doctrine, that John Wesley wrote his "Letter to a Roman Catholic". The letter itself takes up no more than nine pages of this booklet, the rest of which consists of a splendid introduction to the background of the author and Irish eighteenth century religion, as also two prefaces by the Methodist Bishop Odd Hagen and the late Cardinal Bea. At its lowest, this letter of Wesley can be regarded as an early example of ecumenical dialogue; at its highest, as a profound insight into the humanity and breadth of mind of its author. Whatever one's assessment, it is to be hoped that it will serve as an inducement for the uninformed reader to take up the "Journals" of this man who was one of the greatest, and certainly one of the most interesting, of eighteenth century Englishmen.

ALRED BURROWS, O.S.B.

Maria Winowska PIONEER OF UNITY: THE LIFE OF CAROLINE SHEPPARD, FIRST ENGLISH LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR Burns & Oates 1969 285 p 35/-

Caroline Sheppard (1823-1884) came from a Unitarian family of New Bond Street: her father was Queen Victoria's jeweller. Caroline was converted to Catholicism while visiting France in her late teens. She met the Little Sisters of the Poor on their first visit to England and immediately joined them. After her novitiate in France she returned to England to play the main part in founding, *without assured income*, homes for the aged poor in London, Bristol, Glasgow, Manchester, Dundee, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Leeds, Plymouth, Newcastle and Waterford. The first Little Sisters of the Poor in England overcame apparently insuperable barriers of language and deep hostility to Catholicism and the religious habit. Similarly the record of this amazing achievement overbears the inclination to groan at the thought of yet another Mother Foundress's biography or to be deterred by the oppressive nineteenth century piety which pervades these pages.

This book is part of the record of English Catholic history. It is also a contribution to a disedifying chapter of social history. The Little Sisters were invited here by a group of Members of Parliament "to teach the English how to look after their poor" (p. 131). The book is translated from the French: a measure of its historical value. (It is spiced with asides on the English as seen by the French.)

"Pioneer of Unity" is a retrospective judgment: a reminder that the barriers of prejudice were first scaled by charity. Initially the Little Sisters provoked virulent Protestant opposition. Eventually they won people by their quiet persistence and by their evident goodness.

Surely after eighty years the reasons for Caroline Sheppard being given so much responsibility without the accompanying authority could have been honestly explored. Also, the sources seem sufficient for a better analysis of her business capacity. I do not at all share the view of the author that New Bond Street was an unlikely place for the Lord to shop for a vocation which was to include the performing of an economic miracle!

NOREEN HUNT.

College of Education,
Pouton-le-Fylde.

Alfred Wilson, C.P. BLESSED DOMINIC BARBERI, C.P. Sands 1967 ix + 373 p 30/-

The first impression is that it is ill-written. Moments like: "the soul-splitting agony of Gethsemane" and "books flew from Fr Dominic's pen like sparks from a pneumatic drill" are too frequent, and the arrangement which gives equal length to the conversion of Newman and to a Passionist dispute about footwear is curious. The point of mentioning these faults is to protect the writer from being unread.

The life of Blessed Dominic is extraordinary. The peasant boy who, with scant Latin, could repeat the text of Scripture read at supper in the novitiate, translating and commenting gratuitously when examined, grew to maturity in spiritual life and works. In him we see the privacy of God's love brought abruptly to the sacrifice of exchanging this intimacy for human souls; acceptance of this exchange leading to a spiritual loneliness that could only be peopled by conversions; those conversions to be in England, of which he knew nothing, to which he early dedicated himself, and which he was not to visit until he was middle-aged.

It is not until he is forty-nine that, wearing coat and shoes outlandishly made by brethren, he steps ashore. At Stone he is spat on and ridiculed. Yet he converts, he reclaims souls, and in eight years he has supervised new foundations at Aston, Woodchester and Hampstead, and started the monastery at Sutton.

There are anecdotes and glimpses. The anecdote of the self-styled visionary saying that she saw the Eternal Father after supper. To Blessed Dominic's question she admits that she drank two glasses of port. He advises her to drink three and she will see the Holy Ghost as well. A glimpse of Newman asking Dalgairns to obtain from Fr Dominic the name of a supplier of hair-shirts.

The Tractarians found sanctity lacking in the Catholic Church. They wanted evident holiness, "Let them go into our great cities to preach the Gospel to this half-pagan people, let them walk bare-foot . . ." It was after a ten-hour passage as outside passenger on a coach that Fr Dominic, soaked from a day's rain and unfed, went to Littlemore and received Newman into the Church. Perhaps, after all, the chapter on Passionist footwear is not out-of-place. If evident holiness brought Newman into the Church, it might have retained Charles Davis.

Fr Dominic's death is as uncouth as the jacket and shoes in which he arrived. Taken from a train at Pangbourne after a heart attack, laid on straw in the guard's van again and returned to the Railway Tavern at Reading; dying in places of passage, among the great casualness of souls, cared for by a Protestant doctor, Dominic mentions that the price of his coffin is in a locked box in London. After his death they find 1/6 in his purse.

Newman, on leaving Littlemore, takes with him a small desk: "I had not the heart to let it remain behind. It formed part of the altar at which Fr Dominic offered mass, and from which I received my first communion".

From the moment of Fr Dominic's arrival in England, this book acquires a stronger narrative integrity. With such a book to write, it would have been a loss had this writer shied away because he was conscious of his lack of literary skill. This reader's gratitude supports Chesterton's:

"If a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing badly."

ANDREW KNOWLES

Fenham,

Newcastle upon Tyne, 4.

ed. C. S. Dessain LETTERS AND DIARIES OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN Vol XVIII Nelson 1968 xvi + 624 p 126/-

When an enterprise becomes commercially unprofitable a publisher may sometimes consider that the gain in putting out a prestigious set of books out-balances the loss in cash. And sometimes he may not. The editor of this huge series has had to go out and raise the wind. Among the acknowledgments there is a modest two-line reference to "the Knights of Columbus in America, whose generosity has made possible the publication of this volume".

Even so the thing is becoming more and more expensive. Fr Dessain has now produced eight massive volumes of Newman's letters and diaries, and anyone who has bought the lot will have spent thirty-seven guineas, and he will have only those letters written from October 1845, when Newman became a Catholic, to December 1858, when he had just resigned the Rectorship of the Catholic University of Ireland (the buyer must not be deceived by the mistake on the back of the jacket which suggests that Volume XVII contained letters from 1835-1837); and anyone who has purchased simply this present volume will have spent six guineas, a not inconsiderable sum even for a librarian's account, and will have the letters of less than a couple of years. It is evident that a man must enquire closely whether such a buy would be a luxury or an extravagance. What is he getting?

Well, certainly he is not getting the great man's solutions to our present problems. Despite the bland blurb asserting that Newman thought University discipline "should be a combination of firmness and humanity"; these letters do not tell us anything of how we are to live amid demands for "student power"; the letter to Haydon, 24th April 1858, though it is in answer to a query about the infallibility of the Church, depends on what Newman had already written in his "Arians" and "University Sermons" and does not help us to deal with *Humanae Vitae*; and there is nothing in the several references to his "Mission of the Benedictine Order" which improves on his already published admiration: nor should we expect the letters to tell us such things. If we wish to know the mind of the latest of the Fathers we have only to consult the volumes he himself published.

Nor are we given a set of documents illustrative of nineteenth century social manners in the great number of Newman's acquaintance, for dictates of space have

denied the reader the other side of the correspondence. There are, of course, many interesting miniatures of life in a Victorian Oratory. On 8th June 1858, for example, Newman was writing to Ambrose St John of an "incident": he had torn up some papers and thrown them into the fire, some pieces fell into the grate and he said at the time "I don't like this"; some hours later he looked at the grate: "the bits on the fender were gone!"; the plot thickened, passing down the grate: "I told Austin"; Austin inspected the offending box and found "my bits which I had lost from my fender" (italics in original). The letter ends with the comment: Verbum sap.

Nor is there much here which will contribute to the renewal of dogmatic theology. A look at the outline Newman wrote for Henry Bittleston's article on "Sacrament" on 29th June 1857, followed by a glance at a letter written the same day about a lay brother's departure from the Oratory in which Newman admitted that he was "extremely concerned at William going without having been to confession", prepares a reader for another letter to Ambrose, 16th June 1858: "One of your Italians came to me to Confession Sunday morning to my great misery—I did not like to reject him when he had entered, but I was so afraid I might make some mistake, that I determined with myself not to send him to Communion anyhow, nor did I. But there he was at my Mass, ½ an hour after", and for the distressing anticipation by Newman of the detestable remarks of Cardinal Vaughan about Anglican Orders in 1896. It really is a pity, however, that among so much annotatory material we are not provided with the paragraphs in Newman's "Atlantis" article which had a "ticklish part" about the inadequacy of language to describe revealed truth and the reluctance of the Fathers to employ scientific terms, for this is a matter on which it is difficult to reconcile *Mysterium Fidei* with the conciliar degree on Oecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*.

The suggestion that Newman should prepare an English version of Scripture came to nothing because of episcopal dilatoriness and difficulties about money, so there are no letters on the great questions of translation, though there are in letters to O'Reilly, Pusey and W. H. Scott some interesting remarks about the Lucan Infancy Narrative. And we are not yet quite at the *Romber* scrape so we do not find too much here on consulting the faithful.

What we do get is, of course, a magnificent aid towards a definitive biography. Though some papers are reserved for a future edition of the "Autobiographical Writings" and others for an "Oratory" collection, and though we are not shown much of Newman's inter-play with others, there are many new things here which make it clear what kind of man he was. Some of them are hilariously funny. For example, Newman's own account of the muddle he got into when baptising a baby: "The water was exhausted out of the abominable shell before I made the three crosses—and I made a hash of it. . . I lost half an hour making out whether a girl might have a *Patrinus*. And then it turned out that both parents were Protestants. I really will not solemnly baptize again". If we are to cultivate heroes Newman will serve our turn very well.

The editing has been done with that indefatigable and loving care everyone now expects of Fr Dessain. I met with only two surprises: he passes Newman's assertion that "England is an island" (p. 334), and he trusts a transcription made by the notoriously unreliable Gasquet (p. 559).

Eliot College,
Canterbury.

HAMISH F. G. SWANSTON.

IV. THE CHURCH'S HISTORY—ASSISI, BYZANTIUM, ROME

John Moorman, A HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE YEAR 1517
Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press 1968 641 p 100/-

This is the first ever attempt by an English scholar to write a comprehensive history of the medieval Franciscans. The Bishop of Ripon, his credentials for the monumental task already well-established by his three books on the subject, has filled a real need

in giving us a lucid, balanced, objective and occasionally moving account of this major episode in the history of Christianity. His book begins with a good portrait of St Francis, written very close to the sources; and goes on to describe the growth of the Order, the development of its institutions, its expansion into every country of Christendom, and even beyond. It discusses the contribution of the friars to the work of the Church, and analyses in detail the development of the Poor Clares for "Clarisses" as he chooses to call them) and of the Third Order. The author is at his best when treating of personalities and the strength of his book lies in its long portrait gallery, ranging from Francis and Elias, Bonaventure and Bernardino, John of Capistrano and James of the March to a whole host of lesser known figures from Ministers-General to the humblest lay brother or sister, wherever the sources permit a flicker of light on Franciscan humanity. It is in the thirteenth century that the author is most at home, writing his best pages about this golden age of Franciscanism. If his story is less glorious thereafter, there are nevertheless useful chapters on the later medieval period. This is the best account in English of the Observant movement, an important part of the history of the Order, sometimes perhaps minimised by English historians since the Observants took such little hold in England (they were very important in Ireland, where their heroic endeavours did much to keep Ireland Catholic).

Between the golden age of the thirteenth century and the valiant attempt to revive it with the Observantine reform of the fifteenth century, lay the age of conflict about Poverty. In essence, conflict was about the meaning of the Rule, its origins went back to the very lifetime of St Francis, and it focussed on the interpretation of Christ's and therefore Francis's ideal of Poverty. It should have been possible to forge a union between the simple life of poverty and a life organised for the corporate living of large numbers of men orientated to both preaching and theological learning. The Dominicans achieved it: the Franciscans did not. The tension began with the Founder himself. Anything that smacked of privilege or wealth or security was anathema to him and he was quick to suspect these dreaded evils when developments in organisation and learning were being mooted. In the second draft of his Rule which St Francis submitted to Pope Honorius III, there was a provision which would have allowed individual friars to follow their own literal interpretation of the Rule, even against the interpretations of the authorities of the Order. That the Pope should persuade St Francis to remove this provision will cause no surprise, for the implications of such permissiveness are anarchic. But the whole medieval history of the Franciscans shows that many friars shared Francis's attitude. "Great is poverty," wrote Pope John XXII (who seems the only villain in Bishop Moorman's tactful book, and it is no more than a hint) at the height of the crisis in the early fourteenth century, "greater is chastity; but the greatest good of all is obedience. . ."—but there were many disposed to reverse the order of priorities, making poverty the greatest good: they were prepared to die for this belief and many did. The dispute had all the ferocity of a civil war. Men went to the stake or to a perpetual imprisonment which meant total deprivation of sacraments, friends, books. Bishop Moorman handles this theme discreetly. I suspect his head is with authority, his heart with the Fratelli.

It must be said that one part of the book, and that a major part, is distinctly less convincing than the rest. The author's insight and expertise are less in evidence when it comes to the history of ideas. Ideas obviously interest him much less than personalities. He devotes five of his forty-three chapters to the friars as mystics, theologians, academics. This is the dimension of Franciscanism where, it may be fairly claimed, the reality behind such well worn labels as "typical Franciscan spirituality", "Franciscan philosophy" and the like may be sought. This is the area which constitutes the uniqueness, the intimate individuality of the Friars Minor, the characteristic principles and practices which mark them as different from other religious and other intellectuals. But the treatment here is superficial and there is a surprising absence of reference to standard works. Thus the judgment that *Scetus* "struck out on a line of his own in the interpretation of reality and laid the foundations of modern thought" remains quite unsubstantiated and the section devoted to this major author contains no reference to anything written on his thought, not even to Gilson's, "Jean Duns Scot, introduction à ses positions fondamentales" (1952). Ockham receives similar over-

generalised, under-detailed portrayal. He is written up without reference to such important modern work as that of Vignaux or Boehmer, for example, while the passages on his political thought are written in apparent ignorance of the Manchester edition of the "Opera Politica" 2 and 3. Finally, though it may be true that "there is no general history of Franciscan mysticism", there is at least the outline of one written by E. Longpré and A. Blusucci in "Dictionnaire de Spiritualité" 5 (1964), a major contribution to the understanding of that essence of the Friar Minor, their spirituality.

Bishop Moorman is a busy man of affairs as well as a scholar. His book tackles great themes and surveys vast periods and areas. It is a handsome achievement, whatever its shortcomings, and will be read for many years to come.

J. A. WATT.

The University of Hull.

Steven Runciman THE GREAT CHURCH IN CAPTIVITY C.U.P. 1968 454 p 55/-

This is an account of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, from the Turkish conquest in 1453 to the eve of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. However, the first third of the book is devoted to an investigation of Orthodoxy in the years immediately preceding the invasion which will be of inestimable value to students of the later Byzantine Empire and which contains a brilliantly concise resumé of the schism between East and West together with an analysis of the origin and consequences of such barriers as the *filioque* and the hesychast controversy.

The subject is fortunate in its author, possibly England's—and certainly Scotland's—greatest living historian. Sir Steven is not only a leading Byzantinist who has spent many years in Greece and Turkey but also an ecumenical Calvinist who is well qualified to judge a Church's achievements and failings with an objective if sympathetic eye.

At first sight the Patriarchate's record in this period is hardly an edifying one, a sad story of simony and ignorance, of heresy and intrigue. Between 1595 and 1695 there were thirty-one Patriarchs though their throne changed hands no less than sixty-one times in a scandalous succession of depositions and reinstatements which depended on how much the candidates could afford to bribe the Porte. Constantinople had once been an intellectual beacon for all Christendom but now its clergy sank into illiteracy and superstition. Yet, as Sir Steven so rightly asks, could anything else have been expected? Muslim masters cynically exploited the captive Church, politically and financially, penalising its members socially and legally. Given a true perspective, that Orthodoxy survived at all must be recognised as a triumph of faith.

There are some intriguing chapters on relationships with the Reformed Churches of the West. Melancthon was interested in the possibilities of an alliance with the Patriarchate and later, in 1574, some Lutheran divines at Tübingen hopefully sent a copy of the Confession of Augsburg to an enthusiastic Jeremias II, while the tragic Patriarch Cyril Lucaris was a crypto-Calvinist; his Profession of Faith which he attempted to impose on his Church is an extraordinary synthesis of Calvin's "Institutes" and the Seven Councils, in some ways reminiscent of Cranmer. English readers will naturally find the chapter on the little known flirtation of Canterbury with Constantinople in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one of absorbing interest, with its full-blooded Restoration divines and its wandering Greeks ensconced in Oxford colleges. So late as 1725 the Non-Juring Church of England—whose bishops and clergy could not in conscience take the oath of allegiance to the usurpers who had occupied the English throne since 1688—was still seeking union with the Patriarchate, though it had small understanding of Orthodoxy.

This book caters for Byzantinists and Turkish historians on the one hand, for ecumenists and students of Orthodoxy on the other. That it will be of value to such a wide range of specialists is a measure of its importance. And, like everything from his pen, the author's lapidary style, austere, controlled and witty, is a delight in itself.

St James' Club,
Piccadilly.

DESMOND SEWARD.

Robert Markus and Eric John PAPACY AND HIERARCHY Sheed & Ward 1969 xiii + 146 p 23/-

This book is concerned with taking the topic of the papacy's place in the Church for "a new airing in the atmosphere of *aggiornamento*" with special reference to the influence of historical development on the making of current ideas about authority in the Church. The authors claim, and surely rightly, that theologians are too often deaf to what historians have to say. Sympathetic to both the aim and approach of this book and knowing the authors as professional historians of proven scholarship in the fields of medieval thought and institutions, I expected much of it. My disappointment springs from the authors' choosing not to write a piece of theological-historical research but rather what might best be described as a pamphlet of polemical ecclesiology, a statement of a debating position. It is very good argumentative conversation and I read it through twice virtually at a sitting.

As polemic, it is an attack on what is repeatedly referred to without exact definition as if everyone knew what it meant, as the "triumphalist" view of the papacy. As history, it argues that this view ("papal monarchy" was the creation of the sixteenth century (Gregory VII "completed the edifice of triumphant papalism"), that it marked a radical departure from the position in vogue earlier ("papal primacy", with Gregory I as its personification), that the monarchical view has formed the mind of the modern Church on papal authority down to Vatican II which has re-orientated thinking back to pre-eleventh century ways of thought. *Lumen gentium* leap-frogs, so to say, nine centuries of history, to rediscover an authentic tradition "distorted and deformed" in the middle period.

Clearly there is a very real and important sense in which modern ecclesiology had shed historical accretions and, more importantly, broadened the theological perspective within which the nature of the papacy has been discussed in the past. This change has been a major part of *aggiornamento*, though the process had begun before the accession of Pope John XXIII. But the authors' view of history is unacceptable because it falsifies, through over-simplification and omission, the nature of the three periods into which it divides the history of the papacy. It would need a much more powerfully argued case to establish a difference in kind ("primacy" in contrast to "monarchy") between Gregory I and Gregory VII. For both, papal authority was both a *cura* and a *principatus*. The medieval Church always knew this double aspect, ministerial-pastoral and governmental-magisterial. St Bernard's *De consideratione* is a magnificent exposition of the view. The Council of Florence defined it as an article of faith. In any case, was Gregory VII really more important than the Council of Trent, which is not even mentioned in this book, in forming the modern mind on the papacy? As to the assessment of *Lumen gentium* presented, or rather hinted at here, the reader can only feel uneasy. For the implication is that it has totally rejected nine centuries of intense controversy and reflection about papal authority. A more prudent interpretation would see it as defining a position which has developed with supreme logic at least as much from the medieval period as any other. Lyons II (1274), Florence (1439) made an important and explicitly acknowledged contribution to the definition of Vatican I. *Lumen gentium* cap. III §§ 18, 22-23, resumes the heritage and expands it.

Certain particular judgments, of some eccentricity, will do nothing to reassure readers that the analysis is built on foundations of solid history, e.g. that Gregory VII "despised excessively the permanence and sacredness of episcopal office", claimed that popes are "inerrant morally" and "took the step of canonising himself and making himself immune from qualms of conscience"; that Innocent III, monarchical *popes par excellence*, was an exception to the run of medieval popes in showing "an authentic consciousness of extra-hierarchical charism" (whatever that might mean); that St Bernard was "obscure and uncouth".

One statement in the book seems to me heretical (if such an apparently "triumphalist" word be permitted): "the pope in no sense rules the Church . . ."; another, to use old-fashioned language, seems to me offensive to pious ears: "While I can see little of the diabolical about the Lourdes apparitions, Fatima seems to me quite another story"; a third, arrogant or perhaps just silly: "After all who could

imagine Ian Smith or Vorwaerd at ease in a heaven which included munts (sic) like Augustine in a position of honour?" But one other I find very funny: "[when] . . . the Scottish hierarchy [makes] Glasgow Celtic stop displaying the flag of the Irish Republic in the customary provocative fashion, then we shall be getting somewhere".

The *ecclesia discens* will have to do better than this if the *ecclesia docens* is to be brought to that stance of "receptive listening" which the authors feel, and rightly, is as appropriate for the one as the other.

J. A. WATT

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V. MATTERS MILITARY

Eversley Belfield STEIGSS Britford 1967 96 p 18/-

This is an interesting and well got-up book, very readable and much helped by good maps and entertaining illustrations. Technically, there is not much that is not generally known to anybody who has read accounts of the various sieges selected. I think that its chief merit is in giving relatively short accounts which enable the reader to compare some of the highlights which are brought out in each individual account, and which go to make up a general picture of some of the main factors that are common to most operations of this type.

It is to these highlights that I wish to refer because to me they are far more interesting than the study of either the historical or the technical details.

Firstly, there is the personality of the Commanders. I feel that these have played a predominant rôle as to whether the besiegers or the besieged may be said to have won the day. Admittedly, the first siege of Malta took place in dramatic circumstances and at a period in history when events appeared in high relief and with results that have had far-reaching effects which can be traced even down to the present day. Nevertheless, De La Valette stands out as a very great commander; he is to me, a hero, whereas the other commanders, even where successful, are not in this category. When one thinks that he was seventy years old at the time of the siege, and had already lived a life which would have been enough to have sapped the vitality of most men, he was still able to sustain the morale of defenders to no ordinary degree. Particularly is this so because they consisted of three very different types; his officers, who came from the proud aristocracy of Europe; his professional other ranks, many of whom were hard-bitten mercenaries; and last, and by no means least, the Maltese inhabitants, without whom this siege could never have been sustained. It is nice to know that he received excellent backing from the one and only Englishman present at the siege, Sir Olivier Starkey, who acted as his confidant and secretary.

At the siege of Vienna, the Emperor Leopold I is a colourless character, but he did have the one merit of keeping away from the siege! The command of the Imperial Troops, however, was vested in The Duke of Lorraine, and a fascinating description is given of him, with his parrot's nose, and his scruffy horse-hair wig. It is not to be forgotten, however, that he is described by Sobieski as "not having the bearing of a trader but a person of quality". That he had a good deal of quality there is little doubt. The actual Governor, Starbemberg, was obviously a sound professional soldier, who saw to the technical improvement of the actual fortifications. Not unlike him, was Lieutenant-General George Eliott, later created Lord Heathfield. He, too, was professionally efficient, but does not seem to have possessed much panache. Nevertheless, this rather sombre man inspired respect and complete confidence.

Like him in some ways must have been General Dobbie who was Governor of Malta during the first part of the second siege of Malta during the last war. That he was rather a sombre man, the writer of this small note can bear out as he well remembers him as a very senior officer when he was a very junior one.

It is significant that in the description of the only siege which was unsuccessful from the defenders' point of view, that of Paris, 1870-71, the Governor, General Trochu, does not come out very well. Though possessed of certain inspiring qualities,

he does not seem to have been much of a "heavy-weight" and his efforts in offensive action, without which no successful defence can be carried out, were ill-conceived and lacked a real drive and maintenance of the object.

On the whole, the attackers are not a very impressive lot, though their failure can more generally be ascribed to the fact that they were seldom either in individual sole command, or to the interference that they suffered from political considerations—that bugbear of any commander.

It would be an impertinence to be scathing about that considerable soldier, von Moltke, but can one conceive a more tiresome predicament than his with Bismarck and the German Crown Prince, to say nothing of innumerable princelings, continually intriguing and querying his decisions.

It is a truism, in fact, that no city has ever been successfully defended unless the defence was active and extremely offensive. Of course, in some cases this was much helped by the relieving forces as in the case of Vienna, and Malta during the second World War.

The task of the commander of a besieged fortress would be relatively simple if he only had to deal with professional forces. By the very nature, however, of most sieges, there is the additional great complication of the maintenance of civilian morale—in this book this problem is well brought out. In some cases the commander was helped by the undoubted fact that, had the city been captured, all the inhabitants would have been put to the sword, a not unstimulating thought, and particularly exemplified in the case of the first siege of Malta, and the siege of Vienna! Eliott was lucky in that he had very few civilian inhabitants to deal with, but think of the headaches of poor General Trochu with that huge civilian population requiring to be fed, and who were by no means either homogeneous or strictly loyal.

The two last sieges, that of Paris, and of Malta, '40-42, are interesting as showing the contrast between the first appearance of air warfare and the sophisticated air attacks which, by 1940, had assumed a predominant influence. The performance of the defender fighter aircraft in the latter case is a most inspiring story, while the rather theatrical escape of Gambetta is highly entertaining. One must, however, give credit to his courage and perhaps even more to the other balloonists who ventured into what was then an almost unknown element.

To sum up—all these examples of sieges serve to reinforce Napoleon's maxim: "The morale is to the physical as ten to one".

As a Catholic, one is proud of the spiritual inspiration that was given to the defenders in both sieges of Malta, and in that of Vienna; it is nice to know that the Tanker "Ohio", with her enormously valuable cargo, reached safety on the 15th August, the Feast Day of The Assumption.

FRANCIS FESTING,
Field Marshal

Birks, Tarsset,
Hexham, Northumberland.

Lt-Col Colin Mitchell HAVING BEEN A SOLDIER Hamish Hamilton 1969 248 p 35/-

I have known soldiers. My one-time Commanding Officer in the Parachute Regiment, Bala Bredin, is now the most highly decorated soldier in the British Army; he was aggressive in the best military sense. At the time Charles Dunbar (who appears in this book as a brigadier and virtually Director of Operations in Aden) was Brigade Major of the Para Brigade; he was cool, intelligent, judicious in the best military sense. You don't often get the two together, the hallmark of professionalism; but it seems to be there in Colonel Colin Mitchell. I came to this book prejudiced by his Colour Supplement utterances, which were off key; but this book is altogether on key, giving a fair statement of the true vocation to Arms. When young people ask me what the service life is about, I have always given them a taste of it through Bernard Ferguson's "Wavell: Portrait of a Soldier" and General Hackett's lectures, "The Profession of Arms"; now I shall add this book as a newer view and a real one. While

it is not great art, it is good writing, and this because of the moral passion that comes through the experiences it relates.

Colonel Mitchell was born the son of a soldier. "Every man thinks meanly of himself," as Dr Johnson tells us, "for not having been a soldier or not having been to sea" (or now into the air). Being a Campbell, he followed his father into the Argylls. He fed himself on duty, presbyterianism and T. E. Lawrence. He saw the end of "the hot rake of war" in Italy, being slightly wounded and mentally blooded, under the care of Sgt Dempsey, M.M. In Jerusalem, he saw the King David Hotel blow up in his face, acted as Roy Farran's goaler while he wrote "Winged Dagger", and learned about troops' morale, a C.O.'s courage and the importance of Press relations. There he lost his Lawrentian illusions, took command of a company and was shot in the ankles, saved from more by C.S.M. Collett, M.M.

Mitchell limped out of hospital into the ballrooms of Edinburgh as A.D.C. to the Colonel of the Argylls, General Sir Gordon Macmillan, who introduced him to the Captains, Wavell, Slim (whose son John was Adjutant of the 1st Battalion), O'Connor and the rest. But war in Korea terminated this, and again he found his way voluntarily to battle with his regiment. Before he reached the age of 25 in an Army on a peacetime promotion footing, he had become a Major commanding an Argyll company in face of the Chinese hordes, after his company commander, Major John Penman, M.C., had been seriously wounded a second time. Mitchell then had to take his company through a Korean winter: I know what this means, because I, too, found that a shaving brush froze solid between boiling water and reaching my chin; but he had to endure it in the wrong clothing and in full retreat without comfort of dugouts, holding Prostitute Ridge through nights 20° below zero. The Argylls left 31 dead in Korea and received 19 gallantry decorations, including Major Kenny Muir's posthumous V.C. This shows their professional qualities: for, for all our dugouts, we later sustained as many casualties.

Mitchell went on to be a G.S.O. 3 at Military Operations, War Office (a sign that he was beginning to be singled out as a flier). He was the youngest of his year at Staff College in 1955, spending the year in courting his wife. From there he was posted G.S.O. 2 to Highland Division, Perth, before returning to the Argylls as a company commander in Cyprus during the Hugh Foot period (less exacting than the Harding period when the Parachute Brigade dominated the island). He learned—or rather, worked out—his first lessons in street control in Paphos and Ktima, lessons that were to prove useful in Crater ten years later. The essence of it was possession of a network of high machine-gun posts below which street patrols could operate under watchful protection, the whole thing done with a relentless vigil. His best subaltern here was Alastair, son of Brigadier Lorne Campbell, V.C., of the Argylls.

By 1960 there was not much of an Empire left, and Mitchell wanted to see what it was that Roberts, Gordon and Kitchener had given their lives for. India was gone, but Africa not yet. For his next staff appointment he asked to be sent out to the shrinking frontiers, and got Brigade Major to the King's African Rifles, Kenya (originally raised by Lugard before he came over to Nigeria). He arrived in time to witness the Zanzibar operation, after riots had collapsed all order: 5 K.A.R. flew in, followed by 6 K.A.R., and they restored peace after the blood baths in two days. His brigadier was Miles Fitzalan Howard (O 24), a consummate "swanner", so with his brigadier he saw Africa from Uganda to the Indian Ocean. His operational orders for one round-up included the police and military of four countries and transport ranging from Beverley aircraft to camels and mules.

The Argylls went to Borneo, perhaps the most brilliant operation by British forces since the war: "the battle of Crater may have been won in the jungles of Borneo". Mitchell had to foreshorten his K.A.R. tour and refuse a Joint Services Staff College vacancy (never done before) to go out as Second in Command of the Battalion. Promoted Brevet Lt-Colonel while in Borneo, he was directly streamlined for higher things, being called into Whitehall (his tenth move in fewer years) as a G.S.O. 1 on Mountbatten's staff, a "briefer". So for a while he moved easily in the worlds of I.S.S., R.U.S.I. and Min. Def., familiar with Kissinger, Kahn, McNamara; with Blue Streak,

Blue Water, Skybolt, Polaris; with T.S.R. 2, P 1154, F 111; with the stresses of Healey, Luce and Mayhew; and above all with the disguised retreat to Little England. Already he saw the mark of death being put upon his beloved Argylls, as upon so much else.

As a Mountbatten whizz-kid, he had twice visited Aden while the troubles were building up, first with the Chief of the Defence Staff himself and then with the Minister of Defence. There he saw Parkinson-type H.Q.s stacked one upon another. The one flaw of any colonial presence was now very evident: British troops were deployed more in guarding the safety of their own domesticity than in hunting terrorists. They had abandoned control of Crater town to the Arab nationalists to live a vacuum life in their own secure cantonments. Only Arab ineptitude stopped the situation from escalating rapidly: yet official British eyes failed to see what this young officer saw with horror on two fleeting visits. The 1965 Defence White Paper set the seal on British policy in Aden, by telling the world of our impending withdrawal regardless of the state of law and order.

The Argylls, at that moment the fittest combat battalion in the British Army with three Borneo tours behind them and all their company commanders graduates of Staff College, arrived into this cauldron in June 1967 under an elaborate command structure made up of many denizens who had seen no war since 1945. The Battalion was commanded by a man of very independent mind and much fighting experience, who took ill to "a time-consuming chain of chaps who should have better things to do". Colonel Colin Mitchell had issued a Policy Directive in U.K. before departure, in which he had said: "I consider that conferences to collect ideas are the resort of a weak and wet commander". What he found was a double enemy, terrorist outside and weak decision above. What he brought was his knowledge of Palestine, Paphos and Zanzibar, the leadership of a Wingate ("direct command and personal domination") and the spirit of a Campbell. His action in leading his men into the "concrete jungle" of Crater and dominating it till the end of Aden is the heart of this book's tale, and is now justly famous. Mitchell led like a Wingate, smashed terrorism and was smashed by his own superior officers—and one wonders why: is it that there is a basic immaturity in a man whose love of regiment so haunts his judgment?

It is a superlative book of its class, and especially for the young. Here is a man who gave his regiment and himself, in his own just estimation, "a reputation for being 100% professional". As he said he would, he dominated events.

ALBERTIC STACPOOLE, D.S.R.

Gordon C. Zahn WAR, CONSCIENCE AND DISSENT Chapman 1967 317 p 30/-

In this collection of essays Gordon Zahn, an American sociologist, discusses the morality of modern war and the policies that should be pursued by Catholics in relation to it. He himself was a pacifist in the Second War and has done extensive research on pacifist resistance both in Germany and the United States. He incorporates this research into his essays in an attempt to find the answer to three fundamental questions relating to contemporary society: first, what is the moral status of nuclear deterrence and nuclear war? Secondly, what should an individual Catholic do when his government is pursuing immoral policies? Thirdly, what should the Church as an institution do in relation to such a government?

He begins his discussion of the morality of modern warfare by pleading for a "truly relevant" theology, since he argues that many of the old distinctions are no longer relevant to this debate. On p. 78 he lists the criteria for a just war and concludes quite definitely that no nuclear war could come up to these standards. It is for him certain that all nuclear wars must be unjust wars and he takes considerable care to state and reject the common arguments used to avoid this conclusion or its corollaries—that it is not morally permissible to plan such a war or pursue a policy of nuclear deterrence. He denounces the view that possession can be moral while use is immoral by showing that such possession is an occasion for sin and that the only basis of deterrence is the real intention to use it. Modern governments are clearly prepared to use their weapons. The old principle of double effect he dismisses as "utter nonsense",

and he also shows that these weapons will be used to destroy entire cities without any worries about just or unjust military policies. In opposition to the immorality of modern war he argues for a *moral* and *effective* form of resistance, the pacifist form.

In discussing the policy of the individual Catholic, Zahn uses the example of Franz Jägerstätter, an Austrian Catholic executed in 1943 for refusing to fight. He stresses that when the government is pursuing immoral policies, it is no excuse to claim that every subject should obey, or to claim that one's family comes first. For Zahn the individual Catholic must rebel and the old "presumption of justice" is deceptive since it is *conditional* on the government's policies. Those who do not resist are guilty of their actions even though they acted under orders.

In answer to the third question, Zahn compares the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany and the Church in modern America. In both cases he stresses that the Church has the duty to speak out against the government, to become again the Church of Martyrs and of Prophecy. He explicitly agrees with Hochuth in condemning the silence of Pius XII. The Church today is facing "the modern version of the temptation in the desert" and its policy of prudence is nothing but "craven conservatism" and "crass expediency". He repeats the Pauline injunction to "preach in season and out of season". The Church he believes should openly denounce contemporary armament policies and Catholics should refuse to co-operate. This applies to production or arms, and to the training of military personnel about which he says "A desirable first step would be the removal of this possible 'occasion of sin' from the many Catholic colleges and universities now offering such training as part of their approved curricula".

His book is a clear-headed refutation of many bogus arguments advocated by Catholic thinkers to justify the preparation and use of modern weapons. But he is also too optimistic about the possibility of a change in Catholic policy. Given the greater freedom within the Church it is also doubtful if an official condemnation would alter the policies of individual Catholics. The sadness of Gordon Zahn's book is that while his theology is impeccable, it is hard to see how his ideas can be effected.

F. HALLIDAY

22 Chepstow Crescent,
W.11.

VI. GENERAL

P.-R. Régamey, O.P. RELIGIOUS ART IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY 1967 256 p 21/-

The publication in England of a translation of Père Régamey's famous book, "Art Sacré au XXe siècle", is welcome. It is a pity that it has been so long in coming. The original French edition was published in 1952 and this present translation was published in America five years ago. Many of the statements are now generally accepted, but we must remember that the book was published just two years after the opening of the highly controversial church of Assy, in which Père Régamey was indirectly involved, and in the same year as the instruction of the Holy Office on sacred art. His task was to reconcile the modern movement in sacred art with the latest ecclesiastical pronouncements, and to save it. He did both. Père Régamey appealed for artistic seriousness and sincerity and saw that this was most easily attainable today in non-representational art, which made it the obvious medium for religious art. He defended the employment of non-Christian artists by the Church. A non-Christian artist, he said, may feel a sacred subject more strongly than a Christian artist, and may well be more able to communicate his feeling. As a theologian and spiritual writer of note he is always careful to stress that Christian art must serve the liturgy. His book has become the classical balanced statement of the modern movement in sacred art. It is an essential document in an important controversy in the history of religious art, and all artists and patrons concerned with the making of sacred art and architecture would do well to read it.

M.E.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE SHROUD OF TURIN

The article in the last JOURNAL by Dr David Willis, "Did He Die on the Cross?" (p. 27-39) is to be followed in the next, the Autumn JOURNAL, by another which studies the external evidence, i.e. the history accruing to the Shroud over two thousand years, and more particularly the first twelve hundred years which are so dimly known to us. Sometimes it is said of the Turin Shroud that, for all the force of its own internal evidence (what it tells us itself), it is a three-legged table always bound to tip over for want of a sound early history. The intended article is designed to provide what many will judge to be a sufficient fourth leg.

Meanwhile, the correspondence below will keep the subject alive in readers' minds, and act as a link between the two articles. The first letter is from the publisher of the book under Dr Willis' critical review, Leslie Frewin Ltd.: it provokes the questions—What is truth? Are sales and debates (cake and circuses) the only things that matter to publishers? See Matthew 27.4. The second is from the author of our remarkable frontispiece. The last is of special interest.

27th March 1969.

DEAR SIR,

Thank you for your letter of 17th March enclosing the Spring 1969 edition of your JOURNAL. We note the extensive space you have devoted to a review of "Inquest on Jesus Christ" and we are grateful for it. Space of this sort is better than no space at all!

We have found that, as in Europe and particularly in Germany, Mr Reban's conjectures have aroused widespread interest and have provoked healthy debate on the subject. Of course, the book has come in for criticism but I can honestly say that we have received as much complimentary post as adverse, and our sales are pleasing.

By publishing this book, we are not associating ourselves necessarily with the opinions of Mr Reban. We feel he had a point of view that merited attention; whether that attention was friendly or hostile does not matter. What does matter, we feel, is the lively and healthy debate publication of the book engendered and we are grateful to you for the part you have played in that debate.

JOHN PAWSEY,
Managing Editor.

1 New Quebec St.,
Marble Arch, W.1.

1st May 1969.

DEAR SIR,

Dr David Willis' article "Did He die on the Cross" seems to me to be a most erudite critique of *Inquest on Jesus Christ*.

My own experiments have convinced me that the Holy Shroud of Turin is not a fake. *The image is a pure photographic negative of incredible quality, even by today's standards.*

As a photographer my main interest is in the image itself and how it was formed; and none of the theories so far advanced have scientifically established this.

The process used to produce my three-quarter view of the Holy Face printed in your last JOURNAL (facing p. 33) is known as *Valaform*. By this method I can reproduce the original three dimensional character of an image even though it exists only in two dimensional form (a flat picture). In the case of the Holy Face the entire head was produced as a solid image under conditions of projection. This solid image can then be photographed from any angle—just as if the person depicted was present in my Studio. A series of different angles is enclosed for reference and publication if you wish. (See frontispiece. Ed.).

I see as my main task to establish how the image on the Holy Shroud can be reproduced again in this modern age. The answer may lie in using my process to treat the entire Holy Shroud. Since the Holy Shroud depicts a full length human figure from the back as well as from the front, the resultant three dimensional screen could be converted to a conductive material and used for various experiments involving radiation and chemistry.

If I succeed in forming a similar image to that on the Holy Shroud I am quite sure that others, more scientifically qualified than me, will be encouraged to make further investigations into this fascinating problem.

LEO VALA.

Vala Knightsbridge Studios,
110a Brompton Road, S.W.3.

18th April 1969.

DEAR SIR,

MAY I thank you for the article in your Spring issue entitled "Did He die on the Cross?"

I think this is a very valuable and somewhat overdue statement regarding the Turin Shroud. I have for many years been interested in all subjects relating to the Resurrection of our Lord, and I recall that about 1956 a question appeared in a Protestant newspaper asking about the Turin Shroud. The reply by Professor F. F. Bruce simply referred the questioner to the statement on the subject from the Roman Catholic encyclopaedia. Having read that quotation I assumed the whole thing must be a "phony". Only recently have I discovered that this subject is worthy of further investigation, and I feel sure the article by Dr Willis will promote more reverent thought and research.

W. L. WHITE (REV.).

St Leonard's Rectory,
St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

18th May 1969.

DEAR SIR,

I was much interested in the review of the book, "Did He die on the Cross?" in your Spring number, having read this book some months ago and been somewhat perplexed about its contents.

Being already convinced of the authenticity of the Shroud, I was open-minded to any facts that further research might reveal. Reban's main finding was certainly a surprise, and I am not sufficiently informed to know whether his evidence is trustworthy. I must say, however, that even IF Christ's Body DID die in the tomb and not actually on the cross, that does not shake my faith. Could the physical body not have been immediately transformed, without corruption, at "clinical" death, to a new and supernatural condition? This might throw light on his own assertion "A spirit hath not flesh and blood, as you see me have". It is all beyond our finite minds to understand, but the latest discoveries with regard to the interchangeability of matter and energy have been so astonishing that we must all be prepared for our preconceived ideas to be shattered, yet holding firmly to the basic tenets of the Christian faith. For the later deductions Reban made, I see no evidence, and I agree that the book can do much harm, but I think it may also lead its more thinking readers to take the Shroud more seriously and wish to read other books about it, and even be strengthened by their belief in Christ's Death and Resurrection.

Yours gratefully,

Bournemouth.

Baptist Science Teacher.

Palm Sunday 1969.

DEAR FR EDITOR,

Thank you for drawing my attention to the article on the Shroud, which I have read with great interest. I welcome anything that answers specifically the modern trend to substitute resuscitation for resurrection—I think Ladislav Boros (in "The Moment of Truth: *Mysterium Mortis*", now in paperback, B & O 18/-) comes dangerously near the borderline in this respect in his note on p. 172.

DAME RAPHAEL, O.S.B.

Priory of our Lady,
Burford, Oxford.

We publish the note herewith: the author is giving his own terms for distinguishing various kinds of death.

- (1) *Clinical death*—denotes the act of dying in which the cessation of the essential bodily functions occurs. This in no way means that the "separation of the soul from the body" has already taken place.
- (2) *Relative death*—describes the state obtaining after the cessation of function has lasted for some length of time. The soul can no longer express itself through the body and, unless some quite extraordinary clinical operation—or a miracle—occurs, the body is incapable of being reanimated.
- (3) *Absolute death*—is the moment when "the soul leaves the body". Existence is released from the condition of temporariness and attains its definitive state of

being. It is at this moment, which we can describe metaphysically but cannot determine physically, that the final decision is made.

Depending on the cause of death, the lapse of time needed for the process of death to pass through all these stages may be greater or smaller. A fixed time cannot be given since the moment of absolute death cannot be determined. Various clinical experiments indicate that the time required to pass from one state of dying to the next should be reckoned as long rather than short. Theological thought adds to this two considerations: (1) The biblical accounts of resuscitation (resuscitation is of its nature only a reanimation; the moment of absolute death, the entry into the final state of being, had not yet been reached by the particular "corpse" in question) speak of three or, in the case of Lazarus, of four days at most; (2) The lapse of time between the death of Christ on the cross and the resurrection (which two events might be seen as Christ's "clinical and absolute" death) indicates a similar reckoning.

R. Troisfontaines, "I Do Not Die", pp. 137-8, also proposes a three-fold division for the process of death, but his system differs slightly from mine.

ON HUMANAE VITAE

The article in the last JOURNAL, "Broken Lights on *Humanæ Vitæ*" (p. 56-72) has elicited replies both to the first piece and to the third. A long, careful and complex reply came from Mr Thomas Charles-Edwards analysing the use of the term "nature", but space prevents our publishing it this time; it is hoped that both it and a response from Fr Placid Spearitt, who prompted it, will appear in the next JOURNAL. Meanwhile two letters follow here:

21st April 1969.

St Anselm, O.S.B.

DEAR EDITOR,

This is a comment on Fr Placid's letter, and an attempt to resolve the difficulties he raises.

He objects to the use of the word "nature" in a non-theological sense. But the Encyclical was written for young married people and those who have to advise them—not just for learned theologians with their specialised vocabulary. It does make sense to a non-theologian to talk of "the nature of marriage", and the general sense of what the Pope is saying is clear. Perhaps the following (in some ways not altogether happy) example will help. Eating has two purposes, to nourish the body and to give pleasure. One may eat for pleasure without in fact intending to nourish the body; but to eat for pleasure and then to use artificial means to prevent the nourishment of the body (shades of the *vomitorium*! spectres of stomach pumps!) would clearly be contrary to the "nature" of eating.

Fr Placid's second difficulty is that according to St Thomas Aquinas the only precepts of the natural law which are binding in all cases without exception are the primary precepts, and these are "equally known to everybody". I should like to know where St Thomas specifically says this. I know he says in ST 1-11.94.4, 5 that secondary precepts have exceptions, but I know of nowhere where he says that every secondary precept has its exception. In fact—I suspect that St Thomas did think that some precepts not equally known to everybody are binding in all cases without exception—for instance such precepts as "you may never directly kill an innocent person" or "you may never do evil in order that good may come".

But it should be emphasised—and I am sure that Fr Placid would agree here—that one can accept the practical teaching of the Encyclical even if one cannot understand or accept the theoretical doctrine on which it rests. We have asked God to guide the Pope in this matter, and we do not think that when we ask for bread He will give us a stone.

BONIFACE HUNT, O.S.B.

Gilling Castle.

Fr Placid replies as follows:

1. I do not object to a non-theological use of the word "nature". I merely point out that the Encyclical's use of the word cannot be justified according to St Thomas' understanding of "nature".
2. I do not say that every secondary precept of natural law has its exception, but that no secondary precept applies necessarily to all cases. St Thomas explicitly states this in S.T. I-II. 94. 5: *Quantum ad prima principia, lex naturæ est OMNINO immutabilis. Quantum autem ad secunda præcepta . . . POTEST immutari in aliquo particulari . . .* I look in vain in the Encyclical for that "*potest immutari*" (can change).
3. It is for Fr Boniface to justify his suspicion about other universally binding principles. The text that comes closest to his requirements, so far as I know, is *In V Ethic.* lect 12 n 1018: *in operativis sunt quedam principia naturaliter cognita quasi indemonstrabilia principia et propinqua his, ut malum esse vitandum, nulli esse iniuste nocendum, non furandum, et similia.* The first of these three is a primary precept; that the third is a secondary precept is clear from S.T. I-II. 94. 4; who shall decide on the second?
4. I do not in fact agree with the expression of Fr Boniface's final paragraph. The question he raises was not germane to my article, and my views on it would need much more development than I can provide here.

6th May 1969.

SIR,

In Br Ralph Wright's review of Hildebrand's book on *Humanæ Vitæ* there appears a form of argument which occurs too often in Catholic moral apologetics. "It all comes down to insight into values. Basically insight into values . . . is in itself mysterious. . . I cannot prove to you a value—you have to see it."

This manner of argument is most disarming. One can easily see its appeal; with what blessed relief it must be seized by those who are struggling to put over a difficult case. There is no more any need to argue, to persuade, to convince, to marshal supporting evidence—it all comes down to insight. Either you have it or you haven't; in either case I am the winner. It is a position full of simple goodness—like margarine.

Unfortunately, like all havens of refuge, this one also becomes a prison: it shuts you in as well as keeping the enemy out. For in the real

world there is moral conflict—incompatible “insights” are proposed to us. Sometimes even (whisper it not in the streets of Ashkalon) perfectly genuine moral conflict may occur within the Church itself. What are we to do when this happens? We won’t get very far if each side merely climbs his own little hill and shouts, “I’m the king of the castle: what a pity you can’t see what I see!” That is the way to totalitarian powers, and to the Inquisition.

Despised reason has to be brought in by the back door. Indeed there is something curiously old-fashioned about the idea that one cannot argue about moral matters; it is the old logical positivism again, which equates reasoning with empirical proof. I find it strange that Br Ralph should talk like A. J. Ayer. It is not true, and we should firmly reject the idea, that reason is not appropriate to morals. What reason does, in morals, is not to seek empirical proof (which does not of course belong to this context) but to seek *consistency*. A moral proposition must, if it is to be acceptable, fit into the interlocking structure which makes up a total morality, just as a scientific proposition has to fit into a scientific structure and not be discordant with it. Reason establishes or disproves this “fit”, and in both contexts works in much the same way.

We have, over *Humanae Vitae*, a conflict of “insights”. This does not mean that they are irreconcilable opposites. The charge of those who dissent from *Humanae Vitae* is that the “insight” contained therein, although it has real value is only partial; there is at least another, equally valuable “insight” which it does not take into account; and it is therefore discordant and does not truly fit in with Christian morality.

I would like to have space to debate with Br Ralph, or with others, the deficiencies I find in the teaching in *Humanae Vitae*. But some of its imperfection in language and understanding (or “insight” if he prefers) are, I fear, reflected in his own mode of writing about sex. I recognise his phraseology from my schooldays. “Their supreme act of love is to be the moment in time when this new person who will live for ever comes into being”. But it isn’t—not physically, not psychologically, not any way. It happens afterwards, and separately. “God sees its great value and does not want the partners to have to forego the act over long periods.” But that is not what it is all about. What sort of “value” does it have—a cultural value, like going to the opera? Or like money in the bank? What does Br Ralph think sex actually does in marriage?

I am not blaming Br Ralph for writing in this way. I used to think like that before I was married, but after marriage one slowly and painfully grows up through these simple notions to a new set of insights—about what being united to another person means, about how one uses sex as an instrument for fashioning a marriage, about how difficult it is to use and how one has to learn to use it by making mistakes, about one’s duty in the matter.

After one has lived through some years of marriage, much of the language in *Humanae Vitae* seems to belong to the nursery. It is just not true to life—it does not reflect our valid “insight”. And so it can propose

as logical things which we *know* to be invalid, like the distinction between the safe period and other contraceptive means. Only growth in understanding, based on a sincere desire to understand, will resolve the conflicting “insights” in a new synthesis—but it depends on dialogue, properly conducted, and will take time.

COLIN D. P. McDONALD (W 50).

Lansdowne,
Upper Park Rd.,
Camberley, Surrey.

17th February 1969.

SIR,

The Arms of Ampleforth are ensigned by an Ecclesiastical Hat bearing six Tassels on either side the escutcheon, whereas by the Laws of Arms only three either side should be shown. Six tassels pertain to a Bishop and, corporately, a diocese, whereas the appropriate number for an Abbot or Abbey is three.

It may seem a matter of small moment; but it is of course similar to a Viscount ensigning his Arms with the Coronet of an Earl, or more simply, a Lieutenant in the Army wearing, instead of two stars on his shoulder, the three stars of a Captain. Equally, as Armorial Bearings can in some ways be likened to “spelling” a name by pictorial symbols instead of alphabetically (and alphabetical letters are after all no more than symbols for sounds), thus, incorrectly to depict an armorial achievement is the same to some extent as to mis-spell a name.

Is it not ripe time, the cost of changing a block notwithstanding, to correct such an error in the most evident place—the front cover?

York Herald’s Chambers,
College of Arms, E.C.4.

J. C. G. GEORGE (C 49).

Up to and including October 1966, the front cover of the JOURNAL carried a coat of arms with three tassels hanging on either side. We were then advised by one of the Pursuivants of the College of Heralds (now a Herald) that the correct number should be six each side: it was at the instigation of the College, whose law—heraldic law—is a branch of the law of England, that we changed. We changed to obey the law of the land, or so we supposed: but perhaps we have been led astray by a rouge dragon blinding us with his blue mantle? [Ed.]

COMMUNITY NOTES

We were honoured to receive a visit from the Abbot Primate, the Right Reverend Rembert Weakland, in May. He kindly put an extra day at our disposal and went with Father Abbot over to Leyland to meet the brethren from Downside, Ampleforth, Douai, Belmont and Fort Augustus who are working on our parishes. His visit gave great pleasure to the Community and we were left re-assured that we could not have a better man to represent our interests in Rome. The Primate is a prominent member of the Concilium (the Commission responsible for implementing the decrees of the Vatican Council on the Liturgy) and he has also been elected as one of the three Major Superiors to attend the Synod of Bishops in the autumn. It is clear that he has already made his mark in Rome.

AN ACT OF WORSHIP FOR WHIT SUNDAY, SELBY ABBEY

ON the evening of Pentecost some nineteen centuries after the Church began and almost exactly nine centuries after Selby Abbey was founded, the Vicar of the Abbey Church welcomed the Community (or part of it) into his choir to join his parish prayers, singing vespers at duskfall. He said: "Fr Abbot, nine hundred years ago the monk Benedict of Auxerre began to build here his community, to serve God and the people of this place. That community built this church; and as we have inherited the gift, so you have inherited our gratitude. Monks of your order built our church and maintained it for more than half its years. Therefore we gladly bid you welcome. But our obedience and yours have long been separate, and our separation bitter. Now we are thankful for all signs that the breach may be healing, and for this also we bid you welcome". To this greeting the Abbot and monks replied with an antiphon, "I was glad when they said unto me: we will go into the house of the Lord. Peace be within thy walls; and plenteousness within thy palaces".

It was a moving service, part Anglican, part English Benedictine. It began by a procession led by the cross, the monks in cowls, the Abbots of Ealing and Ampleforth and finally the Abbot Primate of the Confederation; these were followed by the cross of Selby, the Abbey choir in red, black and white, the clergy of the Abbey with the clergy of St Mary's Church in surplices, the auxiliary Bishop of Leeds in his prelatical purple, the churchwardens and finally, in a slightly surprising blue-mauve cope and mitre, the Bishop of Selby carrying a carved wooden crozier. We moved slowly out of the gathering gloom, through the ancient Norman chevronned west door into what looked like an interior of light and sweetness, as through a tunnel into a lit cavern: as we processed, the congregation was singing "Come down, O Love divine". All was soft illumination, music and contrasting colours—gay modern clothes against sombre Norman stone, striking vestments against the unrelieved black of the hooded monks. The walls, triforia and pillars were Durham writ small, half church, half castle. The checkered floor, crimson carpeted, led up to a choir and altar decked

with carnations and lilies, tulips and irises. On the high altar were six candles lit and beside these two mighty paschal candles; behind was a reredos of carved oak depicting the crucifixion; and on the centre of the altar stood a silver cross. The various communities settled to their seats and stalls, thereafter to begin a service symbolising, if not communion, then desire for communion in this corporate worship of God.

Then began the Complaint: "But where is God? In Vietnam, where they burn children and corrupt the whole way of a nation? In Biafra, where they starve children and the only nourishment is hate? Is God in Selby? In my street there is a lonely man, an unmarried mother, a delinquent boy, a likely suicide; if I avoid them, is God then in me? Love, joy, peace; we cry for them by day and night, but only the dead have peace. . . ." Meanwhile the Selby choir began singing Psalm 21, My God, why hast thou forsaken me; and after them, the curate spoke the Praise of the Spirit—

This day is Pentecost: we celebrate the gift of the Spirit.

None higher than the Spirit of Christ, and that Spirit is in the world; in the nurse and in the sick, in the teacher and the taught,

in the thought that brings light, in the laugh that breaks a gloom,

There followed, at intervals, two hymns, one of them "O Holy Spirit, Lord of Grace"; and this was the prelude to the Abbot's sermon.

The Abbot, remarking that it was not mere pageantry that we had come to, spoke of the office we were now to sing, the office sung in earliest Selby, and on through the ages, and on still all over the monastic world, an office which brought its own unity in time and place. Unity, he said, was a gift of God, achieved in God's time and according to his own good pleasure; ours was the task and privilege of following the path of unity and waiting on God. He spoke of the weak set up to confound the strong, Benedict of Auxerre being just such an example: for Benedict had been restless, footloose, misdirected, but trusting; and such a one had founded a house of lasting stability. Hugh the builder, the abbot after him, had built a monastery, a church and a community, all of which had been always unspectacular beside such great houses as St Mary's, York, but had lived the Benedictine ideal with fidelity and perseverance down the years till the Dissolution. Their task, our task, the task of all monks always, is not primarily work but praise of God, ever present to us behind the cloud of unknowing. And what is left, when monks leave a place, is a sermon in stone to remind us of the love of God, a rebuke and stone of stumbling to those who make of the world an abiding city, but to the pilgrim a rock.

Then we sang vespers, familiar antiphons like *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum* and *Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto*, the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the antiphon at the Magnificat *Hodie spiritus sanctus in igne discipulis apparuit*. As we turned and sang the solemn tones of the Magnificat, accompanied by LB on the organ, Fr Dominic leading the cantors, there before us was the fanvaulted ceiling of the chancel, half timbered and resting on corbelled stonework, lit by the twilight filtering through the stained glass of the east window and the clerestory; there before

us were the lights on the altar and sanctuary lit in token that God was present to us, small shadowed lights as tokens of the Light Invisible.

At the end, we had three blessings, from the Abbot Primate, from the auxiliary Bishop of Leeds and from the Bishop of Selby: "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God. . ." As we processed out, again the austere black of the monks matched the Norman stone and contrasted significantly with the gay colourings of prelates and congregation. It seemed that the Abbey knew its own.

BENEDICTINE EXHIBITION

FR MARK has now taken his lit and crocheted portrayal of monks past and imminent to Coventry Cathedral, to Liverpool Cathedral, to Selby Abbey and to the lower reaches of Ampleforth Abbey; and he hopes to go on to the Episcopal Cathedral of Edinburgh. For all its wanderings, the Exhibition still carries the scars of its inception: the first date recounted after the coming of Roman monks to our shores in 597 is (of all improbabilities) this: "1043—Leofric of Mercia founds St Mary's Abbey, Coventry, at his wife Godiva's request". And on the Tree of Benedictine life we find this choice piece: "Mabillon Abbey, founded by St Maur". A little learning can be an enchanting thing.

OBITUARIES

FR RICHARD WRIGHT, O.S.B.

FATHER RICHARD died in a Liverpool hospital on 27th February. He will have been unknown to most of the readers of the JOURNAL but his influence on Ampleforth will have been experienced by them even if they did not know it. In his own way he was repaying the influence that Ampleforth had had on him and this is some attempt to give a picture of the man to whom so many are indebted.

Ronald Wright was the second son of devout High Church parents. His father was a barrister and the family lived in Chelsea. Ronald inherited his parents' interests in architecture and music, particularly as they applied to churches and worship. In due course he was sent to the Dragon School, Oxford, where he came under the pervading Lynam influence, but for him the doctrine and worship there was far too fundamental and he asked that he should be allowed to attend Mass at Saint Aloysius's Church and he then placed himself under instruction and was received into the Catholic Church at the age of twelve. It was a remarkable effort for a boy so young, yet anyone who knew him well would never accuse him of an emotional conversion. He always had a certain shyness, more marked in his youth, and his decision was an act of conviction adorned by the grace of Faith. It was very unlikely that his mother's reception shortly before this had any marked influence on him. The

decision was his, and in it he was followed by his three sisters. One of the consequences was that he was sent to Ampleforth instead of to Charterhouse where his father had been at school, and it was at Ampleforth that all his interests were to develop—the liturgy, literature, music and, above all, the organ which always had a fascination for him.

Apart from the masters who taught him in class he absorbed much from Fathers Placid Dolan, Bernard McElligot, Raphael Williams and Felix Hardy. These, above all, taught him to think and gave him the sure foundations in literary, artistic appreciation and musical taste which were to last him throughout his life. After a year spent with his family abroad he returned to Ampleforth, to the Noviciate, being clothed as Brother Richard in 1927. Later at Saint Bener's Hall he read Modern Greats and obtained a good second class honours degree. He absorbed a great deal from Oxford; from his tutors, Dr Kenneth Kirk (later Bishop of Oxford) and Mr R. L. Hall, and also from the friendship of many, especially Wilfrid Rooke-Ley and John Raby and from Abbot Vener who was a frequent visitor. He also attended the lectures of Dr William Brown on psychology and earned the latter's respect for his sound ideas. He returned once more to Ampleforth for his theological studies and was ordained priest in 1937. He was editor of the JOURNAL for two years and he taught for five, having quite a considerable influence in the School and helping many a boy over a difficulty, yet he was not an orthodox type of schoolmaster and in 1939 was directed to what was to be his real sphere of influence, parochial work. His first appointment was as a curate to Saint Austin's, Grassendale, Liverpool, and it was here that he learned the principles which were to make him so endeared to the people of that parish and where he made enduring friendships. In 1942 he was moved to Warwick Bridge, Carlisle, becoming parish priest in 1944, a position he held for eight years, giving much strength to the community of Benedictine nuns at Holme Eden. In 1952 he returned to Saint Austin's as parish priest and remained there as such till his death.

He was never happy in a crowd but always completely at ease with individuals: he never really enjoyed good health, slept badly and suffered from an involuntary lethargy; he used to say that he had been born middle-aged and never recovered from it. Yet he never complained although often suffering acutely, and these disabilities were never allowed to impair his generous service to others. By training not a scientific or technical man, he made himself into one; he became a skilful watch repairer, and an acknowledged expert in Hi Fi radio and the design and specification of organs. He was partly responsible for the installation of the choir organ at Ampleforth, his first "job", and his knowledge and expertise were to widen and deepen until the moment came for the provision of an organ worthy of the completed Abbey Church. For this he was given a free hand and a virtually unrestricted purse and it became to him a labour of love, enabling him to use his art and experience in providing an instrument which would worthily praise God, support his brethren in their liturgy and be a memorial to his friends who had in great part made it possible.

In everything except its position, in which he was in complete disagreement with the architect (wishing it to be at the east end) it has proved an unqualified success, receiving only praise from the eminent recitalists and other experts who have come to play or hear it. The general soundness of his judgment, his aesthetic sense and his amiability led Archbishop Heenan, as he then was, to invite Father Richard to serve on the committee for the building, furnishing and decoration of the new Metropolitan Cathedral at Liverpool, and beyond this to have the special task of drawing up the specification of the organ and commissioning it. This tribute was due to the undoubted success of the Ampleforth organ. He devoted a large amount of time and interest to these tasks.

This organ was naturally the larger instrument of the two and has also received much praise; Father Richard saw it through from start to finish, even selecting and inviting the distinguished organists whose recitals formed a part of the festival in celebration of the opening of the Cathedral. Few realised that this man over a considerable period would attend the Abbot's Council meetings at Ampleforth finishing perhaps at ten-thirty at night and then drive back to Liverpool in order to be at a Cathedral committee meeting twelve hours later. As is witnessed by his large correspondence, the success of these two great organs resulted in parish priests, organists and organ builders themselves, consulting him over a matter of specification, rebuilding or some technical point on the best position of an organ in some church. To all these he gave his patience and the benefit of his knowledge. His aim was always to have very good quality mechanically and tonally and this applied to both his organ design or to the gramophone or radio equipment which he helped others to acquire so that the music which meant so much to him should be as well reproduced as possible. His principal artistic interest was in music and his collection of records and tapes were mostly of Bach and organ music, but all the classical composers were well represented.

He had a whimsical sense of humour which was evident in his conversation and speeches. He was an extraordinarily good mimic; with the talent of the real humorist he would put his subject in some absurd situation and then portray how it would, characteristically, be dealt with. Although always funny, it was never unjust, still less unkind. It might be a senior member of the Community, or it might be the cockney conductor of a London bus winding its way down the King's Road, Chelsea; again it might be a railway guard, despatching his train and only just managing to get on it himself.

He was for seventeen years a member of the Abbot's Council, elected by the Community, and also their delegate at the General Chapter of the English Benedictine Congregation. He was sent with Father Robert Coverdale in 1952 to investigate the possibility of an Ampleforth foundation at St Louis and it was the result of their wisdom which persuaded the Community to make this successful decision.

This much of the man was evident to all who knew him, but to many others were revealed deeper things—a personal holiness which became

increasingly evident in his private prayer and his self-dedication to those who really needed his help, whether a member of his family, his Community, a diocesan priest or a parishioner. To any such he was always a patient listener and after reflection would give the benefit of his wisdom and experience, always with warmth. He was no believer in theoretical charity, he made those who needed his help his real friends, showing them his affection without any embarrassment. These people whom he helped so much, whether in their faith, prayer, the conduct of their lives or in the very struggle for existence, these are the living memorials to a devoted priest and friend. So often a person under stress wants to talk and finds it so hard to start. Father Richard would understand this and turn the conversation towards music and perhaps play a record of some work by Bach, Handel or Mozart: the ice would thaw and the trouble begin to pour out: his real work would begin.

His health deteriorated in the past two years, yet he persisted in doing all he could for Saint Austin's and the many friends who relied on him. It was after an ecumenical meeting and an errand of great mercy which kept him out very late that he had a heart attack which was to prove fatal. He lived for forty-eight hours and was fully conscious on the second day, but collapsed and died peacefully, his task completed.

The Archbishop requested that his body be brought to the Metropolitan Cathedral for a Solemn Requiem Mass (celebrated by his Auxiliary, Bishop Harris, as he personally could not be present). Six of his brethren and two diocesan priests concelebrated and the other Auxiliary Bishop (Bishop Gray), the Cathedral Chapter, forty of the diocesan clergy and thirty of his own brethren were present: the Cathedral was nearly half full. Could there be a more fitting tribute or thanksgiving to a man who, by his wise personality, his patient service of others, and above all his unflinching charity, had won so much respect and gratitude? Previously there had been a Requiem Mass for his parish at Grassendale and a Mass for the children of Saint Austin's school, which in his time he had built. He lies beside the church, a few feet from the altar and sanctuary where for such a long time he had offered Mass, given the Sacraments and put himself at the disposal of so many in their troubles. May he remain in peace.

FR ROGER LIGHTBOUND, O.S.B.

FATHER ROGER died in Liverpool on 16th March 1969. He had been in indifferent health for about three years, but this zealous and active priest was mercifully spared an illness which would have left him incapacitated and, one would think, impatient of inactivity. Fr Roger was a priest first and foremost, and all the time, and wherever he had been made an indelible impression on the people he had served so generously.

He came from a family marked by all that is best in Lancashire Catholicism—simple, direct and deep. He was born in Ormskirk on 19th November 1900 and went to school at Douai (his brother, Abbot Anselm

Lightbound, had gone to Ampleforth). On leaving school he was accepted for the priesthood by the then Bishop of Menevia, Bishop Mostyn, but on the translation of the latter to the Archdiocese of Cardiff, Fr Roger, too, changed his allegiance. He did his ecclesiastical studies at Fort Augustus with the permission of his Bishop and was ordained priest in 1926. It was while at Cardiff that he came into contact with our priests at St Mary's, and he was influenced in particular by Fr Ambrose Byrne. He had already tried his vocation for a short period at Belmont but it was to Ampleforth that he came in 1932. He was already an experienced priest and he did not stay long in the monastery, for in May 1933 he was sent on supply to St Benedict's, Warrington, and remained there for the next six years.

Fr Roger was never to live in the monastery again—seven years at Leyland, then eight at Cardiff until he was appointed parish priest at Harrington. Although he had little experience of monastic living as such, nevertheless he was a monk in spirit and at heart, and a real missionary in the traditional style of the Congregation, but always interested in the brethren and a regular visitor to the monastery at Chapter and retreats.

What sort of man was he? He had all those qualities which each one of us would wish to have when the time comes to render an account of our stewardship to the Lord—a real compassion, thoughtfulness, generosity. He was never happier than when administering the Sacraments (a true devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was a special characteristic) or visiting the people in their houses. But he had administrative ability too, and the primary school at Harrington will long be his memorial. His years at Harrington, and he was there from 1955 to 1968, were undoubtedly the happiest of his life, and the large number of persons, especially children, who came to the funeral and attended at the graveyard at Salterbank testified to the devotion they had for their parish priest. Early in 1968 the parish passed into the hands of the Community at Belmont and this caused Fr Roger great sadness, although he was happy and relieved to know that it would still be in Benedictine hands, and especially in the care of Belmont monks with whom he had always had such close ties—his brother had been Abbot of Belmont and he himself had been ordained there. This sadness, together with a certain bewilderment at the rapid changes in the Church, were an ordeal for him, but he worked right to the end, visiting the people at St Peter's, Seel Street, attracting them (as he always did) to his confessional—but meanwhile Almighty God was preparing him for his final assignment. He faced that as he faced everything else—a true priest and a humble monk. To Abbot Anselm, Fr Hugh Menken and Sister Theresa we extend the condolences of our Community, grateful to Almighty God for having given us such an exemplary brother in St Benedict.

FESTIVAL OF SLAVA OF ST SYMEON'S HOUSE

ON this festival, St Symeon's Day in the Orthodox calendar, 13th February (in fact on 26th February in England, for Christmas comes but twice a year in Oswaldkirk village), Fr Vladimir and Mrs Rodzianko held a

"Glory" (*slava*), asking the Abbot, the Headmaster and many of both the Community and the lay staff with some of their children to join them in the custom of breaking the blessed bread (*kolach*) as a symbol of unity on earth, of sharing in the sweetened wheat (*kohjivo*) as a symbol of shared participation in the Resurrection with past generations, and lighting the candle, a sign of the presence of the patron of the House with us in Christ. A religious service preceded social convivialities, the feast before feasting. The candle was lit to the proclamation: "God has revealed himself unto us". Then followed the Collect in Slavonic, the invocation of the Holy Spirit (*epiclesis*), the blessing and mixing of wine and bread, the breaking of bread together and the kiss of peace as the priest said: "Christ is in our midst". After the Litany of Supplication, the candle and bread and wheat were taken into the house, where we ceased to be sacred without becoming inordinately profane.

PARISH FIRE

"I saw some nuns on the English Martyrs walk (a few weeks earlier)," said Fr Gordon Beattie, o.s.b., "I thought if nuns can walk, priests can run"; so the *Warrington Guardian* recounted. What Fr Gordon actually said was, "if penguins can walk, surely crows can fly", and with that bravado he put himself in for a ten-mile torch run, largely organised by himself with Fr Jerome and Fr Osmund at a discreet distance. Flaming torches were carried into Warrington late on the night of Holy Saturday to the Town Hall, and from there out to the ten Catholic churches of Warrington to light the paschal fires of the Easter vigils. They came from two places: 55 boys brought them in relays from Shrewsbury Cathedral, 54 miles of running after Bishop Graser had seen them off at 2.30 that afternoon; and 30 girls had similarly brought them 20 miles from Liverpool Cathedral in two-mile relays (with police escort!) after Archbishop Beck had seen them off at 7.15 that evening. The runners, all in their teens, came from St Alban's, St Benedict's, St Mary's, St Peter's and St Monica's youth clubs, Boteler Grammar School, English Martyr School and the "Travellers' Group" of St Alban's. A torch from each of the cathedrals was brought to each of the Warrington churches, 20 brands in all. The intention of this gay and bizarre paschal marathon was to demonstrate the unity of the youth of Warrington and the unity of the churches, especially in the Shrewsbury and Liverpool dioceses. A side effect was to show Fr Gordon that he himself could still cover ten miles at a trot.

SAINT LOUIS PRIORY

BUILDING PROGRESS

The working plans for the Upper School building and library were completed on schedule and the bids for the various contracts were opened late in April. They proved to be satisfactory and within the costs estimated by the architects.

The site, about midway between the monastery and the science wing, has been pegged out, and a fence erected to prevent the students and science faculty from making a bee-line through the building operations on their travels between the two buildings. Building time is estimated at 400 days, which would give a completion date early in June 1970, leaving us the summer vacation for furnishing and moving the books into the new library. All would now be well if it were not for some uncertainty in the field of labour relations in the building industry. Several unions are in the process of negotiating new agreements and until these negotiations are satisfactorily settled there is real danger of a strike which could upset our schedule badly.

Bulldozers are at work in a distant corner of the campus, levelling the ground for a new "Varsity" football ground around which there is to be an all-weather running track and facilities for field events.

SCHOOL YEAR

Judging by the practical yard-stick of college acceptances this has been a very good academic year. Our seniors have been accepted by Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Chicago, to mention some of the more prestigious. These acceptances are perhaps not surprising since no fewer than five seniors out of a class of 25 were finalists in the National Merit Scholarship competition.

There was fierce competition to enrol one of our athletes, Bill Daake, who has had a phenomenal career as a basketball player. He scored over 2,000 points for the school, an average of over 30 per game. He twice led the school team to win the League and District championships which qualified us to enter the State Championship competition. He was awarded the St Louis Globe Democrat Award for the outstanding basketball player of the year, was selected for the All-State basketball team. He finally decided to go to Princeton where he will be following in the footsteps of another basketball "great" of this area, Bill Bradley, whose athletic skill is not unknown at Oxford and in Britain.

SUMMER SCHOOL

Father Leonard will again direct the Summer School and he has been busy raising funds for it. With help from the Monsanto Company and the Switzer Foundation the project is now assured. No fewer than seven other private schools in the St Louis area are organising similar schools this year. Several new features are included in this year's plans. Thirteen of last year's students will be returning along with 30 new boys, and 12 older negro boys from Sophia House will act as tutors. Sophia House is an inner-city venture started by Jesuit scholastics to provide a centre where talented negro boys can receive coaching and training to supplement the courses they take in the public schools. Fr Austin (English) and Fr Paul (Maths) are acting as curriculum advisers in this project, and as guarantors of the academic value of the courses which are being offered.

WINSTON CHURCHILL MEMORIAL AT WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, FULTON, MISSOURI

Fr Prior and the Headmaster were invited to be present at the dedication of the Winston Churchill Memorial at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, not very far west of us. The bombed Wren church of St Mary, Aldermanbury, in London, was transported here stone by stone, cleaned, and re-erected to commemorate the "Iron Curtain" speech made in March 1946. The guest of honour from Britain was Earl Mountbatten of Burma who spent two very hectic days in St Louis and Fenton. For a while we had some small hope that he would find time to visit the Priory and turn the first sod at the site of the new Upper School. His busy programme did not permit this, but he did find time to receive a visit from one of our lay faculty with his wife and seven children. This was Brian Barry (O.A. 1942) who served as Engineer Officer on *H.M.S. Surprise* when Earl Mountbatten was commanding the N.A.T.O. forces in the Mediterranean from her. Brian has been an outstanding success on our science faculty, teaching physics and mathematics, and he was cited by the American Association of Physics Teachers as one of the outstanding physics teachers of the nation in 1966.

COMMUNITY

We are looking forward to the return of Br Laurence Kriegshauser this summer. Arrangements are going forward for his ordination to the priesthood in September by Bishop McNicolas and we hope that at this time we shall have Fr Abbot visiting us so that he will be present for the happy occasion.

A LETTER of little consequence appeared in the *Catholic Herald* of 10th May, which at first glance hardly merits our attention. But at second, it does need looking at because of the assumptions and lack of understanding underlying it. It reads: "Is it not strange that the leading protagonists of Catholicism in this country are or were converts—educated at non-Catholic schools. The following names occur to one: Newman, Manning, Chesterton, Fr Martindale, the Earl of Longford, Sir Arnold Lunn, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, Roy Campbell, Sir Compton Mackenzie, Rosemary Houghton, etc. What eminent thinkers have Stonyhurst, Ampleforth, Downside, Beaumont, produced in comparison? Or is there some element in English Catholic education that discourages independence of thought? H. A. Piehler."

It would be invidious to examine the claims of each of those listed; but the first two, the cardinals, contain in their actions the seed of the answer to Mr Piehler. Newman in the 1850s attempted to found a Catholic university, and failed. Manning, until his death in 1892, persistently refused to allow Catholics in Britain to go to any university. Only in the mid-1890s did Oxford and Cambridge open their doors to Catholics, and an open door is only an invitation to a new tradition, which takes time to build (though no time to destroy). There is in St Benet's Hall a photo

of the Newman Society of 1908, and in it there are just two dons, "Sligger" Urquhart, of Balliol, and one other. Ampleforth did not become a community of graduates until the generation of Abbot Herbert Byrne and Abbot Justin McCann had risen to the top in the late 1930s. Only in the 1930s did Ampleforth begin to have the remotest pretensions to being a major public school; and the generation it then fostered is now barely in its early fifties, with some of its best arrows still in its quiver—indeed, only the generals and colonial governors can hope to have reached their zenith by this age, and we have our share of them.

There are other arguments, too. One of them is that the people listed by Mr Piehler were most of them in no way remarkable during their school days: they appeared to be deriving little from a *modus vivendi* that was much to their distaste (cf. Evelyn Waugh's autobiography). But this is taking us from the specific relevance to Ampleforth, which concerns us here. We should ask, is it the avowed intention of Ampleforth to produce "leading protagonists of Catholicism"? Is it our first desire to strive for fame, distinction, power or even notice? If it is, then why do we not pick our entry, as does Winchester most undisguisedly, and as do all the schools that can claim to be "cabinet makers to the Crown", from a highly select bracket of those with unambiguous influence or undeniable high ability? Our range of intake is more indulgent than that of any other comparable school, just as our fee-facility ratio is more favourable to the parents. In the last analysis, as Fr Paul was fond of pointing out, we intend to prepare our boys not for a successful life, but rather for a successful death by way of a Christian life.

THE PRIME MINISTER, THE PRESS AND AMPLEFORTH

SUFFICIENT curious connections between the names of the Prime Minister and Ampleforth have appeared in print recently to warrant an explanation. Our York printer came to lunch, and we showed him an elaborate genealogy we have hanging in the History Room, the ancestry of the Wilson family of the parish of Helmsley (Will's son of Sproxtton, yeoman farmer on the Abbey garth lands of Rievaulx). It was taken from an article by a Mr Heenan in the November 1965 *Journal of the Institute of Heraldic & Genealogical Studies*.

The printer remarked—to our evident astonishment—that "this is news" and put the reporters of the *Yorkshire Evening Press* on to it. From there it was syndicated to the *Malton Gazette* and then picked up by the National Press, who phoned the *fons et origo* Fr Simon the Scribe, *vel ortus* Mr Charles-Edwards the Scholar. These two were then besieged with phone calls and fan mail, and their every utterance ("we did not expect to find aristocratic roots in the ancestry of the leader of the Labour Party") was taken down and used in evidence against them. Even the *Universe* phoned "just to get the facts exactly right"—but no paper ever did.



BENEDICTINE EXHIBITION
H.E. the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Dwyer and Father Mark at Coventry

A typical panel





The Ampleforth College Beagles

The Public Schools Debate Observer Mace Finalists
Robert Bernasconi and James Fano-Gladwin

Both are Head Monitors and winners of the Quirk Debating Prize at Ampleforth



Salesianum,
Fribourg.

The centre of interest is, of course, James Harold Wilson, P.C., O.B.E., M.P., M.A., First Lord of the Treasury, born 11th March 1916 at Huddersfield and brought up off and on in the Rye valley. A long line of his ancestors, all named James or John, had farmed the Abbey garth lands at Rievaulx since at least the seventeenth century. John Wilson, who died the year of the Great Exhibition, was also the Helmsley village cobbler, and Master of the Workhouse at Pottergate, Helmsley, and at Monk Bar, York; his wife and those of his forebears were all local girls. But then his son struck out and married a Huddersfield girl, daughter of a cotton warp manufacturer, in 1872; and the next generation (the Prime Minister's father) moved further west, putting down roots in Lancashire. James Herbert Wilson was a chemist who married in 1906 Ethel Seddon, a school-teacher, daughter of a Wigan railway clerk. So now the family unites the two Roses, being rooted both sides of the Pennines.

VIETNAM

I am a mother in my body breed
the worms of war—
great nations in their greed
for justice or injustice spill on me
the seed of their dominion—
in my womb
bombs burst and blow my children
into pieces
my flesh is divided and my beauty
slowly greets the swamp and is destroyed
subversion or submerision
from my birth
in the great heat
I have known suffering
but possess
infinite patience
I ask for only a little food
and a little peace
merely the peace of being left alone
to plant rice
raise children
find laughter
and mend my home—
I ask for no more war
I ask no more

RALPH WRIGHT.

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died:—J. B. Ainscough (1923) on 17th March; D. J. Allport (O 64) on 22nd March; Flight Lieutenant T. V. Spencer (T 55) who was killed on a training flight while serving with the Royal Australian Air Force in April; and R. G. McArdle (1918) in May.

In the last issue of the JOURNAL the death was reported of A. S. Beech (1904). This was an error, for which we apologise to Mr Beech, his family and friends. He is alive and well.

WE congratulate the following on their marriage:

Richard A. Chamberlain (A 59) to Modwenna Nicol at Holy Trinity, Hammersmith, on 19th December 1968.

Michael Anthony Kennedy (A 60) to Jane Elizabeth McIntyre at St Walburga's Church, Shipley, on 7th September 1968.

Prince Chahbaz Pahlbod (B 65) to Beatrice Boutourline Young on 15th January 1969.

Anthony Jenkins (A 63) to Suzanne Marbaix at the Church of the Assumption, Englefield Green, Surrey, on 12th April.

Captain D. O. Fairlie (W 41) to Ann Bolger at St James', Spanish Place, on Saturday, 19th April.

A. H. W. Dunbar (B 53) to Zara Messenger at St Mary's, Cadogan Street, on 10th May.

John H. C. Loch (C 62) to Avril Patricia Butler at the Church of Our Most Holy Redeemer, Chelsea, on 1st May.

James Erik Blackledge (C 67) to Elizabeth Jane Wilkinson at St Herbert's Church, Windermere, on 21st May.

Dr David F. H. Wardle (B 61) to Evelyn Elizabeth de Martini at Ampleforth Abbey on Saturday, 7th June.

Patrick Davey (E 59) to Katherine Montgomery at Uckfield Parish Church on 4th January.

AND to the following on their engagement:

Shaun Tusting (O 59) to Fru Skuterud.

Gerald Cary-Elwes (W 63) to Ann Villeneuve.

Peter Cary-Elwes (T 64) to Alice Elizabeth Colby.

Michael E. Tate (B 62) to Daphne Drury.

Alistair J. T. Gray (H 60) to Mary Elizabeth Henrietta Dumat.

Michael T. Bramwell (O 61) to Olivia Loraine-Smith.

James Pollock Dowson (O 60) to Frances Elizabeth Malcolm Green.

Major Shaun Blewitt (A 53) to Mrs. John Morrough-Bernard.

John Q. Balme (O 63) to Rosalind Richardson.

John Ray Motton Wayman (E 59) to Adele Margaret Scott.

Aidan Connolly (E 57) to Clairra Anne Corfe.

John P. J. Corbett (H 60) to Philippa Mees.

Peter Barry (H 67) to Lindsay Arrol.

BIRTHS

Kersty and Nicholas Leonard, a daughter.

Gillian and Laci Nester-Smith, a daughter, Anne Felicia.

Gay and Anthony Umney, a son, Henry Dominic.

Brigid and Peter Fell, a son, Anthony Nolan.

Mr and Mrs W. Welstead, a son, a brother for Verity and Aidan.

Lady Anne and Jack Eyston, a son, Edward.

Katherine and Edward Haslam, a son, Nicholas Edward Charles.

Sarah and Anthony Butcher, a daughter, Katherine.

— and John Reid, a son by adoption, Damian Patrick, a brother for Marian, Catherine and Fergus.

FR JOHN DALRYMPLE (O 46), spiritual director of St Andrew's College, Drygrange, who was official Catholic observer at the 1963 British Council of Churches meeting at St Andrews, has now been invited to be the first Catholic guest-observer to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. He has also been invited to serve on the staff of the Anglican Theological College at Lincoln.

R. H. G. EDMUNDS (O 38) was awarded the C.M.G. in the New Year Honours List.

MAJOR-GENERAL T. M. R. AHERN (1926) has been appointed Colonel Commandant, R.A.M.C.

A. ROOKE LEY (A 54) has become General Manager of the Paris Section of the Readymix Group of Companies.

IAN J. FRASER (O 41), formerly chief of Reuter's German Agency and Director of S. G. Warburg, has been appointed Director-General of the Takeover Panel. The *Financial Times* described him as a man "who looks well capable of fulfilling the Bank of England's wish for a tough Director, ready and able to make quick decisions".

W. WELSTEAD (D 57) is Lecturer in materials science at the Stockport College of Technology.

The three MEYER brothers (W 56-61) are in Australia. N.C. (56) is Manager of the Sydney branch of Blue Metal Industries. M.A. (57) is Sales Manager of a firm of Irrigation experts. P.R. (61) is Area Manager of a deep-freeze and contract food merchants.

PATRICK DAVEY (E 59) obtained a Ph.D. in Biochemistry at London University and is Senior Teaching Research Fellow at Monash University, Melbourne. JONATHAN DAVEY (E 60) has qualified as a Doctor at St Andrews University. ANTHONY DAVEY (E 63) has joined I.B.M. and has qualified as a Computer Systems Analyst. RICHARD DAVEY (E 66) is a Sub-Lieutenant at Dartmouth.

C. G. WAGSTAFF (A 64) is teaching and working for a Doctorate in Italian Literature at the University of California (Berkeley).

J. C. D. GOLDSCHMIDT (A 62), after working for several years in Sweden on paper technology, is now doing a Business Administration course at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, as is K. R. STUDER (D 63).

DAVID RAYFIELD (O) is an Associate Member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers.

CHRISTOPHER DE GUINGAND (A 50), who has been in Australia for the past 15 years, is Sales Manager for a subsidiary of the R.T.Z. group which produces zinc and lead.

J. Q. BALME (O 63) is President of the Students' Association at the Royal College of Music.

T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS (B 62) has been awarded the P. S. Allen Junior Research Fellowship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

PETER FORREST (J 63) has been awarded a Frank Knox Scholarship to Harvard, starting next September.

H. THOMSON (E 62) has been awarded a B.Sc. (General) 2nd Class at the Kingston College of Technology.

ANTHONY DU VIVIER (A 62) has qualified M.B.B.S.

D. B. KNIGHT (A 67) ran for Cambridge against Oxford in the 440 Hurdles and 220 Hurdles at the White City.

PETER D. SAVILL (J 65) was elected to the Crusaders C.C. at Cambridge University and played in the final trial. A. C. WALSH (E 67) is an Authentic at Oxford.

R. L. NAIRAC (E 66), who was Captain of Boxing in the School, saved the University Boxing match of 1969. The O.U.B.C. had dissolved through lack of funds and interest. Nairac, as Secretary, resurrected the Club, challenged Cambridge, won his own bout, and saw his University tie the match on bouts fought. He has since (you would never have guessed) been elected Captain of Boxing for the next year.

K. O. PUGH (E 65) was chosen for Great Britain's Shooting Team in Canada.

CAPTAIN A. M. PARKER-BOWLES (E 58) rode *The Fossa* in this year's Grand National and was one of 13 to complete the course. He is the third O.A. of recent years to have competed: J. M. CIECHANOWSKI (D 38) and A. J. HARTIGAN (W 54) rode in 1965.

