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EDITORIAL: THE 1960s, THE CHURCH'S RICHEST DECADE

It is one of the mirages of history that former times were good or awesome or heroically proportioned, and that we who are young shall never see so much nor live to well. It is hard for us to believe that the names of Farnese, Contarini, del Monte, Cervini, Carafa, Pole, Seripando or Lainez might well be matched in the accepted annals by those of Roncalli, Montini, Bea, Lercaro, Alfrink, König, Döpfner or Suenens. We hardly credit that St Cyprian of Carthage may not have been a better ecclesiologist than, say, Dr Hans Küng or Bishop Christopher Butler. Yet time embalms the legend as the familiar present slips into the grasp of historians for weighing and comparing: the past takes on a grandeur by its very immutability, receding from our control and so our mundane contempt. Already this is happening to the decade just passed, invested as it is with its cloak of completeness rendering it now unalterable, unalterably part of our Christian heritage. The 1960s are written and the fluidity of change can never water them again: they are set firm, in place.

We may then begin to assess. A cursory survey shows a pattern that must fill the most entrenched prophet of doom with some exhilaration, however qualified. The general effect of the decade has been to re-establish in the Church the individual person at the centre of the canvas in his relationship through Christ to the Father. Man is now seen as autonomous, with inviolable rights. External duties put upon him, requiring conformity, are replaced (sometimes without due caveats) by interior conscience. He is asked to co-operate, to express his opinion, actively to participate, rather than to receive judgments from a hierarchy above. He is asked to labour both as a service and as self-fulfilment, rather than as the curse of the Fall. He is asked to seek God not in propositions but in unfolding salvation history; and to embrace the world as the medium of his redemption. He is asked to share his graces with all men, not as an apologist or missioner, nor as a full member of the Onlie Clube, nor as a guardian of the shrines of Gnosis, nor as a paragon of moral excellence; but as a brother on pilgrimage, who has the pledge of future glory and faith in the Risen Christ.

◀THE FLORENCE ENTOMBMENT PIETA

Standing over 7½ ft high, it was carved by Michelangelo for his own tomb in the Chiesa Santa Maria Maggiore. But it stood till 1722 in an open vineyard on Monte Cavallo, from where it was taken to the Cathedral at Florence and set down behind the high altar. Michelangelo began it in 1550 when he was seventy-five years old, and, as Vasari tells us in 1556, he still "worked on it almost every day as a pastime. At last he broke the stone . . . because his criticism of his own work was so severe that nothing he did satisfied him." That is why we have so little from the period of his highest maturity. *Photo: Mgr Francis Bartlett.*

And if we are to talk about pilgrimage, about stopping awhile at inns on a journey with no abiding city en route, we must notice, too, that the decade has brought us back to the old realisation that faith and dogma, theology and scholasticism are not one interchangeable corpus, but that faith concerns reality rather than concepts, that dogma is revisable (not to say reformable), that theology is an attempt in place and time, in history and culture, to make a synthetic understanding of being in flux as it relates to God (with as many theologies as there are world-views), that philosophy is the handmaid of theology and for every theology there must be more than one workable philosophy, among which we must seek out the best in an effort to discover the Faith. The decade has further brought us to realise, in the conflicts between prelates and professors, that the theologian is the proper organ of *interpretation of* the mind of the Church, and that Authority is the proper organ of *cognition* and *ratification* of the Church's mind and the vehicle of responsibility: and with this understanding goes the realisation that there is no Creed or Kerygma which does not require interpretation (for words shift their meaning and underlying assumptions get replaced by others), and that interpretation is not random and private but is properly under the surveillance and *traditio* of the *magisterium* of Authority.

While there is undeniably a darker side to the decade—a cloud to every silver lining—it is right to face the light, and we may distinguish in all of this some nine areas of action which have made this decade what we claim it is, the richest for the Church since St John died A.D. 100.

First, COLLEGIALITY.[1] The decade has seen, in the Vatican Decree on the Church, the purest statement of this fundamental ecclesial doctrine of the Apostolic College, involving Pope and bishops; and, in a different order, the concomitant doctrine of Coresponsibility involving prelates and priests, priests and people down to the last baptised Christian, who thereby shares in the priesthood of Christ. The decade has also seen the most evident enactment of the doctrine of Collegiality in the October 1969 Extraordinary Synod, when the Pope sat listening to the heads of hierarchies, critical and adulous alike. It has further seen the most glaring contradiction of the doctrine in the Encyclical of July 1968, which ignored the Papal Commission, confronted a Lambeth Conference and caught the world episcopate either on holiday or unprepared, and certainly largely unconsulted. By 1970, the imbalances of 1870 have been entirely redressed, at first in theory

[1] It might be useful to refer to past JOURNAL articles on these nine subjects.
See Benedict Webb, O.S.B., "Laity & Council" (Feb 1963).
Dominic Milroy, O.S.B., "Reporters at the Vatican Council" (Oct 1963).
David Goodall, "The Impact of the Council" (Oct 1966).
John Coventry, S. J. "Notes on Authority Today" (Aut 1968).
Bishop W. G. Wheeler, "Coresponsibility" (Sum 1969).
Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B., "Shifts in the Emphasis of Papal & Episcopal Authority" (Sum 1969).
Dr P. E. Hodgson, "Authority in the Scientific Community" (Aut 1969).

and then by degrees through conflicts and precedents in practice. Those great acts of centralisation put into effect by the Gregorian Reform of the eleventh century and the Counter Reformation of the sixteenth have been tempered, and, where they amounted to abuse, reversed. The effect is evident in the clarification in the closing months of the decade of the Apostolic Constitution on the New Mass, which carries the marks of the new order: "Episcopal Conferences will established. . . ", "the translations will be approved, at least *ad interim*, by the Episcopal Conferences . . .", "it is for the Episcopal Conferences to decide" or "prepare" or "initiate" or "determine". Central uniformity has given place to cexible collegiality, bishops being called in to deliberate upon what they will have to put into effect. *Roma locuta est* now has a new and more universal meaning.

Secondly, THE LITURGY.[2] Four centuries have passed between 1570 and 1970: they are the centuries of the Tridentine Mass, drawn up by Pope Paul IV in that first year, and now replaced by the New Rite drawn up by Pope Paul VI to take effect in this last. Within the decade just past, the liturgy has swivelled on its axis, banishing an encrusted changeless tradition with its new life and heartening adaptability. The crucial changes have come in virtually all of the sacramental rites, and above all in the Mass rites. As *Time* (26th January, p. 54f, "More Variety for Catholics") has put it: "unlike the old Mass, a Counter Reformation product of the Council of Trent that outlined every word and move of the liturgy in some 57,000 words of meticulous rubrics, the New Mass is less a set of regulations than a series of options . . . the four differing Eucharistic Prayers are designed, in Pope Paul's phrase, to emphasise 'different aspects of the mystery of salvation'." It is, in fact, surprising to the ears of diehard Latinists, a largely conservative shift to the purer traditions that had been vitiated by the innovations of the early and central Middle Ages. Latin, we may recall, was introduced into the universal liturgy under the leadership of St Ambrose of Milan (later the archdiocese of Cardinal Montini) in about 380: for almost a century the language of the liturgy of the West had been at variance with the tongue of the people, and the early Church chose to abandon the language of the Age of the Apostles and Martyrs without reservation in favour of the vernacular, conscious that it was doing as St Paul had instructed. We may remember, too, that it was the Arian heresy of the fourth century which drove men to overstress the Godhead of Christ at the expense of the highpriestly mediatorial office of Christ: then as the understanding of the Eucharistic Sacrifice (the essential connection of Sacrifice with Communion) grew weaker and extra-liturgical devotions stronger, the portentious change was made to the silent recitation of the sacrificial prayer by the priest alone—and then the bond between

[2] See Edward Corbould, O.S.B., "Renewal in Church Architecture" (Jun 1963).
Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B., "On Englishing the Canon of the Mass" (Jun 1963).
Aelred Burrows, O.S.B., "The Meaning and the Future Development of the Canon of the Mass" (Sum 1968).
Aelred Burrows, O.S.B., "The Ecumenical Significance of the New Eucharistic Canons" (Sum 1969).

priest and people was severed at the central moments of the liturgy, the laity being relegated to the role of spectators and the liturgy becoming the exclusive concern of hierocrats. The altars, which, we can gather from the evidence of the early Church in such revered basilicas as the Lateran or S. Clemente, had once stood unadorned as massive stone tables facing the people, were set against end-walls with a reredos or retable to decorate them, with tabernacles, flowers and ornaments to take the eye from the solemn sacrifice at which the priest interposed his own person between sacred species and congregation. This all occurred soon after 1000, candles coming after 1100, and crucifixes a century later with the Passion plays. By that time, Pepin (in 754) and Charlemagne (in 800) had sought out Roman *exemplar* copies of service books for their courts, arranging massive standardisation throughout their empire, a standardisation which monastic orders like Cluny completed, until the idea of the papal chapel as a model for the services of all Christendom came to be accepted, softening the soil for the age of the Congregation of Rites. The Bonn Professor of Church History, Theodor Klauser, reflected upon "how much that was unlooked for came about when the Canon was first prayed in silence. Out of these small deviations from traditional practice the whole development of Christian devotion in later centuries derives, with all the limitations which we with our deeper insight today deplore." What took centuries to congeal has taken just a decade to disperse and replace, the years being telescoped by the pressing need that four centuries of rubricism had dammed up. We have returned to our pristine simplicities—dialogue and diversity, with little decoration or distraction. A clear sign of that are the Jewish blessing now to be used to begin the Offertory: "Blessed are you, Lord, God of all creation"; and the Pauline blessing now to be used to begin the Mass: "the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all" (2 Cor. 13.14).