C. E. R. HAY (C 66) has qualified as a Pilot at the College of Air Training, Hamble, and is to join B.O.A.C. as a qualified Pilot.

D. C. J. CLIVE (C 66) has been accepted for Mons Officer Cadet School.

M. C. A. PENDER-CUDLIP (O 68) has been given an Army University Cadetship.

OLD BOYS who have held regular or temporary commissions in one of the three Services may not know that they and their wives are eligible to use

one of London's best known Hospitals—King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers (Sister Agnes's).

Although the Hospital is outside the National Health Service and is entirely dependent on voluntary support, its charges are much lower than those of other leading hospitals.

Those interested can obtain full details from: The Appeals Secretary, King Edward VII's Hospital for Officers, 6 Buckingham Place, London, S.W.1.

CRICKETER CUP

In the 1st round played at Ampleforth on Sunday, 25th May, the O.A.C.C. defeated the Old Cliftonians by 8 wickets. The scores: Old Cliftonians 68 (Evans 3—26, Stephens 3—10, Huskinson 3—12); O.A.C.C. 70—2 (Perry 26, Gretton 25).

O.A.R.U.F.C.

THE match against the School will be on Sunday, 28th September. Would any body wishing to play please contact H. Pattinson, 31 Princes Park Mansions, Princes Park, Liverpool, L8 3SA, before 1st August.

* * *

The meeting drew the attention of the Society to the valuable contribution which is made by the Society to the Headmaster. The balance which remains from the subscription after costs have been met (notably the Journal) is set aside for the Headmaster to allocate to Parents for payment of school fees in particular circumstances. It was pointed out that there may be many members of the Society who would like to contribute to this fund above and beyond the payment of their annual subscription. They are asked to contact the Hon. General Secretary.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE 87th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY

THE Eighty-seventh Annual General Meeting was held at Ampleforth on Easter Sunday, 6th April 1969, with Fr Abbot, President, in the Chair; 65 members were present.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report was presented to the meeting, and the Accounts were adopted, subject to audit. The Hon. Treasurer writes:

(1) The Revenue Account shows a net Loss for the year of £471 12s. 6d. as against a net Income for the previous year of £891 10s. 1d. The difference is almost entirely accounted for by the increase in the charge for the JOURNAL by £1,250 to £2,500 without a corresponding increase in Members' annual subscription, which did not take effect until 1st April 1969. By order of the Committee this loss will be taken into the Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund, reducing the balance in this Fund to some £815, instead of carrying forward a working loss to next year.

PROVISIONAL REVENUE ACCOUNT

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1969

1968	£	s.	d.	1968	£	s.	d.
1,246	Members' Journals (Estimated)	...	2,500	0	0	0	
20	Chaplain's Honourarium	...	20	0	0	0	
222	Address Book Provision	...	100	0	0	0	
	Printing, Stationery and Incidentals:	£	s.	d.			
	General and Area Secretaries:	...	51	0	7		
	Herald Printing	...	53	17	0		
	Envelope, Assist:	...	26	6	0		
	Secretary, Assist:	...	84	0	0		
	Postages	...	15	0	0		
	Travelling	...	4	0	1		
	Midlands Area	...	23	8	6		
50	General Treasurer	...	61	5	6		
48	Old Boys' Sporting Activities	...	30	0	0		
35	Grant to Lourdes Pilgrimage	...	114	14	0		
892	Balance, being Net Income	...	234	4	5		
			£2,968	18	5		
			£2,533				
	Members' Subscriptions:						
	1,654 For the Year	...	1,629	7	5		
	From Previous Year	...	12	6	0		
	123 Arrears	...	74	10	9		
	Income from Investments (Gross)	...	891	10	1		
	Balance Forward, 1st April 1968	...	891	10	1		
	Less Under Rule 32:						
	Scholarship and Special Reserve	...	891	10	1		
	Fund	...	891	10	1		
	Balance being Net LOSS for the year	...	471	12	6		
			£2,968	18	5		

SCHOLARSHIP AND SPECIAL RESERVE FUND ACCOUNT

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 1969

1968	£	s.	d.	1968	£	s.	d.
1,004	Educational Grants	...	872	13	4		
1,259	Balance at 31st March 1969	...	1,287	19	7		
			£2,160	12	11		
	Balance Forward, 1st April 1968	...	1,259	2	10		
	Part Refund of Grant	...	10	0	0		
	Amount Transferred from above	...	891	10	1		
			£2,160	12	11		

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS were:

Head Monitor R. L. Bernasconi

School Monitors J. W. Fane-Gladwin, J. R. Parker, D. J. Hughes,
A. J. Macfie, R. L. Minio, T. E. Howard, J. P.
Christie, Visc. Asquith, P. J. Williams, S. J. H.
Shuldham, C. C. F. McCann, B. G. T. Houghton,
N. H. Armour, B. L. Musgrave, P. A. Thomasson,
B. A. McSwiney, D. C. N. Ogilvie, M. P. Reilly.

Captain of Rugby S. J. H. Shuldham

Captain of Cross Country P. M. Davey

Captain of Athletics J. P. MacHale

Captain of Boxing D. J. West

Captain of Shooting J. H. Leeming

Master of Hounds T. M. Fitzalan-Howard

Office Men A. J. Macfie, D. C. N. Ogilvie, B. P. L. Musgrave,
A. Meyrick, D. P. M. Horn, G. V. B. Thompson,
T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, S. A. C. Price, A. R.
Leeming, J. H. Leeming, G. R. Hatfield, D. N.
Young.Librarians P. W. James, P. D. Clarke, R. F. Sheppard, M.
Reilly, P. J. Ford, R. G. Watson, P. St J. Baxter,
M. C. Blackden, P. Grace, G. R. Gretton, S. G.
Callaghan, R. J. A. Richmond, A. M. J. Reid.Bookshop Staff P. D. Clarke (Assistant Manager), M. A. Q.
Shuldham, W. A. Jacks, M. S. Callow, M. H.
Armour, C. N. F. Kinsky, T. C. Bidie, R. P. Burdell,
T. P. Macfarlane.Bookroom Officials C. J. A. Barnes, M. S. McCraith, T. A. Doyle,
D. A. McKibbin, R. G. Killingbeck, J. C. Rigby.

THE following boys joined the School in April:

A. H. Davenport, S. R. Lovegrove, J. E. P. Ryan.

THE following boys left the School in March:

St Bede's: R. L. Bernasconi.

St Edward's: P. A. O'Callaghan.

H. C. HORNOLD-STRICKLAND has been awarded a Rolls Royce Bursary (Undergraduate) to study Applied Mechanical Engineering.

SOME parents in the south have become acutely conscious of new problems which seem to call for a more flexible relationship between the two worlds of home and school. When this was mentioned to Father Patrick, he wholeheartedly agreed. Mass meetings are seldom constructive, so it was suggested that about thirty parents, those known to the original group, should be invited to the home of one of them, and that Father Patrick should come with a housemaster for a general discussion about communication between home and school.

Many points of view were represented. Some had felt such a meeting unnecessary, others felt it long overdue, but at the end of the day, despite the initial nervousness, the discussion had certainly proved, to the parents at any rate, helpful and thought-provoking. Nothing was altered, nothing was solved, but personal problems were put in a general framework, the contemporary tension between freedom and authority was related to both school and home; religious education at home and at Ampleforth was discussed in many different contexts.

Is there any value to the School in such meetings? What can parents contribute to Ampleforth in 1969? Would the boys be better prepared for the world of today if there were less of a gap between school and home? What do other people feel about the need for better lines of communication?

It should not pass without some notice that the *Blue Book* has got a new format. It is now in diary form, has 28 pages, contains internal and external telephone numbers, information about school society meetings, space for essays and notes, and costs 1/-. It seems to have met with a favourable response.

The records of the *Blue Book* go back to the Michaelmas (sic) Term, 1937. In its first year it contained entries such as:

- 21st Sept. School returns.
- 22nd Sept. Sixth Form and camp boys return.
- 11th Nov. Armistice Day—2 minutes' silence.
- 22nd Nov. Feast of St Cecilia. Choir holiday.

The School played matches against still familiar opponents; there were more lectures: "Round the world in a ketch"; "My escapes as a prisoner of war"; "Herr Brann's marionettes". The retreat lasted for a weekend as previously, up to this term. There was an inter-house singing competition. Films included "Follow the Fleet" (Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers) and "British Agent" (Leslie Howard); they took place on Wednesdays but there was liable to be an entertainment instead. In the Summer Term, the *Blue Book* was packed with cricket matches and little else. Exhibition took place on the Monday with a half holiday on the previous Saturday;

there was a garden party at Gilling, and the play was "Youth at the Helm". Several different cricket fixtures included 2nd XI v. Duncombe Park, and 1st XI v. Magdalen College, Oxford.

Copies available at 20/- for three years, post free, from Fr Stephen Wright.

"SPIRAL"

Spiral started in early summer last year as Ampleforth's answer to indifference; a magazine in which the School could express its ideas and voice its criticisms. It began as a fortnightly edition consisting of sixteen Roneo-duplicated half-foolscap pages, and the whole production was done by boys in the School. Since then, the magazine has tried to develop in several directions: subscriptions have been offered to masters and parents, a team of helpers is kept employed addressing envelopes, and to broaden its scope the Editors have welcomed articles and letters from parents, members of the staff and anyone interested enough to write.

Last term, after a temporary disruption in the services caused by faults in both typewriter and duplicator, an expensive and unrepeatable experiment in printing was tried, but *Spiral* has now reverted to its original format although it is sometimes larger than sixteen pages. Almost anything of a serious nature is printed and thus the contents are suitably varied. On wider issues the subjects have ranged from anarchy to literary style, whilst on School affairs articles concerning smoking, monitors, music, reorganisation of Sixth Form work and games have appeared and provoked lively discussion. In this way *Spiral* hopes to contribute something useful to the life of the School and to discuss ideas for its further development.

THE BOOKSHOP

ON 14th February the Bookshop moved from the inconvenient cranny near the glass doors and was reopened on 21st February in the vacated electrician's shop behind the Porter's Lodge. The manager, Fr Leo, doubled the stock to embrace a range of interests from psychology to what is known in the trade as romantic fiction, and, to fit most pockets, an experimental second-hand section was introduced with C. N. F. Kinsky in charge. Despite the perennial complaints, the ordering and accounting staff have greatly increased the pace at which orders can be dealt with, although even our suppliers are unable to keep in stock all 26,000 paperback titles now in print. The increased space makes browsing a much more pleasant occupation and one might almost say, at the risk of a little self-glorification, that the Bookshop provides a good service to the School.

SCIENTIFIC EQUIPMENT

We have been very lucky in the last few months in acquiring a large amount of extremely valuable equipment in the fields of automation and analogue computation, thanks to the kindness of Sebastian de Ferranti, and to the generous amount of their time and skill given by Mr Colin Roberts, the Group Leader, and Mr John Bottomley, Electrical Engineer, of the Systems Analysis Group of Ferranti Ltd. at Wythenshawe. They have made for us, out of a section of an obsolescent electro-mechanical computer, an admirable instructional servo-mechanism, together with the necessary power pack and test signal generator. More recently they have added to this with most generous gifts of further analysis and test and recording equipment, which has raised the standard of the equipment available here so that it is now equal to, and in some cases better than, that available in many university teaching laboratories. With more than twenty failures to find such equipment over the last year, it is pleasant to record our gratitude for this most generous series of gifts; not only have Mr Roberts and Mr Bottomley found the equipment for us, but they have devoted a large part of their spare time to making it work, copying hand-books, sending instructions and test data, and coming to advise us on the best methods of operation. Photographs of most of the equipment appear with the article on the Technological Revolution elsewhere in this issue.

Our thanks are also due to the Physics Department, Loughborough University of Technology, for the opportunity to buy, at favourable second-hand prices, a quantity of electronic equipment, including two oscilloscopes, and for the gift of some transistors, meters, and other items of physics teaching equipment, also to the Analogue Computer Laboratory at Loughborough for help with the design of the analogue computer which Mr Sellers has built here recently, and to Mr E. W. Mackman, who made the original computer on which ours is based. We would also like to record our gratitude to Dr Alan Guile, of Leeds University, who obtained for us design data for a servo-mechanism test equipment, and to Professor S. L. Cook, Professor of Operational Research at the University of Aston in Birmingham, and Mr Philip Woodcock, of Leeds University, for help and advice on a proposed future General Studies course on Operational Research.

AMPLEFORTH THEATRE GROUP

MR BERNARD VASQUEZ has formed a group for boys to attend the York Arts Centre Theatre (near Micklegate) to see plays at a professional level. The Arts Centre, a former church (of which York has too many from an earlier age) brings the techniques of theatre and television together in a powerful, live display at close quarters. In the vaulted room that seems like a medieval wine cellar, the audience sits in what appears as four transepts surrounding a central square no larger than a drawing room. The actors come in as into a big room, playing their parts three-dimensionally, with

a style necessarily bereft of histrionics and voices muted to an audience a few feet away. Every facial expression, every blink or smile or scowl is discernible; every fidget of the hands or plucking at clothes. It leads to the need for extreme standards of acting; and, if they are there, a very intense dramatic experience for the onlookers. So it was that "The Homecoming", "Rosmersholm" and "Tristram Shandy" were presented; "Electra" was done elsewhere. The reviews which follow were written by various members of the Group.

Pinter's "comedy of menace" depends for its effectiveness on the audience completing the circuit of communication. Take away the spectator, and there is nothing left. Thus a Pinter play is peculiarly at the mercy of its audience. The Arts Centre production of "The Homecoming" gave us, not the characteristic comedy of menace, but something in the nature of unpleasant farce instead. To what extent the crudity of the audience's response was responsible for this, and to what extent the production, it is difficult to determine. With the combined rôles of wife, mother and prostitute, exemplified in Ruth, the wife of a teacher in an American University who has brought her home to meet his family in London, the subject of the play would appear to be the (paradoxically) triumphant passivity of woman in a male world. The famous Pinter irony is at its most telling in the conversation between Ruth's husband, Teddy, and his brother, Lenny—in which Lenny protests at length about losing his cheese roll, when Teddy has been inexplicably silent about losing his wife. But Ruth's eventual triumph over the predatory males turned out to be as dubious as it was contrived, and the final tableau strained credibility to breaking point.

"Rosmersholm" (1886), following upon "The Wild Duck" two years earlier, might be described as the quintessence of Ibsenism. Add to it—as they did—the music of Sibelius, the chill of York under snow and brilliant character acting and you only need a knowledge of Ibsen's philosophy for this to be deeply moving. Ibsen is showing us the danger of forming ideals for other people, and interfering in their lives with a view to enabling them to realise those ideals; he is thinking of the priest who regards the ennobling of mankind as a sort of trade process of which his cloth gives him a monopoly, and the clever woman who pictures a noble career for the man she loves, devoting herself to his achieving it. His parson of Rosmersholm, a family estate near a small coastal town in western Norway, tends to regard the ennoblement of the world as an external operation to be performed by himself; but his wife refuses to share his idealism, preferring a realism which for him extinguishes his sacred fire, while for her it does not dim her love. Into this situation comes a footloose adventuress, who sees that she could use John Rosmer's idealism. An unpropertied orphan, she is taken in by the wife and leaned upon by the husband, who needs her enthusiasm for his idealism; what he gets is her love, though he does not know it. The wife does; and being of the temper of a realist, with the courage to face situations if not the judgment to

overcome them, she decides that she stands in the way of her husband's spiritual growth—and more, for she is childless, too. So she removes the obstacle by casting herself in the millstream, feigning madness. Thereafter the plot becomes immensely complex, Rosmer loses his idealism and the orphan her power to love, and both are shrouded in guilt. What drives her in the end is the need to demonstrate to him a higher love for him than her former passion, the love of fellowship and belief in another; while he is driven by a superstition which destroys his will, the superstition of expiation by sacrifice. "There is no judge over us," he says, "therefore we must do justice upon ourselves." Together they follow the wife in death, plunging into the millstream. Some Sibelius, then silence. It was brilliantly acted and brilliantly handled; it left us brooding far down within ourselves. We knew then (the forty of us who were there) how total theatre can be.

Dramatise "Tristram Shandy"? Impossible! Or so we thought, until the curtain rose (had there *been* a curtain to rise) on this superb adaptation (by Paddy Scannell and Adrian Benjamin) of Sterne's novel. It would be hard to imagine a more appropriate conclusion to York's recent bi-centennial celebrations in honour of the novelist's death (1768). It was a triumph for Sterne (would that he had been there to see it!) and the characters—at once pathetic and amusing, magnificently, unforgettably odd—which people the pages of his novel.

"A kind of novel . . . in which the whole narration is always going backwards", as Walpole wrote, disapprovingly. How clever of the adaptors to realise that it was precisely this point which could be made so effective on the stage! Of course, the very title of the book is a joke—"The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy". It is nothing to do with Tristram Shandy! He has hardly been born by the end of the book! A delightful paradox, therefore, to have Tristram (Jack Rylatt was exactly right in this part) there on the stage the whole time, supervising every stage of his own conception, birth, baptism—even his unexpected circumcision!

No, as everyone knows, it is Walter Shandy, irascible and eternally philosophising, and Uncle Toby, with sieges and entrenchments ever on the brain, who are the real heroes of the book. And how magnificently they were brought to life by Chris Butchers and Gordon Willett-Bakke, ably supported (among many others) by Stanley Davey as Corporal Trim, and Edna Shann (what a versatile actress she is!) as the Widow Wadman.

But the greatest compliment I can pay to these actors is to say that one forgot they were acting: one was conscious simply of a succession of unforgettably amusing scenes—the gigantic curse of Bishop Ernulphus; Uncle Toby directing the siege of Napur as he lies in bed; Dr Slop's frightening demonstration of his obstetrical technique (soon to be tried on the unwitting Tristram); the baptism of "Trismegistus"; above all, Walter writing to his brother Toby to tell him the facts of life (could ever a prospective bridegroom have come so woefully ill-prepared for the wedding-night?).

If this was an evening of such splendid and civilised entertainment, it was, more than anything, due to the intelligence with which the adaptors left Sterne's words to speak for themselves. Could anything be less theatrical than Walter Shandy reading to his brother a letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero? If you thought so, how wrong you would have been. The kaleidoscope of puzzled bewilderment that passed across Uncle Toby's face was brilliant theatre.

Is there, among the subscribers to this JOURNAL, a London theatrical manager? If so, I beg him to get in touch with the manager of the Arts Centre, York, who has a production which will grace any London stage.

Sophocles' "Electra" was performed by the York University Drama Society at the central hall of York University on 15th March. At any performance of a Greek tragedy it is always the treatment of the chorus which is of critical importance. Here the production made use of the spacious, open forestage for the principal actors, putting the chorus below the stage on ground level, thus providing the link with the audience which is so essential to their rôle. This link was intensified by a gallery chorus of half-a-dozen members, stationed high in the roof behind the audience and all round it, thus drawing it into the action. The subdued, but concentrated, repeated "Agamemnon" with which this chorus opened the action was electrifying in its intensity; whether the moaning effect which accompanied some of the other choruses was so effective is a matter of dispute.

The performance of Philippa Howell as Electra was superb, particularly memorable being her elegy as she embraces the supposed ashes of her brother. Orestes (Andrew Wistreich), too, was a good pair to Electra, and Sue Rider played a lordly Clytemnestra, domineering but winning just that amount of sympathy which poses the problem of the play. An uneven performance was that of the Tutor (John Brenchley); his acting, swaying and dancing, as he described the imaginary chariot race leading to Orestes' death was wonderfully graphic; but his speech is hardly adequate to sustain the interest.

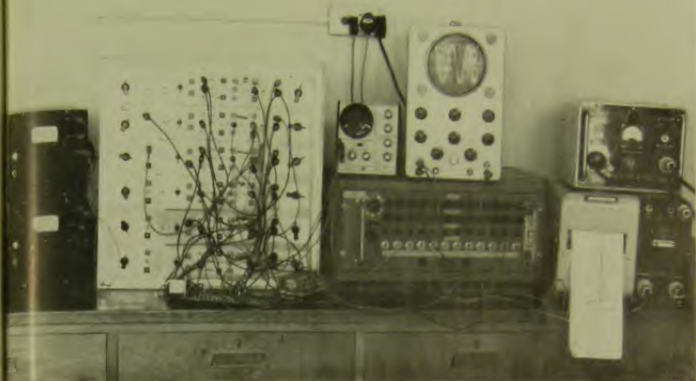
SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

The President writes: Twice before now the Society's elected pair has seen the trees burgeoning in May on the Embankment, and the third time they brought home with them the Schools' Debating *Observer* Mace, in 1963. Since then our springs and early summers have found us in Yorkshire until this year. When we won the Mace we had to defeat three other schools before being lifted by a bye into the finals against another three, in days when the Association was rather smaller. This year we had to fight through a preliminary round of six schools (details in the Secretary's notes), a middle round of four schools (Northern Area, in four Regions) and a final from the four areas—Bromsgrove, last year's winners, from the West; Hampton G.S., this year's winners, from the South; Ipswich, our opponents, from the East; and ourselves. Eighty-six schools had been eliminated to produce this final: by the end we had done more winning than the pair who in 1963 brought the Mace back to Ampleforth.

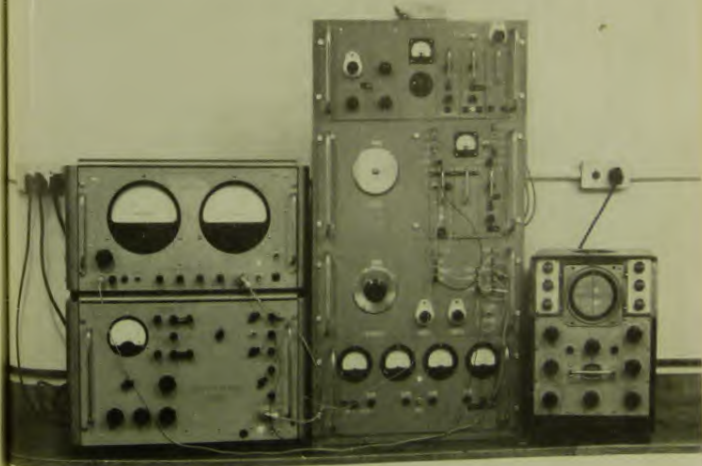
Our team remained the same throughout, though R. L. Bernasconi left at the end of the Spring Term (the rules allow for this) and was succeeded as Head Monitor by his partner, J. W. Fane-Gladwin. In each of our three performances, we had the task of proposing, of producing a set speech laying out our case without interruption or need to advert to the Opposition case (Fane-Gladwin did this); and then of producing a third speech, taking to pieces the Opposition case as set out in their opening statement (Bernasconi did this); after the fourth speech by the Opposition, they then summed up, and it remained to Bernasconi to sum up the Proposition case, in the light of the Opposition, in three minutes. This arrangement admirably fitted our talents, for the first speaker—and you may judge for yourself below—is a good set piece performer, while the second is a hard debater of much experience, able to think rapidly, and if need be destructively, on his feet.

Upon St George's Day (demoted as he is) we filled the breach at Queen Elizabeth G.S., Darlington, proposing that *This House believes that the claims now being made by student "militants" for a powerful voice in the running of Higher Education are fully justified.* It was a day as much distinguished for the summary judgment at the end, as for our winning performance in the face of good all-round debating. The Recorder of Durham, representing the panel of judges, deftly analysed the record of the four teams during the afternoon under the headings of Logic (power of argument and counter-argument), Diction (fluency and choice of words), Delivery (demeanour and voice variety), Interest (persuasiveness and audience contact), Preparedness (including reading or excessive use of notes). He then weighed the teams, giving them perhaps more credit for the first of these heads than any other, and delivered his verdict: it was a very polished performance from a man clearly experienced in such work.



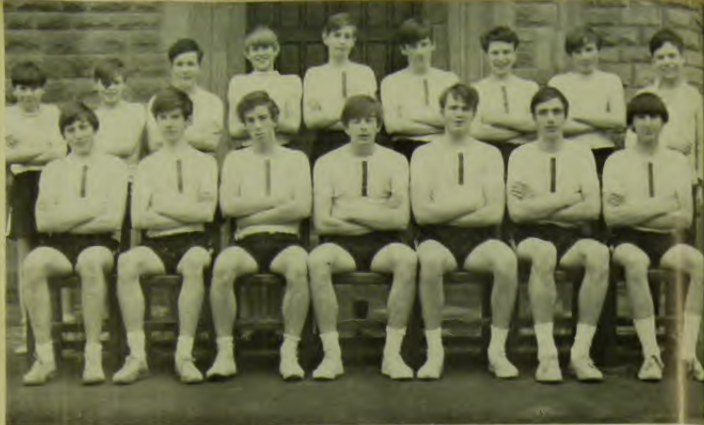
THE ANALOGUE COMPUTER

Made by Mr Sellers, with power packs made by Fr Michael, controlling oscilloscopes and a graph plotter: (plotter presented by Ferranti Ltd)



THE SERVO-MECHANISM

Under test, using a low-frequency oscillator, a transfer function analyser, and a double-beam oscilloscope: (all four the gift of Ferranti Ltd)



BOXING, 1969

Standing: G. Collins, J. Glaister, N. Moroney, C. Franklin, D. Harwood-Little,
T. Robinson, P. Garbutt, P. Gaynor, N. Doherty.
Sitting: M. Forsythe, P. Ryan, S. F. Fane-Hervey, D. J. West, L. D. Bowie, J. Rochford,
S. Maclaren.



CROSS COUNTRY, 1969

Standing: N. Watts, J. Rochford, M. Rymaszewski, M. Forsythe, R. Mathews.
Sitting: C. Bartle, J. L. Hamilton, P. M. Davey, J. P. MacHale, M. J. Poole.

The Finals were played out on the evening of 9th May at the City of London School on the Victoria Embankment, following a dinner. Drawn against Ipswich, we were given to defend the motion, *This House would require the laws of this country to treat crime as a mental sickness*, a motion which conjured up for us such old arguments as *Devlin v. Hart*, *Hart v. Wootton*, *Longford* on "The Idea of Punishment", and newer arguments on *mens rea*. The Patron, Lord Gardiner (the current Lord Chancellor) was present and we remembered that in 1957 he had written a book advocating Hanging, followed in 1963 by one on the need of Law reform; this suggested to us that he had in the meantime undergone a change of heart and might be expected to be sympathetic to our cause. The judges were Lord Carrington (Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords) who acted as Chairman, Miss Ann Mallalieu (a former President of the Cambridge Union, the first of her kind), Mr Nigel Nicolson (fresh from writing "Daddy's Diary"), Mr Joseph Hunt (*honoris causa*) and Mr Kenneth Harris of the *Observer* (who pays the pipers and has a right to pronounce upon their tunes). We were presented with a sherry and a microphone test together, the former being familiar to us but, alas, not the latter, unless you had done your turn on the Epistles and Bidding Prayers.

It is hard to judge our performance against those of the other schools when one is a committed party: no man is a judge in his own case. But it seemed that through the evening our offering stood above the others on an intellectual plane and for its seriousness of presentation, as a first year university performance compares with a lightweight sixth form performance. As the judges began to deliver their verdict, however, the words of Beatrice Webb in her diary, upon the 1915 Trades Union Conference, welled up in our minds: "it is more of an 'outing' than a gathering for the transaction of working-class affairs. What the delegates enjoy is a joke. . . Indignation, righteous or unrighteous, is felt to be out of place. There is no anti-Government feeling, no determination to get evils righted". Against our arguments—which the reader may judge by the speech below—were brought such sallies as "they must be persuaded that crime does not pay" and "the punishment must fit the crime". It was suggested that a principal reason for not accepting the motion was that, were it accepted, prisons would then have to be converted *en masse* into mental homes—and that would be administratively inconvenient. On an admittedly amusing note, it was suggested that the Kray brothers, "at most young first offenders", should be drafted to a Y.M.C.A. Institution; and housebreakers should be given a half-hour on the couch with the psych. My father is a criminal, said Pudge of Ipswich, for he has exceeded 35 m.p.h. in a restricted area; is this mental sickness? Are not most criminals merely hard-headed businessmen, professionals in their chosen calling? The Opposition case, as in their summary, was that ninety per cent of criminals were not sick at all, but calculating pros.; that it would be wasteful, even dangerous, to treat them as anything else; and that the present system was fine as it stood. The two other schools then debated the

motion, *This House would abolish religious education in Schools*, in which the name Newsom was the chief coinage.

When Lord Carrington rose to make his preamble to the judges' verdict, he remarked that the standard had been high, as high as many days (and he spent many, listened to by our Patron) in the House of Lords. He said that as he was listening to the various forays, he had begun to jot down (like the prudent subaltern in "The Defence of Duffer's Drift") some good tips for public speaking. First came confidence: you must have an appearance of confidence both in yourself and in what you were saying. Then you must be audible, even in face of a hall with a microphone system that delivers back to you—and you may not be so pleased to hear it a second time—what you said two seconds earlier. Then you must arrive the master of your subject; but it is dangerous to be too clever, either showing superiority of thought or manner. Then in debate you must refer and refute. Then you must bring in some humour, for people warm to those who make them laugh. Gestures, like jokes, must come naturally or not at all. Finally, it is vital to have, at the moment that you stand up, the sentence in your mind which allows you to sit down. Armed with those tips (like the lessons learned by the subaltern in his seven disastrous dreams), we were ready for the line which would allow Lord Carrington to sit down, the verdict. The judges placed Hampton G.S. and Ipswich School above us.

The Lord Chancellor then said some words. He said that he would try to keep to Lord Carrington's tips. He said that in his time he had been in the Oxford and Cambridge team which went out to debate against Harvard, Yale and other American universities. The Americans broke one of the Carrington rules entirely, by displaying no sense of humour at all, only a sense of professionalism. In consequence, the only debate that the English Universities' team won was on the motion that *The Statue of Liberty is facing the wrong direction*. As to tips, his offering was that you should use words with maximal precision, avoiding ambiguity: he gave for his illustration the man who was accused in court of having stolen a chicken, his defence being that "I took it for a lark"!

The Embankment is lovely on a May evening. It was a gay "outing"; we enjoyed the jokes.

The following is the text (written from the delivery notes) of the opening speech by J. W. Fane-Gladwin, which two of the judges held to be the best of the evening. It took seven minutes to deliver, allowing Bernasconi eight minutes for the harder task of taking account of the Opposition speech: both speakers made unusually good use of their time available, Bernasconi ending within a second of the gong (and this cannot be said of other competitors, who overran).

This House Would Require the Laws of this Country to Treat Crime as a Mental Sickness.

Tonight, Mr Chairman, we are not essentially interested in the moment of verdict, nor the moment of sentence—for by then the unfortunate criminal has gone beyond

our help. By then, as we will argue, he is at most a mentally sick man, and at least, seriously alienated: alienated from the society which is the necessary basis of his life. It is to the roots of this man's crime that we intend to direct our minds, for it is there that the seeds of his destruction are already sown: "In my beginning is my end".

You will find that the speakers from Ipswich School will preoccupy themselves with a lecture on crime and punishment. The essence of their talk will be just retribution, with smug references to the protection of society against the malicious individual. Their cry will be *late prevention, not early cure*, and the individual will be last sight of. They would make the punishment fit the crime, strike the offender after the offence, bolt the door after the horse had kicked.

We seek to proclaim that at that hour of sentence a man found guilty of a major crime stands self-condemned of something altogether more fundamental than the act which is the overt and particular cause of his crime. That act is a mere symbol of a much deeper malaise. In committing his crime he has not merely alienated himself from the reality of community, but he has also shown himself to be alienated from his own fellow men (and by this alienation we mean in the broadest and most legitimate use of the word—sickness).

We accept the Aristotelian view of society: that a man fulfils himself in the highest way in his carrying out of the highest ideals for his society. That a man is capable of giving thought to acting against his community is surely evidence of that man's sick mind, since only a sick mind could conceive such action.

But we would say more. We would say that this alienation, this sickness of spirit so serious in some people as to be called mental sickness in the strictly medical sense, has roots far back into the criminal's whole life, and it is this truth that makes us proclaim that society itself may bear a major responsibility for the act under judgment, for society in large measure moulds its members.

Even the Earl of Shaftesbury—to turn to the formative Victorian period—one of the most farsighted of the social reformers of his day who believed as much in the doctrine of self-help as of self-dependence, who was, in fact, a champion of the aristocratic principle; even he realised, amongst his evangelisations to the poor, that it is an accident of birth whether a man becomes an angel or a beast.

Shaftesbury once found himself presiding over a thieves' gathering. One of the City missionaries that he sponsored had arranged a secret meeting at which Shaftesbury could himself encounter some 400 crooks. He asked each one of them to tell him about themselves and their reasons for their criminality before he tactfully suggested how they might follow a better way of life. It was one of many such experiences for Shaftesbury, but in his estimation the most moving.

Most moving because he saw then more vividly than at any other time that *thieves must starve if they did not steal*. That it was no good telling a pauperised thief to stop sinning unless at the same time you eased the circumstances that compelled him to sin. He saw, as we have come to see all the more with the help of sociology and psychological understanding, what was the power of circumstance and Environment, and what was the power of Education. As to the first, he spoke of the "ogreish power of environment" and for the second he referred to the "fearful multitude of untutored savages" untouched either by Christianity or by Civilisation. And his answer was to strike, not at the offender, but at the root of the offence.

To return to the present. It is not enough to say that a man is morally responsible for his actions (which is to be the main plank of the Opposition case) for the latest experience of sociological research brings us to see that this is simply not the whole account of man. It is a commonplace that criminals come from poor homes, from twisted relationships, from uncaring guardians or from seriously inadequate parents; that by insensible degrees their circumstances have moulded them into what they are; that they have become the flotsam and jetsam of a social order which must take a very considerable part of the blame for their state.

Whereas the Opposition will attempt to justify a vindictive attitude, we are proposing measures that will help both society and the individual. Whereas the

Opposition will concentrate their argument on a retributive past, we seek to affirm a reformative future. Our concern is for the future preservation of society—not the present judgment by society.

We are not retrogressive or old fashioned. We do not ignore the responsibilities that a modern society has laid at its door. Society, after all, can look after its own interests; the individual, on the other hand, needs our championship. Crime implies, therefore, a failure of responsibility—and the responsibility we are touching on here is to educate—but if education is not reaching an outcast, can we expect an outcast to respond? If society dissociates itself from the minority—is that sufficient reason for the law to do so?

We argue that the law must be altered to allow for the maturer modern concepts of crime and responsibility. Retaliation is no longer an acceptable aim of punishment; and if deterrence by punishment is for so many of the more serious crimes a Utilitarian illusion, and if reformative treatment on individual lines is the best way whereby society can best reduce crime and protect both itself and the individual, then the legal concept of dealing with crime must change too.

It is a sad reflection on our legal system that such criminals, such social failures, are driven in on themselves until they are forced to say to their own very egos:

*O Self! Let us be true to one another . . .
for the world which seems
to lie before us like a land of dreams
so various, so beautiful, so new
hath really neither joy nor love nor light
nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain.*

And that, Mr Chairman, is the situation we want to change.

R. L. Bernasconi here gives an abbreviated account (we hope not too prejudiced) of what followed:

"The opposition interpreted the motion to mean that serious crime would be further condoned and that petty crime, such as speeding, would result in offenders being placed in mental institutions. Their time was wittily whittled away in suggesting this was ridiculous. They were right, said the proposition; it was. The proposition interpreted the motion to mean that the law should not pass moral judgment on an offender, that the question of capacity-responsibility (though not accountability) should be eliminated from the courts. The case rested on three claims: that it was the fruits of psychological and sociological advances which had to be incorporated in the law for the sake of justice and credibility; that otherwise the concept of *mens rea* only forces the courts to concentrate on the past and not the future, on retribution and not the protection of society and the individual; and finally that the task of distinguishing mental normality from abnormality, the weak from the wicked, was an impossible one and acknowledged so to be by experts. There were no floor speeches: the summing up took place at once. The opposition brought a charge of impracticability; the proposition protested that Luxembourg had already gone far enough in the direction indicated by the motion to discount this claim. The opposition said a good system of law should be flexible; the proposition replied that the motion allowed for greater flexibility and not less. But these were only straws in the wind. Neither side really wanted to compromise themselves by indicating that they took their opponents seriously enough to examine their arguments in detail: the proposition proposed one motion and the opposition opposed another."

The Secretary writes: It is becoming increasingly fashionable at Ampleforth to remark that nobody is interested in debating any more. The excuse usually given is that everyone is too concerned with discussing the School itself to want to give their attention to motions prepared by an allegedly unimaginative Debate Committee. And in general it is certainly

arguable that while "free debate" flourishes in *Spiral* and every Vth Form room, formal debating languishes in the Upper Library.

If attendances have fallen, the quality of the debating has not. Although there are no outstanding speakers in the Society at the moment, there are many who are worth listening to and the standard of debating has never fallen below an acceptable level.

Mr R. L. Bernasconi was elected Leader of the Government, and fulfilled his duties with the assured eloquence we have come to expect from him, especially in a debate on Authority and Enlightenment, when he gave us one of his best performances.

Mr J. W. Fane-Gladwin, an impressive Leader of the Opposition, has a quiet delivery, in contrast to the flamboyance of Mr Bernasconi, but makes his points by clear, persuasive logic. He is probably the most convincing speaker in the Society.

Mr M. P. Reilly and Mr J. W. Watt led the benches for the second half of the term, and both performed well on some rather difficult motions. It is hoped that they will continue their good services to the Society in September.

Mr M. E. W. Studer, realising that he is less successful speaking from the benches, did not stand for election, and later vindicated his judgment by producing several searching speeches from the floor.

Mr M. C. A. Lorigan, who is clearly going to be a powerful force in the Society next year, made an impressive début, and went on to lead the Opposition on one occasion towards the end of the term.

Mr R. L. Minio was a faithful supporter of the Society. Always attentive and quick-witted, he became expert at destroying arguments by his clear-sighted objections.

Other notable speakers were Messrs MacHale, Rosenvinge, Dagnall, Charles, Mackay and Dufort. Mr Honan returned to speaking with fresh assurance, and used his wit to good effect.

An evening spent as guests of Richmond Convent Debating Society proved socially enjoyable if not forensically fruitful.

The most successful meeting was undoubtedly the final debate, held in the company of forty guests from Harrogate Convent. A highly entertaining debate followed Private Business where a bill was passed approving a working committee to consider possible changes in the Society. Invoking as a precedent the former "Students of the Upper Library", the sponsors of the Bill hope to establish a motion concerning the School (perhaps one debate in three) as a regular feature of the Society's activities. No doubt the resulting influx of bickering philistines will help to revive the Society's proceedings.

The following served the Society as officials: Vice-President: Mr M. P. Reilly (a new office). Committee: Messrs Mackay, Watt, Reilly, Dagnall, Minio. Tellers: Messrs Dagnall, Rosenvinge.

The following seven motions were debated (and none carried):

"This House condemns the American space programme as more effort than it is worth." Ayes 13, Noes 25, Abstentions 1.

"This House deplors United States white racialism both at home and abroad." Ayes 15, Noes 18, Abstentions 4.

"This House holds that History has nothing to teach us in the present hour." Ayes 5, Noes 16, Abstentions 9.

"This House considers that the Trade Unions are a millstone round the neck of the nation." Ayes 12, Noes 12, Abstentions 2.

"This House holds that Authority cannot survive in the face of human enlightenment." Ayes 10, Noes 18, Abstentions 5.

"This House holds that the Guitar has wrecked the concert-hall and prostituted the liturgy." Ayes 5, Noes 11, Abstentions 1.

"This House is determined that, even should Shack go co-ed, the Senior Debating Society shall remain a men's club." Ayes 25, Noes 64, Abstentions 6. [Harrogate Guest Debate.]

On 3rd March Mr Bernasconi and Mr Fane-Gladwin represented the Society in a Regional round of the *Observer* Mace Debating Competition. Their task was to propose the motion on Trade Unions (fourth debate, above). Their rhetoric won them a total of 122 points. Five other schools took part, each scoring between 78 and 88 points. Our two speakers deserve our congratulations, and encouragement to repeat their success in the next round.

R. D. BALME, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President*: Br Alberic)

THE JUNIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

Once again the Society has had a successful term. The attendances were satisfactory and the speeches and debating techniques continued the improvement of last term. This is usually the term when the first year take a prominent part and while the leading second year members such as Mr Hubbard and Mr O'Mahony dominated the debate, there were many promising newcomers, notably Messrs Skinner, Norton, Durkin, Du Boulay and Fergusson. The House is grateful to the members of Remove C who, though given the option of making a start in the Senior Debate, preferred to take part in the J.D.S. They not only added to the enjoyment of the House but their rapid development as relaxed and spontaneous debaters was striking. Mr Kinsky, one of the most improved speakers, is fast becoming the spokesman of prudence and moderation. On the other hand, Mr FitzGeorge-Parker needs to beware lest his speeches become tutorial essays.

In the enforced absence of Br Felix the House welcomed Br Jeremy and Br Andrew on two successive Sundays. The highlight of the term was the final debate when Fr Placid and Fr Aelred introduced a most amusing

evening which ended with Fr Placid persuading the House to prefer the Public House to the Public School by 31 votes to 28.

At the beginning of the term Mr M. H. Ryan was re-elected Secretary.

The motions debated were as follows:

"This House believes that the money being spent on space exploration would be better used for other purposes." Ayes 16, Noes 23.

"This House deplors the Government's decision on soft drugs." Ayes 9, Noes 18.

"This House believes that examinations hinder education." Ayes 13, Noes 16.

"This House deplors censorship." Ayes 16, Noes 13.

"This House cannot as yet approve of test tube babies." Ayes 17, Noes 8.

"This House would emigrate." Ayes 7, Noes 15.

"This House believes that the Public House is a better institution than the Public School." Ayes 31, Noes 28.

M. H. RYAN, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President*: Br Felix)

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By no means abashed by its 100th meeting last October, this term the Society proved itself to be a vigorous centenarian and continued to flourish. At the first meeting of 1969 the Secretary gave a talk on "The Holy Mountain of Fuji-San and Hokusai, the Old-Man-Mad-on-Drawing", which seemed to be well received. He concentrated particularly on Hokusai's famous set of prints, "The Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji", with special reference to the exhibition at the British Museum at the time on "The Origins of the Japanese Landscape Print". At the second meeting were shown the two films which we were unable to obtain last term—"Tutankhamen" and "Nile the Creator", which, although distinctly tourist-directed, contained sequences of archaeological interest.

Fr Edward very kindly took the floor for the third meeting and gave an illustrated talk on "The English House, 1200-1700". He traced the development of English architecture from the basic medieval plans through Tudor times to the Georgian architectural revolution. The lecture was much enjoyed, and the Secretary would like to express his opinion that too narrow a view has been in the past taken of such talks: the study of archaeology, he feels, must of its essence combine a degree of scientific knowledge with an artistic appreciation, and talks such as Fr Edward's greatly contribute to the raising of the level of the latter among members of the Society.

At the next meeting was shown "The Age of Victory", a film on the Grece of the period of the Persian Wars, and at the final meeting of the

year Mrs E. Ellis came from Ripon to give a talk on "Prehistoric Malta" which she illustrated with her own first-class ciné-film and excellent slides. She deserves our especial thanks for braving the winter elements to come from Ripon in particularly bad weather. The Society's thanks are also due to the President and the Treasurer, R. D. Balme, in whose capable hands the Society's exchequer has maintained a healthy surplus throughout the year.

M. STUDEF, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Fr Henry*)

THE COMMONWEAL

FIVE meetings were arranged this term, but unfortunately two were cancelled owing to snow and illness. All the speakers were visitors, and drew considerably larger attendances than last term.

The opening lecture was given by Mr Christopher Hill of the University of York. He spoke on the situation in Rhodesia, and, being himself an ex-prisoner of the Smith régime, he had personal feelings on the subject as well as a clear knowledge of the state of affairs. Next came Mr Bernie Ward. He had already made his début here with the Industrial Society in December. He is the district secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Mr Ward enlightened the Society about the necessity for Trade Unions, though he agreed that there was room for reform. Our last speaker of the term was Mr David Zick, an American, who has been teaching in England on an exchange programme. He spoke simply about the Americans and their way of life. There was a good attendance, and Mr Zick provoked a lively discussion with some of his comments and observations on the English.

Once again I thank the President, on behalf of the Society, for all he has done in arranging this term's meetings.

R. L. MINIO, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Mr Anwyl*)

THE DIONYSUS SOCIETY

THE Society met only once during the term as circumstances beyond our control unfortunately prevented us from fulfilling our scheduled programme. This was made up for by the Beaujolais drunk on Sunday, 9th February, at Mr Dowling's house, which was very kindly lent to us for the Society's twentieth meeting. It was here that we tasted various rather good Beaujolais of which the Clos de Poulettes was memorable. Next term we hope to move on to the lighter white wines.

J-SEILERN, A. R. M. FRASER, *Hon. Secs.*

(*President: Mr Stewart*)

THE FILM SOCIETY

THE number of members in the Society rose sharply this term, and consequently an excellent programme was arranged. "The World of Apu" started off the term. A brilliantly sensitive film, it was not appreciated by the majority, but "The War Game" which followed, had a tremendous impact on all who saw it: I am sure this film would serve as the ultimate in propaganda for those who profess to ban the bomb. "Battleship Potemkin" came next. Publicised as one of the ten best films ever made it was somewhat disappointing, but, nevertheless, of great interest in view of the fact that it was made so many years ago. Two sets of shorts—"Fireworks", "Allegro Ma Troppo", "Love and Clap Vocalism", and "Parade", and "For a Yellow Jersey"—divided the series of longer films. All of these were of high standard, but perhaps "Fireworks" and "Parade" made the greatest impression. The former on account of its shock tactics, and the latter because of its gently satirical message. Bergman's "The Face" was a contrast to all that had preceded it. Throughout, it maintained a delicate balance between the serious and the melodramatic. It was a splendidly entertaining film precisely for this reason. "Nazarin", on the other hand, although a most competent film, was not well received because it tended to drag intolerably. The Society ended the term with Frederic Stockdale's "O Liméd Soul" and "The Engine". Amateur films, they were disjointed in many ways, but fascinating to watch.

In fact, an excellent programme. However, I can't help feeling that in many ways the Society is lifeless. Although it flourishes ostensibly, its members are loath to meet for discussion. I hope this will be remedied and that perhaps, in future, the Society will arrange for lectures as well as films.

(*President: Fr Stephen*)

MICHAEL JAYES, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FORUM

TWO meetings were held this term:

"Language: Slave or Master? An Introduction to Semantics"—The Vice-President.

"The Christian Message of the Incredible String Band"—R. L. Bernasconi.

THE scarcity of meetings this term was due in part to the untimely illnesses of speakers and the President. It must be further attributed, however, to the reluctance on the part of President and Secretary to permit the Society to depend upon outside speakers, preferring to see it generate its own life. The possibility of this would appear to be doubtful, since it was accompanied by an equal reluctance on the part of the Society to find any interest in itself. An outstanding exception to this was R. Bernasconi's excellent paper on the Incredible String Band. We must also thank the Vice-President for a most interesting paper on Semantics.

(*President: Fr Dominic*)

J. W. WATT, *Hon. Sec.*

(*Vice-President: Mr Smiley*)

THE HISTORICAL BENCH

THE Bench has had yet another very successful term thanks mainly to the hard work and preparation put in by our speakers, and also the tireless energy of the President, Mr Davidson, who was, as always, an inspiration to the whole Society.

Br Alberic opened the term with a bloody but enlightening talk on the York martyr tradition during 1537-1603. Through the experiences of York, Br Alberic told the whose recusancy story; the Society wish him the best of luck with his chapter in a York Centenary book which he is at present writing on this fascinating subject. Nicholas Rodger, a past secretary of the Society, gave a brilliant talk on Heraldry which was illustrated by a never-ending stream of superb diagrams. The Society is greatly indebted to him not only for the time spent in the preparation of his talk but also for the time spent travelling from Oxford on our behalf. He was followed by Dr William Doyle of York University who brought forward his own views on the French Parlements in an interesting and highly intellectual study; without doubt he persuaded the Society that the rôle of the Parlements in leading up to the French Revolution needs reassessment. Br Felix was unfortunately unable to talk to the Society because of his illness, so our next speaker was Mr Dammann, who spoke on the "Life and Death of Leon Trotsky" to, not surprisingly, a packed house. He immediately stimulated interest in this diverse revolutionary character who played such an enormous part in the Russian Revolution. The Society closed the term by watching a recording of part of Sir Kenneth Clark's programme "Civilization". Though this was only an experiment, in the absence of Fr Leo who was ill, it was a fitting if somewhat quiet end to a successful term.

P. M. Horsley and P. B. Kelly became the new officials of the Society at the beginning of the term; they replaced J. R. Parker, who resigned, and C. J. Raven, who has left.

P. M. HORSLEY, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Mr Davidson*)

THE JUNIOR SOCIETY

THE term began with an upheaval in the Society when Fr Ignatius handed over the reins to the Society Committee. Fr Ignatius had decided that the system in which he delegated work to members in the Society was rapidly declining and that it would soon cease to work at all. The Committee consisted of fifteen members with P. Duguid as Chairman. This number was later reduced to eight.

The Junior Society was now completely in the hands of its own representatives who dealt completely with the financial and practical problems. A separate committee was also formed, consisting of one member from each Society. The aim of this second committee was to help and prompt all societies to a greater efficiency. It now appears that as far as the

practical side is concerned this system has been sufficient and the Society room has been frequented by many people, but there still remains a great deal to be done, and even this system will have to be changed in the coming year.

(*President: Fr Ignatius*)

S. MCCARTHY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE MUSIC SOCIETY

THE Society continued as usual this term despite the occasional breakdown of the gramophone equipment. There were the usual Tuesday evening concerts organised by Mr Dore, and two lectures as well. Brian Musgrave provided a most interesting and enlightening evening talking on "The History of Jazz". It was a good lecture, excellently illustrated. The following week Fr Bernard McElligott, the founder President of the Society, gave a fascinating lecture on "Beecham and the Orchestra". We are much indebted to him for a very good lecture and worthwhile evening. There were two informal concerts this term at which a number of performers made their débuts. The excellent standard of these musical gatherings has remained constant, and it is hoped they will flourish in the future. The Committee continued its excellent work and it is hoped that there will be some, perhaps surprising, changes to mark the Society's embarkation on its second half-century in September.

N. ARMOUR, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Fr Adrian*)

YOUNG FARMERS' CLUB

THE Society had three successful meetings throughout the term and a small outing. The first was an interesting talk given by Mr Lloyd-Evans, the County Supervisor for Young Farmer Movement, who talked of the rôle Young Farmers can play in the modern farming world. This was followed by a lively discussion. Later in the term there was a film meeting on general farming topics which was well received by those who attended.

On 18th March five senior members, accompanied by our President, Fr Aidan, went to the Feathers Hotel at the invitation of the Helmsley Club. A most enjoyable evening followed and we heard a very competent lecture given by Mr Thomas, of Askham Bryan Agricultural College. This provoked a lively discussion from all present and was followed by very welcome refreshments. We are very grateful for the invitation, which we are hoping to return next term.

The final meeting of the term was given by a Representative from Brothers to All Men, a society helping the Indians to farm by the use of good irrigation. The lecture was a great success, and we must thank Mr Tiley for coming at such short notice. Our thanks to Fr Aidan also for his invaluable help in running the Society.

(*President: Fr Aidan*)

R. BAKER, *Hon. Sec.*

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

WITH the ever-increasing popularity of the Society the Committee decided that the time had come for the bills to be paid. However, having no money to its name the Committee took the unprecedented step of levying a subscription and having a Treasurer. C. E. P. O'Connor was elected to the position.

The high quality of last term's lectures was continued this term, and the attendances and the membership of the Society increased markedly; the average attendance being between 80 and 90. The first lecturer of the term, Dr Gordon Brown, D.B.E., was also the first guest speaker the Society has had for some considerable time. He produced an interesting 90-minute talk, illustrated with both slides and films, on "Atomic Power". This was followed by the Presidential Address which was an amusing lecture on "Lasers", a topic upon which the President is a well-known authority; recently he has been appearing in a series of five television programmes on the same subject. He illustrated our lecture with slides, calculations and the real thing—though a few of the audience wanted a laser of "Gold-finger" calibre. Two films featured at the next meeting. The first, "The Vasa Preserved", was a description of the efforts to find a substance which would prevent the wood of the Vasa crumbling to a heap of powder as it dried out from its long immersion in the Baltic Sea. The second, "The History of the Helicopter", needs no explanation. Mr A. Stewart brought the Society's termly activities to a close with his fascinating and technical lecture "New Weapons From Old Ideas". This talk was illustrated by a roomful of equipment, much of which he had made himself.

(President: Professor O. Heavens)

A. J. WALKER, *Hon. Sec.*

(Chairman: Dr C. Briske)

THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THERE were four meetings this term: the first was a short talk by the Secretary, followed by a film, on "Pests or plenty"; the second was Br Jeremy's lecture on "Yorkshire, 100 million years ago", which stimulated much interest; at the next two meetings, three films were shown altogether, the best of which was easily the "Rival World". All the films were kindly lent to us by the Petroleum Films Bureau Ltd. The term was somewhat of a disappointment in that there were too few meetings and a lack of lectures. J. C. H. Berry has accepted the Secretaryship of the Society for the next school year.

A. R. LEEMING, *Hon. Sec.*

(President: Br Jeremy)

RESPONSE

IN spite of the weather and other unexpected setbacks this term has been quite successful. The highlight of our programme this term was a concert given by the Quintet Anonymous. We would like to thank them for coming up at such short notice and for playing so well. With this and other small pieces of work done our overall profit was £22. We are going to send this money out to our contact in India who is at the moment finding a village for us to help.

E. J. THOMAS, *Hon. Sec.*

(President: Br Gregory)

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE "A" XV

THE weather played havoc with the fixtures and the new XV only had the chance of playing three times. One match was won and two lost, but in all three the XV showed their potential. Reichwald led the side extremely well and they were all eager and determined. The pack was light and hooking was a problem; when and if the pack can conquer these disadvantages, it will be a fast, intelligent side and one difficult to beat. Young's play in the second row was a revelation and he, Ogilvie and Moroney were the backbone of what was becoming a fiery pack. The side lacked pace and thrust on the wings but the midfield backs were a constant threat to any opposition.

"A" XV v. YORK UNIVERSITY (at York, 29th January 1969)

THE new team, well led by W. Reichwald, played with great dash and determination and for most of the first half called the tune. They were most unlucky to be six points down at half-time, York having scored a try and a penalty. In the second half the strength and pace of the University backs were too much for the boys, and although they scored a good try by Howard after a scissors, and although the pack continued to play with immense verve (none better than Moroney), they went down by 20 points to 3 in a most encouraging performance.

Lost 3—20.

v. HEADINGLEY EAGLETS (at Malton, 2nd February)

OUR gratitude that this fixture was played at all must go to Headingley, who rearranged it at the last moment, and to Malton, who very kindly allowed the match to take place on their ground. The biting wind and hard ground made play scrappy and Ampleforth did well to score six points in the first half through a penalty by Reichwald and a try by Young. With the wind in their favour in the second half, the very lively Ampleforth pack took control and further tries were added by Lucey and Moroney. Reichwald converted both and the School coasted to an easy victory.

Won 16—0.

v. POCKLINGTON (at Pocklington, 6th February)

THE team suffered a setback in this match when they paid the penalty for over-confidence. Leading 8—0 at half-time, they played thereafter in a most casual fashion and saw their lead whittled away until, with five minutes to go, Pocklington scored the winning try. Outweighted in the tight and losing 70 per cent of their own ball, the School still had a monopoly in the loose and despite hesitation and lack of enterprise and pace on the wings they had created enough opportunities to be even further ahead at half-time. Lucey and N. Gaynor scored two admirable tries in the first half, one of which Callaghan converted, and Pocklington replied in the second half with two tries and a penalty.

Lost 8—9.

THE SEVENS

THE weather put paid to the House Sevens this year, but we were fortunate in having a dry day for the second Ampleforth Sevens. The same seven schools took part and we were delighted to welcome them here again.

Once more the School Seven did well, beating Leeds G.S. handsomely and going out to the eventual winners in the semi-final.

Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Wakefield, are to be congratulated on winning the competition for the second year in succession.

The draw and results were as follows:—

Losers' Final	Losers' Semi-finals	First Round	Winners' Semi-finals	Winners' Final
	Leeds G.S. 0	Leeds G.S. 3 v. Ampleforth 18	Ampleforth 3	Q.E.G.S. Wakefield 19
Ashville College 11	Ashville College 0	Ashville College 0 v. Q.E.G.S. Wakefield 13	Q.E.G.S. Wakefield 23	
		Bradford G.S. 11 v. R.G.S. Newcastle 3	Bradford G.S. Archbishop 10	Bradford G.S. 0
Sir W. Turner's 8	Sir W. Turner's 16	Archbishop Holgate's 11 v. Sir W. Turner's 5	Holgate's 3	

THE WORKSOP SEVENS (16th March 1969)

THIS was the first time the School had entered this competition, and the dreadful weather ruined what was otherwise an excellent meeting in every respect. Although the team did not do very well, beating Worksop 13-5 and going down rather heavily to Welbeck and Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, the boys learned much about the art of sevens and the importance of being able to tackle hard, low and with absolute certainty. This is the team's real weakness, though exceptions like Callaghan and Shuldham rarely make a mistake in this way. The team also had the opportunity of seeing the winners, Loughborough Colleges, in action and must have noticed the speed and decisiveness with which they obtained the ball and then exploited the weaknesses of their opponents.

Results: v. Worksop. Won 13-5. v. Welbeck. Lost 8-20.
v. Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Wakefield. Lost 0-16.

THE WELBECK SEVENS (18th March 1969)

AMPLEFORTH met Silcoates, the winners in 1968, in the first round and in a splendid game in appalling conditions were losing 6-0 at half-time. With great spirit and through two excellent tries by Kennedy and Shuldham they won the match 8-6. This was an excellent all-round effort with everybody playing his part and it was therefore surprising when they went down to Leeds in the semi-final. The School persisted in trying to run the ball in their own 25 in conditions which had by this time become impossible, and Leeds capitalised on the errors to score three times.

Results: v. Silcoates. Won 8-6. v. Leeds G.S. Lost 0-11.

THE ROSSLYN PARK SEVENS

ON the first day the School Seven played really well and had little difficulty in beating King Henry VIII School, Coventry, by 13-5. Coventry scored first but Reichwald and Callaghan were showing their skill and, at long last, their pace. Grieve and the forwards were tackling fiercely, and Gaynor put the final nail in their opponents' coffin with a wonderful 75-yard run to score under the posts. The second day was a complete contrast. The School seemed overawed by Millfield's reputation and pace, and once again the tackling became very sketchy indeed. The backs seemed to lose confidence, no longer going for the gaps with whole-hearted power, and Millfield were not threatened until the final minutes when Gaynor scored. By that time the match was dead.

Results: v. King Henry VIII's School, Coventry. Won 13-5.
v. Millfield. Lost 5-16.

ATHLETICS

THE Athletics period this year was seriously affected by the weather: the School team went on an abortive trip to Denstone, only four days of training were possible before the School meeting, and the meeting itself had to be drastically shortened, all the semi-finals being cancelled. The standard, therefore, was not in general as high as in recent years and only one record fell in the five days possible, that of the Set 4 Javelin to the Hon F. Fitzherbert. Nevertheless, the School team might again be a useful one—the middle distance runners seem to be well up to standard with J. MacHale, the Captain, a dominant figure. Much hard work will need to be done in the field events but the material is there. R. Hughes, for example, did well in the Shot and Long Jump, while A. Lucey, still in Set 2, cleared 5 ft 1 in in the High Jump in miserable conditions. There is, however, a shortage of sheer pace in the School in every set apart from Howard in Set 1, and the standards in the 100 Yards were relatively few.

But many athletes performed most creditably. M. Poole's determination in Mile and Steeplechase in Set 1, M. Shuldham's effortless and comfortable stride in the 440 Yards and J. Gaynor's persistent stamina in the 880 Yards and Mile in Set 2, J. Burford's strength as opposed to J. Ruck Keene's agility in Set 3, T. White's fine hurdling and B. de Guingand's fiery spirit in Set 4, and R. Fane-Hervey's all-round dash in Set 5: all these were memorable sights and made the meeting exciting and well worth while. So, too, did the determination and spirit of the two houses which won the Senior and Junior division cups. St Edward's came first in the Junior and third in the Senior, while St Thomas's won the Senior and came second in the Junior.

RESULTS OF THE SCHOOL ATHLETICS MEETING

1968

Best Athlete	-	J. P. MacHale
Set 2	-	M. A. Shuldham
Set 3	-	J. S. Burford
Set 4	-	B. C. de Guingand
Set 5	-	R. P. Fane-Hervey

SET 1

100 Yards.—(10.3 secs, G. A. Belcher, 1957, A. N. Stanton, 1960 and N. O'Donnell, 1965)
1 T. E. Howard, 2 C. M. Magill, 3 C. E. O'Connor. 10.4 secs.

Quarter Mile.—(52.0 secs, J. J. Russell, 1954)

1 J. P. MacHale, 2 J. J. Harris, 3 C. C. McCann. 56.3 secs.

Half Mile.—(2 mins 3.1 secs, M. G. Tolkein, 1961, A. G. Milroy and P. C. Karran, 1965)

1 J. P. MacHale, 2 C. C. McCann, 3 R. L. Minio. 2 mins 9.8 secs.

Mile.—(4 mins 35.4 secs, R. Whitfield, 1957)

1 M. J. Poole, 2 J. L. Hamilton, 3 P. M. Davey. 4 mins 54.8 secs.

Steeplechase.—(3 mins 42.8 secs, R. Chamner, 1956, S. E. Brewster, 1960)

1 M. J. Poole, 2 P. M. Davey, 3 J. L. Hamilton. 4 mins 11.0 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.4 secs, A. N. Stanton, 3 M. J. Waddilove. 19.9 secs.

1 R. L. Minio, 2 M. E. Studer, 3 M. J. Waddilove. 19.9 secs.

High Jump.—(5 ft 10 ins, J. G. Bamford, 1942)

1 H. C. Hornyold-Strickland, 2 P. J. Stilliard. 4 ft 10 ins.

Long Jump.—(21 ft 10 ins, M. R. Leigh, 1958, V. Tang, 1965)

1 R. J. Hughes, 2 T. E. Howard. 18 ft 11 ins.

Shot.—(46 ft 11 ins, C. B. Crabbe, 1960)

1 R. J. Hughes, 2 C. M. Magill, 3 D. J. West. 37 ft 9 ins.

Javelin.—(175 ft 0 ins, P. J. Carroll, 1965)

1 D. J. West, 2 A. J. Coghlan, 3 P. A. Thomason. 128 ft 8 ins.

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SET 5

- 100 Yards.—(11.5 secs, A. D. Coker, 1965, T. E. Howard, 1966)
1 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 2 P. J. Ryan, 3 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland. 12.0 secs.
Quarter Mile.—(60.8 secs, R. R. Carlson, 1960)
1 P. J. Ryan, 2 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 3 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland. 62.1 secs.
Half Mile.—(2 mins 24.9 secs, J. M. Rogerson, 1957)
1 R. L. Schlee, 2 N. O. Fresson, 3 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland.
Hurdles.—(15.9 secs, R. R. Carlson, 1960)
1 R. L. Schlee, 2 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 3 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland.
High Jump.—(4 ft 9 ins, G. Haslam, 1957)
1 R. M. Chapman and K. D. McCarthy, 3 H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple. 3 ft 10 ins.
Long Jump.—(16 ft 6 ins, R. R. Boardman, 1958)
1 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 2 D. G. Unwin. 14 ft 9 ins.
Javelin.—(107 ft 3 ins, A. G. West, 1964)
1 R. L. Schlee, 2 P. A. Carrington.

INTER-HOUSE RESULTS

SENIOR

- 4 x 100 Yards Relay.—(43.9 secs, St Oswald's, 1958)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Cuthbert's. 46.4 secs.
Half Mile Medley.—(1 min 40.9 secs, St Hugh's, 1965)
1 St Aidan's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Thomas's. 1 min 46.5 secs.

JUNIOR

- 4 x 100 Yards Relay.—(47.6 secs, St Aidan's, 1947)
1 St Bede's, 2 St Edward's, 3 St John's. 50.8 secs.
Half Mile Medley.—(1 min 50.9 secs, St Aidan's, 1957)
1 St Thomas's and St Hugh's, 3 St Bede's. 1 min 56.6 secs.
4 x 440 Yards.—(3 mins 58.4 secs, St Edward's, 1961)
1 St Bede's, 2 St Edwards', 3 St John's. 4 mins 15.3 secs
Half Mile Team.—(6 points, St Cuthbert's, 1931)
1 St Wilfrid's, 2 St Edward's, 3 St John's and St Aidan's. 30 points.
One Mile Team.—(6 points, St Wilfrid's, 1935)
1 St Edward's, 2 St Wilfrid's, 3 St Bede's. 18 points.
High Jump Team.—(14 ft 4½ ins, St Wilfrid's, 1939)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Oswald's. 13 ft 1 in.
Long Jump Team.—(51 ft 5½ ins, St Hugh's, 1962)
1 St John's, 2 St Oswald's, 3 St Thomas's. 44 ft 11½ ins.
Weight Team.—(99 ft 2 ins, St Dunstan's, 1961)
1 St Oswald's, 2 St Dunstan's, 3 St Edward's. 73 ft ½ in.
Javelin Team.—(355 ft 1 in, St Cuthbert's, 1953)
1 St Edward's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Bede's. 268 ft 6 ins.
4 Miles Relay (Senior and Junior)—(14 mins 33.8 secs, St Bede's, 1957)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Cuthbert's. 15 mins 23.3 secs.

CROSS COUNTRY

THE cross country teams had a goodish season but one which was very much disturbed by bad weather, illness and injury. The 1st VIII were never once at full strength and at home were only able to run on the normal match course on one occasion. For the greater part of the term the course was snowbound and an improvised road course was tried. It proved a satisfactory substitute.

It was a notable season for two events. The first was a fixture against that venerable and distinguished club, Thames Hare and Hounds. They brought up a strong side and with slight handicaps it proved a most enjoyable and close race, the visitors getting home by six points. The other event was our first appearance in the Northern Schools' Championships held at Disley at the end of March. Our team of six runners with four to score came 20th out of 128 schools. Of the school matches, two stood out for differing reasons. At Barnard Castle we ran well to beat both Durham and the home side, thereby being the first visiting team to win at Barnard Castle for six years. At Sedburgh we ran badly to be well beaten in conditions which were treacherous underfoot. It was a day for the beaglers, and they did well. The matches against Stonyhurst, Denstone and Pocklington all had to be cancelled because of the snow.

P. M. Davey led the side competently and was given fine support by MacHale, Hamilton, Pools and Rochford, who just had the edge on the others, but there was little separating them by the end of the season.

P. M. Davey was the only old colour, and he awarded colours to J. P. MacHale, J. L. Hamilton, M. J. Pools, J. P. Rochford.

The results of the 1st VIII matches were as follows:

- v. Leeds Grammar School. Lost 35—42.
- Ampleforth placings: 1 MacHale, 5 Hamilton, 6 Davey, 9 Rymaszewski, 10 Mathews, 11 Rochford, 13 Bartle, 14 Watts.
- v. Barnard Castle and Durham. 1st Ampleforth 43, 2nd Barnard Castle 50, 3rd Durham 93.
- Ampleforth placings: 4 Hamilton, 5 MacHale, 6 Davey, 7 Mathews, 10 Rochford, 11 Bartle, 13 Rymaszewski, 17 Forsythe.
- v. Thames Hare and Hounds. Lost 37—43.
- Ampleforth placings: 4 Hamilton, 5, 6 Poole and MacHale, 7 Davey, 10 Rochford, 11 Forsythe, 12 Rymaszewski, 13 Couldrey.
- v. U.G.S. Won 30—57.
- Ampleforth placings: 1 Hamilton, 3 Davey, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 Poole, Bartle, Rochford, Forsythe, Couldrey, 11 Rymaszewski.
- v. Sedburgh. Lost 29—52.
- Ampleforth placings: 3 Rochford, 6 Davey, 7 Hamilton, 11 Plowden, 12 Forsythe, 13 Bartle, 15 Couldrey, 16 Rymaszewski, 18 MacHale.

The 2nd VIII suffered heavily from cancelled matches. They ran two, winning one and losing the other. Their results were:

- v. Scarborough College 1st VIII. Won 37—47.
- v. Scarborough High School 1st VIII. Lost.

The following ran: J. W. Fane-Gladwin, R. G. P. Plowden, R. L. Minio, P. P. Nunn, M. J. Pearce, C. G. Edmonds, J. T. Prendiville, C. J. O'Reilly, E. C. A. Sparrow.

The Inter-House Cross Country races had to be run on slightly altered courses due to bad ground conditions. There was a close struggle between St Thomas's and St Cuthbert's in the Senior races. St Edward's won the Junior A comfortably as did St Thomas's the Junior B. The individual results were as follows:

- Senior: 1 Hamilton, 2, 3 Rochford, Bartle.
- Junior A: 1 J. Dowling, 2 Prendiville, 3 Judd.
- Junior B: 1 Gaynor, 2 P. J. Ryan, 3 Fresson.

The results of the Inter-House competition:

- Senior: 1 St Thomas's 70, 2 St Cuthbert's 74, 3 St Aidan's 117.
- Junior A: 1 St Edward's 53, 2 St Wilfrid's 111, 3 St John's 148.
- Junior B: 1 St Thomas's 20, 2 St Edward's 45, 3 St Hugh's 65.

BOXING

THE only match of the season took place in Newcastle on Wednesday, 5th March. We lost by seven bouts to five to Newcastle R.G.S. It was a close match, after four bouts the score was 2—2, after eight bouts it was 4—4, but three very close decisions out of the last four bouts gave them the victory. It was also one of the hardest matches that I have seen and one of the cleanest.

Collins got us off to a good start. He boxed three tough and very fast rounds; his slightly superior fitness gave him the edge, especially in the last round, and he gained a very close win. Harwood-Little boxed at a much slower pace and never got into the match. His beautiful left jab just didn't make contact frequently enough and he lost a match which, with a little more experience, he would have certainly won.

Moroney boxed very courageously against a taller opponent who, although rather wild, managed to score a lot of points. However, Moroney fought back well in the final round but lost a clear decision. Gaynor won the next bout with an excellent all-action display. He was constantly on the move and on the attack and won every round. C. M. Bowie boxed against a very good opponent indeed and was clearly outpointed in the first two rounds, but although well behind he never gave up and kept scoring up to the very end. This was a splendid performance by Bowie and a defeat of which one could be justly proud. P. Ryan boxed a much taller and wider opponent who kept coming forward all the time and who gave him no room for manoeuvre. He lost clearly. Fane-Hervey, although rather out of practice, boxed very well indeed against Newcastle's zest boxer. He took too many left leads in the first round and was behind on points. His superior fitness and strength, however, won him the last two rounds and the decision.

Robinson boxed a very tall opponent in the next bout. He was very cool and decisive in his attack and although neither boxer threw many scoring punches Robinson was a clear winner at the final bell. Forsythe took an rather ponderous opponent who swung many of his blows and had a tendency to attack rather wildly. Forsythe kept his head very well, despite his lack of experience, and although caught by several right hands he was a clear and decisive winner.

We now led by five bouts to four but lost the final three. Rochford had a very tall, strong opponent who used his height and strength to full advantage. D. J. West, the Captain of Boxing, gave a wonderful display of incisive boxing against the Newcastle Captain who could hit very hard indeed. West scored well with lots of left jabs but lacked the hard right hand to keep his opponent away. West lost on a split decision and is to be congratulated on the best bout of the afternoon. I. D. Bowie was matched with another tall opponent. He boxed well and would have won if he had attacked rather more. Again this bout was skillful and a delight to watch.

After the match the Captain awarded full colours to I. D. Bowie and S. F. Fane-Hervey and half colours to P. Ryan.

THE ROVERS

THE Rovers this term started with regular visits to Alne, Claypenny and York, sending the usual numbers to each, but we were severely hampered by the weather; the garden at the Poor Clare's Convent suffered even more so from the snow. The football in the village primary school continued and a team was drawn up to play Kirbymooside but the match was postponed, again because of the weather. The visits of Borsal and Leyland, after much last-minute consultation, were cancelled, but we hope to have them at a later date. Redcar weekends flourished this term whenever possible; the Junior House scouts group continued as usual, some of them having a weekend at Redcar, and a camp in Anglesey will be organised for them in the summer by the

Rovers. The annual Rover binge took place this term in the J.H. cinema room, and this was marked by a complicated war film which was very enjoyable. Our thanks are due to Fr Cyril for lending us the facilities, and also to the matronal body who provided us with excellent refreshments and who spent a lot of time in organising it.

At long last the record player returned home to the Rover Room, but was discovered to be running slow!

THE BEAGLES

Ten days' hunting were missed during the term, though the weather when we were able to hunt was kind, except on one day. January, after the Christmas snow, was a mild and open month, the best for many a year. February started well but then came the winter; from the 6th to the 26th February there was no hunting at all; after this date there were, in fact, only two meets on the moors, three at the Kennels and a final day at Plaster Pitts.

Beadlam Rigg on the 1st of February provided the best of the Saturdays during the term; conditions and scent were good, hounds ran well all day and, though hares were numerous, they did themselves justice by killing at the edge of Nawton Towers Wood at the end of the day. Wednesdays were as good, if not better, than the Saturdays. Thorgill on the 22nd January was, without doubt, the best. Weather conditions were ideal, scent excellent, and hounds were very unfortunate and unlucky when the hare was lost at the end of a magnificent hunt.

The three days at the Kennels after the snow were good. The hunting on these days was mainly on the fields immediately north and south of the Avenue and in the woods themselves. Little hunting was on the field near the York road or behind the village; this was a change from recent years.

In miserable, if not impossible, conditions the Master hunted a small pack at East Moors on 15th March. There was snow in every hollow, the moor was very wet, and thick mist alternated with heavy rain. Scent hardly existed and the day, if necessity, was short; despite all this, it showed promise for the future.

The last day of the season, on 21st March, will surely be long remembered for the hospitality of Mr and Mrs Jeremy Graham at Plaster Pitts near Ripon. This was, of course, new country to us. There was much plough but, despite recent snow, it was surprisingly dry and scent was remarkably good. It was a busy, enjoyable, if exhausting, day and hounds were very unlucky not to kill one very well-hunted hare. A tired field were all entertained to a magnificent tea at the end of the day. Our thanks to Mr and Mrs Jeremy Graham for this day and their quite remarkable hospitality.

The Point-to-Point was held on Saturday, 9th March. Conditions were quite fair and surprisingly dry after all the snow. J. P. Rochford took the lead early on, and after that he was never really challenged. He was an easy winner with R. G. P. Plowden second, and T. M. Fitzalan-Howard third. The junior race was a far closer and more dramatic thing. The holder, P. Grace, led the whole way, though he was obviously finding it hard work; as he came to the finish R. A. Fitzalan-Howard, who had dogged him all the way, saw his opportunity and made his challenge. A yard or two from the post Grace could do no more and Fitzalan-Howard came through to win. R. G. Graham followed these two in to take third place.

THE SEA SCOUTS

The adverse weather made the term a bad one for sailing, but several days with a good wind gave us good sailing. There were expeditions to Kirkdale and Dow Caves, which, though rather wet, were well enjoyed. The camp in the Lake District, planned for the long weekend in the middle of the term, was cancelled because of snow, to everybody's disappointment. However, we now look forward to the Isle of Wight camp next holidays, where it is hoped the weather will be much better.

At the beginning of the term the following were appointed Patrol Leaders: C. V. Barker-Benfield, R. D. Dalgligh, J. D. Hughes, R. V. Killick, F. G. Lukas, B. C. Osbourne, C. J. Ryan, P. G. Westmacott.

C. V. Barker-Benfield was later appointed Senior Patrol Leader.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

ALTHOUGH the term's training was somewhat frustrated by very bad weather it was always possible to parade outside, though usually in cold and slushy conditions.

The courses started last term continued: Skill at Arms run by the Yorkshire Volunteers; Rock Climbing run by No. 11 (Green Howards) Army Youth Team; and, in the Army Section, the Instructors' Course run by No. 12 Cadet Training Team. In addition an enterprising and explosive course on Mines and Demolitions was run by No. 38 Regiment R.E.; Sgt Johnson, of the Accident Prevention Department at Police H.Q., Northallerton, gave most valuable instruction to those who can drive or are learning to do so.

The Field Day was cold and snow showers added to the slush and snow already on the ground. The Skill at Arms Course braved the elements and spent the night out on Strensall Common doing a patrol exercise under instructors from the Yorkshire Volunteers, and further training at Strensall on the following day. The Police Course visited Northallerton. Apart from these two courses all the Joint Service Section and Army Section, and part of the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force Sections, took part in a giant Orienteering competition at Dalby Forest. Special mention must be made of Mr T. Johnstone, the Head Forester, who not only permitted us to use his forest for the exercise, but gave a great deal of his time to driving the organisers round and helping to plan the course (including marking maps). Fr Edward and Br Timothy did most of the preparatory work; on the actual day Fr Martin, Lt-Cmdr Wright, Fr Henry, U/Os J. Fane-Gladwin and N. H. Armour and a group of senior boys conducted the competition. The inter-Section competition was won by the Army, St Bede's won the inter-House competition, and the individual winners were Sgt T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, Cpl R. G. P. Plowden and Cdt F. G. S. Lukas (Army).

At the end of the term we were sorry to have to say goodbye to three good friends of the contingent who have moved on to new appointments: the G II Ttg. (Cadets) at Northumbrian District, Major Geoffrey Mason; Captain Hugh Cartwright, who has commanded No. 12 Cadet Training Team; and Captain Gordon Ison, Royal Signals. All of them have given great assistance to this contingent, for which we are sincerely grateful.

ARMY SECTION

The Section continued with training for the Army Proficiency Certificate under U/O N. H. Armour. No. 12 Cadet Training Team, under Captain H. Cartwright, continued with their Method of Instruction course. In addition to this, regular units from the Royal Signals, R.E.M.E. and the Royal Engineers ran specialist courses. We are most grateful for their help which remains indispensable.

ARDUOUS TRAINING CAMP, 1963

NINETEEN cadets from all three sections, including U/O J. W. Fane-Gladwin, under Fr Edward and Br Timothy, set out for a week's arduous training in the Lake District at the end of March. The weather saw to it that the training lived up to its name. We were most fortunate to have with us Lieutenant D. Nicholson and three N.C.O.s from the Green Howards' Army Youth Team, who organised the rock climbing (alas, severely curtailed by the wet weather) and helped in an untold number of ways. Sgt Galloway and two alsatians looked after the base camp for us and provided hot "lash" (it would be unwise to be any more specific) at any time of day. Our base camp was at Borrowdale Head on Shap Fells, but most of the training was done nearer to the centre of the Lake District. Helvellyn was climbed in a blizzard, Shepherds' Crag in Borrowdale was scaled, and the party concluded with a two-day march of about thirty miles and many thousand feet from Thirlmere back to base camp, bivouacking en route in arctic conditions above Hawes Water. The camp was much enjoyed.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

DURING the term training continued as in the previous term with most of the instruction in the charge of the Leading Hands. An innovation was the combined Field Day Orienteering Exercise in Dalby Forest in which the majority of the Section took part. Some members did extremely well in this type of exercise in which intelligence and determination are called for as well as physical fitness. The remainder of the Section visited our parent establishment at Linton on Ouse where they were well entertained and had an interesting day.

Again this year we had an Easter camp on Malta and although it was from all three Services, as last year, the majority of the party was drawn from the Naval Section. The following extract is from the report on the camp.

The main body, consisting of three officers and 36 cadets, arrived at Luqa at 0440, 10th April, and were met by Flight Lieutenant M. H. Sawyer, R.A.F., from H.Q. Air Cadets, and myself. We had arrived 48 hours earlier. The morning was spent settling in and after lunch we were welcomed by the Station Commander, Group Captain J. C. Atkinson, R.A.F., and briefed on the camp by the A.C.L.O., Squadron Leader F. Allen, R.A.F.

On the next day we were taken on a tour of the island by a Station Education Officer. This enabled the cadets to become familiar with the geography of the island and they were able, during their free time, to revisit independently places that particularly impressed them. The tour concluded with a picnic lunch and swimming at Ghain Tuffieha.

The next five days were spent with the Services at Malta, with an amazingly wide variety of activities. We saw all aspects of the work of the R.A.F. at Luqa; we went to sea with the M.C.U. at Marsaxlokk; we did under-water swimming in frog-men's suits complete with oxygen cylinders with the Naval Clearance Divers; we toured Grand Harbour in a Naval M.F.V. and toured the Fortress of St Angelo; we visited the 3rd Parachute Regiment and saw how one of the Teeth Arms of the Army trained. Flying was available in R.A.F. Shackletons but had cadets been sent on this activity too many aspects of training unavailable in the U.K. would have been sacrificed. Most days during this training period started with P.T. in the gymnasium.

On Thursday, 17th April, we moved across to Gozo for arduous training. We were based on a hutted camp at Ta' d'biega. During our stay on Gozo the cadets were organised in six parties under a senior cadet N.C.O. and worked in watches. This gave an excellent opportunity for the senior boys to take charge and they were responsible during their watch for cooking, camp maintenance and security. The cadets who were not on duty visited all the places of interest on Gozo, map-reading on foot, and in the course of the five days walked about 40 miles. We swam in the Inland Sea, at Xlendi, at Ramlà and at Marsalforn, and at both of the latter places we had splendid picnic lunches on the beach in superb weather. On Monday, 21st April, we moved back to Malta and after clearing up at Luqa flew back to London and dispersed.

Malta provided a first class camp with excellent training facilities and also excellent recreational opportunities. It is hoped to visit Malta again next Easter and to extend the range of this most valuable overseas training.

R.A.F. SECTION

THE Section this term started with a concentrated effort for the Proficiency Examinations which took place in the middle of the term. The second year groups continued with their activities—notably the film group who worked very hard this term. The flying suffered through the bad weather and we were only able to get two days completed; the Section received a new glider which we hope to put to good use next term.

On Field Day the Section split into three groups, the first group going to R.A.F. Catterick where, under Flight Lieutenant Weightman, we were given an insight into the R.A.F. Regiment which included a very interesting talk on Vietnam from a recently decorated U.S.A.F. Captain. The second group went to R.A.F. Topcliffe where

a number were given a four and a half hour flight to the Orkneys; the third took part in a joint Service Orienteering exercise near Pickering.

PROMOTIONS

THE following promotions to take place w.e.f. 24th January 1969:

ROYAL NAVAL SECTION

To be Petty Officer: L.S. Rapp J. C., Hornoyold-Strickland H. C.

To be Leading Seaman: A.B. Barnes C. J. A., Young D. N., Bussy A. C. W., Asquith Visc., Moroney P., Watling R. J., Musgrave B. P. L., Murphy R. D. W.

ARMY SECTION

To be Under-Officer: C.S.M. Price S. A. C.

To be C.Q.M.S.: Sgt Howard T. E. B.

To be Sergeant: Cpls Stone, Williams F. C., Aylin, Kennedy A. N., Christie, Smith A. M., Muir P. J., Wakefield S. B., Milne R. K., Watts N. M., James M. K.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

To be Warrant Officer: Sgts Donovan P. C., Nunn P. P.

To be Flight-Sergeant: Sgts James, Hetherington.

To be Sergeant: Cpls Ambrose M. J., Dees D. B., Lovegrove D., Shaw C. M.

SHOOTING

It was generally agreed that the Small Bore Rifle shooting of the School achieved a higher standard than had been seen for several years and this applied in particular to the Club. This was borne out by the results in the Classification competition, shot in the Christmas Term, and again in the inter-schools postal matches. It was not unreasonable to expect another highly successful shoot in the Country Life competition but this was not to be. The team, though shooting a very good Landscape, fell badly in the target shooting when they recorded their lowest score of the term. Even so, the score should be high enough to place the team well up in the competition and once again in the top twenty.

MATCH RESULTS

Stanforth Cup 771/800 points.

Country Life 941/992 points.

INTER-SCHOOL COMPETITIONS

Classification Cup—St Cuthbert's Average: 76.8/100 points.

St Oswald's Average: 72.4/100 points.

Inter-House Cup—St Cuthbert's 575/600 points.

St Wilfrid's 572/600 points.

Stewart Cup—R. J. Watling Average: 98.6/100 points.

C. E. Clive Average: 98.6/100 points.

Johnson-Ferguson Cup (Recruits)—C. J. Stringer 72/80 points.

N. J. Leeming 68/80 points.

Donegal Badge—R. A. Fitzalan-Howard Average: 97.6/100 points.

CONGRATULATIONS

Keith Pugh, who captained the School VIII in 1965, has been invited to shoot in the Great Britain team to tour Canada. We wish him every success.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

THE following were Monitors: A. P. Marsden, J. P. M. Craig, M. B. Spencer, D. V. O'Brien, S. D. Mahony, S. R. Finlow, N. A. Spence, T. G. Hooke, J. J. Hornyold-Strickland, Hon J. A. Stourton, P. H. K. May, C. A. Sandeman.

OUR Matron, Mrs Ashe, was taken ill during the Christmas holidays and has had to give up. We are lucky that Mrs Mallory, last term's Nurse, has been able to take over the post of Matron.

CROSS COUNTRY

THE very poor weather made all games difficult and meant the cross country running was the most frequent afternoon activity. The House was arranged in five groups according to ability and a system adopted which allowed promotions and demotions. The quality of the best runners was not quite up to that of recent years, though the frequent interruptions to the training programme caused by snow was partly to blame.

Matches were run against a junior team from St Edward's (lost 62-22), St Martin's School (won 30-49), St Olave's School (lost 51-32) and Howsham Hall (lost 63-25). From these matches it became clear that S. R. Finlow was the best runner, so it was no surprise when he won the House Cross Country race. There were 74 runners. The first ten were: Finlow, J. J. H-Strickland, J. P. C. Pickin, J. T. M. O'Connor, M. Newton, P. H. K. May, A. P. Marsden, A. H. Foll, C. A. Graves, S. D. Mahony.

SHOOTING

As usual the second year shot in the Miniature Range and quite a high standard was achieved. The shooting was better in practice than in the competition for the Gosling Cup when a comparative outsider, M. C. Hay, scored 54 out of a possible 75 to beat T. N. Clarke by one point. M. B. Spencer and S. D. Mahony were 3rd and 4th.

RUGBY

OWING to the weather very little rugby was possible. At the request of Howsham Hall we sent the 1st XV over to play against them after one day's training. In appalling conditions we won 9-0.

A NEW idea was tried for the Retreat. Instead of inviting an outsider to give a number of discourses, the three resident priests, assisted by Br Jeremy Nisey and Br Jonathan Cotton, split the House into five groups, each of which went to each of the five retreat givers for a period of half an hour. The retreat givers chose their own topic and gave it to each group in turn. This occupied the morning. The afternoon was recreational (a snow fight in place of the usual walk) and after tea the film "The Gospel according to St Matthew" was shown. The day ended with Mass, accompanied by guitars.

A SMALL team of boys from the Upper School, led by C. N. Kinsky and N. D. Hall, produced a Junior House play: "Two Gentlemen of Soho" by A. P. Herbert. The production was excellent and was well received, though the humour of most of the Shakespearean parody was lost on the audience (and possibly on the actors, too). A second performance before an Upper School audience which was more familiar with Shakespeare was a greater success. Producers and actors are to be congratulated and thanked for a most entertaining performance.

CAST

<i>Plum</i>	A. P. Marsden
<i>Withers</i>	A. H. Foll
<i>Laetitia</i>	B. P. Lister
<i>Hubert</i>	J. P. Craig
<i>Sneak</i>	D. V. O'Brien
<i>Topsy</i>	N. T. Peers
<i>Waiter</i>	C. M. Durkin
<i>Duchess of Canterbury</i>	A. C. Slattery

Producers: C. N. Kinsky, N. D. Hall.

Prompters and stage hands:
M. H. Ryan, P. B. Duguid.

Lighting: K. Cobb.

Make-up: P. A. Sturridge.

SCOUTS

THIS Easter Term was not a conspicuously successful one for the scouts. It is convenient to blame this on the weather, and not altogether unfair, since the weather did prevent some of the main activities of

the term and make others less pleasant than they might have been. Still, it would be a mistake to view the term too pessimistically, as there were some worthwhile achievements. Quite a number of scouts became fairly skilled in work with ropes and spars and found a good deal of fun in it. The sport of Orienteering also became established as a popular part of our activities. The term ended cheerfully and enthusiastically with two week-ends at Redcar farm. Most scouts were

able to take part in one or other of these.

Towards the end of term there was some reorganisation of the patrols, in the course of which P. Sommer was appointed a Patrol Leader. During the Easter holiday some of the P.Ls and A.P.Ls joined Fr Alban on an expedition to Anglesey in search of a camp site for the summer camp. This expedition was enjoyable, though again marred by patches of very bad weather; a good site was found, close to a lovely beach.

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THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: M. Thompson.

Captain of Rugby: M. J. P. Molt.

Captain of Soccer: S. J. Biekerstaffe.

Captains: F. Brooks, C. P. Myers, M. W. A. Tate, C. H. Soden-Bird, P. J. Lees-Millais.

Secretaries: J. A. Dundas, J. D. Harrison, C. de Larrinaga, S. P. O'Carroll FitzPatrick, N. C. T. Millen.

Socrists: Lord R. Kerr, A. E. Bond, D. A. J. McKechnie, S. D. Peers, S. D. Nuttall.

Ante-Room: D. H. R. Lochrane, S. B. Glaister.

Art Room: M. J. Pierce, J. C. E. Moreton, B. L. Bunting, C. F. J. Maclaren.

Bookmen: B. Finlow, M. E. N. Shipsey, M. J. Brennan, G. A. Vaughan, B. J. Dore, P. C. Velarde.

Office Men: M. R. F. Griffiths, R. A. Dancan.

Dispensary: P. A. Graham, R. T. St A. Hamey.

Librarians: C. G. E. Heath, S. W. Ellingworth, T. B. Boulton.

Woodwork: D. G. M. Griffiths, P. P. O'N. Donnellon.

I. Rodzianko and D. Rodzianko entered the School in January.

THE Spring Term started smoothly though there were many late arrivals owing to sickness. Fr Hilary also was out of action. Mr Anthony Grummett took over his teaching and also gave much other valuable help, especially on the playing fields. It was good to have Mrs Blackden back again happily restored to health after her operation. Though we lived under the threat of various diseases, in fact it was a remarkably healthy term and, of course, chief credit for this must go to the care and vigilance of Matron and Nurse Willis. The weather was ferocious but was nevertheless appreciated by the enthusiastic sledgers, igloo-makers and, above all, by Fr Piers' numerous skiers.

For the feast of our Patron, Saint Aedred, Father Abbot, unfortunately, was ill and unable to come. Fr William said the Mass and preached and the Third Form made the traditional pilgrimage to Rievaulx Abbey.

ONCE again we must record our thanks to Matron, Nurse Willis, Mrs Blackden and all the staff for all that they do for our welfare, and we would also like to make special mention of Miss Kendrick and her assistant, Miss Eileen Smith, who do so much behind the scenes in caring for our clothes.

ORNITHOLOGY

THE news that a boy in the Junior House had found a startling ringed in Finland, coupled with the bitter weather, sparked off a renewed interest in bird ringing. Starlings and blackbirds were the main objects of trapping operations, but there were also the usual numbers of robins, chaffinches, great tits, blue tits, coal tits, and other species calling in for a ring. By now the retrapped birds were of greater interest: not so much Blue Tit HJO5737, who was retrapped every other day and earned the nickname "Revenio" from one keen Latin scholar, but we were pleased to have another visit from a great tit and a missel thrush first ringed here three years ago, and four blackbirds first ringed here in the last months of 1965. It is good to see them still hale and hearty, and to know that a ring is no hindrance to them.

In all, 168 birds were ringed this term. Perhaps one of the 54 starlings ringed may turn up in Finland, and we shall have done our bit to ensure that our exports are balancing the imports picked up across the valley.

MUSIC

WE are very grateful to Mr John Forsyth, a member of the West Riding Music Staff, who motored a long way on most Mondays during the term in order to teach the guitar. It was through the kindness of Lt-Col Rupert de Larrinaga that some of the boys at Gilling have become interested in learning how to play the guitar, because he very generously presented the School with three very beautiful three-quarter

size guitars made in Japan; we are very grateful to him for this splendid gift.

Mr Forsyth tutored twelve boys and two ladies, who were the Matron and Nurse Willis. The progress of the pupils depended very much upon how many hours a week they were prepared to spend practising playing the instrument. The best player in the School is C. de Larrinaga, whose father presented the School with the instruments. Other promising players are M. G. R. May, A. de Larrinaga, M. J. Craston, P. D. Sandeman and S. P. S. Reid.

The young guitarists gave three recitals in front of the School in which they played "Au clair de la lune" with voice accompaniment, the words having been provided by Miss Porter, who gave the singers a valuable lesson on correct pronunciation. Another tune they played with voice accompaniment was called "Go to sleep, Nick", it was Mr Capes who provided the words for this delightful lullaby. A third piece called "J'ai du bon tabac" was played, not quite perfectly, by the less proficient guitarists. On two occasions C. de Larrinaga gave much enjoyment to the School by giving a solo recital.

Mr Forsyth is being married on 3rd May. We congratulate him, and wish him and his partner a happy married life.

SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCING

DURING the term there was a steady increase in the popularity of this lively form of recreation. The attendance at meetings of the Matron and Nurse Willis was always very much appreciated by the boys. They very kindly bought us some more music so that the boys were able to learn some new dances which included "The Dashing White Sergeant" and "Strip the Willow". The boys also worked hard to learn "The Eightsome Reel" and "The Gay Gordons". After considerable time spent in practising, the boys danced "The Dashing White Sergeant" in front of the School on two occasions, on the second occasion twenty-four boys took part, four of them wearing kilts.

ART

SECOND FORM ART

THE boys in the Second Form did some interesting drawings and paintings during the term. The best work was produced

by: M. N. Cardwell, who is good with a pencil; S. J. Connolly, who works with his imagination; J. Dick, who works with method and care; E. C. Glaister and T. L. Judd, who practise a lot on their own; J. B. Horsley, whose work is well disciplined; M. G. R. May, who is probably the best artist in the Second Form; J. M. D. Murray, who works quickly, cleanly and effectively; N. W. O'Carroll-FitzPatrick, who works well with a pencil; and S. P. Tebena, who is a promising artist.

Many boys produced attractive illustrated Mass cards for assisting them at a Mass celebrated for the success of Family Fast Day. Other subjects chosen were: a man walking in space; a child in dungarees, and another one being bucked off a pony, with the parents looking on and thinking "that's one Christmas present he won't break in a hurry".

SKI-ING

WITH the arrival of snow, many boys joined the Gilling Ski School to have ski-ing lessons. On short afternoons the lessons usually took place on the slopes around the golf course, but on long afternoons it was sometimes possible to ski on the slope behind Gilling village where there is possible about 125 feet of downhill running in the sun when it is shining. Fr Piers and the boys are very grateful to the Matron and Nurse Willis for their assistance in running the Ski School.

Some of the better skiers were invited to join two ski tours which took place on whole holidays. There were about twenty-four skiers on the first tour. The route was up to the gate and then around the golf course to finish up on the slopes above Gilling village where the party stopped for something to eat. During the tour Fr Piers and Nurse Willis had to lift the boys over some fences because there were no gates and most of the boys find it difficult to take their skis off and put them on again. On the second tour thirty people set out on skis. Having skied the length of the golf course from the gate to where the drive goes up hill to the castle, the party enjoyed some refreshments and then divided up into three groups for lessons on the slopes behind the village. C. de Larrinaga looked after the boys in the First Form who had not skied before; Nurse Willis instructed the

beginners in the Second Form, and Fr Piers took away the more experienced skiers who were taught downhill running in the "egg" position. The clear Yorkshire air, the bright sunshine, and the light powdered snow enabled everyone to experience some most enjoyable sport.

BOXING

THERE was a good boxing competition with four bouts from the First Form and eleven from the Second Form on 24th March and thirteen bouts from the Third Form on the 25th. N. J. Young was awarded the Cup for the Best Boxer in the Second Form; he has a good sense of timing and picks his punches. N. O'Carroll FitzPatrick had a very hard bout with J. Horsley and was judged the winner of the prize for the Best Loser. There was an unusually tough contest in the Third Form between S. J. Bickerstaffe, who was given the Best Boxer Cup for the Form, and C. H. Soden-Bird, who was given as the Best Loser. But there was plenty of spirit throughout the whole competition. Other promising boxers were D. Ellingworth in the First Form, M. Bailey, J. Horsley and T. Judd in the Second and P. Velarde and C. Vaughan in the Third.

We thank Mr Goring for coming over on the second day to referee and hope he will see the fruit of this talent in the Junior House and Upper School.

CROSS COUNTRY

THE weather made the fields unfit for games fairly frequently, and so there were quite a few cross country races this term. Bunting remained the best, but it was not unknown for him to be beaten, sometimes by Thompson, who won two races, and sometimes by Gaynor, who also won two races, and was clearly the best in the Second Form. Other prominent runners in the Third Form were McKechnie, M. Tate, Soden-Bird, Heath, Bickerstaffe, S. B. Glaister and Brennan; other good Second Form runners were Moore, Ritchie, Murray, Grant, Peters and Cardwell; and

in the First Form the best were Hubbard, T. May, Durkin, Trowbridge, J. Tate, Corkery, A. E. Duncan and Charlton.

GAMES

HAVING already had three full months of rugby football, and a very good season it was, the plan was to change over to soccer in February. Two Junior XV matches and one final First XV match were arranged, and five soccer matches. However, every one of the matches was cancelled, one by one, as the term progressed, thanks to frost, snow, a couple of cases of jaundice, and finally yet more snow.

But it would be wrong to conclude that the games had a poor term. The Junior XV trained hard in preparation for its matches, and many good young players came to the fore, so that there should be no lack of talent for next season. Before the Junior XV matches were cancelled the following team had been chosen: Hooke; Gaynor, Harney, Corkery, D. Ellingworth; N. Sutherland, Moore; Reid (Captain), Duckworth, Craston; E. A. Beck, D. Moir; Ritchie, Hubbard, Judd.

At soccer we had much to learn, never having played the game seriously before. The rules had to be mastered, different positional systems had to be understood, basic skills had to be practised, but gradually the standard of play improved, not only in the First Set, but in all sets throughout the School. While the First Set was practising for the expected matches, the lower sets combined for league matches between teams led by D. Griffiths, Bunting, Vaughan and Shipsey, and teams led by Morgan, Doherty, P. D. Tate and J. Tate.

Gradually a team evolved in the First Set, and the final match was not cancelled until after the following team had been picked: M. Tate; Duckworth, Heath, Thompson, Harney; Bickerstaffe (Captain), McKechnie; Judd, Dundas, Craston, Soden-Bird. M. Griffiths came into the team as a last minute substitute, and Gaynor was the next reserve.

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Part III

EDITORIAL: ICON OF THE UNSEEN GOD

Christus est imago Dei invisibilis.

Col 1.15.

THE Father would remain an Unknown God had he not been interpreted to us by the Logos. We would not even have been able to do as the Athenians did, to raise an altar to *Ἄγνωστο θεῷ* on the Areopagus, the hill of judgment. But the Father spoke the Word, his utterance, his manifestation: the author of *Hebrews* says of this that "last of all and in these days God has spoken to us in his Son . . . the radiance of his glory and the perfect copy of his nature" (or, as the Vulgate puts it, *splendor gloriae et figura substantiae*). The Word is the Wisdom of God, "a breath of the power of God, pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty . . . reflection of the Eternal Light, untarnished mirror of God's active power, image of his goodness". The Logos is Light from Light Invisible, radiance of the Father's heart, impression of the Father's seal. The glory on the face of Christ is, Paul tells us, the illumination of the knowledge of God's glory shone upon our minds, the illumination of the invisible which is eternal. We have the mind of Christ, and Christ is the Mind of God; we belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God the Father: for, as he said at his farewell discourse, "No one can come to the Father except through me; and if you know me, you know my Father too—seeing me, you have seen the Father. I and the Father are one".

In that sense, and it is the highest sense and the most intense, Christ is the icon of the unseen Light, to us on earth the only perceivable form and tangible substance of what is otherwise altogether beyond our perception. He alone mediates to man another world of being, the highest form of existence, which without this mediation would remain ever incomprehensible to man's consciousness. Jesus Christ is the icon of God.

All created icons, then, are but an obscure figure of the true icon, crude but not unuseful reminders of the one icon, Christ the Son. In a sense man himself, wounded and sinful as he is, infirm but seeking grace and able to receive grace (as no other creature can) so to become gracious in God's sight, is an imperfect icon of the God who created him in some dim analogous way in resemblance of Himself, "in Our own image, in the likeness of Ourselves". A man of grace is a reflection of God.

At an altogether lower level, man may create for himself icons which can remotely convey to him the shadow of the reality of the One Icon. With his art he is able to transcend material dimensions to speak about the things of the spirit, to register sorrow, or motherhood, or divinity. So complex and ungraspable are these different levels of spiritual participation, that man will need to use all the resources of the lesser to reach the greater—as when he takes the theme of motherhood to reach up (in the great Madonna icons) to the divinity: in doing that, he has not only transcended his material condition, but transcended, so to say, his own limited capacities for transcendence. He has used the perfections of his natural powers as artist, acquired by years of fidelity to his gifts, to point beyond and higher to areas that would need supernatural powers to reach.

But supposing the One Icon, Jesus the Son, were to leave us his own icon not made by human hands, the impression of the Son of Man at the moment after he said "it is achieved", that is, the moment when the redemptive act was accomplished, would we not then have what the artists have sought to reach up to over two millennia, an icon done in perfect human likeness of the Christ, an icon done not with the highest of natural skills but by the power of the supernatural? And if this were so, would we not be seeing the finger of the material touching the divine; or rather, the finger of the divine tracing its character upon what man is alone able to grasp, an image fit for the senses to perceive? And if this were so, would we not expect to find that priceless icon not made by human hands kept in open veneration in the heart of the Church as a constant inducement to prayer, and reminder of the central act of the Icon of God to men?

It is possible that such exists, privately owned, locked up in a casket and wrapped up in a roll, in an industrial town in northern Italy, seen once in a while by special arrangement. And how does the evidence for the authenticity of the true Cross, a large part of which resides in honour in the church of that name in Rome, compare with the exterior and especially the interior evidence for the authenticity of this relic and icon? Is it not time that we went again and examined the heirlooms in our cupboards, beginning with the most priceless of them all?

All of us, with our unveiled faces reflecting the brightness of the Lord, are being transformed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; and this is the work of the Lord who is Spirit.

It is not ourselves that we preach, but Jesus Christ as the Lord, the image of God—the same God who said "let light shine out of darkness", who has shone in our minds to radiate enlightenment as to the knowledge of the glory of God, that glory seen on the face of Christ Jesus.

II Cor 3/4.



PLATE 1. San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, 6th C.



PLATE 4. St Ambrose, Milan, 8th C.



PLATE 2. St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai, 6th or 7th C.



PLATE 5. Santa Sophia, Istanbul, 9th C.



PLATE 3. St. Pantaenus Catacomb, Rome, 7th C.



PLATE 6. Daphni, Greece, 11th C.

At an altogether lower level, man may create for himself icons which can remotely convey to him the shadow of the reality of the One Icon. With his art he is able to transcend material dimensions to speak about the things of the spirit, to register sorrow, or motherhood, or divinity. So complex and ungraspable are these different levels of spiritual participation, that man will need to use all the resources of the lesser to reach the greater—as when he takes the theme of motherhood to reach up (in the great Madonna icons) to the divinity: in doing that, he has not only transcended his material condition, but transcended, so to say, his own limited capacities for transcendence. He has used the perfections of his natural powers as artist, acquired by years of fidelity to his gifts, to point beyond and higher to areas that would need supernatural powers to reach.

But supposing the One Icon, Jesus the Son, were to leave us his own icon not made by human hands, the impression of the Son of Man at the moment after he said "it is achieved", that is, the moment when the redemptive act was accomplished, would we not then have what the artists have sought to reach up to over two millennia, an icon done in perfect human likeness of the Christ, an icon done not with the highest of natural skills but by the power of the supernatural? And if this were so, would we not be seeing the finger of the material touching the divine; or rather, the finger of the divine tracing its character upon what man is alone able to grasp, an image fit for the senses to perceive? And if this were so, would we not expect to find that priceless icon not made by human hands kept in open veneration in the heart of the Church as a constant inducement to prayer, and reminder of the central act of the Icon of God to men?

It is possible that such exists, privately owned, locked up in a casket and wrapped up in a roll, in an industrial town in northern Italy, seen once in a while by special arrangement. And how does the evidence for the authenticity of the true Cross, a large part of which resides in honour in the church of that name in Rome, compare with the exterior and especially the interior evidence for the authenticity of this relic and icon? Is it not time that we went again and examined the heirlooms in our cupboards, beginning with the most priceless of them all?

All of us, with our unveiled faces reflecting the brightness of the Lord, are being transformed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; and this is the work of the Lord who is Spirit.

It is not ourselves that we preach, but Jesus Christ as the Lord, the image of God—the same God who said "let light shine out of darkness", who has shone in our minds to radiate enlightenment as to the knowledge of the glory of God, that glory seen on the face of Christ Jesus.

II Cor 3/4.



PLATE 1. San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, 6th C.



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PLATE 6. Daphni,
Greece. 11th C.



PLATE 7. Holy Face of Liège,
France. Slav artist. c. 1200.



PLATE 8. Spas Nereditsa,
Near Novgorod. c. 1199.



PLATE 9. Mandylion of the
Comnenus period. 12th C.



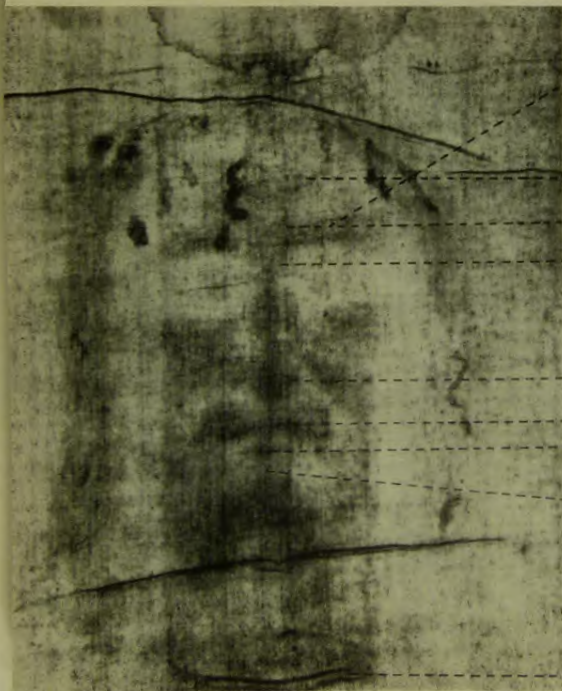
PLATE 10. Dormition Cathedral, Moscow,
Cross & Passion instruments on reverse side.
12th C.



PLATE 11. Spas Andrionevsky
Monastery, Moscow. c. 1300.



PLATE 12. Holy Face of Lucca.
11th C. crucifix.



(d)

PLATE 13. MASK OF TURIN SHROUD. (Copyright : G. Enrie, Turin)

A Its Characteristics common to Byzantine Icons and Mandylions :

1. Long hair and beard, usually forked.
2. No neck—True of all Mandylions. Necks of Icons usually badly drawn.
3. Straight nose, staring eyes, and swollen cheeks—latter often highlighted but stylised. Plate 4—stressed.

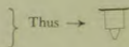
(a)

(b)

(c)

B Its Anomalies frequently reproduced :

- a. Bruise across forehead.
- b. Three sides of square between eyebrows.
- c. 'V' shape to bridge of nose.



} Thus →

Plate 3—'a' and 'b' heavily emphasised.

Plates 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9—combination 'a', 'b', 'c' stylised but strongly stressed.

Plates 7, 10, 11—less so. Absent from 1, 2, 12.

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

- d. One raised eyebrow. Fairly common.
- e. Enlarged nostril. Frequent, e.g. Plates 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11.
- f. Divided moustache. All except Plates 6 and 11. Sometimes truncated as on Shroud. Plates 1, 4 and 5.
- g. Heavy line under lower lip, emphasising 'h'. All.
- h. Gap between this line and beard. All. Flaked plaster makes 'g' and 'h' invisible on Plate 3.
- i. Line across throat. Generally stylised. Common to most icons. Plates cut off too high to show, except Daphni's skilful treatment.

N.B.—Plates 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10 show two or three whisks of hair on forehead in same position as three stains descending from hair of the Man. Is there another anomaly here? It could be an attempt to cope with these stains and/or the blood marks. But it is found on other heads like that of St Paul in the third century Ipogeo Aurelio, Rome, and also on some pagan heads.

(i)



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ENSHROUDED IN SILENCE

IN SEARCH OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM OF THE HOLY SHROUD

by

MAURUS GREEN, O.S.B.

ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.

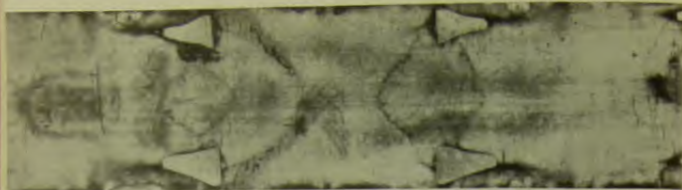


PLATE 14. Frontal Image of the Shroud.



PLATE 15. Grimaldi's drawing of Pope John VII's Umbella. c. 705. See Plate 17.



PLATE 16. Epitaphios. The Great Remeta. Slav work. c. 1400.



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"Christian relics," we are told by Sir Steven Runciman, "have never received their due attention in history; historians justly suspecting the authenticity of the more eminent of them, have tended to put them all on one side, forgetting that even a forgery can have its historical value; only the theologians have taken notice of them, in their relations to the apocryphal improvements upon Christian thought and story." Yet such relics not only illuminate past history, but sometimes have helped to mould that history.

An example is the Image of Edessa, which figures prominently in this study. "Were its authenticity established, it would rightly have ranked among the first of all the holy relics of Christendom; and," adds Runciman, "in the days when pedigrees were less meticulously scrutinised, it indeed occupied such a position . . . but for the last thousand years, since the days of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, secular historians have given it no more than a cursory mention." The historian of the great Eastern Church goes on, "while the question of authenticity is of theological rather than historical importance, the fact that the authenticity was for so long accepted by the world is of great historical value, not only as illustrating the state of affairs and mind that led to the various stages of its acceptance, but also in that it enabled this dim piece of canvas to exercise a direct influence on the destinies of Christendom".¹

Runciman might well have been writing of the Shroud of Turin, of which it has so often been said of late that it is as a three-legged table, the vital fourth leg of its early history being missing so absolutely that it will not stand up. Some say that Fr Herbert Thurston, S.J., exploded all credibility in the Shroud at the turn of the century on just these grounds: but so much more is now known that his articles are no longer worth reading through. The Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Henry Chadwick ("The Early Church", 281n) described the Shroud as "The work of a fourteenth century artist for which no claim can be made on historical grounds"; and it is to just such as he that Runciman is addressing his remarks, since no claim can be made for that judgment either on scientific or historical grounds. It is time to re-open the matter—on historical grounds.

This examination is the tip of the iceberg, so to say, of researches that have been going on *inter alia* in a circle revolving round the author's father (the late "B. G. Sandhurst") and later the author for the past fifteen years. It aims to re-open the subject, but in no way to close it by providing an exhaustive study: behind every section of this article, there is much more that can be said.

The Problem. Is it possible to pierce the silence of a thousand years? The mere question makes the attempt look forlorn. Besides, have not historians long since dismissed the Shroud of Turin as a forgery? And are not some leading Scripture scholars convinced that Christ was never buried in a shroud?

Despite all that has been written against it, the stubborn enigma of the Turin cloth remains. There it is, rolled up in its casket, demanding an

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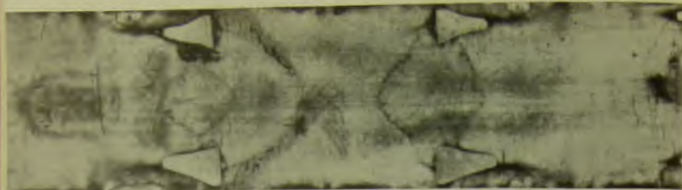


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explanation, "So be it," it seems to say, "Then by what strange miracle am I a forger?" History is incapable of giving an answer, so the linen itself turns to science for a solution. But science is baffled: half a century of research by eminent scientists of different persuasions and nationality has unearthed a score of unsolved problems that leave the Shroud a greater mystery than ever. Puzzled as they are, these men have been driven by the evidence to ask of its portrait, "if it is not Christ, who is it?"

So the onlooker is caught between the opposing conclusions of history and science. They cannot both be right. Perhaps he feels that the conviction of the scientists does less violence to his intelligence than that of the historians. After all, a mystery that hints at a rational explanation is preferable to a forgery that would involve a sheer impossibility. So he begins to wonder, "Were the historians correct? Could there have been some mistake?"

Scope of the enquiry. There is no easy answer and this essay can do no more than invite the historians to reconsider their verdict in the light of evidence that was not examined when that verdict was given with all too much finality.

The enquiry must begin with the Shroud itself. What clues does it offer? Like all archaeological documents, its internal evidence will determine the value of an historical investigation. Unique among ancient objects that present themselves for scrutiny, this linen demands examination along many lines at once: theology, scripture, liturgy, science, medicine, photography, textiles and art—all are interested. Each adds its quota to building up the historical identification.

Space forbids entry into most of these realms and even a good deal of historical evidence, essential to a complete study, cannot be called. The enquiry is therefore severely limited to a search for anything like the Turin Shroud in the first twelve centuries of our era. Thereafter the historical strands become too complicated for treatment here, its existence being certainly established at Chambéry from the mid-fifteenth century. Before the search proper begins, the two classical objections to authenticity mentioned above must be briefly examined.

*What does the document itself reveal?*² In the Spring JOURNAL, Dr Willis² gave an admirable exposition of the scientific and medical credentials of the Shroud, showing how it offers conclusive evidence that it once contained a corpse. This is powerful enough to convince a court of law that the Man of the Shroud suffered death similar to crucifixion, preceded by an unusual type of flogging and wounding of the scalp by sharp instruments. If the court proceeded to identify the body, its expert witnesses would find their field limited to victims of this triple torture whose shrouds had been preserved.

Though there is only one case known to history, the court might insist on a search, since identification here has enormous consequences.

² Dr David Willis, "Did He die on the Cross?", AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Vol. LXXIV, Part 1, 1969.

The Shroud has been in possession of the Savoy family since the fifteenth century. Its victim's scourge marks indicate use of the Roman *flagrum* to inflict them: so the search would naturally turn to records of Roman crucifixion, abolished by Constantine. This brings us to pre-Constantinian Egypt, archaeology's most prolific source of preserved burial linens. Its countless embalmed mummies can be excluded. Their tightly packed linens and bandages bear no images or wound marks.

However, Egypt does provide examples of shroud burial among the early Christian interments at Antinoe, a town built on the Nile by Hadrian in 132 A.D. The bodies were buried between then and the sixth century. From 1897 to 1902 Albert Gayet unearthed some 10,000 pagan and Christian bodies in an intact state. The Christians were buried in a variety of ways, some clad in clothes, others wrapped in shrouds with and without face veils, their ankles and wrists bound by ribbons. People were interred in anything up to twenty shrouds, embroidered with the early Christian symbols of the Alexandrian catacombs. Single shroud burials were like the Jewish burials of the poor in Palestine before and after Our Lord's time, such as are described in pre-Christian apocrypha and recorded of Rabbi Gamaliel and his grandson.³

Gayet mentions one case of a face veil, folded in four, that bears the apparently undistorted imprint of the dead person's face, similar to the Shroud's death mask. The experts think that this fourfold impression was made by some chemical process involving spices.

Despite the absence of "figured shrouds" proper, the Antinoe burials are important for two reasons. Firstly, they show how the early Christians followed the Jewish custom, perhaps consciously imitating the manner in which they thought Christ was buried. This was a widespread fashion, since similar shroud burials were found in the Catacomb of St Sebastian, Rome. Secondly, the many portraits of the dead, like the better known ones at Fayum, show how the early Christians took over the funereal portraits of ancient Egypt. The latter assured the preservation of the *ka* or immaterial incarnation of the dead, warding off their second death and the hell that awaited those who had not been buried with the customary rites. When the Christian custom developed into portraits of the martyrs, we shall see how the pagan idea of incarnation led to the notion of the presence of the saint in his portrait—a conception deeply affecting the historical fate of the Shroud.

Search for any victim like the Man of the Shroud having drawn a blank in Egypt, then Palestine, site of the best known Roman crucifixions, is all that remains. This brings us to the Gospels, the only historical source of the details of a Roman crucifixion combined with shroud burial. These describe the scourging, crowning with thorns and crucifixion of Jesus

³ Wuenschel (1) 67f.

Daube, 312. Before Gamaliel's reform "a plain cloth chosen without care would be used only for a criminal or at best a person despised by everyone. It would be a sign of shame". Joseph, by buying a "clean shroud" and burying Jesus in a new tomb, ensured that he did not suffer the ritual disgrace of criminal burial.

Christ, a unique combination of punishments that tallies so remarkably with the treatment of the Man of the Shroud that forensic and other scientists who have studied this evidence with objective care, to a man agree with Professor Yves Delage of the Sorbonne.⁴ On 21st April 1902, he gave a detailed report of his team's researches to the French Academy of Sciences. Though an agnostic and life-long friend of Renan, he was compelled by loyalty to the scientific method to conclude: "On the one hand we have the shroud, probably impregnated with aloes—which brings us to the East outside Egypt—and a crucified man who had been scourged, pierced on the right side and crowned with thorns. On the other we have an account—pertaining to history, legend, and tradition—showing us Christ as having undergone in Judea the same treatment as we decipher on the body whose image is on the shroud . . . Let us add that, in order that the image should be produced and not later destroyed, it is necessary that the body should remain in the presence of the shroud at least twenty-four hours, the time necessary for the formation of the image, and at most a few days, after which there supervenes putrefaction which destroys the image and finally the shroud.⁵ Now this is precisely what tradition . . . asserts to have happened to Christ who died on Friday and disappeared on Sunday."

"And if it is not Christ, it must be some criminal under the common law. But how is this to be reconciled with the admirably noble expression which you read on this figure? I now add that *there is here a collection of five circumstances, to mention only the principal, which are rather exceptional: the East outside Egypt, the wound on the right side, the crown of thorns, the duration of the burial, the character of the physiognomy.* Suppose that for each there should be one chance in a hundred that it should occur in the case of another person. There would then be *only one chance in ten thousand million that they should be found together.* Of course, I do not give these numbers as having any claim to exactness, but

⁴ Yves Delage (1854-1920), Doctor of Medicine and Science. From 1886 held the chairs of Zoology, Anatomy and Comparative Physiology at the Faculty of Sciences, Paris. 1901, Director of the Roscoff Laboratory and Member of the Academy of Sciences. Outstanding scientist and author of the 8-volume "Traité de zoologie concrète" and works in several fields. The 1898 photograph of the Turin Shroud presented him with a serious challenge. Fearing clerical use of it in favour of miracle, he encouraged his assistants to search for a scientific explanation. In an open letter to M. Richet, editor of the *Revue Scientifique*, he expressed his state of mind. "Do you remember the deep joy we felt . . . ? For weeks and months our minds were obsessed with this disconcerting contradiction between a material fact which had to be accepted and the apparent impossibility of finding a natural explanation for it, thus playing into the hands of those who accept miracles which my philosophical opinions do not admit at any price. And then suddenly there arose the natural explanation, luminous in its simplicity, ousting miracle."

⁵ Delage accepted Paul Vignon's vaporographic theory, according to which vapours released by the chemical reaction of the urea of the body sweat and the spices, stained the cloth to form the image. This process would need at least 24 hours as Vignon's experiments, details of which Delage presented to the Academy, proved. Though the theory is now treated with considerable reserve, Delage's observation of the need for rapid removal of the body before the onset of corruption is as valid as ever.

only to show the improbability of all these conditions occurring together in the case of another person." (Italics mine.)

But the Turin Shroud has no passport. Despite all the evidence of a medico-scientific nature—evidence far stronger than is required to convict many a murderer or identify ancient objects like the statues of Easter Island—scholars in general have tended to miss the Shroud as an object of serious study.⁶ This is partly due to the general, and in many cases justifiable, discredit of relics. But echoes of the three-pronged attack on the Shroud's authenticity are also responsible. The first prong excludes authenticity because distinguished exegetes like Fr Joseph Blinzler and Père Braun, O.P. maintain that the Gospel accounts are against shroud burial. The second accepts the word of Bishop D'Arcis of Troyes in 1389, who condemned the Shroud as a forgery. The third, the object of this study, rejects it on the grounds that it has no history before the fourteenth century. Archaeologists may well raise an eyebrow and ask how many objects of the ancient world with far less historical backing are accepted as genuine, many depending solely on their internal evidence.

The first two prongs must now be examined.

*The Gospel evidence.*⁷ Was our Lord buried in a shroud or swathed in bands like a mummy? According to the *Jerusalem Bible* the three-fold account of Matthew, Mark and Luke is emphatically in favour of shroud burial. Mark writes that Pilate "granted the corpse to Joseph who bought a shroud (*sinclon*), took Jesus down from the cross, wrapped him in the shroud and laid him in a tomb . . ." (Mark 15, 46).

But "shroud" is not the exclusive meaning of *sinclon*. It can also mean "fine linen", "tunic" or "sheet". John's rather different account suggests that we could translate *sinclon* as "linen cloth" rather than "shroud". He writes that Joseph and Nicodemus "brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, weighing about a hundred pounds. They took the body of Jesus and wrapped it with spices in linen cloths (*othonia*) following the Jewish burial custom" (John 19, 39-40). Until recently John's word, *othonia*, was translated into all languages as "linen cloths" and no one saw any contradiction between the Synoptists' "shroud" (*sinclon*) and John's "linen cloths" (*othonia*); but in 1879, John's word was first translated as "bandages". This now common translation has made some scholars think that Joseph and Nicodemus, having bought "fine linen" or a "shroud", proceeded to tear it into bandages and swathe our Lord in them like a mummy. Since they regard this as quite certain, they cannot allow the

⁶ One notable exception is Hugh Schonfield, author of "The Passover Plot". In 1932 he edited K. de Proszynski's "The Authentic Photograph of Christ" (London), contributing a Foreword and an historical supplement. He calls the Shroud "one of the most amazing phenomena of our time" and wonders "whether at last there has been restored to us through the agency of science that most wished for object of Christian faith—to see the face of Jesus". He continues, ". . . it cannot be too strongly stressed that the Holy Shroud is in quite a different category from other objects of devotion. The discovery was made possible by the advance of science, which so often in seeming contradiction to religious belief, has as often confirmed it by what it has brought to light." (p. 77).

possibility that the Shroud of Turin may have been used for his burial despite its strong internal evidence.

Against this view Père Benoit, O.P., maintains that this is forcing the Gospel text to say more than it does. Besides, he points out that mummy burial was an Egyptian, not a Jewish, custom, and in any case it would have been much easier for Joseph to have bought readily available bandages, especially as he was very pressed for time. The body had to be buried without the usual washing and anointing (which the women intended to supply on the Sunday morning) before the start of the Sabbath at sundown. Mgr Vaccari, S.J., also produces strong evidence to prove that John's word "*othonia*" did not mean "bandages" because, in fact, it was a generic term for linen cloths of any size. Indeed, one text he refers to shows it used explicitly as a heading of a list of funeral cloths which include "shroud", "bandages", and "sweat cloth"—the three Gospel words for our Lord's grave-clothes.

The last word, "sweat cloth" (*soudarion*), is the one used by John to describe the cloth "rolled up" by itself, that he and Peter saw on Easter morning. It was this and the undisturbed state of the other linens which helped him to believe that Jesus had risen from the dead (John 20, 7-9). No one knows exactly what that cloth was. John's description, "the sweat cloth that was over his head", may indicate a small cloth covering the head and face. Since some authors translate it as "napkin", it may have been a chin band used to keep the jaw shut; and the Shroud image suggests this (Plate 13). However, its "rolled up" state hints at something larger, perhaps the shroud itself, the *sinдон* of the Synoptists. Père Benoit is justly sceptical of efforts to square the four accounts in order to ensure shroud burial.

As Dom Bernard Orchard points out, it is quite impossible to tell from the Gospel texts alone just how our Lord was buried. They permit the tearing of the *sinдон* in strips for mummy burial, but what little we know of the Jewish custom, and evidence of early Christian usage, seem to rule this out. Bands may have kept the feet and hands in position, the body being loosely wrapped in a shroud. Or, again, our Lord's face may have been covered with a small cloth over or under the shroud, the bandages keeping it, the shroud, and the spices in position. To conclude, we may agree with Vaccari and Wuenschel and the texts certainly allow their version—"The eyes and mouth were closed, the body was wrapped in a shroud. The other operations—washing, anointing, etc.—were postponed until Sunday morning. Pulverised aloes and myrrh were sprinkled to retard corruption during the intervening forty hours".⁷

Straightforward reading of the text has always supported some such version, which is favoured by all the Fathers of both East and West. Early Christian burial customs take it for granted, as do apocryphal and other writings which speculate about the fate of our Lord's burial linens.

⁷ "La Santa Sindone nelle ricerche moderne." *Studies presented to the National Convention*, Turin, 1939.

The forgery theory.^C This was popularised with such energy by Canon Ulysse Chevalier in France and the Jesuit Fr Thurston in England at the beginning of this century that it is still taken for granted by many who have not really examined the question. It was, of course, faced squarely by Professor Delage in his address to the Academy of Sciences in 1902, but such was the authority of Chevalier and Thurston that he was virtually shouted down, as were the correspondents of *The Times* and the *Lancet* who gave favourable coverage to his communication.

In the light of subsequent discoveries, it is interesting to look again at Delage's refutation of the forgery charge. "As the shroud is authenticated since the fourteenth century, if the image is a faked painting, there must at this epoch have existed an artist—who has remained unknown—capable of executing a work hardly within the power of the greatest Renaissance painters. While this is already very difficult to admit for an image painted as a positive, it becomes quite incredible in the case of a *negative* image, which lacks all aesthetic character in this form and assumes its value only when the lights and shades are reversed, while strictly respecting their contours and values. Such an operation would be almost impossible except by photography, an art unknown in the fourteenth century. The forger, while painting a negative, would have to know how to distribute light and shade so that after reversal they would give the figure which he attributed to Christ, and that with perfect precision; . . . I add this argument whose force will be felt on reflection: Why should this forger have taken the trouble to realise a beauty not visible in his work and discernible only after reversal which was only later made possible?"—five centuries later! "He would be working for his contemporaries and not for the twentieth century and the Academy of Sciences."

Delage points out that in various ways the forger has deliberately flouted the susceptibilities of his contemporaries. "The hands are pierced through the wrist and not through the palm, in conformity with the anatomical requirements and against tradition." Of the nakedness of the image, he writes, "the shroud destined to enflame the zeal of the faithful should not at the same time shock their feelings or scandalise them. This is so true that the loin-cloth has been added to certain copies".

Basically, the acceptance of this impossible genius of a forger (who used no pigment of any kind) is founded on an assumption, taken for granted by both defenders and opponents of the Turin Shroud, that the shroud of Lirey, condemned by Bishop D'Arcis in 1389 as a forgery, was identical with the cloth of Turin. In fact, however strong the assumption, it remains a debatable assumption, since much of the evidence suggests the opposite. Space forbids its presentation here, but in any case Delage makes the old debate seem irrelevant and our subsequent enquiry allows us to ignore it.

Early legends and traditions.^D The fact that our Lord's burial cloths and their arrangement were the first material evidence of the Resurrection would point to their preservation despite their defiling nature—anything

to do with a corpse being impure to the Jews. So it is not altogether surprising to discover early and growing interest in their fate. St Jerome is the first we know to record this. He quotes the lost *Gospel of the Hebrews* to the effect that the Lord confided the shroud (*sindon*) "to the servant of the priest".⁸ In the fourth century, the Acts of Pilate show him with Joseph of Arimathea, saying, "I am Jesus . . . you wrapped me in a clean shroud (*sindone munda*) and you put a cloth (*sudarium*) on my face . . .", before showing him where they lay. It is interesting and perhaps significant that St Ephrem of Edessa, writing about the same date, thinks that the shroud and "the cloth that was over his head" were the same thing.⁹

In Egypt, second and fifth century apocrypha¹⁰ associate the grave clothes with Pilate and his wife, whereas for St Nino, the fourth century

⁸ Schonfield's comment may be important. He writes, "Outside the Bible the oldest reference (to the Shroud) is contained in the Gospel of the Hebrews, which dates at the latest from the beginning of the second century and by many of the Church Fathers was held to be the original Hebrew of St Matthew's Gospel. St Jerome, in a quotation from it which is tantalisingly short, introduces the following: 'Now the Lord, when he had given the shroud to the servant of the priest, went to James and appeared to him . . . De Vir. Illust., ch. ii.'"

"We are naturally anxious to know what preceded this passage and the circumstances under which the gift of the Shroud was made. The expression 'servant of the priest' is remarkable. Dodd, in *The Commonwealth*, October 1931, conjectures (but the original reading was Simon (Peter) instead of servant, and he points to the shorter ending of Mark in the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae where there is a Latin reading *puera* (servant) in mistake for *Petra*. 'A subsequent copyist' (says Dodd), 'in a laudable endeavour to make sense of the passage (in Hebrews), decided that 'servant' was the priest's servant mentioned in Mark xiv, 47'. It is more likely that the original did state that Jesus gave the Shroud to Peter, because Paul among the appearances of the risen Christ mentions the appearance to James but states that 'he was first seen of Cephas' (1 Cor. xv, 5)'. It was Peter who found the grave-clothes. Schonfield then refers to St Nino's belief (see text) and adds, "Taking the above references together, it is evident that, hazy as the tradition is, a case can be made out for the possession of the Shroud by Peter, the chief of the Apostles."

"What became of the Shroud after his death? It was still missing early in the fourth century, but the Roman wars in Palestine which devastated the country and persecution of the Christians would no doubt lead to the secreting of the relic and to the loss soon afterwards of all knowledge of its hiding place. No doubt, at first, the figure of Christ would not be visible as such, but the lapse of time and probably the conditions under which it was buried would deepen the markings." (Op. cit., p. 54f).

⁹ Wuaenschel (1) 50, 61, 82. St Ephrem is the first writer we know of to identify *sindon* and *sudarium*. From the seventh century the Latin equivalent *sudarium* (and equivalents in all Romance languages, Georgian and Armenian) is used to translate both shroud and smaller face cloths, including *Veronicas*. In Syriac, Arabic and Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine, equivalents of *sudarium* designated a square cloth used as a skirt, wide mantle, or ample veil over the head and enveloping the wearer. (Wuaenschel cites Abbé Levesque's "Le Suiatre de Turin et L'Evangile", *Nouvelle Revue Apologetique*, 1, 1939, p. 228f). The Abbé thinks that John's *sudarium* used in the burials of Lazarus and Christ should be interpreted in this Semitic sense, since the fourth Gospel abounds in Aramaicisms. In support he refers to the current practice of the Druzes, ancient inhabitants of the Lebanon, who fold a shroud over the head down to the feet and tie it with bands at neck, feet and hand levels. He equates the bands with the *keiriat* of Jn. 11, 44, which kept Lazarus bound. He suggests that the *othoria* in the case of Christ would include the *keiriat* and the *sudarium* which, if used in the Semitic sense, would be the equivalent of the Synoptists' *sindon*.

¹⁰ "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles" and "Gamalliel", to be found in Savio, 62f and 161f, and Ven den Oudenrijn, 55f, respectively.

apostle of Georgia, the linen cloths passed via Pilate's wife to St Luke. The shroud, however, "is said to have been found by Peter, who took it and kept it, but we know not if it was ever discovered".¹¹ This Petrine tradition must have been a persistent one because about 850 the Syrian, Ishodad of Merv, firmly believes it. He says that the burial linens were given to Joseph, the Lord of the grave, but "the shroud (*sudara*—Syriac for *sudarium*) Simon took and it remained with him. And whenever he made an ordination, he arranged it on his head and many and frequent helps flowed from it—just as even now leaders and bishops of the Church arrange their turbans that are on their heads and about their necks in place of that shroud".

Writers often make this clear distinction between the burial linens and the shroud. Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (635-651), is convinced that both "the linens (*linteraminibus*) and the shroud (*sudarium*) in which the Lord's body was wrapped" were preserved by the Apostles. Others, like the author of the seventh century Mozarabic rite,¹² simply speak of "the traces (*vestigia*) on the linens (*linteraminibus*) of the dead and risen man"¹³—a commentary on the linens in the empty tomb. John Damascene, listing the relics of his day that may rightly be venerated, might be taken to imply that Christ was buried in more than one shroud (*sindonas*),¹⁴ a common belief that persists till the end of the nineteenth century in many quarters—a belief perhaps originally based on early Christian burial practice, interpreting John's account of the burial.

The Jerusalem Shroud.¹⁵ The first person to mention the actual preservation of a shroud is the chronicler of the pilgrimage of St Antoninus Martyr about 570, describing a cave convent on the banks of the Jordan: "In the same place is said to be the *sudarium*, which was over the head of Jesus". No dimension is given; this shroud was kept in great secrecy. It could be identical with the one that appeared in Jerusalem three years before Bishop Arculf¹⁶ venerated it about 670. He says that it was eight feet long. It seems to have been a "*sindone munda*" or figureless shroud without any imprint, though Arculf links it with a cloth portrait of Christ

¹¹ Wardrop and Conybeare. St Nino's conjectures seem to belong to the least suspect part of her legendary life which has been muddled with other legends. The translators believe that the earliest section of the thirteenth century Armenian version represents a text written before the sixth century, so that it may be a fourth or fifth century witness to the Petrine tradition.

¹² The Mozarabic rite developed in sixth and seventh century Visigothic Spain. St Leander of Seville, who died in 539 and spent some time in Constantinople, may have influenced its composition. Our passage (echoed by two others), *ad monumentum Petrus cum Johanne cucurrit, recontaque in linteraminibus defuncti et resurgentis vestigia cernit*, has suggested the translation, "Peter ran with John to the tomb and saw the recent imprints of the dead and risen man on the linens", favoured by Savio, 70. *Vestigium* (footstep, footprint, trace or mark: meanings unchanged since the seventh century) could permit this, but the more figurative *traces* would indicate merely the wrapped state of the cloths as though still enfolding the absent body, without implying any knowledge of imprints.

¹³ Damascene's use of the plural is no more than suggestive, since elsewhere he uses the singular when referring to the burial cloths (in the plural).

¹⁴ On his return from the Holy Land, Arculf, Bishop of Périgueux, was welcomed at Iona by Abbot Adaman, who took down his report along with accurate drawings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Soon afterwards St Bede incorporated it into his *De Locis Sanctis* (c. 720), the medieval guide for pilgrims.

said to have been made by our Lady. According to the story he heard in Jerusalem, it was stolen from the tomb by a Christian in whose family it remained for many years, before falling to unbelievers. Not long before his visit it was an object of dispute, the Saracen ruler of Jerusalem deciding in favour of the Christians apparently by ordeal of fire.

European Shrouds.^F These must be divided into "clean" and "figured shrouds". The "figured shrouds" which began to appear in Europe in the fourteenth century were all copies of the Turin cloth.

The "clean shrouds" were very ancient. Some were small "face cloths" or linen bands. It is impossible to tell which were genuine, unless like the shroud of Cadouin they can be proved to be false. None can be discarded definitely, since it is not known how many cloths were used at our Lord's burial. Not until 1935 was the famous shroud of Cadouin proved to be a Moslem cloth bearing the blessings of Allah! Brought from Antioch by the crusaders in the early twelfth century, it became a strong rival of the much more ancient shroud of Compiègne which had good claims to identity with Arculf's seventh century shroud. Possibly this was a gift to Charlemagne, whose grandson gave it to the monks of Compiègne in 877, where it was the object of huge pilgrimages and Papal and archiepiscopal patronage for eight centuries until its destruction at the French Revolution.

It is impossible to understand the fate of the Turin Shroud, unless its late appearance in Europe is seen against the background of these much more venerable linens. They, whether true or false, had been in possession for centuries; all were regarded as genuine right up to modern times and pilgrims flocked to them even in the hey-day of the Chambéry-Turin pilgrimages. How their devotees reacted to news of the upstart "figured shroud" and its satellite copies we cannot tell, but greater knowledge of inter-shroud politics might throw light on the undoubted suppression of evidence (revealed by gaps in important archives) that is a feature of the later tangled history of Turin's Shroud.

The True Likeness.^G While the West was mainly, though not exclusively, concentrating on collecting "clean shrouds" (*sindone munda*), the East was occupied with something much more mysterious—the "True Likeness" of Christ. This first appeared, so everyone believed, in Edessa, the home of St Ephrem and the powerful centre of Syrian Christianity, which was introduced in the second century or possibly the first. Documents in the Edessan Archives, seen by Eusebius and the author of the *Doctrine of Addai* during the fourth century, alleged that King Abgar V, who reigned from 13 to 50 A.D., sent an ambassador to our Lord with a letter inviting him to Edessa. Jesus is said to have written back declining, but promising Abgar and his people great benefits.¹⁵

¹⁵ The problem of the letters is fully examined by Tixeront (cf. n. 27 below). Belief in the protective power of Christ's letter with its promise of perpetual immunity of Edessa from attack passed predominantly to the Icon, though even in our day copies of the letter were fixed over the doors of English houses as talismans just as it had been carved over city gates, houses and tombs in the Middle East from the fifth century.

According to the *Doctrine of Addai*, Ananias, the king's envoy and court painter, painted a portrait of Christ which was hung in Abgar's palace. Eusebius, a strong opponent of sacred images, is silent on this point. No more is heard of the portrait for two centuries, until Evagrius describes the Persian siege of Edessa in 544. He speaks of a portrait of Christ of divine origin, discovered in a wall, where it was thought to have been bricked in during a past persecution. Brought out from its hiding place during the siege, it gave miraculous help in repelling the Persians. Writing about 730, John Damascene describes its accepted origin: Jesus, noticing Ananias' inability to depict his features, took the cloth and put it to his face, imprinting his image on it. This, with a change of characters, is almost identical with the original Veronica story which seems to have derived from it.

This miraculous cloth image—*acheiropoiétos* or "not made with hands"—was accepted as genuine by the whole of Christendom. It appears to be the first of a crop of such images, though this has not yet been generally established.¹⁶ Gradually it acquired an artistic, theological and political importance greater than any other icon before or since.

In the realm of art, it coincided with an immense output of icons and their uninhibited veneration from the second half of the sixth century. This increased in volume until, in 725, Leo the Isaurian opened the Iconoclastic attack on the Icons and their defenders, the Iconodules. Though copied rather infrequently as long as it remained in Edessa,¹⁷ this

¹⁶ Miraculous images of Christ are divided into two types:—

(a) Of divine origin, i.e. said to have been directly imprinted on cloth by Jesus, e.g. Edessa (first mentioned in 544), Camuliana (568), Memphis (570), and possibly the Column of flagellation in Jerusalem (570).

(b) Mechanical reproductions on tiles and cloth. The Edessan Image is said to have reproduced itself on at least two occasions. Of this type Kitzinger writes (p. 115), "The idea of mechanical reproduction—originally a sideline of the cult of relics and sometimes curiously prophetic of methods used in photography—seems to be more popular than that of celestial origin". Just how prophetic in the case of Edessa will become apparent, if we can establish its dependence on the Turin Shroud whose image in the opinion of eminent photographers like Leo Valz is a perfect photographic negative reproducing itself as often as we desire. The thesis of dependence (see below) provides a natural explanation of legends involving mechanical reproduction, the legends simply attaching themselves to man-made copies of the original.

¹⁷ One possible exception is the so-called *acheiropoiétos* image at Lambousa (Cyprus), which has given its name to the *Acheiropoiétos* monastery where it is to be found on the iconostasis. Said to have been brought to the island from Edessa by Bishop Eulalius (whether Bishop of Edessa or Laphthos is not clear) in the sixth century, it is covered by a nineteenth century silver-gilt frame. The frame depicts the rare theme of the Virgin holding up the *Mandylion* image of Christ. The two faces seem to be painted and peeping out from beneath the frame. That they are part of the original painting may be indicated by a sixteenth century cloth painting of identical theme in the same church. When the Parish Priest was shown a photograph of the Turin portrait earlier this year, he looked at it for a long time and said that it reminded him very much of the original painting he had once seen without its covering. An unsupported local legend maintains that the Shroud was kept in the monastery before being taken to Turin by one of the princesses of the Savoy family (cf. H. Thurston, "The Traveller's Guide to Cyprus", London, 1967, p. 162). Two Lusignan princesses, Anne and Charlotte, married into the Savoy family in the fifteenth century. Though the Parish Priest was not aware of this legend, it ties up with a persistent tradition first recorded in Turin in the sixteenth century.

Image is generally supposed to lie at the origin of the Byzantine Christ which began to appear about this time. Once it reached Byzantium, it gave rise to an art form all its own, the *Mandyllion*¹⁸ cloth image which portrayed the long haired, bearded Christ *without neck or shoulders* (Plates 7-11). No Orthodox church of note was complete without its *Mandyllion* on a special wall. In both Greece and Russia it was so popular that it decorated the battle standards of the imperial armies.

Eastern politics being so intermingled with theology, the Edessan Icon was inevitably dragged into both. Dobschütz and Runciman believe that it was used in the sixth century by the Orthodox clergy of the city to oppose the Monophysites who tended to deny the reality of Christ's human nature. The "self-portrait" of Christ was a convincing weapon against such views, despite the fact that later the Monophysites made sure of their own copy of the Image.

With the outbreak of Iconoclasm the Edessan Image came into its own theologically. For centuries the Fathers and theologians had been debating the lawfulness of portraying Christ in art, opponents of sacred images urging the binding force of the Mosaic prohibition of images. Now the full weight of the Byzantine machine was thrown against the Icons, which were destroyed wholesale and their defenders persecuted. But even Byzantium could not reach Edessa, since Syria was now in Saracen hands.

The Syrian, John of Damascus, the great champion of the Icons, was the first to introduce Edessa into the controversy. If Christ had sent Abgar his own "true likeness", that was the end of the matter. At the second Council of Nicea in 787, direct appeal was made to the Image of Edessa as proof of the validity of the Orthodox position, and the Iconoclast Bishops had no reply.

Once Iconoclasm was finally defeated in 845, Orthodox Constantinople could not long remain without possession of its most powerful weapon. In 843, the old emperor, Romanus Lacapenus, sent his army to invade Syria with special instructions to obtain the Image. Edessa was besieged. The city would be spared, if the Image was handed over in exchange for 200 Moslem hostages. After long negotiations and unsuccessful attempts by the citizens to pass off two copies as the real thing, the Byzantine army returned in triumph in 944. The Image, by now known as the *Mandyllion*, was given the welcome reserved to conquering generals. It was taken with great piety round the city walls, in through the Golden Gates to Santa Sophia, to be lodged finally in the imperial Chapel of the Bucoleon. Christ himself had entered his own city. Henceforth he would guard it against all attacks, as he had once guarded Edessa. On occasion his Image was carried round the walls as a defence measure, when the city was under siege.

The *Nature of the Edessan Image*.¹⁹ The evidence is conflicting and, as its accompanying legend develops, so its miraculous origin becomes more

¹⁸ The Greek word for the cloth image and its copies, *Mandyllion*, is derived from the Latin *Mantille* or *mantillium* (English mantle), via the Arabic *mandil*, plural *mandilid*. Runciman, 248.

firm. From the many authors who have written about it, four main theories emerge.

1. The *Doctrine of Addai*, the first to mention it, says that it was a hand-made portrait, the work of Ananias, but the author never saw it, since it had long since disappeared and did not emerge till long after his time.

2. For most authors it is an image on cloth—they often use the word *sinclon*—depicting our Lord's face, the imprint being produced miraculously.

3. According to one tradition it is something like a "figured shroud", with the whole of our Lord's body imprinted on it, though there is no suggestion that it was a shroud, since according to the legend Jesus gave the imprinted cloth to Ananias before the Passion. The earliest version of this tradition seems to be an insertion into an ancient Latin sermon translated from a Greek original known to Pope Stephen III (769). The important passage with insertions probably made after Pope Stephen's time (given here in italics) runs, "For the same mediator between God and men . . . stretched his whole body on a cloth, white as snow, on which the glorious image of the Lord's face and the length of His whole body was so divinely transformed that it was sufficient for those who could not see the Lord bodily in the flesh, to see the transfiguration made on the cloth."¹⁹ What secret lay behind this description, which seems to have been picked up by Ordericus Vitalis about 1142 and Gervase of Tilbury a little later, 1211-13? Both think of the Edessan Image as the imprint of the whole body on cloth. Although they tend to be gossip-mongers, their support of the sermon is of value, especially in view of the fourth even more remarkable theory.

4. This has been formulated by an Oxford history graduate, I. W. Wilson, with whom I have been in close correspondence. He has brought to light much new evidence relating to the nature of the Edessan Image, suggesting that it could be *one and the same* as our present-day Turin Shroud. He is in the course of preparing a fully-documented and profusely illustrated presentation of this thesis.

In particular he has commissioned the first full-length English translation of the only official history of the Edessan cloth, *De Imagine Edessena*. This document, written by a member of the court of the tenth century Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus, gives a unique and quite remarkable description of how, to the Byzantines, the image appeared to be composed, ". . . a moist secretion, without any colouring or artificial aid". Clearly this brings us very close to the same apparent characteristic of the

¹⁹ This sermon by an unknown author may have been written originally in Syriac, though idiomatic features incline Dobschütz to favour a Greek original. Parallel passages from Rufinus (fifth century), Pope Stephen's speech at the Lateran Synod of 769 and the Sermon show a close relationship. The Latin version of the Sermon and Pope Stephen seem to be dependent on Rufinus and the Greek original. The interpolation, perhaps due to news picked up by Crusaders, must have been made before 1142, when Ordericus Vitalis provides the terminus *ad quem*. On the other hand, since the text mentions the presence in Edessa of the Image, this may indicate insertion before 944, when the Image was removed to Byzantium.

Turin Shroud. The work also mentions the rarer tradition about the origin of the portrait perhaps in an effort to explain the presence of blood stains. According to this version Jesus wiped his face with the cloth in Gethsemane.

Wilson has also highlighted the importance of an incident recorded of the year 944, when the Emperor's sons had their special view of the Image, probably, thinks, Runciman, normally covered over by metal. To them it seemed blurred, was able the Emperor-to-be, the artistic Constantine Porphyrogenetus, was able to make out the portrait clearly. Something of the subtlety of the Turin Shroud's stain-image is again suggested here.

The difficulty of Wilson's thesis is the question whether the Image was of the head only, as it appears in art, or whether it did indeed bear a full-length, though secret, image of the whole body of Christ, a secret that escaped somehow to form the "full-length" tradition we have just examined. If Wilson can prove his case, we will not only have solved the mystery of the Turin Shroud's whereabouts during the first millennium, we will also have a most remarkable account of its by no means inconsiderable place in Byzantine history.

Until he can do so, it seems prudent to think of the Edessan Image and the Shroud as two distinct things, while noting the close connection between them. This link is indicated both by the "full-length" imprint tradition coupled with the finds released by Wilson, and by the evidence yet to be examined.

The "Holy Face" of Lucca.¹ Our gossip, Gervase of Tilbury, provides an intriguing and unique Western tradition in support of the belief that Christ left the imprint of His whole body on cloth: and to some extent we can check on Gervase here. This tradition he came across in Lucca. He says it was to be read in *Gestis de Vultu Lucano*. This work no longer exists, but part of it may have been Leobino's twelfth-century account of the finding and arrival of the "Holy Face" in Lucca. An addition to Leobino's *Relazione* gives much the same version as Gervase, but scholars are not agreed as to whether the addition was made before or after Gervase's time, so that Gervase himself may be its source. This is what he says: "There is another figure of the Lord expressed on cloth. . ." Our Lady and the other women, upbraided by Joseph of Arimathea for leaving the Lord naked on the cross, "bought a very clean cloth, so ample and extensive that it covered the whole body of the Crucified. And when the one hanging from the cross was laid down, there appeared the image of the whole body of the crucified expressed on the cloth; to the image and likeness thereof Nicodemus fashioned the Face of Lucca, in the midst of which he enclosed the cloth. . ." and other relics. Here we have a clear reference to a figured deposition cloth and the Shroud of Turin has often been thought of in these terms. If Gervase is the source of this development of the Luccan legend, he could have seen or heard of the "figured shroud" of Constantinople. If, however, he is telling the truth, then the tradition could be a good deal older and perhaps have a similar source to the Edessan "full-length" tradition.

In any case the "Holy Face" is in Lucca to bear him out in some degree (Plate 12). It is, in fact, a life-size crucifix internally hollowed out with space enough for relics and a large cloth. It is thought to be an eleventh-century work like others of the same type in Spain. Its legend goes back a long way and becomes confused with that of the Icon of Beyrouth, which was also attributed to Nicodemus. This curious legend tells how some Jews got possession of the Icon and decided to maltreat it as their ancestors had the Lord. They crowned its figure with thorns and when they pierced its side, blood and water came out. This miracle led to their conversion and to the collecting of blood from the image. Several places boast relics of "holy" blood from the Icon of Beyrouth.

What happened to the Icon of Edessa?² Several authors believe that it left Constantinople in the thirteenth century to be placed in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, where it vanished during the French Revolution.³ Both Genoa and Rome possess images which claim to be the Icon of Edessa, but their late origin seems to exclude them. The Genoese Icon⁴ according to Grabar, is a fourteenth-century work similar to that in the monastery of Spas Andrievsky in Moscow (Plate 11). The Roman Image is first mentioned by Baronius in the sixteenth century as having been brought to San Sylvestro in Capite in 1207.⁵

Failing certainty about the identity of the Edessan Image, we can imagine something of its appearance from the icons and mosaics inspired by it. Of these the *Mandylion* class is the most important. The oldest (Plates 7-10) are by Slav artists of the late twelfth century who could have seen it in Constantinople.⁶ These works belong to a large family of the utmost holiness and importance in the Orthodox religion. Not only do they hold a place of special honour among the Icons in Byzantine churches, thereby entering into the heart of the Liturgy, but on occasion the

²⁰ Riant, Dobschütz and Runciman. It is not clear how they determine this, since they do not distinguish the original, which they say went to Paris, from the other copies in Constantinople.

²¹ Brought to Genoa in the fourteenth century, this Icon is the main treasure of the Barnabite Church of the Armenians, where an illuminated colour photograph is on view. This is the nearest one can get to viewing a "Holy Face" except on rare feast days. With the exception of the Laon *Mandylion*, all "Holy Faces" are jealously guarded and hidden from view. The Genoese Icon was the subject of a superb colour reproduction and an inaccurate article by Conrad Allen in the *Weekend Telegraph* (December 1964).

²² The history of this Image is obscure and historians have entangled it with that of the Roman Veronica (cf. Dobschütz, 187). It was the glory of the English Church, San Sylvestro, until its recent transfer to the Vatican Museum. If professional examination and photographing of this and the Veronica Image (also in the Vatican Museum) were permitted, much confusion would be dispelled.

²³ The Holy Face of Laon (Plate 7) is the most easily accessible *Mandylion* in the West. Now in Laon Cathedral, it was sent by Jacques de Troyes, the future Pope Urban IV, to his sister Sibylle, Abbess of the Cistercian Convent at Montreuil-Dumes near Laon, in 1249. In his letter he asks the nuns to treasure the Icon as a "holy Veronica or His true image and likeness". He says he was given it by "holy men", whom Grabar thinks must have been Slav clergy, since this masterpiece has a Slav inscription (cf. Grabar for full history). Paul Vignon has made a detailed study of the Image, comparing every feature with the details of the mask of the Turin Shroud.

Mandyllion image is actually depicted on the altar instead of the Eucharistic elements with Christ himself celebrating the Sacred Mysteries and giving Communion to his apostles. Nothing could better illustrate the holiness of these Edessan inspired images than this replacement of the Real Presence by a *Mandyllion*.

Since the chief characteristic of the *Mandyllions* is their lack of neck and shoulders, it is probable that they derived this peculiarity from the Image of Edessa. Otherwise, they belong to the same family as the typical Christs of the normal Byzantine icons. Their faces are of the same type, as can be seen from a comparison between them (Plates 7-11) and the Early Portraits²⁴ (Plates 1-6).

As we have seen, this type of Christ appeared in the sixth century with the Edessan Image as the most famous, and perhaps the earliest, of the miraculous *Mandyllions*. Art historians associate this long-haired Christ with the forked beard and staring eyes with Syria rather than with Greece or Rome. None have been able to explain its origin nor its immediate acceptance as the true type as against the Greco-Roman Christ. Orly Paul Vignon and his followers have noticed certain peculiarities of the Syro-Byzantine Christs which, when taken in conjunction with their generally accepted characteristics, seem to pin-point their origin. These may be seen in the illustrations, especially Plates 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9. The forehead marks of these Christs, for instance, are real disfigurements, as if their artists had deliberately accentuated one Byzantine method of emphasising eyebrows till their portraits seem to be branded for identification purposes. Were they driven by some remote model that they could not escape?²⁵ The full weight of this iconographic thesis will appear when the documentary evidence is complete.

²⁴ Two early portraits merit careful study and photographing before they disappear completely. The first is a sixth century Byzantine fresco at the bottom of a disused well at Salamis, Cyprus. Cf. J. du Plat Taylor, "A Water Cistern with Byzantine Paintings, Salamis, Cyprus," *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XIII, 1933, No. 2, p. 102. The second is the Christ of the apse of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum. A seventh century fresco, it has an obvious relationship to the Shroud family—see text, *infra*. Several saints of this church bear the exaggerated forehead marks, especially St. Abbasyr. Cf. Grabar, "Byzantine Painting", Geneva, 1953, p. 80. This church was decorated by Pope John VII, who introduced the liturgical figured shrouds (*epitaphios*) to decorate the Veronica shrine in 705, see text, *infra*.

²⁵ Vignon, 123-85, 211-25. Wuenschel (2) 103f. The forehead marks are also found on portraits of Apostles, Saints and Emperors, but are rarely given to lesser mortals. The best example is the mosaic in Sancta Sophia, Istanbul, which shows the Emperors Constantine and Justinian presenting their gifts, Constantinople and Sancta Sophia, to the Virgin and Child. Across their foreheads are strong horizontal lines surmounting three sides of a square, more emphatic even than the branding of the line in keeping with his child's face. The iconographic evidence so far accumulated gives the impression that these marks are reserved for Christ and his close friends, just as Byzantine artists frequently give Apostles and Emperors the same cast of feature as the Christs depicted with them. This facial resemblance suggests a concern to express physically the spiritual likeness to Christ induced by sanctity and stressed by St. Paul (Rom. 8, 21) and John Damascene (PG 94, 1167), while living God²⁶ of Revelations 7, 3.

Liturgical "Figured Shrouds"—the *Epitaphioi*.⁴ During the second Council of Nicea, the Iconodules quoted Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, 582-602, in defence of the Icons. In his Apology against the Jews he says it was the custom of the faithful to express or figure the Passion of Christ on cloths (*sindons*) and mentions the various materials on which Christ was figured. He could be referring to the *Epitaphioi*, apparently the only extant material evidence of this custom. They are liturgical embroidered linens that were used during the Byzantine Liturgy, when they covered the gifts carried in at the "Great Entrance". Since the time of "slavery"—i.e. after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453—these "liturgical shrouds" have been used during the ceremony on Good Friday, known as the *Threnos*, when the people gather round the image of Christ on cloth to mourn his death.

These embroideries depict Christ, sometimes on his shroud or deposition cloth, sometimes on the stone of anointing or simply in the tomb. He is usually attended by angels and sometimes being mourned by his Mother. Plate 16 shows the central figure of the "Great Remeta", a Slav work from the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. These embroideries date from the twelfth century onwards, and until recently historians like Schlumberger and Millet, searching for their origin, were directing our attention to similar deposition scenes in other art forms, such as that on Stroganov's tenth or eleventh century reliquary or the eleventh century fresco in the apse of the church at Samari in Greece, whose figure reminded Millet of the Turin Shroud.

It was thought that all hope of tracing the *Epitaphioi* earlier was gone, when Müntz came across the manuscripts of Jaques Grimaldi's work on Veronica and her veil. He has left us drawings of two objects that existed in the treasury of Pope John VII in the old St Peter's (Plates 15 and 17). One was an actual *epitaphios* showing Christ on an oblong linen with the inscription, *Jesus Christus ho epitaphios threnos*. The other was the central figure of Pope John's umbella (canopy or baldachino) used to decorate the altar of St Veronica once a year when the relic was exposed. This was the Veronica shrine in the chapel of Our Lady, both of which were erected by order of Pope John, who reigned from 705 to 708. Grimaldi tells us that the scenes depicted on the umbella reproduced those of the mosaics decorating the chapel. The Christ of the umbella seems to be lying on the stone of anointing.

These two objects appear to take the *epitaphios* custom back to the early eighth century. Since the Pope who commissioned them was a Greek, there is now more evidence to support Miss Venetia Cottas who traced the *aer-epitaphios* to Simeon of Thessalonica and beyond him to the first processions of Christians on the feasts of the Passion and Ascension near their dead—originally the martyrs.

Both Pope John's embroidered cloths depict the dead Christ without any sign of suffering, as was normal in art until the later Middle Ages. No dead Christ is to be found on any crucifix before the tenth century and all signs of agony are toned down until the thirteenth. The interesting

point for our study is that these epitaphios portraits of the dead Christ were destined to adorn a Western *Mandyliion*, the Veronica veil. Was there in the mind of the Greek Pope John a direct liturgical connection between the figure of the dead Christ on cloth and the "true likeness"? If so, did it have the same kind of connection noted at Edessa and Lucrea?

*The Shroud of Constantinople.*²⁴ From the time of Constantine the Byzantine Emperors scoured the Empire for every known relic of Christ, our Lady and the saints. By the end of the seventh century most of the major relics of the Passion were in imperial hands. We do not know when the burial linens reached the capital, but they figure in Western lists of relics from 1092 onwards. Called variously "linen cloths" (*linteramina*), *sindon*, "the shroud which was over His head", "*le drap que l'en apele isne*", an Icelandic list distinguishes between the "linen bands with the shroud and the blood of Christ". It is not until 1201 that a definite clue is given as to the nature of these linens. In that year Nicholas Mesarites had to defend the relics of the Bucoleon chapel against a mob, to whom he made an impassioned speech, appealing to their reverence for the relics contained in the chapel. He says, "in this temple Christ rises again, and the shroud with the burial linens are the clear proof". He adds, "The burial lines of Christ: these are of linen, of cheap and easily obtainable material, still smelling fragrant of myrrh, defying decay, because they wrapped the mysterious, *naked* dead body after the Passion". That Nicholas saw them as a proof of the Resurrection and was so certain the body had been naked suggests that he knew more than he told the mob.

Three years later the shroud had been moved to the other imperial church, Our Lady of Blachernae. During their first entry into Constantinople as guests of the young Emperor, the Crusaders were overcome with admiration and envy at the spectacle of treasures and relics, the like of which they had never seen. Robert de Clari, the chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, was particularly interested in the shroud. He writes, "And among these others, there was another of the monasteries which was called Our Lady Saint Mary of Blachernae, where was the shroud (*li sydoines*), in which our Lord was wrapped, which was stretched straight up every Friday, so that one could well see on it the figure of our Lord (*on i poit bien veir le figure Nostre Seigneur*); nobody knew, neither Greek nor Frank, what became of this shroud (*chis sydoines*), when the town was taken". Was this perhaps the figured cloth connected with the Image of Edessa and the inspirational source of the liturgical "figured shrouds"? At any rate, once the city was sacked in 1204, it disappeared and has never been certainly identified, though many equate it with the Turin Shroud.

*Relics and Icons.*²⁵ The documentary evidence has now been presented. What does it reveal? The Jewish and early Christian shroud burials led to universal interpretation of the Gospel evidence in favour of a shroud burial of Christ. This was accompanied by widespread belief in the preservation of his burial linens. Once these begin to appear in the sixth century, East and West develop characteristic practices. While the East is preoccupied with the "true likeness", the West concentrates more on

"clean shrouds", though it does not ignore the "true likeness", especially from about 1200 onwards, when the Veronica veil became more universally popular.

We have seen how one tradition describes the Edessan Image as a cloth with a full-length imprint of Christ's body and how the *epitaphios*, when they first appear, have no other function than to adorn the Veronica "true likeness" brought from the East to Rome. In the case of Lucrea, the "Holy Face" is not only said to have been copied from the deposition shroud, but actually to have housed it. By the time the Edessan Image and the shroud reach Constantinople both are kept in the Bucoleon Chapel; in his address to the mob Nicholas Mesarites stresses the presence of both, almost mentioning them in the same breath. One cannot but notice that whenever a cloth bearing the full-length figure of Christ is in play, it is always connected with the "true likeness", which in Edessa becomes the most holy *Mandyliion*.

Perhaps the Veronica veil itself provides a curious clue to this relationship. The visible Icon was stolen in 1527, leaving only the underlying stained cloth, on which Mgr Wilpert could discover no trace of an image. Does this illustrate how even a would-be miraculous imprint—in reality at most a cloth relic—demands its accompanying icon, until it is forcibly removed?²⁶

Inevitably this relationship between the full-length portrait of the dead Christ on cloth and the "true likeness" seeks for an explanation in the Eastern preoccupation with portraits and icons. The Egyptian custom, both pagan and Christian, of placing portraits over the faces of their enshrouded dead naturally suggests this. They seem at times to have felt an imperative need to accompany the remains with living portraits of the deceased. Professor Grabar has made a detailed study of this practice in connection with the *martyria* of the Middle East.

The *martyria* were shrines that grew up round the burial places of martyrs, which had their own clergy to cater for the crowds of pilgrims. On their return home pilgrims took with them relics and *eulogia* or "blessings" (fruit, fir-cones, stones, cloth, etc.) sold by the clergy. Having touched the martyr's relics, these "blessings" acted as talismans with power to protect the pilgrim and cure the sick. From the fifth century religious pictures began to be painted on the reliquaries and containers of "blessings". In Egypt, Asia Minor, the Crimea, Syria and Palestine, objects from important shrines depicted the portraits of the martyrs. Since these images were inseparable from their containers, they shared in the holiness and power of their contents. It was a short step from this to the painting of icons proper that were put through the process known as "incubation". Laid against the martyr's shrine—as was also the custom with the sick seeking a cure—the "processed" icons became objects of veneration that

²⁶ For dependence of the Veronica story on the Abgar legend and the Veronica Image on the Turin Shroud, cf. M. Green, o.s.a., "Veronica and her veil", *Tablet*, 31 Dec., 1966; and Wuenschel (2) 104f.

amounted almost to worship. Now they were truly miraculous with the protective and healing powers of the saint himself.

This was not due simply to the transference of power as in the case of *elogia*. The likeness of the martyr made him actually present in the icon, a conception entirely foreign to Western thought and theology. This belief was not merely oriental superstition taken over from paganism, though doubtless that, combined with an element of magic, entered in. Behind it lay a whole theology of the very concept of the image, built up in the course of the Trinitarian and Christological controversies. For the Cappadocian Fathers God was the supreme artist painting man in His own image; Christ was as much the image of the Father (and therefore of the same nature) as the Emperor's image was of the Emperor. Indeed, the Emperor's image is the Emperor and prostration before it is not only allowable to a Christian, but a duty. Therefore, says St Basil, "Honour rendered to the image passes to the prototype". Christian neo-Platonism provided the philosophic basis for this "image concept".

Once the Icons came into their own, eclipsing relics in popular esteem, (till they flooded the market in the sixth and seventh centuries, provoking Iconoclastic reactions long before the Emperor backed the Iconoclasts) theologians were quick to defend them with the "image concept". In the eighth and ninth centuries, John Damascene, Theodore the Studite and the Fathers of second Nicaea were unscrupulous in using this purely theological idea in defence of image worship. In Byzantine thought there was hardly any distinction between the image and its prototype, so that an icon of Christ, and still more a *Mandylin* "true likeness", was almost Christ himself. "The divine Logos Himself becomes the Image of God, and even images of such an image participate in its divine character", writes Gerhart Ladner. He explains just how the theological "image concept" affected art—"It is from these two hallowed sources—Christian theology and anthropology on the one hand and Platonistic metaphysics on the other that orthodox Byzantine speculation derived the aura of awesome sacredness which surrounds its idea of the image. Such origins make it easier to understand the vital role of the doctrine of the Holy Images in Byzantine religiousness, and even the majesty and beauty of Byzantine art itself".

This "vital role of the Holy Images" was many sided. In the *martyria* themselves and, as a consequence, in all subsequent Greek and Slav churches, the predominant location and function of the relics passed to the Iconostasis, where Christ, the Virgin and Saints in a graded hierarchy both hid the Sacred Mysteries and acted as intermediaries. Those icons were especially holy that had a miraculous origin according to legend or tradition. This was above all true of Edessa, whose Image not only was given by the Lord himself according to the legend manufactured, Runciman suggests, by some Orthodox priest to cope with the Monophysites, but was regarded as the holiest of relics. The legend itself was

very ancient and grew out of a story that could well be true in its germ.²⁷ The historicity of the accompanying legend of each miraculously given icon was of little concern to the oriental mind, as long as it explained the icon's origin in suitably miraculous terms. In any case, the icon was the important thing. If it was based on a major relic, so much the better, but the icon and its multiple copies actually made Christ present. As John Damascene explained, "the Holy Spirit who filled the saints in their lifetime, resides after death in their souls, their bodies in the grave and in their images". The latter presence was the vital one for the worshipper, because "the contemplation of the Holy Images is a means of salvation".

In the case of Christ this was infinitely truer, since his image, whether original impression on cloth or copy at many removes, was the re-enactment of the Incarnation. This was never the case in the West, which constantly rejected the notion, sometimes with scorn—"the Greeks place almost the whole hope of their credulity in images"—says the *Libri Carolini*—and hardly advanced beyond the veneration of relics. The significance of this oriental stress on icons to the detriment of relics has an obvious bearing on the Shroud, which would suffer the eclipse of relics, unless its mysterious image came to be seen as a source of the "true likeness". Then it would assume enormous importance and enter the ranks of the "Holy Images" as the holiest (though most secret) of them all.

Turin's "figured shroud" multiplied.⁰ The first recorded Western copies of the Chambéry-Turin Shroud occur in the fourteenth century, the earliest known copyist being Albrecht Durer about 1516. Most of them went to Spain to connections of the Savoy family. Often "processed" by incubation in the ancient manner, they came to be regarded as the real thing by the local Spaniards and their clergy, but each is not only obviously a painted caricature, it usually carries its date of manufacture. A point of special interest is that the nakedness of the original gave the artists pause, since they often provide a loin cloth.

I suggest that we have here important clues as to the treatment of the same Shroud when it was in Byzantine hands, due allowance being made for the more sophisticated, icon obsessed, Byzantine mentality. *It is, after all, a major relic with its own in-built icon, but an icon that the Syro-Byzantine clergy could not possibly have exhibited as such during the long centuries of the Christological and Iconoclastic controversies.* What success would a naked, horribly wounded, mysteriously blurred, dead Christ have enjoyed in those troubled centuries? Or later when the triumphant Holy

²⁷ Of the Abgar legend, Runciman writes: "Historians should not be so much victims to their scepticism as to dismiss a legend as false, unless they can suggest how it was that the false legend arose . . . It is easy to show that the story of Abgar and Jesus as we now have it is untrue, that the letters contain phrases from the Gospels and are framed according to the dictates of a later theology. But that does not necessarily invalidate the tradition on which the story was based; and while we may respect the anxious incredulity that characterises modern believers, we should recognise that there is no reason why King Abgar V should not have suffered from the religious curiosity fashionable at that time, and should not have heard of the Messiah and sent to learn more", p. 239.

Images were the very centre of religion? That negative, bleeding death mask would have been an embarrassment to orthodox and heretics alike.

The solution was to have its face copied and turned into living portraits of Christ—*Mandyliions*, the Pantocrator or Christ the Teacher. All the evidence suggests that this was first done in Edessa, the only place whose "true likeness" was thought of in terms of a full-length portrait of Christ. Among the half dozen or so "true likenesses" which suddenly appeared in the sixth century, only the Edessan Image was universally accepted as the authentic *acheiropoiētos*—image of miraculous origin "not made by hand". Paul Vignon, Delage's assistant, suggested this long ago but evidence has since come to light to bring out the full implications of his intuition.

The *Epitaphioi* show that when the Byzantines wanted to reproduce the whole figure of Christ on cloth, they contented themselves with restrained, non-suffering liturgical shrouds. Their artistic conventions would not permit a realistic copy of the Shroud, until their whole attitude to the suffering Christ had changed, by which time it was no longer in their possession. The "Great Remeta" (Plate 16) proves that even as late as 1400 their practice never approached the realism of the West.

If the archives of Edessa and Constantinople had not been so thoroughly destroyed or lost, we might be able to tie down this "icon-shroud" hypothesis with more documentary evidence. In default of this, Vignon has highlighted evidence of another kind—the hundreds of icons and *Mandyliions* that strongly indicate the presence of the Shroud in the East from the sixth century. *This is the earliest we can expect to hear of it in view of a long sequence of events and universal attitudes hostile to its disclosure and compelling its guardians to keep it a close secret: the Jewish horror of "impure" burial linens combined with the Jewish and Roman persecutions; the Christian shrinking from crucifixion and its detailed portrayal in art, an attitude that lasted many centuries; and the continuous quarrels about sacred images, both affecting and affected by the Christological controversies, from the earliest times to the final defeat of Iconoclasm.*

The late B. G. Sandhurst called these images of Christ "the Silent Witnesses" which steadfastly direct our attention to the Shroud. How do they do this? *They point silently with the strange anomalies or disfigurements with which their artists felt compelled to adorn them.* All these anomalies are to be found on the Turin Shroud (Plate 13), where they were produced either by the wounds and bruises of the Man of the Shroud or by faults in the linen accentuated by the stains of the imprint.

None of the artists reproduce all the anomalies, but all feel bound to show some. This may have been due to the Byzantine canons of art, their books of instruction laying down strict rules of convention to be observed by religious artists. The Byzantine strait-jacket, though it did not rob artists of their individual inspiration, led to centuries of copying accepted models, of which Edessa was the most notable. In the first instance, probably a very few artists actually saw the death mask of the Shroud,

but they seem to have reproduced its anomalies and mistakes so faithfully that subsequent artists felt bound to copy them. A careful study of the characteristics and anomalies common to the *Mandyliions* (Plates 7-11), Byzantine Christs (Plates 1-6) and the Shroud, listed on Plate 13, will reveal what Vignon, Wuenschel and Sandhurst mean when they say that *the Turin Shroud is the prototype of the Byzantine Christ and indeed the more remote origin of his traditional likeness in every school of art down to the present day.*

A most striking confirmation of this theory can be experienced by the reader. Let him show a *positive* photograph of the Face of the Shroud to someone who has never seen it nor heard of the Shroud, and ask him whose image it is. He will get only one answer. The only explanation I can see for this recurrent phenomenon is that the ancient artists who copied the *negative* of the Shroud and gave us our traditional Christ, did their job so well that when the camera revealed the secret of its mysterious mask the resemblance was obvious. They did, up to a point, transpose negative details, e.g. the nose, so dark in the Shroud image, becomes of natural tone in the pictures. Other points, however, were not recognised, e.g. the dark-coloured closed eyelids are copied as wide open eyes; the drawing of the mouth is badly affected by the lack of understanding just where the lights and darks are inverted in the Shroud image.

A special feature of this iconographic evidence is the evident likeness of the isolated head of the Shroud to the *Mandyliions*. With long hair, staring eyes and absence of neck, it almost seems to be their negative. Could this similarity, coupled with the anomalies common to both, give us the moral certainty that the Shroud was the unique *acheiropoiētos*, kept, as Vignon believed, in some monastery easily accessible to the theologians and artists of Edessa? For centuries it was a holy, but mysterious and embarrassing relic; suddenly, under pressure from the Monophysites, the Orthodox Clergy realise the role that could be played by a copy of the Face of the Shroud, if turned into a living portrait of Christ. The climate was right in the sixth century with the decline of relics in favour of icons. The Abgar legend with Ananias' role as painter was to hand. All that had to be done was to have a copy made on cloth, "process" it by incubation, give it a plausible miraculous origin and the desired weapon was there to confound the Monophysites, put the Persians to flight and become in course of time the most holy *Mandyliion*. *Have we here then the unique source of all "true likenesses", Veronicas, Epitaphioi and the "figured shrouds" of the West?*

* * *

Of course, this reconstruction might have to be modified when Ian Wilson presents his abundant and impressive new evidence. Meanwhile this is the most that the evidence available to me will stand and none of it is in conflict with his attractive theory that the Turin Shroud was the Image of Edessa.

Conclusion. Even without such identification I believe that we have already sufficient evidence to indicate beyond reasonable doubt that, whatever its whereabouts, the Turin Shroud was in existence at least from the sixth century on, and by implication dates therefrom back to the time of Christ. I submit that this would appear eminently acceptable to the ordinary canons of the history of art, were it not for the fact that the Shroud of Turin is so unusual a document. As was the case with Delage's medico-legal evidence, so it is, or has been, with the Shroud's historical and artistic claims. What he wrote of the reaction of his scientific colleagues in 1902, applies with equal force to the attitude prevailing in some circles today. "If they [the hypotheses that he had put before the Academy of Sciences] have not received from certain people the welcome they deserved, the sole reason is that there has been unfairly grafted on to this scientific question a religious issue which has excited men's minds and misled right reason. If not Christ but Sargon or Achilles or one of the Pharaohs had been involved, no one would have any objection. I consider Christ as an historical person, and I see no reason why people should be scandalised if there exists a material trace of his existence." Perhaps Delage would allow us to add: Nor should we be surprised if strangely compelling artistic witnesses and certain documents urge us to look again at the baffling claims of that material trace.

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ICON: IMAGE OF THE DIVINE

AN ESSAY ON THE UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIAN ICONS

by

DESMOND SEWARD

*How is it that you, my friend, don't know that all the things we
can see are but shadows, mere reflections of things we cannot see.*

Soloviev.¹

In the West we have long fostered a tradition of the veneration of relics. The bodies and clothes of the very early martyrs were venerated from motives of filial piety, our first evidence coming from the *martyrium polycarpi* (c. 157); for St Polycarp's relics were described as "more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold". Our altars must contain relics and our churches are full of relics. Great abbeys and cathedrals have been built up around prized relics that caused them to become pilgrim centres. Some of the finest churches in the West—for example the Sainte Chapelle, which provides a sanctuary for what is supposed as a thorn from the Lord's crown—have been built merely as massive reliquaries.