Thirdly, THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT.[3] In 1960 it was scarcely more than a pious intention. The great work of the Jesuit Cardinal Augustin Bea and with him Mgr Jan Willebrands (now his successor and a Cardinal) lay ahead, the work of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Ahead also lay the Vatican Constitutions *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* on the Eastern Churches, *Unitatis Redintegratio* on Ecumenism and *Nostrae Aetate* on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions. As to the first, it re-established privileges and customs previously abolished; and it showed the clearest hope on the part of a General Council that a corporate reunion between Rome and the East would soon be possible. The Eastern Schism

[3] See Archbishop Nikodim, "Relations between Orthodox & Catholics" (Feb 1965).
John Coventry, S. J., "The Church's Attitude to Unity" (Oct 1966).
Archpriest Vladimir Rodzianko, "Orthodox & Catholic" (Sum 1967).
Dr. J. J. Hughes, the Editor, Aelred Burrows, O.S.B., three articles on "Anglican Orders" (Spr, Sum, Aut 1968).
Theodore Strotmann, O.S.B., "Sobornost: Aspects of Eastern Orthodoxy" (Sum 1969).
Swithun McLoughlin, O.S.B., "Mixed Marriages" (Aut 1969).

By courtesy of Lady Thurso

SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR (NOW VISCOUNT THURSO), SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR, 1940-1945, DECORATING FREE FRENCH FLIERS.

He was concerned with the final decision to retire Sir Hugh Dowding (the late Lord Dowding) from AOC in C Fighter Command after the daylight stage of the Battle of Britain.

BRIGADIER NOEL CHAMBERLAIN, C.B.E., M.A., 1895-1970.

had begun in 1054, the Decree was promulgated in 1964, and already it was bearing fruit on the last day of the Council (7th December 1965), when Pope Paul, earnestly desiring to make amends for the dissensions of centuries, announced the lifting of the mutual ban of excommunication effected in *Sancta Sophia* so long ago: a new relationship became immediately possible, as Patriarch Athenagoras' visits and actions in St Peter's have shown. As to the second, it affected all Protestant Churches and ecclesial communities separated from the papacy, but particularly the Anglican Communion which "occupies a special place": the Decree admitted that the Holy Spirit was at work in all of these assemblies, and at once this gave grounds for the true action of ecumenism, not merely a veiled programme of "return to Rome". Of the document, Dr Oscar Cullman, speaking for the Protestant observers, said: "no Catholic document has ever spoken of non-Catholic Christians in this way before". Since then, there has been fruitful talk and action at every level, of which the joint Anglican-Catholic International Commission must stand as model: it has moved steadily from England to Malta, and now to St George's House, Windsor Castle, growing together in constant consultation in a process of convergence. As to the third, it has inaugurated a spirit of mutual respect between Christians and most especially the religions rooted in the Old Testament, Jewry and Islam; but with them, also all religions honouring and seeking God. The charge of "Deicide" levelled against the Jewish people down the years, has at last been laid. At every level throughout world religion, a new spirit is born and is fast flourishing.

Fourthly, THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHURCH.[4] In 1891 Leo XIII brought out his pioneering social encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which did so much to promote the doctrine of the just wage. It was followed in 1931 by Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno*, where he lifted his eyes from class strife to forms of government, whether Capitalist or Socialist or Communist. The 1960s have seen a spate of such legislation sufficient to swamp centuries of such teaching. Pope John brought out his *Mater et Magistra* in 1961, resuming the teaching of the two earlier encyclicals, but from a different angle: where they had given priority to the principle of the right of property ownership, he started more logically with the proper function of the state, which confers and safeguards rights. Where Leo XIII had had to legislate for a laissez-fair society, wherein the individual needed protection, and Pius XI in his turn had had to do just the opposite, protecting the individual from the state by such principles as subsidiary function, John XXIII had to philosophise in an age of interpenetration and interdependence, where economies had to come under international control if the prosperity of whole communities were to be safeguarded. In his closing pages, Pope John pioneered the ground for the more far-reaching teaching of his successor: he took a canvas that was not political but geographical

[4] See Simon Trafford, O.S.B., "Mater et Magistra" (Feb 1962).
R. E. S. Tanner, "Towards an African Catholicism" (Oct 1963).
P. W. Davis, "India & Foreign Aid" (Oct 1965).

and discussed agricultural and social economies on a world scale. He looked to righting the imbalances of the Rich and the Poor Nations (to use Barbara Ward's labels), quoting Scripture: "he that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?" (I Jn. 3.16). This theme was taken up in the Vatican Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* on the Church in the World: ". . . nations too became steadily more committed to the achievement of some universal community" (cf. Ch. 2, The Community of Man, which uses phrases like "the entire human family" and "the family of Christ our brother"). In Part II of this Constitution, Some More Urgent Problems, the horizon of human obligations is opened right up: the great principle is stated, "it is the very serious duty of developed nations to help the underdeveloped to carry out these tasks (of building up their interior resources): they should adjust themselves *mentally* and *materially* to establish this universal co-operation" (sec. 86b). Meanwhile in 1963, in an embarras de richesses, Pope John brought out his politically significant encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, which even Russia welcomed, the Pope sending a signed copy to Kruschev. Its fourth Part dealt with the Relationship of Men and of Political Communities with the World Community. Finally, in 1967 Pope Paul VI published what is perhaps his most important encyclical, *Populorum Progressio* on Fostering the Development of Peoples. The whole of the second half is taken up with the Development of the Human Race in the Spirit of Solidarity: it was prompted by the Pope's visit to Latin America in 1960, to Africa in 1962, and his reading of sec. 63f of *Gaudium et Spes*. His heart moved by what he calls the two extremes now experienced by our world, crippling pauperism and stifling materialism, he has since both written and made visits, set up commissions and made contributions, sending aid and compassion where they are needed. In this, he has opened our eyes more than Pope John, these two Popes achieving in a decade what others took seventy years to begin.

Fifthly, PLURALISM OF THEOLOGY.[5] Let us view this from the recent end of the decade, from hindsight. The June 1969 *Concilium* carried an article by the great German theologian, Fr Karl Rahner, entitled "Pluralism in Theology & the Unity of the Church's Profession of Faith": indeed the same problem came up as head of the agenda for the Papal Theological Commission last October (*as Le Monde* reported), and two full days were spent on it as a central problem of today. In his article, Fr Rahner writes: "the pluralism of theology is making itself felt in the concrete life of the Church, particularly when this theology is not viewed in narrow scholastic terms . . . the present pluralism is quite different from the old pluralism (cultural differences within the same terminology, philisophical presuppositions, speech world and outlook of life). If one does not recognise and admit this fact, one will fail to see the new difficulty which the Church has in preserving the oneness of her credal confession. . . The historical

[5] See David Goodall, "The Dutch Catechism" (Spr 1969).
Bernard Reardon, "Von Hügel & the Modernist Movement" (Aut 1969).

material on which the theological disciplines must work has become so enormous that the individual theologian cannot master it . . . philosophy itself has become so pluralist that no single theologian has *the* philosophy; he must work with some specific philosophy, however eclectic it may be. And philosophy is no longer the one market-place where the theology picks up the data about man from his whole cultural life and from other scholarly disciplines. Natural sciences, the social sciences and the history of ideas have all emancipated themselves, rightly or wrongly, from philosopy. The theologian should maintain direct contact with all of these disciplines. . . Catholic theology today finds itself in a completely new dialogical relationship with other Christian theologies of an exegetical, historical and systematic nature. It is no longer a simple yes or no relationship, because the theological lines of division now cut across denominational lines. The resultant theological pluralism cannot be overcome by teamwork either, no matter how necessary it may be and how intensively it may be organised: no team can embrace all the theologians in the world." That is a fair description of a new situation where not even the basic outlines of every possible theology can be retained in the mind of individual theologians. It is not a matter of confrontation, where the principle of contradiction might be invoked to reach a solution: nor is it a matter of seeking higher ground from which to survey two interpretations. No, it is a matter of schools of theology sharing so little in common that they cannot recognise each others' frameworks of understanding, or see the motivating principles, or appreciate why material is proffered as examples. One side cannot contain the other in its thought processes sufficiently to allow any fruitful dialogue. This is not the sign of barrenness of thought, but overfruitfulness, burgeoning fecundity. The best example in our time has been the running debates between Rome and the Dutch theologians over the Eucharist (notably transubstantiation) where Roman theologians persist in labelling trans-signification, even in its context, as heretical because they have not grasped the underlying philosophy or existential ontology that motives the judgment of the Dutch. This all sets up serious problems for the Magisterium until it is realised that no definition is above its time-affected, situation-affected grammar and vocabulary (take words like *nature, person, substance, sin* as a test); and then there comes a great liberation. In the modern Church, the recent prime example of this liberation has been in the handling of the affair of the Dutch Catechism (published in 1966). Formerly it would have been condemned out of hand and put on the index. But today in our decade it has been examined by a commission of cardinals, who in October 1968 agreed that the text was to be left undisturbed, while a supplement was to be issued making a series of declarations upon the points on which Rome and Holland could not agree: it was a positive policy on both sides of live and let live. In one sense, this new pluralism has proved a working in the theological field of of the principles of Collegiality and Coresponsibility: it is an immense advance on the old uniformity of *Roma locuta est*. Above all the Dutch bishops have set an example to the world, standing by their inalienable

pastoral responsibility, holding to their fraternal union with the See of Rome, and honouring the loyal trust they owe to their subordinates.

Sixthly, BIBLICAL STUDIES.[6] Ours is a generation that has seen brilliant translations, culminating in the Jerusalem and New English Bibles. Our generation has seen also brilliant commentaries, notably in the English speaking world the Jerome Commentary and the New Catholic Commentary. It has experienced the acceptance of the principle of Development in the scriptural texts and in their interpretation down the years: as the Vatican Constitution *de Divino Revelatione* put it, "the Tradition that issues from the Apostles progresses in the Church under the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Insight into the realities and the words transmitted *grows:* this results from contemplation and study by the faithful who ponder over them in their heart, from their experience of deep understanding of spiritual realities from the preaching of those who, in episcopal succession, received the unfailing charism of the truth" (sec. 8; cf. sec. 12). It has witnessed the flowering of biblical theology, which rests on the assumption that Revelation must be judged existentially, dynamically as salvation history, not as material for formulating truth propositions. It has lived through a marvellous convergence to harmony of pursuit between Catholic and Protestant exegetes and scriptural scholars at the highest levels. And it has watched the fashioning of a conciliar decree which broke entirely new ground at Council level touching Tradition and the transmission of Divine Revelation (cf. Ch. II, and Ch. III on Inspiration & Interpretation). The decade had opened unpropitiously, when Mgr A. Romeo, Secretary to the head of the Congregation of Seminaries & Universities, made a violent attack upon the Jesuits Pontifical Biblical Institute; and this was followed by the dismissal by the Holy Office of two of the Institute's professors, as suspect in their doctrine. Then for a time the hounding increased, even Cardinal Ruffini of Palermo joining in to pour misplaced scorn upon literary genre technicians; so that on the floor of the Council it was necessary for Cardinal Leger of Montreal to put in a warm plea for tolerance and freedom of discussion among and on behalf of Catholic biblical scholars, as they opened up new paths. The dialectical and apologetic preoccupations that gave birth to such partisan behaviour have now faded as a morning mist in face of the light of the Council and the co-operation of scriptural scholars of every confession over the world, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish: now even the Rome Vulgate Commission is sharing its labours with Geneva! And far more important, every man reads his vernacular text, pocket copies of NT being in some countries (e.g. France) the new phenomenon among the young. The Bible, in fine language, has reached the people in their daily lives.

[6] See 15 reviews during 1967, 12 reviews during 1968, 14 reviews during 1969.

Seventhly, TEILHARDIANISM[7] (to coin a phrase). The French jesuit priest and palaeontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955) died, like Père Charles de Foucauld in 1915, scarcely known outside a small circle of friends and experts; though, to be just, that circle, fed with clandestine roneod sheets as a way of penerating the "silence" imposed so unfortunately by the Jesuit Order, was rather larger than is often realised—when Père Teilhard came to meet André Malraux, he found him well read in his writings, to his own surprise. The explosion of publication of Fr Teilhard's major works is entirely a phenomenon of the 1960s: the first to appear in England in the early winter of 1959, reviewed in the first months of the 1960s, was his scientific treatise on "The Phenomenon of Man". It was followed in 1960 by the complementary spiritual treatise, "Le Milieu Divin", and the flood gates of Teilhardiana opened to pour forth Letters, Lives, opuscula, treatises, theologies and the rest in a devastating flow, which has only recently begun to abate. Teilhardian societies for further study of the implications of his thought, founded in several countries by humanists and scientists together, have taken up issues where his thought had left them, and so the stream flows freely ("Run on, sweet Teilhard, Till I end my song. . ."). The crossfire between Teilhard and Maurice Blondel, the student companionship of Père Henri de Lubac, the experience of his fellow workers in the palaeontological field, the nature of the principle of finality in his thought, or of the mystery of Christ, or of the convergent spirit (mystical teleology as much as material evolution), or the absence of a sufficient sense of sin, have all been brought into print for the world to see, in the 1960s. Etienne Gilson has said of his thoughts that they are innocuous because they are incommunicable. Père Dubarle has described his doctrine as a way of passionate feeling and of looking at the world, "a thought partially inhabited by a dream". Sir Julian Huxley has called "The Phenomenon" a very remarkable work by a very remarkable human being; while Sir Peter Medawar calls it anti-scientific in temper, "the symptom of Teilhard's alarming apocalyptic seizures . . . that tipsy, euphoric prose-poetry which is one of the more tiresome manifestations of the French spirit". Dr Bernard Towers, speaking of Teilhard's brilliant pioneering neologisms, such as 'radial' and 'tangential' energy, states and defends with his own reputation the Teilhardian law of Increasing complexity-Consciousness (which might equally validly be expressed as the Law of Increasing Consciousness-Complexification, for it is a double feed of development). And while the scientists tear at the corps and his corpus of work, spiritual writers hail "Le Milieu Divin" and "La Messe sur le Monde" as the great prayer treatise of our age, accepted by those who, like Fr Vincent Turner, S.J., are bored by the lack of sophistication in the scientific writings, as classics capable of bringing real nourishment to our

[7] See Sir Peter Medawar, "The Phenomenon of Man: a Review" (Oct 1966).
Dr Bernard Towers, "Scientific Master *versus* Pioneer" (Aut 1967).
Vincent Turner, S. J., Dr Bernard Towers, John Russell, S. J., Robert Speaight, "A Teilhardian Gathering" (Spr 1968).
Recommended Reading: "Writings of Pere Teilhard de Chardin, S. J." (Aut 1967).

time. "Le Christique" is still to come, with its account of the *terre promise* brought about by the possibility of believing and loving disclosed to man by a convergent universe. Père Teilhard may not have brought peace or concord, but he has brought a cosmic vision, marrying the laws of evolution and increasing entropy with the dynamism of thought and faith, intellection suffused with love, generating spiritual hope in a world of manifest material hopelessness. He has proved, unproven as his work may be, the great Synthetic of our time: not for nothing is the latest study of him called "Teilhard's Vision of Unity".

Eighthly, THE DEATH-OF-GOD MOVEMENT.[8] The roots and indeed most of the stem of this movement are Protestant, arising out of a Neitzschean phrase in the writings of Bonhöffer and out of the severe demythologisings of Bultmann; the reason for it is the progressive secularisation of a world horrified by formal institutional religion. The argument used by exponents as a *point d'appui* is that man has "come of age" in a world where reason, not faith, is the rule; in a world where man has experienced too much and too prolonged suffering to believe any more in le bon Dieu; in a world where science and culture sufficiently explain and fill the needs of all the awareness of the human consciousness. The essence of the theology that is offered to combat such secular sufficiency is the message of the Discarded Image, that the "God up there", the brooding patriarch, the censuring judge, the grand accountant are false graven images neither to be worshipped nor feared nor given embodiment: "the world is now more 'Godless' and is possibly nearer to God than ever before". Bonhöffer preached, like Teilhard, that hope should be the message, not brooding inadequacy; that religion should live in the areas of man's greatest adequacy, so that we "confront man with God at his strongest point", God being "not in death but in life and prosperity . . . in the beyond in the midst of our life". He held, as others have in more technical ways, that Christianity is a cultic religion twisted out of shape by Hellenism and formalised by Romanism with its *lex, ordo* and *gravitas;* that, in view of this heavily coated past, we have now to discuss the reality of God in secular modes of thought if we are to reach out to faith in its pristine purity—or rather, reach in to inner faith emancipated from all archaic or foreign idiom; that, this done, we must interpret repentence or rebirth, justification or sanctification in the sense of St John and in the manner of a world "come of age", which will best recognise the light of Christ. With this as their programme, a series of prophets have sprung up, in America Tillich, van Buren, Hamilton and Altizer; in England Bishop John Robinson. Some are neo-deists; others merely post-Christians tending to atheism, but contributing to the debate by faulting bad theology. Of these prophets, the late Dr Paul Tillich is perhaps the most substantial, and his central insight is that God is not Being, but beyond being as "the ground of being": "to argue

[8] See Hugh Aveling, O.S.B., "Honest to God" (Jun 1963).
Bernard Reardon & Philip Holdsworth, O.S.B., "Belief—Past & Future" (Spr 1969).

that God 'exists' is to deny him", for he is reality beyond existence (meta-Esse, so to say). Tillich is very close in mind to St Anselm; and he goes further than him, in seeing the trinitarian action as the power of being infinitely resisting non-being. The movement is so important because it both demolishes man's faith in Christianity by reducing it to humanistic sociology (and this is dangerous); and it takes man to the very depths of enquiry about his sourse and his end (and that is profoundly uplifting). It has come of age during the 1960s: whatever else it is, it is opposed to religious apathy.