The East has long fostered a tradition of the veneration of icons, images of the unseen God, his saints and his ways. There have been feuds centuries long between iconodules and iconoclasts, and tracts of theology have been written on the significance of icons. Moreover they have proven some of the crowning achievements of the whole of the art of painting, notably the gracious *Troisno* of Andrei Rublev. Of him, and he stands in place of all the really great icon painters, it was written in his lifetime that he and his companion, Danila Chorny, "turned their thoughts towards the immaterial glory of God, away from transitory things towards the eternal exemplars of Christ the Lord, of his Immaculate Mother and of the Saints. They gazed ever more upwards towards their wonderful and divine icons, full of joy and spiritual peace".

The icon tradition of the East and the relic tradition of the West meet at a single crowning point, the figured shroud of the Lord in the tomb. If the Turin Shroud is what it strongly claims to be, it is then the first relic of Christendom and the icon beyond all power of icon painters. It stands at the apex of all tangible veneration (the consecrated host apart) in Christendom, East and West.

The author (E. 54) went to Cambridge as a history scholar. He has since written two books which are now with publishers, one on the Templar and Hospitaller knights, the other on Henry IV of France. He has long made a sympathetic study of the Eastern Orthodox Church and its rites. He wishes to thank Archpriest Sergii Hackel of the Moscow Patriarchate for his help in this paper, and for permission to quote from his father's book (see n. 6). A lecturer in Russian at the School of European Studies, Sussex University, Fr Hackel produced the film on icons which was shown in 1968 and 1969 on BBC 2.

ALTHOUGH Eastern Christians possess sacraments and dogmas no less valid than those of the West their theology and devotional life are different: this is vividly illustrated by the cult of icons. There is no surer path to an interest in the Orthodox Church than by attempting to understand these strange and poignant likenesses of "the world beyond time and space"

¹ Vladimir Soloviev (1853-1900), writer, ecumenist and mystic—see N. Zernov, "Three Russian Prophets", London, 1944, and D. Stremoukhov, "Vladimir Soloviev et son oeuvre messianique", Paris, 1935.

which, as a Russian theologian has written, "are inspired by the vision of a world transfigured and redeemed, the inner heart of Eastern Orthodoxy".² Indeed, to own an icon and to live with it properly is to live with Orthodoxy.

Icon (*εικων*) is the Greek for "image" or "likeness" so in its broadest sense the term applies to any object which portrays some aspect of Divine reality. Thus, as the Byzantine mystic St Symeon the New Theologian wrote a thousand years ago, an Orthodox church is "an image of the Divine Church, representing what is on earth, in the heavens and beyond the heavens. The narthex corresponds to the earth, the nave to the heavens, the sanctuary to that which is higher than the heavens".³ The iconostasis or screen between them is the veil separating the two worlds, while the altar is the throne of God and the Bible is the Word. Equally, mosaics and murals are icons,⁴ though not statues which are regarded as a pagan survival. However, in a second, more restricted sense the term signifies those portable two-dimensional paintings of Christ and his Saints, including archangels and Old Testament prophets, which so much resemble the Primitives of the medieval West. Holy Russia perfected them, giving the iconostasis its final form; so though this article is applicable to all icons, Russian, Greek, Serbian, Roumanian or Georgian, it deals primarily with those of Russia.

The technique which creates them should be spiritual as well as material. A wooden panel is faced with linen and lined with a ground of powdered alabaster or chalk on which an outline is sketched with a brush, then traced with a stylus. Raw egg tempora—yolk thinned with rye beer—is used for the actual painting and gold work is done with leaf gold. Finally it is coated with a protective film of *olipha*—boiled linseed oil—giving a golden tinge which darkens with age. Often icons were encased in a jewelled silver *riza* (cover) with gold haloes, cloisonné enamels and openings to show the face or other key features. Naturally, many of the cruder icons are produced quickly, even en masse, but ideally they should only be painted after long prayer for "the icon . . . is religious contemplation re-clothed in images, colours and forms . . . truly to attain to this art of the icon an artist and a theologian must be united in the same person".⁵ Again, "icon painting is not merely an art; it is more a sacred act, a divine service performed usually by monks; and fasting, prayer, confession and communion is the preparation for their work. . . . The formal asceticism of the icons consequently reflects the ascetic attitude of the icon painters".⁶ A modern icon painter, Leonid Ouspensky, writes that "for a true

² N. Zernov, "Eastern Christendom", Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961.

³ Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022), Abbot of the St Mamas Monastery at Constantinople.

⁴ V. Lazarev, "Old Russian Murals and Mosaics", Phaidon Press, 1966.

⁵ S. Bulgakov, "The Orthodox Church", London, 1935.

⁶ A. Hackel, "The Icon", Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1954 (transl. S. Hackel), p. 7.

iconographer creation is the way of asceticism and prayer, that is essentially a monastic way⁷ and even claims that his task has much in common with that of a priest officiating. Fra Angelico, the fifteenth century Florentine master, seems to have known something of Orthodox methods for he believed that to paint Christ one must become like him as much as possible, and would spend many days in retreat before taking up his brush. The Orthodox icon seeks to make those who look on it see the Divine light, that light which transformed Christ on Mount Thabor before his Apostles,⁸ and as such is a prayer. Only when it has been blessed is it truly an icon.

Paradoxically, these paintings originated in the pagan world for they derive from the wax-on-wood funeral portraits on Romano-Egyptian mummy-cases and the earliest surviving collection of icons, that of the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai,⁹ includes sixth century examples painted with this technique. Likewise, their aesthetics are unmistakably Neoplatonist; with their Patristic background they could scarcely be otherwise, being filled with an overwhelming sense of immanence and of ideal forms existing in the mind of God. As with every artist who seeks ultimate reality iconographers distrust naturalism. For the icon must not be confused with the person it depicts, because it reflects the saint's likeness not as he was in this world but as he is in the next—transfigured by grace. As such it brings the souls of those who look upon it into the presence of its subject. Therefore "by the blessing of the icon of Christ a mystical meeting of the faithful and Christ is made possible"¹⁰ so, understandably, an icon is no less revered than the Scriptures or the Cross. However, it is not worshipped but venerated, venerated for what it portrays and as an instrument of revelation.

The basis of this theology was crystallised by the Iconoclast controversy, an eighth century reaction against "idolatry", possibly inspired by Islamic influence, which rejected any attempt to portray the Divine. St John Damascene (c. 675-749) led the defence, pouring forth a flow of golden epistles and proclaiming "I do not worship matter but I worship the Creator of matter who for my sake became material and deigned to dwell in matter, who through matter effected my salvation".¹¹ Indeed, St Basil the Great had already written in the fourth century "that which words transmit through the ear painting shows through the image" and last in 787 at Nicea the Seventh Council of the Church—attended by Western as well as Eastern Christians for Orthodoxy then included Catholics—declared "iconography is by no means an invention of painters but is on the contrary an established law and tradition of the Catholic Church". One must remember that adherence to the Seven Councils is one of the definitions of Orthodoxy.

⁷ L. Ouspensky and V. Lossky, "The Meaning of Icons", Boston, 1952.

⁸ Matthew, 17, 1-9.

⁹ Until very recently the monastery of St Catherine constituted an independent or "autocephalous" Church in itself.

¹⁰ Bulgakov.

¹¹ St John Damascene, "On Icons" in "Patrologia Graeca" ed. Migne.

The land of Rus became Christian in the tenth century, converted from Constantinople. Few icons survived the terrible Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. Many of these early Russian icons had, in fact, been of Greek manufacture including the famous Lady of Vladimir but the Slavonic temperament, moulded by a background of forest, steppe and marsh, eventually transformed the art into something essentially Russian exorcising "the last traces of Classical sensuousness"; icons of the "Bugodoritza" (*Theotokos* or God Bearer) are noted for a peculiarly indigenous melancholy and that haunting "umilenie" or loving-kindness so characteristic of Russian Orthodoxy (though oddly enough best known from the Byzantine Virgin of Vladimir). By the end of the thirteenth century regional schools were developing, recognisable by their distinctive treatment or special palette; Novgorod was noted for its bold outline and "glowing tone", aggressive vermilions and yellows; Pskov for glowing white faces and a combination of green with orange red; and Tver for its delicacy and turquoise tints.¹² Novgorod and the "Northern School" remained influential throughout the great period of icon painting until the seventeenth century decline. The rise of Moscow under the Kalita princes which began in the fourteenth century was adorned by a new school of iconography; such painters as Theophanes the Greek, Master Dionisy (1440-1508) and his sons, and above all St Andrei Rublev, brought the icon to its greatest perfection.

Originally the iconostasis had been a low row of columns or railings between chancel and sanctuary, a curtain being drawn during the most sacred parts of the Liturgy. By the time Orthodoxy reached Russia Byzantium had evolved a simple, triptychal iconostasis portraying the "Deisis".¹³ Then in the fourteenth century Russia introduced a tiered iconostasis and finally Theophanes the Greek and St Andrei Rublev, working together at the Blagoveshchensky (Annunciation) Cathedral in Moscow, raised its height so that it completely hid the sanctuary from the congregation, an innovation which did not spread to other Orthodox lands until the seventeenth or even eighteenth centuries. This screen's central "Royal Doors" often depict Christ and the Virgin and Child, with the Last Supper on the architrave above them, while flanking are rows of Old and New Testament saints and archangels besides such scenes as the Dormition or Falling Asleep of Our Lady (corresponding to the Western Assumption).

St Andrei Rublev (c. 1360-1430) is generally admitted to be the greatest of all icon painters, a monk from the Trinity monastery at the place now called Zagorsk, founded by St Sergii of Radonezh (who is a saint for Catholics too, by special edict of the Holy See). His masterpiece is the Old Testament Trinity which remained at Zagorsk for centuries. It takes for its model Abraham's vision of three angels under the oak of Mamre

¹² It is hoped that the first exhibition devoted to the Tver school will be held in Moscow this year.

¹³ Christ flanked by Our Lady and St John who are interceding for mankind.

and was painted between 1408 and 1425 in honour of St Sergii who had been Andrei's abbot and who must have encouraged his talent. Unlike contemporary Western representations of the Trinity, such as the English alabasters, St Andrei's is a profound theological statement, and there are several interpretations of which Victor Lazarev's is particularly convincing: "The angels, seated at a low table, form such a closely knit group that it is impossible not to interpret it as embodying the ideal of peace and harmony. The whole composition revolves around the chalice. The angels on the left and in the centre are blessing it. Their attitude is the key which enables us to interpret the complex symbolism of the picture. The angel in the centre represents Christ. Thoughtful, with head bent to the left, he blesses the chalice, thus indicating that he is prepared to offer himself as a sacrifice, God the Father (the angel on the left), whose face expresses profound grief, is encouraging him in his sublime gesture. The angel on the right represents the power of the Holy Ghost. . ."¹⁴

In fact, every icon is a theological statement. Those "depicting the mutual gestures of loving-kindness between the Mother of God and the Babe are called 'of Loving-kindness'. In contrast with the solemn and severe majesty of the icons of the Mother of God as *Hodigitria* (ἡ Ὁδηγήτρια) which emphasise the Divinity of the Child-Christ, icons of Loving-kindness are full of a natural human feeling—of mother-love and tenderness. Here, more than in the *Hodigitria* is expressed the human aspect of Divine Motherhood and Incarnation; they underline the fact that the humanity of the Mother of God is also the humanity of her Son from whom she is inseparable through his birth. . ."¹⁵

The iconographic vision is sufficiently flexible to portray landscapes as well as persons. In the late sixteenth century a painter immortalised the great monastery founded by St Zossima and St Savatii on the island of Solovetsk in the White Sea; "The sea surrounds the holy island. The monastery that rises up from it, with its walls, its churches and chapels, its cupolas and bell-towers, is under the immediate protection of Christ who Himself appears in the sky. The two saints stand on either side of the monastery, and lift up their eyes and hands to God to ask His blessing on their work. The saints and their monastery may appear to exist in time and space; yet this is nonetheless the City of God, part of the cosmos reposing in Him. So the world, which lies in sin, is transfigured; and itself becomes the image—the icon—of the Heavenly Kingdom."¹⁶

Orthodox reverence for icons is almost sacramental, something ineffably greater than the West's respect for "Holy Pictures", and a Russian Christian's first action on entering a church is to light a candle before an icon. Dr Zernov writes that they are "the vision of a celestial unchangeable world. . . The artists . . . saw the earth as incorporated into the divine

¹⁴ V. Lazareff (Lazarev), "Russian Icons", UNESCO, 1962, pp. 20-21. Cf. Edmond Voordeckers, "Rublev's 'Old Testament Trinity'", *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, No. 2-3, 1961.

¹⁵ Ouspensky and Lossky.

¹⁶ Hackel, p. 17.

realm and their angels formed a link between time and eternity. . . The icons forcibly remind the Orthodox of the reality of God's kingdom. They represent victorious saints whose changed faces and bodies reveal the side of human personality capable of sharing divine life". Again they are a testimony to Divine intervention in the trials of this world. Thus a priest blessing an icon prays: "Hear me, O Lord, from Thy Holy abode and from the throne of Thy majesty graciously send down Thy blessing on this image. Through the sprinkling of holy water bless it and sanctify it. Give it strength to heal sickness; and to shield from evil and from all the machinations of the Devil those who come to it to honour Thee and seek Thy protection. Hearken unto their prayer; may it always be acceptable to Thee"¹⁷. Indeed, icons have miraculous powers usually attributed to relics, and in medieval times Russian armies carried them into battle—the Lady of Vladimir had a most impressive list of victories against the Teutonic Knights and the Golden Horde—constructing portable iconostases to celebrate the Liturgy on campaign. They entered into every aspect of Russian life, even to curing cattle, until the Revolution. Not only every house, whether a palace or a cabin, but every court room, assembly hall, barracks, restaurant and railway station possessed its own icon, often a copy of some famous Wonder Working exemplar. In 1949 the Moscow Patriarchate's Calendar listed 250 Wonder Working icons, including many of our Lady with such names as Our Lady of Unexpected Joy, Our Lady the Unfading Flower and Our Lady Consoler of My Grief.

An icon should preside over every Russian home. "A dwelling without icons (Bulgakov tells us) often strikes an Orthodox as empty. In travelling, when he visits strange places, the Orthodox sometimes carries an icon before which he says his prayers. . . The icon gives the real feeling of the Presence of God." Believers know that through the eyes of an icon look the saint's own eyes from Heaven. At confession according to the Slavonic use "the Spiritual Father leads the person who desires to confess before the Icon of Our Lord Jesus Christ"¹⁸. In private houses icons were placed in an oratory or in the eastern corner of a room, the "beautiful corner", where "a small altar lamp burned day and night. . . a Russian entering his home or visiting a friend would first of all bow low before the icons and make the sign of the cross, before greeting his family or host. The icons symbolised God's presence; they were a constant reminder of the supernatural life, and appealed to morality and conscience. It is difficult to lie, to cheat, to be brutal in front of an icon. . . There is in Russian a proverbial expression: before committing a foul deed, 'carry out the saints', meaning the holy icons"¹⁹.

Devout Orthodox are profoundly conscious of the nearness of the unseen world which permeates the whole earth for, as St John Damascene pointed out, man "is the connecting link between visible and invisible

¹⁷ Hackel, p. 7.

¹⁸ "A Manual of Eastern Orthodox Prayers", London, 1945, p. 57.

¹⁹ H. Iswolsky, "Christ in Russia", *The World's Work*, 1962.

nature". In the West the vision of those seventeenth century Anglican mystics who had read deep in the Greek Fathers was strikingly similar, especially that of Thomas Traherne (c. 1637-74) though his preoccupation was with nature rather than art. Heaven was very close to him too, separated only by "that thin Skin". In "Shadows in the Water" he wrote:

"Thus did I by the Water's brink
Another world beneath me think
... O Ye that stand upon the Brink
Whom I so near me through the Chink
With Wonder See: What Faces there,
Whose Feet, whose Bodies, do ye wear?"

and elsewhere says "A Film kept off that stood between". Nowhere does Orthodoxy feel Traherne's "Film" to be tauter, thinner or more transparent than in the presence of icons. In John Damascene's words "the icon is a song of triumph, and a revelation, an enduring monument to the victory of saints and disgrace of demons".

These painted boards also epitomise two essentially Orthodox attitudes, the approach to God through beauty; and "the recognition of the potential holiness of matter", Fyodor Dostoyevsky's link between the Mother of God and Mother Earth, which has been called "the fundamental conviction of the Russian religious mind"; matter is "conceived as spirit bearing, as a living and responsive partner in the great drama of the fall and the redemption".²⁰ Just what this can mean to a believer is poignantly conveyed by a remarkable passage in Dostoyevsky's terrible but uplifting novel, "The Devils": "The Mother of God is great mother earth, and therein lies a great joy for men. And every earthly sorrow and every earthly tear is a joy for us; and when you have filled the earth under you with your tears a foot deep, you will rejoice at everything at once". At the same time "beauty is holiness and its radiation and the participation of the creature in Divine beauty".²¹ Bulgakov could therefore write "Orthodoxy is first of all the love of beauty. It must be inspired by the vision of heavenly glory and this contemplation is the essence of Orthodoxy. . . . Russian asceticism aims at manifesting God's Kingdom on earth. It does not deny this world, but embraces it. Its symbol is the Icon of the Mother of God blessing the sheaves on the cornfield". Man indeed is "the spokesman of creation". So St Gregory Palamas²² was able to write "By the honour of the body created in the likeness of God man is higher than the angels", Nicolas Cabasilas²³ that "Christ by His beauty overcame the

²⁰ N. Zernov, "The Russian Religious Renaissance of the Twentieth Century", Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963.

²¹ Ouspensky and Lossky.

²² St Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), Archbishop of Thessalonika, last of the great Greek Fathers and supreme exponent of hesychast mysticism—"the prayer of quiet". Steven Runciman, "The Great Church in Captivity", p. 140-54 and passim; Camb. Med. Hist. IV, part II, p. 200-4.

²³ Nicolas Cabasilas (fl. 1345-63), author of a "Commentary on the Divine Liturgy" commended by the Council of Trent. Runciman, p. 154-5; CMH, ib., p. 204-5, 223.

world" and, in our century, Berydaev²⁴ that "the human face is the greatest victory of spirit over material chaos".

Several iconographers were locally canonised like Rublev himself and his friend Daniil Cherny ("the Black");²⁵ in 1551 the Moscow Council of a Hundred Chapters held up St Andrei as a model for all icon painters. Nonetheless, even outstanding artists shared workshops with other iconographers, workshops maintained by monastic centres such as Zagorsk. There were also court ateliers at the princes' capitals, including Moscow. And icons varied enormously in quality; not only were they needed for a multitude of churches but there was also a domestic demand and few houses—save those of boyars or rich merchants—could afford anything other than crude mass-produced copies. For "in Russia, more than in medieval Europe, the icon had to replace books; in its conventional, hieratic images it had to relate graphically episodes from the Holy Scriptures, the lives of the saints, the meaning of holidays; in fact, all that might interest the pious people in the domain of religion. Thus the icon became the Bible for the poor".²⁶

The painting, if not the veneration, of icons was bound to decline under the impact of Western influences. In the sixteenth century the Russian Church sought to protect its liturgical heritage, including icons, by such means as the Council of a Hundred Chapters which together with the "Illuminated Original" laid down established patterns from which iconographers were forbidden to stray. Yet despite—or perhaps because of—this strait jacket there was a last flowering. From about 1580 until 1621 two merchant princes, the Stroganov brothers, maintained a famous workshop on their estates near Perm which employed and trained many artists, among them Chirin, Ushakov and the Savins, who evolved their own style, largely traditional but surreptitiously influenced by Western techniques, a combination of brilliant colour and minutely detailed design with a preference for allegorical subjects such as "the Church Militant".²⁷ Some of these iconographers were also employed by Tsar Boris Godunov and strongly influenced those "Royal Icon Painters" who were later attached to the Palace of Arms (or Imperial Household). These seventeenth century icons, often in multiple panels, have been compared to Persian miniatures or to the medieval manuscripts of Western Europe; "Technical skill is the prime appeal made by the Stroganov icons"—the same writer credits them with a fin-de-siècle touch of decadence.²⁸

Metal icons were a curious seventeenth century innovation, small brass, bronze or, rarely, silver copies cast in low relief, and usually picked out in blue and white enamel, somewhat clumsy yet possessing a naïve charm.²⁹ (This is the origin of modern Russian "crucifixes" which,

²⁴ Nicolas Berydaev (1874-1948), ex-Marxist and existentialist theologian.

²⁵ So far as is known only iconography justifies this local canonisation.

²⁶ P. Miliukov, "Outlines of Russian Culture", Philadelphia, 1942.

²⁷ J. Stuart, "The Stroganov Icons" in *Apollo*, October, 1967.

²⁸ T. Talbot Rice, "Russian Art", London, 1949.

²⁹ T. Talbot Rice, "Russian Icons", London, 1963.

pace the Soviet government, bore Nicholas II's monogram until very recently; at his coronation in 1896 the Tsar had given *all* Russian priests the privilege of wearing a pectoral cross.) Such icons are never in deep relief as three-dimensional religious art is so far still unacceptable to Orthodoxy. Indeed, metal crosses are often without even a low relief figure though richly ornamented, while wooden ones, which may be much earlier, have an icon of the Crucifixion painted or carved on them and never bear a figure of Our Lord.

Inevitably the cultural revolution of Peter the Great doomed iconography, already debased by the influence of foreign artists working in Moscow. Naturalistic representations of the traditional patterns exuding sentimentality were mechanically executed by hereditary craftsmen in what became a trade instead of an art. Icon painting survived as a moribund religious exercise in some monasteries and a few, a very few, works of beauty continued to be produced though hardly comparable to those of the ancient Masters from whom they were copied and which were still venerated, but not for aesthetic merit.

The achievement of Rublev and countless other iconographers bears comparison with anything produced by the medieval West, though as Victor Lazarev points out (p. 24) it is a mistake to study Russian art within the framework of Renaissance realism because the Renaissance never reached Russia. Yet until recently icons were regarded as barbarous daubs. Even the Russians who venerated them remained blind to their beauty and only in the last decades of the nineteenth century when experts discovered how to remove smoke blackened *olpha* and revealed the amazing colours underneath did icons begin to be re-appreciated. During the early years of this century, in Russia a period of both cultural and religious ferment,²⁰ art historians realised their splendour and in 1913 they at last achieved full recognition at the Exhibition of Russian Medieval Art in Moscow. The Soviet government takes an interest in any national treasure and as the Church has surrendered most, though not all, of its greatest icons to the state, many, magnificently restored by the State Central Restoration Workshops, may be seen in the galleries of the U.S.S.R.—at Moscow the Tretyakov Gallery houses the Lady of Vladimir and St Andrei's Trinity—while a film has been made about Rublev. Though the West possesses few icons of importance²¹ they have nonetheless become a popular craze in recent years; their value has doubled, models and interior decorators collect them and shop windows in Bond Street, Park Avenue or the rue de la Paix display richly jewelled specimens while the Temple Gallery in London specialises in them. But icons seem ill at ease away from a devotional setting, losing much of their magic, and are best seen in churches; there are excellent examples at the Moscow Patriarchate's London Cathedral in Ennismore Gardens.

²⁰ Zernov, "The Russian Religious Renaissance".

²¹ In 1936 an icon museum was opened at Recklingshausen near Düsseldorf: see "The new icon museum in Western Germany" by R. Hare in the *Connoisseur*, October, 1963.

There has also been a revival of traditional techniques, including spiritual preparation, as at Zagorsk where, with many others, a splendid icon of St Sergii has been painted in our own times.²² A Russian iconographer who will only paint for those who genuinely need icons for devotional purposes is working in Paris. However, the cheapest icons available are manufactured by the Benedictine Abbey of Chevetogne in Belgium, a dual rite (Roman and Byzantine) Catholic monastery dedicated to reunion between East and West. Besides casting metal icons its workshop has adapted the oleographs of nineteenth century peasant Russia; photographic reproductions are mounted on wood and varnished—these are widely accepted as substitutes for painted icons. An increasing number of secular painters work to satisfy a growing demand but their products seldom possess that indefinable quality which distinguishes an icon from a portrait.

The West never shared the East's taste for theological controversy, was never exposed to Islamic influence, never suffered an Iconoclast movement; admittedly the Reformed Churches, that "other side of the Roman coin", reacted against "idolatry" but since the nineteenth century they have made increasing use of every art form in their own liturgies. Catholicism was spared the need to define or limit the expression of the Divine in art and therefore did not experience the explosive energy generated by channelling all religious art into two dimensions. Certainly the West had "icons" of its own when it was still under Byzantine cultural influence; many Catholics revere the ancient painting of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in the church of St Alfonso at Rome which is, in fact, an Italo-Byzantine icon probably executed in Venice. But there was no necessity for them to become a tradition of the Church.

Is there now? One of the great lay theologians of nineteenth century Russia, General Kireev, wrote that "the greatest misfortune that befell mankind was, without doubt, the schism between Rome and the Ecumenical Church". Since Kireev's time there have been new schisms, of another sort but no less terrible, which require an equally miraculous cure. Everyone, even the most agnostic, may be oddly affected by icons; sometimes emancipated proletarians are caught furtively removing their caps before the glories of the Tretyakov while in the West organisation man or pot hazed drop-outs can find them just as potent. To a world which distrusts naturalistic art as much as it dreads sentimentality or false emotion, a world which changes ever more rapidly and irrevocably, whose inhabitants find it hard to believe in anything permanent, let alone eternal, and who suspect they will lose *all* faith, religious, political or humanist, the icon speaks with strange authority. One should recall those words of the abbot at Zagorsk when, so long ago, he asked Andrei Rublev to paint the Trinity that St Sergii's monks "might in contemplation of it overcome their fear of a world torn by hate".²³

²² This is illustrated in Ouspensky and Lossky.

²³ Hackel, p. 9.

MIXED MARRIAGES

THE NEED TO RELAX CHURCH LAW

by

SWITHUN McLOUGHLIN, O.S.B.

The reasoning of the canon lawyers over the centuries has been the subject of increasing doubt in recent years, and the new ecumenical climate has only served to exacerbate these doubts. Now it is rumoured that the Pope has been spending his summer months at Castelgandolfo studying the problems surrounding mixed marriages, with a view to changes in the Church's teaching and discipline. He has already made some minor changes in an instruction issued in March 1966. The following year he declared that marriages between Latin-rite and Eastern Orthodox partners carried out in an Orthodox church are valid. By the time this study reaches publication, the Curia may have announced further and more radical changes in matters of mixed marriages.

This study is a development of a paper read to the summer 1968 Monastic Ecumenical Meeting held at Ampleforth. In the discussion which followed, it was the general view of the gathering that legal codes, ecclesiastical promises and "the millstone of Roman law" managed only to force consciences and to suggest to the non-Catholic world that the Catholic Church had perpetrated at the moment of marriage an immoral sleight of hand. It was the general view that the married couple should be the subject of the pastoral care of the ministers of both Churches before the marriage, at the marriage and thereafter; and that they should be allowed in peace in their own homes to hammer out a common mind in Christ, reaching a mutual decision in conscience as to how they should bring up their children. It was suggested by some that the children should share the mutual love and therefore the mutual church-going of the parents, communicating as they wished in both Churches until they were old enough to settle to a decision: this in itself would be a sign of the unity of the family and of the convergent unity of Christendom.

The author is a monk of Douai, professed in 1955. He read mathematics at Cambridge with honours in his Part III paper. In 1965 he completed a doctorate of theology at Louvain, his dissertation being entitled "The Synoptic Theory of Xavier Léon-Dufour, S.J.": this led to a public disputation with the Jesuit, who was forced to concede his criticisms. A shortened version of the thesis has been published in French in E.T.L., 1968. The author has since been teaching theology at Douai, and has been lecturing on the subject of this paper.

This subject was last dealt with in the *JOURNAL* of Spring 1968 (p. 41-45), when the Revd John Williams of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge wrote on "Mixed Marriages: a Wrong to be Righted and a Bridge to be Built?"

As is well known, when a Roman Catholic marries a Christian of another denomination, there is usually some heartburning somewhere over the religious arrangements. This is a natural result of the Catholic attitude in the matter, which is to demand that all children must be brought up in the Roman faith. Further, the Church teaches it as a part of its faith that unless the marriage is celebrated before the Catholic priest, it is a ceremony of no value or effect, and the parties afterwards are as much "living in sin" as if the marriage had not taken place. (Should the good reader feel this really is a bit too hard to believe, then he will require much dexterity to escape a charge of heresy!)¹ Finally, the Catholic priest has instructions

¹ Trent, Session 24, dogmatic canon 4 on marriage, Denzinger, 1804-974. "If anyone says the Church cannot institute impediments which prevent a marriage taking place, or that it has erred in instituting them, let him be anathema."

to refuse to marry any couple, unless they give the promise that the children will all be Catholics. Thus a Catholic who might be inclined to make a concession over some or all of the children to his non-Catholic partner is forced in the most violent possible way not to do so; unless he will give the required promises the priest won't assist, and so he is altogether unable to get married. These laws at present result in about half the mixed marriages in Europe being invalid.²

How, it might be asked, can the Church have legislated so? Marriage is a sacrament, and it is not the priest but the two parties themselves who are the ministers or essential functionaries of this sacrament: who has taken the responsibility of interfering with the sacrament in this way? The Catholic would refer an enquirer to the 1918 Code of Canon Law,³ but this gives the 1908 Roman decree *Ne Temere* as its authority:⁴ indeed, both of these documents appeal back to the Ecumenical Council of Trent (1545-63), thus covering themselves with the highest authority known in the Catholic Church. How, then, did Trent come to pass such an extraordinary piece of legislation? Before relating that dramatic tale, it is necessary first to set the scene.

THE PAGAN MARRIAGE

The early Romans seized their wives by force. Their law, when established, offered various forms of making a marriage, including a ceremony of handing over of the girl by her family to the family of the boy, or alternatively simply living together for a whole year, as Cicero relates. Consent of the spouses to be man and wife was as yet *insufficient* to make a marriage. Shortly afterwards, however, in the reign of Augustus (when Christ was born) it was clearly established that what made a marriage was the consent of the partners to take each other as man and wife. The ancient and solemn ceremony of the handing over of the bride and the procession into the family home of the husband was falling into disrepute, precisely because it did not place this consent of the partners themselves sufficiently in the centre. Concubinage (living together, as Cicero knew it) began to be protected by law as a second class of marriage. But it was the *Betrothal*, or engagement to marry, which was to be consummated at a later date, which the young people now preferred as the external form, owing to the beauty of its ceremonies and their own more central part. This fully legal way of making a marriage soon so outclassed all others that scarcely any other form of marriage is found in the late Roman Empire, at least among people who could afford some ceremonies.

The man would be twenty-five years old, the girl in the first flower of her beauty at sixteen (these are average figures, but three-quarters of

² *One in Christ* 5, 1969, p. 209 for further references.

³ Canons 1061, 1064, 1094, 1099.

⁴ *Ne temere inirentur clandestina coniugia*, Sacred Congregation of the Council (the body charged to interpret the Council of Trent), 27th July 1907, *Acta Pontificia* 5, 1907, pp. 335-339; more conveniently in *Codicis Iuris Canonici Fontes* vol 6, no. 4340.

the marriages were within six years of these ages). Consent is first exchanged, and then the man places the ring on the finger of the bride (first century onwards); he gives her some object of symbolic value to be the first fruits of the new contract (the Franks in the fifth century first used pieces of money). The hands of the bride and bridegroom are then joined (a very ancient custom, Jewish, Greek and Roman): finally from the fourth century of our era the engagement is then sealed with an official kiss, which counts as the beginning of the consummation of the marriage. (If, after the kiss, the engagement is broken, Constantine legislated that the girl should only return half the presents she had received.⁵)

When Pope Nicholas wrote to the Bulgarians in 866, he described marriage as he knew it. He begins with the secular Roman Betrothal, as just explained, and adds what follows when the parties are brought afterwards to church.⁶ When they arrive, they first present their offerings to God, then receive the Blessing, and are clothed jointly with the Nuptial Veil. Finally, they leave the church with crowns on their heads (a Christian custom from the third century) and are then sent off to lead their joint life. The kiss is missing, and also the joining of hands, but what he describes is clearly the secular Betrothal, followed by a blessing in church.

THE HAYSTACK MARRIAGE

What happens to people who do not go through these ceremonies, but simply consent privately to marry each other? Later Roman law recognised such unions if they lasted a year. The first Council of Toledo (400) is quite happy with such a situation, allowing such spouses to communicate normally, whereas Pope Nicholas is extraordinarily explicit: it is not a sin to omit even the whole of the ceremonies he describes, nor does it affect the marriage in any way, for (he continues) according to the (Roman) law consent of the spouses alone is sufficient. As for a pagan who marries a wife by consent alone and without ceremonies, Popes Innocent I and Celestine are adamant: if such a man becomes a Christian and succeeds in marrying again with engagement ceremony and the Church's blessing, he is nevertheless to be sent back to his former wife. All these authorities concur therefore with Roman law and with Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, the Council of Ephesus, and Isidore of Seville: the Church blessing is good but marriage stands without it.⁷

Four centuries later Thomas Aquinas is a good deal nearer the Haystack. Nuptials for him are the official form of marriage, celebrated by

⁵ The information in this paragraph is summarised from the incredibly erudite essay of Dom Henri Leclercq, *Marriage*, DACL.

⁶ *Responsa ad consulta bulgarorum* cap. 3 in Hardoin, *Concilia* vol 5, p. 354; Migne PL 119, col 980; G. H. Joyce, *Christian Marriage* 2nd edition, London, 1948, p. 609. Nicholas replies to the very mixed queries of this recently converted people, to whom he is sending their first bishop. He violently opposes the torturing of criminals to make them confess, allows not only women but men, too, to wear underpants, strongly disapproves of sexual intercourse during Lent, and much more detail.

⁷ This paragraph again relies on Leclercq, cols 1872-73.

solemn ceremonies in church. But they are not necessary to form a marriage; the simple agreement by the two parties without witnesses to take each other as man and wife, though always gravely sinful, is sufficient. This is called Consent by words about the present time. Consent by words about the future time or Betrothal is a promise to marry at a later date, and again requires no witnesses. This last is not by itself enough to make a marriage: indeed, the Church can dissolve it for various reasons, including mutual consent. But this engagement can be consummated, and becomes a marriage by an act of sexual intercourse, if the partners intend thus to become man and wife. Further, Church law *always presumes such an intention*, unless there is some evidence to justify suspicion to the contrary, as when a nobleman is betrothed to a servant. A marriage made in any of these ways is a sacrament, concludes Saint Thomas, nor is one more of a sacrament than another.⁸

This discipline is identical with that of the first ten centuries, and with that known to the sixteenth century Council of Trent, including automatic marriage when an engaged couple has sexual intercourse. In this case, says the Archbishop of Lanciano at the Council, from non-consent to marriage the Church makes the consent. At least four other bishops mention this route to marriage, three to castigate it and one to say that it is worth retaining.⁹ Thus from the beginning till the sixteenth century Church discipline is constant: the consent of the spouses is the sole essential element in making a marriage: this consent may be public or private as can be, without altering its result.

Such a discipline may have worked in the early Church, where the Christians were zealous, or in the Roman system, where the family was strong: in either case secret marriages would be rare. But the Wyf of Bath supposes other conditions: that fourteenth century worthy's boast was that not only had she had five husbands, but she had had them at *church door* (i.e., with full ceremonies, which took place at the door of the church). Anyone could have five husbands, she suggests: with secret marriages it was impossible to know who was married to whom or whether they had been married before, and it was possible to go through several unions. But she had been more thorough and managed to do this officially. But the situation with children had become altogether intolerable: bored with life or irritated with their parents, a boy of fourteen and a girl of twelve could climb into a haystack and, under the influence of their emotion, either take each other as man and wife or just promise they would in the future. A boy and a girl from our fourth form today might do this. And then, if

⁸ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* III Supplement, q. 42 art 1 ad 1; q. 43 art 1 resp and art 3; q. 44 art 2 ad 2 and art 3; q. 45 art 3; q. 46 art 1 ad 1 and art 2. The Latin names are *Nuptiae*, *Consensus per verba de presenti*, *Consensus per verba de futuro*, *Sponsalia*.

⁹ Unless otherwise specified, all statements about Trent are derived directly from the official Acts (summarising speeches, directions from the legate, written suggestions from the bishops, etc.): *Concilium Tridentinum* (Göres Geselschaft), vol 9 edited by Stephen Eshes, hereinafter *Eshes*. Here see *Eshes*, pp. 633, 651, 666, 668, 728. References for a paragraph will often be given together at the end.

they had sexual intercourse, the Church maintained, against all the violent protests of the parents, that theirs was a lifelong and unbreakable union, which excluded any other marriage later and required the boy to support the girl for life. Such a marriage could be made on the spur of the moment. This type of union was of frequent occurrence, and led to quarrels, lawsuits, fights, and even murders; when it did not lead to these it led to a lifetime of adultery later on under the disguise of a subsequent official ceremony. The adolescents in a medieval village must have lived in a very limited world: such goings on will have been one of the few readily obtainable sources of excitement.

TROUBLE AT TRENT

These secret marriages were a grave social evil. Luther, Bucer, Calvin and Erasmus had therefore denounced such marriages: their solution was to hold that no marriage was real unless the parents had given their permission. This was enough to prevent ill-considered unions, or those made on the spur of the moment. Now, when the Council of Trent met to deal both with current abuses and these reformers who had jumped the gun, it began by noting that these men were heresiarchs (including Erasmus!), and it reacted smartly by declaring heretical anyone who said marriages were invalid before the Church so decided. Nevertheless, the Council felt obliged to take similar action itself. Nine of the fifteen official theologians deputed to examine the matter opined that the Council could, if it wished, make invalid any future secret marriages, and as a result the famous decree *Tametsi* was laid before the bishops. This decree in its final form sets aside and makes null any marriage not celebrated before the parish priest (or his delegate) and two witnesses, and as explained above this decree is the Church's authority for its power to make null any mixed marriage that is not so celebrated.¹⁰

Trent, it should be explained, was an ecumenical council, one of the twenty-one so qualified by Catholics since the time of Christ. The Church is assured that it will not fail, and so those councils which were ecumenical or representing the whole Church of their time could not fail, it is argued, to preserve true doctrine. Otherwise the Church would have failed. Ecumenical councils, therefore, are infallible when they claim to be settling important truths about faith or morals. Also infallible is the Pope when he claims to be doing the same thing (Vatican I, an ecumenical council, said so). Then the third and last and most obscure source of infallible teaching is the common doctrine taught everywhere by the Church for a long time.¹¹

¹⁰ *Essays*, pp. 603, 604, 969, 380-408.

¹¹ The difficulty of applying this last criterion is amply shown in the controversy over *Humanae Vitae*. To rely on the encyclical alone to oblige those with difficulties to submit is unsound, as is rapidly revealed by asking the crucial question "Can a non-infallible papal document be mistaken?" Logic alone compels an affirmative answer. Thus Fr Leonard Whatmore, the scholarly English defender of the position of encyclical, relies not so much on the encyclical itself as on the fact that the

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It is therefore to the decree *Tametsi* of a duly approved ecumenical council (the highest authority in the Catholic Church) that those are to be directed who have difficulty in accepting that the Church may invalidate a mixed marriage outside a Catholic church. Trent took here a revolutionary decision in a dogmatic matter: nothing similar had been known since the Church began. One would hope such a decision would be clearly justified, and passed with the quasi-unanimity necessary to quench all scruples.

Nothing could be further from the truth. So great was the episcopal dissension that the decree and its attendant matter was submitted to the debate of the bishops no less than five times before it was finally passed in the formal session. In these debates 200 bishops made about 1,000 speeches lasting a total of 150 hours, of which time a little more than half was spent on arguing about *Tametsi*, often up till midnight. (All bishops were required to speak every time at Trent, even if only briefly: there was no paper voting but the totals were added from these speeches. That does not explain why the average bishop's speeches totalled 45 minutes!)

Three schools of thought appeared, of approximately equal strength. A well informed school opposed *Tametsi* altogether: the marriage, they argued, always has belonged only to the couple involved, the Church's role is merely to give a blessing. Since the Church's part is peripheral, when it removes its approval no great alteration can be made in what is taking place, hence the proposed invalidation is a revolutionary innovation beyond the power of the Church. A second group argued that the Church

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Church has taught the same doctrine everywhere and for a long time. But for how long a time must the Church teach something before it is guaranteed infallible? From the fifth to the nineteenth century the Church regularly taught that no one other than Catholics could be saved: so Augustine, Athanasian Creed, Gregory the Great, Fourth Lateran (ecumenical), Florence (ecumenical): Gregory XVI, *Summi Iugiter* (1832 encyclical) = Acta Gregorii XVI vol 1, no. 138, quotes these authorities and repeats their teaching "as a dogma of Faith". After the embarrassing incident of 1821 (Columbus) an exception was often made for those who had not heard of the Catholic Church. Vatican II has, of course, radically reversed all such thinking. Thus the third criterion for infallibility (long-standing and universal teaching of the Church) is of little use in settling controverted issues, for in practice it has to be qualified in ways not yet fully worked out.

Non-Catholics will find the discussion of infallibility given up to this point extremely classical, and it is true that at present this teaching is under still further pressure from at least three directions. The Church used to be imagined as handing on truth from one generation to the next. In such a picture a serious error would break the chain and the Church would fail. But today it is seen first as the community the Spirit is gathering and animating now. If the Spirit is present an error need not be disastrous, and will soon be corrected when men again become docile to the Spirit. Thus temporary errors become possible: indeed, historically they seem to have occurred. It might not therefore be possible to regard a ruling of a council as eternal without further thought. Secondly, now it is clear that the Church far exceeds the bounds of the Roman communion, councils like Trent were less ecumenical than was supposed, and therefore less absolute in their authority. Thirdly, the writing is on the wall. The young generation today cannot be persuaded to interest themselves in a ruling given by a group of bishops 400 years ago: indeed it is almost impossible to interest them in Vatican II. They are full of ideals, but have no respect for anything other than the truth whose pull they can feel in their hearts. Even people like Cardinal Suenens, who put their faith in Vatican II, are living in a different world!

did possess control over the validity of the marriage, instancing her claim to regulate the validity of a contract within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and observing that confession was agreed to be invalid unless the priest was authorised by the Church. A third and eloquent group did not seem interested in whether the proposed changes were possible: all these wanted was that they should be speedily enacted. They stressed the scandals, the hatreds and the subsequent false unions that sprang from such practices, and demanded instant action to put a stop to them. The most zealous reforming note was perhaps that sounded by the Bishop of Larino, who argued that Frenchmen, Spaniards, and the people of Modena did not allow their daughters to be kissed or to speak with men, and proposed that the penalty for kissing should be excommunication or suchlike.¹²

As the bishops struggled with each other, ding-dong chains of argument emerged, as the following example will show. (The wording is idealised.)

1. *The Archbishop of Granada*: The Church can invalidate marriages, for even secular rulers can do so.

2. *The Bishop of Ypres*: The secular ruler can invalidate any human contract, but not marriage, which is a divine contract that no one can annul.

3. *The Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo*: Yes, but the divine element presupposes a human contract, and it is this that the Church can invalidate.

4. *The Bishop of Calvi*: That human contract is only logically prior to the sacrament; in time the two are completely simultaneous and so you cannot separate the contract from the sacrament.

5. *Stephen, Abbot of Our Lady of Graces Abbey*: Yes, but as soon as a man starts to plan a secret marriage he sins, and so on the basis of this sin, which certainly exists before the sacrament, the Church can declare him criminal with respect to marriage and so incapable of marrying.

6. *The Archbishop of Rossano*: It is only one who is guilty of a crime who can be declared incapable. But mere planning of a crime does not make a criminal: the crime might never take place. In the planning stage, therefore, no perpetual change has yet taken place in the suitability of the subject for marriage, and it is this which is needed for invalidation. Therefore it is necessary to wait for the crime itself before invalidating, and then it is too late, for the deed is done.¹³

It ought not to be thought that the successive elements of this closely reasoned discussion followed one another immediately. The above series extends across the first fifty hours of debate and into the second reading: it was therefore regularly *straddled* with broadsides of grape from bishops who did not see that it was in progress. Many other briefer lines of thought

¹² *Eshes*, p. 717. Larinensis asked for poena, here glossed slightly as "excommunication or suchlike".

¹³ *Eshes*, pp. 664, 669, 668, 671, 678, 692. For Stephen the Acts wrongly give "Euticius".

were followed, but the reader may judge for himself from the following analysis of the speeches what overall result was worked on opinion by this marathon discussion.

	Approve <i>Tametsi</i>	Refuse <i>Tametsi</i>	Don't Know	Total
Vote 1	138	59	6	203
Vote 6	137	56	7	200

Ten of the opposition present at first were absent at last, but eight new arrivals meant that changes of personnel lost the opposition just two votes. Thus the real change in the opposition after many modifications of the text and 150 hours' debate is not a reduction by three votes, but a reduction by one vote.¹⁴

Thus between a quarter and a third of the bishops (28%) could not be brought to agree. (If only those speakers are counted who offer reasons as to whether the Church can so legislate, this proportion rises further. In the first debate 31 argued for the possibility, whereas 21 argued against it: this represents a 40% opposition.) To make matters still more acute, in the final and formal vote only one of the four legates supported it, one of the three patriarchs, and one of the two other cardinals present.¹⁵ Finally, five bishops insisted on having their written protest inscribed in the official Acts of the Council. These make sad reading. The Archbishop of Reggio, having pointed out some practical difficulties, adds "There are other reasons which bind me in conscience to decline the decree, as I have always testified and I now by this document testify, and I wish this to be put in the Acts of the Council". The Archbishop of Rossano wrote for an earlier debate that the decree was "a wound to the whole structure of canon law. I confess that this decree becomes more difficult for me every day", he continued. "Suppose someone marries a girl by exchange of free consents in the presence of her two parents, who give the dowry. The marriage is consummated, children are born, they live in conjugal love till death. According to this decree that is no marriage nor has it the quality of a sacrament, because there was not three witnesses. This seems so hard to me that I cannot believe it will ever happen in the Church of God." The Patriarch of Venice left it to the conscience of its proposers "to weigh well by what right they propose this dogma, which is against the true and Catholic dogma that consent alone makes a marriage".

Nor did the closing debates pass off without incident on both sides. In the formal vote the Bishop of Budua protested that now the Holy Spirit had been invoked, all these protests and exceptions were quite out of order, and he demanded and required that the synod reject them. In the previous debate, on the other hand, that zealous watchdog the Bishop of Gerona protested that unless more time for debate was given the Council was null.

¹⁴ Three voters said they would defer to the majority, but three others cancelled this by moving in the other direction. The single vote difference is because while two "No" went to "Don't know", only one did the reverse.

¹⁵ Morone, the legate president, alone among these abstained: the others voted negatively.

This was too much for the legate, Morone, who violently interjected that anyone who dared to protest against the whole synod was not worthy to sit in it, for he spoke scandalously. Taking the hint, a number of the bishops thereon angrily cried out *ejiciatur*, which might be rendered "Chuck 'im out".¹⁶ Nevertheless the decree was passed, with 28% opposition, and confirmed by the Pope implicitly when afterwards he confirmed indiscriminately all the decrees of the Council. Henceforth all marriages without the parish priest and two witnesses were utterly null.¹⁷

THE COUNCIL LOSES CONTROL

Every change in the laws results in some disturbance, warned the the Bishop of Ypres. For *Tametsi* this is an understatement: for three and a half centuries the canonists had constantly to struggle to prevent confusion. Couples must be married, the Council said, before their own parish priest.¹⁸ Obvious questions immediately arise, and during the next two centuries the canonists were obliged to work out the bracketed answers:¹⁹

1. What if the couple do not come from the same parish? [Either priest will do.]
2. Is temporary residence in a parish enough, and if so how temporary? [Six months suffices.]
3. What about couples one or both of whom have no fixed abode? [Any parish priest will do.]
4. What about Catholics in Protestant countries, or elsewhere when a priest cannot be had? [Two witnesses suffice.]
5. What about the marriages of non-Catholics, since these do not appear before the R.C. priest? [All invalid!]
6. What about mixed marriages? [Not yet discussed.]

The final decree does nothing to settle any of these questions, and yet the very validity of the marriages concerned was put at risk. The bishops, it seems, were so preoccupied with deciding whether they *could* pass the decree that quite insufficient attention was devoted to the likely consequences if in fact it was passed.

¹⁶ *Eheses*, pp. 973, 694, 902, 962. It is interesting to note the bishop of Gerona's solution for nuns who will not reform: *ejiciantur!* (p. 1058).

¹⁷ At Ampleforth it was suggested that when the Church calls a marriage invalid she does not really mean it is not a marriage, but only that she refuses to recognise it as such. Four bishops, indeed, tried to get the decree changed precisely in that direction, but they failed; the Patriarch of Venice, Verallus, Rossano, Citta del Castello. *Eheses*, pp. 688, 644, 690, 781, 669. Whether the Church could really invalidate such marriages was the whole subject of these anguished debates, and the answer was affirmative, complete with anathema for dissenters. The official teaching is therefore plain. Further, the Church in allowing those who have made an "invalid" marriage to marry again makes it clear she takes invalidity in the traditional strong sense.

¹⁸ He is systematically considered in the singular.

¹⁹ These answers were established more or less rapidly in the two centuries following Trent. Alphonsus Liguori, *Theologia Moralit* (last edition of 1785), offers them under nos. 1087, 1091, 1079, 1105, with very complete authorities. But imagine the scruples which must have arisen before these answers became general!

THE 30-DAY DELAY

Disorder beyond the remedies of the canonists arose, however, from the special provisions about the date when *Tametsi* would take effect. Since this decree was vitally important to ordinary people, the Bishop of Laecodogna suggested in the first discussion that it be read out in church frequently: the Bishop of Geneva thought once a year sufficient. The next draft therefore concluded with a sentence ordering bishops to publish it once a month. In the next discussion the Bishop of Lerida asked for a definite starting date, such as the first of May. When *Tametsi* again appeared, bishops were ordered to publish it as soon as possible, and it was to come into force in each parish 30 days after publication in that parish. No one knew when the Council would end or its decrees be confirmed by the Pope, and it therefore seems that this rule was an ingenious device to fix a definite starting day for the new law, which would work automatically whenever the decree took on force. The next draft was as the third, but *all* bishops were ordered to comply. These provisions aroused no further comment, and it was in this form that the decree was finally passed.

This time clause later became an escape route for bishops in non-Catholic countries, where priests were few and in hiding. Scarcely any bishops from such countries were present, or they would obviously have supported the four bishops who requested exemptive legislation for regions where priests were few. No one in their senses would want to make the presence of the priest essential in places where there were no priests. Yet no hearing was given to these pleas. Nevertheless, by using this 30-day provision, bishops in non-Catholic countries were able later to avoid *Tametsi* simply by declining to publish it to their subjects, and they used this loophole nearly everywhere. Thus in some countries the decree came into force at once, in others diocese by diocese, in others not at all.²⁰

What about non-Catholic marriages, it was asked after the Council had gone home? The situation was clear: these people were outside the true Church, which alone controlled the sacraments, and they had no special title to exemption; thus they were bound by *Tametsi* wherever Catholics were so bound. Since they did not appear before the Catholic priest, all their marriages in such regions were worthless. This view

²⁰ Thus a new batch of queries. If someone crossed to the neighbouring diocese where *Tametsi* was not promulgated, either for another good reason or even deliberately to defeat the law, and got married there without a priest, was his marriage valid? Not if he went there specially to avoid the law, unless he really took up residence, replied Urban VIII in 1627: *Bullarium Romanum* vol 6, no. 236. And how about a marriage where one party lives in a place where *Tametsi* has been promulgated, and the other not? Follow the place the marriage ceremony is in, replied Clement XIII (15th May 1767) to the Archbishop of Malines. At a time when a Catholic priest would not assist at and thereby made impossible certain marriages at home, one can see the point of wandering abroad in this fashion.

prevailed almost without challenge for 200 years.²¹ Meanwhile, mixed marriages were simply forbidden.

CARDINAL PALLAVICINO'S VIEW (this section is difficult!)

Pietro Storza Pallavicino wrote the first well-informed history of Trent, a century after the Council had concluded.²² With him starts the particular train of misunderstanding about *Tametsi* which has led to current mixed marriage rules. Early drafts of this decree had said that couples needed their parents' consent till the boy was eighteen and the girl sixteen. Laynez, the general of the Jesuits, had attacked this age limit, urging, it seems, that since the young wouldn't wait for sex till that age, to pass such a decree would result in many falling into fornication. Pallavicino, commenting on the 30-day rule, profits from experience since Trent to note that among its good effects was the solution of the difficulty mentioned by Laynez and others, that many heretics and Catholic nations wouldn't obey it, their marriages would be invalid, and so infinite adulteries would be committed. The decree, says Pallavicino, just wouldn't be promulgated to them. Clearly he has taken Laynez' remark (italicised above) to mean, not that the late age limit, but that the decree as a whole would result in many falling into fornication, and this could be expanded to mean heretics and disobedient Catholic nations, whose marriages would become invalid. Now no one at Trent was interested in heretics' marriages, but the Acts do contain the above remark of Laynez that could be glossed to father such a concern on "Laynez and others". Pallavicino does not, in fact, say the 30-day rule was inserted to exclude heretical countries; he merely says that one of its good effects was that they did, in fact, escape, and Laynez was concerned to find some escape.

Now a century later again, Pope Benedict XIV read Pallavicino. He gives accurate reference to that writer's well turned phrases, and takes them to mean that the escape route offered by the 30-day rule was deliberately planned by Trent. Without being able to attribute this intention to Trent, Pallavicino is leaning as far as he can towards crediting Trent with everything possible, and it is scarcely surprising that Benedict understood as he did. He now set himself to broadcast what Pallavicino had trapped him into. Trent never thought of non-Catholic marriages; Benedict is now about to make an official papal declaration as to just how it legislated for them.

The above reconstruction is perhaps probable. It would be well to underpin it, as can indeed be done. The genesis of the 30-day rule was

²¹ Liguori in 1785 (no. 1105) follows this view. For all his erudition he is only able to quote one earlier canonist (Laymann) who holds the opposite. Tanner and Juénin may not be added (as Joyce does) to the list, for they were theologians, persons till recently of less weight than canonists. Nor may the canonist Van Espen be included, for he ended up suspended for his schismatical activities, and would not therefore have weight.

²² P. S. Pallavicino, *istoria del Concilio di Trento*, Rome, 3 vols, 1656-57. Here see lib. 22; cap 4 no. 25 and cap 8 no. 10.

explained above from the Acts: it was simply an attempt to fix a reasonable but definite starting time for the new law. Could it also have been intended to allow heretics to escape through introducing *distinctions of place*, though the speeches make no mention of any such intention? Careful study shows that no such consideration was present in the mind of anyone present. For if it was, how explain that although nothing similar had been heard before, after the insertion of the 30-day rule into the decree the Archbishop of Rossano, the English Bishop Thomas Goldwell of St Asaph, and the Bishops of Città del Castello and Ypres all urged that some *distinction of place* should be introduced, in view of the difficulty of obtaining a priest in heretical regions?²³ Further, the fourth draft, instead of ordering bishops to publish the decree, orders all bishops to do so, and this addition (which would destroy the purpose of the 30-day rule if it was to exempt heretical regions) passed through the subsequent three debates without exciting a single comment.²⁴

THE DECLARATIO BENEDICTINA

Prescinding from Pallavicino, it is therefore possible to say that Trent had no thought of legislating for other than Catholic marriages, whereas Benedict XIV has, with papal authority, spread the opposite report among the drafters of our legislation. Benedict himself tells us the story. He had always been very dissatisfied with the view that wherever *Tametsi* was promulgated all non-Catholic marriages were worthless, although it was the majority view among the canonists. Belgium and Holland gave him his opportunity: these countries had "gone Protestant" after they had received *Tametsi*, and the Bishop of Ypres now asked for guidance. Despite some secret doubts, it seems, the Pope chose to adopt his reading of Pallavicino's account, and was thus able to argue that Trent by including the 30-day rule had wished to exempt Protestants from its rules.²⁵ In

²³ *Esses*, pp. 741, 762, 973, 903, 976, 904, 976.

²⁴ Now that unchristian quarrels have subsided, it might be allowed to point out that Pallavicino was a Jesuit demonstrably (and probably of necessity) zealous in the defence of his order, and he has here read very credible foresight into Laynez. The latter's part in *Tametsi* as given by Joyce, *Christian Marriage*, pp. 126-27, needs demythologising. Laynez opposed the decree as beyond the power of the Church, probably circulated among the bishops an anonymous tract against it, and absented himself from the last debate establishing it for the official session. Nor did he have this special foresight over the 30-day rule. *Esses*, pp. 740-41, 699 n. 1, 964.

²⁵ Benedictus XIV, *De synodo dioecessana*, Rome, 1748, lib. 6, cap. 6 gives the Pope's autobiographical account of his views. Putting forward that Trent did not intend to include Protestants (no. 12) he includes a parenthesis "(si fides habenda Card. Pallavicino in *historia Conc.* lib. 22 cap. 8 no. 10 ut certe habenda est)". He obviously has doubts about Pallavicino, which he raises only to repress in the same sentence. Although he published this book as pope, he concludes the preface by saying it has no greater authority than that of any other private doctor. However, on the matter before us, he inserted his reasons for judgment into a later official judgment: *Singulari nobis consolationi* (letter to Henry, Cardinal Duke of York), Bullarium Benedicti XIV vol 3, No. 2 § 17. It can be shown, he there says, that Trent did not intend *Tametsi* to cover non-Catholic or mixed marriages. Much more clearly he states in his official reply to the Archbishop of Goa that the 30-day rule was to exempt Protestants; *Paucis adhuc hebdomadis*, appendix 2 in (some copies of) Bullarium Benedicti XIV, vol 4.

1741 he therefore published his famous *Declaratio Benedictina*, saying that for Belgium and Holland non-Catholic and mixed marriages were valid even if *Tametsi* were not obeyed, though disobedient Catholics sinned very gravely.²⁶ But this interpretation, he says, does not apply to the surrounding Catholic countries. No ecumenical motive inspired Benedict, but rather a thoroughly practical Catholic question: could a Protestant on becoming a Catholic abandon his wife? Benedict was anxious to avoid this, lest, as he says (we apologise to wives!) "there be a disorderly flood of insincere conversions".

Seven years later Benedict wrote to the whole Polish hierarchy a letter which can only be described as a *Rocket*.²⁷ This letter was written at a single sitting by the angry Pope, who had heard that in Poland he is said to make a habit of granting dispensations for mixed marriages. "We earnestly command you, and by the mercy of God beseech you, that you read carefully the dispensations we grant. . ."—And much more of the same sort. No love for mixed marriages moved Benedict; in fact he seems to consider he is imposing a punishment on Catholics who enter such: let them know they must keep to that wife all their life. However, in his dudgeon he happily furnishes a history of the Holy See's practice on mixed marriage promises. Like his predecessors, he tells us, Innocent X (1644-55) only allowed mixed marriages "if the other has first abjured their heresy" (i.e., they weren't allowed!), while in 1710 Clement XI forbade the Archbishop of Malines to allow them under any easier condition. For the public good, continues Benedict, *princes* have been allowed to make a mixed marriage if they *promise firstly to try to convert their spouse, and secondly to bring up all their children as Catholics*. Benedict's contemporary, Liguori, indirectly confirms what the Pope says; he implies mixed marriages are rare simply by offering no discussion of them. By 1832 the situation was clearly a little different, for Gregory XVI, while requiring that all such dispensations should be sought from Rome, does not limit them to persons of royal rank but demands only the above two promises.²⁸ No dispensation has ever been given by the Holy See to *bring up some of the children as non-Catholics*, but permission to *marry a non-Catholic* was given for Japanese Catholics by the Holy Office in 1938, even though it was foreseen that the Catholic education of the children would be made impossible by national custom.²⁹ The 1966 Instruction on Mixed Marriages has retained

²⁶ *Matrimonia quae in locis*, Bullarium Benedicti XIV, vol 1, no. 34.

²⁷ *Magna nobis admirationis*, Bullarium Benedicti XIV, vol 2, no. 51. Colloquially translated, this Latin title means "I'm Babbergasted".

²⁸ *Summo iugiter* encyclical, as in note 11. In at least four cases since 1948 Rome has held a marriage between a Catholic and a non-Christian to have been invalid on the grounds that the promises were insincere (and so the bishop's dispensation was invalid). So D. J. Boyle, art. *Promises*, in that outstanding institution the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (McGraw-Hill, 1967, 15 vols).

²⁹ L. L. McReavy, *Mixed Religious Education of Offspring of Mixed Marriages*, Clergy Review 49, 1964, July, pp. 438-442; to be completed by the Holy Office permission in *Bouscaren, Canon Law Digest* vol 2, pp. 281-285. J. McKee in the same issue of the Clergy Review has unfortunately omitted similar 1949 dispositions for China; see G. Vromant, C.I.C.M., *De Matrimonio*, Brussels-Paris 1952, note 88 bis.

this thread of legislative tradition and indeed expanded it: cases of difficulty with the promises are now to be referred to Rome for solution.³⁰ And dispensations from Rome to a priest to *marry a couple* even though the Catholic feels unable to give a strict promise are now becoming commonplace on the continent.³¹ The reader of legal bent will savour the three italicised phrases, which give the exact content of the permission involved.

Benedict's declaration, once made, was extended by later popes over the next century to many other countries. In some places only mixed marriages were so exempted from *Tametsi*; in other places non-Catholic marriages also. Thus four categories of places now exist (read the table horizontally):

	Region I	Region II	Region III	Region IV
Tametsi promulgated?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Dispensations given	Nil	Mixed marriages	—also non-Catholic m.	—
Marriages valid	Only in R.C. church. (All others invalid)	—also all mixed	Only R.C.'s outside church are invalid	All valid
Typical country	France	Ireland	S. America	England

Keeping an up-to-date list of the countries in all four categories was all but impossible. Thus Lehmkühl in 1902 fills six pages of small print with his admittedly incomplete lists.³² When the law has got into this state, armies of canonists must be trained to keep us in order!

Indeed, many canonists were not satisfied with the above dispositions, which *invalidated* all non-Catholic marriages in countries like France and Ireland, and they attempted to offer minimising interpretations. Cardinal Gasparri argued, for example, that if non-Catholics were already a legally established community when *Tametsi* was promulgated, then the decree was addressed only to Catholics and others were exempt.³³ This is opposed to the literal meaning of Trent's instruction to promulgate in every parish (=place, not persons, according to the usage then current), but it offers a typical Roman approach to law: preserve the form but if necessary evacuate the content! Gury in Rome (1847-48) protested against such reasonings and appealed to the letter of the law, but his annotator, Ballerini, violently defended the validity of non-Catholic marriages. The latter quotes Pius VII writing in 1803 to the Archbishop of Mainz to warn him that so many and such outstanding authorities (Benedict XIV is quoted) have now defended the validity of non-Catholic marriages that the

³⁰ *Matrimonii Sacramentum* (Holy Office), Acta Apostolicae Sedis 58, 1966, pp. 235-239.

³¹ *One in Christ*, 1968, pp. 189-191; 1969, pp. 66-69.

³² Augustinus Lehmkühl, *Theologia Moralis*, Freiburg, 1902, vol 2 nos. 784-790.

³³ Lehmkühl, vol. 2 no. 783. A century and a half earlier Benedict XIV received such advice from some of his cardinals.

opposite opinion retains scarcely any probability and is to be shunned.³⁴ Movement towards a more orderly situation had begun. Then, less than a century ago, Leo XIII in 1872 abolished the worst form of haystack marriage in places where *Tametsi* had not already abolished it: henceforward engagement could no longer become marriage by simple sexual intercourse.³⁵

In 1908 the decree *Ne Temere* rationalised the whole situation, with Beeching-like efficiency. In future all non-Catholic marriages everywhere were exempted from Trent's rule: Catholic and mixed marriages everywhere were subjected to it. And any parish priest (or his delegate) would do, provided only that he was operating in his own parish. The 1918 Code of Canon Law accepted these changes, and so the law stands today. Thus for validity a mixed marriage must be before a Catholic priest.

MARRIAGE OVER TWO MILLENNIA

To summarise. Before the time of Christ consent was held insufficient to make a marriage: the public handing over was what counted. Soon afterwards the consent of the spouses became central, and the old style ceremony was therefore abandoned. Where there was a ceremony, it was the old *Betrothal* which was preferred. The Church offered a blessing, which was good but not essential. Trent, while agreeing consent made a marriage, rightly required this consent should be public, and the secular powers followed suit. Trent's decree as to *how* it should be made in public accidentally invalidated large numbers of other marriages, which suffered from no defect of publicity, including many mixed marriages.

TEN THESES

The cheerful tone of the preceding survey will now be abandoned, and a conscientious attempt made to offer some orientation based upon it.

I. Trent's decision that it could invalidate otherwise valid marriages was not an ecumenical decision. 28% of the bishops presented an immovable block of opposition, and many of these opposed the decision on dogmatic grounds. A simple majority in a council is not sufficient, especially when the most senior in rank think otherwise than the majority. Instead, a *moral unanimity* is required. For the significance of a council is that it is *ecumenical because it witnesses to the Catholic or universal teaching*: decisions by simple majority are a democratic piece of casuistry to provide a solution where a body of men is deeply divided, and such decisions have nothing to do with determining dogma. As if that could be settled by taking a vote! As Archbishop Verallus and others said in the third debate, this matter touches dogma, and cannot be decided amid such controversies. Therefore Trent's anathema on this subject is invalid and the matter can be freely debated.

³⁴ J. P. Gury and A. Ballerini, *Compendium Theologiae Moralís*, Rome, 1884, vol 2, note to no. 841 no. 4. On Pius VII see also Joyce, *Christian Marriage*, p. 176.

³⁵ *Consensus Mutuus* decree, Acta Leonis XIII, vol 12, pp. 16-18.

II. Man is not, in fact, just an individual whose aim is to perfect himself: he belongs to a society. This is no accidental or peripheral part of his nature, but part of its essence or heart. A child would grow up an animal if it had no human contact to develop it into a human person. Admirers of nature walk in twos, or there would be no one to share its delights. No artist works for himself alone (though he aims to be true to his vision alone); rather he creates in the hope of discussing his work with another. (To descend to the banal, this paper would never have been produced had it not been thought that someone somewhere might find it of interest.) *To think of man as a pure individual, therefore, is to be misled by a physical view of reality.* Instead, society should be conceived as vitally important to man, and especially nowadays. It is built on and in a perpetual dialogue with individuals. Hence a secret or unregistered marriage is wrong: others are affected and should know where they are. Is such and such a girl available or not? Thus those involved in secret promises of marriage should be told they are in an irregular situation, and they should either separate at once or register what has happened. Thus Trent had good reason to act as it did and its decision was justified. The law would have been made much earlier, and the situation was irregular without it.³⁶

III. Trent had this power for the following reason. The power to witness and so render a marriage regular and complete belongs to that authority which governs everyone in the region, as will be clear if the effects desired from this public ratification are considered. But owing to the universal adherence in the middle ages to Christianity, *by common consent of the states involved the Church took over the duty of ratifying marriages in this way, and this is the source of the Church's power.*³⁷ Where Trent was accepted as the authority it did therefore have this

³⁶ Similar reasoning occurs in the last chapter of Reinhard Lettmann, *Die Diskussion über die klandestinen Ehen und die Einführung einer zur Gültigkeit verpflichtenden Eheschliessungsform auf dem Konzil von Trient: eine kanonistische Untersuchung*, Münster, 1967. Curiously, thesis I and II escape Trent's anathema in canon 4, for the validity of Trent's proceedings is accepted. That lifetime scholar of these matters, G. H. Joyce, *Christian Marriage*, p. 131 note 1, attempts to escape from the route of thesis II by urging that since marriage is a natural contract, it cannot be required to be a legitimate contract duly witnessed by society. But the above view includes society in man's nature, thus synthesising the intuitions of both sides in this extended controversy. To think of man as a pure individual is to be misled by a physical view.

³⁷ This thesis was condemned as heretical in 1794 by Pius VI, *Auctororum Fidelis*, Bullarii Romani Continuatio vol 9, no. 985 No. 33; Denzinger 2679 = 1529. Franzelin said all Catholics must accept this document as infallible. It nowhere makes such a claim. Further, it condemns the view that vernacular liturgy is useful (no. 66), and also the view that the absolution from excommunication till recently given to all penitents in confession but now abolished is useless (no. 48). Leo XIII, *Arcanum divinae sapientiae* (1880 encyclical), Acta Leonis XIII vol 2, pp. 10-40, also rejects our thesis, in milder language. History is full of Church-state most extreme case is probably Boniface VIII's famous dogmatic definition, which there seems little reason to excuse from infallibility, that it is necessary for salvation for every man to be subject to the pope even in temporal matters. (Conclusion of his 1302 Bull *Unam Sanctam*, Denzinger 875-469.)

power, but where it was not accepted this power reverted to the separate states to control the matter. Thus secret marriages were abolished in England in 1784, from which date Gretna Green acquired its fame.

IV. Whatever be said of the Church and state taking over each others' functions in medieval "Christendom", nowadays in a pluralistic society the primary witness to a marriage must of necessity be the public society which governs the locality; i.e., the state. Christians will, of course, continue to want their marriage to be before God, to be blessed by the Church and surrounded by the prayers of the believing community. Indeed, few things could be more scandalous than a believer marrying without submitting the new union to God: such an omission is tantamount to a profession of atheism. But if the lukewarm nevertheless do such a thing, that is an improper reason for rejecting the vows then made. The best arrangement would probably be a single set of vows witnessed by all concerned in a place of the couple's own choosing. Christians would naturally choose the church for the ceremony. (Even in mixed marriages it is better not to repeat the vows a second time elsewhere, or questions will arise when this is omitted.)

V. If two non-Catholic Christians marry in a registry office, the usual teaching of the Church is that their marriage is still a sacrament. But what does that mean? A sacrament is an outward sign of inward grace. Marriage, it has been more usual to say, is a contract. *The human visible contract is the outward sign, to which God gives an inner sanctity or new depth, so that the contract is indissoluble* (=Augustine) and between three rather than two parties. The reasons why the fathers and medievals stressed the contract as the marriage rather than the subsequent common life were twofold. Firstly, in this way sexuality (which was unholy: venially sinful even in marriage) was kept further away from the sacrament, which centred round the contract. Secondly, a strong desire was manifest to justify the true character of the marriage between Mary and Joseph, for Matthew I, 18-25 relates them to be married. There seems little need to follow either motive for stressing the contract alone.

A superior way of thinking, not wholly untraditional, is to regard the contract as but the solemn beginning of married life, and this life itself is the sacrament.³⁸ What inward grace does it signify, then, to the believer? Paul draws a close parallel between the love of a couple for each other and the love of Christ for the Church, and he tentatively suggests in Ephesians 5 that married love is a sign of Christ's love for the Church. Parallelism is there all right, but does one of these realities reveal the other to the believer? Paul goes out of his way not to insist on this idea. A stronger

³⁸ Thus to quote two authorities above suspicion, Robert Bellarmine is quoted with approval by Pius XI, *Casus Connubii* encyclical, Acta Apostolicae Sedis 22, 1930, p. 583: "The sacrament of marriage can be considered in two ways: in one way, while it is being effected, and in another way, while it remains after it has been effected. For it is a sacrament like the Eucharist, which is a sacrament not only while it is effected, but also while it remains. For as long as the partners live, their common life is a sacrament of Christ and the Church". An exposition of this theme is badly needed today from a married theologian.

line of attack is provided two chapters earlier, where he assures us that all paternity or family relation on earth draws its name from God the Father. Might this idea not be developed to mean that married life is a sign of God's inner structure, of his very being; a sign that God is love? Bishop Pike has scoffed at the Trinity as "Committee-God": ought it not to be replied that the Trinity is "Family-God"? The human family is a sign of God's inner life: the oblation of love of every sort expressed in it, the absolute attachment and unity of being are a revelation to the believer of God's own life. Love according to instinct is possessive: wherever the love whose delight is to give enters the field, there the eternally breathtaking nature of God is revealed to men. If the human family represents the centre of his life for someone who is married, and is the thing he values most in the world, this is because God first was a family and the human family is a mirror of his. *Therefore two non-Catholic Christians marrying anywhere enter a sacramental union*; none of these realities are removed from them. Indeed, since Vatican II teaches that grace affects all men of good will, it is not even necessary to be baptised to enter a sacramental marriage union.³⁹

VI. This second outlook on the sacrament appears more enriching: married love is a sign of God's eternal life and even the beginning of a share in it. But if the nature of ultimate reality is revealed in this way in marriages between non-Catholics, then it is so in mixed marriages, and Catholic marriages too, whether they are celebrated in a registry office or Anglican or Catholic church. In particular, the theory that mixed marriages celebrated outside a Catholic church are invalid appears to be wedded entirely to the idea that *marriage is a contract, which it is the Church's right to witness*. Both elements of this concept have now been criticised: marriage would appear to be much more than a contract entered into at a place and time, and it would not appear specially appropriate that it should be the Church that takes public note of its existence. Therefore *mixed marriages* (and Catholic ones, too) *remain sacramental wherever they take place*, provided only that they are publicly noted.

VII. Trent invalidated secret marriages. Unfortunately, without any such intention on the part of the bishops there assembled, the way they legislated also invalidated all Protestant and mixed marriages outside a Catholic church, even though they were by no means secret. The 1908 decree *Ne Temere* (whose provisions were accepted by the 1918 Code and are therefore still in force) attempted to settle the reigning confusion by exempting non-Catholic marriages but retaining invalidity for mixed marriages outside the Catholic Church, *however public*. Clearly there has been a slip here. *Ne Temere* does not offer the Tridentine motive, but has a different one: the retaining of control over Catholics and their children. *Thus it cannot point to Trent for its power to invalidate for this new reason: it must rest upon its own authority*. What, then, is the authority

³⁹ Unexpected support for this view from Popes Innocent III, Honorius III, Leo XIII: see the latter's *Arcanum*, p. 22 = §11. "Apud fideles et infideles existere Sacramentum coniugii."

of this decree? As a disciplinary act it is effective, provided what it does is within the power of the Church. This, it has been suggested above, is more than doubtful, and so the effects of the decree share in the same doubt.⁴⁰ Further, the authority of *Ne Temere* is greatly weakened when it is realised that those who drafted it do not seem to have considered whether they had the power there claimed, but seem instead simply to have accepted the erroneous view spread everywhere among the canonists by Benedict XIV. According to him, Trent itself had legislated for non-Catholics in the same way, excusing them in some conditions and binding them in others to appear before the Catholic priest.⁴¹ *Ne Temere* claimed Trent for its authority, but it was in fact innovating. Would it have been published if this fact had been known?

VIII. But suppose the Church has the power here claimed. Should she use it? It could once be held that mixed marriages might lead to the upbringing of heretical children, who were on their way to hell; indeed, such an attitude persisted into the nineteenth century. Granted these views, it could be argued that it was better not to generate children than to do them this harm, and a case was made out for invalidating the marriage unless the promises were given, thus avoiding this corruption of the offspring. Such a personal corruption would be a crime against the children, and it is then most appropriate to stop the marriage. Such views are today close to heresy, however. So what evil, essentially connected with marriage, is being avoided by invalidating such marriages? *The real effect of the present law is to prevent a Catholic getting married unless he is so attached to the Roman Church that he will force the Catholic education of the children on his partner.* Thus the penalty for not believing enough in the Roman Church is that the marriage is stopped. Now can such a punishment be said to be appropriate and therefore legitimate?

IX. If a marriage has been made impossible by Church law, years later the Pope can grant a *sanatio in radice*, or healing in the root, whereby he removes the very root of the difficulty. Effectively he dispenses from the Church law for this case, and immediately the marriage becomes real and valid by virtue of the continuing intention of the parties to live together as man and wife.⁴² They need know nothing of these goings on. This is

⁴⁰ Fr L. van Noort, in *Protestant-Catholic Marriages* interpreted by Pastors and Priests (symposium from the Dutch), p. 85, says many priests do consider these laws illegitimate, and he allows the Catholic to draw the conclusion that he may still go to the sacraments.

⁴¹ So Lehmkühl (1902), vol 2, p. 589; A. Haine, *Theologiae moralis elementa*, Louvain, 1888, vol 4, q. 136 ad 4; Gury-Ballerini, vol 2, no. 841 towards the end of note to sub-section 4. Someone with access to Roman publications could check this more securely. The current assumptions are bound to show in the discussion that went on and the rescripts that were issued between the publication of *Ne Temere* (2nd August 1907) and its coming into operation (19th April 1908).

⁴² If one partner gets wind of the fact that the other has found such an impossibility and applied for a *sanatio*, and this same partner then withdraws consent to the marriage before the arrival of the *sanatio*, the marriage is dissolved. Quite logical: there never was a marriage. Thus judged Benedict XIV, *Etsi matrimonialis causa*, Bullarium Benedicti XIV, vol 4, no. 50.

a most curious situation. *The anomaly, however, lies less in the sanatio than in the original ecclesiastically generated impossibility.* Granted the possibility of this, the *sanatio* is sound. Therefore the invalidating law has here been made the subject of study, and not the *sanatio*.⁴³

X. A young couple proposing to make a mixed marriage sit down with the priest to think about the religious difficulties. At present, whatever his feelings on the case might be, the priest's hands are tied. He is bound to be a sergeant-major, laying down that the marriage must take place in the Catholic Church, stating (however tactfully) the promises required, and the penalties if these are refused. Now do Catholics want to limit the field of action of their priest so? Have they no confidence at all in his zeal and ideals? *Should not the priest rather be a counsellor, offering indeed his own views, but anxious primarily to cherish and develop the consciences of these two young people?* As someone who has to sit down with some frequency to just such discussions, the present writer is deeply embarrassed by the sergeant-major role, and regards the second alone as true priestly activity. It is against everything that Christ stood for to do the smallest hurt to a conscience, and it is sad that the Church, in producing the big stick in each case before any enquiries have been made, is quite certainly a culprit here. The present writer confesses that he only discovered his own conscience among the recent difficulties in the Roman Church, and in his less optimistic moments he wonders how many of our senior clergy have a living familiarity with this reality. Arguments of moral type as exposed here are admirably dealt with in recent issues of "One in Christ", an English review which is essential for anyone interested in ecumenism.⁴⁴

It is possible to resist such arguments, urging that relaxation of the discipline would do more harm than good. Such objections are ineffective against the present paper, which suggests that the Church has no power to invalidate any mixed marriages, except for some grave reason like secrecy which is inimical to the married state itself. No grave reason of the sort can be said to exist here, and the legislation should therefore be relaxed, not because it is too strict for prudence, but because it is erroneous in its judgment. All mixed marriages are very probably valid and sacramental, and no consideration of prudence can justify the Church law in continuing solemnly to proclaim the contrary, and to allow second marriages on that basis.⁴⁵

⁴³ The present writer was therefore also following a mistaken trail at Ampleforth, by concentrating attention on the *sanatio*.

⁴⁴ *One in Christ* is a quarterly which may be had from its Secretary, Benedictine Convent, Priory Close, London, N.14, for 25/- a year. Back numbers 7/- each: the review started in its present form in 1965. Recent discussion therein of mixed marriages: 1968, pp. 167-205; 1969, pp. 64-105 and 194-215.

⁴⁵ The Warden, Spode House, Nr. Rugeley, Staffs. (tel.: Armitage 331) holds a winter weekend meeting for engaged and married couples where one is a Catholic. The 1968 meeting had a wide age range and was a lively affair. It was also felt to be of great value by its participants, who had often experienced a sense of isolation.

VON HÜGEL AND THE MODERNIST MOVEMENT

by
BERNARD REARDON

For well over a century now there has been a Jekyll and Hyde wooing and wooing from Rome in face of the pure scientific scholarly pursuit of truth beyond tradition (or is it begging the question to put it in those terms?). Remembering those programmatic words of Hildebrand, that the Lord said, not *ego sum consuetudo* (custom) but *ego sum veritas*, we may say loosely that Pius Nono was on the side of tradition, Leo XIII on the side of innovation, St. Pius returning to tradition; Pius XI and Pius XII proved a curious mixture of tradition has marked the present pontificate despite a remarkable number of innovations. It is hard to forget the encyclical *Quanta Cura* of 1864, to which was attached the Syllabus of Errors, some eighty propositions pronounced too liberalist and rationalist to be accepted by any Catholic: Catholics were obliged to give their interior and exterior assent to this Syllabus. It is no less hard to forget that other syllabus, *Lamentabili*, which accompanied Pius X's encyclical of 1907 condemning Modernism, another list like Pius IX's condemning this time sixty-five propositions. And then one remembers that Pius XII, who had so hearteningly opened up Church scholarship in 1943 with his important biblical encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, all but closed it in some areas of thought with his 1950 encyclical *Humani Generis* directed against dogmatic relativism and philosophical existentialism. In our own day we hear conflicting tales of light and darkness in Curial circles.

The point is made in two places below by the writer, when he asks "how far does the Church's authority extend? Can she prescribe the conclusions of scientific investigation?"; and again, when he remarks that what Von Hügel feared was "the effect of ecclesiastical interference at the purely scholarly level, resulting in a precipitous and wholly imprudent condemnation by authority before the real implications of criticism had been ascertained". That is the nerve point of the Modernist condemnation and of all those condemnations that are attempted today—of Congar, de Lubac, Rahner, Schillebeeckx, Küng and the rest of those with powerful theological intellects, who are trying painfully to break new ground in the seeking of God.

Fr. Bernard Reardon, senior lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies at Newcastle University, has written for us before on Modernism (Spring JOURNAL, p. 47ff). He is at present at work on a book on Modernism in the Church of Rome.

INTEREST in the Catholic Modernism of sixty and more years ago continues to grow. Books and articles have lately appeared almost too numerous to mention. Among the most recent is "The Modernist Crisis: Von Hügel", by John J. Heaney, S.J.,¹ assistant professor of theology at Indiana University, whose own approach to the movement is through the writings of one who, although hardly perhaps himself to be classed as a Modernist, was always far more its patron than its critic. The grounds of this renewed interest, moreover, are not merely academic, even if the subject now seems

¹ George Chapman, 1968, 42/-.

ripe for full academic treatment.² Modernism is of current concern for more pressing reasons and the study of it is itself becoming a factor in the contemporary theological and ecclesiastical situation. In the opening decade of the present century official Catholicism met with a sharp intellectual challenge from men who themselves were neither liberal Protestants nor rationalists, but Catholics. It was a challenge, however, which the authorities were in no mood to welcome. Rather, they took fright, denouncing it and suppressing it by every means at their disposal. Modernism, in fact, was not refuted—the anti-Modernist *riposte* was for the most part feeble—but simply proscribed as a compendious heresy the imputation of which could easily attach itself to anything savouring of "liberalism", whether in theology, scholarship or social theory. But although this earlier attempt at an *aggiornamento* was ill-starred, it so troubled the ecclesiastical waters that they have never since ceased to ripple, and now another wind—part of the general intellectual restlessness of our own day—is gathering force. Thus the questions the Modernists raised and sought, unavailingly, to answer are again to the fore, in some regards more urgently than ever; whilst those who frame them are too numerous for any single authoritative *dictum* to silence.

Although it evinces the sympathy without which no historical inquiry is likely to be very successful, Fr. Heaney's study is coolly objective. He examines Modernism generally, and Baron von Hügel's role in it in particular, with a scrupulous impartiality. He has no brief for the Modernists, but neither does he say Amen to the acts of authority. He is content to review both opinions and events, leaving them to speak for themselves.

Baron Friedrich von Hügel, self-educated Catholic *savant*, friend of Mignot, Duchesne, Blondel, Loisy, Semeria, Ward and Tyrrell—indeed of virtually every "progressive" figure in the Church of his time³—was born in Florence, where his father was the Austrian envoy, in May 1852, and spent his earliest years there. (The family was Rhenish, but had settled in Austria. Von Hügel's mother, however, was Scottish and a convert from Presbyterianism.) After his Italian sojourn, followed by another in Belgium, he passed the rest of his life—apart, of course, from continental travel—in England. Somewhat like Acton, he was a cosmopolitan and commanded several languages. In religion he was entirely devout, even as a young man. But his Catholicism came to be tempered in its Latin ethos by the critical outlook of that German scholarship in which

² To the present writer's knowledge doctoral theses on the theology of Tyrrell, for example, have been or are being composed by post-graduate students at the universities of Cambridge, Manchester and Tübingen, and at the Sorbonne and the Gregorian University in Rome. Fr. Heaney's book is itself based on his doctoral thesis at the Paris Institut Catholique. Unfortunately this academic origin is too readily detectable, although academic standards should not have tolerated the rather careless proof-reading.

³ It is worth noting, however, that his esteem of the aged Newman, whom he also knew, was not unqualified.

he steeped himself.⁴ Wilfrid Ward saw in him a saint and mystic as well as a philosopher and critic. "His general position was that, provided you have the spirit of the saints, intellectual freedom is as safe for a Christian as it is desirable. Sanctity and freedom of mind agree well together."⁵ His ultramontanist—and he did not eschew the term—was of the broadest; in its narrow sense, he considered, the idea was a nineteenth century product.

Von Hügel's earlier and more conventional religious viewpoint was deeply affected by the friendships formed first with Loisy, whose acquaintance he had made in the November of 1893, having been greatly impressed by the little abbé's "Histoire du canon de l'Ancien Testament", and then with the Farm Street Jesuit, Fr George Tyrrell, whom he met in October 1897. His relations with these two men, in temperament so very unlike one another, thus drew him into the centre of the intellectual ferment to which Pius X was to assign the opprobrious name of Modernism. In the matter of biblical exegesis, the interest which he shared predominantly with Loisy, the baron's own position was that, provided its assumptions are theistic, scientific study is a *principio* autonomous and does not fall within the Church's jurisdiction. That jurisdiction is properly to be exercised only in the case of denial of "subsequent supernatural truths" or of the possibility of a "supernatural teacher" of such truths. What he feared was the effect of ecclesiastical interference at the purely scholarly level, resulting in a precipitate and wholly imprudent condemnation by authority before the real implications of criticism had been ascertained. The Church's blunder over Galileo had been the classic instance of this. Not unnaturally, therefore, was von Hügel troubled by the prospective condemnation of Loisy's works.⁶ For what, he surmised, was really being censured was the exegete's use of the historical method. When at last he felt it necessary to break with Loisy it was not with regard to biblical criticism but on deeper issues still. Of the French scholar's single distinctive contribution to the Modernist debate, "L'Évangile et l'Église—Autour d'un petit livre", which many found even more pertinent, was no more than a sequel thereto—von Hügel wrote to the author himself: "It is just simply superb. Never have you done anything better, more beautiful, more fitted to find its place sooner or later, more or less, in that modification of the way of presenting and conceiving Catholicism by the official Church itself which seems so far from even suspecting its existence". He was, moreover, optimistic enough to think it would appeal to the authorities as the only effective reply to Harnack, "and these people are even more business men than men of narrow views".⁷ What, of course, the baron did not suspect was his friend's already actual disbelief in the fundamental

⁴ Bishop Gore described him, with characteristic exuberance, as "the most learned man living". Cf. M. de la Bedoyère, "The Life of Baron von Hügel", p. xi.

⁵ Maisie Ward, "The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition", p. 200.

⁶ Five of Loisy's books were placed on the Index on 16th December 1903. They included "Études Évangéliques", "Le Quatrième Évangile" and "La Religion d'Israël".