Ninthly, THE EMERGENCE OF CONSCIENCE.[9] This tendency grows out of the spirit of the Council (the spirit liberated by the Council) as daylight out of dawn. It may be the cause of much of the strife of the 1960s, but it is equally the cause of much of the religious life of this decade; for man has come to take on his own responsibility, and most often rightly so, what he formerly took on the authority of another. And in this, he has been largely backed by the bishops, whose statements about the paramountcy of conscience in its own field, made at the time of the reaction to *Humanae Vitae*, surprised even the world hierarchies themselves. The Belgian bishops, for instance, declared: "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 convictions". The Scandinavian bishops made a very rounded statement, resuming the customary teaching of the Church in a way which appeared to give new light: "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". By contrast, the Scottish bishops made a strange Janus-like statement, presenting the other face of the matter: "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". In a certain sense it is surprising that conscience should come to the fore in an age of reason, for reason is the siren substitute for conscience, speaking in sweet utilitarian tones; while conscience is, as Newman wrote, an inward law bringing with it no proof of its own veracity, but suggesting truths beyond it implying obedience to faith, a relationship to something exterior and superior to self. Conscience, he said, is "more imperative in

[9] See Hugh Aveling, O.S.B., "The Time Has Come" (Jun 1964).
Dr J. Dominian, "The Christian Response to Martial Breakdown" (Spr 1968).
Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B., "The Encyclical" (Aut 1968).
Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B., "A Conflict of Evils" (Spr 1969).

enforcing duty than successful in determining a duty in particular cases", the determinant being the laws of the Church and the imperatives of grace. We should say, by way of completeness, as Newman said for his time, that papal condemnations of the liberty of conscience fall on liberty of conscience falsely so-called, ill understood: the Papacy always presupposes the natural light of conscience, and also the insufficiency of that light. Nevertheless this emergence of a strong sense of the part to be played by conscience is to be rejoiced at, for it indicates the recovery of the ultimate inner responsibility of the individual to God for his life.

These, then, are nine areas of ecclesial action, which by their intensity and their power to search down to the marrow of Christian living have set this decade apart as (forgive the wild youthful euphoria) one of particular brilliance. Benignly brooding over it all, casting its long and lasting shadow, is the twenty-second Ecumenical Council of the Church, the Second at the Vatican; its massiveness surpasses all other considerations. It was the first to be essentially pastoral in character, the first to have more than two thousand prelates present and voting on every issue, the first to entertain Protestant observers, and the first to have its deliberations published in every language of the Church and accepted as a general contemporary *vade mecum* for laity and clergy alike on all of the subjects it touched—and few of present interest were not touched. It has changed the face of the Church as no General Council before (except perhaps Trent) has ever done. We may live in dark times in some respects, times of grave upheaval; yet for all that we should count ourselves privileged to be living in such an era, suffused as it is with the activity of the Holy Spirit.

I would have the weakest woman read the Gospels and St Paul's epistles. And I wish that they were translated into all languages, that they might be read and known not only by the Scotch and the Irish, but also by the Turks and Saracens . . . I would that the husbandman at the plough should sing something from hence; that the weaver at his loom should hum them to the tune of his shuttle; that the traveller might beguile the weariness of his journey by narration of this kind.

ERASMUS.

THE ROOT OF CHURCH POWER AND AUTHORITY

by

GEORGE PELL

We have different gifts according to the graces given us:
some to prophesy in the measure of their faith,
some to minister in the manner of their ministry,
some similarly to teach or encourage, to give unaffectedly or commiserate cheerfully,
some to govern with concern.

Rom. 12.6-8

One of the most fruitful products of modern theological method has been a return to sources to find answers to present problems. This method tacitly baptises the theory of Development as a reality beyond argument. Once that is formally accepted (as it has been by experts from Rahner in 1954 and Schillebeeckx in 1952 downwards) it determines all theological enquiry as in part a historical exercise, a tracing of doctrine through deviation and development from past font to present floodtide. The controlling document is always the New Testament—that is the premise of Christianity —but with it the primitive Church wherein the first fundamental directions were given to Tradition. The Far East has many proverbs about the initial step containing in it completion *implicite*, and this is surely true of Christian authority if not of Christian charism. That being so, it is vital in an age confronted as never before by problems of ecclesiology that we should examine the emergent years which gave the others their character.

No organisation was so obscure and diverse at the outset, so apparently pragmatic in its development, and then so enduring and so uniform in its subsequent stages as that of the Catholic Church centred on Rome. It began without a centre or indeed any evident concept of centrality. It began without a hierarchy or indeed any desire for hierarchical order. It began without rule, resting content with presidency, council and service. At first it cherished no doctrinal succession nor tradition of power to govern nor specific tradition of Doctrine; for it let sovereignty and deposit of faith lie loosely within the local communities en masse. By degrees these distinctions had to emerge and be specified, and churchmen had to specialise in them. It is essential to our understanding of ecclesiology today to trace this emergence with some exactitude. The book under review (of Protestant provenance) is just such a study.

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OLD PROBLEMS

The recent translation into English of Professor H. von Campenhausen's book "Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the first three Centuries"[1] comes at an opportune time for English-speaking Catholics. Although originally written some 16 years ago in Germany,[2] and unrevised for the present edition, this book by the Professor

[1] Adam and Charles Black, London, 1969.
[2] "Kirchliches Amt und Geistliche Vollmacht in den Ersten Drei Jahrhunderten", J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1953.

of Ecclesiastical History at Heidelberg University is widely accepted as authoritative.

With so many semi-popular works appearing on authority and the Church, not all of them interested in any opposing point of view or what the Scriptures say on the subject, it is refreshing to come upon a work of careful scholarship about the first times of Christian history, dominated by a simple regard for all the facts of a situation. While Professor von Campenhausen is not one who hesitates to draw the conclusions which follow from his premises, he is wonderfully free of any "tribalism", i.e., that servile adherence to sectional norms or fashions which bedevils so much discussion in the Church today. As well as all this, he has a deep sense of the reality of the Spirit within the Church and an equally deep respect for the individual person and his freedom. Early Christianity cannot be understood without these qualities.

Such objective scholarship is of course especially vital for a Christian community as committed to the past as our own. "The purpose of the present work", he writes, "is to set out the historical evidence which enables us to recognise the mutual relationship of these various factors" (especially office and charism, also tradition and the quickening Spirit, faith and the reality of the Church) and their basic importance[3] during the time before Constantine. The genuine threads of development cannot possibly be traced, and the essential features distinguished from local or contemporary detail, unless we know exactly the original circumstances and nature of doctrines and institutions.

It would require a first class miracle to have achieved absolute uniformity of Church order during two thousand years of Christian history. There has been no such miracle; and the patterns of authority in the early Church are especially varied. This is often a new piece of information for the average Catholic.

The Evidence of the Scriptures

Much more has been written about authority in the New Testament writings than about non-canonical evidence of the first three centuries. In this limited sense, that part of the book which deals with the patristic evidence is more "important" because it fills a greater gap in modern scholarship.

As the reviewer is not a Scripture scholar, it would be better to leave a detailed appreciation of this evidence to those capable of doing so. However, the most fundamental portion of the picture cannot be entirely ignored.

Von Campenhausen quite rightly begins with the person of Jesus. Unlike the Scribes and Pharisees, Christ taught with authority. He makes no appeal to any office. Moreover this authority was not confined to

[3] Page 3.

the moral sphere of the human psyche, but extended to the physical world, and the non-human demonic realm.[4] So unique is Christ, there "are no ready-made categories under which the distinctive quality of his authority . . can be subsumed".[5] We therefore have a new situation after Christ's death and resurrection.

The traditional "catholic" objection to this next section of the book (and an objection which I believe to be at least partly valid) would be the author's marked preference for the concept of authority he finds in Paul's epistles.[6] Some would say that this concept is also idealised.