⁷ Loisy, "Mémoires", I, p. 377.

dogmas of the faith.⁸ As himself a sincere believer he did not doubt that historical inquiry would produce nothing to controvert the Church's claims. He was convinced of the authenticity of the essential historical facts and hence was certain that criticism need have no more to do than sweep away the marginally false. The Modernist contention that in the long run the facts, simply as facts, are of little account and that what matters for religion is solely their spiritual interpretation was something that he was quite unable to endorse. On the contrary, without at least a residual historical basis Catholicism, and indeed Christianity in any form, would, he was sure, eventually collapse. Nevertheless, on particular points—Jesus' expectation of the Parousia, for instance—he agreed with Loisy. An obvious inference was that "in all but its very rudimentary form . . . Church organisation and officialism is not the direct and deliberate creation of Our Blessed Lord Himself",⁹ although, it may be observed, the baron owed this view not to Loisy but more probably to Johannes Weiss.¹⁰

The friendship with Tyrrell was really the most important in von Hügel's life. Within a few weeks of their first meeting they had become confidants, the lay scholar urging the priest to learn German in order to acquaint himself with the latest theological literature in that tongue—the works of Rudolf Eucken especially. Tyrrell had also become the baron's confessor. Yet by nature the two men were as the poles apart. The baron was cautious, sometimes agonisingly so; Tyrrell was impulsive to the point of recklessness: early on, the former warned him against his "very hot, vehement, and sarcastic personal tone" in controversy. As writers, too, they differed entirely, von Hügel's style being Germanic, laborious and obscure, whereas Tyrrell's was forcefully lucid, aphoristic and mordant. Yet such friends were complementary to each other. The Jesuit had no wish to implicate the layman in his own theological enterprises and would even keep from him the final drafts of articles he had written; but von Hügel admits that it was he who initiated Tyrrell into German biblical criticism as well as guiding his reading in the fields of psychology and the philosophy of religion. "Thus I am not," he afterwards wrote, "responsible for this most independent mind's conclusions, but I cannot well let him bear all the blame, where I did so much to stimulate his thought and conclusions."¹¹

A no less important question in considering their relationship is that of Tyrrell's counter-influence on von Hügel and the extent to which the latter may have been induced to share his characteristic views. The baron was

⁸ Von Hügel continued to champion Loisy's cause long after it had become a question, even to sympathisers with the movement, whether this learned French priest was so much as a theist. Strangely, he was less patient with Tyrrell, whom he feared of taking the yet more deplorable step of becoming an Anglican again.

⁹ "Essays and Addresses in the Philosophy of Religion", II, pp. 18f.

¹⁰ Weiss's "Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes" first appeared in 1882. Von Hügel had also however been reading Hermann Schell's "Katholische Dogmatik", in which a theory of the limitation of Christ's human knowledge is propounded.

¹¹ "Father Tyrrell", *The Hibbert Journal*, January 1910, p. 254.

always ready to listen to the opinions of others, and Tyrrell's, always tellingly expressed, undoubtedly made their mark in his mind, the Jesuit's ideas on the nature of the Church especially. "The Church and the Future", first produced under the pseudonym of Hilaire Bourdon in 1903 and circulated privately—it was printed in Edinburgh by Turnbull and Spears—had much impressed him. He thought it "a grand piece of thinking and writing", although "a very big mouthful for almost everyone". In this and in subsequent works, such as the famous "Letter to a Friend", in which the author distinguished between the collective consciousness of the "People of God" and the consciously formulated mind and will of the *magisterium*,¹² von Hügel was able to follow Tyrrell in a great deal that he was saying. He warmly applauded the argument, for example, of the essay "From Heaven or from Men", later published in "Through Scylla and Charybdis"—"its great main conclusion—so strong, so true, so pathetically winning"; but also not without perplexity. Tyrrell's notion of papal supremacy as but "a pictorial and imaginative explanation of the source and meaning of authority" seemed, however, to go too far. Indeed the baron appears again and again to be encouraging the younger man—"You know how deeply I cared for and care for your *Mediaevalism*, and how glad I was for the line you took there"—whilst at the same time keeping his own judgment in the background. Bernard Holland's remark in 1926 (after von Hügel's death, that is) that the baron was not "in full touch, notwithstanding their continuous correspondence and meetings, with Tyrrell's mind and its rapid developments" seems true enough. Von Hügel was fascinated by the brilliancy of Tyrrell's intellect, joined though it was to a mercurial disposition, but it is evident that his own profound attachment to the Church deterred him from the venturesomeness as well as the apparent iconoclasm of his friend. And in any case such forthright utterances were bound to seem hot-headed to one by nature so circumspect and determined always to weigh both sides of any question with scrupulous care. Von Hügel repeatedly counselled Tyrrell to moderate his language, and came more and more to regret his pugnacity and frequent bitterness. "I pray and hope the day may soon return," he wrote to him in 1908, "when *your other side*, the deep, mystical, contemplative habit and attrait will again be so powerfully waked up and nurtured, that you will regain a grand steadiness of foundation, and in your very feeling as to the depths of life and religion." Yet he continued to regard him as his "friend of friends" and on his death he wrote to Loisy, with whom he still maintained personal ties: "I love in him the friend who, together with you, was probably the dearest in the world"; adding that he was a man "who deserved a very different immediate lot, and whose influence . . . will not die". This prophecy has, we may feel, been now in no small measure fulfilled in Vatican II.

Another friendship that counted for much in von Hügel's life was Maurice Blondel's. Blondel, like the baron himself, was a Catholic by

¹² "A Much Abused Letter", p. 55. "May not our faith in the latter be at times weak or nil, and yet our faith in the former strong and invincible?"

ardent conviction. He was also an unusually penetrating thinker whose doctoral treatise, published in 1893 under the simple title, "L'Action", caused a stir in French philosophical circles well outside the Catholic orbit and in spite of the difficulties of its extremely opaque style. A work of his that especially impressed von Hügel was a lengthy contribution to *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* in 1896 in the form of a "Lettre sur les exigences de la pensée contemporaine en matière d'apologetique".¹³ With its standpoint—solidly Catholic, discriminatingly critical—he found himself in complete sympathy. The old scholastic and "evidential" type of apologetic, the writer argued, could no longer suffice. It was unconvincing to maintain first the *a priori* possibility of divine revelation, and then, *a posteriori*, its actual occurrence. To found divine truth on the testimony of miracles is to assume the very faith which you seek to prove. What really is at issue in religion is not the credibility of the divine *per se* but its credibility *quoad nos*. The "method of immanence" (or "logic of action"), as Blondel termed it, demonstrates that in man there is a fundamental inadequation between what he actually thinks, wills and does and the ultimate (or transcendent) reality which these imply. To make this inadequation and its implication apparent is the apologist's true role. He will point, that is, to something which is *uniquely necessary* as the sole ground of man's self-fulfilment, whilst at the same time, at the "natural" level, it remains ever inaccessible to him. But if the supernatural—so far undetermined—is an *absolute* necessity, the revelation offered in Christianity is *hypothetically* so. The first step, so to say, is a conviction, the second an invitation. It is only when the *subject*, the would-be believer, becomes aware of his own deepest need that the *object* offered him by faith appears relevant. The essay was, in short, an attempt to apply in practice and *ad hoc* the sustained metaphysical argument of the far less negotiable "L'Action". Even so, von Hügel was unclear on certain points, but in the main he saw in it that new approach to the whole apologetic question which in the modern age Catholic thought required. Beside its scholastic argumentation, wearisomely familiar in the seminary manuals, seemed a mass of frigid irrelevancies. The modern mind could not avoid considerations of relativity, development and interiority. Von Hügel's personal regard for Blondel was of the highest, for they were kindred spirits. "I am confident," he wrote to Wilfrid Ward, that Blondel is "simply a genius of the front rank."¹⁴

There was, too, a further affinity between them, as events were shortly to prove; for Blondel, like the baron, was drawn into the Modernist vortex without himself being actually engulfed by it. He later, indeed, received the Holy Father's specific assurances as to his unclouded orthodoxy.

¹³ An English translation by Alexander Dru and Iltyd Trethowan was published in 1964 (Harvill Press).

¹⁴ Much of von Hügel's correspondence with Blondel is contained in René Marle's "Au coeur de la crise moderniste" (1961), which should be read in conjunction with Emile Poulat's "Histoire, dogme et critique dans la crise moderniste" (1962).

The crisis years of the movement—roughly 1902 to 1907—were for von Hügel a period of deepening anxiety and uncertainty. Upon a nature so sensitive and so intense as his the whole dispute, raising as it did some fundamental problems of faith, had the maximum impact. With the *avant-garde* in contemporary Catholic thought he was, at the outset, in the fullest sympathy. An obscurantist attitude to biblical criticism especially distressed him, and the recent decision of the Holy Office in the matter of the Johannine Comma had been a flagrant example. But although he deplored such zealotry, whether at Rome or elsewhere, he was at heart optimistic enough to believe that so long as a policy of toleration might succeed in “containing” the opposed positions the tension between them, however acute, was a good rather than an evil. True unity was to be attained *through* differences, not by evading them. The summary exercise by the *magisterium* of its compulsive power, on the other hand, would render this impossible. But although Rome might have more than its fair share of obscurantists the baron was hopeful that the Vatican itself would take no hasty action. Indeed, he did everything possible, by way of his numerous personal contacts—among them the Cardinal Secretary of State himself, Merry de Val—to avert a condemnation. But with the death of Leo XIII and the accession of Cardinal Sarto as Pius X in the summer of 1903 all such efforts were to prove unsuccessful and within a few months a number of Loisy’s books came under official censure, despite the fact of the author’s express repudiation of whatever errors might be found in them.¹⁵ Thereafter events disastrous for the freedom of intellectual inquiry in the Church followed one another in quick succession. Tyrrell was expelled from the Society of Jesus in February 1906. Pronouncement in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch by the recently established Biblical Commission was given in the same year. The decree, *Lamentabili sane exitu*, was published in July 1907, and on the heels of that (September) the encyclical letter, *Pascendi*.¹⁶ Tyrrell’s excommunication occurred a month later, Loisy’s in March 1908. The former, to the end, denied his severance from the Catholic Church; for the latter, however, the only appropriate response was, to all intents, a shrug.¹⁷

Whatever one’s final assessment of von Hügel’s place in modern religious thought—and a just assessment, admittedly, is not easy, even today—the importance to him, during his fifties (the climactic decade in most men’s lives), of the contemporary ferment in Catholicism should not be underrated, as it sometimes is by those who would repudiate Paul

¹⁵ Loisy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 367.

¹⁶ In his very first encyclical, *E supremi apostolatus* (4th October 1903), the new pontiff had warned the clergy against the “irreligious manoeuvres of a certain new science which adorns itself with the mask of truth . . . false science, which, by means of fallacious and perfidious arguments, attempts to point the way to the errors of rationalism and semi-rationalism”.

¹⁷ Loisy had long realised what might befall him, but contemplated it with equanimity. Thus an entry in his journal (7th June 1904) reads: “Il est certain, d’ailleurs, que, si je me trouvais hors de l’Eglise, ce ne serait pas pour tenir le rôle de docteur incompris, attendant que la porte s’ouvre pour rentrer dans le bercail. Je vivrais en avant laquie, intéressé aux choses morales, et je mourrais de même.”

Sabatier’s description of him as the Modernists’ “lay Bishop”. Von Hügel was not a Modernist, if one insists—as did *Pascendi*—on identifying Modernism with a philosophy of immanentism and relativism. But he was at that time deeply committed to the struggle for intellectual freedom in the Roman Catholic Church and thus, in principle at least, to a questioning of the whole concept of authority which *intégriste* ultramontanism had been sedulously fostering. Before the papal condemnation finally struck the movement the baron wrote (17th April 1906) to Maude Petre (with whom he did not always see eye to eye): “These last two or three weeks have been especially painful. For they have brought home to me, more vividly than ever, how Loisy’s troubles were in no sense things simply provoked by his own unusual boldness: the whole trend and temper of modern thinking, feeling, willing, the atmosphere we breathe and cannot but breathe, if we are intellectually awake and mentally harmonised at all: this, all this, is being systematically opposed and condemned”; and he quotes a friend, Dom Morin, at Rome, that “the whole entourage of the Pope is so oppressively black and narrow that he (Morin) has given up all wish and steps towards getting to see him” and that “the most odious form of Clericalism is rampant now”. It may well be understood how, at so stressful a time, one whose love of the Church was certainly not less than his love of truth, turned with relief to the writing of “The Mystical Element in Religion” and that he could say to Tyrrell: “I feel as I get on with my book, with a certain sadness, how few, I do not say of the old school, but of the new, will be with me”. His state of mind can be appreciated; but it would be an error to conclude from this that the Modernist issue was for him no more than a peripheral concern; just as when ten years after *Pascendi* (and in the most anxious of the war years), he could refer to the controversy—he is writing, again, to Miss Petre—as “a strictly circumscribed affair, one that is really over and done”, and “definitely closed”. In view, not least, of the success of the Vatican’s measures to extirpate or suppress all trace of Modernism the affair *was* over and done with. What dying embers there might have been were not worth raking together. Moreover, the baron was now an ageing man, to whom recollection of these unhappy *choses passées* would have been only a disturbing memory. Indeed, the very tone of his letter to Miss Petre betrays that the wounds he had himself received in the struggle were still tender. But the evidence of the extent of von Hügel’s involvement in the Modernist agitation is much too great to be dismissed as of only secondary importance in his life.

Yet how is it, it may be asked, that von Hügel’s posthumous fame and influence rest on the works of his post-Modernist days? The answer is not so hard to find. “The Mystical Element” was published in 1908, but its effect on theological thought, despite the praise it won from discriminating reviewers, was not immediate. It was, after all, a very large book and a difficult one. “Eternal Life”, his next most considerable work, came out in 1912. The first series of “Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion” did not appear until 1921, and the second not till

after his death, as, too, did his unfinished Giffords, "The Reality of God" (1931). And where, in any case, was the baron's influence most penetrating? Not, it may be observed, in the Church to which he belonged, but in the Anglican.¹⁸ There was a time, in fact, in the late twenties and thirties, when von Hügel had become virtually an Anglican doctor. Some of his closest friends and warmest admirers had included Gore, Inge, C. C. J. Webb, A. L. Lilley, Percy Gardner, Edwyn Bevan, Evelyn Underhill and William Temple—all of them Anglicans.

And what of von Hügel's standing in our own day? Interest in him has revived, after a lapse; although on the face of it recent trends in theological thought are more reminiscent of the immanentism for which he himself never cared. Nevertheless his life-long search was for the reality of God—for the God who truly is rather than the God portrayed in conventional religious belief—the "pocket God", as he himself was wont to express it. The real God can be known, but his being remains for us a mystery. "The Otherness, the Prevenience of God, the One-sided Relation between God and Man, these constitute the deepest measure and touchstone of all religion." So he wrote in the preface to the second edition of "The Mystical Element", and the sentence sums up his later theology, signifying his departure from the more or less idealist position of his earlier years. "All along I can now see well, as I look back, my mind was never really comfortable in these, at bottom, fantastic curtailments of what we really do and achieve, of what is really given to us every time we know, and indeed think, at all."¹⁹ But although, as he grew old, the thought of the divine reality, of which scholastic categories provided no adequate concept, more and more dominated his mind, we at least are not justified in minimising his effort in the cause of liberty during what his sister-in-law, Iszy von Hügel—as perplexed as she was pious—called "the terrible years". For the issue in this cause was that of authority, its nature and limits. For how far does the Church's authority extend? Can she—has she the right to attempt to—prescribe the conclusions of scientific investigation? This, for the baron and his circle, was a prime matter of conscience. As his friend, Mgr Mignot put it, "we used to believe that in order to be a good Catholic it was sufficient to believe all the truths which God revealed or the Church taught. . . . It seems now that more than that is needed, namely that the Church should tell us not only what must be believed, but *how we should think*". It does not greatly matter that von Hügel was unable to follow some of the Modernists in their theological views, or that he should have misjudged (as did everyone else) the real state of Loisy's mind long before the day of *Lamentabili* and *Pascendi*. His concern was for the moral right of the intellect to the unhampered pursuit of truth in all fields where it is for reason alone to assess the evidence.

¹⁸ The present writer remembers, as an undergraduate at Oxford, being assured by the late Fr Hugh Pope, O.P., that "von Hügel was a very good man, no doubt, but not a representative Catholic. Read Garrigou-Lagrange, my boy".

¹⁹ "The Reality of God", p. 3.

To what extent, then, does the "crisis of authority" which—so it is widely believed—faces the Roman Catholic Church today parallel that of 1907? There are obviously some resemblances. Voices are raised in this quarter and that demanding greater freedom—much greater freedom, in certain respects (matters of ethics and discipline, notably), than anything the Modernists asked for; and the press reporting of such demands can easily be sensationalised. But the situation now, two generations on, is a very different one. Modernism was primarily an intellectual, even an academic, movement. It was a call to the Church not to recoil before advancing knowledge in the secular sphere but to accord it open-minded consideration and wherever possible to come to terms with it, such reasoned accommodation—to which there was nothing in Catholic principles to object—being necessary if Catholicism were to substantiate the relevance of its traditional faith to the needs of an always changing world. Now, however, one may feel that the case for intellectual freedom has been won. Biblical criticism, certainly since *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), is no longer a bogey, whilst contemporary philosophy, even though *Humani Generis* (1950) may have looked upon it with a still dubious eye, is not shunned as a plague from which the faithful must be safeguarded by all the prophylactic resources available to over-anxious authority. In particular it is today neither said nor implied that the thirteenth century is the only sound and proper norm for the thought of the twentieth. Further, *intégrisme*, as the debates of Vatican II clearly revealed, is now itself on the defensive. Variety and experimentation—with, presumably, the risks which these usually entail—are conceded their place in the developing life and outlook of the Christian and Catholic community. How, then, one may well wonder, would (say) the contributors to *Il Rinascimento*, or even Tyrrell himself, have regarded the Constitutions on Divine Revelation and on the Church? Surely they would have welcomed them? Indeed it could be argued in detail that most of what Tyrrell desiderated during his Modernist years has been more or less allowed by Vatican II. The spirit of the age has done its work and 1907 seems to us a far-off point in time, almost as much a part of the historic past as the Reformation itself. Periods of crisis there needs must be: new wine is likely to burst old wine-skins. Von Hügel and his friends had to fight for what has since in large measure come to be accepted. They fought and many of them suffered, some—like Tyrrell—greatly. Today the Catholic historian, as he looks back on those troubled years, can afford to be magnanimous, although not without a blush, surely, for many things that authority then did in defence not so much of the apostolic faith as of school theology and even bureaucratic prejudice. Experience often teaches the hard way, but its lessons are rarely given wholly in vain.

AUTHORITY IN THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

by

P. E. HODGSON

There are many kinds of enquiry, but they loosely divide into two. There is the scientific kind where the latest hypothesis, experiment, model or conclusion entirely supersedes all that went before; and the same is true of technology, where the most up-to-date design incorporates in itself all the genius of the earlier designs. So it is that Dr Hodgson can say, "it would be no irrevocable disaster if every scrap of scientific writing in the world were to be burnt; it could all be quickly recreated". Then there is the historical kind of enquiry where what comes next is a development, a flowering, built upon what came before, effect taking birth from cause largely in its image and likeness. Here one recalls the famous picture of "dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants to see more and to see further". Each kind of enquiry has its own form of interior authority, and to a lesser extent its own ramifications of exterior authority to give it effect. Theology, resting so much on Revelation and Tradition, and with theology the forms of authority employed by the Church, are inclined to fall more under the historical modes of enquiry than the scientific, though they do straddle both and both do have huge areas of common ground. To say this is only to issue a caveat in reading this fertile study, coming as it does from a professional scientist whose experience of authority is not in the world which cherishes its lumber from century to century, as does the Church in all its long unbroken tradition. *Scientia immediata* is to the scientist as *sapientia tradita* is to the Churchman, the first absorbed with what is being discovered, the second with what was experienced and deduced. Each has its peculiar yield by its own paths.

Dr Hodgson studied physics at the Imperial College of Science & Technology, researching in the nuclear interactions of cosmic rays. He went on to make theoretical studies of nuclear forces at University College, London. During 1952-59 he was a member of the Council of the Atomic Scientists' Association, editing its journal for two of these years. In 1961 he wrote "Nuclear Physics in Peace & War" (F & F 128). For the last few years he has been a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a Lecturer in nuclear physics. He has recently attended a study group at Rome of forty scholars, examining the methodology of research in science and theology and the relation between the two disciplines.

This study is a development of the author's article in *The Tablet* of 25th January, "Authority & the Scientist".

One of the ever-present duties of the Church is reflection on its own nature, what it is, what it is for, wether it is going, and how it can best fulfil its essential purpose. It is a characteristic of the human mind that its attempts at understanding proceed analogically from the known to the unknown. In science, for example, mechanical and mathematical models are extensively used; they enable us to understand part of the phenomena under examination, they suggest further experiments, they give us fresh insights into the unknown. Models by their very nature are only partially true; they do not encompass the depth and complexity of the reality, but by their very simplicity they are more amenable to calculation and more open to the human imagination.

The Church is unique, yet nevertheless we can use models to deepen our understanding of its nature. Often these models are used unconsciously; it is then useful to formulate them explicitly and thus try to see their scope and their limits. The model we use is often strongly influenced by our own professional activities; we tend to think of the Church in the terms we know.¹

A notable example of this is the tendency to think of the Church as an army. There are many scriptural references to support this, and it underlines our dedication and our loyalty to the Church. In the battle for salvation we must continually fight against the devil and his allies. The model may, however, be deficient in other respects, particularly if it is taken to imply that our duty is the static defence of established positions rather than a continual advance into unknown territory, the pilgrimage of the people of God. It may also be deficient in its notion of authority.²

Another model of the Church emphasises its legal nature. God is the great lawgiver, and the Church is the interpreter, codifier and enforcer of His laws. The Church is authorised to issue laws in His name, and all our lives should be lived in minute observance of them. Fortunately, Our Lord had some relevant remarks to make on this, though they have not always been heeded.

The model of the Church that has so far received little attention is based on its similarity to the scientific community. Both communities are devoted to the search for the truth, the one truth about the material world and the other to that concerning man's life and his relation to his creator. Indeed it can be argued³ that the scientific community grew up within the Church and is at present unnaturally separated from it for a variety of historical reasons. The scientific community is thus in a sense a microcosm of the Church. In scientific research it is a familiar technique to begin by studying a simpler problem in order to gain insight into a related but more difficult one, so in the same way we may learn something about the Church by studying the scientific community.

There are many aspects to this study. One could usefully compare the development of scientific and theological knowledge, the techniques of investigation, the modes of analysis, the certainty of the conclusions, the degree of continuity and innovation in the development of the two modes of learning. One could look at the reasons why people join one of the two

¹ It is interesting in this connection to compare the distributions among the professions of the laity signing the regretful and the congratulatory statements on *Humanae Vitae*. (*Tablet*, 5th October 1968, p. 996, and 12th July 1969, p. 703.)

² It is notable that after the publication of *Humanae Vitae* many of the letters to the press urging Catholics to obey or get out were from military men. This might suggest that they thought of the Encyclical as if it were an order from the Commander-in-Chief, and any discussion of its contents as equivalent to mutiny. Indeed, discussion appears to be somewhat uncongial to the military mind. "I consider that conferences to collect ideas are the resort of a weak and wet commander." (Colonel Colin Mitchell, quoted in the *AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL* LXXIV, 256k, 1969.)

³ "The Christian Origin of Science", *The Tablet*, 21st June 1969.

communities, how they develop in knowledge, how they contribute to its life, and how they may come to leave it. One could study the communication structure, the legal structure, the administrative structure, the networks of formal and informal contacts that maintain the coherence of their activities. One can also study the role of authority in the two communities, and it is this aspect, because of its current importance, that is the main concern of the present article.

Only one part of this study will be considered here. The aim is to describe the functioning of authority in the scientific community.⁴ The comparison with the workings of authority in the Church is a more complex task that is not attempted, though occasional references are made to corresponding situations in the Church.

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The scientific community is of interest in connection with the problem of authority because its different functions give rise to authority in several different forms. It is primarily a community dedicated to the pursuit of a deeper understanding of the material world in all its complexity, and this raises questions concerning the authority that co-ordinates and certifies the new knowledge. Secondly, it is a teaching community, not only to non-scientists but also to itself. Finally, as an organisation of many people, controlling substantial resources, it encounters problems of authority similar to those in business organisations.

Before studying these in more detail, a distinction may be made between formal and real authority. Formal authority is that exercised solely as a result of an official position or appointment, while real authority derives from personal competence. Unless obedience is freely given for other reasons, formal authority has to rely on force to induce even external assent, and can never command internal assent against the will of the person over whom it is exercised. Real authority immediately evokes both external and internal assent. In concrete human situations both formal and real authority are found in varying proportions. It would appear that at the present time in a wide diversity of human situations formal authority unsupported by real authority is less than popular.

It is convenient to begin an examination of authority in the scientific community with its teaching function, for it is in this aspect that it is primarily seen by the world at large and by the beginning student. The young science student, like those in other subjects, first encounters science through books and lectures, and these he tends to accept, often uncritically, as virtually infallible. He is overawed and deeply impressed by the infinite complexity of science, by its unity and coherence, by the power and elegance of its mathematical formalism, and by the knowledge and erudition of those who appear to have mastered it. As his studies proceed, and depending on the openness of his lectures and tutors, he comes to

⁴ It is not implied that the scientific community is perfect; this has been discussed elsewhere. ("The Responsibility of the Scientist", *Atomic Scientists' Journal*, 5, No. 1, 21, 1955.)

realise that scientists and the books they write are far from infallible. He may find some errors and inconsistencies, and comes to see the limitations of scientific understanding. At first these are seen as small defects in an impressive edifice, attributable more to the persons concerned than to science itself; and these do not basically alter his attitude of respect for the established truths of science and for the authorities that teach them. It is probably true to say that in most cases this persists at least until he has taken his first degree.

When he starts his research, the science student often has an immature conception of authority. He obediently waits for instructions, and indeed it is necessary at first for his supervisor to suggest a few problems for him to start working on. But as soon as possible it is necessary for him to take the responsibility for selecting his own field of research and method of approach, and stand or fall by the results. He can, of course, continually discuss his work with his supervisor, but it remains under his direction and control. Until he learns to do this he has not begun to understand what research is. Students who fail to grasp this have to be told that they cannot continue, and sometimes feel aggrieved, saying, "But I did all that you told me to do". This problem is particularly acute with students from countries where learning by rote is traditional.

As his research continues his attitude to science gradually changes. He begins to see more clearly that the currently taught science is but the formal expression of man's partial and incomplete understanding of the physical world. From being impressed by the scope and comprehensiveness of man's knowledge, he becomes much more aware of its deficiencies and failures. He realises that whole areas of man's experience are very imperfectly understood. Even in the physical sciences relatively little is known in detail, and the fundamentals of the subject are still obscure. His focus of attention shifts from the theories and achievements of previous scientists to the physical world itself, in all its bewildering complexity.

The scientist, by the very nature of his work, is continually trying to understand the results of some observations or measurements. He tries this theory and that, and perhaps none of them give a wholly acceptable explanation. He discusses it with his friends, and they will perhaps suggest some further calculations or experiments that might throw light on the problem. No one stands on his dignity or thinks a new idea silly, for the very process of its refutation may lead to a new and valid insight. It would never occur to them to attach any weight at all to views that are unsupported by detailed arguments and evidence. Nor do they much care what they may or may not have said on the subject in the past; their only consideration is to get it right now. A scientist knows very well that in the forefront of knowledge, where hypotheses come and go, it frequently happens that his work one year completely supersedes what he wrote the previous year. If one were pedantic, one could say that strictly speaking

what he wrote last year was wrong, yet it was an integral part of an essentially truth-seeking process, and providing the process continues he is not at all dismayed by his apparent lack of consistency.⁵

The final decision concerning the interpretation of a particular observation is not imposed by authority, nor is it reached by a majority vote.⁶ It is the result of the intense discussion of the available hypotheses from which a conclusion gradually crystallises until it is recognised by all the participants. Truth needs no external authority to commend it to open minds. The process may take a long time, and if no hypothesis receives the necessary support judgment is suspended while the discussion continues and new experiments are undertaken. Authority cannot force the crystallisation of a conclusion; it has to take place naturally in its own time.

The scientist has very little, probably too little, sense of the past. The history of science is not taught to the science student. He lives in the present. Books by Rutherford and Einstein, let alone Faraday and Newton, are not bought for active departmental libraries, and if they linger there from a bygone day they gather dust unread until they are relegated to the stacks. Rarely does the scientist read the works of the past masters of his subject. His reading is all of current papers, preprints and perhaps the occasional monograph, all written in the last year or two. Science exists not in books but in the minds of its living exponents. It would be no irrevocable disaster if every scrap of scientific writing in the world were to be burnt; it could all be quickly recreated. Science may be likened to the line of flame that moves across the grass in a hot summer; ahead is the unknown virgin jungle, in the flames the incandescent fusing and re-fusing of ideas, behind the charred relics of the past, abode of teachers and engineers. The ever-present ambition of the scientist is to remain in the flames and not to become a discarded cinder. Using a somewhat different metaphor, a scientist remarked in his hearing: "Lucky fellow, Rutherford, always on the crest of the wave". "Well, I made the wave, didn't I?" replied Rutherford with complete truth.

In this context his concept of authority is very much modified, though it still survives in a different form. No longer does he believe whatever is said simply because an eminent scientist has uttered it. Any scientist who tried to impose his views solely by virtue of his reputation or academic position would immediately and irrevocably become an object of pity and derision. He expects results to be backed up by a detailed account of the observations and calculations that led to them, and that speculations will be clearly identified as such.

This is not to say that one always demands to see all the evidence for a scientific result before accepting it in a provisional way. Nearly all the

⁵ One might make a comparison here with the development of Christian moral and dogmatic teaching, which while remaining a continuous process has nevertheless occasionally contradicted itself. (See H. King: "Truthfulness—the Future of the Church", Sheed & Ward, 1968, Chapter 7.)

⁶ Cf. Cardinal Heenan's Pastoral Letter on *Humanae Vitae*, *The Tablet*, 10th August 1968.

statements of other scientists are accepted on their authority because it is simply impracticable to do anything else. In the course of a week a scientist may see several hundred articles and papers, each of which would take months or years to check in detail, even if he had the ability and equipment to do so. He therefore accepts the work if it appears to be competently done using reliable methods, if the results lie in the area of reasonable expectation, and particularly if the author has a good reputation. He thus accepts authority, but only insofar as it is real, and subject to the condition that if he asked for a detailed justification, it would be forthcoming.

If, however, a new scientific result is startling or unexpected, or contradicts a previous result, many scientists will repeat the work to see where the truth lies. If the new result is confirmed, the reputation and authority of the scientist responsible for it is enhanced, while if it is discredited his reputation suffers accordingly. In this way scientific reputations are built up and destroyed. A scientist whose work has been discredited will not be taken on trust again, while those with long records of successful experiments, careful calculations or well-confirmed theories are accorded high authority, but only by virtue of the general confidence that they have done their new work as well as their old. Scientific reputations are hard to establish and easy to destroy, and there are few sadder sights than a scientist who did good work in the past but has now slipped back from the forefront of research and is vainly trying to live on his long-vanished capital.

Scientific reputations, and the authority that goes with them, are very varied in character, depending on the abilities of the persons concerned. Some have brilliantly original ideas, but lack the patience to explore their consequences in detail. Others, more industrious but less original, sift, combine and unify the ideas of others into a coherent whole. Others are content to make careful but routine calculations or experiments, and leave it to their colleagues to make the grand generalisations. All these activities are welded into a unified whole by the many channels of communication between scientists, by the journals, the conferences and the private discussions and letters. This living community corporately knows the state of knowledge at a given time, and the reputations of its members. The authority it exercises resides in each of its members in proportion to his continuing contribution to its life.

It is interesting to outline the characteristics of the authoritative scientist. This can be done for his writings and for the pattern of his activities. The authoritative scientist is on top of his subject, familiar with all the latest advances, an unending source of fruitful ideas that clarify and unify existing tracts of knowledge and open the doors to new. Such a person will always be discussing his subject with other authoritative scientists. Usually, though not always, he frequently writes papers in the learned journals, either short, clear, stimulating notes, or long, detailed expositions, but always in a way that breaks new ground. Each paper is written to clarify a particular problem or answer a particular point. He never writes the repetitive, market-gardening type of paper that has been

characterised as "doing for sodium what someone else has done for potassium". He will be frequently invited to give lectures at conferences and, most authoritative category of all, to summarise conferences on their last day.

The authoritative scientist often wears his learning lightly, seldom missing the opportunity to make a joke,⁷ or to make comments on solemn occasions that the more staid members of the community might consider inappropriate.⁸ If he writes books at all, they will be short monographs or lecture courses hurriedly put together for publication. He is often too busy to write them up for himself, so it is done by one or two of the students who attend the lectures.⁹ He does not write heavy textbooks full of learned references.

In spite of all this activity he will find time to give popular lectures, radio talks, to sit on Government committees, to run a large department (for such is the usual fate of an authoritative scientist) and probably to be an expert on one or two quite different subjects as well as his scientific speciality.

Such men are rare, and this level of activity does not always last. Some, like Fermi, grow in authority throughout their lives, while others lose their creative impulse and gradually slip back into mere competence. The signs of this are manifest. No longer do they address conferences or write learned papers; more and more of their time is spent on administration, writing textbooks and giving popular talks, if they spend time on their subject at all. Their research school languishes, their more ambitious staff leave, and no more research students come. If they are in charge of a large department, the whole level of activity falls, and the department shrivels up. It would be easy, though uncharitable, to give examples of this, including some in the most renowned universities.

The authority of the scientist might be thought to differ from that of the lawgiver or of the moral theologian, in that when he formulates a law of nature it does not vitally affect the lives of his fellow men. If he makes a mistake, no human tragedies result. Indeed, science is a game, a vast crossword puzzle, and scientists the happy playboys. Now there is certainly an element of play in the life of the scientist. Asked why he spends his life on physics, Feynman replied: "If anything were more fun, I'd be doing it". If it were not deeply satisfying, scientists would not be able to persevere through all the difficulties that inevitably come their way. But over and above this element of enjoyment and personal satisfaction

⁷ See, for example, the "Proceedings of the International Conference on Nuclear Structure (Kingston, Canada) 1965", p. 906. This discourse on Slidsmanship easily outdistances the efforts of most professional comedians.

⁸ Preface to "Unified Theory of Nuclear Models and Forces" by G. E. Brown, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1967.

⁹ Fermi's book on Nuclear Physics (University of Chicago Press, 1950) was written in this way, and the preface notes laconically, "Dr Fermi has not read this material". As the ultimate accolade, Fermi's rough notes on quantum mechanics were published in facsimile, complete with blots and crossings out, by the same press.

there is a deep seriousness and dedication to the task of uncovering nature's laws. And it is not true that the results of scientific research have no effect on the lives of men. The numerous applications of science are an obvious example of this, but in the present context a good example is the way our understanding of radioactivity is embodied in the radiation protection laws that must be observed by all those working with radioactive substances. These laws change with increasing knowledge, and to make them too strict would hamper legitimate work, while to make them too lenient might lead to injuries. It is a very delicate task to formulate these rules and it is frequently found that with deeper understanding they can be made more flexible so as to permit more freedom with less danger. For the laws and the lawgivers to retain authority, the situation must be continually revised in the light of new understanding. It is just the same with civil and moral laws.

In these cases where a rule must be laid down before sufficient evidence is available, the decision of an authoritative scientist will readily be accepted. Authority can never ultimately prevail against established facts, but it can appropriately be exercised in the penumbra of factual uncertainty. Thus, during the war it was necessary to build reactors to produce fissile material before the relevant nuclear data was available. Fermi was asked about this, and he said that he did not know until he had made the measurements, and that would take too long. So the reactor builders simply mentioned values for nuclear cross-sections almost at random, watched for the frowns or smiles on Fermi's face, and used the values that displeased him least.

Authority in the scientific community also operates in the context of the administration of university departments and research institutes. These frequently comprise several hundred people, if all the supporting staff is included, and they are often responsible for a substantial teaching programme and for equipment costing hundreds of thousands of pounds. This constitutes a formidable administrative task for the head of department and his staff, and inevitably takes up a substantial part of his time. In this situation it might be thought useful to employ a professional administrator to run the department, leaving the scholars free to carry on with their research.

Anyone with experience of administrators knows that this would be disastrous. They are essentially men with a vested interest in the status quo, happy when everything runs along the lines laid down in the past, with little understanding of the varied demands of the future and the radical flexibility and inventiveness necessary to meet them. One can easily imagine the state of a science department after a few years of such a regime. Everyone would dutifully attend from nine to five, unless he had received permission for absence after appropriate application (in triplicate) on the elaborate form provided for the purpose, duly countersigned by everyone remotely affected. Lectures would be given according to a detailed syllabus that is never changed. Research, if it survived at all, would proceed

at a leisurely pace along conventional lines. All scientific and office equipment, and facilities to attend conferences, would be shared with rigid equality, irrespective of the needs of the persons concerned. If anyone ever had a new idea in such an atmosphere, it would be quickly smothered. Money would not be available to work it out because this would upset a carefully balanced budget. The idea could not be brought up in lectures because the syllabus would not allow room for it. Anyone with an ounce of spirit or originality would leave the department and it would quietly lapse into stagnation and death.

This is not to say that administrators are not extremely valuable people, providing that they are simply carrying out the decisions of others, and cheerfully accept that the complex of decisions they administer must be subject to constant change, with all the inconvenience that this must cause them. In the scientific community the administrative decisions must be taken by the scientists themselves, and the time that they spend on this is an essential part of their work as scientists and an indispensable contribution to the life of the scientific community. Formal authority unsupported by real authority is simply not acceptable.

The leaders of the scientific community, not only the heads of departments but also leaders of research groups and all those with responsibility for the work of others, must therefore be chosen primarily for their reputation as scientists, and only secondarily for their ability as administrators. Some administrative ability is, of course, essential if the department is not to fall into chaos. A pure contemplative like Einstein would be a disaster as a department head, and usually such people would not want such a responsibility. This does, incidentally, raise a difficulty in that the highest posts should be open to such people, but that they should be free of administrative responsibility. A connected difficulty is that if appointments are made for life, then it is possible for a man gradually to lose his real authority if he does not keep up his research work, and so in the end becomes little more than an administrator. This is not a serious problem if the scientist concerned is working on his own, or with a few colleagues, but becomes acute if he is the head of a large department.

There are several ways of dealing with this problem. The obvious solution, of simply retiring the man when his scientific creativity wanes, is not practicable, since it would entail the continuous scrutiny of all departmental heads. This would be difficult to organise and would lend itself to many abuses.¹⁰ A better scheme, adopted in the U.S.A. and several other countries, is to have several chairs in the large departments and for those professors with administrative ability to take it in turns to be head of department for a limited number of years. If a man loses his creativity the organisation of the department ensures that this cannot have serious effects. With a departmental head who is *primus inter pares* and who

¹⁰ Bruce Truscott, "Red Brick University", Pelican Books, 1951, Chapter 4.

knows that he has a limited period of office the worst effects of waning authority can be avoided, the real problems are discussed among all the professors, and the responsibilities are distributed according to the scientific and administrative abilities of the people concerned.

In this country, the heads of department are appointed until the academic retiring age. This can have serious effects if the professor is appointed when he is still quite young, and then loses his creativity. There are several departments at the present time in some of the larger universities that are virtually dead because this has happened. This is not good for the university, although since teaching ability remains longer than research ability and there are other members of the staff who do their best for the undergraduates in a difficult situation, the harm to the teaching is not so great as that to the research. The problem is tackled in physics on a national level by the use of the principle that to him who has much, much is given, and from him that has little, it is taken away. There is no equality in the distribution of research funds; they are concentrated on the creative groups. They receive the funds to engage new staff, to build equipment, to support research students, to travel to conferences and to invite foreign visitors, while the research groups of the moribund professors wither away.

The administration of a scientific department is similar in many ways to that of a business organisation, and in both cases the structure of authority is experiencing a quiet revolution.¹¹ In a large scientific department, most matters are under constant survey by the appropriate committee, and full discussion and consultation is the rule. The task of the head of department is a delicate one: he must give a clear lead without inhibiting the participation of his colleagues. It will not do for him to be just the meek expression of the least common factor of the views of his staff. His decisions must crystallise and express the often confused feelings of the department in such a way that his colleagues recognise that the right course has been taken. This is the more likely to be the case insofar as his authority is intrinsically real and not simply formal, conferred from without or resting on exterior circumstances; and, whatever the legal position may be, he will evoke a more willing response if he takes full account of the views of his colleagues, and shows that he has done so.¹²

These considerations concerning the scientific community are not without relevance for the Church. We recognise in Christ the absolute authority, and Christ has promised to be with his Church until the end of time. But in our efforts to understand and follow his teaching we have to use our fallible human minds, rather like the scientist trying to understand the physical world. In this sense the Church, like the scientific community, is a pilgrim community searching for the truth. It is also a teaching community and is faced with formidable administrative problems. Both communities have to work in the fallible human world, and the extent to which the problems of authority are successfully tackled is a condition for their continuing vitality.

¹¹ Bruce Cooper, *The Tablet*, 14th September 1968.

¹² Cf. *Servus Servorum Dei* and "Sopra di lui siamo Noi?" The Cardinal Spellman Story by R. I. Gannon (1963) p. 45.

GEORGIAN GILLING

VANBRUGH, WAKEFIELD OR GIBBS: WHO BUILT THE WEST FRONT?

by BONIFACE HUNT, O.S.B.

The author has been living at the Castle for a number of years now on the Prep. School staff and as parish priest of Gilling village. He has taken a special interest in the Castle's history from the time the Ettons owned it in the fourteenth century, and has become a minor expert on it.

THE Fairfax responsible for the West front of Gilling was Hon. Charles, son and heir of the 8th Viscount.¹ The 8th Viscount had succeeded to the title and property in 1719, but within a year he had incurred large debts and proved himself incapable in money matters. From then on Charles took charge of his father's affairs and ran the estate. At the end of 1720 Charles married the rich Viscountess Dunbar, but she died of small-pox in April 1721,² leaving him well off. In May 1722 he married his cousin, Mary Fairfax.

The West front was therefore begun not earlier than 1720, and probably not before May 1722. Its southern wing (which incorporated earlier buildings) must have been completed, with the possible exception of the top floor, by 1730, because in 1730 a Catholic chapel was set up in the West room of the main floor (now the "Fairfax" dormitory).³

Who was the architect? The earliest reference is in Drake's "Eboracum" (1736), which refers to "that worthy gentleman *William Wakefield* Esquire, whose great skill in architecture will always be commended, as long as the houses of Duncombe Park and Gilling Castle shall stand".⁴ But there is a tradition that for both Duncombe and Gilling Wakefield was merely the assistant of Vanbrugh,⁵ and there are some who think that Gibbs, not Vanbrugh, was the principal architect of Gilling.

I am indebted to Fr James Forbes for the following information about Gibbs. It has recently been discovered, from the drawing at the Ashmolean, that the stable block at Compton Verney was designed by Gibbs. The windows on the two main floors of the West front of Gilling are exactly like those of the Compton Verney stables.⁶ Laurence Whistler, in an article

¹ For details of the lives of the 8th Viscount and his son Charles, see the third of H. Aveling's articles entitled "The Yorkshire Fairfaxes", in "Recusant History", Vol. VI, pp. 14-42. (The first two articles, on earlier Fairfaxes, appeared in "Biographical Studies", Vols. III and IV.)

² She it was who was reputed to haunt the room at Gilling in which she died, but it has recently been discovered (see Aveling, p. 18) that she died in Bath.

³ Aveling, p. 34. At some time the eastern wall of this chapel was moved three feet to the east, perhaps when the Gallery panelling was put in.

⁴ Wakefield was an amateur, and lived at Huby Hall, little of which now remains (described briefly by Pevsner in "The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: the North Riding", p. 196. For his other references to Wakefield in this book, see the index of artists).

⁵ E.g., Baines, "History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York" (1823), Vol. II, p. 453 for Duncombe, and Gill, "Vallis Eboracensis" (1852), p. 265 for Gilling.

⁶ The similarity was noted by Tipping and Hussey in 1928 in "English Homes", Period IV, Vol. II, p. 213. Compare their Plate 315 (Compton Verney) with Plate 292 (Gilling).

in *Country Life*, suggests that Wakefield's plans were sent to Gibbs, as a "fashionable" architect, to be pulled together and given "distinction". Gibbs was a Catholic architect and was sometimes consulted by Catholics in this way. There are two instances where Catholic families in Northumberland sent him plans made by local architects to be "improved".

What can be said for the "Vanbrugh" tradition? Vanbrugh had built Castle Howard for the 3rd Earl of Carlisle, and the Fairfaxes dined there occasionally. Charles and his father were already related by marriage to the Earl even before Charles' second marriage, and Charles' second wife, Mary Fairfax, was a third cousin of the Earl.⁷ It would not be surprising if the Fairfaxes employed Vanbrugh and if Vanbrugh employed the same local architect as he is reputed to have employed at Duncombe. The Gibbs windows on the main floor of Gilling need not have been by Gibbs—Vanbrugh had similar ones at Seaton Delaval.⁸

But if Wakefield had been a mere assistant to Vanbrugh, would Drake have paid him that tribute? Drake appears to have regarded him as the principal architect, and he is not likely to have been mistaken in this matter in 1736 when Charles Fairfax was still alive. Moreover, Campbell in Vol. III of "Vitruvius Britannicus" (1725) gives Wakefield as the architect of Duncombe, with no mention of Vanbrugh. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner thinks that the style of Duncombe is too "quiet" for Vanbrugh, and that Wakefield was probably the principal architect, though undoubtedly strongly influenced by Vanbrugh.⁹ In 1724 Wakefield made plans for Rokeby Hall for Lord Carlisle's wealthy son-in-law, Robinson—these are shown in "Vitruvius Britannicus". Actually Robinson rejected the plans and designed Rokeby himself, but it does seem clear that Wakefield was capable of designing houses on his own. I am not completely convinced by the "Gibbs" theory. One might send the plans of an *unknown* local architect to Gibbs for improvement, but would one send those of the architect of Duncombe Park? An alternative possibility is that Wakefield, who undoubtedly copied some details from Vanbrugh, also copied from Gibbs. What architect never copied? (And one could hardly inscribe one's acknowledgments on one's buildings.)

Whatever the contributions, witting or unwitting, of Vanbrugh and Gibbs to Wakefield's buildings, it does seem that Wakefield was the principal architect in both cases. He copied details from others, but he was a very remarkable architect in his own right, and people have done him a disservice in attributing his works to Vanbrugh. Wakefield "formed his taste"¹⁰ on Vanbrugh, but was able to translate Vanbrugh into a more restrained idiom suitable for a quiet English country estate. Perhaps someone could do some research on Wakefield.

⁷ The 8th Viscount Fairfax's uncle had married the 1st Earl of Carlisle's aunt, and Mary Fairfax was their great-granddaughter.

⁸ See Tipping and Hussey, Plates 406 and 409.

⁹ Pevsner, op. cit., pp. 140-1.

¹⁰ Pevsner, p. 43.

MONTE CASSINO, 1944

SOME REFLECTIONS AFTER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY

by

GEORGE FORBES, O.S.B., M.B.E., M.C.

The Duke of Wellington is credited with saying: "All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is guessing what is on the other side of the hill", and it is the function of military intelligence to provide a general with material on which to form a battle plan. Though it is now possible to take aerial photographs of "the other side of the hill", the technique of concealment and camouflage has been brought to a pitch of excellence which largely neutralises this seeming advantage. Known as making a cover-plan, this new art of deceiving the enemy played a large part in the operations of World War II: good examples of this were the planting of the "going map" before the battle of Alam Halfa and the threat of a landing on the western end of Sicily, and it was practised by both sides, even to the *reductio ad absurdum* of a dummy tank on one side opposed by a dummy anti-tank gun on the other. Military Intelligence is therefore concerned with presenting as complete a picture as possible in much the same way as one searches out and fits in the pieces of a difficult jig-saw puzzle. The general who plans an operation must work with the material made available by Intelligence; if he looks over his shoulder at the probable verdict of history he will undoubtedly lose the battle. The military historian on the other hand works with a mass of material provided afterwards by both sides, and is therefore peculiarly prone to being wise after the event.

The history of the battle of Cassino has been magnificently produced after the most painstaking research by Major Fred Majdalany,¹ and (as the writer says) "there is no intention here of repeating what he has said, still less of improving on it, but only of giving personal impressions, in which certain facts will stand out clearly, like a battle-fleet in line ahead". The writer was present as a military chaplain.

The Abbey of Monte Cassino, in the mountains between Rome and Naples, was founded by St. Benedict in c. 529, and he was buried there. Destroyed by the Lombards, it was rebuilt, but destroyed again by the Saracens in 884. It was destroyed for the third time by the Normans in 1046 and again rebuilt. The destruction in 1944 by American bombing was thus the fourth, so it now stands as a tangible symbol of the Benedictine motto: *Pax in spinis*.

A. RAVEN'S EYE VIEW

It was on 15th February 1944 that the Abbey was destroyed by aerial bombardment, but the story begins some four months earlier, when the battle front was at Capua, 50 miles or so away to the south-east.

On 14th October 1943 two German officers called on the Abbot and informed him that it was advisable to evacuate the Abbey and remove all valuables to a place of safety. The story is told in full by Majdalany² and there is no need to repeat it, except to quote one remark of Captain Becker's: "Like Santa Clara in Naples and San Lorenzo in Rome, your

¹ Fred Majdalany, "Cassino: Portrait of a Battle", 1957.

² Majdalany, p. 50.

Abbey will be reduced. It is a sad thing for your monastery, beautiful and important as it is. Mais, c'est la guerre. The order is not to let them get beyond here. Rome ils ne l'auront pas jamais".³

The insistence of the Germans was such that the Abbot reluctantly agreed, and in the next fortnight all the books and portable treasures were removed to Spoleto and, apart from a small caretaker party which included the Abbot, the monks were evacuated to Rome.

Anyone with the most rudimentary knowledge of military tactics who looks at the first illustration will see at a glance that Monastery Hill is the key point of this excellent defensive position, and the Germans, at all times professional soldiers of the highest quality and especially masters of defence technique, were not slow to act. They blasted positions in the solid rock which made the hill almost impregnable.⁴

It has now been established beyond doubt that the Germans did not use the Abbey buildings as part of their defence plan. In December they informed the Abbot that a neutral zone 300 metres wide had been established round the Abbey, but in January 1944 this zone was abolished⁵ and all civilians in the Cassino area were forcibly evacuated, with the exception of the Abbot, five monks and three sick families in the monastery.

At this point it will be of interest to quote General von Senger und Etterlin who, as Commander of 14th Panzer Corps in Xth German Army, was responsible for the defence of Monte Cassino:⁶ "The neutralisation of an outstanding building high up in the middle of a battlefield was a most extraordinary if not an impossible-looking attitude on both sides. It was an instance of the judgment of the leading men on either side who on our side realised that the occupation served nothing and on the Allied side that destruction served nothing. . . It must be presumed that the Vatican found means of conveying news to the other side through its international channels". He goes on to say that the military argument for the destruction was "purely psychological".

To take the last point first, it is true that "Monastery Hill", as we called it, had a very depressing psychological effect on us. To quote an officer's contemporary account: "Everyone knew that on this hill were plenty of German eyes glued to super-race-glasses, eager and ready to spot the slightest move, which would be rewarded by a sharp stonk".⁷

With regard to von Senger's first point, two other cases of historic buildings in a battle zone immediately come to mind. The Cathedral of Cologne (the Dom) stands next to the main railway station and bridge over the Rhine, and the Basilica of St Laurence at Rome adjoins the main

³ Tomasso Leccisotti, "Monte Cassino: La Vita l'Irradiazione".

⁴ Majdalany, p. 34 f.

⁵ Majdalany, p. 53 f.

⁶ *The Tablet*, 15th February 1958.

⁷ Major H. J. L. Green, Coldstream Guards.

railway marshalling yard. Both areas were subject to heavy aerial attack, and while our own photographs show the Dom apparently undamaged, an official German photograph of the interior (which the writer has seen) shows very heavy damage by blast. The damage to St Laurence's Basilica required almost complete reconstruction.

Aerial bombardment is the least accurate form of modern attack and the blockbuster type of bomb the most devastating, short of the use of nuclear weapons. The effect of this kind of weapon on the Abbey is shown in the second illustration (see photographs). Not only is the eastern wall destroyed, but the whole mountainside has been sliced away, which must have been most uncomfortable for any Germans outside but close to the wall.

The American Air Force was notorious for the inaccuracy of their bombing. As the inhabitants of Tunis used to tell us: "When we saw planes with British markings we knew we were safe and that they would bomb La Goulette (the port of Tunis), but when the Americans came over we took cover". Also the crews were none too particular in what they did with any spare bombs still in the aircraft after leaving the target. It is all very well to say that there must be Germans down there somewhere, but we were also down there, and though a miss may be as good as a mile it is not so funny when you happen to be at the wrong end of the mile. The Commander of the Eighth Army (General Leese) had his personal caravan destroyed in this way, fortunately in his absence, when it was a good eight miles from the target area, and the present writer's unit also suffered casualties inflicted by our allies on the same occasion. All this goes to show that it is extremely unlikely for any building in a target area to escape heavy damage.

We now come to the attitude of the Allied commanders to the destruction of the Abbey. First it must be said that there is no evidence of any request for its neutralisation being made from the other side of the line. The only request for information was made by Sir D'Arcy Osborne, which was answered, after much delay, on 14th February (the day before the bombing) by the denial on the authority of the German Embassy that there was any considerable (*grössere*) concentrations of German troops in the "immediate vicinity" of the Abbey.⁸ It is hard to see how the Allied command could regard this vague statement as anything more than a part of the German cover-plan.

General von Senger is not only a good Catholic, but also a Benedictine oblate, and he would not appreciate the totally different stand-point of Allied generals who were neither. To the average Briton the word "Abbey" conveys the idea of a ruin like Fountains or Tintern. "Monks" had surely been abolished by Henry VIII. The *naïveté* of questions asked in Italy is hardly credible, such as: "Tell me, George, why are there so many Roman Catholic churches in this country?" or "Why has a little place like this

⁸ Majdalany, p. 123. Sir D'Arcy Osborne was British Minister to the Holy See.

(Fermo on the Adriatic) got an Archbishop? In England we have only two for the whole country, Canterbury and York". Field Marshal Alexander, in conversation with the present writer a year after the event, said: "Before the bombing of the Abbey I had a good look at it through my field-glasses and I came to the conclusion that it was not, architecturally, very impressive. Now that it has been destroyed, they will be able to get lots of dollars from America and will be able to put up something really good!" This remark was in a sense prophetic (except that not many dollars were forthcoming), for the Abbey has been rebuilt just as it was before and all the books and treasures have been restored, so it might appear that nobody is very much the worse off now except the Italian government which had to foot most of the bill, a just penalty for having fought on the wrong side.

Another incident which illustrates the British attitude to monasteries occurred in September 1945 as we were approaching Monte Laverna, a wooded hill crowned by a monastery where St Francis of Assisi received the stigmata. The Ayrshire Yeomanry (Royal Artillery) were ordered to take up battery positions, and whenever they did so they were promptly shelled. It seemed certain to them that they were being observed from the monastery (another building under Papal protection like Monte Cassino), so they put two shells into the top storey, and were never troubled again. This minor incident never reached the papers, but it was quite impossible to convince the Ayrshires (of good Covenanting stock) that the Germans were not using the monastery as an observation post, and that their shells had not poked the enemy in the eye.

It has often been said that generals fight their battles on the lessons of the last war in which they were previously engaged. It is certainly true that two of the lessons of World War I were deeply impressed on the minds of our commanders. The first was the necessity of avoiding casualties as far as possible, and in view of this it is hardly to be expected that any building, of whatever historic or aesthetic value, could be considered in the balance against the lives of men. One of the biggest factors in maintaining our *morale* was that we knew that our generals were "casualty-conscious", and that heavy casualties were only accepted when absolutely necessary. One might here recall Wavell's retort when he was accused of inactivity: "A big butcher's bill is not always a sign of good generalship".

The other lesson well learnt was the effect on operations of winter weather and heavy bombardments. When asked to renew his attack on Cassino the New Zealand Commander (General Freyberg, v.c.) answered in one word: "Passchendaele".⁹

Finally, it should be borne in mind that the Allies were composed of many nations, each with a different approach to war. The British and Commonwealth forces were fighting for their home countries which were not "enemy-occupied" indeed, but under attack. In effect, they were fighting an enemy who was misbehaving, in order to compel him to comport

⁹ Majdalany, p. 193.

himself in a more orderly manner, unlike the French and the Poles who were fighting to get back to their homes and families. The Indian troops were professional soldiers of the best type, who regarded battle as "just another job". Veterans of Keren, they found Cassino much the toughest proposition that they had met in the course of the war. The greater part of the Free French forces was composed of colonial troops under French regular officers, and included the fierce Moroccan Goums, who were said to be paid by piecework; excellent allies in broad daylight, but one had the uncomfortable feeling that a British or American car, acquired on a dark night, was indistinguishable from a German one and would have equal value as currency at the pay table.

It was the Poles who were the most dedicated of all the Allied soldiers, for they fought with but little hope of return to their homes, and were inspired with a fanatical desire to hit the Germans as hard and as often as they could. It is said of them that at one time, when their casualties rendered the Polish Corps ineffective as a fighting unit and no more Polish reinforcements were available, General Anders said that he would find his own replacements. When further asked: "From where?", he replied: "From the other side", and set out on a tour of the prison camps to enlist the Poles who had been forced into the German army. In the end it was not the British or the American or the French flag which flew from the Abbey ruins, but the Polish one, and nobody would grudge them that final triumph who has seen the Polish cemetery on that blood-soaked piece of ground hard by the Abbey and has read the poignant inscription: "We Polish soldiers, for our freedom and yours, have given our souls to God, our bodies to the soil of Italy, and our hearts to Poland".

B. WORM'S EYE VIEW

Hitler is said to have been fascinated by the Cassino battleground, as the nearest to the Ypres sector in which he fought as a corporal in 1914-18. It had a fascination for other people too, whether they were veterans of the former war or not. During the day it was courting disaster to move about or to expose oneself for the briefest moment to possible snipers, so night became day and day night. At dusk the porters assembled for their nightly journey into the town with supplies. The last two miles could not be covered by wheeled transport and mules were fully employed in the mountain sectors, so everything, even drinking water, had to be carried in by men. Different regiments would have different methods; one would use the minimum of men and loads so heavy that a man who fell could not rise without assistance, another would use more men who were at the same time more mobile. Both systems had their good points and casualties among the porters were not heavy, partly due to the effective smoke-screen provided by the artillery which went by the code-name *No Name*, and partly because both sides were taking in their supplies at the same time. The first mile of the supply route followed sunken lanes and was comparatively easy; it was the second that earned for itself the name of the



Monastery Hill, the key to the tactical situation, before the bombing.



East side of Monastery after the bombing

"Mad Mile". It began at Two Corpse Corner, where the lane debouched into Highway Six on the banks of the Rapido river. Here the Sappers had erected two Bailey bridges side by side over the nine-foot deep river, and usually one or both had been damaged by the enemy during the day. If both were out of action one had to sidle across on the girders, no easy matter when carrying a heavy load. From the further bank the road ran straight to the Hotel Continental, one of the main German strongpoints. Apart from the hazards of craters and other traps for the unwary there were two Spandau positions sited to shoot up anyone who happened along. They were known to us as Spandau Joe and Spandau Willie; Willie fired across the road, his bullets coming at an uncomfortably low level, about waist high, but he could be dodged fairly easily. Joe, on the other hand, fired straight down the road and luckily set his sights rather high, as was proved by one of our most frequent visitors, the lieutenant-colonel commanding a Light A.A. regiment, who had fought at Ypres in the Coldstream Guards and who liked to introduce his young officers personally to battle. "That gun is firing high," he said, "I'll show you." He climbed on to the top girder of the Bailey bridge and held his stick above his head, where it was shattered by bullets. "There you are. I told you so."

A most unpleasant feature was the great number of corpses, the aftermath of three attacks, which it was quite impossible to bury. The only thing to do was to creep out and quicklime the more offensive ones. Another problem was washing and shaving, for the water brought in was strictly limited to drinking and cooking. We would draw water from a convenient crater—the one most in use had a pair of German legs floating in it—and dose it liberally with creosote before putting it to ablutional use. The German Paratroopers in the town received only cold food, but we always did our best to give even the most forward troops hot food. So close were the enemy that when they smelled our frying bacon they invariably sent over a shower of grenades. Dealing with casualties was another headache, as they had to be kept till nightfall and included a high proportion of head injuries,¹⁰ so stores of blood plasma were kept and emergency operations were carried out in extremely difficult conditions.

Visits to the forward positions were an eerie and unpleasant experience, as it was necessary to walk on the lips of the bomb craters which adjoined each other in the manner of a honeycomb. At any moment the smoke might become a bit thin, and a slip into a crater sometimes occurred from which it was impossible to extricate oneself unaided. The actual positions were well covered by rubble and would stand a direct hit, though one company headquarters was in a horrible, claustrophobic place where it was impossible to sit upright, and section posts were liable to elimination by bazooka fire. Communication was difficult, as the Germans could and did tap in on telephone conversations. ("We know you. You are all gentlemen" was one example of a message from the other side.) The New Zealanders and the Welsh Guards got over this by conversing in Maori and

¹⁰ Majdalany, p. 205 ff.

THE CRICKET FESTIVAL AT BLUNDELL'S
Ampleforth, Blundell's, Osmelle and Uppingham



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Welsh respectively, resulting in a shower of pamphlets from the German side—in Hindustani! There were other forms of fun and games, too. On the occasion of Hitler's birthday (20th April) the Germans hung out a lot of large swastika flags in prominent places. The Welsh Guards had unearthed an oil painting of a Cassino worthy, possibly an ex-Mayor, to which they added a moustache and a lock of hair over the forehead. When hung up so as to be visible to our foes, this did not seem to amuse them and they promptly shot it down.

Living in these conditions was entirely without attraction and it was always with an extraordinary feeling of relief that one turned the corner and placed Monte Trocchio between oneself and the Monastery Hill, but it seemed to draw casual visitors like a magnet. On Easter Sunday two American soldiers drove up from Naples, parked their Jeep by the Bailey bridge and walked into the town in broad daylight. Both were rather drunk and they walked without attracting German attention to within shouting distance of our positions. As they stood rubbernecking and swaying slightly, a German fired a burst and nicked one of them across the back of his thighs. "When that happened I guessed I'd better scam!" he remarked afterwards, and amazingly they got away without being hit again or treading on a mine. It was the mines which in the end effectively discouraged most of the swimmers, and, when the war had moved on, half a million mines were lifted in the town area alone.

The end came at last in May, when the ground had dried out sufficiently to allow armoured movement. The British on the left and the Poles on the right mounted an overwhelmingly powerful pincer movement which closed on the road west of Cassino and the enemy withdrew, still biting hard in rearguard actions. Rome fell a month later and our advance continued throughout the summer for some 300 miles, ending only when the central Apennines and the winter weather stopped us again for a further six months; but that is another story.

Cassino, so costly in human life and suffering, and thus deprived at the last of the full victory that would have made it worthwhile, was in the end little more than a victory of the human spirit; an elegy for the common soldier; a memorial to the definitive horror of war and the curiously perverse paradoxical nobility of battle.

Majdalany's conclusion.

BOOK REVIEWS

"THE Rule of St Benedict", edited and translated by the late Abbot Justin McCann of Ampleforth, has for some time been out of print: it was published by Burns & Oates in their Orchard series at 16/., and they are now again publishing it at 30/-.

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Scriptural Studies; Theology; Church History; the Old and the New Church; the Priestly Life; Liturgy and Art; Intellectual Freedom and Truth; General.

I. SCRIPTURAL STUDIES

John L. McKenzie, S.J. VITAL CONCEPTS OF THE BIBLE Burns & Oates 1968 127 p 18/-

John L. McKenzie, S.J. MASTERING THE MEANING OF THE BIBLE Burns & Oates 1969 128 p 18/-

Fr McKenzie is in the top half-a-dozen of American Catholic biblical scholars, and as a writer and publicist in this sector he has hardly a peer at the present time. The two volumes under review are made up of some of his occasional writings, re-edited to provide a series of chapters for each. They are written in an easy and forceful style and each makes a point of interest to the general reader.

The first article in "Vital Concepts" entitled "Into the desert" combines a wide view of Bible History with a Lenten homiletic aim; an "Exegete at the Manger" may well have first appeared at Christmastide in answer to an editor's urgent appeal, but it explains in a clear and simple way how a Catholic exegete can combine firm faith in the reality of the Incarnation with a "demythologising" approach to the details of the Nativity narratives. His brief but respectful critique of Bultmann's views is perhaps the most important chapter of all and will repay careful study by all who wish to sift the wheat from the chaff of his teaching.

The second volume only just published preserves further essays valuable for the requirements of the Catholic just becoming interested in the Written Word of God. The first chapter, "How to read the Bible", offers practical and sensible advice, the second, "An everlasting Love", takes the theme of God's undying love for men and above all for the Chosen People as the key-theme of the Old Testament. The chapter "Getting to know Christ" reminds one in places of the affective style of the late Archbishop Goodier's Gospel readings, whilst the two chapters on the "Bible and Contemporary Catholicism" and "The Bible and the Laity" are useful recapitulations of the history of the biblical renewal over the past 25 years. And finally, the chapter on "The Values of the Old Testament" assesses its specifically universal, Christian and theological values and so forms an apposite conclusion in view of the contemporary efforts to recover the importance of the Old Testament for Christian theology and spirituality.

BERNARD ORCHARD, O.S.B.

Ealing Abbey,
W.5.

Peter Ellis, C.S.S.R. THE YAHWIST, THE BIBLE'S FIRST THEOLOGIAN Chapman 1968 xi + 234 p 42/-

The particular theology of the New Testament writers has been the subject of enquiry of a number of books since the war, but this is the first book of its kind to examine the theology of one of the anonymous writers of the early books of the Old Testament. There are a number of strands, each with its own distinctive individuality, discernible in the Pentateuch, one of which is known by the name which the author uses of God as that of "the Yahwist". Fr Ellis examines how he uses the traditions which he received, and shapes his material to bring out the lessons which it is to convey to his readers. This is a fascinating task, for "the Yahwist" wrote at a time when Israel was in many ways, both cultural and religious, at the zenith of its

development, the reign of Solomon. He was clearly a man of great humanity, warmth and understanding.

The book is useful, but somewhat disappointing. It is not professional or original enough to rank as a scholarly work, and is perhaps too detailed (inevitably by nature of the subject) for beginners. It tends to be repetitive without becoming more profound, and somehow fails to catch the imagination or inspire, in spite of the claim on the dust-cover that Fr Ellis combines scholarship with a real ability to communicate. Perhaps the best chapter is that on the Yahwist's literary techniques, where a good deal of the author's theology is in fact also taught. The first two sections of the last chapter, on Election and God's Love, are also well written.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

ed. Bernard W. Anderson THE OLD TESTAMENT AND CHRISTIAN FAITH Herder & Herder 1969 271 p 27/-.

These essays are concerned with the place the Old Testament has in Christian thinking. To many, today, it is difficult to reconcile the teaching of the O.T. with the message of the N.T. Some, like Marcion in the second century, would totally reject the O.T. because the God it speaks of is so different from the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Bultmann (in the first essay) admits that the Gospel presupposes the Law but the "Law" need not be the concrete O.T. The pre-understanding which emerged under the O.T. can emerge just as well within other historical embodiments of the divine Law. Events which meant something to Israel, which were God's Word, mean nothing to us today. Christ alone, as God's eschatological deed of forgiveness, is God's Word for man.

Other writers by no means agree with Bultmann, and the final essay by Emil Brunner is a strong defence of the unique revelation of God to the Hebrews, and the inadequacy of the Greek categories of thought in understanding the living God who spoke to Israel. All the ideas of the O.T. were brought to completion and in a certain sense spiritualised in the N.T.—the message of Jesus Christ. There is one God, one message, one revelation, one Word, one covenant.

GILBERT WHITFIELD, O.S.B.

Raymond E. Brown JESUS, GOD AND MAN Chapman 1968 105 p 25/-.

This book is an investigation of the scriptural evidence about certain aspects of the divinity of Jesus. The author, a scholar of the highest repute and never afraid of grasping the fiercest bull by the horns, is almost brutally frank about the self-deceptions practised to convince ourselves that there is evidence for what we want to believe. This is a field where a series of theologians have been rapped over the knuckles one after another, but the author guards himself only by an occasional *salvo meliore iudicio*, and theologians before whom a mere scripture scholar may hardly venture to express an opinion. It is a stimulating book, liberating in its openness.

Was Jesus God? This is a question so broad as to be almost contentless in the context of the New Testament. Fr Brown asks first whether the New Testament calls Jesus God, and finds that the actual title is used certainly only three times, probably another five times, but always in the later parts of the New Testament. At first the Christian community was chary of applying this title, and only gradually, as the full meaning of Christ became clearer through reflection under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, began to use it, probably first in liturgical contexts. The major part of the book is devoted to the question of Jesus' knowledge. He does not seem to have known everything; he could learn from other men in the ordinary way, accepts a number of contemporary religious ideas which we would find mistaken or inadequate, and does not give any clear teaching about the nature and time of the end of the world and his second coming—an omission which is explicable only if he himself was ignorant of it (as indeed he admits in Mark 13:32). Finally the author examines the thorniest problem of all, Jesus' understanding of himself and of his mission. Here he takes two titles, to see if and how Jesus uses them of himself. One, that of Messiah, is perhaps

badly chosen, since Jesus' hesitation here was due to its political overtones and the current misunderstanding of the title by the Jews. In examining the other, Son of God, Fr Brown reaches the conclusion that *from the use of this title no consciousness of a unique relationship between Jesus and the Father can be established*. But he balances this conclusion by two observations: even Jesus, as man, needed time and reflection to reach an explicit formulation of his own relationship to the Father; on the other hand he clearly claimed to be the unique agent in the establishment of God's kingship and in the authoritative interpretation of God's will to man.

Fr Brown is both courageous and respectful in his enquiry, dispelling a good deal of pious mist; in the resulting clarity the fullness of Jesus' humanity can be all the more richly perceived.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

II. THEOLOGY

Jacques Maritain ON THE GRACE AND HUMANITY OF JESUS Burns & Oates 1969 144 p 30/-.

The 1967 French edition (and now, it seems, this English edition) of this post-ultimate book by the Peasant of the Garonne seems to have passed notice in English circles. Here it is introduced to us by the translation of Dr Joseph W. Evans, Director of the Notre Dame University Jacques Maritain Centre. It is a re-interpretation of St Thomas' thesis on the grace of Christ, a subject of central importance. It is the fruit of many years' meditation and more specifically two research-meetings in 1964.

Maritain is not *ex professo* a theologian but rather a Christian philosopher and humanist, though he has written studies of Aquinas and Scholasticism and assuredly his second part of "The Degrees of Knowledge" (1932, English 1957) give him claim to the title of theologian. It is therefore a nervous reviewer who looks at this intense little study, so full of the wisdom of the years.

Maritain's first approach is entitled "from the Virginal Conception to the Death on the Cross". In that the life of Christ was a single long mission, an unswerving movement to his *omega*, Christ did not live in the condition of faith and doubt and frustrated new beginnings: in the flesh, then, he was not *purus homo* but *verus homo*—truly man if not exhausted by being man, as we are—his final outcome perfectly expressed his initial intention, and what other man can claim that? But as he was man, he was becoming—like all men—*totus homo*; he was capable of advancing in wisdom and age and in grace before God and men (Lk 2, 52). Maritain asks: from the creation of his soul, have all the graces of God passed through the humanity of Jesus as conjoined instrument of divinity? He answers: in that God used as an instrumental cause the *habitus* of grace in Christ's soul, yes; in that Christ was able to make acts of reason and will, free decision proceeding from that *habitus*, no. From all time the Son of God possessed rights (like Kingship) which he realised as Son of Man only when he was *sedens ad dexteram Patris*, his redemptive work done. In his Mission (by example and teaching, by signs and miracles, by prayer and desire of heart), the Son of Man emanated the plenitude of grace to a few in Palestine, founding a Church—the prime vehicle of grace—for all men afterwards. In his Passion, the Son of Man triumphed over sin for all men. In his Resurrection, the Son of Man triumphed over death for all men. In his Ascension, the Son of Man released his power as universal sanctifier, liberating the right he possessed from all time.

But in his Kenosis, his emptying-out, his taking flesh, Christ became at once *perfectus comprehensor* in what Maritain refers to as "the heaven of the soul" and *viator* (as all men) in "the here-below of the soul". The heaven of his soul, which had the fullness of Vision, was in Maritain's view in some manner closed to the unbeatified part of Christ-as-man: "there was a transubstantiated pattern between the supraconscious paradise of the soul of Christ and the world of the consciousness or of the here-below of this soul; nothing could descend in order to specify the conscious activities; it is only general comfortings and a participated light, in particular the light communicated to the infused science, which descended into the world of consciousness".

There are two extremes to avoid, "dolorism", where the moment of supreme suffering is the whole instant of redemption, the rest being accessory rather than intrinsic; and "triumphalism", where the instant of death gives place to royal reign in glory, recapitulating all grandeurs of humanity: for the Resurrection and Ascension are both yet to come as intrinsic parts of the whole movement. Another extreme to avoid is that Christ trod the winnepsr utterly alone bearing the full weight of his Cross without desire of participation; *spes unica*, there is but one Cross, and we all share the weight as best we are able—"it is essential to the Mystical Body of Christ to be coredemptive . . . the incarnate Word has willed that men save the world with him".

Maritain's second approach develops the categories he has already set out. He unfolds the implications of the dichotomy of the soul of the God-Man, i.e. "the heaven of the soul" (where he saw the Divine Word, which was his own Person, knowing himself with perfect consciousness in the Divine Essence); and "the here-below of the soul" (where he had crepuscular consciousness, groping *per speculum* in *aequivocum* with growing understanding, lit a little by the Vision and a little more by his innate sinlessness). Between these two radically different consciousnesses is Maritain's transcendent (and elsewhere he uses the term "transfinite") partition through which percolates dimly the light of infused science, giving the human Christ an experience of total inner unity, humble but absolute certitude of self, unshakable and supra-human stability and power. It is this double state in the one Person which allows Jesus the Word to be sole Mediator between God and men, what Maritain calls "an exchange agency" changing the gold of Vision into expressible, communicable human coinage—we might use the word "transformer", covering not merely knowledge but grace.

Nevertheless the mystery remains: *Christus Comprehensor* possessing Vision, in the infinite order; and *Christus Viator*, capable of growth in the finite order—no "exchange agency" can gloss the absolute differences of ORDER, nor can the word "transfinite" really have any meaning. Maritain has put his face right up against the mystery, and it is hard to see that in his section, "in what sense the habitual grace of Christ was unlimited in its order", he has not glossed and confused.

The mystery is here again, just as insurmountably, in the discussion of the infused science of Christ. Aquinas is corrected from his extravagances about the infant possessing all knowledge, and about Christ not learning from men for he was Head of all men in knowledge and dignity (what then, asks Maritain in a lyrical passage, was the Kenosis?). Even now, possessed of Vision, Christ still makes use of infused science in his act as Mediator (or "exchange agency") to formulate mental decrees, to command his angels and to bear judgments, i.e. to exercise his universal lordship—for we who are ruled remain eternally finite and must see God through Christ, the Utterance of God and Mediator to men. But is it satisfactory or even valid to speak of the light of Vision spilling over from the supraconsciousness as "an influx of intellectual light" into the consciousness? What the Word heard from the Father, Jesus formulated for himself and for all men: the Son in the bosom of the Father revealed Him. How? There is the mystery, though we know that the God-Man is the nexus and his operations theandric (double action, divine using human instrumentally).

In the last part, "From Adolescence to the Death on the Cross", Maritain slips off his theologian's cloak and slips on his Christian humanist's: much of what he says there is pious but unprovable. It is a profound book, but not *sine macula, sine ruga*, though it does move the problem forward a little.

ALBERT STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

ed. Herbert Vorgrimmler *DOGMATIC VERSUS BIBLICAL THEOLOGY* Burns & Oates 1965 274 p 30/-

Some of these essays by writers like Rahner, Schillebeeckx, Schnackenburg have already appeared elsewhere. All deal with aspects of biblical exegesis in its relation to speculative theology. The methods of biblical studies have sometimes been so objective and cautious in reaching conclusions that their work has had little to contribute to a living faith. On the other hand theologians have been indifferent to scriptural origins. It is time that this dichotomy was forgotten. Fr Schillebeeckx says (p. 123): "We may

not then regard Sacred Scripture as the whole of the revealed religion of Christianity. But it is still an essential, fundamental, constitutive and irreplaceable element".

In "The Historical Jesus and the Christ of Faith", Franz Musner reviews the work of scholars who despaired of ever finding the "Jesus of History", as the gospels depicted only the "Christ of Faith" and we "could only touch the hem of his garment". The gospels, however, present us with Jesus as a definite historical character. His sayings arise from episodes, although in the gospels as now arranged we do not always read them in their authentic setting. The apostolic preaching in Acts concentrated on the death and resurrection of Jesus, but Peter at Pentecost spoke of his mighty works and wonders. The significance of the Cross could only be grasped by those who already knew of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, that is, in his life as a man in the Messianic hopes of the Jews. The poverty of the concept "Jesus of history" which belonged to Liberal Christianity of two generations ago is replaced by the richer and truer tradition when we view Jesus in the light of the apostolic commission, the shallich, by which men spoke with authority in the name of Jesus. The Church, with this authority, proclaims faith in Jesus as the salvation of the world, but it only does so because this tradition actually comes from the historical Jesus.

If we are uneasy about the views of those who deny that the teaching of the Church need be either explicitly or implicitly in Scripture, we must seek more earnestly the "fuller sense" of Old Testament texts. This involves reading the Scriptures as they were intended—as believers trying to confirm faith. The words of Scripture are the means by which the "Word of God" comes to us. The Church's dogmas are not theological conclusions culled from Scripture texts but the account of our faith which comes alive in the Scriptures. The New Testament is a clear example of *fidem quaerens intellectum*. Believers within the Church find their assurance as they read the Scriptures. In other words the stock answers of the Catechism acquire a deeper meaning when we read the Scriptures with them in mind.

G.W.

ed. Alan Richardson *A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY* SCM Press 1968 xiv + 364 p 70/-

This book is a companion to the "Dictionary of Christian Ethics" which Prof John Macquarrie edited two years ago, as indeed to Dr Richardson's own "Theological Word Book of the Bible", now nearly a couple of decades old. Its primary aim is to deal with contemporary theology issues, but since these cannot properly be stated without reference to the historical development of Christian ideas and terminology, considerable attention has had to be paid to matters of historical fact. This is all to the good. Christian theology, whatever some of its most august exponents may have supposed to the contrary, has always drawn its sustenance from men whose religious faith was moulded by their cultural conditions. At the same time no attempt has been made to reproduce the wealth of factual detail so wonderfully compressed into the late F. L. Cross's "Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church". Its field is restricted, moreover, to Christian theology; liturgy, for example, has had to be excluded. Limitation to Christianity was also an obvious necessity: comparative religion, or the beliefs of non-Christian religions, could not have been included without very greatly enlarging the volume, besides altering its character. Yet some enlargement would have improved it. Quite apart from additional entries the main articles could with advantage have been fuller and the rather skimpy bibliographies extended. No doubt this would have raised the price of the book, but surely it would have been worth it: there is room for a middle-sized theological encyclopaedia.

The list of contributors is somewhat curious, alike for names that do figure in it as for others that do not. Part of the editor's purpose has been to give his compilation an ecumenical look, and the editor of THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL himself has some useful contributions on medieval theology. The articles on the doctrine of redemption by Prof James Atkinson of Sheffield are among the best. Altogether this new dictionary is a handy work of reference for the reader who desires instant information—and who nowadays does not? It is, of course, impressively up to date. "Death of God Theology" gets two whole columns, and "Existentialism" the best part of five, or nearly twice as

much as "Roman Catholicism". "Liberal Protestantism" receives ample notice, but "Modernism" (the movement condemned by Pius X, that is) only the barest recognition, sharing half a column with the Modern Churchmen's Union. However, the editor of encyclopaedias, like the compiler of anthologies, faces a multitude of problems and his solutions are bound not to please everybody. Dr Richardson has, in the circumstances, managed signally well. The type, though small, is clear and the entries are comfortably spaced. Finally—*mirabile dictu*, nowadays—the proof-reading appears to have been done with admirable care.

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BERNARD M. G. REARDON.

ed. Dean Peetman FRONTLINE THEOLOGY SCM Press 1967 172 p 22/6

A book purporting to be Frontline Theology: published in 1967, reviewed in 1969, it is a collection of articles from the "Christian Century" between 1964 and 1968. Altizer, one of the contributors, has written elsewhere that theology is neither a book nor a journal discipline because of the delay between writing and publication. Magazines also contain so much filler and hasty work that it is not easy to find the solid stuff. "Communications", apparently, "is by telephone calls, improvised luncheon meetings attended by people who have cut an important conference session, and letter writing".

How far theology has moved since the articles were first prepared, I know not—I have never got close enough to an important conference to be able to cut it. That the magazines contain unnecessary material, we have sufficient evidence in this book. Each of the eighteen writers gently revs his engine before starting properly, if he ever does, and some of the discussions (for instance, of a move from a seminary community to a secular university) might sound more like theology over the telephone. The best essays ignore the theme "How I am making up my mind" and explain the relevance of a position held.

One such is Altizer himself who is surprisingly intelligible. He does not, unfortunately, judge his own theology by his thesis that "a theology that cannot speak to its own destiny has forfeited its claim to be Christian", but he does take it as a starting point. He now finds Christ unnameable but not, thank goodness, unspeakable: "we speak the Word when we say Yes to the moment before us".

The contributors are well-known but reveal nothing new: Cox asks for a prophetic and therefore a political stance; W. Hamilton writes of the Death of God and optimism; Van Buren says very little. James M. Robinson sums it all up as the problem of scoring the Christian point outside traditional Christian language which means discovering what the Christian point is.

So we can only hope that when we discover what the "frontline theologians" were discussing in 1969, it will not only be the God-issue undiluted, but that prayer, love and even man might have got a look in, too.

R. L. BERNASCONI.

III. CHURCH HISTORY

Owen Chadwick JOHN CASSIAN (Second Edition) C.U.P. 1968 171 p 40/-

John Cassian, "the doctor of the monks", is one of the great unacknowledged saints of the Church; and one of her finest theologians, indeed almost the most influential of the Latin Fathers besides Augustine. His real stature as contributor to the growth of monasticism is not even second to that of St Benedict; nor does St Benedict (if it was he who wrote the Rule we have in his name) forebears to recognise this, for he shows Cassian to be much more than a predecessor, indeed a founder of western monachism.

And these are not Cassian's limits. In the fierce fifth century controversy on Grace, he took the middle position (the now fashionable "extreme centre") between St Augustine's view of the soul's total dependence on God and Pelagius' liberty of the soul to choose between right and wrong. Cassian taught that the wounded state of man is capable of knowledge of right and wrong *naturaliter*, though his will can be

motivated to good only by God's grace: in this he reached the blessed mean of Catholic doctrine as the other two did not. In ascetical theology—"the journey of the soul to God"—Cassian preserved from contamination by the influences of Platonism the great Johannine vision of the soul's enlightenment by God and union with God: in this he pioneered the contemplative ideal which was to become the tradition of spirituality. Against the Nestorian heresy Cassian stood—at paper behest—as orthodox champion, writing in prose which soared to near-poetry in glorification of the lowliness of the God-become-Man and of his mother the "God-bearer" (*theotokos*). These are his claims, together with his exemplary life, to be called an unsung saint of the Church.

And yet he was dogged with ill fortune. His monastic writings, the incomparable *Institutes* and *Conferences*, which still remain a living source of spirituality for modern monks, were clouded by his contemporaries' fear that his theology of Grace was not orthodox: Cassiodorus, for instance, warned his monks to that effect. A complex misunderstanding, first of what Cassian had meant in his writings, and then of what kind of ecclesiastical condemnation had been made upon them, led the Middle Ages to believe that his doctrine had been formally disapproved of in the decree of a Roman synod under Pope Gelasius (c. 495), and this found its way into the *Decretum*. Nevertheless Cassian left his mark for all time on western monastic life, ascetical and liturgical: monks such as Aldhelm of Sherborne, Lanfranc of Bec and Peter Damian, and after them the Friars from Dominic to Aquinas, and later writers of eminence and discernment like Ignatius Loyola, Teresa of Avila or Francis de Sales all acclaimed Cassian as the early Master of the spiritual life. When the *Journal of the Church* began today with the words, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende/Dominus ad adjuvandum me festina*, they begin with the words so devised by Cassian; and if any doubt that he was not semi-Pelagian, let him ponder these words of his:

God is not only the suggester of what is good, but the maintainer and insister of it, so that sometimes he draws us towards salvation even against our will and without our knowing it. (*Coll* vii, 8, 2.)

Owen Chadwick, now the Regius Professor of History at Cambridge and biographer of the Victorian Church, has found time to return to his 1950 study of "John Cassian", not merely to revise it but to recast it anew, taking in much recent scholarship. The earlier version bore the marks of youth: it was less guarded and more vivacious. This later version bears the marks of experience, being more studied, more judicious, more apt to seek the inner spirituality of the subject: if the man is lost a little, his doctrine is better recovered. The main change comes in the middle, where "the Journey of the Soul" takes in two former chapters on "the Conquest of sin" and "the Life of Contemplation", and where there is a clearer exposition of Grace. Details have been discarded to make a more perfect picture.

ALBERIC STAGPOOLE, O.S.B.

D. E. Luscombe THE SCHOOL OF PETER ABELARD. THE INFLUENCE OF ABELARD'S THOUGHT IN THE EARLY SCHOLASTIC PERIOD C.U.P. 1969 xiv + 360 p 75/-

Here at last is a fair and useful synthesis about the influence of a man of whom it is difficult to speak without passion. Abelard was indeed great, passionate and even passionate; he came up against another great man who also was passionate, but whose activity was carried out in other fields: St Bernard. Dr Luscombe has managed to speak calmly and objectively of both. His learning is very vast: one has the impression that, in the present state of research, there is almost nothing which has escaped his notice. His information and his critical judgment allow him to shed new light on the intellectual life, so intense, of the twelfth century, and that of France in particular, as well as on certain of its great representatives: Peter Lombard, Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor, Robert of Melun, Gratian and others. As I do not see any criticism to make, nor the way to summarise this work which, in spite of its density, is so easy to read, I prefer to suggest one or two glosses of certain problems which are touched upon in this book.

Concerning those disciples of Abelard who were Hilary and Vasletus (p. 52-54), fresh indications are to be found in the edition of "Un formulaire écrit dans l'Ouest

de la France au XII^e siècle" which I have given in "Mélanges offerts à René Crozet", Poitiers, 1966, p. 765-775; it appears there that the author of the letter to Hilary in which mention is made of "Magister Algerius", is named not Herbert, but Hervé (p. 769, n. 27). The other ancient disciple who was Geoffrey of Auxerre and who afterwards became not only the disciple of Bernard of Clairvaux, but also his confidant, secretary, biographer, and finally his successor, has also left on his two masters his personal memoirs which will soon be accessible in the edition of his writings which D. F. Ganshield is undertaking.

In the study which is to appear in *Revue bénédictine* 1969 on the "Lettres de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry à S Bernard", I shall show that William had even more influence on the abbot of Clairvaux than has hitherto been thought: one is tempted to say that he was, at least in the Abelard affair, his mauvais génie. This would, however, only partly excuse Bernard, for he had sufficient character to retain his independence of judgment even with regard to the most highly placed persons, even popes, when he so wished; but maybe it was that he asserted his autonomy more easily in the field of action than in that of thought.

On p. 315, Dr Luscombe quotes 37 different Latin spellings of the name Abelard, and he wonders which is correct. The problem is rather to know from where this name comes and what it means. It is a surname, created by the onomatopoeic imitation of the barking of a dog: "aboyer" or "abayer", with their derivatives "aboi", "abat", "baier", etc., are attested in old French from the twelfth century; "abbaiare" still exists in Italian. In English we have "to bay", in German "bellen", and in Latin there was "baubari". At the origin of all these forms—for which it would be possible to refer to lexicons and etymological dictionaries—is the dog's bark. "The Greek cognate is *baizein*, 'bark, wall', lit. 'to utter baw-baw', which correspond to our howl", says, for example, H. L. Wold. "The Universal Dictionary of the English Word", London, 1934, p. 86. And thus we find ourselves in the Indian Far West! Abelard is only a surname meaning "aboyeur", "barker", thus every form which imitates or suggests barking is, from this point of view, authentic. The telephone directory for Paris and other towns in France shows that this surname, now becomes a name, is still current. There are even some Peter Abelards. . . The admirers of Bernard in the past often found an agreeable pastime in tracing the various etymologies of his name; if those of Abelard have not done the same for their master, it may be that the meaning of his surname would not have flattered him.

Lastly, let us not forget that part of the "School of Abelard"—and probably the most lasting, since it remained as an institution until the French Revolution—was constituted by the monastery, then the Congregation of the Paraclete. In a study now in press and to appear in *Festschrift E. Kleineldam*, at Leipzig, I have shown the highly traditional and spiritual value of Abelard's Sermons and Letters on the monastic life: in the milieu of the Paraclete, this witness must have remained living and active for a longer time than his philosophical and theological writings, for it was felt especially "for some twenty years after the death" of the master, as the closing words of the "School of Peter Abelard" (p. 310) tells us. In this same study I have even been able to make mention of a prayer to "Saint Abelard". True, the text is late—it was printed in our century—but from what long tradition does it not spring? It has come from far abroad: the Antilles in the West Indies. It is queer: it is to be found in an anthology of Christian magic. It is better that we stick to the measured admiration and the firmly founded judgments of Dr Luscombe.

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JEAN LEGLERCO, O.S.B.

M. Altschul ANGLO-NORMAN ENGLAND, 1066-1154: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL HANDBOOK Cambridge University Press 1969 83 p + xii 35/-

A bibliography of these dimensions has been needed for a long time. Not surprisingly it comes from a North American University, and has been intelligently conceived and accurately executed. Classification into "Political History", "Economic History", etc., can easily be challenged, but Dr Altschul's 14 categories, subdivided

into printed sources, surveys, monographs, biographies and articles, work very well. He has not tried to include bibliographies of particular topics, such as the Norman Conquest, Church and State or individual reigns, presumably because the overlapping would have been intolerable, but one wonders if the Index, confined to authors, editors and translators, could have been more useful here. Literature *per se* is excluded (why?), but intellectual, artistic and technological history find a place.

The following features make the book especially helpful: a comprehensive list of articles from historical, legal and theological journals (mostly British and American); short comments not only on a book's contents and limitations, but also on its importance in a particular field and its relationship to a particular problem or controversy; the inclusion of books with mildly misleading titles, e.g. Powicke's "The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204", which is invaluable for earlier Norman history. I could detect no important omissions, and would quarrel with few entries. R. H. C. Davis "King Stephen" and D. C. Douglas "William the Conqueror" are both published in England; so it is not helpful to refer only to their publication in Berkeley, U.S.A. R. Allen Brown is correctly spelt in entry 345, incorrectly in 727.

Anyone interested in medieval history, or in humanity for that matter, would enjoy browsing through such an array of titles and topics as are here displayed. He would be delighted to find the great J. Horace Round fighting his battles with Victorian contemporaries and almost equalling Sir Frank Stenton as the most prolific writer on this period. He could also draw interesting conclusions from the following figures: entries under "Economic History", 114; under "Social History", 306; under "Religious History", 315.

W. A. DAVIDSON.

Erwin Iserloh THE THESES WERE NOT POSTED Chapman 1968 116 p 25/-

James Atkinson MARTIN LUTHER AND THE BIRTH OF PROTESTANTISM Penguin 1968 352 p 7/6

Luther studies have now become such big business that studies are being written upon the studies themselves. It has even been estimated by an American scholar that more has been written about Luther than about any other person in history with the exception of Christ. Already available in English alone are dozens of studies of Luther's life (Bainton, Green, Dickens, Ritter, Todd, etc.), of parts of his life (File, Rupp), and of his theology (Rupp, Whale, Koestlin, Althaus). These are now joined by a study from Professor Iserloh, Church historian at Münster, on the question of whether or not Luther did nail up his famous theses against Indulgence on the Castle Church door at Wittenberg on 31st October 1517. This may at first glance seem to be merely an academic question of no interest to the general reader. But Professor Iserloh shows that it makes all the difference between saying that Luther provoked a break with the Catholic Church by publicly advertising his views at a time when Wittenberg would be crowded, and saying that Luther humbly presented his theses to certain bishops and learned friends, seeking reform through the official channels. Iserloh certainly proves his point, and it will now be impossible for any future Luther scholar to propagate the story of the nailing of the theses, without taking into account the very cogent arguments, taken from the evidence of Luther's letters and later statements, put forward in this book.

Our other book by Professor Atkinson of Sheffield is of larger scope and studies Luther's whole life and work. Firstly, let it be said that this Pelican Original is seven-and-sixpence worth of excellence. At least one third of the book deals with his vital seminal period before 1517, assessing the importance of later medieval mysticism and nominalism on the developing Luther, and making full use of Luther's early lectures and commentaries to show the gradual evolution of his theology and personality. Where does this book stand in the long line of differing interpretations of Luther—from the extreme Catholic critique of Denifle, through the provocative psychoanalytic interpretation of Erikson, to the "orthodox" Protestant views of Ritter and Bainton? Professor Atkinson, certainly on the Protestant wing, is a definite admirer of Luther, and on occasion his own theological prejudices and apologetic approach mar the surface of an otherwise creditable piece of historical writing.

Blessed Sacrament Fathers have maintained continuous Exposition at St Francis' Church in the city of Melbourne since 1929. If the number of Catholics in Australia outstanding in intellect have been few—the stormy figure of Dr Mannix being notable—There have been dedicated men and women—Fr Therry the first pastor in Sydney, Bishop Polding (whatever his shortcomings), Mrs Caroline Chisholm who worked for the welfare of Irish immigrant girls, Mother Mary McKillop who founded the Sisters of St Joseph, and many bishops, priests, nuns and *Christifideles* whose names we do not often hear.

GILBERT WHITFIELD, O.S.B.

IV. THE OLD AND THE NEW CHURCH

MERIEL TREVOR, PROPHETS AND GUARDIANS: RENEWAL AND TRADITION IN THE CHURCH
Hollis & Carter 1969 221 p 30/-

This is a distinguished book, and a timely one. The problems of prophet and guardian, renewal and tradition, are as old as the Church, and indeed far older, since they are rooted in the "Church" of the Old Testament. But at times they are quiescent, and can go unheeded: other times are less comfortable—among them, our own. But Miss Trevor is not simply thinking in terms of 1969. She comes to her theme uniquely qualified by her work on Newman, Philip Neri and John XXIII; and all three, together with her own gifts of insight, breadth of outlook, and compassion, enrich this study. The book is, broadly speaking, a vindication of "The Liberal Tradition in the Church"—the title of her introductory chapter, in which she surveys the problem as a whole, analysing the complex of conflicting ideas—religious, social, political—which have gathered round the term "liberal"; and raising too a further question: "Why has the Church retained the apparatus of monarchy for so long? Why has the fear of free discussion persisted even till now? . . . The fraternal tradition is at least as old as the paternal. It has never ceased in the Church. It cannot cease, for it is of its essence".

There follow five variations on this theme: a series of historical studies ranging from the twentieth to the sixteenth century, designed to show "that certain ideas and aims which seem new have a long history within the Church". Each deals with a particular crisis, or mounting tension, and is interpreted biographically in terms of the men who made them, or suffered them. Hence a series of brief portraits, vivid and exact, of Prophets and Guardians, each so often baffled, if not outraged, by the other; and her answer, broadly speaking, to Juvenal's question *Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?* is unequivocal: "The Prophets". But this is not an "either-or" book: it deals at a profound level with Prophets and Guardians, renewal and tradition, Tyrrell's *Nova et Vetera, Lamennais' Dieu et Liberté*. This liberty she defends in Newman's terms: the liberty for which he strove, and suffered, as opposed to a destructive form of nineteenth century "liberalism" (is any term more ambivalent?).

But this is to anticipate. The five phases, or turning-points, she deals with are "The Modernists (1899-1912)", where she singles out for discussion George Tyrrell and von Hügel; "Ultramontans versus Historians (1859-75)", where Newman, Döllinger and Aston play the chief parts; "Prophet Disowned: Lamennais (1830-34)"; and "The Devil's Advocate (1740-55)", a study of Benedict XIV, with Voltaire as a secondary figure—not so much a crisis this, as a parting of the ways; for the Church and the "world", which in Rome at least had lived for so long hand in glove with each other, were never to enjoy quite the same intimacy again. There follow "Afterthoughts on the Reformation", these, too, chiefly centred on Rome, where Cardinal Contrani (1483-1542) as a Christian humanist confronts the political ambitions of Philip Neri (1515-95), and Paul IV. This section ends with a winning portrait of Philip Neri (1515-95), one of the most attractive examples of "the ever old and ever new tradition of Christian brotherhood"—and we are back with Newman, who is something of a key-figure throughout the book. He not only plays his own difficult role in the nineteenth century; he is present as "the invisible *peritus* of Vatican II", gifted with an insight which has carried Catholic thought far beyond the rigidities of his opponents. This combined with an open-eyed and "costing" patience and obedience

to make him "that rare creature, a prophet of modern times who was not repudiated by the Church and never repudiated its authority".

The fullest treatment (some 70 pp.) is given to the Modernists, who posed so many contemporary questions which for a time were driven underground unresolved, but have since emerged (it may be, still unresolved) into the liberty of full discussion. It is a sordid, tragic, sometimes heroic story, where a complex of mixed motives and divergent interests were drawn together and condemned by the Roman authorities under the blanket-term of "Modernism". "I do not condemn Pius X and his supporters," Miss Trevor remarks, "for being conservative, but I think it fair to criticise the methods taken to deal with the Modernist crisis." Tyrrell emerges as not only hard-hitting, witty and pugnacious—dominated, like his fellow-Irishman, Swift, by *vosus indignatio*—but as a spiritual guide to his simpler brethren; irritable, lovable, and loved by Maude Petre to the end; in part at least the victim of his own temperament as well as of his opponents. Yet "however erratic Tyrrell's theological ideas may be, his criticisms of the Church of his day were penetrating enough to be called prophetic. He was right about what was wrong. . . Their crisis, sixty years away, can illuminate aspects of our own".

Perhaps the core of the book—its interpretative principle—is most fully illustrated here and in the following chapter, "Ultramontans versus Historians". The Church is not simply something given; still less can its belief be summed up idly in a body of dogmas once and for all, whether St Thomas's *Summa* or the Penny Catechism. "The Church is people" (hence the biographical method of the book), with his insights as well as their blindnesses; it is an evolving, exploring society, some of whose members seem born to be guardians of what is already won, while others are forced by their gifts, and by the pressures of circumstance, to seek out what is still lacking, and re-shape what must be adapted to a new age.

But if the Church on earth (the *pilgrim* Church, as Vatican II reminded men) is too readily identified with the Church triumphant, "the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven", then the situation becomes more complicated; and it took the growing pressure of nineteenth century historical method, the scholarship of a Döllinger, the long search imposed on Newman, as he returned by way of the Fathers to the Catholic Church, to shake this too static conception. Nor was the battle won in their lifetime: the Modernists fought with some newer weapons over much the same ground. Some of the combatants went down in the fight, some laid down their arms, others defected to the enemy. Some hung on doggedly in the positions they had won, till it became an abandoned and half-forgotten battlefield. Maude Petre in 1936, when she was over 70, wrote in "My Way of Faith", "The people I cared for most are gone; all cohesion has disappeared; I feel myself . . . a solitary, marooned being on a desert island". Another 30 years have passed, and Tyrrell is at the moment being evaluated afresh, while von Hügel by his spiritual insight and the impetus he gave to a large circle of friends has been deeply influential, above all among Anglicans.

But this is not a one-sided book. Not all her Guardians are unsympathetic: one of her most attractive portraits is that of Benedict XIV, scholar, wit, patron of the arts and sciences, and pastor of souls; perhaps the last pope, she suggests, to hold the interests of Church and world together in a balanced humanism which Voltaire's descendants and the French Revolution were soon to destroy. Nor are all her Prophets wise, or lovable. They, too, are "people", whose insights could be blinkered by temperament, or old age, or warped by self-will as well as by opposition. Yet it can remain insight, and bear fruit after many years. "Many, many are the things openly said by Catholics, priests or laymen, that could never have been safely said had men like Tyrrell not first said them, and been decapitated for so doing". Thus Maude Petre—"My brave dear Maude Petre", as von Hügel used to address her, doggedly refusing to abandon either her "prophet" or the Church. "To those who implied a reproach for what they regarded as reckless unorthodoxy in befriending a heretic she replied: 'I could never do less for man in order to think more of God.'" Tyrrell, some years after her youthful spell in Rome to study St Thomas, "penned a Valentine in which he depicted the passengers of 'The Rome Express' trying to push the train which had stuck on the line:

Lo, in the rear an Amazon who shoves,
And murmurs to herself: 'I feel it moves';
Herself immobile, nothing can defeat her,
Rock versus Rock, and Petre versus Peter".

There have been several changes of driver since, the engine has been overhauled, and the Rome Express is gathering speed.

There is a full index, and a detailed bibliography for each chapter, which will send the reader back with renewed insight to some of the original documents. (I owe the last two quotations to the introduction by James A. Walker to Maude Petre's small book, "Alfred Loisy", published after her death, in 1944.)

F. E. HARRISON.

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Oxford.

Patrick J. Gearon, O.C.A.M. THE WHEAT AND THE COCKLE Britons, Chulmleigh, Devon 1969 165 p 30/-

This little book is not a theological treatise, but is addressed to the plain Catholic who is only too obviously bewildered by the changes he sees in the Church. Having been told by politicians for years to be internationally-minded and to eschew all narrow nationalism, he sees the one truly international institution which has a common language disintegrating into a host of national Churches. When he goes abroad, armed with his Latin/English Missal, he finds himself quite unable to follow the Mass as he did formerly, and even in his own country he finds variations between parish and parish, and that well-loved prayers like the "Hail Mary" have all but disappeared from public worship. It is not surprising that he wonders whether the rock on which his house of faith is built is becoming unstable.

In the first part of the book, the Wheat, Fr Gearon gives a summary of Catholic doctrine, nothing new, but put in an attractive way. It is in the second part, the Cockle, that the sparks begin to fly, and he attacks four classes of people: Communists, "new" theologians, liturgy reformers and ecumenists who lean over too far backwards so as to minimise Catholic teaching. Fr Gearon is an extremist, and is not afraid to admit it, but his extremism is no more so in his direction than that of the "Progressives" is in theirs. It is well to bear in mind that theological opinions, even those of Cardinals, do not compel assent, and the fair-minded layman likes to hear what the other side has to say. This book will provide much food for thought and matter for prayer, and it is to be hoped that it will be widely read. The quotations from the Encyclicals of the reigning Pope and his two predecessors are skilfully chosen, and though many will not go all the way with Fr Gearon, what he has written will help to keep alive the hope that the Church will soon produce an *éclaircissement* which through the exercise of the ordinary Magisterium, not necessarily infallible, of the Pope, will command the assent and obedience of the Faithful. Much will be expected from the Congress of Bishops next October, for hope too long deferred is liable to end in indifference.

GEORGE FORBES, O.S.B.

Hans Küng TRUTHFULNESS, THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH Sheed & Ward 1968 240 p 12/-

Planned before Charles Davis' rejection of the Church as no longer a credible bearer of the message and spirit of Christ, this book is not a direct reply to Charles Davis. Where Charles Davis is concerned with arguments for and against the credibility of the Church as it is, Fr Hans Küng is pointing to what the Church should be. Nevertheless, he includes a chapter on the challenge which Charles Davis presents to the Church, which is helpful to anyone concerned (and who is not concerned?) with the Davis affair.

Though he might be attacked for a vague use of words, a careful reading will reveal that Dr Küng says precisely what he means about truthfulness in the Church. He defines "Truth" with some care (p. 60) and points to the features that a truthful Church should reveal in practice (chapters A4 and B9). There is some duplication

here, because the book is a combination of lectures given in a number of universities together with a more detailed examination of the practical demands of truthfulness. Dr Küng has taken truthfulness as his theme because he judges that the world now seeks truthfulness above all other values, and because the Church has not, in practice, always accepted its primary importance. Nevertheless, he is aware of the dangers of a fanatical truthfulness which would be hurtful to persons; and he takes the opportunity to ask frankly whether the Protestant Churches have yet given real consideration to the demands which the Catholic Church can rightly make of them. In accepting the Reformation's earnest desire for truthfulness, and in accepting Protestantism's close links with this desire in the world today, we must ask whether the Protestant Churches have yet taken that close look at their position which is now so necessary.

This book is dependent on Dr Küng's earlier major work, "The Church", for its basic theology, but this does not lessen its comprehensibility. Only where he talks of the development of doctrine does Dr Küng lack clarity. He says rightly that the theory of development can be extended too far, but he does not really tell us how we can judge whether a development is true, i.e. in the spirit of the Gospels (p. 131).

LEO CHAMBERLAIN, O.S.B.

Helder Camara CHURCH AND COLONIALISM Transl. William McSweeney Sheed & Ward 1969 181 p 15/-

In Manchester Free Trade Hall on 8th April 1969 the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife was applauded before, during and after his first address in English by fifteen hundred students. His message contrasted in its world-wide dimension with his diminutive stature. It was an appeal for young Britons to lead the protest of youth in the world

"against the monstrous way we live today, with our false values: against the ridiculous mechanisation of everything, including man himself." With ferocious but warm-hearted intensity he outlined the seven deadly sins which modern youth repudiate:

"racism, colonialism, war, paternalism, Pharisaism, estrangement and fear." Concluding, he suggested a programme of action: the creation of a multi-racial world; changing the pattern of international trade which is oriented only to the continuing prosperity of the wealthy; the elimination of neo-colonialism; the promotion of the development of all mankind; the ending of war, bringing reality to Pope Paul's wish at the United Nations, "No more war, never again war".

Some might think this Utopian; Archbishop Helder Camara rebuffed that idea, reminding the students of Churchill at the darkest period of the war—"If it is not the beginning of the end it is certainly the end of the beginning".

All this was at the 1969 S.C.M. conference on Race and Poverty. "Church and Colonialism" outlines in greater detail what these ideas and ideals entail. The first eleven chapters are from lectures, conferences, addresses and interviews Helder Camara has given in Europe, U.S.A. and South America. The twelfth is an enquiry into the social situation of North East Brazil where poverty and destitution are the norm. He shows how the Third World and the Rich Nations are inseparably linked for the solution of political, social and economic problems. He begins to answer the question of the responsibility of Christians in all this, but poses many more: e.g. What is "International Social Justice"? At what point can and must a State intervene in a socialisation programme? What is the relation between freedom, socialisation and private property?

The book quotes facts and figures, but is not the work of an economist, sociologist, psychologist or any other specialist. He writes it as a Christian Bishop for all mankind.

JONATHAN COTTON, O.S.B.

Alois Müller THE NEW CHURCH AND OUR CHILDREN Burns & Oates 1968 96 p 10/- (translation of "Die neue Kirche und die Erziehung", Benziger, 1966)

This is a good, inexpensive, little book. It explores the contemporary definition of religion and Christianity's relation to it, summarises contemporary ecclesiology, attempts to define the Christian life today, and explores a new attitude to the world and its

values. Each section concludes with an admirable sub-section on how, in principle, these themes should be reflected in education. Much of the book's value lies in its being a compact and intelligible account of certain major theological trends, Protestant as well as Catholic, and their relevance to Catholic education.

The translation from the German is good but provides the occasion for raising a question concerning translating in general since we are leaning heavily on imported catechetical works and some specialists are becoming uneasy at the extensive use of idiom unsuited to this country. On p. 54 of this book, for example, reference is made to a popular German hymn (the title is left in German) to illustrate misplaced triumphalism. I would have thought that for the English edition a familiar English example could have been found. On p. 27 a key German book on symbol in education is quoted, in German, in mid-text, instead of being relegated to a footnote. Could a note have been included about English material on the same subject? It may be objected that this goes beyond the work of a translator, in which case it is a matter for the publisher to commission a little research. Finally, the English title reduces considerably the impact of the book and diminishes the strength of the German title. The "our Children" is unfortunate because education in the book is extended to include the self-education of adults and potential readers could be deterred by thinking this is a book for teachers whereas it could be read profitably by anyone. It may seem childish to niggle on the only three faults I found with an otherwise admirable translation, but these are less faults of an individual translator than reflections of a situation that too many people are taking for granted.

NOREEN HUNT.

College of Education,
Poulton-le-Fyilde.

William Dunphy THE NEW MORALITY Burns & Oates 1968 192 p 15/-

Beware of book titles. From the title of this one you might justly expect an account of the so-called new morality that is said to be round and about; or, if not that, at least an attempt to produce an outline for a new morality. But you will be disappointed and, in fact, would be better off to look elsewhere, for instance to a book paradoxically called "No New Morality" written by Canon Rhymes in 1964 where the author with much more confidence gives us a fresh vision of a sexual ethic that is truly Christian and biblical. The book under review consists of ten short essays by members of the faculty of St Michael's College in the University of Toronto. The essays do not relate very well though there is an overall interest in history and emphasis on continuity in the Christian tradition. Contributors include Gregory Baum and Leslie Dewart though their essays do not seem to be the most valuable ones. The best are by Edgar Brunns and David Belyea. Brunns' essay is entitled "Old Testament History and the Development of a Sexual Ethic". He gives a good analysis of the early Hebrew attitude and explains well why we have to be more cautious in our use and interpretation of biblical texts in this matter than hitherto. However he fails to follow it up by providing any principles or conclusions that should arise from his findings—not that these are really new to us. Then there is Belyea's essay "Christ the Model for History" (which is excellent) with its emphasis on the fact that "Jesus appeared on the human scene to show mankind the truth, that is, to point out to us what is ultimate reality, that reality which stands above the evanescent world of phenomena. Through the teaching and example of Christ, God reveals to men the meaning of their lives". But again, like the others, he does not go on to explain the implications of this to our moral theology. Whether this is because he, like the other contributors, is scared to put his real thoughts on paper (though this could hardly be the case with Gregory Baum) or whether it is because he has not thought his way through to any further position is impossible to say. It is a pity, for it means that the book remains interesting for those making a study of this subject but not an important book in spite of the presumptuous title.

Another great disappointment with the book is that it does not anywhere deal with the burning issues that have cropped up with ever greater insistence since *Humanae Vitae*, viz. the natural law, the proper understanding of situation ethics and

the use of the Bible in determining what are right and wrong actions. Even a book written five years ago by Canon Drinkwater called "Birth Control and Natural Law" got much further in helping us in such matters than these essays from Toronto.

We badly need some really fresh thinking on the basic principles of our moral theology. May I quote from Gabriel Moran in his recent book, "Vision and Tactics", for he does seem to be tackling the subject in truly basic way: "Only today is a Christian presentation of morality in the making. It is in the process of being developed upon scriptural, liturgical, philosophical and theological foundations. The net result will not be the perfection of moral theology but its destruction. That is, the more that morality becomes theological, the less need there will be for a distinct entity called moral theology. The moral theologian today is intent on eliminating his occupation". And again: "Morality needs a religious life out of which it can grow organically". "Our task in moral theology is neither doctrinal instruction nor moral formation; both of them are less than Christian, less than human. The task instead is to try to convey what it means to be a human person in the light of Jesus of Nazareth."

FABIAN COWPER, O.S.B.

Louis Evelyn LOVERS IN MARRIAGE Herder/Burns & Oates 1969 144 p 18/-

This book reached the reviewer's desk on 2nd May 1969 for a publication 20 days later—i.e. just over a year after Bishop Joyce of Burlington gave his imprimatur to the English edition of a book translated from an earlier French, "Amour et mariage". Fr Evelyn raises problems in a living and swiftly moving debate on marital action, e.g. whether the Church should bless only unions that have proved themselves over a period of time, whether children would not be better off under a successful second marriage than a dead first one, whether birth control is a good thing.

As to the last, he tells us of three schools of thought, reducible to the problem "should conjugal relations depend on psychological conditions (i.e. on biological laws) or on moral dispositions (i.e. on personalist moral laws)?" He tells us that that is where the question stands, in the Pope's lap. "His special commissions are composed of representatives from all three viewpoints. There are those who will not budge from the traditional position, those who would allow the use of the pill to regulate nature, and those who say that once we go that far we should go all the way . . . many people hope that the Pope will not say anything. The question is not ripe, theologically speaking, because the schools of thought are still divided; and progress in Church doctrine must follow theological progress. This is not an area where inspiration operates; the question requires thought and reflection. It would be dangerous to adopt a position prematurely when the question has not yet been developed in all its dimensions. Still others feel that the Pope is going to push back the limits imposed by Pius XII, but that he would like to do this without seeming to contradict the teaching of his predecessors."

Well, it's nice to know all that on 2nd May, 20 days in advance of publication day. But it's also nice to know what happened on 29th July 1968.

A.J.S.

Dietrich von Hildebrand TROJAN HORSE IN THE CITY OF GOD Sands 1969 263 p 15/-

This is a paperback reprint of the book originally published in 1967. It contains a forceful warning against recent movements in the Catholic Church. Where in the past certain truths have been over-emphasised and certain practices encouraged, these must be supplemented not replaced. The individual's personal relation to his Saviour only needs to be balanced by more attention to his place as a member of the community of the People of God. An appendix gives a careful and not uncritical appraisal of the writings of Teilhard de Chardin.

G.W.

"world come of age" and "religionless Christianity". For Bonhoeffer himself these thoughts were only half worked out and not intended for publication. Others have taken them up, with rather wild results. For this their originator should not be blamed: he endeavoured among other things to elaborate a theology of the Church and to expound Christianity as true humanism. It is a pity that he did not come into communication with Catholics working on these themes, with Congar, say, or the YCW and cognate movements, also that he did not really penetrate the true Catholic sense of the Eucharist or know the reality of Catholic devotion to our Lady, both of which would have immeasurably enriched his thought and aided the solution of his problems, not to say brought strength to his personal commitment.

PHILIP HOLDSWORTH, O.S.B.

William Kuhns in PURSUIT OF DIETRICH BONHOEFFER Foreword by Eberhard Bethge Burns & Oates 1969 314 p 60/-

William Kuhns' book, if you can afford it, would make a good follow-on, discussing many of the themes just mentioned, at a more leisurely pace and bringing out more fully the varied facets of Bonhoeffer's character and life. We learn something of his early experiences both in Europe and in America; that he showed an original insensitivity, quickly corrected, to the Nazi persecution of the Jews; that he once tried, and much appreciated, the life of a semi-monastic community; how he gradually moved from academic to real theology, from anti-pacifism to pacifism and then back to participation in the plot to assassinate Hitler. Life and works are again taken together and many themes explored, cursorily as they occur, more fully in some concluding chapters. The account of Bonhoeffer's involvement in the Confessing Church (which refused to bow to Nazi control) and of his relationship with the Ecumenical Movement are items of particular interest, as is also the way in which the development of his thinking and action, although always by intent pursued within the framework of his Lutheran faith, yet tended ever to break free from it towards a wider perspective. Careful attention is paid to his "Ethics" which is seen, fragmentary though it be, as the key to his mature thought. Finally and not unexpectedly there is an extended treatment of the prison period and writings and the attempt is made once more to elucidate his "religionless Christianity" and "world come of age". Kuhns makes the important point that Bonhoeffer did not envisage a reform of Church structures as leading to a more effective speaking of God's Word, but precisely the reverse. When men again utter the Word of God with power, he thought, it will revise and renew both the Church and the world—a point that Vatican II did not perhaps sufficiently emphasise. Bonhoeffer was concerned with "the non-religious interpretation of biblical terminology" but scarcely adumbrated the task. Kuhns tries to elicit the meagre hints contained in the "Letters", not with great success it must be admitted. He does better with "religionless Christianity", seeing at least three elements as included in it: "holy worldliness"; a Christian atheism; sense of responsibility and social commitment; and these he subjects to some analysis. However, one is still left with the fact that we can only save Bonhoeffer's ideas from paradox and contradiction by interpreting them in ways unauthorised by him. Kuhns also examines the reasons for Bonhoeffer's striking abandonment of pacifism and adherence to the resistance and the plot against Hitler's life. He gives a number of possible reasons for the change and thinks that it where his writings fail to do this. One possibility he hints at is that Bonhoeffer's pacifism may not have been completely thought out in the first place, another that his later thinking was always so close to concrete situations that he did not succeed in relating it to general principles. Perhaps this is where the Protestant distaste for natural law shows its weakness?

The book ends with some general chapters: Bonhoeffer's views on the reunion of the Churches; a Catholic assessment of his thinking; a final summing-up. These draw together some of the earlier discussions. The author concludes "there can be little doubt that Bonhoeffer's integrity speaks as loudly as his ideas".

Nowadays it is felt that Bonhoeffer was a prophetic spirit in anticipating many of our problems and attitudes, in particular with his sense of the world come of age and his concept of Christianity without religion. In estimating his contribution and even in appreciating it, we have to ask some searching questions about the nature of Christianity as he received it. How far in fact did he experience an integral Christian tradition? This may seem an absurd and impertinent question to ask—did he not die virtually a martyr?—yet for all his theological knowledge, his pastoral experience and his personal dedication, do we sense that he conceived Christian faith as effecting a supernatural rebirth for man, involving a change in his being and casting him for a destiny not capable of being categorised in purely human terms? In fact we do, though once only, at the moment when he was being led off by his guards to execution. "This is the end," he said, "for me the beginning of life." This reveals at one and the same time both the incompleteness of his concept of the stage of Christian life before death and also how fully he realised the significance of it thereafter.

PHILIP HOLDSWORTH, O.S.B.

Henri de Lubac, S.J. PIERRE TEILHARD DE CHARDIN—MAURICE BLONDEL CORRESPONDENCE Herder & Herder 1967 174 p 45/-

This exchange of letters helps us to understand the philosophical-theological attitude of Teilhard de Chardin who, by his interest in science and the reading of Bergson, had become an ardent evolutionist and had an instinctive wariness of metaphysics. Blondel professed that truth is reached not only through the intelligence and rational demonstration but through the whole range of experience. According to Teilhard, man's capacity for self-conscious thought and the various cultures have added a new layer to the earth's surface, the "noosphere", distinct from, yet superimposed on, the biosphere. The evolutionary convergence which the noosphere makes possible will eventually manifest itself in the unification of all human cultures into a single world culture, the Omega point, God determining cosmic history and its goal. The integration will be achieved through love, which forms "le Milieu divin", the spirit of Christ at work in nature.

Blondel, says Jean Rimaud, "showed great understanding and sympathy for this spiritual philosophy, yet maintained his own dialectic position, orienting himself more in the voids and hallownesses of nature than in its increases and fullnesses". Blondel and Teilhard agreed on essentials, but differed in their notions of how the natural and supernatural relate, or of how all things have their substance in Christ. Blondel was more Augustinian.

We may remember that in 1964 Etienne Gilson wrote, "Thomism extends the natural through the supernatural. St Thomas holds that there is a connexion and a close parallelism between nature and grace" and shows how charity "brings nature to a completion which lies in a direction already roughly indicated by its active inclinations".

E. A. COSSART.

VI. LITURGY AND ART

Ambrosius Verheul INTRODUCTION TO THE LITURGY Burns & Oates 1968 192 p 35/-

Many of us have been talking for so long, almost *ad nauseam*, about the importance of liturgy and liturgical renewal, that one is tempted to assume a cynical air when faced with a book entitled "Introduction to the Liturgy". Surely we are so far beyond this stage that introductions to the liturgy can be described as positively unfashionable! Er Verheul's book, however, is no light-weight. It is a concise, clear, and very systematic outline of the great principles underlying liturgical activity, with important chapters on the rôle of signs, the use and value of the body in worship, the Church as "worship community", and on the transcendent and sacred character of the divine. In some senses, however, the book is out of date already, but this is because the original was written in 1964 and much liturgical water has flowed under the bridge since then. There are at least two misprints: on p. 64 *ecclesis* should be *ecclesia*, and on p. 77 the Greek is wrong.

V.A.B.

Clifford Howell, s.j. *THE WORK OF OUR REDEMPTION* (new illustrated edition) Chapman 1969 192 p 16/-

This is the third edition of a celebrated popular work on the rôle of the liturgy in the Church and its continuation of our Redemption. It first appeared in 1953 as a collection of essays published in "Worship", the American liturgical review, and it has since been revised in 1966 and for this present edition. For a work of this nature to have survived for so long in this fast-moving period of history is a credit to its author and an index of his industry in keeping up with developments in liturgical thought and practice. The style is clear and readable, and the only regret that one has is in the matter of the illustrations. They are not good and it would have been better had they been omitted.

C.G.L.

Simon Bryden-Brook *A SIMPLE ENGLISH MASS* J. & W. Chesters Ltd 1968 Congregational card and accompaniment.

Some people have an intense aversion to the adaptation of plainsong melodies to vernacular words; some would even call their dislike a matter of principle. There will then be some who will write off Mr Bryden-Brook's work from the start, for basically his "A Simple English Mass" is quite a skilful adaptation of certain well-known plainsong settings. Thus the Kyrie is based on that of Mass XVIII of the Kyriele, the Gloria and Agnus on Mass VIII, the Creed on Credo III, while the Sanctus is largely taken from Berbecke's sixteenth century setting. These arrangements are in the whole well done, though what the composer's blurb about "employing interesting new principles" can refer to is beyond this particular reviewer. Mr Bryden-Brook has simply taken the melodic line of the original and modified it, quite drastically in some cases, to fit the English words. The organ accompaniments are perfectly acceptable, and the congregational card happily contains the people's parts to all the sung responses, making it the first such card to bear "all the music required for a fully English sung mass".

ALFRED BURROWS, O.S.B.

Werner Bergengruen & Erich Lessing *ROME REMEMBERED* Burns & Oates 1969 115/-

An odds-on favourite for the Coffee-Table stakes, this book will be thumbed from one group of colour photographs to another with, I suspect, very little attention to the text which intersperses their glossy 12 x 10 magnificence.

In fact, the pictures, though many of them are beautiful, are often garish and insensitive. It is the text which has the style and craft of authentic evocation. Its author has an eye not only for the unusual but also for the essential and with these he is able to combine learning, experience and imagination into an accurate fulfilment of his title.

It was, perhaps, a mistake to interpolate much-reduced copies of Piranesi engravings. Reduction sharpens and rigidifies lines deliberately loose and shadowed, and the result is refrigerative. Moreover, nobody remembers Rome as Piranesi saw it. A more recent sensitive urbanity of the author's manner, sympathetically done into decent readable English by Roland Hill, renders visual aid unnecessary. Werner Bergengruen does for beloved which differentiates his reserved, gentle, acute enjoyment of the Roman scene from Erich Lessing's photographs. These all too often seem to view both the majestic and the intimate merely as raw material for the camera—and sometimes raw is the operative word.

Not always, however. If his Trevi fountain looks depressingly like a travel poster, his Tartarughe fountain looks thrillingly like the Tartarughe fountain. His feeling for wall texture as a mirror for light is compellingly illustrated in his pictures of the Minerva and Quattro Coronati churches and of the Servian and Aurelian walls. It is

when he attempts the rhetorical that disaster intervenes. On one occasion, however, he succeeds here, too; a misty early-morning landscape of the Forum calls to mind Claude Lorraine.

An Introduction is contributed by Mrs Clare Boothe Luce, a former U.S. ambassador to Italy who does not, I'm afraid, know how to write an Introduction. The book is well printed—though with a few misprints—on good paper and seems worth at any rate most of the £5 15s 0d. which the publishers are asking for it.

Goodings,

Newbury, Berks.

J. P. BUSHELL.

VII. INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM AND TRUTH

Herbert Read *THE CULT OF SINCERITY* Faber and Faber 1969 184 p 42/-

This volume of essays, prepared before his death, will rejoice those who have been used to tuning in to the buoyant, charming, ever fresh and serious voice of Sir Herbert Read. All but one of the essays has appeared before, yet characteristically those which were written before 1962 have all been revised or elaborated for this volume.

Formally the book divides into two parts. The first sets out, as the title of one essay has it, "The Truth of a Few Simple Ideas": sincerity, fidelity, innocence, failure, anarchy; the second celebrates a group of men who were known to Sir Herbert to have embodied these ideas in various ways: Eliot, Jung, Russell, Richard Aldington, D. H. Lawrence, Edwin Muir. Of the many other figures appearing in these pages, Martin Buber joins Eliot and Jung as "the greatest of whom I can speak as in some sort a humble disciple"—the disciple who confessed himself an anarchist.

In "Anarchy and Order: Essays in Politics" Sir Herbert has distinguished the rebel from the revolutionary: the one worked to change systems, the other only the personnel. Sir Herbert's anarchism is the anarchism of a rebel. The volume before us now, and particularly the essay "My Anarchism", affords those who would be reluctant to describe themselves as anarchists with a chance to reflect on their own respect for authority. Sir Herbert would point especially to the field of education. He refers to "Education Through Art", written in 1942, in which he ascribed our collective ills to the effect on personality of coercive discipline, authoritarian morality, social convention and mechanical toil, all of which seemed to him disastrous developments springing from the Renaissance. It was from these he wished education to liberate people into spontaneity, fully lived life. Only so did he see hope that the forces of destructiveness would wither away. It was this vision his anarchism sought to embody.

In the essay which gives its title to the volume Sir Herbert confessed his inability to bear witness to the reality of God in any of the senses his three masters—Buber, Jung and Eliot—had done. Yet he refused the word materialist.

All my life I have found more sustenance in the work of those who do bear witness to the reality of a living God than in the work of those who deny God—at least, the witness of the deniers, Stirner, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Shaw, Russell has been out-balanced by the witness of those who affirm God's existence—George Herbert, Pascal, Traherne, Spinoza, Kierkegaard, Hopkins, Simone Weil. (p. 34.)

Many may be puzzled, sad perhaps, as they read:

To those who have not received it, the grace of God seems to be an arbitrary gift, and I resent the suggestion of the initiates that we who live in outer darkness do so because of our intellectual pride. (p. 36.)

but may at least know what he meant when he declared:

I do not believe it is ever possible to separate good and evil in the individual self. Good and evil are in some cases (the anthropological sense) interdependent (as are love and hate) and we remain, in spite of all our endeavours (in spite even of the grace of God) in a permanent state of ambiguity, of openness to experience. That state of openness is the only meaning I can give to sincerity in my thoughts. (p. 37.)

"The Cult of Sincerity" is well designed to set uneasy people exploring the considerable and varied body of writing left us by one whose life was spent in search and celebration of the freedom of the individual.

Department of Religious Knowledge,
St John's College, York.

PETER HAMILTON.

Ian Greig *THE ASSAULT ON THE WEST* Foreign Affairs Publishing Co Ltd, Petersham 1968 357 p 35/-

Andrei D. Sakharov *THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS, PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM* Foreign Affairs Publishing Co Ltd, Petersham 1968 35 p 7/6

Although we in the West are accustomed to distinguish between a given people and its government, the distinction is not normally a very sharp one. We expect there to be some kind of moral continuity between the two, we take it for granted that the government bears at any rate a limited kind of representative character. To read the first of these two books in that frame of mind would be disastrous.

"The Assault on the West" is a painstaking and closely documented study of all the ways in which the Soviet Union, followed by the other Socialist countries, attempts to penetrate, disrupt and subvert all other social systems. Printed propaganda, foreign language broadcasting, the role of Communist news agencies, the use of international fronts, of cultural associations, the truly unbelievable extent of espionage and subversion, culminating in special operations or the support of insurrection, the use of economic and educational aid, the rôle of local Communist Parties, their penetration of Trade Unions, the use of fellow-travellers and the technique of infiltration—all these add up to a picture that makes Mordor (cf. Tolkein) seem a study in innocence. Sir Alec Douglas-Home writes in his foreword: "Mr Greig has been wise to illustrate with chapter and verse, for otherwise the length to which the Communist will go to destroy the morale of organisations and individuals would be incredible to anyone brought up on a tradition of tolerance. The take-over of the World Federation of Trade Unions is an eye-opener, while the single-minded purpose with which an agent will build up a dossier on an individual, so as to exploit his weakness and trap him into becoming an accomplice, is devilish."

For those tempted to equate "Communists" with "Russians", the second of these two books would be a valuable corrective. Academician Sakharov, a nuclear physicist holding both a Stalin Prize and the Order of Lenin, became a full member of the Academy of Sciences in 1953, at the very early age of 32. He is thus in the front rank of the Soviet scientific establishment and a very great significance attaches to this memorandum that he wrote for the Soviet government in the June before the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

He writes under pressure of fear for the future of mankind, fear of atomic war in face of which "any preaching of the incompatibility of world ideologies and nations is madness and a crime", fear of a "deterioration of the average food balance in which localised food crises merge into a sea of hunger, intolerable suffering and desperation, the grief and fury of millions of people". Both dangers arise from the egotism of super-power competition. He writes as a scientist appalled at the cumulative pollution of our planet and as a citizen who has lived through one of "the demagogic, hypocritical and monstrously cruel dictatorial police regimes" that characterise our age. "At least 10 to 15 million people perished in the cellars of the N.K.V.D. from torture and execution, in camps for exiled kulaks and so-called semi-kulaks and their families and in camps without the right of correspondence" . . . in the mines of Norilski and Yorkuta, in timber cutting, building of canals, during transportation, during the resettlement of entire peoples . . ."

Sakharov demands the symbolic expulsion of Stalin from the Party, the lifting of the crippling censorship, an amnesty for all political prisoners, a review of past political trials, the elimination of anti-Semitism, the restoration of rights to deported peoples, the curbing of the powers of the bureaucracy. "Today the key to a progressive restructuring of the system of government in the interests of mankind lies in intellectual freedom. This has been understood, in particular, by the Czechoslovaks and there can be no doubt that they should support their bold initiative, so valuable for the future of Socialism and of mankind."

Academician Sakharov is an extremely brave man. He represents the best of his fellow-countrymen; the Soviet government, acting as described by Ian Greig, is not their representative but their oppressor. The true Russia is not our enemy.

J.H.

Isaiah Berlin *FOUR ESSAYS ON LIBERTY* O.U.P. (Oxford Paperbacks 116) 1969 lxiii + 213 p 15/-

This book is a reprint of four essays together with a long introduction which clarifies and defends the arguments of the two central essays, "Historical Inevitability" and "Two Concepts of Liberty".

In the first essay, "Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century", written in 1940, Sir Isaiah Berlin argues that the twentieth century differs from the nineteenth mainly because of the rise of political systems which seek to solve fundamental social questions, not by promoting rational debate and research, but by so conditioning the citizen that he ceases to ask such questions at all. The second, "Historical Inevitability", a lecture delivered in 1953, is an attack on the idea that there are laws which are sufficient to explain the course of history without allowing any significant rôle for free human choice. This idea is closely related to the philosophical thesis known as determinism, that human actions can be adequately explained either without the use of concepts like "motive", "decision", "eligible", all of which assume freedom of choice, or by reinterpreting these concepts so that they no longer assume freedom of choice. If the philosophical thesis were true, historical inevitability would follow. Berlin, therefore, argues, as against determinism, that it would involve getting rid of all the concepts which assume freedom of choice, a programme to which determinists have been reluctant to commit themselves in practice, and whose correctness in theory is still nowhere near demonstrated. Determinism is more revolutionary than many determinists think, yet still lacks convincing supporting arguments. The bulk of the essay analyses and attacks a large number of positions held by historical determinists. In the "Two Concepts of Liberty", an inaugural lecture given in 1959, Berlin starts with two definitions of liberty, "positive" and "negative" liberty, consistent with each other but expressed in different terms. He then shows in some detail the sinister uses to which the concept of positive liberty has been put. Particularly striking is the way in which some of Kant's disciples transformed the liberal views of their master into their own authoritarian philosophies. Positive liberty was made into a justification for totalitarianism by a series of twists of meaning and alliances with other dubious ideas, which must be one of the best examples of how much evil an apparently innocuous idea can help to accomplish. "John Stuart Mill and the Ends of Life", a lecture delivered in 1959, is a portrait of Mill and his political philosophy, which argues that Mill, though officially believing happiness to be the exclusive end of man, cared most for individual liberty. His convictions were out of step with his Utilitarian philosophy.

All four essays show a remarkable combination of historical learning and argumentative skill. The objections which have been made to the two main essays are, for the most part, satisfactorily answered in the introduction. As a defence of political liberalism, therefore, it would be extremely difficult to improve on this book; the very variety of approach among the four essays adds much to the persuasive power of the whole.

One fundamental difficulty in the case for liberalism, however, remains. There is no adequate account of the value of individual freedom. To liberals its value seems obvious, and yet without explicit reasons for admitting its value, liberalism as a political philosophy must remain incomplete. On this question, Berlin says in the introduction, "to this it is sufficient to say that those who have ever valued liberty for its own sake believed that to be free to choose, and not to be chosen for, is an inalienable ingredient in what makes human beings human". This sounds more like a declaration of faith than a philosophical argument. It does not get one any further than Mill, who, as Berlin convincingly shows, was quite unable to give convincing arguments for his liberal beliefs, but held to them as a matter of moral conviction. And yet, though it may indeed be difficult to demonstrate the value of individual freedom with clarity and precision, it is possible to see on what lines the argument must run. Aristotle rightly argues that men's fear of faction and discord, manifestations of hatred, show that love is a greater political value even than justice. Such examples of political hatred as racialism and the class struggle suggests that the supreme secular end of political life is that men should love, not only friend and family, but anyone

whose life they can affect for good or ill. This is Christian doctrine; but it may also be the true foundation of liberalism. For, without freedom of choice, love is no more than biological appetite or a simple fear of loneliness. Liberalism, therefore, may be defended on the grounds that to deny men liberty is to deny any scope in political life to the greatest of human virtues, love.

"Four Essays on Liberty" is, then, a splendid book, but one hopes it will have a companion.

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS.

VIII. GENERAL

Jack Dominian *MARITAL BREAKDOWN* D.L.T. 1968 172 p 30/-

This book will be of great value to the Marriage Counsellors, whether medical, lay or clerical. It is a cool unbiased appraisal of the factors that threaten a marriage dealing with personality problems, money, housing, pre-marital pregnancy, birth control and age. It contains some fascinating statistics especially on the subject of the effect of divorce or marital disharmony on the children and Dr Dominian puts a strong case for much more research into the sociological and psychological factors involved. As he forcibly points out, such research is in turn dependent upon a marked increase in the number of social workers specialising in marital problems. He is unable to offer any easy solutions but by stating the case so clearly and explicitly in terms intelligible to the layman a not insignificant contribution will have been made to the understanding (and possibly prevention) of marriage breakdown.

Ampleforth.

CAROLYN ANWYL.

Eugene Hillman, C.S.SP. *THE WIDER ECUMENISM* Burns & Oates 1968 159 p 15/-

It is a striking experience to read this book written by a Catholic missionary, and then to read "Include Me Out" by Colin Morris, a Methodist missionary (S.C.M. Press 5/-) and to find that both agree that viewed from the Missionary standpoint the traditional values of European Christendom are all adrift. The background of the two writers is so different that the similarity of their conclusions has a compelling truth that is alarming. Naturally there are many points of difference but both are concerned about the relevance of Churchly activities to the world. They conclude, in differing ways, that most of the issues we regard as important are, from a world viewpoint, ephemeral.

For the author the crucial issue which faces the Church is the Missionary issue. What are the Missions for? When does a Mission cease? Can a Mission die? Must the Church be present in all places at all times, or could the Church—in Europe, say—die out, to find new life in the emergent countries? If God can and does work outside the bounds of the visible Church, should we be seeking to convert men to Christianity? These are some of the many problems he poses. His conclusions may not necessarily be the right ones, but at least he makes us think about these problems and realise that our action, or inaction, affects the future of the Church. Basically the question is whether the Church will continue to follow behind the events of history, leaving others to determine their shape, or will Christians once again play a part in moulding those events.

G.J.S.

CORRESPONDENCE

From the Most Reverend Archbishop Lord Fisher of Lambeth.

12th September 1969.

DEAR SIR,

I found your article on "Shifts in the Emphasis of Papal and Episcopal Authority" (Summer 1969) most interesting and stimulating, especially coming just now when the whole concept of authority is being so widely challenged inside and outside the Churches. I write, however, only to correct what I believe to be a misapprehension in the article. On p. 190, speaking of the various meanings given to the petrine primacy, you say: "it may mean a natural, historical *de facto* primacy in Christendom, and that the Anglican Church is prepared to accept today".

First let me say that while there is the Anglican Communion of Churches and while there are the autonomous Churches in the Provinces of that Communion, there is nothing that can be called "the Anglican Church" in general. In the Church of England there is no lack of persons who would wish to advocate such a primacy as you describe: but the Church of England has never, so far as I know, been asked to express an opinion on this matter, and there would be no lack of persons ready to oppose acceptance of a primacy so described. Would it not be true to say that no serious discussion of it would be possible without reference to the Oecumenical Patriarch, who would be intimately concerned.

FISHER OF LAMBETH.

Trent Rectory,
Sherborne, Dorset.

23rd July 1969.

DEAR SIR,

Your very interesting account of the ecumenical Whit Sunday service in Selby Abbey describes the Bishop of Selby as wearing "a slightly surprising blue-mauve cope". May I explain the significance of this colour?

Before the Reformation the English rites of Sarum and York used blue vestments, chasubles as well as copes, on certain occasions—every Sunday in the York diocese—but with the Counter Reformation and the missionary priests' introduction of the Roman rites in the late sixteenth century blue as a liturgical colour disappeared from English Catholicism. However, it was kept by the Church of England, which always retained copes for the Communion in cathedrals and collegiate chapels, even under Elizabeth I. The usual shade is best described as a kind of slatey blue.

Here, like the bidding prayers so recently re-introduced into our own Mass, is a living relic of pre-Reformation English Catholicism which Anglicanism alone has preserved, something familiar to St Thomas More, St John Fisher and Queen Mary, though not to Bishop Challoner or the

Dieuleward Benedictines. It is also a reminder for those traditionalists who mourn the passing of the old liturgy that the Tridentine Mass was in some ways surprisingly different from the Mass which was celebrated in England before the Tudor schism.

DESMOND SEWARD.

9 Fourth Avenue,
Hove, Sussex.

29th September 1969.
Michaelmas Day.

SIR,

Public controversy between priests has made impossible the old respect for the utterances of the clergy. This rested on the belief that a priest's public writings and statements on religious questions were intended to express the mind of the Church. This belief is no longer tenable. If one priest denounces the theological beliefs of another in public, the laity cannot be expected to receive the utterances of either with unhesitating reverence. The laity will and must appraise the theological statements of the clergy using those standards with which they are familiar. Faced with a clergy prone to open wrangling, practical necessity obliges the Catholic laity to resort to that fundamental principle of Protestantism, Private Judgment. Only the pronouncements of the Holy See can now reasonably command an obedience which is not hesitant and questioning.

Many laymen have the advantage of a university education. They are, therefore, acquainted with the standards of clarity, logical cogency and use of evidence taken for granted in the world of scholarship. It is by these standards that they must now judge the arguments of the clergy. If they are faced with an article which, like that of Fr Placid Spearritt in the Spring number of the JOURNAL, comments unfavourably on authoritative papal teaching, their judgments may, understandably, be severe. It is one thing when the ship's crew quarrel among themselves; it is quite another when they throw things at the helmsman. Such conduct naturally leads to disquiet among the passengers.

Fr Placid begins with a preamble disclaiming any intention of voicing a protest or making a criticism of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. This disclaimer is disingenuous. In the course of the article he attempts to show that on one important point the encyclical is theologically inaccurate, and that on another it uses a version of the natural law doctrine inconsistent with Thomist theology. These faults he attributes, with some slight hesitation, to the tactics of "extremist Roman theologians" who, during the Council, "found their theology discredited in the expert commissions and rejected by the bishops". He concludes that "it is difficult to see how the real authority of the Pope's teaching office can be preserved" from "this sort of extra-theological influence". Historians will recognise the cry of "evil counsellors", that ancient prelude to rebellion against authority.

Fr Placid's article is therefore a clear example of the kind of essay in controversy to which I have referred. It is also a contribution to a

periodical which aims at a higher level than that of ephemeral journalism. For both these reasons, it should be appraised under the three headings: clarity, cogency and use of evidence. If it satisfies normal standards in these three respects then it has a claim to be a responsible contribution to the debate.

First, clarity. One passage is open to question on this count, a passage essential to Fr Placid's argument that the theology of the encyclical may be contrasted with that of St Thomas Aquinas:

"St Thomas bases his theory of natural law NOT ON HUMAN NATURE AS SUCH, and certainly not on biological nature, but on man's ability to think for himself, and so share in God's idea of how the world should be organised." (p. 57, the capitals are Fr Placid's.)

I find it hard to grasp the precise meaning of this sentence, and my analysis of it should, therefore, be taken as tentative. The second half, I concede immediately. Man's rational nature is certainly a presupposition of Aquinas's theory of natural law. The first half, however, is hard to understand because of the ambiguity of the word "bases". By it Fr Placid might mean one of at least four things: that truths about human nature as such are not premisses in Aquinas's theory, that the concept "human nature" is not an essential part of the theory, that the concept "human nature" is not part of Aquinas's definition of natural law, or that facts about human nature are not required as supporting evidence. The immediate context, the quotation of Aquinas's definition of the natural law, suggests that the phrase, "St Thomas bases his theory of natural law not on human nature as such . . .", must mean "St Thomas does not define 'natural law' in terms of human nature as such . . ." So far so good, but Fr Placid's use of this conclusion later on suggests that he is not thinking of definitions of the natural law at all. He argues that the encyclical's use of such phrases as "the very nature of marriage and its acts" shows that it "appears to base the naturalness of the natural law on human physiology rather than on human reason". By using such phrases, however, the Pope is plainly not committing himself to any definition of the concept "natural law" at all, still less to disagreeing with the definition given by Aquinas.

Second, cogency. As has been pointed out, Fr Placid supposes that the use of the phrase "the nature of marriage and its acts" makes it clear that the encyclical "appears to base the naturalness of the natural law on human physiology rather than on human reason". On the contrary it does no such thing, whichever meaning we give to the ambiguous term "bases". Marriage is an institution and is formed by, among other things, laws established by men using their intellects. Marriage is, therefore, far more than a matter of physiology, and human reason plays a large part in its formation. These are truisms, but they are fatal to Fr Placid's argument.

His other main criticism of the encyclical has already been answered by Fr Boniface Hunt in the last number of the JOURNAL, and I shall confine myself to pointing out why Fr Placid's reply misses the point. His original argument turned on Aquinas's distinction between the primary principles of the natural law which apply to all men and are known by all men and

the secondary rules which are inferred from the primary principles. These are not always known to all men. He maintains that Aquinas believed that "no secondary precept applies necessarily to all cases", and quotes a passage (S.T. I-II.94.5) in support of this contention. The encyclical prohibits artificial contraception as intrinsically and always wrong. Since this prohibition is not recognised by all men, it must be a secondary precept. Since secondary precepts do not apply necessarily to all cases, according to Fr Placid's Aquinas, he concludes that a faithful Thomist must find it difficult to understand the encyclical's conclusion.

In his letter in reply to Fr Placid, Fr Boniface draws a distinction between saying that secondary precepts have exceptions and saying that all secondary precepts have exceptions. He suggests that Aquinas believed the first but not the second, and that a Thomist could, without departing from the Angelic Doctor, believe the prohibition on contraception to be both a secondary precept and valid without exception. His distinction is precise and correct. The point is that, by saying "secondary precepts" rather than "all secondary precepts", one leaves it undecided whether "all secondary precepts" or "some secondary precepts" would be correct.

Fr Placid's reply to this letter confuses the issue. He denies that he said that every secondary precept of natural law has its exception, but rather that no secondary precept applies necessarily to all cases. Here again he is disingenuous. He may deny that he ever said that every secondary precept has its exception, but he certainly said something which directly implies it: "the only precepts of natural law that are binding in all cases without exception are the primary precepts".

The conclusion that he has to establish is that ecclesiastical authority denies, by implication, Thomist doctrine, if it maintains that a particular precept of natural law applies to all cases and must not be changed. All that the passage quoted from Aquinas (S.T. I-II.94.5) shows is that Aquinas maintained that some secondary precepts can be changed, which does not imply that any particular secondary precept can be changed. By the phrase, *lex naturalis . . . potest immutari*, Aquinas need not have meant that every (secondary) natural law can be changed, still less that ecclesiastical authority may not declare that a particular natural law must not be changed. An example may make this clear. Suppose that someone asks a political scientist, "can the law of the United Kingdom be changed without changing the constitution?" This question does not mean "can all the laws of the United Kingdom be changed without changing the constitution?" to which the answer would be "no". The political scientist might reply "it depends which law", or "yes, but not any law", or "some laws can, but others cannot". A careful reading of the whole passage from which Fr Placid takes his quotation will, I suggest, convince anyone that by *lex naturalis . . . potest immutari* Aquinas means "some natural laws can be changed". Fr Placid has read too much into his sources.

Finally, use of evidence. On this point I shall confine myself to observing that one of the two authorities quoted in Fr Placid's footnotes,

Mgr P. Delhay, was a Commission theologian who argued in favour of relaxing the prohibition on contraception. His testimony is, therefore, *ex parte*, and this should have been made clear.

If the article had come up to normal scholarly standards of clarity, cogency and use of evidence then it might have been a responsible contribution to the debate. Unfortunately, it has deficiencies on all three points.

T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS.

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

Fr Placid answers as follows:

1. I can only rejoice that I have contributed to the passing of "the belief that a priest's public writings and statements on religious questions are intended to express the mind of the Church".
2. I propose to go on crying "evil counsellors", and to break historical precedent by not rebelling against authority. If it was not an evil counsellor who by the footnote to sec. 10 of the encyclical, attributed to the Council a formula it had explicitly rejected, who was it?
3. St Thomas in S.T. I-II.94.5 does not, I agree, state that every secondary precept does have exceptions. But in making mutability the criterion deciding between the *prima principia* and the *secunda praecepta*, he does, I submit, imply that all—not just some—secondary precepts can have exceptions. And the encyclical does not seem to allow even the possibility of an exception to its prohibition.
4. I thank your correspondent for drawing attention to two cases of disingenuousness in my contributions. I shall discuss the matter with my confessor.

S.P.S.

COMMUNITY NOTES

COMMUNITY WORK

The Community at present numbers 147, including nine novices—eight at Ampleforth and one at St Louis. Its priests care for 37,000 souls on 24 parishes (four of them served from the Abbey), two University Chaplaincies (plus one monk at the London University Chaplaincy), a house of studies at Oxford with an average of 25 students, St Louis Priory and school, numbering about 300 boys, Ampleforth College and Gilling Castle, with a total of 830 boys. The priests, excluding those at St Louis, Missouri, are divided almost equally between monastic and school work at Ampleforth (50) and work on our parishes and elsewhere (52).

There have been a number of changes made on our parishes this autumn and the present location of our priests on the "Mission" is now as follows:

CARDIFF ARCHDIOCESE

Abergavenny	Fr Aidan Cunningham
	Fr Gabriel McNally
Cardiff, St Mary's	Fr Dominic Allen
	Fr Laurence Bévenot
	Fr Philip Egerton
	Fr Wulstan Gore
Cardiff, University Chaplaincy	Fr Herbert O'Brien
Bartestree, Hereford	Fr Damian Webb
	Fr Leo Caesar

LANCASTER DIOCESE

Warwick Bridge	Fr Francis Vidal
	Fr Michael Sandeman
Workington	Fr Siebert D'Arcy
	Fr Francis Primavesi
	Fr Richard Frewen
	Fr John Macauley
	Fr Gregory O'Brien

LEEDS DIOCESE

Garforth	Fr Edward Croft
Knaresborough	Fr Denis Marshall

LIVERPOOL ARCHDIOCESE

Brindle	Fr Antony Spiller
	Fr Joseph Smith
Leyland	Fr Edmund FitzSimons
	Abbot Herbert Byrne
	Fr Theodore Young
	Fr Boniface Hunt

Liverpool

Grassendale	Fr Henry King
	Fr Maurus Green
Seel Street	Fr David Ogilvie-Forbes
Parbold	Fr Aelred Perring

Warrington

St Alban's	Fr Kevin Mason
	Fr Philip Holdsworth
	Fr Gordon Beattie
St Benedict's	Fr Kentigern Devlin
	Fr Jerome Lambert
	Fr Joseph Carbery
St Mary's	Fr Gabriel Gilbey
	Fr Vincent Wace
	Fr Osmund Jackson

MIDDLESBROUGH DIOCESE

Ampleforth	Fr Gerard Sitwell
	Fr Oliver Ballinger
Easingwold	Fr Wilfrid Mackenzie
Gilling	Fr Finbarr Dowling
Kirkbymoorside & Helmsley	Fr Kenneth Brennan
Oswaldkirk	Fr Cuthbert Rabnett
York University Chaplaincy	Fr Bernard Boyan

SALFORD DIOCESE

Bamber Bridge	Fr Christopher Topping
	Fr Martin Rochford
	Fr Augustine Measures
Lostock Hall	Fr Charles Forbes
	Fr George Forbes

ELSEWHERE

London University Chaplaincy	Fr Fabian Cowper
St Vincent's, Kingussie	Fr Cyprian Broomfield
East Africa, 1970	Fr Columba Cary-Elwes

GENERAL CHAPTER OF THE EBC

THE Second Council of the Vatican decreed that Religious Orders should renew themselves by "the constant return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original inspiration of the various Religious Institutes" and by "the adaptation of these to the changed conditions of our times". This Decree, known from its first words as *Perfectae Caritatis*, made the great act of faith that a return to the sources would ensure, or at least be consistent with, an adaptation to modern times; and it posed formidable

problems for the Orders, which were themselves to be "the principal agents of reform".

So during the last year or two the press has taken notice of elaborately organised international meetings of Cistercians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and all the rest of them; at Rome or elsewhere an immense enterprise has been undertaken, the renewed understanding of the genius of each Order by means of study and discussion, the expression of this in new statements of purpose or codes of law, the communication of this to the whole body of the Orders by conferences, commissions, committees and all the vast machinery for generating paper that is so characteristic of our times—and yet so necessary even in the noblest causes.

The Black Monks, too, are involved in this, but with one important difference; by reason of the constitution of the Order, the authority in our case is not an international body in Rome, but the General Chapter of each Congregation. So the General Chapter of the English Congregation met at Downside in July, after much preparation by prayer, study and discussion, to consider the draft of a new code of Constitutions; for this is the name given to the norms and rules that interpret the Rule of St Benedict for different times and places.

In a week's hard work during that hot weather towards the end of July, the Abbots and Delegates of the ten abbeys of monks, and for the first time in history also the Abbesses and Delegates of the four abbeys of nuns, considered and promulgated these new codes of law, to rule the Congregation *ad experimentum* until the next Chapter, and in the meantime to be studied, tried and discussed. This was one of the most considerable revisions to be undertaken since the nine Definitors set to work in 1617 to work out the scheme that finally united the scattered groups of English monks into the one Congregation that has persisted ever since.

This Chapter was remarkable especially for two events. The first was the entrance of the nuns, who for nearly 350 years had been represented only by the Proctors they elected from among the Chapter Fathers. It was a moving moment when the Abbot of Downside, who had so long served them as Proctor, led them in to take part in the discussion of their own Constitutions, and the Chapter rose to applaud, thus recognising not only the need of their direct representation in the decision of their own affairs, but also looking forward to a greater and more fruitful co-operation between monks and nuns in all the work of the Congregation.

The second notable event was the nomination of Father William Price as Abbot of the ancient Abbey of St Mary's, York. His long, distinguished and laborious service to the Congregation, to say nothing of even longer and more distinguished services to ourselves and to our house, found fitting recognition in this honour which crowned the work of an historic occasion in the story of the English Benedictine Congregation.

ST LOUIS PRIORY

ORDINATION AND NOVICIATE

Saturday, 20th September, was a happy day in our history, being the day on which Brother Laurence Kriegshauser was ordained priest by Bishop McNicholas in the Priory Church. He is the first native St Louisian to be ordained. Father Abbot, who had been here for a visitation, stayed on with us to be present and share our happiness on this occasion.

Another milestone in our history is the establishment here of our own noviciate. Earlier this month Van Moomjian received the habit and so inaugurated our noviciate under the name of Brother Gregory. We hope and pray others will soon join him as we have believed, rightly or wrongly, that the prospect of making a noviciate in England may have acted as a deterrent on some prospective candidates for our Community.

SUMMER SCHOOL

The third Summer School was apparently just as successful as the previous two. Forty negro students participated, of whom about a dozen were boys who had attended the previous year. One unusual incident indicates the appreciation of at least one of these students who, having missed the bus, walked to school—a distance of about 15 miles—and arrived at about 2.0 p.m. He received a certain amount of publicity in the local papers for his efforts.

Father Leonard has been working hard to interest local organisations and firms in the Summer School with a view to becoming independent of government agencies and the annual uncertainty this produces of the availability of the necessary funds. This year the Monsanto Company underwrote the Science programme, the McGraw Hill Book Company provided textbooks and the Switzer Education Foundation made a substantial contribution in cash. Other cash contributions were made by the Mothers' Club and the Junior Class (fifth form). It is hoped to interest more local companies in future years.

Another cherished scheme which had not previously been practicable has become a reality this Autumn Term. A class of 14 negro boys is coming out to the Priory twice a week for Science lessons in the labs of about 90 minutes duration each. Previously we could not obtain transportation but this has now been provided by Sophia House, the inner city organisation described in our last notes. It will be interesting to see if this scheme will inspire the other private schools to follow our example as they have already done over the Summer School programme.

BUILDING OPERATIONS

Our forebodings over industrial unrest were only too well founded and a strike of steel workers held up the start of building operations until well into August. However, the contractors and sub-contractors have promised us they will do all in their power to complete the building as quickly as possible. So we must pray for a fine fall and mild winter to help things along.

THE MEETING OF THE PATRIARCH OF SERBIA AND FATHER ABBOT

DURING August His Beatitude the Patriarch German, Archbishop of Belgrade and Primate of the Serbian Orthodox Church, came to England to attend meetings in connection with the World Council of Churches of which he is President. St Symeon's House, the Orthodox centre at Oswaldkirk, comes under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch since Fr Vladimir Rodzianko, the Warden, is an archpriest of the Serbian Church. It had been hoped that the Patriarch might be able to visit Ampleforth during his stay in the country but the burden of his other commitments made this impractical. Instead Fr Vladimir and his wife gave a dinner at their house in London on 14th August to mark the occasion of His Beatitude's first visit to England and Fr Abbot and Fr Mark Butlin were invited to attend: the Patriarch and Fr Abbot had an opportunity to meet and discuss matters of mutual concern. In the course of the evening, the Patriarch reiterated what he had said previously to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Secretary General of the World Council of Churches about the great importance that he attached to the St Symeon's venture and the type of co-operation that it involved between the Roman and Orthodox Churches. He stressed that the effectiveness of Christianity in the future would depend entirely upon real co-operation between Christians of the different traditions—it was no longer possible for any Church to maintain its isolation. He assured all concerned in the work of St Symeon's that he would personally give as much support as he could to the project and his words, which marked an important development in the official attitude of the Orthodox Church, were a source of great encouragement.

It was a delightfully informal family evening for which the whole Rodzianko family gathered to entertain His Beatitude and a number of the Orthodox hierarchy including Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad, and Archbishop Anthony Bloom. Bishop Lauvrentij, the recently appointed Serbian Exarch of Western Europe and Austria, was also present and as St Symeon's House is his immediate concern, it was a welcome for Fr Abbot to meet with him again. One of the principal guests for the evening was Fr Vladimir's 85 year old mother, over on a visit from the United States, and she had many reminiscences to share with the Patriarch. Everybody enjoyed listening to her stories and lively comments.

This dinner was an important event in the history of St Symeon's and it served to strengthen the bonds between Ampleforth and the Orthodox Churches in an atmosphere of friendship and warm hospitality.

AMPLEFORTH PILGRIMAGE TO LOURDES

This was the fifteenth independent Ampleforth Pilgrimage and one of the happiest and most impressive.

It was made memorable by two events. Father Paulinus, who has played so important a part in every pilgrimage since 1953, was made an Honorary Chaplain of the Grotto. In his letter to Father Abbot,

Monseigneur Théas, the Bishop of Lourdes, expressed his pleasure in conferring this honour on Father Paulinus both in recognition of all he had done personally and also of the work of Ampleforth at Lourdes since 1900. We are sure that all who have been to Lourdes would like to express their gratitude and congratulate Father Paulinus. (See photographs.)

Of equal importance, though its significance is more difficult to explain, was the official recognition of our pilgrimage and of our work for the sick, by the lay organisation called the *Hospitalité*. After much handshaking and embraces we were officially affiliated to the *Hospitalité*; this will bring many advantages and is an honour which we deeply appreciate.

The pilgrimage opened with a Mass of dedication which was also said for all the deceased members of our pilgrimage: uppermost in our thoughts was, of course, Father Peter Utley who for many years before the war led the group which formed part of the National Pilgrimage. This Mass was said in the new and impressive underground Church of the Asile Hospital, designed by the great French architect, Vago, who was also responsible for the underground Basilica. We were able to use this church on four mornings for Concelebrated Mass for all our pilgrims, including our sick. These Masses, with their guitar hymns, with their note of simplicity and joy so characteristic of Lourdes, became the focal point round which the rest of the day revolved. The pattern of those days was the same as previously; the same but always new: to those who know Lourdes no further explanation is needed.

The dates for the pilgrimage next year are 31st July to 7th August.

ORDINATIONS

DURING the weekend of 5th/6th July, His Lordship the Bishop of Middlesbrough ordained the following: Brs Gregory Carroll and Bonaventure Knollys to the priesthood; Brs Ralph Wright, Alberic Staepoole, Andrew Beck, Edgar Millar and Gilbert Whitfeld to the diaconate; and the following were made subdeacons, Brs Jeremy Nixey, Jonathan Cotton and Felix Stephens.

There were no solemn or simple professions; a noviciate of eight joined the Community in September.

5TH OCTOBER 1909-1969: DIAMOND JUBILEE

SIXTY years ago two monks were clothed at Ampleforth, Fr John Madox and Fr Raphael Williams. Fr John, after ten years as a housemaster of St Aidan's from 1928 and several more years on the parishes, died in 1955. Fr Raphael, after 20 years as a founder housemaster of St Edward's from 1933 and some years as chaplain to one of our Benedictine convents, has outlived his two brothers in the monastery and his third brother outside it, as well as his brother novice, to celebrate his Diamond Jubilee as a monk this October. One of his earliest memories is of being taken as a boy to Bristol to see Queen Victoria paraded round her domain on her Diamond

Jubilee as Monarch; almost at the same time he was introduced to an old lady who remembered the news of the Battle of Trafalgar (so that the years 1805-1970 will be spanned by two memories). He came as a boy to the School the year that they were celebrating Ampleforth's centenary. *Ad multos annos vivat!*

29TH SEPTEMBER 1919-1969: GOLDEN JUBILEE

ON Michaelmas Day 1919, Abbot Oswald Smith gave the Habit to seven postulants, who persevered to make vows and to be ordained: Fathers Joseph Smith (already a priest before 1919), Martin Rochford, Aelred Perring, Laurence Bévenot, Leo Caesar, Antony Spiller and Vincent Unsworth. The last named, when still a young priest and stationed at St Mary's, Cardiff, was killed on the road on 24th July 1934 while returning to the presbytery from visiting a hospital. The remaining six are still with us and active, to our benefit and enjoyment. As members of the resident community they made conspicuous contributions to our life and work; and when drafted to pastoral works elsewhere they showed on a larger platform a strong basic likeness together with wide diversities. On several levels Ampleforth owes much to them, and would gladly boast that they are fair representatives of the family. *Ex septem* (rather than one, and better so) *disce omnes*. May they long continue with us and add to our debt.

FR GEORGE FORBES has left Ampleforth to take up parish work at Lostock Hall, where his brother, Fr Charles, is parish priest. Fr George was Commanding Officer of the O.T.C. during 1931-39 and succeeded Fr Illyd as housemaster of the Junior House in 1936, but left in 1940 to start what turned out to be a distinguished career as chaplain to the armed forces (see his article in this JOURNAL on "Monte Cassino, 1944"). He returned to the Community at the end of the war and in 1950 became sub-prior. He has given many years of service both to the resident Community and in the School, and we have every confidence that he will be as appreciated in his new work as he has been at Ampleforth.

At the end of the Summer Term it was announced that Fr Aidan Gilman was leaving his active work in the School to live the eremitical life. His presence is much missed in the School, since he had been for 15 years an energetic member of the biology staff, had shown a similar zest as an officer in the Corps, and for the last five years had been the much-loved and trusted housemaster of St Thomas'. But for the last 20 years he has had the desire to be a hermit, and now Father Abbot has acceded to his request. He continues as a member of the Community to seek God and to work for the good of Ampleforth, though at a distance, in his hermitage on the moors, where we wish him every happiness.

FR COLUMBA has returned from his ten months' safari in East Africa. According to plan he gave about 17 retreats, chiefly to groups of missionary and African priests in those dioceses served by the Mill Hill Fathers—Kampala, Jinja, Kisli and Kisumu; but also to the Benedictine nuns of Tororo and the Carmelites in Nairobi, etc. He also gave in the region of 27 addresses in seminaries, schools and convents, from Kipalapala in Tanzania to Katigondo in Uganda.

In between whiles, also according to plan, in order to get the feel of the missionary situation in East Africa (as Fr Abbot had instructed him) he travelled extensively through the countries, going "surface mail" as far as possible so as really to get to know the people and the places. Thus the landrover, the African buses and especially the public taxis as well as many kind lifts from missionaries were the normal means of locomotion. For instance, from Peramiho to Njombe by landrover was an exciting journey; while from Kisumu on Lake Victoria to Tororo with 16 in a taxi (ordinary size), the last passenger sitting in the driver's seat with the latter sitting on top of him, was perhaps the most exciting of all.

It was his good fortune to arrive at Peramiho, the famous Ottilien Benedictine monastery in the south of Tanzania the day before the Abbot-Bishop handed the crozier of office and jurisdiction in the huge diocese to the first African bishop there. Fr Columba was also at the first Pan African Episcopal Conference at Gaba as translator; and, of course, that meant he was in the wings for the Papal visit; and even very close to the Holy Father at one point, as he was invited to be assistant to one of the newly consecrated Bishops, Bishop Magambo of Fort Portal.

Old Boys abound in East Africa as elsewhere. A. Edye (W 50) was teaching at Kisubi, a large Catholic school outside Kampala, Jonathan Elliman (O 51) was doing the same in another in Masaka. In Dar es Salaam Roland Brown (E) made him welcome. In Nairobi Patrick Laver (W 50) and David Goodall (W 50) were specially hospitable (members of the British High Commission). Tony Danvers (C 27) carried him off to Soni in Tanzania to visit his boys at prep school. James Ritchie (W 38) was welcoming outside Nairobi.

INTERIOR ACTIVITY

This year, at the August Summer School of the Society of St Gregory, which he had founded 40 years earlier, Fr Bernard McElligott gave a paper—to mark the ruby anniversary—on "Individual & Community". His purpose was to stem the tide of "activism", an unflagging concentration by modern congregations and schools on the externals of worship. He chose to make his point by taking the word *participatio ACTUOSA* in recent liturgical encyclicals and decrees, and showing that this has been misapprehended and sometimes mistranslated as though it meant *participatio ACTIVA*.

The word *ACTUOSA* was used throughout the Council and in its documents: it means, not "active/practical" but "full of zealous subjective

impulse". What the Church in her wisdom is asking for from the laity in the liturgy is sincere interior activity, immanent activity expressed up to a point by bodily actions—which are indications of action, not the sum of the action: for liturgical actions are the expression of worship, not worship itself. The fundamental need today, as always, is for interior participation in, for instance, the sacrifice of the Mass—where we offer Christ to the Father and ourselves to the Father with Christ, and in fulfilment of the gift accepted by the Father we receive Christ into ourselves. "This interior offering by people as well as priest is the hub of the whole liturgical renewal—the personal, conscious, sincere adherence of each individual in mind and heart to Christ in his redeeming and sanctifying act." Without the interior act (*participatio actiosa*) "religion becomes nothing but an empty ceremony and pure formalism" (*Mediator Dei* 25).

Fr Bernard developed this theme, reminding us of the King's words in the third act of "Hamlet": "my words fly up, my thoughts remain below: words without thoughts never to heaven go". It is Christ's living work of redemption, his activity which we must commit ourselves to: it is not our activity, but his. *Non clamor sed amor cantat in aure Dei*.

THE BAR CONVENT: A SECOND CENTENARY

ON 2nd July the Bishop of Leeds concelebrated Mass in the renovated chapel of the Bar Convent at York with our Abbot and three other priests. This was to mark 200 years of the chapel's existence. Thomas Atkinson, the well-known Yorkshire architect, had been commissioned to build the chapel and had been paid out of Rev Mother Anne Aspinall's "red purse", put aside for that purpose. In the intervening years the chapel was added to, moving from Georgian elegance to Victorian exuberance. In 1954 a further restoration was able to take in the new liturgy, the shape of the sanctuary being redesigned for a forward altar, which left room for the restoration of good things like the four sixteenth century statues of the doctors of the Church. Victorian glass was put aside in favour of antique glass, and the dome returned to pristine beauty *ad majorem Trinitatis gloriam*.

YORK REGENERATE

TEN years ago York was a declining ex-capital of the North, left high on the mudbank by the flow of the industrial revolution. It was stiffly divided, as declining societies so often are, into Church, Civic, Military and commercial strata who scarcely found the Yorkshire Club as a common meeting ground.

But the York of today is a very different place. A university has been built, has managed to "lift off" (as the phrase now is) and has fruitfully infected many areas of York life, for instance co-opting the Borthwick Institute as a research branch of its library. Dons pontificate from York

pulpits and undergraduates fill the coffee-houses. There are few evenings now when there is not a lecture or a "happening" underfoot, emanating from the intellectual life of the University.

To show that the life of York is persistent, Viscount Esher has this summer produced his York City Report (paraphrased with great grace in a booklet of 50 pages, "ESHER'S YORK: A STUDY IN CONSERVATION"). His aim is to preserve a heritage yet build a lively city, not losing medieval and Georgian York, but not losing the opportunities of the commercial heart of York. One scheme is to pave over, as pedestrian ways only, Coney Street, the area of Exhibition Square and King's Manor, Duncombe Place and the Minster precincts and other lesser areas. The riverside, too, is to have a continuous walk through the city on the left bank. A new luxury hotel, The Viking, has been built on the right bank.

The traditional Mystery Plays, revived by the interest and scholarship of the late Canon J. S. Purvis, have been gathering impetus and admirers; until this year they blossomed into the nucleus of a York Festival in the Museum Gardens (staged in the ruins of St Mary's Abbey, adroitly converted). All York was taken up in the Festival, and its streets were teeming with Scandinavian and German visitors. The Huddersfield Choral Society sang the Berlioz *Te Deum* in the Minster (recorded for BBC), the Theatre Royal put on the British Première of Luigi Pirandello's "When One is Somebody", Fernando Germani gave organ recitals, Elizabeth Schwarzkopf sang Lieder in the University Central Hall and later the London Mozart Players played there, Antal Dorati brought the BBC Symphony Orchestra to the Minster for a Berlioz Centenary Concert, poetry was recited in the King's Manor, song recitals given in the Guildhall and St John's College, and the Phoenix Opera put on "The Marriage of Figaro" at the Theatre Royal. Sir Michael Tippett conducted the London Symphony Orchestra through his own music and that of other British composers (Elgar, Vaughan Williams, Charles Ives). Sir John Barbirolli conducted the Halle Orchestra through Mahler's "Resurrection" Symphony. These are just the icing on the cake. Exhibitions of painting, sculpture, civic plate, ceramics, church embroidery, Mystery Play archives, Civil War bric-à-brac *et alia* abounded; French comedy films were shown; folk danced; and Sir Sacheverell Sitwell even gave a lecture on Aquatints.

All of this spells the beginning of a cultural life at York which promises to turn a city about to celebrate its nineteenth century (71-1971) into a second Edinburgh. There is new life flowing; and this is well symbolised by the installation of Sir Kenneth Clark (now Lord Clark) as the Chancellor of the University on 18th October.

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died:—J. W. Smart (1922) on 4th April; F. L. Pollack (1916) on 12th June; Major E. Y. Dobson (C 31) on 10th June; Lord Rhidian Crichton-Stuart (C 34) on 25th June; and A. M. K. Armstrong (B 53) on 23rd August.

NOTICE of the death of Flt-Lt Trevor Spencer appeared in the last JOURNAL.

Fr Denis writes:—Trevor Spencer came to St Thomas's from St Martin's, one of seven very able rugby players from that school who entered the College at the same time and were to dominate Ampleforth rugby in their generation. In addition to his rugby prowess Trevor was a fine cricketer. The highest successes were denied him as he departed early with an R.A.F. Scholarship to Cranwell where he became the first Amplefordian to win the Sword of Honour. After several years of service abroad, he qualified as a flying instructor and it was in this capacity, in an exchange posting with the Royal Australian Air Force, that he met his death on a training flight.

An Ampleforth friend, Desmond Maloney, who knew him in Australia, remembered him as "gay, carefree and an enjoyable companion". At school he was a person who played and worked, a "both-and" rather than an "either-or" person, and his example of cheerful competence was infectious. He clearly carried this characteristic in his service life, doing his duty with great success and inspiring others to his own high standards.

Prayers are asked for his wife and two children. May he rest in peace

THE AMPLEFORTH SUNDAY

14TH DECEMBER 1969

THIS will take place at Netherhall House, Nutley Terrace, Hampstead, N.W.3. Cardinal Heenan and Fr Abbot will both be present. After a Discourse from Cardinal Heenan, Fr Abbot will introduce a discussion on "Ampleforth, Its Influence Today—and Tomorrow". A notice and application form are enclosed with this issue.

EASTER RETREAT, 1970

THERE will be a Retreat next Easter for Old Amplefordians and their friends. Please see the enclosed notice for details.

WE congratulate the following on their marriage:

Anthony Archer-Shee (J 62) to Pat Bishop in August 1968.

Duncan A. Johnston (J 61) to Brenda Grace Anderson at St Dominic's, Waddon, Surrey, on 12th April.

Edmund Hugh Barton (B 54) to Barbara Helen Bracken at SS Mary and Michael, Bonds Garstang, on 12th May.

Michael Bramwell (O 60) to Olivia Loraine-Smith at All Saints, Churchill, Oxfordshire, on 5th July.

Anthony Donovan (W 61) to Fiona McDonald at Holy Rood Church, Oxford, on 12th July.

Andrew W. Allan (J 63) to Miss J. M. Hall in Birmingham on 26th July.

Simon Geoffrey John (W 63) to Maureen Patricia Dolby at St Peter's, Melton Mowbray, on 19th July.

Julian Rea (W 56) to Maureen Elizabeth Palmer at the Church of the English Martyrs, Fenham, on 26th July.

Christopher J. Blount (C 64) to Suzanne Fiona Kathleen Lovelock at the Oratory, Brompton Road, on 26th July.

Christopher Randag (A 60) to Tokiko Matsudaira at St Mary's, Cadogan Street, on 4th September.

Dermot Gray (H 62) to Barbara Thorsen at Ampleforth Abbey on 7th September.

Nicholas Bagshawe (T 63) to Daphne Triggs at the Church of the Assumption, Warwick Street, on 20th September.

AND to the following on their engagement:

Christopher Smythe (W 59) to Roslyn Ann Tulloch.

Anthony Ford-Hutchinson (O 65) to Jane Allen.

Aidan Connolly (E 57) to Clair Anne Corfe.

Michael J. Fuller (O 65) to Ann Catherine Wallis.

Geoffrey Neil van Cutsem (E 62) to Sally McCorquodale.

Neil Balfour (B 62) to Princess Elizabeth of Yugoslavia.

BIRTHS

Suzanne and Hamish Marrett-Crosby, a son, Michael Robert.

Monica and John Cunliffe, a son, Dominic Francis.

Penelope and Basil Morris, a son, Charles Edward Francis.

Barbara and Nigel Bruce, a son, Rupert Alexander.

ANATOLI KUZNETSOV: HIS FIRST DAYS IN ENGLAND

KUZNETSOV is one of the laureates of Soviet writing, a Ukrainian and a fervent Tolstoyan who had made his home near Yasnaya Polyana (the world of Tolstoy). Though he is 40, he had never driven a car nor thought with complete freedom nor written without his work being bastardised into a Soviet political framework. Even then, his work has been recognised as literature sufficiently great to circulate in prodigious quantities, hobbled as it was. His one wish now is to re-issue all of his published writings purged of their political editing; and to do this he has taken microfilms of all of his original drafts, bringing them with him to England.

Auberon Herbert (O 40) left Ampleforth in time to serve as a Corporal of Uhlans in the Polish Black Brigade during the War, and has been President of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society. He writes occasionally on Polish matters for *The Tablet*. His sister married Evelyn Waugh and called her first son Auberon, sending him to Downside. He speaks a Galician form of Ukrainian, which the pure Ukrainians find hard to understand. He lives at Pixton Park, near Dulverton in Somerset, described as "a largish Georgian house of some 50 rooms, set in 4,000 acres of wild and beautiful staghunting country".

It was to Pixton that Kuznetsov was brought for the first few weeks after his escape, to rest and write. There he learned to drive a bit, saw something of the English countryside and wrote from dusk to dawn on various articles, which have already shown the quality of his mind, and put enough money into his pocket to allow him to pause and adjust in peace.

R. P. CAVE (O 31) was appointed a Member of the Royal Victorian Order in the Birthday Honours list.

WING CMDR C. H. BIDIE (JH 40) has been awarded a bar to the A.F.C. S. Z. DE FERRANTI (C 45) has been elected President of the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers Association.

R. H. NELSON (B 31) has been appointed a Director of the Ionian Bank. HON MILES FRIZALAN HOWARD (O 34) has been appointed a Managing Director of Robert Fleming & Co., Merchant Bankers.

SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND (1918) has retired as Chairman of Carreras Ltd. but remains on the Board.

R. H. G. EDMONDS (O 38) has been appointed Minister in Moscow.

J. LINTNER (1924) is President of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science.

N. P. WRIGHT (T 68) was presented with the Queen's Telescope by Her Majesty on board the Royal Yacht on 29th July for passing out 1st from the Britannia R.N.C.

THOMAS PAKENHAM is following his sister Lady Antonia Fraser by publishing his first book this year. "The Year of Liberty", the Great Irish Rebellion of 1798, was published in October.