Basic to this whole interpretation of Paul is the belief that law must diminish freedom, and an ignorance of the fact that we can only be liberated into freedom through some amount of law and order.[7] Von Campenhausen is clearly suspicious of laws! It is good, especially for Catholics, to be reminded that the Church is a "miraculous transcendent phenomenon"[8] and of Paul's belief in the "freedom in the Spirit, which belongs to the baptized children of God, who have been liberated by Christ".[9] However, it is difficult for a simple man to understand how the author could write that "the most striking feature of Paul's view of the Christian community is the complete lack of any legal system, and the exclusion on principle of all formal authority within the individual congregation",[10] especially when we also read that "the ancient basic moral commandments are not open to discussion";[11] a description of the controversies in II Corinthians,[12] and a 10-page description of Paul's activities as "the Authority" for his congregations.[13]

The non-Pauline New Testament concepts of authority are also described (especially in Chapter V). Some of these are admitted as contemporary with the Pauline forms[14] (or probable contemporaries) but are seen as necessary second bests, part of the "indisputed trivialisation"[15] which takes place as fatigue sets in.[16]

The Bishops

In these times of prodigious complexification (industrial, political, educational, etc.) there is in some quarters a romantic, Luddite-type antipathy to all forms of organisation. This can blossom in many different ways when the organisation appears top-heavy and under-productive.

[4] Cf. von Campenhausen, p. 5. [5] Ibid., p. 10.

[6] Ephesians and the Pastorals are not considered to be Pauline.

[7] E.g., the apparently necessary opposition between the "gift of the Spirit" and "some human organizational plan". (p. 68). We also read of Paul's refusal to extend his authority "beyond its proper sphere of upholding the truth of the Gospel to become a source of legal norms of any kind for the life of the Church" (p. 49). Also (p. 64) and especially (p. 58), "Paul develops the idea of the Spirit as the organizing principle of the Christian congregation. There is no need for any fixed system with its rules and regulations and prohibitions" (p. 58).

[8] p. 64. [9] p. 46. [10] p. 70. [11] p. 48. [12] p. 38. [13] pp. 45-54.

[14] p. 70. Pastorals, however, are dated in "the first half of the second century", p. 107.

[15] p. 3. [16] p. 71.

Such a situation exists in the Church. Seminaries are the classic example. But more immediate to our concerns is the widespread lack of sympathy for the hierarchy, especially evident in intellectual circles.

What is at the root of this dissatisfaction? Von Campenhausen writes, "In every culture and in all ages human society has known the tension between the position assigned to a man and the ability which the man's own inner resources allow him to display",[17] a disproportionate emphasis on one of the elements often indicates a situation "threatened from within either by revolution or an equally drastic reaction."[18] In the case of a church, one might add the third possibility of quiet, but massive withdrawals from the system.

The struggle between curialists and "collegialists" is only the tip of the iceberg. The basic problems are at a wider, deeper level. Judged by the New Testament criteria, we are too much interested in HOW things are being done, and not sufficiently interested in WHAT should be done. In other words, we are too interested in constitutional theory and not sufficiently interested in preaching the Gospel. Especially in Rome there is an emphasis on form rather than content. Not even the Church in all its spiritual richness and beauty can become an end in itself; and its structures especially are only means (some necessary and unalterable) to an end. In this context, and in order to justify particular structures or offices which have not been over-productive, there has been too much emphasis on position. An exclusive emphasis on the dignity of Church functionaries and the high theology behind these positions does not exempt them from the sociological laws which hold true in every society. Leaders must lead; by example and persuasion, rather than coercion, which must remain a last resort.

Leaders must also be seen to lead. Justice must seem to be done. In the closed static societies of the past, the rich theology of the papacy and the episcopacy was often enough to maintain loyalty. Today, in a world so influenced by the Press and television, respect for an office is much more tied to an appreciation of the person performing the office. Pope John's popularity was an example of this.

A life of service to the community is the first pre-requisite here, but an appreciation of the existence of the Press would be a big start. The best investment the Vatican could make at the moment would be to employ a competent press officer, who could translate the Pope's speeches into twentieth century English, and also inform us of the many good things the Pope says when he is not preaching to Italian peasant women.

The problems of the early Church were somewhat different from our own. But despite the existence of a dark side to their history, e.g., perpetual schisms, in many ways they managed better than ourselves. A look at their bishops will serve as some guide.

The figure of the Apostles, not always the same as the Twelve chosen by Christ,[19] dominates what we know of the early Church. Such charismatic figures, e.g., Paul, need structures much less than more humdrum personalities. Where these strong personalities were absent, and especially with the death of the Apostles, there was yet another situation and basically *two* forms of Church government.[20] One form shows a group of presbyters in charge, with a spokesman or president or "monepiscopus" acting in the name of the congregation, e.g., the first Clementine epistle; the Shepherd of Hermas. The other form shows a bishop much more independent of the presbyters and much closer to being a monarchical bishop, e.g., St Ignatius of Antioch, and later the Syrian Didascalia.

[17] p.1. [18] p. 1. [19] pp. 14 ff.

These are not hard and fast categories. For example, this division means lumping the Pastorals under a general Pauline heading; there were groups of churches presided over by local groups of presbyters and under a regional director;[21] the position of James, the brother of the Lord, could be placed in either category. The position of the "Prophets" is a further complication.[22] Terms such as *Episcopus* (bishop) and especially *presbyter* do not have only one meaning. In short, the constitutional evidence is fragmentary. Nowhere, however, were these bishops of the "medieval" type—fully monarchical bishops who could and did act entirely alone. Even Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the middle of the third century, and often described as the first of these "new" bishops, rarely feels free to act alone. Only once does he break new ground on his own authority,[23] and this is an interim measure allowing the deathbed return of penitent *lapsi;* a concession later defended as being suggested by Rome.[24] In the overwhelming majority of cases, Cyprian acts with his congregation or the synods of local bishops[25]. As late as this, and in an age of secular autocracy, the Church was still profoundly democratic (not egalitarian). Examples of this community involvement are the participation of the people in the election of their bishops and in the excommunication of sinners;[26] the community testing of individual charisms;[27] the early practice of sending letters among the churches rather than between the leaders of these churches;[28] community participation in decision-making.[29]

Despite this, the whole period can be characterised as a slow, if erratic, drift towards monarchical episcopacy. There was no dramatic change at the coming of Constantine, as the movement was well under way beforehand. As there were more and bigger churches, and increased communication between them, they naturally came to be managed more by competent "professionals" than by local congregations. Also the democracy of the

[20] See J. Colson, "L'Evêque dans les Communautés Primitives".
[21] Paul; and John over his churches. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, "Quis Dives Salvetur", XLII, 2. Also Timothy and Titus.
[22] E.g., I Cor.12: 28; Didache XV, 1; Shepherd of Hermas. Mandate XI, 1-21.
[23] Cf. Letter XVIII, p. 1: C.S.E.L. [24] Letter XX, p. 3.
[25] Cf. "The Churchmanship of St Cyprian" by G. S. M. Walker, esp. pp. 35 ff.
[26] E.g., Cyprian's Life Story.
[27] E.g., in Paul and the Didache.
[28] E.g., "Clement's" Epistle to Corinth; the story of Polycarp's martyrdom.
[29] E.g., the Council of Jerusalem; Cyprian's synods.

local synods of bishops replaced the democracy (not necessarily a counting of heads) within the local communities. The first century church had been dominated by individuals; the difference was that the rest of the community came to be more and more excluded.

This community spirit derived very much from an awareness of a shared Baptism, common to all Church members, not only the laymen.[30] History soon showed, though, that some baptised persons remained sinners. How can this be explained? A perennial temptation for "good" Christians is to despise their lesser brethren and to reduce them to a second rank. The Gnostics did just that. A loose and largely heretical movement of intellectuals, inspired by contemporary philosophy, the discussion they provoked dominated the intellectual life of the Church in the second half of the second century.

This whole controversy did much to weaken this awareness of a common baptism, and so further opened the way to the strengthening of the bishop's position. On the theoretical level, the Gnostic division of mankind, and indeed the Church into the chosen few, the "spiritual men", as distinct from the "also-rans", the "worldly people" dealt a heavy blow to the "universal sacerdotalism" of the early Church. It was undemocratic, and had nothing in common with Peter's first Epistle. At the level of practical politics, many bishops must have strengthened their position by acting as the champion of the common people against the absurdities of the intellectuals.[31]

The Gnostic heresies also brought about another strengthening of the bishops' position. To support their extravagant theories, they appealed to secret oral traditions given by the Apostles to a chosen few. Against this, orthodox Christians appealed to the unity of Christian doctrine known throughout all the churches, and transmitted unchanged from the Apostles. This appeal to tradition was buttressed by historical lists of people who had embraced this doctrine in the past. The apostolic Churches were the first depositories of this tradition;[32] but within the Churches the "teachers" were sometimes appealed to;[33] more frequently it was the presbyters,[34] and most conveniently and appropriately the heads of these presbyteral groups, i.e. the bishops.[35] We now have the position of the bishop fortified by an explicit doctrine of the apostolic succession. The strengthening lay in the coherence of the theory, not always in the increase of dignity brought about by association with Apostles. In some traditions, this theory was a climb-down; Ignatius at the beginning of the second century had already spoken of the bishop as being in the place of the Father.[36] The theology of the episcopate was as varied as the exercise of the office.