J. C. G. GEORGE (C 49) is principle secretary to the York Herald of Arms at the College of Arms.

P. DE V. DEWAR (E 60) is a Committee Member of the Society of Genealogists and has been elected an F.S.A. (Scot.).

J. P. DANIEL (A 56) is a lecturer in Greek Philosophy and the Philosophy of Religion at the University of Bangor. With him is P. A. LLEWELLYN (C 55) who is a lecturer in Medieval History. M. ALLMAND has moved from Bangor to the History Department at Liverpool. M. T. CLANCHY remains at the Department of History at Glasgow University.

P. J. DAVEY (E 59) is teaching and doing research in the Department of Biochemistry at Monash University.

Lt-CDR C. J. WARD (E 53) is serving with the Nuclear submarine "Churchill".

E. C. LOVEGROVE (J 61) is reading Architecture at Cardiff University. His brother JOHN (J 64) has qualified at St Bartholomew's Hospital with M.B., B.S., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.

M. G. KENNEDY (D 62) has qualified from University College, Dublin, with the degrees M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O.

B. M. LEWIS (O 63) is working with Ontario Hydro as a mechanical engineer in the nuclear department.

T. R. HARMAN (A 55) has founded his own branch Law practice in Freeport, Bahamas. He comments that his parish priest is a Benedictine monk from St John's, Colledgeville, "an avid JOURNAL reader".

J. H. REA (W 56) is serving with the Royal Fleet Auxiliary.

A. W. ALLEN (J 63) has gained a degree in Naval Architecture at Newcastle University and is returning to Cammell Laird to work in the Research and Development Department.

A. ARCHER-SHEE (J 62) has received a Commercial Pilot's Licence.

R. H. D. WOOD (1964) has been recommended for Mons O.C.S.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS VETERANS' CHALLENGE TROPHY

This year we won the Public Schools Veterans' Challenge Trophy. Keith Pugh, shooting in our team, went on to shoot for the Great Britain Rifle Team in Canada. For details, see the Shooting Notes.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS CLUB

The Public Schools Club is situated at 100 Piccadilly, London, W.1, and in addition to luncheon and dining facilities, overnight accommodation is available for members at very reasonable prices.

The Club rooms comprise a bar, smoking room, dining room, television and writing rooms, together with a Ladies' Annexe with a separate entrance in Whitehorse Street. There is an active Club Golfing Society, and under reciprocal arrangements members may use the squash courts of the Naval and Military Club, 94 Piccadilly, W.1. Full details, Club brochure and forms of application for membership are available from the Hon. General Secretary, The Ampleforth Society.

The attention of school leavers is particularly drawn to the special "Junior" membership, under which on reaching the age of 18 and within six months of leaving school, for a single payment of 7 gns. benefits of full membership are covered for seven years.

O.A.C.C. REPORT, 1969

The Club has had one of its best seasons in years. This was partly due to a new-found enthusiasm among the younger members, partly to our rather unexpected success in the Cricketer Cup and partly to the weather which looked kindly on all our games after the Whit weekend at Ampleforth. Of the mid-season matches 6 were won, 4 were lost, 2 drawn and 1 abandoned. On tour we won 1, lost 2 and drew 4.

THE CRICKETER CUP

After our victory against the Old Cliftonians by 8 wickets at Ampleforth the Club moved south to play the Harrow Wanderers at Harrow. The most optimistic forecast of our chances was fifty-fifty provided that there were no disasters to contend with—a most unlikely proposition knowing how often the Club in the past has faced catastrophe. We batted first on an easy wicket and were 9 for 3 after 20 minutes and fighting for survival. This came in the form of a fine innings by Anthony Sparling after Gretton, Brennan and Perry had all been out. Sparling's 70, coupled with Br Felix's 28, Anthony Walsh's 27 and Nicholas Butcher's 30, enabled us to reach respectability at 199, a score which left the game wide open. Harrow got off to the predictable good start at over 3 runs an over and at 40 for 1 looked set to forge their way to victory. Then Willoughby Wynne threw the ball to Tony Huskinson and more or less immediately the whole course of the match changed. In his first 3 overs Huskinson collected 3 wickets, thanks to some very good catching, and Harrow had slumped to 41 for 4. Amplefordian spectators breathed a sigh of relief and more drinks were drunk in celebration! Harrow never recovered and an attempt to hit Huskinson after tea ended in his collecting a further 2 wickets to make his match figures 5 for 25, a fine achievement for a leg-spinner under the Cup rules. Br Felix picked up the last 3 wickets for 2 runs and we ended winners by 115 runs.

Expectations therefore ran high for our third round tie against the Uppingham Rovers who had just overcome the Eton Ramblers. The match was played at Ampleforth on 6th July in rather chilly conditions. It was unlikely that we could produce the same performance as at Harrow, but we hoped that luck and good judgment would not desert us, and that if the fielding and resilience in the batting could be half as good as it was at Harrow, then we would feel quietly confident. It was not to be. The Club fielded first and a miss in the slips in the first over inaugurated a very depressing three hours for spectators and players alike. Nothing went right and it seemed that all the confidence and experience which we had gained against Clifton and Harrow had evaporated. The margin of 23 runs which divided us from Uppingham at the end could well have been saved in the field. However, left to get 226 the batsmen set to with a will and by tea we were 70 for 1. Then the middle order sagged once Gretton and Stephens had been out. Butcher ran himself out and Sparling never looked comfortable and where once we had been up with the clock we now

began to fall behind with the result that following batsmen never fully played themselves in so eager were they to get on. Only John Morton showed any confidence at all and carried his bat for 42. The Club was all out for 203 and although our further participation in this year's competition had come to an end there is no doubt that we have learnt much and hope to put it to good use next year when we play the Old Brightonians in the first round at Brighton on 30th May.

THE MID-SEASON GAMES

Of the other fixtures mention must be made of the amazing innings of Peter Savill at Send to bring us victory on the last ball of the last over. His 83 came in 49 minutes when we were 77 for 4 requiring another 123 in under the hour to win. We lost narrowly to the Repton Pilgrims but redeemed ourselves the next day by trouncing the Staffordshire Gentlemen by 106 runs. Anthony Sparling scored a whirlwind 61 and everybody contributed handsomely to our 263 for 7 in 120 minutes. The Gentlemen were dismissed for 157, Huskinson taking 5 for 54. On the last weekend of the Club's season we murdered the Stonyhurst Wanderers who were all out for 44. Against Hurlingham Club we were once again far too strong and in leaving them a target of 230 bowled them out for 75. Gretton made an excellent 90 and Savill, Jackson, Sparling and Huskinson all got wickets.

THE TOUR

The weather was excellent, the cricket of a high standard on balance, and everyone enjoyed themselves. Somehow it did not matter that we only won against Middleton—for the first time in five years. The game took pride of place and with three new and better opponents—the Lancing Rovers, the Old Hurstjohnians and the Cryptics—our cricket hauled itself out of the rut into which it tends to settle itself when on tour.

Against the Lancing Rovers Mark Grabowski staved off all comers for 25 minutes to enable us to draw rather in their favour. At Hove the Sussex Martlets set us a total of 256 and at 140 for 7 it seemed that we were doomed. However, Miles Wright and Fr Simon shared a stand of 107 before Wright was out for 68 with the score 247. Fr Simon followed soon after making his 50 and at 251 for 9 we were forced to put up the shutters and call it a day. Another exciting game against the Bluemantles at Tumbridge Wells gave us our third draw, with the opposition needing 10 runs with 2 wickets in hand. Wright and Carey scored 50s and Edward Corbould collected 6 for 91. Against the Old Hurstjohnians fortunes fluctuated. We made 202 and at tea the opposition were 53 for 5. But we had not broken the back of their batting as we hoped and a century partnership altered the situation completely. However, when Peter Savill brought himself on again with the score 178 for 6 two quick wickets fell and with discretion being the better part of valour the opposition played out time. We lost another interesting game against the Cryptics in the

last over and were well beaten by the Old Rossallians again (to be remedied next year, please!). And so to Middleton, a match which usually produces the best or the worst in the Club, and sometimes both. Middleton were put in to bat and with 60 runs on the board after only 20 minutes it seemed we were doomed to face a mammoth total. However, Edward Corbould began to make the ball turn at one end while Francis Fitzherbert (aged 15) bowled an impeccable line and length at the other. By lunch they had reached only 70 for the loss of 5 wickets and were all out by 3 p.m. for 158. Fitzherbert took 6 wickets for 39, an impressive performance by any standards. It was a proud father who came off the field that afternoon, the first time there has been a father and son combination playing for the Club since Fred Wright and his son Richard in the early fifties. Christopher Andrews and Simon Trafford saw us well on the way to victory which was achieved just after tea for the loss of only 3 wickets.

Finally, the Club's thanks must go to all those who contributed towards this memorable season. To Basil Stafford for his unceasing efforts on our behalf. To Adrian Brennan, the Treasurer, whose job becomes more and more of a financier's nightmare, and to those who managed the various matches, Tony Huskinson, Robert Jackson, Richard Carey and John Morton. To Martin Crossley for his administrative services and untiring work as joint secretary. Also to those who entertained us at various matches, Tony Huskinson, Robert Jackson, Richard Carey and when we were playing close by, and those who travelled long distances to support us, especially at Harrow. Special gratitude must go to Willoughby Wynne for his tremendous efforts in organising our Cricketer Cup sides and the success which they brought.

We look forward to an even better season next year which we hope will grow out of the foundations that have been built this season and to the continuing support on and off the field of present and future members.

For the diary: 1st Round, Cricketer Cup, 1970.

O.A.C.C. v. Old Brightonians at Brighton College, 31st May. Brighton were the winners of this year's competition.

M. F. M. WRIGHT *Joint Hon. Sec.*

RESULTS, 1969

- 24th May. v. *The School*—see school notes.
 25th May. v. Old Cliftonians, 1st Round, Cricketer Cup. Old Cliftonians 68. O.A.C.C. 70 for 2.
 15th June. v. Harrow Wanderers, 2nd Round, Cricketer Cup. At Harrow. O.A.C.C. 199 (Sparling 70, Stephens 28, Butcher 30, A. Walsh 27), Harrow W. 84 (Huskinson 5-25, Stephens 3-2).
 22nd June. v. Uppingham Rovers at Hurlingham. U.R. 247 for 7 dec. (Morton 5-112), O.A.C.C. 140 (A. King 45, M. Wright 25).
 6th July. v. Uppingham Rovers, 3rd Round, Cricketer Cup. At Ampleforth. U.R. 226 (54 overs) (Purves 52, Ashworth 59, Stephens 4-37). O.A.C.C. 203 (Gretton 55, Stephens 28, Morton 42).
 19th July. v. Old Georgians at Weybridge. O.A.C.C. 182 (Walsh 32, Wynne 38, Hughes Onslow 26). O.G. 183-4 (O'Gorman 88 not out).
 20th July. v. Send at Send. Send 199 for 8 (P. Savill 5-69). O.A.C.C. 200 for 9 (A. Walsh 31, John Morton 30, P. Savill 83).
 26th July. v. Repton Pilgrims at Repton. O.A.C.C. 137 (Morton 37, R. Jackson 37, Pynwell 5-78, Pyne 3-55), R.P. 139 for 9 (Sparling 4-51, Morton 3-36).
 27th July. v. Staffordshire Gentlemen at Uttoxeter. O.A.C.C. 259 for 7 dec. (Sparling 61, Spencer 36, Walsh 39, Morton 38, Huskinson 31). Staff. Gents. 157 (Huskinson 5-54).
 2nd Aug. v. Emeriti at Weybridge. Emeriti 142 (Savill 4-57, Jackson 4-30). O.A.C.C. 140 for 6 (Spencer 65, Hughes-Onslow 35).
 17th Aug. v. Stonyhurst Wanderers at Hurlingham Club. S.W. 44 (Savill 6-7). O.A.C.C. 48 for 1 (Gretton 35 not out).
 18th Aug. v. Hurlingham Club. O.A.C.C. 230 (Gretton 90, Savill 31), H.C. 75 (Sparling 3-21, R. Jackson 3-8).

THE TOUR

- 3rd Aug. v. Lancing Rovers at Lancing. L.R. 180 for 7 (Jackson 4-63). O.A.C.C. 135 for 9 (N. Perry 44, C. Andrews 36).
 4th Aug. v. Sussex Martlets at Hove. S.M. 258 for 6 dec. O.A.C.C. 252 for 9 (Wright 68, Trafford 51, C. Andrews 41).
 5th Aug. v. Bluemantles at Tunbridge Wells. O.A.C.C. 202 (R. Carey 53, M. Wright 53). Bluemantles 193 for 8 (Corbould 6-91).
 6th Aug. v. Old Hurstjohnians at Hurstpierpoint. O.A.C.C. 203 (P. Savill 46, M. Wright 34, R. Andrews 27). O.H. 188 for 8 (Savill 6-35).
 8th Aug. v. Cryptics at Cranleigh School. Cryptics 214 (Carey 4-54, Corbould 6-55). O.A.C.C. 159 (Wynne 26, Trafford 25, Wright 48).
 10th Aug. v. Old Rossallians at Lancing College. O.A.C.C. 171 for 7 (Trafford 51, Corbould 66). O.R. 172 for 3 (Hon. F. Fitzherbert 3-40).
 11th Aug. v. Middleton at Middleton. Middleton 158 (F. Fitzherbert 6-39, Corbould 3-50). O.A.C.C. 162 for 3 (C. Andrews 49, Trafford 66).

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS WERE:

Head Monitor	...	...	...	J. W. Fane-Gladwin
School Monitors	R. L. Minio, B. G. T. Haughton, S. J. Shuldham, A. J. Macfie, T. N. Howard, D. J. Hughes, J. P. Christie, Viscount Asquith, P. J. Williams, J. R. Parker, C. C. McCann, D. C. Ogilvie, N. H. Armour, M. E. Studer, B. P. Musgrave, P. A. Thomasson, M. P. Reilly, B. A. McSwiney.			
Captain of Cricket	...	...	...	W. M. Reichwald
Captain of Athletics	...	...	...	J. P. McHale
Captain of Swimming	...	...	...	C. C. F. McCann
Captain of Boxing	...	...	...	D. J. West
Captain of Shooting	...	...	...	J. H. Leeming
Master of Hounds	...	...	...	T. M. Fitzalan-Howard
Captain of Tennis	...	...	...	C. E. Lillis
Office Men	D. J. Hughes, B. P. Musgrave, P. A. Thomasson, A. R. Leeming, D. A. Horn, S. A. Price, J. H. Leeming, T. N. Fitzalan-Howard, D. N. Young, P. P. Nunn, T. C. Dawson, S. M. Russell.			
Librarians	P. W. James, P. J. Ford, R. G. Watson, P. St J. Baxter, M. C. Blackden, P. Grace, G. R. Gretton, S. G. Callaghan, R. J. A. Richmond, A. M. J. S. Reid, P. P. Keohane, E. P. Clarence-Smith.			
Bookroom	N. S. McCraith, T. A. Doyle, D. C. McKibbin, J. C. Rigby, R. G. Killingbeck.			
Bookshop	P. D. Clarke (Assist. Man.), M. A. Q. Shuldham, W. A. Jacks, M. C. Blackden, M. S. Callow, M. H. Armour, C. N. F. Kinsky, T. C. Bidie, R. P. Burdell, T. P. MacFarlane.			

THE FOLLOWING BOYS LEFT THE SCHOOL IN JULY:

St Aidan's: C. J. C. Bartle, A. J. Coghlan, P. B. Conan, O. J. M. Dawson, P. M. H. du Boulay, C. C. McCann, R. L. Minio, M. J. Poole, R. F. Sheppard.

St Bede's: N. G. J. Gaynor, M. A. Grieve, B. G. T. Haughton, P. B. Kelly, S. J. Marriner, C. K. P. O'Ferrall, A. S. R. S. Reid, C. M. Shaw, M. M. N. Simonds, P. J. Stilliard.

St Cuthbert's: C. E. F. Clive, J. W. Fane-Gladwin, T. N. Gilbey, M. F. Hallinan, N. S. McCraith, H. W. A. Mitchell-Cotts, D. G. J. Monteith, J. S. Oppe, S. A. C. Price, P. W. M. Ramsay, N. S. Roche, P. H. Ryan, S. J. H. Q. Shuldham.

St Dunstan's: M. J. A. Ambrose, H. N. A. Barry, A. J. Macfie, C. M. P. Magill, C. E. P. O'Connor, M. P. C. Skehan.

St Edward's: E. A. Blackledge, P. M. Davey, A. M. P. Hardesty, T. E. B. Howard, A. Meyrick, M. W. A. Rymaszewski, A. R. Windle.

St Hugh's: S. J. Dowling, D. J. Hughes, M. K. James, J. M. Kentish, A. R. Leeming, D. H. Traquair, M. S. L. Waide, F. D. Watkins.

St John's: C. J. A. Barnes, P. D. Brennan, J. P. Christie, A. P. Coghlan, J. J. Harris, P. Thomasson.

St Oswald's: C. F. Couldrey, N. J. Couldrey, G. R. Hatfield, J. E. Herbert, D. P. M. Horn, W. A. Jacks, B. A. McSwiney, D. H. Powell, D. L. Weaver, R. J. Watling, F. C. Williams, C. M. Worsley, D. N. Young.

St Thomas's: M. A. Fresson, H. R. L. Guly, J. L. Hamilton, C. M. Johnston, M. A. Judd, S. M. Russell, R. F. P. Stone, M. J. Waddilove, D. J. West, A. H. Wojciechowski.

St Wilfrid's: S. Baillieu, P. D. Clarke, J. M. Cullen, R. Fernor-Hesketh, A. J. Fraser, A. P. Gastrell, H. O. Hetherington, J. R. Parker, J. P. Ramsay.

Junior House: P. H. K. May.

THE FOLLOWING BOYS ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN SEPTEMBER:

A. F. B. Ashbrooke, M. P. P. Atsoiparthis, A. R. Baillieu, J. H. Bodkin, A. S. Brodrick, M. J. G. Burnett, P. J. E. Burnett, J. F. Buxton, J. A. J. Cronin, W. J. Dawson, P. G. de Zulueta, S. D. A. F. Edmonds, G. A. Elwes, S. A. C. Everett, R. H. G. Faber, Hon. T. A. Fitzherbert, C. E. H. Francis, I. L. Gregory, J. F. Hall, A. A. D. Hamilton, F. P. H. Hampton, A. J. Higgins, C. J. A. Holroyd, J. Jennings, T. E. B. Killick, J. E. Lightburn, A. R. F. Mangeot, S. H. Mathews, D. M. G. Moylan, J. Murray-Brown, L. F. H. Noworthy, J. J. Nunn, A. R. J. Pratt, N. W. Price, S. M. A. Radwanski, D. G. J. Reilly, J. J. Rochford, C. J. Satterthwaite, C. M. G. Scott, H. C. F. Scott, M. A. N. Segrave, C. J. Simpson, J. J. Stimpson, J. M. Slattery, Hon. R. A. P. Southwell, M. R. Staveley-Taylor, S. J. Trowbridge, A. W. M. Tyrrell, G. L. Vincenti, S. M. Walmesley-Cotham, E. A. Willis, N. F. Woodhead, A. G. Yates, A. Zivkovic.

THE FOLLOWING BOYS CAME UP FROM THE JUNIOR HOUSE IN SEPTEMBER:

M. A. Campbell, T. N. Clarke, R. S. Collingridge, J. P. M. Craig, R. A. Craig, H. P. Dowling, S. J. Doyle, C. M. Durkin, S. R. Finlow, A. H. Foll, C. J. Foll, J. S. Gaynor, A. P. Graham, M. C. Hay, M. T. L. Heath, S. Heywood, B. G. F. G. Hood, T. G. Hooke, J. J. Hornyold-Strickland, B. P. Lister, J. R. Lochrane, J. B. W. Madden, S. D. Mahony, A. P. Marsden, M. N. Martin, M. Newton, D. V. O'Brien, J. M. T. O'Connor, J. P. G. Pickin, M. P. Rigby, N. J. L. Roberts, G. P. J. Roche, P. B. Ryan, C. A. Sandeman, A. C. S. Slattery, P. J. Sommer, N. A. Spence, J. F. Spencer, M. B. Spencer, Hon. J. A. Stourton, T. B. Symes, A. J. A. Tate, J. E. Tomkins, P. T. Viner, R. von Vollmar, J. N. Wakely, S. E. Wright.

ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS 1969

MAJOR

J. G. W. Bruce-Jones—St Bede's, Bishton Hall	£300
M. R. Staveley-Taylor—Kingsmead	£300
Hon R. W. B. Norton—Farleigh House and Ampleforth	£300
D. P. M. Pearce—Moreton Hall	£200
W. D. B. Porter—Moulton Hall	£200
J. Samuel—St Benet's, Alderwasley (Randolph)	£200
H. C. F. Scott—Holmewood House	£200
A. A. D. Hamilton—Alton Castle (Randolph)	£200

MINOR

A. S. Brodrick—Ladycross	£100
J. P. M. Craig—Junior House, Ampleforth	£100
H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple—Farleigh House and Ampleforth	£100
J. N. Wakely—Bishop's Court and Junior House, Ampleforth	£100
A. J. Yates—St Richard's, Bredenbury Court	£70
A. H. Davenport—Elston Hall and Ampleforth	£70
J. F. Hall—Abbey Junior School, Ramsgate	£50
S. J. Trowbridge—Farleigh House	£50
N. W. Price—Moulton Hall	£50
M. B. Spencer—Junior House, Ampleforth	£50
E. A. Willis—St Martin's	£50

WE welcome the following new members of the Masters' Common Room: Mr R. D. Nelson (Senior Mathematics Master); Mr K. Elliott (Physics); Mr C. Hudson (Politics).

In the last issue of the JOURNAL mention was made of the new developments in communication between Father Patrick and parents. An awareness of the need for such contact and exchange of ideas has also become evident in the School and at the Headmaster's suggestion a Steering Committee has been formed consisting of two monks (one Housemaster), two lay masters and two senior boys (the Head Monitor and one Senior boy). A wide range of topics has been referred to the Committee already and these have subsequently been discussed informally by the Headmaster and members of the teaching staff.

ON the 11th May, 250 members of the School took part in the second inter-denominational sponsored walk in aid of *Shelter* and *Christian Aid*. They were joined by about 200 young people from the York and Tees-side areas and a large number of adults. The day started at Mount Grace Priory where Father Abbot preached at a celebrated Mass for the Roman Catholics, whilst Anglicans and Methodists held a Service in the ruins. The day ended with a joint service of guitar-accompanied hymns in the ruins of Rievaulx Abbey where Lady Masham spoke briefly but inspiringly. A total of £1,000 was raised for these excellent causes.

ON the 22nd May the College athletics team competed for the first time in the Midland Public Schools' Relay Meeting at Worksop. The Senior 4 × 800 yds team (MacHale, Hamilton, Poole, J. Gaynor) won in a new record time of 8 mins 29.8 secs, as did their Under 17 counterparts (Forsythe, Dowling, Burford, Prenderville) in 8 mins 49.4 secs.

ONCE again the weather stayed fine for the Yorkshire Cheshire Homes Day on 29th May. One hundred and four residents arrived and were looked after by the Rovers and members of the Sixth Form. A matinee performance of "Oliver" was followed by an exhibition of marching by the Corps Band. Tea was provided by Lay Masters' wives and the Matrons; this year the wives achieved new culinary records by cooking 1,200 assorted cakes. The obvious pleasure that these few hours gave to our visitors was eloquent testimony of the valuable work undertaken by Fr Kieran and the Rovers.

THE annual picnic at Goremire was cancelled because of the persistent rain during the morning. However, the elements were not sufficient to thwart the efforts of some members of the School who hired a camel for the occasion, thereby achieving some national acclaim in the *Daily Mail* and adding a picturesque, although rather inappropriate, sight to the tourist attractions of Ryedale.

ALTHOUGH Samuel Beckett's "Waiting for Godot" (performed on Saturday, 7th June) was not the big production of the year, it was certainly the most significant. One might think that the dramatisation of inaction (after all, "Nothing happens—twice") would inevitably be boring, but, on the contrary, the dialogue grows out of the language of gesture and exercises a progressive fascination. Indeed, the play depends for its effect on the mastery of the basic theatrical skills of mime and clowning, and it is in terms of these that it presents a paradigm of the human condition. What made this production so outstanding was the total absence of faltering: the performance of all the main characters—Nicholas Blane's baffled, earth-bound Estragon, Christopher Johnston's Chaplinesque Vladimir, Michael Jayes' grotesquely contorted Lucky, and Jeremy O'Grady's flamboyant circus-master Pozzo—was so remarkably assured and mature that it seemed as though a high degree of professionalism could be taken for granted, not least in the matter of learning parts—Beckett's short, repetitive and constantly interrupted speeches being notoriously difficult to learn.

This is a difficulty that extends to the characters themselves: they seem unable to remember what has happened to them. Neither of the tramps can remember where they were the day before, and in Act II they've forgotten that they tried to hang themselves in Act I. Whereas most plays capitalise on the audience's ignorance of what is going to happen next, in "Godot" we know from the beginning that nothing is going to happen and that the passing of time is to be made endurable only by constant improvisation. The play depends for its success on bringing off the music-hall trick of protracted delay—answering the simplest question with the maximum elaboration (e.g. Pozzo spraying his throat before he can answer), a trick which entails a great deal of incidental comic business with bowler hats, boots and handkerchiefs. But to give the impression of spontaneous improvisation calls for the greatest precision in performance, and that this impression should have been sustained throughout testifies not only to the very considerable histrionic abilities of the actors themselves but to Mr Haughton's wonderfully sure and discreet direction of them.

THE term concluded the 50th anniversary of the *Ampleforth Music Society* and the President (Fr Adrian) and Secretary (N. H. S. Armour) would like to thank all the presidents, past and present, for their hard work. Thanks are also due to the numerous benefactors who gave records, lectures and support throughout the year. Among these, Christopher Wilson (C49) deserves special thanks for the large number of records he sent us from Canada. The Society flourished throughout the year and is grateful for this to those who served on the Committee for all or part of it, namely R. D. Balme, H. O. Hetherington, W. J. Howard, P. W. James and P. B. Newsom.

DURING the Summer Term Mr Andrew Dunsire, Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of York, visited the School in order to hold a seminar for 12 boys studying British Government at Advanced Level. His subject was "Administrative Tribunals". We are most grateful to him for his stimulating survey of a major, but often overlooked, aspect of the British political scene. Mr Dunsire's visit was one of many which members of York University have made here in recent years, and the College welcomes and values this growing contact.

M. ROWLAND has been awarded a Royal Navy Scholarship and N. P. V. Lewen and J. C. Rapp Royal Navy Reserved Cadetships.

MUSIC

SCHOOL music, to have much significance, must be corporate. The development of individual talent is, of course, vital but it only makes its real impact when it is related to the whole.

Throughout the Spring Term the Tuesday evening concerts were corporate affairs. A small and competent body of Strings made up the programme on 28th January. They gave a vigorous account of the Jacques arrangement of *The Arrival of the Queen of Sheba*. It might have sounded better with the addition of two Oboes, but that would mean virtuoso wind playing likely to tax our available players very heavily. There is a limit to the extent to which we can ask visitors to help us in our domestic music making. The Handel String Suite in D had a lively reading and Gluck's *Dance of the Blessed Spirits* for two Flutes and Strings was beautifully played by P. W. James and J. W. Macdonald.

On 11th February H. O. Hetherington sang a group of songs by Warlock together with some traditional French. He has a real feeling for this sort of music and there was evidence of much careful thought and searching preparation in his work. The Hon W. J. Howard was his accompanist. They make an admirable team. The concert finished with a first-rate performance by R. F. C. Magill of the Bach Concerto in D minor for Clavier and Strings.



MIDLANDS PUBLIC SCHOOLS' CHAMPIONSHIPS—WINNERS, SENIOR 4 x 880 YARDS
Left to Right: J. P. MacHale, M. J. Poole, J. L. Hamilton, J. C. Gaynor.



MIDLANDS PUBLIC SCHOOLS' CHAMPIONSHIPS—WINNERS, JUNIOR 4 x 880 YARDS
Left to Right: J. T. Prendville, J. S. Burford, J. D. Dowling, M. M. Forsythe.

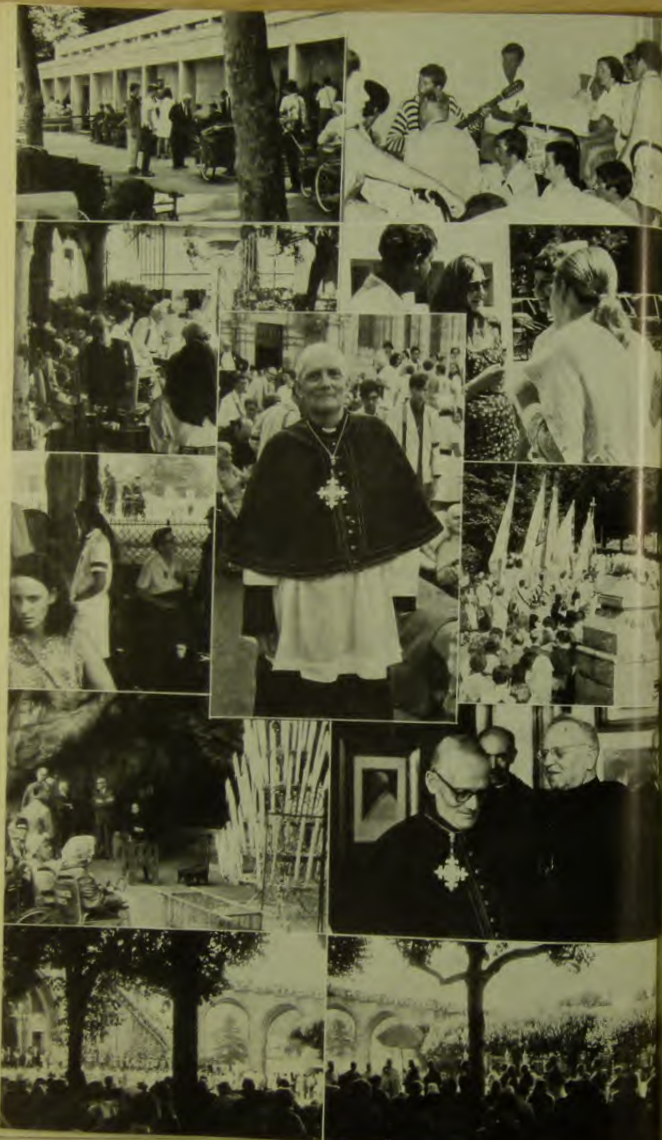
On 11th March Hetherington and Howard were again heard in part of the Schumann Dichterliebe. It was sung in German with colour, sensitivity and an apt sense of phrase. P. B. Newsom and Howard played the first movement of the Brahms Sonata in E minor for 'Cello and Piano. All the traditional points were made and the ensemble was admirable. Mr Kershaw and Mr Dowling gave a professional touch to things by their account of two movements from the Brahms Sonata in F minor for Clarinet and Piano.

The Ryedale Choral Union, supported by our own tenors and basses sang the Passion Music from the Messiah on 28th March. They tackled the Hallelujah Chorus on to it to give it more convincing finish. The chorus work was appropriately vigorous and expressive and we were lucky to have Anne Moreton, Marjorie Mortimer, H. O. Hetherington and John Moore to sing the solo parts.

Much depends upon the presentation of a programme and in this respect the Exhibition Concert was better than many. The first movement from Beethoven's Symphony in C, Op. 21, was followed by Mozart's Andante in F, K. 315, for Flute and Orchestra. P. W. James gave a convincing performance, apt and with a real sense of style. The first movement of Schumann's Piano Quintet, Op. 44, left little to be desired and R. F. C. Magill played the first movement from the Emperor Concerto. There was a fair degree of balance and unanimity between the Piano and the Orchestra. Magill is a player of immense promise. Hetherington sang a group of English songs—Britten, Delius and Warlock, accompanied by Howard. The Handel-Beecham Suite, The Faithful Shepherd, had a performance which gave the impression of vitality and authenticity. It is Handel adorned with great splendour. The Orchestra played up to it.

The Ordination Concert on 6th July saw Hetherington's last appearance. How we shall miss him! More English songs again accompanied by Howard; Warlock, Britten and John Ireland. Quite delightful. Two movements from a Mozart Piano Concerto played by two different boys was a novel experiment well worth making. The Concerto was the K. 459 in F, and it was played by two Junior House boys. J. V. R. Gosling played the Allegretto and S. R. Finlow played the Allegro Assai. Gosling was competent and he very consciously obeyed all the rules, while Finlow was quite superb in his assurance. Here are two pianists from whom we may expect much. The Overture to Egmont, the first movement of the Mozart Symphony in E flat, K. 459, the Corelli-Barbirolli Oboe Concerto (M. C. A. Lorigan) and a rumbustious performance of Eric Coates' 'Dam Busters' March rounded off an enjoyable evening.

A word about Mr Mortimer. He has led the Orchestra on every occasion, he has played in the Chamber Music combinations, he has coached, coerced and persuaded everybody, conductor included, until the highest standard was reached that was possible within our technical and interpretative limits.



THE LOURDES CONCERTS

THREE concerts in aid of the Lourdes Sick Fund were held in the Easter Term at Ampleforth, Harrogate Convent and the Bar Convent at York. The Ampleforth concert, on 16th February, was in the theatre before an enthusiastic audience, and was similarly acclaimed at the Convents. Later the concert was also given at the closed Borstal at Everthorpe, where the undoubted favourites were the nine girls from the Bar Convent who formed the Bar Convent Noctette of voices and guitars. They withstood a formidable barrage of cheers, whistles and yells from the 350 Borstal boys with complete assurance, and without them the concert might easily have failed.

The Noctette, with Gerry and Judy Spence from the Post Office, along with S. J. Dowling, E. A. Blackledge, D. S. Lovegrove and C. J. A. Barnes, formed the basis for the concert with their folk-music and guitars, and these items were supported by monastic items with Fr Dominic also acting as M.C.

E. A. Blackledge, S. J. Dowling and Lucy Dowling started the concert with three songs, and they were followed by the Monastic Quartet, consisting of Fr Dominic, Fr Adrian, Fr Henry and Fr Placid, who sang amusing and bucolic four-part arrangements of "Come, Landlord, fill the flowing bowl" and "There is a tavern in the town". Then came the Bar Convent Noctette, led by Miss Jeanette Cieslik, who arranged and harmonised their folk-songs. They were followed by Fr Martin and Fr Dominic, who sang "Old Mother Hubbard" in the style of a Handel aria. They were accompanied on the piano by the Hon W. J. Howard, D. S. Lovegrove and C. J. A. Barnes then performed their songs, with great conviction, and Fr Denis followed them with a witty performance of a jazz version of the "Kyrie" from Mass VIII, entitled "I Hate Eight", and four variations, including a chorale in the style of Bach, on the Christmas carol "Angels we have heard on high".

Gerry and Judy Spence then sang to their own guitar accompaniment, after which Fr Martin sang "The Warthog Song" and the "Hippopotamus Song". Both were conspicuous successes, and the audience joined in with enthusiasm. The concert was finished by a performance of the "Daniel Jazz", a short jazz cantata about Daniel in the Lions' Den, which was sung by 15 boys trained and conducted by N. H. S. Armour.

Many thanks are due to Fr Martin for organising these concerts, and it is hoped that there will be another series next year. Finally, we are deeply grateful to the girls of the Bar Convent Noctette for all their help, and for the large amount of time and energy they spent practising and performing in these concerts, which raised a total of £150 for the Lourdes Sick Fund.

CAREERS

REPORT ON P.S.A.B. MANCHESTER COURSE
"INTRODUCTION TO INDUSTRY"

14TH-19TH APRIL 1969

THE course started with a series of six lectures, giving necessary background information concerning the various facets of Industry, Management Requirements, Opportunities, ways of getting into Industry, Qualifications required and so on. They were given by men closely involved with the subject of the lecture, and were hence very informative and comprehensive.

These were followed by whole-day visits to three firms (chosen out of a list of 15) which each consisted of a Works Tour, followed by either films or discussions or both. In each case, a generalised picture of Industry was given, with particular reference to the firm concerned, its policies, prospects, salaries, etc.

Overall, the course was extremely beneficial, both for those taking science and also for those taking arts subjects at "A" level. (N.B.—25% of those on the course were taking arts.) It provided a valuable insight into the organisation and workings of Industry, and useful experience was gained on the whole-day visits. The various career openings were fully discussed, together with the type of work involved in those careers. Finally, the course was very well worth the cost (£10), for arts and science students alike, and is to be very strongly recommended. The best time to go on such a course is probably in the first year of "A" level work, though those in their second year would also find it invaluable.

SOCIETIES

ALTHOUGH it is not normal for School Societies to function in the Summer Term, the following would like to record their activities:

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THROUGHOUT the term groups from the Society have been making visits to a dig outside Coxwold which is under the supervision of Mr McDonnell. There it was possible to apply the elementary principles of archaeology and sample some of its difficulties as well as its joys. The chief difficulty in this case was to identify what was being excavated, and, in spite of much ingenuity and guesswork, it was impossible to say more than that it was part of a medieval water system, perhaps connected with a nearby mill, before it became necessary to fill in the trench for the winter. This doubt, however, did not affect the fascination of the digging itself, which to me is the main attraction of archaeology.

Another feature of the term's activity was a visit to the home of an eminent local archaeologist, Mr T. Nicholson, T.D., F.S.A., where we

examined his finds and his extensive collection of furniture, and were then entertained to vast tea. It was an enjoyable as well as instructive afternoon.

For all archaeologists "summer is the time for action, winter the time for reflection". We have acted this term, and hope to reflect as successfully next.

P. FORD, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Fr Henry*)

THE FILM SOCIETY

For the first time in its history the Society was permitted to function during the Summer Term: our thanks for this must go to the Headmaster and to the President. Six full-length films were arranged. "Peter and Pavla" started off the term. It was entertaining mainly because it appeared to have been shot in the 50's when it was, in fact, made in 1964. Its location accounted for this—it was filmed in Czechoslovakia. It was not a very good film. However, "Rashomon", which followed, made amends. It was fascinating, had a complex plot, was superbly acted, and brilliantly photographed: such a mixture could not fail to enchant. "A Generation" came next. Part of Wajda's famous trilogy, it was not very inspiring and rather depressing. "Whisky Galore" succeeded in changing the mood, but it is hardly the right sort of film for the Society. Losey's "King and Country" followed. As a revelation of war and its effects on the human conscience it was as hard-hitting as "A Generation", but much more effective. It was a biting criticism of the military morality which will allow men to be executed "pour encourager les autres". "Look Back in Anger" was the last film of the term and even if not, perhaps, as stylish a film as "Rashomon" it was certainly the best received. Richard Burton dominated a wonderful cast. His compelling performance conveyed Jimmy Porter's "anger" to perfection and Tony Richardson's direction completed the atmospheric power of the film.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the President for all he has done for the Society since he took it over—especially his choice of films for next term—and also the Committee members, Patrick Donovan and Connor Magill, for their help.

MICHAEL JAYES, *Hon. Sec.*

(*President: Fr Stephen*)

THE ROVERS

The Rovers have existed in the School for a number of years but during recent years their activities have expanded so much that it would seem appropriate to give a more detailed explanation of their work than usual.

Firstly, it is entirely voluntary and is organised by a committee of boys, each of whom is responsible for one of the activities. It is open to those who have reached their fourth year in the School. Each person is expected to devote three or four of their half days during the term to one of the activities undertaken. These activities consist of weekly visits to a local Cheshire Home, Alne Hall, where the Matron gives us jobs

to do around the home; but more important is the time the boys spend in talking to the residents, taking them out, or playing cards, chess and draughts with them. Visits on a Saturday are also made to Claypenny Mental Hospital where two pairs of boys spend the afternoon in the children's wards. In the afternoon those who have visited Alne Hall join those in Claypenny and all help to feed the children, most of whom have to be fed individually. This task of feeding the children is one that takes up a lot of the staff's time and so the many hands on a Saturday afternoon are very welcome. Weekly visits are also paid to a York Geriatric Hospital for men, where the object of the visits is for boys to get to know the patients and to help with some of the routine work. Two boys also go to the Poor Clares Convent in York where they help to keep up the garden. An association has also been built up with Wetherby Borstal. Visits by Wetherby Borstal are made to us and return visits made by Rovers to the Borstal. A camp was held at Redcar for a week at the end of term, and a fuller account is given of this below.

The Rovers also supply a group of boys who make it their main work to help in the organising of the Junior House scout activities. Other work consists of looking after and maintaining Redcar Farm, a hostel which can sleep about 20 people and which gets used by both the School and by outside groups. In addition, two boys go each Wednesday to Ampleforth Village primary school to take the boys for soccer. Besides the regular activities engaged upon, the Cheshire Home Day was again a great success, and a note about this appears elsewhere in the JOURNAL.

At Exhibition a sherry party was held for parents, masters, monks and boys at Redcar Farm. It was held in order to raise money for a new venture: a Handicapped Children's holiday. Over £60 was raised. The children came to us through a request made by Miss Elizabeth Fitzroy who runs a Trust for Handicapped Children and organises holidays for them. She had previously been to talk to the School and it was agreed to run a holiday at the Junior House. Temporary washing and sanitary facilities were erected which proved satisfactory. Eleven Rovers agreed to help. They went home for a week and assembled at Ampleforth on 18th July. An account of the holiday is given below by one of those who helped.

The annual Goremire Eve camp was again held at Rievaulx with Mass in the Abbey on the following morning. Rovers were once more asked to organise sideshows at a Garden Party held this year at Hovingham Hall. As a result of great ingenuity and hard work these raised a sum of £55.

It is hoped that Rover activities will continue to expand and at the time of going to press investigations are being made into the needs of the immediate vicinity, including Ampleforth Village, Oswaldkirk and Helmsley; but however greatly the activities expand it is hoped that the Rovers will maintain their voluntary character. In all these activities there is a real, and often important, need to be met. We also hope that in their future careers the Rovers will aim to use their talents and professional competence with compassion in the service of the Community.

The Committee: J. C. Gaynor, C. Berry, P. Russell, D. Lovegrove, N. Watts, D. Dees, C. Harrison.

THE HANDICAPPED CHILDREN'S HOLIDAY

Raymond Asquith writes: The 11 boys who had volunteered to look after the handicapped children arrived at the Junior House, where we were based, on the evening of 18th July and the children arrived the next day. I say children but they ranged from 11 years old to 18. Four of them were in wheelchairs, the other six could walk though one needed to be assisted and another was blind. By their first night, however, I had already been greatly impressed by their total lack of inhibition over their various disabilities and the jokes they made at their own expense.

They had arrived on the Saturday and on the next day they went out to tea with various families living nearby who had very kindly agreed to take one boy and his "helper" to their homes for the afternoon. This was undoubtedly a vital factor in the success of their holiday. My boy, for instance, came from a very broken-up home and used to live in Bradford; to be taken into a family which was so obviously happy and to be driven up on to the moors gave him the greatest pleasure and it is a tribute to that family that they constantly remained in his mind throughout the week he spent up here and no doubt will remain long afterwards.

We are equally indebted to the other families as well for these children obviously found such great difficulty in obtaining any response out of most people that to meet someone who was prepared to talk to them and look after them came as a great surprise and joy. Apart from the 11 Ampleforth helpers at the Junior House there were also Father Kieran, Brother Ralph, Miss Mackay—a tireless nurse, and Audrey Milestone who cooked us the most delicious meals. Having discovered that they could talk quite freely with all of us the handicapped children entered into their holiday with a great eagerness. It was touching to see what enjoyment they got out of the smallest pleasures and comforts which we take for granted. They were constantly playing games in the house and there were visits to the swimming bath every day. We spent one day on the Gilling Lakes and they were seldom out of the boats. Another day we went to Flamingo Park Zoo near Kirby Misperton, followed by a huge lunch for all 25 of us prepared by Mary Ackroyd, which we ate outside her house in Rosedale, half-way up the hill.

Towards the end of the camp we took them to the sea at Filey. The public reaction as we took them round the shops before going down to the beach was predictable but interesting. It was most often one of embarrassment—"let's get them out of here" or "I must get out of here myself". But it was impressive to see how the boys, although aware of the inquisitive glances they received, were quite unperturbed by them and had no inhibitions. As the camp was ending many of the boys were wishing that they could have stayed on for another week. As they left one or two of the smaller boys were in tears, which is perhaps sufficient comment on the success of the camp.

Besides those who helped and worked in Junior House and the families who took out the boys to tea we are greatly indebted to Mary Ackroyd and Conrad Martin who prepared us such a superb lunch in Rosedale and to Gerry and Judy Spence who played the guitar for us and sang during Mass and at the so-called "concert".


THE AMPLEFORTH-WETHERBY BORSTAL CAMP

Robert Minio writes: At the end of the Summer Term a group of eight from Ampleforth went on a camp at Redear Farm with a group from Wetherby Borstal. During term those coming on the camp from Wetherby came to visit us, and we went to the Borstal. Each party got some idea, however distorted, of how the other lived.

The Borstal routine is tiring and monotonous. When someone is sent to Borstal he is not sentenced to a specified number of months. He may remain there for anything from six months to two years. Most are discharged after 11 or 13 months, and everyone is given only two months' notice of his discharge. Hence, for most, there is a permanent doubt and uncertainty hanging over them. There are four grades in Borstal: New Entrants, Training Grade, Senior Training Grade and Discharges. Each boy moves up through the grades and the speed with which he does so depends on his conduct and on how ready he is for release. During these months they learn a trade by working at anything from building to baking bread. They are paid according to their grades.

A great deal of time and trouble is spent by the staff in assessing the entrants' capabilities and new entrants are directed to work according to their aptitudes and leanings. The whole training is aimed at teaching the boys to stand on their own feet and make decisions for themselves. Wetherby is in the front line of experimentation in this field and it has recently introduced a "Discharge House" which boys are put

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into for the last period of their training and which they have to organise themselves, making their own rules with an absolute minimum of interference from staff. This is showing great promise of success. In general, the dedication of the staff at Wetherby is extremely impressive to any visitor especially as much of their efforts must at times seem so unrewarding.

Those who came with us on the camp were as doubtful about being with us for a week as we were about them. This doubt was apparent for the first two days of the camp. We had met before, so few introductions were necessary; but there seemed to be little to talk about. Despite the fact that almost everyone there was normally quite lively, the first and second evenings were silent, with rather half-hearted card-games and table-tennis. They arrived on Friday, and on Saturday we worked. Half of us went to Alne Hall to make a base for a garage, and half stayed at Redcar, demolishing a wall in the garden. After work some swam in the lake or wandered around and others stayed at the farm. What people did is not as important as the fact that the two groups were beginning to do things together. There was still a tension in the room that evening, though not quite as marked as on the previous day. The mental exhaustion of those two days was certainly far greater than the physical tiredness from mixing cement for an afternoon.

By Sunday evening the tension had almost gone. Though this may sound absurd, the relief was a direct result of the cooking rota. Two people—one from each group—cooked each meal. Each person inevitably became associated with his cooking partner, and as they were thrown together they had to accept each other as individuals to some extent at least. So, as well as many exquisite dishes, there resulted this mutual acceptance which over the next few days developed into respect. This is really the main point of the camp: the establishment of mutual respect, and all that follows from it. What follows naturally depends on those involved, but it is clear that, if contact is continued, a great deal of good may be done. Mutual respect is only one step away from friendship, and for someone with no friends and perhaps no family either, one is a helpful start.

There was no fixed routine on the camp. On Sunday we all went to Mass together and went up on to the moors in the afternoon. Monday and Tuesday were working days, but the strain of being together had gone, and even the work could be almost pleasant. On Wednesday, the last full day, we went to Aysgarth Falls and had a pleasantly relaxed time. By evening the Wetherby group were, not unnaturally, a bit subdued at the thought of returning to Borstal. When they did leave the next day, though sad to return, there was also a genuine regret at leaving people whom they had got to know, whereas when they had arrived they had been more pleased to leave the Borstal routine than to meet us. Even in the cases where contact ended there, something was gained, but if contact is continued the whole situation becomes far more real and immeasurably more beneficial to both parties.

(See montage of photographs.)

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THE EXHIBITION

This year's Exhibition broke several records. Well over 900 parents and friends accepted our invitation to attend and for the first time it was necessary to restrict attendance at both the Play and Concert to those with tickets. It was therefore doubly unfortunate that the two-day cricket match against the Free Foresters had to be cancelled for the first time ever; the weekend itself was fortunately rain-free but the weeks of downpour which had preceded it made the pitch unplayable.

We print the following extracts from the Headmaster's speech. . .

Not only is selection a controversial point, but the whole future of VIth Form education is very much discussed at the moment. There is one group, a powerful and influential one, which is pressing the Government to write into the proposed new Education Act an entirely new piece of jargon. They wish VIth Form education to be called *tertiary education*. Now those who have some experience of life will be aware that the changing of a name never solves any problems and the basic problem remains that there are not enough facilities, and there is no prospect in the foreseeable future of sufficiently highly qualified staff to provide anything like the number of VIth Form places for which the country is looking. It is therefore of the utmost importance for any school with a tolerably good VIth Form to maintain it, not only in the narrow interests of those linked with the school, but in the interests of the country at large. It is our aim, therefore, to maintain a high academic standard with a VIth Form large enough to offer a full range of "A" Level subjects. It is also our aim to continue the policy which we have always had of maintaining a balance of less academically able boys, for whom we shall continue to do everything we can in the certain knowledge that they can contribute an enormous amount to the school and that they are capable of giving as much as they receive.

Our third aim in the face of financial stringency must be to try to run the school as economically as possible without sacrificing efficiency. I know that you will believe me when I say that it is with the greatest regret that we have decided to increase the fees from next September. This has been forced upon us by rising costs. I would, however, point out that now when our fees stand at £510 per annum there are already 33 schools charging over £600 and on the list we come 93rd, so that there are 92 more expensive schools than this one.

Meanwhile registrations come in with increasing volume and already there are 50 boys registered for 1982. It is a sombre thought that, if things go on like this, in the not-too-distant future I shall be registering the first candidate for 1984.

Why the emphasis on academic standard? The answer is quite simple. The universities are highly selective. Cynics about the educational system are inclined, through reading the wrong correspondence, in the wrong papers, to come to the conclusion that in the early stages of modern

education children are taught nothing and in the later stages persuaded to discuss what they have learnt. That is a very cynical view and it is not true. No school could succeed if it were. The universities are selective and will continue to be so. It is a very important fact of life for all the young to appreciate that school life is only transitional in the educational system and that a very great deal of learning and hard work is necessary after school, whether at university or at the actual work or profession which any boy may undertake. It is even important to emphasise, as in a recent conference a University Appointments Officer was emphasising with some acerbity, that the possession of a degree is not a passport to bliss and affluence and that those who have this attitude are usually the people who fail to survive the first six months of a job and become neither sought after nor capable of supporting themselves. They retire very often into a resentful backwater, feeling that somehow or other society has failed them. I hope that all boys in the school will retain enough realism always to ask first the question, "Have I failed society?"

Universities are selective and will be so increasingly. Recent statistics, published by the Department of Education and Science, suggest that another 20,000 places at university would be needed by 1972. They modestly feel that they may have under-estimated the facts in suggesting that 700,000 university places will be required by 1981 against the present 205,000. At the end of the 1960's, which has been described as the era of expansion in higher education, it is suggested that we are embarking on a ten-year period in which the demand will be more than tripled. Nobody believes that such a programme can be financed. Even in the 1960's the growth of expenditure on higher education was twice as fast as the growth on all other forms of education. In spite of this the gap exists, continues, and will probably increase. Universities are certain to remain selective and may well become more so. In these circumstances I congratulate the 68 boys who last year, in 1967/68, got university places and the nine boys who achieved awards at Oxford and Cambridge last December. But I have one cautionary tale. Let no one think that this process is predictable or even at times understandable. One candidate, whom we sent up for Cambridge (and I shall not mention the college), in spite of his 15 "O" Levels, 11 of them at Grade 1 or 2, in spite of his 4 "A" Levels in Science, all of them at Grade "A", and his 2 in Languages, both at Grade "B", was not considered worthy of a place at Cambridge University—it must be becoming a remarkable retreat for egg-heads. It was very, very sad for him, who was in every way admirably capable of university life, and for his parents, but there was no difficulty in getting him a place at a more predictable university, where I have not the least doubt that he will do extremely well. If you want to go to university, don't under-rate the problem and don't under-rate the demands which will be made on you there.

I have in the past drawn attention to the problem of careers and I hope you will forgive me for doing so again, because like the Bellman I cling to the hope that what is said three times is true. Thought about careers and

the future life in which boys are going to be involved is important, and this message is not getting across to them as it should. Mr Davies, the Careers Master, and his assistant Mr Compton (who is to succeed him next term), have put in a very great deal of work and in the Careers Room they have amassed a great deal of information on available careers, universities, higher education in this country and abroad, all of which is available. They have through conferences and contacts and the help of private friends and Old Boys built up an impressive network of contacts and are in a position to give an enormous amount of help to boys in these areas, but the boys must use them. We start from the assumption, which I don't think is extravagant, that the boys in this school when they leave will have to support themselves, and that they will need to think early of how they are going to find a place in life in which they will find not only money, which is necessary to live, but also the best fulfilment of brain, character and personality of which they are capable. A solution is unlikely to emerge at school, but much progress can be made and they can discover that there is a way ahead and not, as some would try to persuade them, a dead-end.

In order to help the boys the Careers Master has set it as his aim to obtain as much information about careers as possible from every source, to obtain information about higher education, to make personal contacts and to persuade the boys to avail themselves of these facilities. Personal contacts are of great importance and he has arranged a number of careers talks, inadequately attended, by experts who have been more than ready to help boys who seek advice, and I would like to thank all who have helped in this way.

During the Autumn Term we had a two-day visit from members of The Industrial Society. They involved a large number of the VIth Form in a whirl of study about how Management works in industry. Among them was a Trades Unionist, who was a magnificent fighter and showed those too conservatively inclined how well he could hit back.

Often it is not a question of finding a job for a leaver, but of persuading boys to emerge from a Colour Supplement mentality about their future lives and to think realistically, also to make sure that they are on the right academic course for a particular career. After the Prize-Giving the Careers Master and his assistant will be available in the Careers Room if anyone wishes to see him.

Careers are not just getting money and I emphasise careers because they are precisely not just getting money. It is abundantly clear from universities, from all forms of higher education, from the employers themselves, from the very needs of the country that what everyone is looking for is not just expertise and know-how, but personal qualities. The outstanding qualities which are being looked for are the ability to work with others and not against them, the ability to grasp ideas and to communicate them, a willingness to learn, and a freedom from arrogance, and also simple, straightforward guts and perseverance which enable men to overcome difficulties which may threaten to overwhelm them in every stage of their

lives. That is not a bad message and I cannot agree with those who think that the pursuit of a career is something rather beneath the higher spiritual idealist.

During the course of the year under Mr Davidson's guidance General Studies has developed enormously and in the Library you will be able to see his prospectus of 32 varying courses offered to boys over the next year.

Russian has blossomed under our first woman teacher on the regular staff, Mrs Rodzianko, who, I may point out to anyone who is interested, is also prepared to teach Serbo-Croat. I would like to welcome here Father Vladimir and Mrs Rodzianko, who as we predicted last year have founded St Symeon's in Oswaldkirk for ecumenical co-operation on equal terms with the Great Orthodox Church of the East. This is an enormously important and interesting undertaking. Already we have received much and we hope we will be able to give a little as well. Father Vladimir will be in the Classics Room after Prize-Giving and after High Mass to see and discuss St Symeon's with anybody who is interested.

I mentioned communication last year and I have been observing in the course of the year that communication is subject to certain inexorable laws. I haven't been able to discover where these laws have been published—I am quite sure they must have been, but I don't get enough time for reading—so just between ourselves I shall call them, on the analogy of Parkinson's Law, "Barry's Law". After all, when Parkinson was asked "Why Parkinson's Law?" all he said was "Why not?"

The first Law is that when communication breaks down, or is absent, then each side generates an increasingly distorted image of the other side. The second Law is that as a result of this each side takes its stand on false issues increasingly remote from the original problem. And the third Law is the longer this goes on, the more certain are the parties concerned to clash on issues irrelevant to the original question.

We are all in this together so I hope you will forgive me for taking a domestic example, which of course has no sort of reference to anybody who does, could, or ever will exist.

On Saturday morning Johnny says to his father, "Can I go camping with Jo and Harry?" On the night before Dad has been to his regimental reunion dinner and he has a problem; he is struggling with it and he takes the easiest monosyllabic way out. He says "No".

Johnny is very downcast and he says, "That's not fair, you never let me do anything anyway". Now that isn't true and Law one is coming into operation, so Dad immediately gets into line with him and says, "So that's how they teach you to talk to your father at school".

Darker suspicions, shades of Tariq Ali and blood in the Sorbonne now begin to haunt his imagination. He begins to see his son as a potential rebel and subverter of society and takes the matter a little further by saying "I suppose it's your mother who put you up to this". He turns to his wife and says, "Did you hear what that son of yours said to me?"

Matters are getting out of hand. Every attempt of his mother to explain, assuage, or mediate will be interpreted as complicity, so he must quickly get into Law three, which is that the longer this goes on the more certain they are to clash on issues irrelevant to the original question, so he gets into it quick and says to Johnny, "Anyway, I want you to go and visit your granny this weekend". Mother knows quite well that such a visit would be unwelcome and does her best to avert the worst, but of course she has no chance. Things have gone too far. And so Johnny doesn't go camping, the marriage is in danger, and granny is being persecuted. That example is not entirely lacking in seriousness because many adult, or apparently adult, disputes follow precisely that domestic pattern.

The problem of Authority is world-wide and it is an inescapable problem. Looking at it as a whole it is worth noting that whatever new view is taken, it is never a question of whether Authority will survive, but of what sort of Authority will emerge. Authority is like truth, you cannot get away from it. At every level, political, social and academic, the rebels with whom we are familiar claim Authority themselves. They claim to speak for a people, for a generation, for a colour, for a creed. If you get rid of the cunt, the claim to Authority itself is always there. This encourages me to say that Authority is essential for human living and that was never so true as it is today. There is no question of getting rid of it. Any common effort, even the destructive effort of a revolution, any community undertaking requires Authority to get it off the ground and to give it cohesion and to define and achieve its aims. A ship cannot sail without a captain, a revolution cannot succeed without a leader; both captain and leader need a coherent chain of command and system of discipline to maintain their authority. The reason for this is not fortuitous and there is no way of getting round it. It is founded on human nature. In a complex body of human beings unity cannot be achieved except in action; there is no unity in stagnation. A common aim is necessary and this cannot be realised except in action. To achieve the aim, to co-ordinate the action, Authority is necessary. It is idle therefore to discuss whether Authority is good or bad. It is inevitable, it is necessary for human living at all levels. Goodness and badness depend on the purpose for which the Authority is used and the manner in which it is exercised. That is worth discussing, and I suggest that the critical question about its exercise is concerned with communication.

I spoke of communication last year and we have made some progress. In the staff a great deal of work has been done in discussing the real problem of running a school of this nature. In mentioning the staff I would like to thank them for all they have done to help me with the burden, and also I would like to say how sad we all are at the death during the past year of Father Oswald and Father Peter and also of Tom Sargeson, who looked after the Labs. for so many years.

In the staff we are discussing and attempting to find ways of advancing in all matters covering work, curriculum, religion, and every development which we can envisage in the school. To help in this there is a Steering





1ST XI CRICKET, 1969

Left to Right,
 Standing: M. Skehan, W. Wenham, P. Redmond, J. Wadham, T. Marshall, J. Berry,
 W. Moore.
 Sitting: D. Callighan, P. J. Stilliard, W. M. Reichwald, M. Grieve, J. Rapp.



ATHLETICS TEAM, 1969

Left to Right,
 Standing: J. Prendville, J. Dowling, M. Forsythe, A. Kennedy, N. Gaynor, I. Bowie,
 C. Magill, S. Shuldham, M. Shuldham, S. Fane-Hervey, J. Gaynor, A. Lucey, A. Young.
 Sitting: D. McKenna, M. A. Henderson, J. L. Hamilton, T. E. Howard, J. P. MacHale,
 R. J. Hughes, M. J. Poole, J. P. Knowles, B. McGing.

Committee formed both of staff and of senior boys, more of whom will be invited to co-operate so that we may help them to be as fully involved as possible and so that we may also learn from them.

I would like also to mention that during the year, under the inspiration of Mrs Watkins and Mrs Judd, a small Parents' Meeting was held, to which Father Dominic and I went down. We had a very helpful and rewarding discussion of our common problems. Lack of progress in the art of bi-location is going to limit my ability to attend many similar meetings, but any such meetings will be welcome, as is the one which Mr and Mrs Spence have arranged for June. We are moving forward to increased mutual understanding and if we succeed in our aims, the effects will be incalculable.

Whatever the outcome of our efforts to establish more full and fruitful communication in our lives, here in the whole community and in its sub-groups amongst the staff and parents and boys, we shall have failed if we do not succeed in our aim of giving the senior boys in the school an ever-increasing sense of responsibility and involvement in the direction of their own lives. But I must add that they will have failed to respond and that the failure will be a lasting loss to them if they do not learn to listen as well as to talk, and if they do not resist the temptation which always exists of retreating into the dead-end refuge of an in-group.

PRIZEWINNERS 1969

ALPHA

Belfield G. R.	The Sobieski Stuarts
Cape N. R.	Circa Lago Albano
Codrington R. J.	The 6th Fleet
Craven P. O'K.	The Theory of the Satellite
Fane-Hervey R. P.	The Brain Drain
Fitzalan-Howard H. J. N.	Carpentry—A Garden Table
Gaynor J. C.	} Waterloo Station
Johnston C. M.	
Lochrane C. R.	John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough
Minio R. L.	Transformation Geometry
Parker J. R.	A Socio-Economic Survey of five Worcestershire-Gloucestershire Border Villages
	Descartes and his search for Truth
Pearce M. J.	Lighthouses
Rodger A. D. A.	English Coinage, 1066-1485
Schlee R. L. M.	Art
Sherley-Dale M. B.	The Ravenna Mosaics
Solly D. S. P.	

BETA I

Anderson C. J.	The Pre-Marian Army and the reforms of C. Marius
Armour M. H.	The life of Henry Puroell
Campbell A.	Thomas Wolsey—Churchman and Statesman
Carr R. B. V.	Modern Espionage
Codrington R. J.	Naval Missiles
Coghlan N. I.	Spanish Castles
Cumming A. D.	The Severn Bridge
Dowling S.	Art

- Fane-Hervey S. F. The New Model Army and the Battle of Naseby
 Fitzalan-Howard R. A. *Carpentry*—Jewel Cabinet
 Fitzalan-Howard T. M. Yorkshire and Humberside Region
 Fermor-Hesketh J. Life of Nelson
 Gastrell A. P. York—an Analysis of Traffic Problems in an Historic Town
 Grettton G. R. Student Power
 Guthrie R. D. C. The Design of a Cruising Yacht
 Hatfield W. E. *Carpentry*—A Play House
 Hoghton G. B. Mechanical Television
 Hubbard M. P. T. Grigori Rasputin
 Jacks W. A. Darlington—an Urban Study
 James P. W. The Rise of the Capetians, 987-1204
 King P. *Art*
 Leslie M. C. Urban Mega-Bloc
 Lillis C. E. Aeschylus Agamemnon
 McDonnell J. G. Romanesque Churches in Poitou
 Mitchell-Cotts H. W. A. *Art*
 Murphy S. C. G. The Norman Conquest
 Powell D. H. *Art*
 Pratt L. D. B. Rational and Intuitive Thought in Religion
 Ratcliffe C. M. B. The Evolution of the Computer
 Richmond R. J. A. The Arab Legion
 Ritchie M. T. *Art*
 Roberts M. A. Three poets—a biological study
 Roberts S. J. L. Palmerston
 Ryan A. M. *Carpentry*—Display Cabinet
 Ryan S. W. Electricity in the Republic of Ireland
 Sharrard R. M. Rachmaninoff
 Sheppard R. F. { Relationship of Physical and Human Geography in the
 Smith A. M. { Ampleforth and Helmsley Area.
 Smyth J. V. Latin America
 The Palio
 Spence D. W. R. From Manuscript to Incunabula
 Stourton E. W. S. The Supply System of the First World War
 Ward J. B. Surgeons and Surgery during the Napoleonic Wars

BETA II

- Ainscough C. H. The Norman Conquest
 Aylwin P. G. de L. A. A Spanish Romance
 Bankoff G. E. A. Van Gogh
 Barton S. H. The Passchendaele Campaign
 Blackden M. C. Geographical Aspects of Forestry
 Callaghan S. G. The Dust of Centuries (Ampurias)
 Carr S. E. J. Black Magic in Britain
 Cassidy S. L. Why the Siege of Malta (1565) failed
 Dawson J. C. The Liberty of the Individual
 Feilding J. S. The Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle
 Flynn F. O. A. The Three Acts in Bullfighting
 The Fighting Instinct
 Fraser C. J. The Borgias
 Fresson M. A. The Industries of the City of York
 Fuller J. P. Sir Francis Chichester
 Gilbey T. N. The Effects of London on three villages in Surrey
 Hooke R. P. C. Garibaldi
 Horn D. P. M. A Comparison of three Surrey Villages
 Hughes R. J. Simplified Psychology
 Leeming N. J. *Carpentry*—A Table
 McCarthy K. D. The Rodents of Britain

McGrath N. S.
 McSwiney B. A.

O'Mahoney S. G.
 Poole M. J.

Price S. A. C.
 Ramsay P. W. M.
 Rothwell M. R. G. P.
 Smith A. M.
 Smyth J. V.
 Townsend J. P.

The Development of Manned Space Travel
 A Survey of Helmsley with special regard to the effects of
 Tourism

What is Happening in China?
 An Explanation of the collapse of the Church in France,
 1789-1794
 Jedburgh
 A Study of the Ryedale Windypits
 Yugoslavia in World War II
 Relics
 An early History of Mathematics
 Whales and Whaling

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 2nd Year
 1st Year
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 Hetherington H. O.
 Magill R. F. C.
 Hatfield H. F.
 St John's House

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THE CAST

OLIVER TWIST	David McCarthy
MR BUMBLE, the Beadle	Hugh Hetherington
MRS CORNEY, the Workhouse Matron	Martin Spencer
OLD SALLY, a pauper	Kit Fraser
ANNIE, a prupper	Thomas Spence
MR SOWERBERRY, an Undertaker	David Lovegrove
MRS SOWERBERRY, his wife	Mark Haughton
CHARLOTTE, their daughter	Mark Henderson
NOAH CLAYPOLE, their apprentice	Charles Anderson
FAGIN, a receiver of stolen goods	Chris Barnes
THE ARTFUL DODGER, his star pupil	Phillip Marsden
NANCY, a woman of the underworld	Ned Clarence Smith
BET, her friend	Mark Newton
BILL SIKES, a criminal	Nick Haughton
MR BROWNLOW, a wealthy gentleman	Tim Berner
MRS BEDWIN, his housekeeper	Jonathan Pearce
MR GRIMWIG, a doctor	Marek Rymaszewski
The Landlord of The Three Cripples	Sean McCarthy
A Bow Street Runner	Andrew Meyrick
A Rose Seller	Andrew Haughton
A Milk Seller	Giles Collins
A Knife Grinder	Charles Leonard
A Strawberry Seller	Benedict Lister

Workhouse Boys, Fagin's Gang, Pauper Assistants and Londoners:

Tony Bird, Geoff Daly, Tom Dowling, Christopher Goss, Nick Hall, Dominic McGrenor, Christopher Neville, Jonathan Spence, Mario Sutcliffe, Fergus Anderson, Melfort Cambell, Tristran Clarke, Christopher Conrath, Richard Craig, Stephen Doyle, Simon Firlow, Edward Fitzalan-Howard, Christopher Graves, Jonathan Gosling, Anthony Hoape, Roger Keyille, Colin Lees-Millais, Simon Lintin, Benedict Lister, Julian Lochrane, Michael Martin, Ian Millar, Michael Palatret, David Pavlovic, Nicholas Peers, Joseph Pickin, Rupert Raynar, Thomas Spence, John Spencer, Thoma Symes, Anthony Tate, Julian Tomkins, Frederick Trench

THE ORCHESTRA

Violins: Neville Morlimer	Oboe: Suzanne Dore
Adred Burroughs, o.s.a.	Clarinet: Douglas Karshaw
Cello: Sydney Teale	Bassoon: John MacDonald
Patrick Newsom	Horn: Andrew Bussy
Bass: Anselm Cramer, o.s.a.	Percussion: Marek Rymaszewski
Flute: Peter James	Michael MacDonald

Continuo: Gerald Dowling
Directed by PHILIP DORE

Stage Manager: Brian McGrath

Assistant Stage Managers: Nick Conrath, Steve Dawson, John Dowling, John Stiillard

Chief Electrician: Geoff Hatfield

Assistant Electricians: Patrick Ford, Harry Hatfield, William Hatfield, Francis Lukas, Christopher Ratcliffe

Sets designed and executed by Oliver Dawson, Mark Leslie and Peter Muir, assisted by Toby Buxton, Julian Dawson, Rupert Kirby and David Monteith, under the direction of Rosemary Haughton

Wardrobe: Rosemary Haughton, assisted by Carolyn Anwyl

Make-up: John Davies and Carolyn Anwyl, assisted by Oliver Dawson, Christopher Johnston and Alex Simpkin

Stage Direction by
Rosemary Haughton, Henry Wansbrough, o.s.a., Algy Haughton

JOHN EVELYN recorded in his diary how he went to the Opera in Rome where Bernini "painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, composed the music, wrote the comedy and built the theatre". He was, of course, writing of 1644 but he might easily have been witnessing a performance of "Oliver" at Ampleforth with the five Haughtons (two parents, three sons) taking the place of Bernini. This year's production was undeniably the most ambitious we have seen, involving a high degree of co-operation between the Actors, the Musicians, the Upper School and Junior House. If the Producers had been in any doubt as to the wisdom of presenting a musical which many had already either seen or heard, the unparalleled enthusiasm with which every performance was greeted was ample vindication of their decision; let us hope that they will treat us to similar enjoyment again.

A play of this nature depends heavily on the degree to which the audience is involved, and for the opening chorus of Workhouse Boys we were left in no doubt that this was to be an evening of toe-tapping and surreptitious humming as the audience responded to the enthusiasm and

obvious enjoyment of the performers. The boys who did the chorus work (Workhouse Boys, Fagin's Gang and Londoners) were excellently drilled and moved with a rare assurance for those so inexperienced in the techniques of both acting and singing. For this a great deal is owed to Mr Dore, whose unobtrusive yet authoritative control of both singers and musicians was striking. His was the gift to draw that extra response from a tentative soloist or moderate the gusto of an over-enthusiastic chorus. With his experience and the sensitive playing of the accompanists, the actors were enabled to concentrate upon their movement and presentation.

A dominant figure, both physical and musical, was Hetherington, as Mr Bumble. His voice was to delight us later in the Concert; here we had an opportunity to see his gifts in a more light-hearted setting. His romantic duet with the Workhouse Matron, M. Spence, and his "Boy for Sale" solo were high-spots of the early part of the play.

Chris Barnes' interpretation of Fagin was acclaimed at all performances. His mannerisms and movement as an old man were well controlled, he was not afraid to make an individual portrayal, and his "You've gotta Pick a Pocket or Two" in particular could stand comparison with any other. Both musically, and dramatically, his timing with the Artful Dodger was highly commendable: the pick-pocketing lesson for Oliver Twist was excellent comedy. "Dodger" was played with assurance by Philip Marsden. He resisted the temptation to over-play the part yet achieved the maximum effect from the comic opportunities the part presented him with. For one performance Stephen Doyle proved an excellent understudy; he was smaller than Marsden yet played with more pertness and his "Cockney" bounce and vitality carried him successfully through a role which he had to accept at very short notice.

David McCarthy, as Oliver Twist, was well cast. He had the wistfulness of the pauper and looked just the sort to be bullied by the underworld characters and his employers, the Sowerberrys! His singing voice lacked power, but this was used to full effect in his plaintive rendering of "Where is Love". It was a measure of Ned Clarence Smith's success in the part of Nancy that many were convinced that a girl had been brought in for the occasion! He had the necessary brassy self-confidence and when occasion demanded he used "her" feminine wiles to the full. Small wonder, one reflected, that Bill Sikes' hard heart had a corner in it for her. One of the play's most successful (and breathless) moments was the scene in the Three Cripples Inn where she sang and danced to the tune of "Oompaa... Here was excellent direction by Mr Haughton matched by real talent—a talent as diverse as it was accomplished. How moving, too, in a completely different mood, was her love song about Bill, "As Long as He needs me". Nick Haughton played Sikes to good effect, getting the "villain's" treatment from the audience whenever he appeared. What he lacked in inches he made up for in stage presence and there was never any doubt that people *did* tremble when they heard his name. Again thanks to some skilful direction he accomplished the killing of Nancy with suitable horror, whilst avoiding the awkwardness of so many school stage killings. Such was the

quality of the acting in these major roles that it was felt that it would be invidious to attempt distinction by the award of the Grossmith Cup for the Best Actor.

The supporting roles were, without exception, first-class. Of particular credit was David Lovegrove's Mr Sowerberry, whose funereal face and sentiments were matched by a rare gift for comedy. His singing (and footwork) of "That's Your Funeral" was excellent. Commendable, too, was Kit Fraser's death as Old Sally.

The production was a testimonial to the organisational, musical, theatrical and indeed diplomatic skills of Mr and Mrs Haughton and Fr Henry. We have become accustomed to the professional standards which they delight us with year after year but this time they had new problems with which to cope—and to what superb effect did they overcome them. In particular one noticed the way in which the frequently crowded stage was handled; so often noise and activity was required yet never did the actors lose control. They would be the first to acknowledge the debt they owe in their turn to the "technical" crew behind the scenes: the Stage Manager and the Chief Electrician and their helpers; Mr Davies's and Mrs Anwyl's skilful and patient make-up marathon before each performance; the imaginative set-painters under Mark Leslie and Peter Muir. One annual feature of Ampleforth productions is that the boys can be made to look like girls! What better praise can Mrs Haughton and Mrs Anwyl have than that for their imaginative and nimble fingers with both costumes and hair. "Oliver" will long remain a highlight of Exhibition, I feel. No fewer than five separate performances were given. No reviewer can adequately pay tribute to the generosity of all concerned and to the benefit which so many gain from this theatrical experience—both as player and spectator. The producers have set their own exacting standards; next year's production is already attractive in prospect.

P.A.A.

THE CONCERT

NATIONAL ANTHEM

First movement from Symphony No. 1 in C *Beethoven Op. 21*

Adagio—Allegro con brio

Andante in C for Flute and Orchestra *Mozart K.315*

P. W. James

First movement from Piano Quintet in E flat *Schumann Op. 44*

Allegro brillante

Mr Mortimer, *Violin* Fr Henry, *Violin* H. O. Hetherington, *Viola*

P. B. Newsom, *Cello* The Hon W. J. Howard, *Piano*

INTERVAL

First movement from Concerto No. 5 in E flat for Piano and Orchestra

"The Emperor"

R. F. C. Magill

Beethoven Op. 73

Five English Songs for Tenor and Piano

The Princess look'd forth (trans. Copeland) *Delius*

At Day-Close in November (Hardy) *Britten*

The Choirmaster's Burial (Hardy) *Britten*

Wagtail and Baby. A satire (Hardy) *Britten*

That ever I saw (Anon.) *Warlock*

H. O. Hetherington, *Tenor* The Hon W. J. Howard, *Piano*

Suite for Orchestra "The Faithful Shepherd"

Handel-Beecham

Introduction and Fugue

Adagio—Gavotte—Bourrée

Minuet—Finale

THE ORCHESTRA

Violins

Mr Mortimer

Fr Henry

Fr Aelred

Dr Nugent

Mrs Wilcock

J. M. Pickin

M. D. Guiver

M. J. McDonald

T. O. Dowling

R. F. C. Magill

Violas

Mr Penrith

Mrs Brunton

Fr Adrian

H. O. Hetherington

Flutes

P. W. James

J. W. McDonald

Oboes

J. R. O'Grady

C. E. McDonough

Mrs Dore

Trumpets

S. H. Webb

M. E. Henley

Cellos

P. B. Newsom

Mr Teale

Mr Gale

Mr Wilcock

J. Guiver

M. Tweedy

M. B. Spencer

Clarinets

D. W. R. Spence

C. G. Leonard

Bassoons

Mr Dowling

Mr Kershaw

Horns

A. C. W. Bussy

Mr Vaughan-West

Timpani

M. W. A. Rymaszewski

Percussion

N. H. S. Armour

Leader of the Orchestra: Mr Mortimer

Conductor: Mr Dore

PHYSICS CONVERSAZIONE 1969

LAB 1 and 2 were the highlights of the Physics Conversazione this year, with demonstrations of Analogue Computers and Servomechanisms. To the untrained eye the labs were full of complexities, but it was encouraging to see how adroitly the Demonstrators were able to handle these machines. It would be unfair to say that one came away with little understanding of how they worked, because in ten minutes one could hardly do that: but one did come away with the feeling that they were understandable.

Lab 3 was full of devices explaining Bernoulli's Theorem, and the demonstrations were centred round the Wind Tunnel of C. E. O'Connor and P. D. Clarke. G. R. Gretton admirably demonstrated the difference between streamlined and laminar flow, and R. G. Killingbeck drew a large audience with his floating balloon. In Lab 4 A. M. Ryan took pride of

place with his complete control over the Ripple Tank. M. J. Harrison in the Science Library showed the preliminary results of his Prize Project on the vibrations of plates based on the original work of Chladni but stimulated by the more recent work of Hans Jenny. He seemed to have found many problems looking for solutions as a result of his many clear photographs.

Lab 5 was noisy and crowded with F. B. Skehan giving a lucid demonstration of Interference using Microwaves, and R. L. M. Schlee and J. S. Feilding giving a non-stop series of experiments using the Vacuum Pump. The other experiments in this Lab showed pieces of apparatus which have become the essential parts of a modern physics course. There was, for instance, C. J. V. Ryan with his electric stopclock measuring the acceleration due to gravity in a way which Newton would never have dreamed of, and P. Grace surrounded by yards of ticker-tape measuring the speed of a trolley on a runway.

Lab 6, by comparison, was a haven of peace with exhibits from the Radio Room. The Noughts and Crosses Machine of G. B. Hoghton caught the attention even if it did show that it had only just been finished in time. Many people lingered here hoping to beat the machine at the game, and it was only frustration which dragged them away to see the Video Recorder in the Balance Room which was showing Colour Television on a Black and White Set. This *lead* to much discussion, as some saw the true colours, some saw the wrong colours, and some, like myself, saw no colours at all!

In Lab 7 M. H. Armour was prepared to convince anyone about how the Electric Motor worked and handled the apparatus with fluency. P. G. Scope showed what could be done with very simple apparatus and his working model of Electric Power distribution was excellent. Radioactivity was the theme of Lab 8 with P. O'K. Craven showing how it could be used to cheat at cards and C. M. B. Ratcliffe and P. Keohane showing some experiments that could be done with Geiger Counters. Mention must be made of J. P. Marmion who gave a very clear explanation of the theory of Millikan's Experiment to determine the charge on an electron.

The Demonstrators as a whole are to be congratulated, not only on their grasp of the subject, but on the neatness and clarity of their labels and diagrams.

LAB 1

1. Acoustic, mechanical, and electrical examples of simple and damped Simple Harmonic Motion and Resonance.

R. F. Mathews and C. C. Andreae

2. Equations of Simple and Damped Harmonic Motion solved simultaneously on the Analogue Computer.

A. M. Wagstaff and M. K. James

LAB 2

- 3 and 4. Magslips and a D.C. Servo-mechanism. Applications of the theory and practice demonstrated in Lab 1 to the problems of Automation.

P. C. Coghlan and M. I. M. Hutchinson

LAB 3

5. Venturi Meter.
6. Streamline and Turbulent Flow.

P. B. Quigley
G. R. Gretton

7. Wind Tunnel.
C. E. O'Connor and P. D. Clarke
8. The effects of Bernoulli's Theorem.
R. G. Killingbeck
9. Variable Focal Length Paraboloidal Mirror.
A. Dufort
- LAB 4
10. Double your Money.
R. J. Kelly
11. Melde's Experiment.
B. C. Osborne
12. Ripple Tank.
A. M. Ryan
13. Chromatic Aberration.
S. G. Callaghan
- SCIENCE LIBRARY
14. Cymatics.
M. J. Harrison
- LAB 5
15. Sight and Sound.
P. G. Westmacott and J. M. Pickin
16. Microwave Optics.
F. B. Skehan
17. Ticker Tapes.
P. Grace
18. The Circuit Board.
A. D. Bates and D. A. Sellers
19. Getting to Grips with Gravity.
C. J. V. Ryan
20. Various Vices of the Vacuum.
R. L. M. Schlee and J. S. Feilding
- LAB 6
21. Noughts and Crosses.
G. B. Hoghton
22. Wave Generator.
The Radio Room
23. The Electronic Candle.
24. Transformerless Transistor Amplifier.
25. 1W Transistor Amplifier.
26. 4W Valve Amplifier.
27. 10W Valve Amplifier.
- BALANCE ROOM
28. Colour Television?
A. R. Leeming
- LAB 7
29. The Electric Motor.
M. H. Armour
30. Motors, Meters and Pylons.
P. G. Scope
31. The Cloud Chamber.
J. T. Prendiville
- LAB 8
32. The Geiger Counter.
P. O'K. Craven
33. The Maltese Cross.
N. F. Davenport
34. The Ideal Millikan.
J. P. Marmion
35. Millikan by Millikan.
A. J. Walker
36. Beta Particle and Gamma Ray Absorption.
C. M. B. Ratcliffe
37. Beta Particle Deflection.
P. Keohane

CARPENTRY

THE exhibition of carpentry is designed to show a complete range of work by as wide a cross-section of boys as possible. Hence there is bound to be some variation in the standard of finish and degree of skill. Nevertheless, the standard of work was very high and all the pieces shown were a credit to their makers. If one were to make a general criticism of the exhibition as a whole it would be in the quality of the finish to the top surfaces, particularly the tables. The excellence of any piece of joinery can be marred merely by the finish to any wide, horizontal surface, and it is here that the greatest care must be taken in the final sanding and polishing. Irregularities are so easily seen at a flat angle, and one felt that some of the exhibits which were otherwise very competent pieces of joinery in their main structures were not quite so good as they could have been had their tops received the same degree of attention as the supports.

Having said that, one can only praise what one saw. Of particular merit was the Venered Display Cabinet by H. C. Hornoyold-Strickland, a masterful piece of cabinet-making with complicated window panels and veneer work, the first to be attempted at Ampleforth. The precision of the

veneering was of the highest quality. Equally complicated was the Display Cabinet by A. M. Ryan, with its cunning fitting for the moving glass panel. This arrangement of a sliding glass panel through the front frame did away with the necessity of making a separate opening frame for access. It was very successful in keeping the whole cabinet light and easy to view. The Harpsichord by T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, W. E. Hatfield and W. J. Howard was on view in its completed state and looked very professional and carefully finished. The folding top was particularly accurate. In the same class was the Garden Table by H. J. W. Fitzalan-Howard, with its 48 mortice and tenon joints and four cross halving. The same family skill was shown by R. A. Fitzalan-Howard in his Jewel Cabinet, a small but intricate piece of work. The accuracy of this cabinet was extremely fine. The same degree of accuracy was to be seen in the simple but perfectly executed Table by N. J. Leeming.

Amongst the many other pleasing items one should mention the Garden Bench by R. D. Dalglish, R. Coghlan's Standing Lamp and massive Picture Frame in oak, the large Bookcase by D. P. McKenna, the numerous Bowls by S. W. Ryan, D. Spence's Stool and a well-proportioned Standing Lamp by R. Plowden. The exhibition also contained a forestate of things to come in the shape of the framework of an unfinished Hovercraft which is being made by J. C. Dawson and H. C. Hornyold-Strickland. By next year it is hoped that it will be fully operational.

Judging from the observed interest of parents and visitors this is one of the most attractive parts of the Exhibition, and deservedly so. Not a few parents could be heard encouraging their sons to produce pieces of furniture like those on exhibition, and even pointing out the future advantages of being able to offer skills in wood to prospective brides! In this age of increasing leisure there can be few better ways of using one's time in constructive relaxation than by carpentry and cabinet work. The carpentry exhibition clearly shows that many boys will leave with such an advantage and they should do all they can to develop their skill for the pleasure of others and their own enjoyment.

CRICKET

THE FIRST ELEVEN

The reports of the matches which follow contain some harsh comments on the performances of the XI. They sum up the feelings and the judgments at the time both of the coach and the XI themselves. Excuses are not offered and this is right; poor fielding and bad catching and miserable batting are poor, bad and miserable whatever the circumstances and the highest standards must be aimed at.

This is, however, the place to put the season in perspective. As early as January a realistic assessment of the team's chances gave them two victories and these they gained, against Stonyhurst and Oundle. As it happened the XI lost 4 matches in the last over by between 2 and 3 wickets. With a little luck, greater experience and better catching all those 4 would have been won. This needs to be remembered when summing up the fortunes of this young side. They did, however, lose 8 matches, and against schools made 5 completed totals of 80 or less. Only two 50's were scored, both against the friendly I. Zingari bowling on the top ground.

Such for the bare playing record. A few more statistics will make the perspective more clear. There was rain on 38 of the first 43 days of term. The School had 2 games days in the 12 weeks, the XI made their first outing onto grass in a match after a month of term (and Bootham had already played 3 matches and were a tidy side in any case), the second match (against O.A.C.C.) was cut short, 4 others—including the two-day Exhibition match against the Free Foresters for the first time ever—were cancelled and when the sun shone the XI went to Sedburgh without any practice, straight on to a hard wicket and played creditably. St Peter's followed after a week of sun and that was the end of the coaching season—6 sessions all told, of which only one was possible in the middle. The season was thus a complete disaster.

The bowling, however, was up to standard. Wadham, tall and strong, with a wristy action, emerged as the best bowler and was on occasions distinctly hostile, as against Oundle. He needs to develop a higher action, better direction and a consistently full length to become a match-winner next year. Callaghan, plagued by injury, bowled tidily but always with greater success when the shine was off the ball. These two could be a powerful pair next year. Stilliard, so successful last year, never had a total to bowl at and in consequence his off-spinners were less effective, but several stumpings were missed off him and nothing depresses a slow bowler more. Reichwald the ball well but (v. O.A.C.C. and Grammar Schools) bowled beautifully; he spins the ball well but relies more on flight and variation of pace, but if he is to realise his potential he must not overdo his variations; well controlled and accurate slow bowling will bring its own reward, variety of spin and pace are best used when the batsman feels safe. In addition to Reichwald 3 other spinners return next year, none of whom had much chance this year: Marshall, Berry and Moore. With next year in view Moore should certainly have had more bowling.

Given the circumstances of the season and the youth of the side, one of the three batsmen from last year had to succeed. It should have been Grieve; unfortunately he was not up to it, and Stilliard had too many major weaknesses in technique to put a bad start behind him. Rapp, without the support of experience at the other end, was unable to give the side a lead though he looked the safest of the batsmen. Like so many—Wenham and Marshall were the others in the side—he is weak outside the off-stump. The latter two were Colts and while each played one good innings, they were more often than not mesmerised by the failure of others. There is little doubt that had the XI had one authoritative player these three would have developed quickly. They have much talent. But the player to have gained most would have been Moore, whose tendency is to follow some of the evils of the modern professional at the crease when he should simply reveal his stroke-making capacity. It was left to Skehan to put bat to ball which he often did to good effect.