[30] E.g., the first epistle of Peter.
[31] Irenaeus is a certain example of this; e.g., Adv. Haer., III, IV, 2; III, XII, 12, and III, XV, 2 (Migne).
[32] E.g., Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III, 3, 2.
[33] E.g., Origen, Hom XIII on Gen. pr. 4; Hom XX on Joshua pr. 5.
[34] Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 2, 2.
[35] Hegesippus. Cf. Eusebius H.E. IV, 8-11; and Irenaeus, III, 3, 4.
[36] Letter to Magnesians, VI, 1; XIII, 2; Letter to the Trallians, III, 1.

This last development of the Gnostic crisis highlights a very important difference from our own age. In the deeply conservative society of the Roman Empire, the most telling accucation against the Christians was that they were destroying the traditions of society. At all levels, reverence for the past was part of the way of life. Time and time again Christian apologists had to answer this charge.

Today, in a world of scientific progress, social change, sexual "emancipation" etc., respect for the past is not a major preoccupation, especially among the young. Indeed, a desire to maintain purity of doctrine can appear frivolous, irrelevant to our real concerns, e.g., the fight against poverty and disease, and even a positive hindrance to efforts towards Christian Unity. We have not merely to preserve doctrine as valid, but prove again and again that these doctrines are viable.[37]

The difficulties of our situation must be faced. Nor should we try to buy time through partly truthful answers. These will eventually be seen to be incomplete, and a difficult situation will then be worse. It is no longer enough to say that doctrines do not change, but the way they are expressed does change. There have been developments of doctrine and immense changes in Church government and administration. We cannot defend ourselves against the larger charge of irrelevance if our thinking is exclusively horizontal, that is, concerned only with our fellow man. Belief in a transcendent God and an eschatological dimension are fundamental to the Christian tradition. What God has revealed through Christ about Himself and about the way He wishes to be served is of first importance.[38] Christ's Kingdom does not belong to this world.[39]

There is the further problem of just how basic order and purity of doctrine can be maintained and also reconciled with a genuine respect for the liberty of conscience.[40] In the early Church heretics and sinners were excommunicated from the community.[41] Times have now changed, and this is a problem for another occasion. But the history of this period is unanimous on this, if on little else, that the problem cannot be left in God's hands.

The Papacy

Especially since the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* the debate about authority has focussed on the papacy. The discussion is clouded further by the debate on the role of the Curia, and the Curia's general insensitivity in many areas. What light can history throw on the first of these problems?

[37] Cf. von Campenhausen, p. 298.
[38] This concern for the vertical man-God dimension is fundamental to J. Maritain's book, "The Peasant of the Garonne". Père Congar, too, stressed the point in his review of this book. Cardinal Suenens develops the same point in "Co-responsibility in the Church", pp. 116-117.
[39] John, 18:36.
[40] Cf. the article "Is Heresy Dead", *Time*, 23.5.69.
[41] The bishop's role in the penitential processes is an important part of the contemporary scene.

In his concluding chapter, von Campenhausen, while describing the rise of clerical and especially episcopal authority in the third century, writes, "Of a specially effective authority of the Bishop of Rome there is in this context hardly any indication".[42] This carefully worded statement is not offered in any partisan spirit of disregard for the evidence;[43] still, this is not the whole story.

The history of the Bishop of Rome must be seen as a gradual realisation by the successors of St. Peter of the position he held in the Church, and of the promises made to him by Christ.[44] This was not usually expressed in terms of jurisdiction. The development must be seen in a wider context of a normative and conservative role in matters of doctrine, first of all performed by the whole Roman Church, rather than by its Bishop alone. Certainly the Papacy is not just the end-product of a clerical rise to power.

The special position of Peter is recognised as someone "whose importance far transcends that bestowed by this membership" (i.e., of the Twelve).[45] We also read: "It must have been Jesus who described him (Peter) as 'the Rockman' by giving him the nickname *Cephas*, though the sense in which this designation was meant must remain an open question". Apparently, however, the question is not entirely open, as the author hastens to add, "the famous saying that the whole Church is to be built on Peter is simply inconceivable in the mouth of Jesus".[46]

The exact nature of Peter's special position in the post-Resurrection Church is not clear. He disappears from the Scriptures after leaving Jerusalem, and the author recognises his death as a martyr in Rome as virtually certain.[47]

There were many steps necessary, practical and theoretical, before a theology of the Bishop of Rome was developed. We have mentioned the role of the apostolic churches as doctrinal norms. Rome was the norm par excellence founded by Peter and Paul.[48] This is the richest area for investigation, as there are only two examples in 300 years (the first in 198) of authoritarian intervention in the affairs of other Churches.[48] Both interventions were resisted.

There was less likelihood of a theory of the Bishop of Rome while bishops generally were more "presidential" than "monarchical". Similarly there was an explicit formulation of the connection between the bishops and the Apostles (the apostolic succession), before the Roman Bishop was seen as *the* successor of St Peter.

A further complication is the evidence that a "presbyterian" form of Church government lasted longer in Rome than elsewhere. Von Campenhausen states bluntly that I Clement, Ignatius' letter to the Romans and Hermas cannot be used to prove the opposite, even if the efforts are "constantly repeated".[49] Dix has shown, I think, that Ignatius and I Clement prove nothing one way or the other.[50] In Hermas, the evidence gives little support for the existence of even a "monepiscopacy"[51] However, Clement certainly has some sort of predominant position,[52] even if he is only foreign secretary.[53] Even as late as the beginning of the third century, in the writings of Hippolytus[54] there is "no express recognition of the bishop as ruler of his Church at all".[55] All this evidence enables us to conclude that there was no monarchical bishop in Rome; the existence of a "monepiscopal system", perhaps tied up with the president of the liturgical assemblies and the necessity for someone to act on behalf of the community —all this is probable but we cannot be sure. The existence of such a system certainly cannot be disproved.

What relevance has all this for the present? The patristic evidence, surprising as this may be to some, does not undermine the position of the papacy. The theology of the papacy is rooted in the Scripture, and early history shows the first intermittent attempts to win acceptance for this ideal.

If there has to be authority, then some sort of centre is an immense advantage. This is more than ever necessary today in a wideflung Church, which must prize visible unity. We should not feel compelled to defend the papacy only in terms of its theology. The Popes of the last century bear favourable comparison with any list of Church leaders, and so do their achievements. Before *Humanae Vitae*, the standing of the Papacy had rarely been higher at any period in history. After all, it was Pope John who called the Council and began the work of reform.

Except for a small group, most Catholics accept the reality of the two axes of authority in the Church, Papacy and episcopacy. Certainly all the Bishops at the current synod accept the doctrine of the Papacy. Therefore, and despite the best efforts of certain diehards, the current discussion is more about administrative problems than constitutional theory. Because the doctrine of Vatican II is a reality, the debate is at most a discussion between schools of theology, both of which are equally non-heretical

The entire spectrum of Christan history shows that the ways are legion in which the Papacy and the episcopacy have interrelated. Universal jurisdiction and papal infallibility are not realities to be ignored; but they are extraordinary powers for extraordinary situations, e.g. when local bodies

[42] p. 299.

[43] On the same page, he mentions the papal interventions; first in the East over the Paschal controversy in 198, and secondly in North Africa over re-baptism in St Cyprian's time.

[44] Especially Mt. 16 :13-23; Jn. 21; Lk. 22 ; 31ff.

[45] p. 17. [46] p. 17. Cf. p. 129. [47] p. 20, n. 36.

[48] Cf. p. 10 of this essay. "Clement's" letter to Corinth might be seen as a more successful and earlier intervention. Cf. von Campenhausen, p. 299.

[49] p. 166, n. 91.

[50] G. Dix, "Ministry in the Early Church" in K. E. Kirk's book, "The Apostolic Ministry", pp. 254-5.

[51] Cf. E. Schweizer, "Church Order in the New Testament", pp. 158-9, and J. Colson, "L'Evêque dans les Communautés Primitives", pp. 77-8.

[52] Cf. the succession lists; Eusebius H.E. III, 4; III, 15 ,etc.

[53] "Shepherd of Hermas", Vision II, 4.3.

[54] "Aposolic Tradition" VIII, 2; this is customarily dated 215 by scholars.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

cannot agree to act; and the exercise of these powers should not be an everyday occurrence. In fact, they have been used only rarely by the Pope.