Reichwald emerged to play several captain's innings, but he is not yet an authoritative player. His driving will develop but at the moment his strength lies in dabbles and deflections and superb running between the wickets, an example usually ignored by the rest of his team. In his first year as captain he had the respect of his team and held them together extremely well in adverse conditions. His captaincy against O.A.C.C. was faultless. But it is not easy to captain a side which has 3 or 4 spinners and few runs to play with. Any decision becomes a gamble and his gambles did not always come off, but he was often right to take a chance.

Twelve of those who played this year return in 1970. There is therefore much potential and there will be others hoping for places. In contrast to this year, most will be taking "A" levels and this brings its own problems. A successful side will depend on two major factors: at least one batsman to provide the example for others to follow, and a good deal more hard work on their fielding and catching by the boys themselves. It is their team; they must find the time for practice. The enthusiasm and work put into the nets this term and their willingness to help each other deserved better reward, but they do not yet realise the standard required of their fielding nor the work needed to reach it. They have the talent; they need more application and concentration.

Half-colours were awarded to: J. Wadham and J. Rapp.

Cup for the best cricketer: W. M. Reichwald.

Cup for the best bowler: J. Wadham.

AMPLEFORTH v. BOOTHAM

Played at Bootham on 21st May.

Without having been on grass once in the four weeks of term the XI, more or less picked out of a hat, discovered that cricket is too complicated to play from memory. Under normal circumstances only Wenham would have had an excuse for getting out. The bowling, too, was erratic though the fielding was promising. The one hopeful sign was Wadham's batting. He would not find himself batting No. 11 again.

AMPLEFORTH				BOOTHAM			
J. Rapp, run out	4	N. Hutchinson, c	Wadham	b			
M. Grieve, b Walker	0	Callaghan			0		
W. Wenham, b Walker	7	A. Wright, not out			32		
P. Stiliard, b Tait	13	G. Graveson, not out			19		
W. Moore, c Birch, b Wright	4	T. Walker					
W. M. Reichwald, b Tait	0	R. Rook					
T. Marshall, st Graveson b Rook	5	M. Tait					
D. Callighan, b Tait	1	N. Birch			did not bat		
M. Skehan, b Wright	1	J. Colenso					
P. Redmond, lbw b Tait	0	N. Belcher					
J. Wadham, not out	11	M. Potter					
Extras	5	Extras			2		
Total	52	Total (for 1 wkt)			53		

BOWLING				BOWLING					
O.	M.	R.	W.	O.	M.	R.	W.		
Walker	10	4	15	2	D. Callighan	8	3	7	1
Tait	11.1	3	17	4	J. Wadham	4	3	5	0
Wright	4	1	13	2	P. J. Stiliard	6	0	23	0
Rook	1	0	2	1	W. M. Reichwald	1	0	7	0
					W. Moore	2	0	11	0

Lost by 9 wickets.

AMPLEFORTH v. O.A.C.C.

Played at Ampleforth on 24th May.

After two days of practice the performance of the XI was unrecognisable from that of Wednesday. The wicket was very slow but not evil and several Old Boys were playing for their places in the team for Sunday's Cricketer Cup match. They were in deadly earnest. Both Callighan and Wadham bowled a full length and Wadham's aggression was again evident. Reichwald caused a lot of hesitation among the Old Boys and bowled beautifully. His captaincy throughout was faultless and with the field placing almost perfect, the fielding looked good. Rain ruined the Ampleforth innings but Wadham, promoted from No. 11 to No. 1, proved that he has all the talent and only needs to apply himself to make many runs. Grieve looked well set when the rain came and Moore and Rapp had useful batting practice.

O.A.C.C.		AMPLEFORTH	
N. Butcher, c and b Callighan	22	J. Wadham, b Evans	11
P. Spencer, c Marshall b Reichwald	11	J. Rapp, ht wkt b Huskinson	19
A. Walsh, c Skehan b Wadham	13	W. Moore, c Wyrne b Huskinson	6
R. Jackson, lbw b Wadham	2	M. Grieve, not out	15
J. Morton, c Stiliard b Reichwald	12	P. Stiliard, not out	1
A. Sparling, lbw b Stiliard	4	W. Reichwald	
M. Gretton, b Wadham	11	A. Wenham	
J. Brennan, b Wadham	14	M. Pearce	did not bat
W. Wynne, not out	32	T. Marshall	
A. Huskinson, b Stiliard	1	M. Skehan	
D. Evans, not out	0	D. Callighan	
Extras	6	Extras	3
Total (for 9 wkts dec.)	128	Total (for 3 wkts)	55

BOWLING				BOWLING					
O.	M.	R.	W.	O.	M.	R.	W.		
D. Callighan	8	3	16	1	A. Sparling	3	2	3	0
J. Wadham	18	7	44	4	D. Evans	10	3	15	1
P. Stiliard	16	5	33	2	A. Huskinson	10	5	17	2
W. Reichwald	16	6	32	2	J. Brennan	3	0	9	0
W. Moore	1	0	3	0	J. Morton	3	1	2	0
					R. Jackson	4	3	6	0

Match drawn. Rain stopped play.

AMPLEFORTH v. SEDBERGH

Played at Sedbergh on 7th June.

The real excitement of what was often a dull match was provided in the last 15 minutes when Sedbergh, after a fine controlled innings from Mitchell, scrambled home in the last over. If matches are to be won catches must be held and they were not, and simple errors—two wasteful run-outs—avoided. The XI should have won. But in the context of the season—rain had prevented any practice for 10 days—there were hopeful signs. Wenham batted sensibly and with purpose and showed he is a slip fielder in the making. The ground fielding was very promising if not yet crisp and clean. The bowling suffered only from lack of practice. But when this is said the fact remains that the XI should have scored more than 153 and held their catches.

AMPLEFORTH				SEDBERGH			
J. Wadham, b Steel	8	J. Purser, c Skehan b Wadham	2				
J. Rapp, c Smythe b Webb	14	T. Sudgen, c Wenham b Stilliard	12				
M. Grieve, b Hall	11	R. Smyth, b Reichwald	10				
P. J. Stilliard, run out	3	A. Mitchell, st Skehan b Stilliard	33				
W. M. Reichwald, c Mitchell b Dunn	21	P. Dunn, c Stilliard b Wadham	2				
W. Moore, b Hall	10	N. Little, c Reichwald b Stilliard	4				
A. Wenham, run out	33	C. Steel, c Stilliard b Wadham	7				
T. Marshall, b Webb	7	D. Morris, not out	40				
T. Pearce, b Hall	3	M. Webb, st Skehan b Stilliard	5				
D. Callighan, c Dunn b Hall	14	S. Rae, not out	1				
M. Skehan, not out	13	J. Hall did not bat	7				
Extras	16	Extras	7				
Total	153	Total (for 8 wks)	154				

AMPLEFORTH				BOWLING					
C. Steel	12	4	27	1	J. Wadham	12.3	2	36	3
M. Webb	20	6	34	2	D. Callighan	9	3	17	0
S. Rae	10	0	27	0	P. J. Stilliard	20	3	59	4
I. Hall	11.4	2	21	4	W. M. Reichwald	14	3	29	1
P. Dunn	10	1	27	1	T. Marshall	2	0	6	0

Lost by 2 wickets.

AMPLEFORTH v. ST PETER'S, YORK

Played at St Peter's on Saturday, 14th June.

No excuses could be offered for a dismal display of batting on a fast wicket against straight and accurate bowling. Four were out to full-tosses and four to catches behind the wicket. Only Wadham need not be embarrassed by the manner of his dismissal. Grieve and Stilliard have yet to give a lead to the less experienced. Skehan's natural eye for the ball and his determination saw him to 26 before a full-toss ended his innings.

St Peter's won, not without a bit of trouble. Stilliard bowled better than he has ever done before and showed himself a class above all the other bowlers in the match, but he had no total to bowl at. Apart from Skehan and Linsley the match produced lamentable batting and the XI could blame none but themselves for not scoring 250.

AMPLEFORTH				ST PETER'S			
J. Rapp, c Coverdale b Gratton	4	R. Cawood, b Stilliard	10				
M. Grieve, b Forbes	12	S. Coverdale, c Reichwald b Wadham	6				
P. Stilliard, c Coverdale b Linsley	11	D. Moss, b Marshall	10				
J. Wadham, b Bowie	1	J. Linsley, c Wadham b Stilliard	37				
W. Moore, c Gratton b Forbes	9	H. Gratton, c Skehan b Stilliard	5				
W. M. Reichwald, c Forbes b Bowie	1	P. Hall, not out	5				
T. Marshall, c Coverdale b Linsley	5	I. Robinson, not out	5				
A. Wenham, c Coverdale b Linsley	0	M. Cantrell	1				
M. Skehan, c Bowie b Forbes	26	P. Holmes	1				
C. Berry, c Bowie b Gratton	7	N. Forbes	1				
P. Redmond, not out	0	A. Bowie	1				
Extras	2	Extras	2				
Total	78	Total (for 5 wks)	80				

did not bat

BOWLING				BOWLING					
N. Forbes	9.3	4	24	3	J. Wadham	4.2	2	16	1
H. Gratton	13	7	25	2	W. M. Reichwald	4	2	10	0
J. Linsley	7	1	22	3	P. J. Stilliard	9	1	27	3
A. Bowie	3	1	5	2	P. Redmond	3	0	8	0
					T. Marshall	4	0	17	1

Lost by 5 wickets.

AMPLEFORTH v. YORKSHIRE GENTLEMEN

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 5th July.

With Skehan, Grieve and Stilliard in the examination room, this XI was one of the youngest to play for the School in recent years—all are back next year. The score sheet shows that they came near to winning. But catches were dropped, the fielding was slow and sluggish and the team was dependent upon a fine spell of bowling by Reichwald. The batting against a poor bowling side was listless, though Marshall, not in good form, revealed a solid temperament.

AMPLEFORTH				YORKSHIRE GENTLEMEN			
J. Rapp, b Cumming	5	Carr-Walker, b Callighan	20				
J. Wadham, b Cumming	5	Hinchcliffe, b Wadham	0				
W. Moore, c Hinchcliffe b Millbank	15	Millbank, c and b Reichwald	71				
W. Reichwald, c Bailey b Millbank	25	Crawford, b Reichwald	3				
A. Wenham, b Hay	9	Hay, b Callighan	5				
T. Marshall, c Cumming b Hay	42	Bailey, c Berry b Reichwald	18				
R. Twohig, lbw b Smeeth	1	Cumming, c Marshall b Reichwald	11				
C. Berry, b Smeeth	0	Simpson, c and b Reichwald	4				
N. Watts, c A. N. Other b Crawford	19	Smeeth, not out	7				
D. Callighan, b Cumming	16	A. N. Other, not out	3				
P. Redmond, not out	10	A. N. Other did not bat	7				
Extras	10	Extras	7				
Total	148	Total (for 8 wks)	149				

BOWLING				BOWLING					
Hay	21	8	31	2	J. Wadham	8	2	22	1
G. Cumming	16.1	2	40	3	D. Callighan	12.5	3	36	2
D. Millbank	17	3	30	2	T. Marshall	2	0	10	0
T. Smeeth	8	1	20	2	P. Redmond	4	1	14	0
Crawford	12	2	21	1	W. Reichwald	16	2	48	5
					W. Moore	1	0	11	0

Lost by 2 wickets.

AMPLEFORTH v. I ZINGARI

Played at Ampleforth on Sunday, 6th July.

Between the three of them, Reichwald playing a fitting captain's innings, Wadham a starry bowler's innings and Moore the innings of a future cricketer of some distinction; these three put up the substance of the 240 runs needed for Reichwald's declaration in good time to let I Zingari play for a decision. Wadham and Callighan bowled hard to take the first three I Zingari wickets for 43 runs; the match stood well for Ampleforth. Then Robert Jackson came in and began playing with his usual casual grace, throwing up an early catch. When Wadham went on to bowl the next two batsmen for a half dozen runs between them, Reichwald's side relaxed visibly.

touch, and they played and missed about twice an over. Admirable concentration and scant respect for the bad ball took them, however, to their total with some ease.

AMPLEFORTH				BLUNDILLS			
J. Rapp, c Price b Smith	13	S. Harding, not out	44				
M. Grieve, c Viles b Smith	13	N. Viles, not out	24				
W. M. Reichwald, b Harding	1	M. Brown					
W. Moore, c and b Smith	4	R. Edwards					
P. J. Stilliard, c Viles b Smith	9	A. McDonald					
J. Wadham, c Viles b Colquhoun	4	N. Read-Wilson					
A. Wenham, c Brown b Harding	1	S. Price					
T. Marshall, c Price b Harding	4	C. Colquhoun					
M. Skehan, c Edwards b Wickstead	14	M. Wickstead					
R. Twobig, not out	2	J. Harding					
D. Callighan, c Smith b Wickstead	0	D. Smith					
Extras	5	Extras	3				
Total	70	Total (for 0 wks)	71				

BOWLING				BOWLING				
O.	M.	R.	W.	O.	M.	R.	W.	
J. Harding	20	10	27	3	J. Wadham	6	1	23
M. Wickstead	6.4	2	14	2	D. Callighan	7.5	4	11
D. Smith	11	4	15	4	P. J. Stilliard	4	0	19
A. McDonald	2	0	4	0	W. M. Reichwald	2	0	15
C. Colquhoun	4	1	5	1				

Lost by 10 wickets.

AMPLEFORTH v. UPPINGHAM

Played at Blundells on Tuesday, 15th July.

Still winning the toss, Reichwald decided to field in the hope that luck would turn. It did not. The best cricket of the season took place in the hour before lunch, the score moving from 65-1 to 95-2. Ward early on batted handsomely on a difficult wicket and was followed by a duel between Reichwald and Stilliard, bowling really well, fighting and turning the ball, backed up by more attacking fielding than had been seen before, and Bernhard and Rogers, struggling to consolidate a good start. They succeeded. In the hour after lunch 100 was scored—the only time in the season the School's bowling was truly dominated. Reichwald would have been wiser to have bowled Callighan more to keep one end quiet, and some of the field-placing went against the fundamental maxim—save one or four.

The Ampleforth start was encouraging. At tea with the score 45-2 Reichwald was batting better than hitherto, using his feet and attacking at every chance. Afterwards he became hesitant, afraid of getting himself out, and the middle order collapsed. Twobig, playing with a broken thumb—which was hit on four occasions—never flinched, batted half an hour with courage and good sense while Fitzherbert, never composed than anyone else, with three more years in the XI, showed how playable was the bowling given confidence, a will to attack and an enthusiasm for his task.

UPPINGHAM				AMPLEFORTH			
M. Hatt, c Fitzherbert b Stilliard	19	J. Rapp, c Inman b Ward	2				
W. Ward, c Twobig b Stilliard	33	M. Grieve, c and b Ward	10				
R. Bernhard, b Stilliard	59	W. Moore, c Rogers b Ward	0				
T. Rogers, st Skehan b Berry	48	W. M. Reichwald, lbw b Boyd	27				
B. Setchell, c and b Callighan	28	P. J. Stilliard, c Hatt b Boyd	10				
C. Clarke, c Callighan b Wadham	16	J. Wadham, c and b Setchell	0				

A. Cheetham, c Moore b Wadham	4	M. Skehan, b Boyd	0
P. Evans, not out	0	R. Twobig, c Setchell b Evans	6
H. Inman		F. Fitzherbert, not out	21
V. Watson		C. Berry, run out	4
J. Boyd		D. Callighan, c Inman b Watson	1
Extras	7	Extras	4
Total (for 7 wks dec)	214	Total	85

BOWLING				BOWLING				
O.	M.	R.	W.	O.	M.	R.	W.	
J. Wadham	11.3	3	31	2	P. Evans	12	5	17
D. Callighan	7	2	22	1	W. Ward	15	6	21
P. J. Stilliard	27	4	94	3	J. Boyd	11	2	35
W. M. Reichwald	21	6	46	0	B. Setchell	4	2	2
F. Fitzherbert	1	0	4	0	V. Watson	1.1	0	3
C. Berry	4	0	12	1				

Lost by 129 runs.

AMPLEFORTH v. OUNDLE

Played at Blundells on Wednesday, 16th July.

It was Oundle's turn to win a toss worth losing. The School played this and the Uppingham match on the Blundells second ground. Wadham and Callighan bowled extremely well and the dismissal of Oundle for 69 was just reward for the XI who at no stage in a long and often thoroughly depressing season allowed their general enthusiasm for the game to wane. The fielding was tidy, the catching good, especially one by Fitzherbert in the slips, and one by Wadham. Wadham has never bowled badly this season but now he was accurate, moving the ball away and occasionally into the bat from a slower delivery. He bowls intelligently. Callighan supported him well but he should by now be experienced enough not to bowl so many down the leg side.

The XI took two hours to make the runs. Grieve, who has had a shocking last season, and Moore, highly talented but whose lack of any sort of form led to a certain lack of application, were soon out. Rapp, however, batted sensibly and at long last showed why so much was expected of him, and he was awarded his half-colours. He drives well off either foot but his defensive back stroke is poor, nor does he yet get well. Reichwald again batted well, quiet and patient in his approach, and always looking for singles. This was a good win against a potentially very useful side—Gordon was chosen for the trial match at Lord's—and perhaps the success of the festival for the boys was summed up in the general pleasure all round that the School had won one of the matches and that each school present had won at least one match.

Oundle				AMPLEFORTH			
I. Dawson, b Wadham	8	J. Rapp, c Gilthorpe b Gordon	26				
A. Lawrence, lbw b Callighan	4	M. Grieve, c Dawson b Gordon	0				
A. Gordon, c Reichwald b Callighan	0	W. Moore, b Walker	2				
C. Nicholls, b Wadham	6	W. M. Reichwald, not out	29				
M. Gherrie, b Wadham	2	A. Wenham, c Gordon b Mackenzie	4				
R. Harrison, not out	21	P. J. Stilliard, not out	3				
I. Gilthorpe, lbw b Callighan	0	J. Wadham					
A. Mackenzie, c and b Wadham	4	T. Marshall					
S. Coates, c Fitzherbert b Wadham	6	F. Fitzherbert					
T. Walker, c Skehan b Wadham	3	M. Skehan					
R. Willis, b Callighan	7	D. Callighan					
Extras	8	Extras	6				
Total	69	Total (for 4 wks)	70				

BOWLING				BOWLING					
	O.	M.	R.	W.		O.	M.	R.	W.
J. Wadham	17	8	28	6	T. Walker	17	3	36	1
D. Callaghan	14.3	3	29	4	A. Gordon	15	6	21	2
P. J. Stilliard	2	1	4	0	A. Mackenzie	1	0	4	1
					C. Nicholls	1	0	3	0

Won by 6 wickets.

FIRST ELEVEN AVERAGES

BATTING					
	No. of Innings	Runs	Highest Score	Not Out	Average
W. M. Reichwald	10	224	73	2	28.00
F. Fitzherbert	4	32	21 n.o.	2	16.00
M. Skehan	6	70	26	1	14.00
J. Wadham	10	123	65	1	13.66
N. Watts	2	24	19	—	12.00
J. Rupp	11	125	26	—	11.36
T. Marshall	8	87	42	—	10.87
W. Moore	9	93	43	—	10.33
P. Stilliard	8	56	13	2	9.33
R. Twohig	5	34	25	1	8.50
M. Grieve	10	71	15 n.o.	1	7.89
A. Wenham	9	64	33	—	7.11

BOWLING					
	Overs	Maidens	Runs	Wickets	Average
J. Wadham	107.2	30	296	21	14.09
D. Callaghan	92.5	26	228	13	17.53
W. M. Reichwald	108	32	270	15	18.00
P. J. Stilliard	99	19	276	15	18.40
T. Marshall also bowled	15	1	64	2	32.00
C. Berry	11	1	27	3	9.00
R. Redmond	8	0	51	0	
W. Moore	4	0	25	0	
F. Fitzherbert	6.1	1	25	0	

THE SECOND ELEVEN

The 2nd XI had no chance at all this year: the weather in May caused cancellation of 4 of their matches while the outbreak of mumps put paid to another and the chance of a reorganisation of the matches missed. The only game the team played was against St Peter's on 14th June and this was lost by 6 wickets: at one stage a victory looked possible as the side were bowling extremely well. It is fair to say that they could have become a useful if not a good side as in their ranks were 3 or 4 boys with 1st XI experience. M. Pearce did well in his one effort as captain and he was well supported by N. Watts, the wicket-keeper, M. Lorigan, S. Garsten Zuntz, D. Spence and S. Martiner. Most of the team will be back next year and it is to be hoped that they will be more fairly treated by fate.

RESULTS

- v. St Peter's. Lost by 6 wickets.
Ampleforth 66. St Peter's 67 for 4.

THE UNDER 16 COLTS

The wet weather in May did its best to spoil the season for a talented and enthusiastic side. With only two matches played and a minimum of practice it was difficult for anyone to show his true form. The side could bat down to number 11. There was plenty of variety in the bowling, but the spinners lacked the accuracy of the quicker bowlers, Bidie, Murray-Brown and Fitzherbert. The latter is the type of bowler who can run through a side. The fielding was keen and of a high standard. This owed much to the captaincy and example of R. J. Twohig.

The first of the two matches played was against Barnard Castle. Both sides were playing without any batting practice on a very slow wicket. Ampleforth batted first and managed to score 97 due largely to the willingness of Hooke and Lintin to hit the ball hard. Barnard Castle never looked like getting the runs, but their last pair managed to hold out for a draw.

Against St Peter's on a very much faster wicket the batsmen fared no better. Lintin again, and Murray-Brown alone stayed long enough to get a feel of the wicket, and they batted well. St Peter's facing a total of 69 got off to a shocking start and at one time were 18 for 8. Fitzherbert, bowling a full length and moving the ball away just a little, was too good for an inexperienced side.

The following played in the two matches: R. J. Twohig (Capt.), Hon F. M. W. Fitzherbert, T. C. Bidie, M. T. M. Stapleton, C. R. Murray-Brown, T. E. Lintin, F. B. C. Skehan, R. P. C. Hooke, T. M. Powell, A. V. M. Allen, S. G. Callaghan.

RESULTS

- v. Barnard Castle. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 97 (Hooke 42, Lintin 28). Barnard Castle 64 for 9 (Bidie 2 for 3, Hooke 2 for 4, Fitzherbert 2 for 13).
v. St Peter's. Won by 26 runs.
Ampleforth 69 (Lintin 22). St Peter's 43 (Fitzherbert 7 for 16).

THE UNDER 15 COLTS

The results of this side suggest that it was a good team, and so it was. Capably led by Ainscough, it developed an excellent team spirit and a will to win. It was well equipped to score runs although, through a lack of concentration, it did not always do so. Certainly there are several batsmen capable of making the 1st XI in the future. Ainscough and Liddell being in this category. The Cooper twins provided power and an ability to score quickly not often found at this age and they could, with more judicious application, be a force in the years to come. Murphy, Kinsky and Moorhouse were the other batsmen, Kinsky playing a most sensible and splendid knock to ensure victory at St Peter's, whilst Moorhouse, when he puts his foot to the ball, has a range of handsome strokes—his innings at Poeklington was a gem and should give him the confidence he has been lacking.

The bowling was well-balanced and had variety enough to suit most wickets. Liddell and Newton opened the attack and bowled accurately, frequently getting a vital wicket early in the innings. Ainscough and Kinsky supported them, and Du Boulay provided the guile and accuracy required for spin bowling: he will get better results when he learns to vary his pace and flight more often. Murphy had little opportunity to bowl his off-spinners but he should persevere and his turn will come.

A good wicket-keeper is essential to any cricket team, and Potez filled this position admirably—he took many good catches, allowed very few byes through, and showed he is capable of making runs into the bargain. The fielding was sound without being brilliant, very few catches were dropped, but improvements must be made in the ground fielding and throwing-in.

With so much potential talent, it was therefore a great pity that so much cricket was missed because of the bad weather.

RESULTS

- v. Bootham. Won by 77 runs.
Ampleforth 121 for 9 declared (Ainscough 40, H. Cooper 36 not out). Bootham 44 (Du Boulay 4 for 14).
- ii. Scarborough College. Won by 74 runs.
Ampleforth 116 (Liddell 21). Scarborough College 43 (Ainscough 4 for 19, Glaister 3 for 1).
- iii. St Peter's. Won by 2 wickets.
St Peter's 114 for 7 declared (Newton 2 for 17). Ampleforth 115 for 8.
- iv. Pocklington. Won by 25 runs.
Ampleforth 92 (M. Cooper 31). Pocklington 67 (Liddell 7 for 19).

THE HOUSE MATCHES

The first round found St Hugh's in no difficulty against St Wilfrid's. St Oswald's, on the other hand, had a very tight match with St Edward's and only emerged victorious by 1 wicket with one over left. R. Walling led his team well and the bowling of A. Berry had much to do with the victory.

Neither of these winners survived in the next round, St Bede's beating St Hugh's, and St Cuthbert's having no trouble with St Oswald's. St Cuthbert's made 140 for 6, the majority of which were scored by F. Fitzherbert and R. Twobig. Fitzherbert had a good match, shooting St Oswald's out for 53 and taking 7 wickets. In the other two matches in this round, St Thomas's made a surprisingly poor showing against the powerful St Aidan's for whom J. Wadham bowled extremely well. St Dunstan's beat St John's to make the fourth semi-finalist.

The semi-final St Cuthbert's v. St Dunstan's was dominated by Fitzherbert from the start. His 54 not out ensured a good total, and both he and Twobig, who made 35, put the bat to the ball with good effect and showed a fine array of strokes. Fitzherbert's bowling was far too accurate for anybody except the St Dunstan's captain, M. Skehan, and when he was out resistance crumbled. In like fashion St Aidan's dominated proceedings against St Bede's, J. Rapp scoring 70 not out and finishing the match with a six. J. Wadham again bowled well for St Aidan's as he was to do in the final some days later when he claimed another 6 wickets.

Wadham was the man of the match in the final. He scored a handsome and lusty 54 and was backed up by the two other 1st XI players, Rapp and Wenham, and by the athlete, M. Poole: each scored some 20 runs. St Cuthbert's, for whom Fitzherbert took a further 4 wickets, managed to dismiss St Aidan's for 154—a worthy performance. But when St Cuthbert's batted, their hopes rested on W. Moore and the two Coles, Twobig and Fitzherbert. Wadham found a beauty to bowl Twobig while Fitzherbert was unluckily caught off bat handle and cap. Thereafter St Aidan's increased their pressure and only Moore stood firm. When the innings closed he was playing better than at any time during the term and was unbeaten a few runs short of his 50.

The Junior competition, which was in the main poorly contested this year, was won by St Thomas's. St Oswald's, who were the original favourites, fell to some good bowling by P. Gaynor and were all out for 29 in reply to St Thomas's 60.

ATHLETICS

Yet another successful season was completed by the Athletics Club: six out of the seven fixtures were won and the single defeat in a triangular match with Queen Elizabeth G.S., Wakefield, and Uppingham was by a narrow margin. We did not expect to emulate the achievements of last year's team but in one respect we surpassed them, by adding new honours to the School's athletic record. Mention has been made elsewhere in this issue of the Midland Public Schools' Relay titles which both Junior and Senior teams won in record time, yet this corporate success was frequently matched by individual performances.

An outstanding feature of the season was the record of the captain, J. P. MacHale: he was undefeated in all his 14 races at 880 and 1 mile and such was the margin of victory that he was more than once cheated of the School record which would surely have been his if only there had been an opponent able to stay with him and give him a race. Indeed, the athlete who came closest to beating him was his second string, M. Poole. His success was as much due to hard work and determination as to natural ability and the response from the team was a great credit to his enthusiasm and leadership. We have come to expect a high standard of middle-distance performance and MacHale has set those standards even higher. To judge by their running this season there will be no shortage of athletes waiting to take over from him: Gaynor, Forsythe, Prenderville, Dowling and Burford all showed considerable promise and the hardness in training on which successful middle-distance running is based. In the 880 Yds and 1 Mile MacHale was well supported by Hamilton and Poole respectively: frequently they beat the opponents' first strings and achieved times which in a less talented team would have ensured them more prominence.

A close rival to the captain for personal achievement was Hughes, who competed in the Long and Triple Jumps and Weight. In all three events his standard was high, but in the Weight he developed into the best performer the College has seen for ten years. He is now within striking distance of the School record for the Weight and I, for one, am looking forward to what he can achieve next season.

In sharp contrast to last year when the sprint results were invariably the basis of the team's success, our standard over the short distances was only moderate but Howard and Fane-Hervey gave of their best on all occasions. Ruck Keene has good basic speed but will need to match this with hard work in training. In the 440 Yds it was something of an interim year: the main weight fell onto Knowles, who also competed in the 220 and 120 Hurdles. He accepted ungrudgingly the demands made on him in his first Senior season, and he has excellent prospects for next year. Shuldham came into the team in the 440 but missed the early season training and was never able to give of his best. Duguid, though still a Junior, showed real ability and will be challenging for a place next season. In the 120 Hurdles Henderson was most successful, winning most of his races (sometimes gaining maximum points with Knowles) and achieving the personal satisfaction of a time which puts him with the best hurdlers the School has produced. Hardy and White showed good form as Juniors and there should be strength in depth here next year.

In the field events there was evidence of a much-needed improvement, but there is still some way to go in the mastering of technique before the standard in these events will match those on the track. This said, it should not go unnoticed that individual athletes performed creditably: what is wanted is the same depth as on the track. In the High Jump, McKenna, Lucey and White, the latter a Junior, look to be good prospects for next year; both McKenna and White put several inches on their personal best performances. In the Long Jump Howard had an erratic season but on occasions jumped well; when he failed to win Hughes was usually ready to take over and eventually achieved a highly creditable personal performance. The Triple Jump, perhaps, showed the least improvement but Gaynor and Hughes were consistent if not particularly impressive. McGing was handicapped in the Javelin by a back injury

which prevented him from achieving distances of which he was capable, but he performed courageously; by the end of the term Kennedy, the second string, showed good form and next season he could do very well. The Discus has for too long been the team's weak event; towards the end of the season Bowie showed the sort of form that could enable him to capture the School record and make our Discus standards respectable. Magill worked hard at the technique of this event but never reproduced in competition the form we saw in training.

A significant feature of the season was the improvement in standards achieved by boys who had been members of the previous year's Junior Group. This policy has obviously paid dividends and the form of this year's Group was such as to qualify some for membership of the Senior team.

The Athletic Club would like to record its gratitude to all those masters and boys who helped to stage the fixtures, and I would like to thank Frs Cyril and Stephen in particular for their invaluable coaching.

The captain awarded colours to: Hamilton, Poole, Hughes, Howard, Henderson and Knowles.

The following represented the School: J. P. MacHale, T. E. Howard, R. J. Hughes, M. Henderson, Hamilton, M. Poole, Knowles, S. Fane-Hervey, I. Bowie, M. Shuldham, S. Shuldham, M. Forsythe, J. Dowling, J. Gaynor, D. McKenna, A. Lucey, N. Gaynor, A. Kennedy, B. McGing, C. Magill, A. Young and D. West.

Under 17 Group: P. Duguid, J. Ruck Keene, B. de Guingand, M. Rymacsewski, C. Hardy, J. White, A. Robinson, J. Burford, J. Prenderville.

Under 17 Matches: 4. Won: 4.

RESULTS

Worksop 105½ points. Stamford 59 points. Ampleforth 107 points. Won.
Queen Elizabeth G.S. 108 points. Uppingham 89 points. Ampleforth 88 points. Lost.
Stonyhurst 47 points. Ampleforth 75 points. Won.
Pocklington 45 points. Ampleforth 69 points. Won.
Ratcliffe 101 points. Downside 50½ points. Ampleforth 133 points. Won.
Army Apprentices, Harrogate, 30 points. Ampleforth 75 points. Won.
York University 42 points. Ampleforth 72 points. Won.
The match v. Leeds G.S. was cancelled.

TENNIS

We have had another successful season. During the term the First Six played seven matches and won six, the Second Six played seven matches and won five and the Third Six played one match and won it. Eight separate tournaments were played and the Inter-House Competition resulted in a victory for St Thomas's.

For the first time a tour was undertaken after the end of term, and it proved extremely worthwhile. Six matches were played and five were won. Our base was Cambridge where we played four games followed by two matches against nearby schools. The standard of tennis played improved considerably and at Wimbledon in the P.S.L.T.A.'s Youll Cup tournament we reached the last 16 out of about 90 starters. In the Thomas Bowl at Wimbledon our Under 16 players did well. The Junior pair went out in the first round to Eton but only after a hard-fought match that went to three sets. The Senior pair reached the third round before losing in three sets to a strong Sealord pair.

During the term Harcastle and Stone played as first pair, crushing most of the weaker opposition but never hitting their best form against stronger opponents. Lillis, the Captain of Tennis, and Moroney provided the strongest second pair that we have had for several years. Lillis's excellent ground strokes and superb tactical play,

coupled with Moroney's powerful service and forehand, produced a combination difficult to beat. West and Dixon provided a wonderfully entertaining third pair who were always eager to win, especially against the opposing first pair. Horsley played with Lillis in several of the opening games of the season but never quite produced the form of which he is capable. Murphy also played in several games, usually with Moroney, and proved to be an invaluable reserve. Outstanding matches during the term were played against York University whom we beat and against Stonyhurst to whom we lost. The standard of play in both these matches was excellent.

The touring party to Cambridge consisted of Lillis, Moroney, Stone, Harcastle, West, Dixon, Murphy, Davies and Lovegrove. Pairings were so organised that all played for the First Six in at least three matches. New and stronger partnerships emerged and it was decided that Stone and Dixon would play as first pair at Wimbledon and that Lillis and Moroney would continue as second pair. With a bye in the first round of the Youll Cup, we played Reed's School in the opening match and won our way to the third round with the loss of only seven games. Merchant Taylors' provided sterner opposition but both pairs played well to win 2-0. In the fourth round we lost to St George's, Weybridge, but only after a tremendous struggle. Our second pair won comfortably and the first pair lost in three sets. The deciding singles, played by Lillis against a mature and experienced singles player, was lost, but Lillis is to be congratulated on a fine, controlled performance.

The captain awarded colours to: West, Dixon and Moroney.

RESULTS

INTER-HOUSE COMPETITION

Semi-finals:

St Thomas' beat St Bede's, 4-2.
St John's beat St Wilfrid's, 6-0.

Final:

St Thomas' beat St John's, 5½-1.

Winning team:

First pair Doubles: West and Horsley.
Second pair Doubles: Chapman and Fane-Hervey.
Singles: Stone.

TOURNAMENTS

First Year Singles: Ainscough beat Moroney, 6-4, 2-6, 6-1.
Second Year Singles: Chapman beat Daly, 6-0, 7-5.
Under 16 Singles: Chapman beat Daly, 6-2, 6-4.
Open Singles: Dixon beat Stone, 6-1, 6-1.
First Year Doubles: Ainscough and McCraith beat Rylands and Faulkner, 6-1, 6-1.
Second Year Doubles: Chapman and Fane-Hervey beat Cape and Skehan, 6-4, 6-4.
Under 16 Doubles: Chapman and Fane-Hervey beat Daly and Stapleton, 6-4, 6-4.
Open Doubles: Stone and Harcastle beat West and Dixon, 6-4, 7-5.

FIRST SIX

v. Roundhay (H). Won, 6-3.
v. Pocklington (H). Won, 8½-1.
v. Bootham (A). Won, 6½-2½.
v. York University (A). Won, 7-2.
v. Coatham (H). Won, 6½-2½.
v. Sedbergh (A). Won, 6½-2½.
v. Stonyhurst (H). Lost 6½-2½.

SECOND SIX

v. Coatham 1st VI (A). Lost, 3-6.
v. Pocklington 2nd VI (H). Won, 7½-1½.
v. Leeds G.S. 2nd VI (H). Won, 7-2.
v. Bootham 2nd VI (A). Won, 8½-1.
v. Scarborough Coll. 1st VI (A). Won, 4½-2½.
v. St. Peter's 1st VI (A). Lost, 4-5.

THIRD SIX

v. Coatham 2nd VI (A). Won, 5½-3½.

CAMBRIDGE TOUR

- v. Perse School. Won, 6-1.
 v. Cambridgeshire H.S. Won, 8-1.
 v. Impington V.C.S. Won, 6-2.
 v. Cambridge G.S. Won, 64-24.
- v. R.G.S., High Wycombe. Lost, 64-24.
 v. Felsted School. Won, 54-34.

YOUTH CUP

- 2nd Round. v. Reed's School. Won, 2-0.
 First pair won 6-4, 6-2. Second Pair won 6-0, 6-1.
- 3rd Round. v. Merchant Taylors'. Won, 2-0.
 First pair won 6-1, 2-6, 6-1. Second pair won 6-1, 6-1.
- 4th Round. v. St George's, Weybridge. Lost, 1-2.
 First pair lost 6-4, 2-6, 1-6. Single lost 3-6, 0-6.
 Second pair won 6-4, 6-1.

THOMAS BOWL

- Fane-Hervey and Chapman (Senior pair).
 v. Lutymer. Won, 6-2, 9-7.
 v. U.C.S. Won, 6-2, 6-0.
- v. Seaford. Lost, 4-6, 6-4, 4-6.
- Moroney and Westmacott (Junior pair).
 v. Eton. Lost, 1-6, 6-3, 3-6.

SWIMMING

The match season was brief. There was a three-cornered match against Newcastle R.G.S. and Durham, at Newcastle, which conveniently provided two fixtures for the price of one. People seemed to like this, but it meant that there were no second swimmers in any event: it made one appreciate the value of a six-lane bath. There were some creditable individual performances, but as the match had to be on 7th May we were not yet at our best. At the Relay meeting (at Bradford G.S.) we enjoyed ourselves and weren't last in anything. No direct comparisons with previous years are possible because all the relays are now 4 x 50 yards. (This means, among other things, that a Junior is now swimming 50 yards Butterfly.) Then quarantine set in, and the matches against St Peter's, Boothham, Pocklington and Sedbergh had to be abandoned. However, this year we were invited to enter for the Bath Cup (the national Public Schools' Relay meeting in London) which was swum at the end of the term. Results—considering that other schools have real swimming baths—were agreeable.

Our own competition was interesting. The number of standards fell, but so did six records—as indeed did the temperature. One of the records, the 220 Breast, wasn't set by St Aidan's. Before we give the details, two points are worth mentioning. One is the Junior House have swum regularly throughout the year, so that there is now possible continuity of coaching (for those at Gilling) from 8 to 18. The full effect of this will reach the Upper School in the season of 1971. But to provide swimming for another 100 boys is acutely difficult in our bath conditions—it comes down to a simple matter of square feet of water: and so the search for ways of achieving a full-size covered pool has been greatly invigorated.

MATCHES

Newcastle R.G.S. (Senior) 45; Durham 26; Ampleforth 19.
 Newcastle R.S.G. (Under 15) 43; Durham 25; Ampleforth 22.
 Northern Public Schools' Relays

Senior: Freestyle 12th out of 13. Medley 12th out of 14.
 Junior: Freestyle 12th out of 13. Medley 11th out of 12.
 Bath Cup (4 x 88 yards Freestyle): 42nd (equal) out of 50.
 Otter Medley (4 x 88 yards): 40th out of 46.
 (Swum at the Seymour Hall Baths, Marylebone.)

Colours were awarded to D. C. N. Ogilvie, P. C. Donovan, D. B. Dees and D. J. Simpson.

Lastly, the coach would like to add a word of thanks to the captain, C. C. McCann, whose support was a great help in quite a difficult season. He has been one of our most persistent swimmers throughout five years, and it is a pity that circumstances prevented his career being crowned with more success.

The following were also selected to swim for the School: F. A. Cape, J. C. Dawson, A. Meyrick, J. P. Knowles, N. S. McCraith, C. G. Meares, A. M. J. S. Reid, N. R. Cape, B. C. de Guingand, G. R. Gretton, S. M. Craston, P. Grace, N. B. Herdon, M. B. Gould, C. N. Moon.

COMPETITION

Senior Freestyle 100	D. J. Simpson	A	66.9
Backstroke 100	D. J. Simpson	A	75.3
Breast 100	D. B. Dees	D	83.9
Breast 220	J. C. Dawson	H	3 m 27.3*
Butterfly 33	D. C. N. Ogilvie	A	19.7*
Junior Freestyle 100	C. G. Meares	B	73.1
Backstroke 100	N. R. Cape	T	85.0
Breast 100	T. S. Robinson	J	88.3
Breast 220	N. R. Cape	T	3 m 48.3
Butterfly 33	B. C. de Guingand	A	23.0

Individual Diving
 Best All-rounder

Tie: C. C. McCann and M. J. Waddilove
 D. J. Simpson 3 m 46.6* (Bk 73.4, Br 86.4, Fr 66.8)

Relays

Medley 4 x 1	St Aidan's	82.7*	ADOTE [CHW(B)
3 x 100	St Aidan's	3 m 26.4	ADOCW HEBT
Back-Breast 4 x 2	St Aidan's	3 m 31.0	ADBEQ THCWJ
1-2-4-1	St Aidan's	3 m 3.5	ADDBT HWCEJ
6 x 2	St Aidan's	4 m 18.4*	AOBWB CTHE
18 x 1	St Aidan's	6 m 38.0	AOEHD WBTC
House Competition	St Aidan's	534 points	ADOHB ETCWJ

Also

Individual Medley 4 x 15 m	N. R. Cape	51.1
220 Freestyle	D. C. N. Ogilvie	3 m 18.4
Mile and Half Mile abandoned (weather).		

*Record.

GOLF

Golf has become increasingly popular. This is demonstrated by the heartening number of people who are practising and the increased number of players this term. Scores have been appreciably lower, which reflects an improving standard and also the condition of the course. A great debt is owed to Fr Leo and his helpers, and also to R. E. Baker who has devoted much time to keeping the machinery in running order. Unfortunately two of the fixtures this year had to be cancelled—those against Leeds and Easingwold. The match against Scarborough was lost 3-1 and that against Mount St Mary's was drawn 4-4. In both matches the team showed a lack of competitive experience which could be rectified by more play during the holidays. The Vardon Trophy this year was won by the captain, S. Baillieu. We were without a professional this year, but hope that this can be rectified now that Easingwold Golf Club have made a new appointment.

SHOOTING

More than half of the 1968 Bisley team had returned and, with capable material almost ready made for the filling of vacant places, all looked set for a highly successful shooting season. It was not to be and the outcome was exactly the opposite. Not a match was won and scores showed a steady if not rapid deterioration. In the Ashburton the score was deplorable and the team went away dejected. Excuses might be found, for example lack, though unconscious, of a positive and determined effort to succeed and this due mainly to a diversity of interests. If this be true, then it is bad education and must be put right in future years. Of course there were exceptions and the continuous efforts made by J. Leeming, the captain, and R. Fitzalan-Howard, who won both the Cadet Cup and Stourton Cup, together with a Schools Hundred Badge, were worthy of praise.

ASHBURTON MEETING RESULTS

Ashburton: Score: 454. Position: 79/85.

Marling: Score: 258. Position: 10/26.

Snap: Score: 230. Position: 7/21.

Public Schools Aggregate: Score: 1,066. Position: 8/22.

INTER-HOUSE RESULTS

In the Inter-House competition St Wilfrid's, with a score of 171/200, beat St John's, with St Cuthbert's taking third place. The Anderson Cup for the best score was won by R. Fitzalan-Howard.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS VETERANS' CHALLENGE TROPHY

The highlight for Ampleforth in the N.R.A. meeting in July was the triumph by our Old Boys who won for the first time the Veterans' competition and were placed 11th, 2nd and 1st with their other three teams. In addition their total scores placed them second in the Veterans' Aggregate in which 104 teams competed.

Inscriptions on the Shield reveal that it was first won in 1874 by Charterhouse and their first shoot in the Ashburton. It was last year and through the untiring efforts of Adrian White that the Old Boys, after a lapse of several years, gathered again and came 26th in an entry of 64. They were 4th in the Aggregate. Here it should be heavily stressed that neither decrepitude nor lack of ability or practice should be a deterrent to Old Boys who would enjoy a shoot, and there is no problem about rifle or equipment. Adrian White lives at Goddens, Hartley Wespall, Basingstoke, Hants.,

and will be delighted to add your name to the long list of available Veterans. Do please get in touch with him and he will send particulars of the next Bisley meeting in July.

At this recent and memorable meeting the undermentioned took part and in addition Lady Wolseley, Elizabeth Clay, Air Commodore Risson, Col Shaw, M. Wright, A. Shaw, Sgt Maj Baxter and Fr Anthony attended the dinner with its jollifications in Guildford when the Utley-Ainscough Cup was presented to the top scorer, M. P. Gibson.

"A" Team	"B" Team	"C" Team	"D" Team
M. P. Gibson, 49/50	J. L. Jones	S. K. O'Malley	S. Moore
K. O. Pugh, 48/50	A. H. White	J. St C Gainer	G. Moore
Sir C. Wolseley, 48/50	E. P. Downey	M. P. George	J. Marsh
M. K. Goldschmidt, 48/50	J. Slater	J. Gillman	
C. J. Langley, 46/50	A. Dudzinski	K. Sellars	

KEITH PUGH IN CANADA

This year the Great Britain Rifle Team touring Canada in August included Keith Pugh (E 65), who in his time captained the Ampleforth team at Bisley, winning a gold medal and the Challenge Cup with a possible. He wrote from Chaffey's Lock, Elgin, Ontario: "We are just winding down now, having been all over Ontario and Quebec Provinces shooting for the last three weeks . . . in the final week (the Governor General's Prize and the International against Canada and U.S.A.), I got seven scores of 50, came 13th in the grand aggregate out of about 600 and 17th in the Governor General's. I got into all three international matches, in two of which I got the second best score in our team. Alas, we lost the big match—the Palma—to U.S.A., though we whopped Canada; and then lost the two lesser matches to Canada, though in each we beat U.S.A. So unfortunately we partly failed in the internationals . . . All great fun, but slightly tiring when we have to be up at 6.30 most mornings."

THE BEAGLES

As usual the Puppy Show was held early in the term, Ralph Scrope and Jeremy Graham kindly coming to judge what was a pretty fair show of young hounds. Mr A. Smith of Boon Woods won the Dog class with Able (by Admiral) and the Couplings with Able and Ajax. Vital won the Bitch class for Mr Hutton of Alders Farm, Gosmont. There was the usual representative and very welcome gathering of local friends and supporters.

Fifteen packs competed at the Great Yorkshire Show. Arab and Able took the first two places in the Unentered class and went on to win the Cup for the best couple of Doghounds. Ringlet and Rainbow won the corresponding cup for the Bitches. Dutful was second in her class, Vital and Ada third in theirs. Altogether quite a successful day.

The Peterborough Show a week later was, as usual, a much larger affair with large entries from the 21 packs present. The main impression left was that this was very definitely one of the hottest days of an unusually hot summer. Perhaps our hounds felt the same, since we came home more or less empty-handed.

With August came the sad news of the death of Lt-Col Harry Slingsby. We would like to pay our very sincere tribute to the memory of one who was a great figure locally and a very good friend. Only a month or so before he had been in his usual place at our Puppy Show.

Another great loss is the retirement of Joe Cowton, for many years Head Keeper in Bransdale. We are much indebted to him for his friendly co-operation in arranging our meets up there. And now there is talk of Harry Wheldon, farmer and huntsman of the foxhounds there, leaving Farndale at the end of the season. Here, too, it is difficult to express adequate appreciation of the happy relationship that has always existed with the Farndale Hunt.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

SUMMER Term training was directed towards the inspection; not in the sense that pre-arranged set pieces were practised, but the ordinary courses were continued with a view to the Inspecting Officer seeing a good cross-section of the training which has been carried on throughout the year. In addition, 35 cadets were prepared for the Army Proficiency Examination (31 of them passed) and a ceremonial contingent under C.S.M. Baxter prepared for the inspection parade. Among other points which deserve mention are the continued kindness of No. 11 (Green Howards) Army Youth Team who not only ran the rock-climbing course, but also gave a lot of their time to constructing a climbing wall at the back of the 25 yards range. Special credit is due to L/S Baker and Cpl Phillips who have managed the R.E.M.E. Section on their own all this year, and Sgt C. M. B. Ratcliffe who did the same with the Signals Course all this term.

Lt-Col E. M. P. Hardy crowned his assistance during the year by judging the Nulli Secundus competition, bringing with him as assistants Lt-Col M. H. Woodhead and Major S. Robertson. The competition was won by U/O J. W. Fane-Gladwin, who also won the Fusilier Cup, the Eden Cup was won by W/O P. P. Nunn. Brigadier W. S. Armour kindly took the salute at the dress rehearsal for the Inspection.

Rear Admiral J. E. L. Marting inspected the contingent on 17th June. He was received by a predominantly Naval Guard of Honour commanded by Lt-Cdr E. J. Wright, and later took the salute at a rather more ambitious than usual ceremonial parade. Unfortunately he had only just watched the Naval Section's evolution at the lake when the heavens opened and everyone was drenched. In spite of this most of the training continued and, if anything, spirits seemed higher than ever; this was especially true of the Basic Section who seemed to revel in mud and water. The speeches and prize-giving were in the theatre. The following prizes were awarded:

- Nulli Secundus (Best Cadet of the Year)—U/O J. W. Fane-Gladwin.
- Fusilier Cup (Best N.C.O. in Army Section)—U/O J. W. Fane-Gladwin.
- Eden Cup (Best R.A.F. Cadet)—W/O P. P. Nunn.
- Anderson Cup (Min. Range '303)—Cdt R. A. Fitzalan-Howard.
- Stourton Cup (Top Score, Bisley)—Sgt J. Leeming.
- Under 16 Bisley, 1968—Cdt Bowie.
- Stewart Cup (Best of 10 Shoots, including Country Life)—A/B Watling.
- Johnson Ferguson ('22, 1st Year Recruits)—Cdt J. Stringer.
- Inter-House '303 (Min. Range)—St Wilfrid's.
- Pital Cup ('22 Classification)—St Cuthbert's.
- Hardy Cup ('22 Inter-House)—St Cuthbert's.

As most readers will know, Fr Aidan has retired to higher things, leaving a big gap in the C.C.F. He had served for 14 years and done many most valuable things: first as commander of the Recruit Company, later of No. 2 Company, and last year of the Basic Section. Familiar as his figure was in each of these roles, it is as leader of Arduous Training or Assault Course work that most of us remember him. A squad doubling about carrying half a dozen massive logs as ballast and going over or under obstacles, but never round them, could always be identified as being under his command. His Marine experience had taught him the value of training which was energetic, but the velvet glove was also there under the mailed fist and no one was more understanding and helpful to a boy trying to exercise his command despite lack of experience. In the C.C.F. as in all other parts of the School life he was outstanding as a trainer of boys, and, to those of us who worked with him, a tower of strength. We shall miss him very much.

ARMY SECTION CAMP

THIRTY-FIVE cadets under Fr Simon, Fr Edward and Br Timothy, with Fr George as Chaplain and Railway Transport Officer, went to Warcop Training Centre at the end of the term. When we arrived the camp was fairly empty since we were among the first to arrive. Throughout our time the weather was almost perfect so we were able to make full use of the excellent training facilities provided. It was a particularly well run camp with several Cadet Training Teams and Army Youth Teams, running exercises for the cadets, but these were optional and contingents could do their own training if they preferred. In fact we made use of most of what was provided and still had time for plenty of our own training. Quite a lot of night work was done and this was always a popular item. The best part of the week was undoubtedly the 48-hour exercise when the two platoons under Sgt S. E. S. Fenwick and Sgt P. Baxter established two camps and patrolled against each other, ending with a grand battle at 0900 hrs on the last morning. This 48-hour scheme was enriched by the presence of Lieutenant Mike Edwards (O 62) armed to the teeth with every known weapon and wireless set, plus a Landrover and corporal driver. His enthusiasm had a dynamic effect and resulted in a highly successful exercise.

Unlike some camps, this was a purely military one. That is to say, all the exercises were tactical with a military aim. Since so much of C.C.F. training is comparatively unmilitary it was interesting to see how our cadets took to this novel (for them) kind of training. Surprisingly it was just this military element which they appeared to enjoy most. However, lest it be thought that it was all work and no play, it should be added that the Sunday was spent on a delightful coach tour of the Lake District, and on other occasions there was transport provided to Penrith. It may also be discreetly mentioned that Sgt Plowden provided Fr Simon, Br Timothy and C.S.M. Baxter with trout for breakfast on three separate days.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

At the end of the Summer Term Lieut Peter Buckley, R.N., our Liaison Officer from Linton-on-Ouse, left us to go to Cullrose for a conversion course on helicopters. He has always been a great friend and help to the Section and we are grateful for all his assistance. We are also sorry to say goodbye to G.P.O. Rogerson who has assisted us for four years. It would be very difficult to carry on efficiently without the professional guidance of the Royal Navy.

At the beginning of the holidays Father Cyril took a party of cadets to the Royal Naval camp at Loch Ewe in N.W. Scotland. After the arduous training had commenced in dreadful weather conditions, things improved and the people concerned enjoyed their week's very arduous exercise. Another party spent a week at the Britannia Royal Naval College at Dartmouth in kinder weather conditions and had a valuable and enjoyable week's training.

The Section would like to congratulate two of its past members on successes at Dartmouth. Sub Lieutenant R. M. Davey, R.N., was awarded the Mathematics prize at the Passing Out Parade and Cadet N. P. Wright was presented with the Queen's Telescope by Her Majesty on the Royal Yacht as the outstanding cadet of the year. Four present members of the Section, I. C. Rapp, M. Rowland, N. P. V. Lewen and S. G. Callaghan have been awarded either Scholarships or Reserved Cadeships at Dartmouth. These are based on a rigorous written and practical leadership test and their success is a considerable achievement.

In future the number of boys in their fourth and fifth years in the School in the Section will be fewer than hitherto. It is hoped that with these fewer numbers there is a provide more interesting training than is possible with large numbers and there is a probability that we can get help from the Tyne Division of the R.N.V. for weekends at sea and flying training at Church Fenton. It is not generally known that for boys who come up to a high standard of intelligence and aptitude the Royal Navy will train them to the standard required for a Private Pilot's Licence. J. P. Rechford is the latest member of the Section to qualify as a Pilot after 13 hours of Solo Flying. This, too, is an outstanding achievement on which he is to be congratulated.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

LED by U/O Thomasson, assisted by W.O.s Nunn and Donovan, the Section trained hard during the term. Flt Lt Harris of R.A.F. Topcliffe came over to run a course in R.A.F. Signals, which was much praised by the Inspecting Officers during the inspection. The Primary glider functioned smoothly under F/S Shaw and two cadets were trained to hop into the air. The gliding at Sutton Bank was the resort of enthusiasts and P. Purves and J. Heathcote got as much gliding as they could. One hopes that the use we make of the facilities of the Yorkshire Gliding Club will improve as we come to provide winch drivers and tractor drivers from amongst the members of the School.

The Section was represented in all parts of the inspection. A large contingent was present for the ceremonial, and the Signals and Glider teams put on displays of their training. The launch of the Primary glider in a downpour was commended by the Admiral, who showed a laudable unawareness of the rain.

The Section went to camp at St Mawgan, and at least the O.G. was impressed at the courtesy and improvisation of British Rail in getting such an assorted number of cadets to the North Cornish coast amidst holiday and strike difficulties. Fine weather made the camp a success, and although there was an element of holidaying, this was dominated by an efficient training programme.

W.O. Nunn won the Eden Cup, while Sgt Leeming, the School Captain of Shooting, represented the Section in that more aggressive side of the Corps. Thirty-three members of the Section went on a Gliding course, while F/S Shaw carried out training for his P.P.L. under the Flying Scholarship scheme.

Our thanks are due to the personnel of R.A.F. Topcliffe: Sqn Ldr M. O'Reilly, our "equipper"; Flt Lt Bancroft, the Liaison Officer; and Flt Lt Harris, our mentor in gliding and signals.

PROMOTIONS

ARMY SECTION

To be C.S.M.: C.Q.M.S. Howard T. E. B., Ramsay P. W. M., Sgt Fane-Hervey S. F.
To be C.Q.M.S.: Sgts Smith A. M., Williams P. J.

To be Sergeants: Cpls Christie J. P., Dunn T. A., Jucks W. A., Jefferson S. G. H., Mitchell-Cotts H. W. A., Monteith D. G., Sherley-Dale J., Sparrow E. C. A., Vaughan Hon J. E. M., Wakefield S. B., Williams F. C., Ratcliffe C. M. B.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

To be Petty Officer: L/S Meyrick A

To be Leading Seaman: A/B Barton S. H., Reichwald W. M., Ryan P. H., Shuldham M., Waddilove M. J.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

To be Under Officer: W.O. Nunn P. P.

To be Sergeants: Cpls Gibbs A., Leeming J. H., Marriner S. J.

AIR PROFICIENCY—MARCH 1969

Passed with Credit: Bidie, Reid, Richardson, Vaughan.

Passed in three subjects: Carrington, Dagnall, Davenport, Edwards, Higgins, Heathcote, Marmion, McAuley, Neville, Pickin, Sharrard, Sturridge, Wallis.

Passed in two subjects: Blackden, Boursot, Collard, Curtis, Gibbs M., Guiver, Hallawell, Harding, Killick, Leonard A., Ruck Keene J., Spence J., Turnbull.

ARMY PROFICIENCY CERTIFICATE—MAY 1969

The following passed: Cds Bankoff G. E. A., Barker Benfield C. V., Broun-Lindsay L. D., Gallow M. S., Chapman R. M. S., Cobb K. W., Craven P. O. K., Duckworth H. M., Fitzalan-Howard R. A., Garbutt P. D. W., Grace P., Hall N. C. D., Heape R. M. C., Hardy C. M. R., Henley M. E. D., Lowe D. C. H., McEwen F. G., Powell T. M., Pratt J. D., Oppe C. F., Richmond R. J. A., Rosenving P. J., Keohane P. P., Ryan M. H., Stainton S. A., Stapleton M. T. M., Tyrrell B. P., Ward J. B., Westmacott P. G., White T. M., Harris C. J.

JUNIOR HOUSE

M. B. SPENCER was appointed Captain of Cricket and J. M. O'Connor Vice-Captain.

CONGRATULATIONS to J. P. Craig and J. M. Wakely who won £100 scholarships and to M. B. Spencer who won a minor one of £50.

The early part of the term was dominated by preparations for the Exhibition play, "Oliver". This was the first time that the Junior House has taken part in the Upper School play; a full account of it appears in another part of this JOURNAL, so little need be said here. It meant a series of very late nights for many of the House, but it was enormously enjoyed by everyone in the cast as well as by the audience. We owe a special word of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Haughton for producing the play and also to Fr Henry. It is sad (for us) that his promotion to be a housemaster probably means that he will no longer be able to produce the musical part of our plays, which he has done so successfully for the last four years.

At the Junior House Prize-Giving the proceedings were opened by S. R. Finlow who played the Sonata in G Major by Beethoven. Fr Abbot kindly presented the following prizes:

LOWER IV

Latin	J. N. Wakely
Greek	J. P. M. Craig
French	J. P. M. Craig
English	S. D. Mahony
History	S. D. Mahony
Geography	S. D. Mahony
Mathematics	A. J. A. Tate

UPPER IIIA

Latin	P. J. Sommer
French	A. P. Graham
English	B. G. F. G. Hood
History	C. J. Foll
Geography	B. G. F. G. Hood
Mathematics	P. J. Sommer

UPPER IIIB and IIIC

Latin	A. J. Craig
Greek	N. J. McDonnell
French	N. J. McDonnell
English	J. P. Pearce

History	N. J. McDonnell
Geography	R. J. G. Raynar
Mathematics	A. J. Craig

LOWER III

Form Prizes	1. S. G. T. Ashworth
	2. R. T. J. Kevill

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

2nd Year	J. P. M. Craig
1st Year	N. J. McDonnell

SPECIAL PRIZES

Music:	
Piano	S. R. Finlow
Strings	M. B. Spencer
Trumpet	M. Newton
Art	C. E. Lees-Millais
Handwriting	Hon J. A. Stourton
	J. V. R. Gosling

FINALLY there was a most enjoyable performance of Bernard Shaw's "Passion, Poison and Petrification". It was entirely produced by three boys from the Upper School: C. Kinsky, M. Ryan and P. Sturridge (three of the many Upper School helpers who have run so many spare-time activities for us this year, and whom Fr Cyril in his speech thanked publicly).

The cast was as follows:

<i>Lady Magnesia Fitztolemache</i>	S. Heywood
<i>Phyllis, her maid</i>	Hon J. A. Stourton
<i>Fitz, her husband</i>	D. V. O'Brien
<i>Adolphus, her ex-lover</i>	A. H. Foll
<i>The Landlord</i>	H. P. Dowling
<i>The Policeman</i>	C. M. Durkin
<i>The Doctor</i>	A. C. S. Slattery

The best athlete was S. R. Finlow, who won the 440 and 880 yards races. J. J. Hornoyold-Strickland won the 100 yards.

At the Ordination Concert at the end of the term the Junior House again co-operated with the Upper School. The 2nd and 3rd movements of the Mozart Piano Concerto No. 19 in F Major (K459) were played and the soloists were J. V. R. Gosling (2nd movement) and S. R. Finlow (3rd movement).

BAD weather at the end of the term prevented the Aquatic Sports being completed. The biggest splash was won by C. J. Foll. The diving could not take

place at all, but the other races were decided on times in the heats. The results were:

Free Style: C. B. Moore.
Breast Stroke: C. A. Sandeman.
Dolphin/Butterfly: P. H. K. May.
Backstroke: P. H. K. May.
The cup for the best swimmer was awarded to P. H. K. May.

CRICKET

Owing to the very wet start to the term almost no cricket was played for the first six weeks, although one or two 1st and "A" XI matches were played away on our opponents' well-drained grounds. The 1st XI suffered its only two defeats by school sides at this time; we were completely overwhelmed by Bramcote and Pocklington, but, good though these sides were, the lack of practice from which we were suffering was a partial explanation.

The first signs of improvement came with the Barnard Castle match where we were faced by a largely total, a fast bowler and a rough pitch. Spencer, Marsden and O'Connor in particular showed great courage and determination and, although we never looked like winning, runs were coming freely by the end and the bowlers had been well mastered.

Although avoiding further defeat the 1st XI had some desperate finishes, beating St Olave's by 3 runs and St Mary's Hall by 1 wicket; the return match against Barnard Castle resulted in another draw, but in the last over our last man in offered a dolly catch which the fielder kindly dropped.

This was only a moderate team but it played well and the results were surprisingly good. Marsden was the best cricketer and could develop into a fine all-rounder. No one had the technique to make a big score and, apart from the match against the Masters, no individual score of 20 was achieved. The bowling, too, was inclined to be untidy though on their day Marsden, Wright and O'Connor looked dangerous. Wright got a hat-trick against St Olave's. Pickin became a very useful wicket-keeper and the fielding was tidy. Some good slip catches were held by Finlow, and Ainscough, although quite immobile, held some very hard ones which came close enough to him.

There is reasonable hope of a good side next year. Our 1st year XI played two

matches, and several members of it played in "A" XI matches. The batting was weak technically, but quite vigorous and successful on some occasions, and the bowling of Pearce and Lintin looks promising. Ainscough played some useful innings in the 1st XI but none of the others was quite up to the same standard. Scott, Wadsworth, Peers, Lintin and several others could develop into good batsmen if they fulfil their promise.

It is pleasant to record that, although the weather curtailed cricket this year and there was no day when the whole House played, among those who did play there was greater keenness than ever. There was scarcely a moment at any time of the day (apart from study time) when a game of informally organised cricket was not going on on the J.H. ground.

The regular members of the 1st XI were: M. B. Spencer, J. M. O'Connor, A. P. Marsden, M. A. Campbell, S. R. Finlow, A. H. Foll, J. J. Hornoyold-Strickland, J. P. Pickin, S. E. Wright, T. G. Hooke, M. Ainscough.

Colours were awarded to A. P. Marsden.

RESULTS

1st XI

Bramcote 139 for 1. Junior House 58. Lost by 81 runs.

Junior House 36. Pocklington 37 for 0. Lost by 10 wickets.

Barnard Castle 140 for 8 (O'Connor 3 for 27). Junior House 90 for 6 (Marsden 27 not out). Drawn.

St. Mary's Hall 76 (Marsden 3 for 13). Junior House 77 for 9. Won by 1 wicket.

Junior House 69. St. Olave's 66 (Wright 5 for 13). Won by 3 runs.

Old Boys 182. Junior House 58. Lost by 124 runs.

Barnard Castle 140 for 7 (Marsden 5 for 37). Junior House 114 for 9. Drawn.

Pocklington 91 for 6. Junior House 52 for 4. Drawn.

Masters 143 for 6. Junior House 144 for 5 (Wright 58, Campbell 37).

"A" XI 75. Howsham Hall 66 (Spencer 5 for 13, O'Connor 3 for 12). Won by 9 runs.

St. Martin's 27 (Marsden 4 for 3, Wright 4 for 12). "A" XI 30 for 0. Won by 10 wickets.

St. Mary's Hall 58. 1st Year XI 26. Lost by 32 runs.

St. Martin's 33 (Spencer 3 for 7, Pearce 3 for 7). "A" XI 34 for 3. Won by 7 wickets.

1st Year XI 78 (Wadsworth 22). St. Olave's 73 for 9 (Pearce 4 for 29, Lintin 3 for 21). Drawn.

Red House 32 (O'Connor 4 for 6), Junior House 33 for 4. Won by 6 wickets.

SCOUTS

AFTER a rather poor Easter Term the Scout Troop got well back into its stride in the summer, the major drawback being the lack of time to fit in all the desired activities. Early in the term a good representation took part in the sponsored walk for the homeless from Mount Grace Priory and also handled the organisation of this event for other members of the House who wished to take part. The Junior House raised a total of £140.

A series of patrol camps was held at the Lakes, which gave every member of the troop a chance to camp sometime during the term. There were additional training camps for the Patrol Leaders, whose ranks were joined by Stephen Mahony for a short but distinguished term of office.

Perhaps the most notable event during the term was "Tamasha", a large camp at Strensall, organised by the York City Scout Council, for scouts from York and the North Riding. About 1,500 scouts were in camp over the Whitson weekend. For most local schools the first was a long weekend holiday, so the 33 Junior House scouts who took part were handicapped by being there only for the middle part of the camp. This made it impossible for them to take a full part in the competitive activities, but in the short time they were there they collected a vast number of gold discs (with a few silver and bronze ones thrown in) for activities which included riding, canoeing and obstacle courses. Their most spectacular achievement was on the Army's Confidence Course, where two Junior House teams were among the best that entered, sharing 11 gold awards and one silver between the 12 members of the teams. Fr Alban said Mass on Whit Sunday morning for all Catholics in camp and read the lesson at the ecumenical "Scouts Own" service in the evening. The Guest of Honour at the

camp was Lord Baden-Powell, grandson of the founder of the Scout movement. He visited all troops in camp on Whit Monday; unfortunately our troop had to leave on Sunday evening, but the Camp Chief kindly arranged for us to meet Lord Baden-Powell informally for a few minutes before we left. He shook hands with each scout individually and asked about our activities.

At the end of term 39 scouts took part in a memorable camp on the Isle of Anglesey. It is hard to say whether the camp was more memorable for the things that went wrong or for its excellent weather, its unbroken lively fun and its considerable achievements. Let it suffice to say that an incredible train of snags and disasters in no way spoiled the wonderful spirit of the camp (perhaps it helped to create it!). There were numerous hikes and expeditions on the island, games and activities in camp, canoeing, and two sorties into Snowdonia. One of the latter was, alas, turned back by bad visibility on our only day of dubious weather; the other reached the summit of Snowdon after a beautiful but arduous climb in blistering heat. A dip in a deliciously clear and cool little lake on the way down was most welcome. A high standard of camping was maintained by the six patrols throughout, helped, it must be admitted, by the weather. The camping competition was won by the Saluki Patrol, led by Philip Marsden.

A satisfactory number of badges was awarded during the term. The following 15 scouts deserve special mention for achieving their Advanced Scout Standard Award: Christopher Durkin, Simon Finlow, Philip Marsden, James O'Connor, Hugh Dowling, Paul Sommer, Stephen Mahony, Thomas Symes, John Madden, Simon Wright, John Hornoyold-Strickland, Joseph Pickin, Peter May, Benjamin Ryan and Martin Rigby. A word of thanks must be given to those who have helped Fr Alban and Br Nicholas lead the troop during the past year. We had a most devoted and successful team of instructors from the Sixth Form throughout the year and on the camp. For the camp they were joined by Fr Ignatius and Mr Anthony Ford-Jones, both old friends who, to our delight, can't drag themselves away from us.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: M. S. Thompson.

Captain of Cricket: M. J. P. Moir.

Captains: S. J. Bickerstaffe, F. Brooks, C. P. Myers, M. W. A. Tate, C. H. W. Soden-Bird, P. J. Lees-Millais.

Secretaries: J. A. Dundas, J. D. Harrison, C. A. Vaughan, R. A. Duncan, S. W. Ellingworth.

Sacristans: P. A. Graham, A. E. Bond, S. D. Peers, N. C. T. Millen.

Ante-Room: D. A. J. McKechnie, P. C. Velarde.

Art Room: J. C. E. Moreton, B. L. Bunting, S. D. Nuttall, C. F. J. Maclaren.

Bookmen: D. H. R. Lochrane, M. R. F. Griffiths, M. J. Brennan, S. B. Glaister.

Office Men: M. J. Pierce, R. A. Duncan. *Dispensary:* C. de Larrinaga, R. T. St A. Harney.

Librarian: Lord R. Kerr.

Woodwork: M. E. N. Shipsey, S. P. O'Carroll FitzPatrick.

This term began optimistically with a full teaching staff. Alas! after a few days it was discovered that Miss Metcalfe was far from well and had to undergo a serious operation. It is good to be able to report that she came through her ordeal with great courage and resilience and was back with us a few days before the end of term. During her absence Mrs Boulton, Mrs Dore and Mrs Blake James helped with the teaching of the Prep Form.

The month of May was one of the coldest and wettest on record. In spite of this not very many games were missed thanks to the excellent condition of the playing fields. Here, perhaps, is the moment to thank Tommy Welford and Trevor Robinson for their expert and loving care of the fields. At very short notice this term, in addition to the usual cricket pitches, they provided courts for tennis, badminton and volley-ball.

Apart from a number of cases of German measles, and right at the end of term an unfortunate case of chickenpox, Matron

and Nurse Willis again saw that the boys were remarkably healthy.

The first good spell of weather began with the feast of Corpus Christi and we were able to have the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament outside. It was on this occasion one remarked the happy revival of the boys' singing, especially in Chapel. Later in the term, on the occasion of Confirmation in the Abbey Church, His Lordship the Bishop also commented most favourably on the singing.

After denying us the outing last year the weather this time was most kind for the visit to Sleightholme Dale. We had a wonderful day there and are most grateful to Mrs Gordon Foster for allowing us to come.

For this occasion as well as for many others—on holidays, for Captains and Officials, for cricket matches and for Speech Day—Matron, Mrs Blackden and the cooks provide most appetising fare. We would like them to know how much we appreciate and are grateful for the enormous trouble they take on our behalf. We would also like to thank Jack Leng. Besides making the garden so beautiful he keeps us supplied with delightful produce. His only regret this year was that the boys left for their holidays before they could consume all the large and tasty crop of strawberries.

On Saturday, 5th July, His Lordship the Bishop of Middlesbrough confirmed the following boys in the Abbey Church at Ampleforth:

S. N. Ainscough, M. C. F. Bailey, D. J. Barton, E. A. Beck, M. N. Cardwell, S. J. Connolly, M. J. Craston, J. Dick, D. S. C. Dobson, E. A. Dowling, R. S. Duckworth, S. P. Finlow, N. J. Gaynor, E. C. Glaister, R. D. Grant, C. W. J. Hattrell, B. Hooper, J. B. Horsley, T. L. Judd, M. G. R. May, D. J. K. Moir, P. R. Moore, M. J. Morgan, J. M. Murray, J. C. E. Moreton, J. N. Norman, N. W. O'Carroll FitzPatrick, C. A. Palairot, M. P. Peters, S. P. S. Reid, P. A. J. Ritchie, P. D. Sandeman, N. G. Sutherland, P. D. M. Tate, S. P. Treherne and P. C. Wraith.

THE PRIZE-GIVING AND SPEECH DAY

THE Prize-Giving and Speech Day, the last and most important of the events of the Gilling year, was held as usual on the last day of the Summer Term, 10th July. Fr Abbot came to preside and give the prizes with his accustomed gracious *expertise*, and Fr Patrick to comment on the results of the Junior House Entrance Examination with his usual kindness but perspicacity. There was a large, perhaps record, attendance of parents and guests and most fortunately the weather proved just kind enough to have the splendid tea provided by Matron and her staff out-of-doors on the South Lawn, thus turning the occasion into a Garden Party—an event which has been missing from the Gilling scene for the past few years.

The list of prize-winners appears below, but it should be recorded, in addition, that Fr Patrick announced the award of Scholarships to the Junior House to J. A. Dundas (£20), M. J. Moir (£10) and M. Thompson (£10): they have our warmest congratulations for this well deserved success.

Fr William reported on the year at Gilling. He was glad to be able to say that there was evidence of good work throughout the School and he had personally found that in the Third Form especially, classes had worked well together as a team, which was always rewarding, both to the teachers and to the taught. The new syllabuses in Classics, Mathematics and Science were now in their second year, and Audial French was well established from the First Form upwards. English would always be the pivotal subject at Gilling and he was glad to note that good marks had been obtained in the Junior House Entrance Examination.

Turning to out-of-class activities, several new sports had made their appearance during the year—a welcome sign of a diversifying of interests—notably in the Spring Term soccer was now played, and when the conditions favoured winter sports the Ski Club had been active, led and instructed by Fr Piers who had the able help of Matron and Nurse. Badminton had flourished under Fr Gerald, who had also introduced—or perhaps reintroduced—tennis at Gilling.

Fr William referred to the great loss all would feel at the retirement of Major Blake James from full teaching. During his ten years on the staff at Gilling he had given noble service and the boys who had passed through his hands would never forget his thorough and conscientious teaching and, above all, his great kindness to those whom he taught. It was very lucky for Gilling that Mrs Blake James and he would still be living close by, and Fr William knew that they both could always be counted on for help in any emergency. Finally Fr William said how very pleased he was to see so many parents at the Prize-Giving, and how important it was, especially at a school like Gilling, for school and parents to be in closest contact and co-operation.

Fr Patrick expressed himself as very much satisfied with the showing made by the Gilling entrants to the Junior House and after announcing the results of the Entrance Examination, he gave an interesting and valuable *résumé* of the educational scene in the country at large. Father Abbot in his impressive closing remarks stressed again the importance of the fullest participation by parents in the education of the boys whom they had committed to us.

PRIZE-WINNERS

FORM 2A	
R.K.	M. W. A. Tate
Latin	M. Thompson
Mathematics	J. A. Dundas
English	M. J. P. Moir
French	P. A. Graham (Hubert Carter Prize)
Geography	D. G. M. Griffiths
History	J. A. Dundas
Science	M. R. F. Griffiths
Carpentry	C. G. E. Heath
FORM 3B	
R.K.	R. A. Duncan
Latin	C. H. W. Soden-Bird
Mathematics	R. A. Duncan
English	S. P. O'Carroll-FitzPatrick
French	C. H. W. Soden-Bird
Geography	C. A. Vaughan
History	R. T. St A. Horney
Science	S. P. O'Carroll-FitzPatrick
Carpentry	T. B. Boulton

FORM 2A	
R.K.	S. P. S. Reid
Latin	S. P. S. Reid
Mathematics	M. N. Cardwell
English	M. J. Craston
French	M. N. Cardwell
Geography	J. Dick
History	M. J. Craston
Carpentry	D. J. Barton

FORM 2B	
R.K.	M. P. Peters
Latin	J. B. Horsley
Mathematics	P. D. M. Tate
English	N. J. Young
French	N. J. Young
Geography	E. A. Dowling
History	E. A. Dowling
Carpentry	M. P. Peters

FORM 1A	
R.K.	A. E. Duncan
Form Prize I	J. C. B. Tate
Form Prize II	A. E. Duncan

FORM 1B	
R.K.	I. C. S. Watts
Form Prize I	M. J. Blenkinsopp
Form Prize II	J. F. Lennon

PREP FORM	
R.K.	E. J. Beale
Form Prize I	D. W. R. Harrington
Form Prize II	E. J. Beale

SPECIAL PRIZES

ART	
3rd Form	J. A. Dundas
2nd Form	M. G. R. May
1st Form	A. J. Nicoll

MUSIC	
3rd Form	C. G. E. Heath
2nd Form	D. J. K. Moir
1st Form	A. R. Goodson

HANDWRITING	
3rd Form	M. J. Brennan
2nd Form	D. J. Barton
1st Form	A. J. Nicoll
Prep. Form	P. M. Graves

PHYSICAL TRAINING	
3rd Form	M. J. Pierce
2nd Form	R. S. Duckworth
1st Form	P. K. Corkery
THE P.T. CUP	Trojans
THE ATHLETICS CUP	C. H. W. Soden-Bird

CRICKET	
1st XI	M. J. P. Moir
2nd Set	P. C. Valarde
3rd Set	T. J. F. Fincher
4th Set	B. P. Doherty
5th Set	M. J. Blenkinsopp

SWIMMING	
Crawl Cup	B. Hooke
Diving	D. A. J. McKechnie

BOXING	
Senior Cup	S. R. Biekerstaefe
Best Loser	C. H. W. Soden-Bird
Junior Cup	N. J. Young
Best Loser	N. W. O'Carroll-FitzPatrick

SHOOTING	
Cup	J. A. Dundas

PRIZE-GIVING CONCERT

THERE was perhaps a little less obvious talent in the traditional Concert this year, both in quantity and quality, but there was some nice playing. The two opening pieces played by the Orchestra (three recorders, three violins, 'cello and piano) showed good straight bowing by the strings, though intonation was a little shaky, and it is always difficult to blend strings and recorders in tune with each other. Of the recorder playing, C. Heath was notably good, with musical phrasing and a fine tone.

The First Form guitarists were admirable, and it is remarkable how much they have achieved in so short a time; they were a pleasure to listen to.

The Gilling Singers, too, under Mr Lorigan's enthusiastic direction, sang splendidly, and succeeded in involving the audience in their own obvious enjoyment. A pity, though, that they didn't quite make their top notes, and were occasionally inclined to snatch at cadences. But how good it is to see and hear their enterprise and the variety of their accomplishment.

PROGRAMME

I. The Queen	
Little Waltz	P. Herfurth
Beguine	B. Bonsor

The Orchestra

FIRST FORM PRIZES

2. Barcarole	P. Zilcher
Minuet	B. Hooke
J. Moreton, C. Heath	Handel
Boree	W. Babell
C. Heath	

SECOND FORM PRIZES

3. The Gilling Singers	
Hark! The Echoing Air	
from the "Fairy Queen"	Purcell
Shepherd, Shepherd Leave Decoying	
The Bird-Catcher (Der Vogelfänger)	
from "The Magic Flute"	Mozart
The May Song	Benjamin Britten

THIRD FORM PRIZES

4. Night Mail	W. H. Auden
Form 1A	
Kumbaya	African Folk Song
The Guitarists	

SPECIAL PRIZES

5. The Gilling Singers	
Awake, Thou Wintry Earth	
from Cantata	
Gelobet sei der Herr	J. S. Bach
Laudate Nomen Domini	
Christopher Tye	
Speed Your Journey	
from the Opera "Nabucco"	Verdi

ART

The Third Form

If there is difficulty some years deciding who best deserves an art award, that was not the case this year. J. A. Dundas has a good imaginative capacity to handle groups of figures and a good feeling for pleasing and original harmonies of colour. The difficulty lies in reassuring the remainder who often show good promise but are more gradual in their development. S. D. Nuttall, D. G. Griffiths and C. de Larrinaga come in this category and given more time S. D. Peers should prove himself a careful and accurate draughtsman. N. C. T. Millen, R. T. St. A. Harney and D. A. J. McKechnie should also continue to develop into gifted artists with originality.

It is the difficulty when one pupil shows a noticeable ability that the others who are promising and often high in standard do not appear so outstanding. But the continuity in Junior House should make their emergence interesting to watch for in the future.

The Second Form

A GOOD standard of art has been achieved by most of the boys in the Second Form. Probably the boy with the highest ability is M. May, but easily the most improved boy is B. Hooke, whose pencil drawings reached a very high standard by the end of the year. Other boys showing real talent and ability are Cardwell, Reid, Craston, Murray, J. Dick, Ritchie, Barton, Doherty, N. FitzPatrick and D. Moir.

The First Form

THE First Form worked at their art with much enthusiasm, ability and success which was shown by the high standard of their art in the Exhibition. Possibly the best works were done by T. May and Nicoll, but a boy who improved very quickly was Nowill, and a boy showing promise was T. Beck. There were many good artists in the First Form and they include such boys as Waterson, F. Howard, Pickthall, Hardy, Sillars and Russell.

The Prep. Form

ART and Craft classes with the Prep. Form are relaxed, informal and thoroughly enjoyable periods. Diligent application is in no way affected by irrelevant discussions on such topics as home-life, termly outings or other people's sisters, and results have been very satisfactory. Special mention should be made of L. R. Dowling, F. Howard and D. W. R. Harrington who are particularly successful in being able to reproduce what they observe, and of R. S. J. P. Adams, who applies the paint with great confidence and imagination.

CRICKET

THIS was a good season, with plenty of talent throughout the School, and a memorable First XI.

The bowling was stronger than usual, and this was true at all levels in the School. The First Set bowlers were helped considerably by the decision to play on a 20-yard pitch instead of the 21 yards

normal for older preparatory school boys. Our First XI these years contains no boys over 114, and the 21-yard pitch had been rather too long in recent seasons.

The weather in May made cricket very difficult, but plenty of useful practice was possible on the Bowomatic in the gym. We lost the first two matches to Bremcote and St Olave's, but a good team was taking shape, and the month ended with a good win against Glenhow. The next match was against the Gryphons. This was a most enjoyable afternoon's cricket, and to the delight of the School the Gryphons were beaten by 18 runs. The season ended with three more school matches, against Glenhow and St Martin's, all of which were won.

The team was admirably led by M. Moir, who became a sound opening batsman, and had the best average for the six school matches. He was well supported by several other good players. The bowling of Dundas was one of the main strengths of the side, his best performance being six wickets, including a hat-trick, in the first Glenhow match. He also batted well, especially in the final match. Pierce's batting also developed well, and he was the most consistent batsman in the last three matches, and Soden-Bird, Thompson and Bickerstaffe all had some good innings. The best fielders were Dundas and Soden-Bird, and the general standard improved steadily as a result of their example. After Dundas the best bowler was Ritchie, whose deceptive good length balls took 15 wickets for 17 runs in the last two matches.

Three Junior XI matches were played, under the captaincy of Ainscough and Hooke. The first, against St Olave's, was lost, but the other two, against Glenhow and St Martin's, were both won.

Colours were awarded to M. J. P. Moir, J. A. Dundas, M. J. Pierce, C. H. W. Soden-Bird and M. S. Thompson. The other members of the First XI were S. J. Bickerstaffe, M. J. Brennan, M. J. Craston, P. R. Moore, S. P. S. Reid and P. A. J. Ritchie. The following also played in some of the First XI matches: S. N. Ainscough, J. Dick, S. B. Glaister, B. Hooke, D. A. J. McKechnie and C. A. Vaughan.

The following played in Junior XI matches: B. Hooke, S. N. Ainscough, P. K. Corkery, J. Dick, B. P. Doherty,

R. S. Duckworth, D. R. Ellingworth, T. J. Fincher, N. J. Gaynor, J. B. Horsley, T. B. Hubbard, M. G. R. May, T. M. May, P. R. Moore, J. M. Murray, S. P. S. Reid, N. G. Sutherland and J. C. B. Tate.

SWIMMING

DURING the term the swimming pool was used by the boys of the School with much enjoyment, enthusiasm and success. By the end of the term there was only one boy in the Third and Second Forms who had not learnt how to swim. Amongst those who learnt to swim were the following: J. C. E. Moreton, A. E. Bond, J. N. Norman, N. J. Gaynor, J. Dick, S. P. Teherne, P. C. Wraith, S. P. Finlow. There was an arrangement of special swimming lessons during the term to provide the better swimmers in the School with the opportunity of improving their strokes in preparation for the Competition and Championships.

The Swimming Competition was held on Friday, 5th June. Unfortunately Fr Anselm Cramer was unable to come over from the Upper School to judge the Competition, but Fr Julian Rochford very kindly took his place; he is a highly qualified swimming instructor, and in past years when working in the Upper School he has often been to Gilling to judge the swimming. The Crawl Cup was won by a boy in the Second Form, B. Hooke; R. T. Harney was placed second, and S. R. Bickerstaffe third. The Diving prize went to D. A. J. McKechnie who won it quite easily. McKechnie also won the Breast Stroke event with M. J. P. Moir second and S. P. S. Reid third. Reid won the Dolphin event with T. P. Fincher coming second and M. P. Peters third. The Back Crawl event was won by Hooke, McKechnie second and M. J. Craston third. The Romans, led by Bickerstaffe, won the Relay. For doing well in the Swimming Competition, McKechnie, Harney and Bickerstaffe were awarded their swimming colours, and for good swimming, badges were awarded to M. J. P. Moir, M. Thompson, T. J. F. Fincher, P. D. M. Tate, M. P. Peters, C. W. J. Hattrell, E. C. Glaister and D. S. C. Dobson.

The Swimming Championships were held before lunch on the last Sunday of the term. There were 14 events and in six of them new records were established.

The most outstanding swimmer in the competition was S. P. S. Reid who broke three School records over three lengths of the bath and equalled a fourth record in the Back Stroke event. In the Third Form events, which were swum over four lengths of the bath, Bickerstaffe won the Front Crawl, McKechnie the Breast Stroke, Duncan the Back Crawl Stroke and M. W. A. Tate, who had just been given his swimming colours, was just beaten by 0.1 of a second by Bickerstaffe in the Medley. In the Survival Swimming event which was being held for the first time, N. C. T. Millen was the winner; each competitor had to swim four lengths of the bath. The first three lengths were swum wearing a rugby jersey, which had to be taken off in the water before swimming the final length; the second length was swum carrying a 2 lb. lead weight, and the third length pushing a large can half filled with water. In the Second Form, Reid won the Front Crawl event, breaking the School record by 2½ seconds, and Hooke, who came in second, also broke the old record by ¼ a second. Reid broke another record in the Breast Stroke event which he won, again in a time

which was 2½ seconds faster than the old record. He also won a third event, which was the Medley, breaking the old record by 7.7 seconds. Craston won the Back Crawl event in a very close finish, breaking the old record by 0.1 of a second. Fincher and Reid came second and third respectively, each in a time of 34 seconds which equalled the old record. In the First Form D. Ellingworth won the Front Crawl, beating the School record by 0.4 of a second, Goodson won the Breast Stroke, and D. Ellingworth also won the Back Crawl. The sub-aqua event, which was judged by Fr Julian, was won by P. R. Moore who did a very good performance of underwater swimming using face mask, snorkel and flippers. Bickerstaffe led the Romans to victory in the six by one Relay in the record time of 48.3 seconds. Near the end of the term swimming badges were also awarded to the following boys for a good performance in the Swimming Championship Time Trials: C. de Larringa, D. H. R. Dore, P. A. Graham, M. G. R. May, P. R. Moore, J. M. Murray, P. A. J. Ritchie, P. D. Sandeman, N. G. Sutherland, N. W. FitzPatrick and E. A. Beck.