More specifically, the history of the first three centuries gives massive support for the principle of subsidiarity. The whole accent then was on the local churches; and on the preaching of the Gospel rather than the organisation of the Roman or local curia! This period of history gives no support for over-organisation; besides, it is inefficient. Cardinal Suenens in his interview has pointed the way to the future.[56]

AFTERTHOUGHTS

We will conclude briefly by returnng to the book which prompted these reflections. A couple of observations might be in order. The extra-ecclesial influences on the Christian concepts of authority are left very much uninvestigated. Jewish influence is not stressed, and left undifferentiated.[57] The Essenes and Qumran are scarcely mentioned. Secular models of authority are ignored. The Gnostic contribution to the doctrine of tradition is recognised, and perhaps overemphasised; the Gnostic and Montanist concepts of authority and their influence are, however, duly examined. A parallel point is that the relationship of the writer to his local church is sometimes ignored. Often this is clear from the position or history of the writer; at other times this is not so. Did Clement of Alexandria belong to an "underground Church"? Why are the doctrines of Tertullian as a Montanist different from those of his Catholic period?

These and previous criticisms should not be regarded, however, as fundamental. All are secondary, and the latter ones are more concerned with what von Campenhausen did not do. Generally, the evidence is allowed to speak for itself, while the explanations given for historical developments are always enlightening.

The book has been translated into tidy, readable English. The only error this reviewer found was on page 223: "cf. p. 000, n. 00 above." should read "cf. p.218, n.19 above." The inclusion of New Testament references in the Index of Ancient Authors and Sources would have been useful.

This is an excellent book. While it cannot give the answers to contemporary problems, it can help us to re-examine priorites; and to realise that in matters of Church order we are much freer to act than a good many think.

[56] Cf. *The Tablet*, 6.9.69; also Cardinal Pellegrino's approval of Cardinal Suenens' "fundamental aim": *ibid.*, 13.9.69.

[57] E.g., pp. 32; 70; 71.

THE OCTOBER SYNOD

by

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL JOHN C. HEENAN, ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

The second Extraordinary Synod of Bishops was held in the Hall of the Broken Heads in the Vatican during 11th-27th October 1969. Its theme might be described as "On Consulting the Clergy in Matters of Doctrine", with apologies to Newman. There were 146 participants: from the Eastern Church 6 Patriarchs and 7 Metropolitans, from the Western Church the Presidents of the National Episcopal Conferences (22 European, 14 Asian, 29 African, 24 American, 4 Oceanian), 3 Superiors of Religious Orders (O.S.B., O.P., S.J.), 19 Curial Cardinals, 17 papal nominees and Mgr Rubin, Secretary General of the Synod. At the opening Mass in the Sistine chapel, the Pope spoke of *Collegiality* as "neither democratic nor totalitarian" but "within the divine framework of the Church". Cardinal Seper of the Holy Office (now renamed) made an introductory report, a *relatio*, on the union of the faithful, the union of the bishops and the duty of the College of Bishops; and this became an agenda paper, so to say, rivalling the formal *schema*.

The Pope's presence at all sessions except on Wednesdays, when he was called to give his weekly audiences, was appreciated: for it underwrote his position as both head (as Pope) and member (as Bishop of Rome) of the College. He did not intervene himself, but his mind was represented by his personal theologian, Bishop Carlo Colombo, who distinguished between pastoral and disciplinary problems which should be answered primarily by the bishops, and doctrinal problems which belonged in the first instance to the Pope and Pope-in-College.

Significantly, the first speech came from the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch, Cardinal Meouchi, who said that during fifteen centuries the Maronite Church had never been separated from Rome and yet had enjoyed full autonomy to the extent of nominating bishops: from that can be concluded, as he said, the principles both of solidarity and of subsidiarity which do not conflict with papal authority. These terms 'solidarity', 'subsidiarity' and 'coresponsibility' recurred in the Synod fathers' speeches, together with 'cooperation', 'coordination', 'interdependence', or 'plurality' and 'diversity'. True to character, the French group asked for a clarification of 'subsidiarity' in that its ecclesial reality differed from its political usage: this was not logic-chopping, but an important safeguard; for subsidiarity implies delegation and accountability, whereas Apostolic Succession does not—with caveats, accountability is to the whole Church and to Christ.

Cardinal Heenan was one of the more active members of the Synod, not only in plenary sessions but also and especially in his English Language-group B (which included Abbot Rembert Weakland). It was he who, with Mgr Philips of Louvain, addressed the press on behalf of the Synodal fathers at the end of the first week. When at the end of the second week two commissions were established to continue the work of the Synod, it was he who was appointed to head the commission(which included the Jesuit General) to prepare a message to all of the priests of the world on the Synod's behalf. His account of this October fortnight is therefore of more than ordinary value. Some footnotes have been added to the text.

I HAD intended to write a full account of the Synod for the JOURNAL. Such a task now seems to have become otiose. The press coverage has been both adequate and correct. The religious press in particular took great trouble to give the Synod the reporting it deserved. I choose the words with some care. Catholic journalists had no intention of doing a sycophantic job. They came prepared for two possibilities. The Synod might turn out to be

a struggle for authority within the Church, opening the way to schism. On the other hand, the Synod might become a kind of charade with bishops creating an illusion of unity in order to calm the troubled faithful. The Catholic press was in no mood to report such opera bouffe. It was in serious not to say self-important mood. It was determined to tell the truth. It would be the fault not of the press but of the Vatican if that truth were not the whole truth.

The extremes for which Catholic journalists had prepared themselves did not appear. The reality contradicted the predictions. The Synod was almost palpably the Holy Spirit of God at work within his Church. This comes through the splendidly accurate accounts given by the Catholic weeklies. *Herder Correspondence*, in addition, produced a masterly report running to over 30,000 words.[1] This will surely be published one day as a paperback. It would be pointless for theological reviews to attempt reporting on this scale. That is why I now regard by promised report as superfluous. I shall therefore content myself with random remarks while making no attempt to tell the actual story of the Synod.

What went right with the Synod? Everyone had come prepared to give a diagnosis of what would go wrong. Setting out for the Synod was a journey into the unknown. It was an Extraordinary Synod—a description which lends itself to misinterpretation. There is, in fact, nothing extraordinary about an extraordinary synod beyond the fact that the bishops attending are presidents not delegates of their national conferences. It is hard to see what advantage this can possibly yield. In some conferences the senior bishop is *ex-officio* the president. At one time in this country the Archbishop of Westminster was automatically president—in fact his title used to be *praesus perpetuus coetus episcoporum Angliae et Cambriae*. Theoretically it is easier for the Pope to summon a synod of presidents without the delay involved in voting for delegates. But voting, in fact, can be expeditious and does not necessarily involve a meeting. It is obviously better for a conference of bishops to choose their man. A venerable bishop who can conduct meetings of the hierarchy with great competence may not be the ideal choice for what may irreverently be called the rough-and-tumble of international clerical conferences.

The presidents, although not formally representing their countries were nevertheless expected to make known the views of their colleagues when speaking at the Synod. The conference of England and Wales met after its members had studied the Synod agenda. There was little advice they could offer me as president of the conference. Collegiality is still so undefined that it can be used as a weapon, a term of abuse or as an appeal

[1] Robert Nowell, as Editor of *Herder Correspondence*, expended immense personal industry in covering the Synod, visiting prelates after plenary sessions and piecing together their interventions. His report, which takes up all of the December issue (pp. 355-84) is the fullest and the finest to come from that fortnight in Rome, and a model of ecclesiastical instant-history. Cf. also *L'Osservatore Romano* 23rd October, 30th October, 6th November; *La Documentation Catholique*, 2nd November, 16th November; *Informations Catholiques Internationales*, 1st November, 15th November; *Irenikon* No. 4, 1969, article by Dom Olivier Rousseau, p. 457-74.

to charity. Those who feel that the Pope is bound to be wrong whenever he writes encyclicals (*Mysterium Fidei, Humanae Vitae, Sacerdotalis Caelibatus*) are much more certain of the meaning of collegiality than the rest of us. For them it seems to mean rescuing the Church from a Pope with delusions of personal infallibility. There was little our bishops felt the could say about collegiality to guide me. Like most presidents of conferences I was left to play it by ear. The German conference evidently gave instructions to their president (Cardinal Döpfner). He was, so far as I recall, the only member of the Synod who claimed to speak with a specific mandate from his conference.

I went to the Synod without prejudices. Nobody had thought it necessary to tell me that if there were a revolt I was to take the side of the Pope. A bishop from the land of the forty martyrs needs no such directive. It is easy to forget that before the Synod opened the possibility of revolt was not entirely absent. It was known, for example, that a vociferous section of Dutch Catholics were obsessed by the need to abolish celibacy while the Pope was determined not to have it discussed at all during the Synod. I imagine the Pope felt that an official discussion of celibacy would be taken to mean that the Church was uncertain of its position. It was, in fact, assumed by most people that despite the Pope's reiterated denials the Church set up a pontifical commission because it doubted the traditional teaching on contraception. What if the Dutch Cardinal, giving way to the noisy critics of the Vatican, were to insist on debating celibacy in the Synod despite the Pope? I received no instructions from our bishops about what attitude to adopt. I needed none. There was also the danger that the Dutch rebel priests who with their mainly French colleagues had established themselves in Rome before the opening of the Synod might attempt to break it up or at least to picket its meetings and reproduce the unpleasant atmosphere of Chur. Thos who had seen the priests and their women in Switzerland in the summer were prepared for kind of incivility. But Chur had taught its lesson. The mood of the contestateurs in Rome was very different. There was no travesty of the Mass, the women were absent or at least at least out of sight, the attitude of the priests was outwardly prayerful and reasonable. This time they gained not the contempt but the sympathy of journalists. But not their interest. The rebel priests had become a bore. They received courteous treatment from their "brother" Paul VI but were refused entry into the Synod and departed unnoticed before its end.

Other hazards had been anticipated. There were rumours that the Dutch, German and Belgian Cardinals had made plans to wreck the Synod in protest against the Pope's refusal to include their chosen items on agenda. Cardinal Suenens, for example, was reported to have very strong feelings against Italian Papal Nuncios. He also was alleged to be determined to bring up the question of contraception and clerical celibacy. There is no reason to believe that there was any truth in these allegations. One excellent reason for doubting them is the fact that nobody was interrupted, ruled out of order or otherwise prevented from saying

anything he wished at the Synod. We may assume that the Northern European Cardinals would have had the courage to protest in the presence of the Pope if they had objected to the way in which the Synod was conducted. Rumours of discontent have once more been heard since the close of the Synod. I think that equally they may be discounted. I believe that the bishops were content. If a discontented bishop failed to make his voice heard at the Synod it can hardly be worth hearing now.

On more than one occasion during the months preceding the opening I had expressed the view that the least possible secrecy should be imposed on the Synod. I felt that the agenda itself need not be secret. On the contrary there were clear advantages in having the fullest possible discussion in the home dioceses before the meeting in Rome.[2] It is true that bishops were at liberty to seek expert advice and this entailed showing the documents to their theologians. But a Synod is not a theological conference. There was little that a theologian could say to guide a member of the Synod. The subject under discussion was collegiality. This is a question not of theory but of practice. It was clear within a few hours of the opening of the Synod that practical questions had to be settled before theological considerations could be ventilated. The theological principles were never in dispute.[3] Nobody wished to deny the primacy of the Vicar of Christ nor to revoke the solemn definition by the First Vatican Council of papal infallibility. Similarly nobody doubted the truth of what the Second Vatican Council had laid down about the positions of bishops. They are not papal curates, their authority comes from God not from the Bishop of Rome. The responsibility of the successors of the apostles does not end on the confines of their dioceses. They have to think of the good of the whole Church. These, theologically speaking, were *quaestiones non disputandae*.

The problems arise from the practical application of these principles. What degree of independence can be exercised by a local Church without danger to the whole body of the Church? Where should the Holy See

[2] Pastoral Letter, *Tablet* 11th October, p. 1010: "I wish that the full agenda of the Synod had been published. Then I could have sought your views before leaving for Rome". Cf. the Cardinal's Synod speech of 24th October (*Tablet*, 1st November, p. 1085, entitled "Secrecy—and Slowness"): "As the Englishman William Occam might have said, *Secreta non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem* . . . there was not a single document nor any word spoken in the Synod concerning which the good of the Church required a cloak of secrecy."

[3] The Synod referred the subject of Collegiality to the Pontifical Theological Commission, then in session at Rome: led by Fr Karl Rahner, the theologians suggested that it was not a matter for further theological debate, but for practical experience between bishops. In his first speech (cf. n. 5 below), the Cardinal said: "in this matter, experience will be our best teacher. The time is not yet ripe for making theological definitions". Cardinal Seper spoke of an active spirit of Collegiality (*affectus collegialis*) which was no superficial emotion but an effect of the sacrament of Orders an effect which needed to be put into practice by deliberate action.

At the Synodal press conference on 18th October, the Cardinal (representing the gathered bishops) said: "It is generally agreed that the exercise of Collegiality will have to be worked out in practical terms before any attempt is made to produce theological definitions of the extent and limitations of the authority of local Churches". Text in *Tablet*, 25th October, p. 1057.

place the limits of its control over the clergy and people of other sees? What, in fact, does the principle of subsidiarity mean in concrete terms? When we talk about the Pope do we, more often than not, really mean a cardinal or monsignor in curia? Does the wish of the Pope (which normally would be utterly acceptable) not often turn out to be the personal view of a Roman prelate? The Holy Office used to make pronouncements in the name of the Pope but everyone knew that it was Cardinal Ottaviani speaking. So today the liturgical promulgations come from Pope Paul but the tone of voice is that of Father Bugnini.[4] Here are the practical problems of collegiality. They will be solved by time and experience. I repeated at the Synod what I had said before—that these questions should have been widely discussed within the Church before the Synod opened.

One of the most pleasant features of the Synod was the frank nature of the debates. Personally I have long been tired of the critics of the curia who attack it only at a safe distance. On the very opening day I appealed to my colleagues to speak openly and plainly.[5] I was alarmed at the prospect of little groups of bishops darkly discussing and plotting without ever coming into the open with their fears and suspicions. That is why I appealed for sincere accusations which could be heard and answered in public. "These men are our brothers", I said in reference to the curial cardinals, "and they are present here among us. Let us tell them where they go wrong". Happily this spirit took possession of the assembly. Strong things were said and heard without resentment. The Holy Father with angelic patience—or was it longanimity?—listened to criticisms of the curia and of himself in a fraternal spirit. It was obvious that nobody spoke to hurt or wound but simply to suggest how collegiality could make the Church more able to do God's work. To attend the Synod day by day with Pope Paul in the chair surrounded by his fellow bishops was to see collegiality in action. Throughout the Synod I heard no word offensive to charity or unity.

The journalists soon realised that the Synod was not going to be an ecclesiastical punch-up. To their credit they were delighted. It would have been far easier to write of rivalries, cabals and revolt against papal authority than to report unexciting debates. But once the Vatican was persuaded to give full co-operation to the press the journalists found their task attractive. Their professional training makes them abler than most to write about subjects of which they have slight knowledge. It was not easy to persuade the Vatican that it was in the interest of the Church to give the journalists the fullest possible information. Nothing was said at the Synod

[4] Fr A. Bugnini is Secretary to the Liturgical Commission under the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship, whose Prefect is Cardinal Benno Gut, formerly the Abbot Primate. Fr Bugnini has issued the various instructions relating to the Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum* of 3rd April 1969.

[5] On 13th October; text in *Tablet*, 25th October, p. 1054: "We are the successors of the Apostles and we ought to act as the Apostles did. St Paul has given us the example in the way he resisted St Peter to his face in Antioch (Gal. 2.11). Let us do the same here in the Synod by speaking our minds." This text heads the account of the Synod given in *Herder Correspondence*.

and no document circulated which could not have been made public. Journalists are most unreliable when they have to guess. They are usually allies when given a measure of trust. By the end of the Synod the press arrangements were very good. By our standards they were far from perfect —Vatican officials, for example, were frequently given the task of imparting information in a language other than their own. Rome is full of professors and post-graduate students. Among them it would have been easy to find a linguistically international team of a dozen men fully capable of handling the press and, above all, of answering the supplementary questions which journalists delight to ask. Such questions are, in fact, largely a waste of time since the pieces journalists write usually just give their versions of official hand-outs. It seems likely that from the beginning of the next Synod the press arrangements will be really first class. It is obvious that the care taken to give journalists background information was repaid by the quality of the reporting. I speak, of course, only for the English language press which was given regular off-the-record briefings at the English College. These took place largely at the instigation of an Amplefordian, Patrick O'Donovan, who is secretary of the press section of the Bishops' Commission for mass media.

The reporting of the Synod was honest if not always strictly accurate. Journalists gave events their own interpretations which were more liable to error than, for example, their interpretation of politics. Theology—not to mention what is called vaticanology—needs a life-time's study. I know, however, of no misrepresentation of facts in the reporting of the Synod. The journalists made remarkably good use of the information they received. But a great deal of the history of a Synod or Council can be known only to those on the inside. We could usually sense when a cardinal of bishop was speaking his mind and when he was the mouthpiece of his theologian. We would also know when a speaker was actually contributing to the debate or merely saying something quotable in the world outside. Most members took the trouble to write their speeches in Latin even after the second day when the use of the vernacular was permitted. The explanation for this given by *Herder Correspondence* is wide of the mark.[6] It says that the bishops had brought to Rome speeches written by their theologians and were therefore unable through ignorance of theology to re-write them in the vernacular. The facts are different. Few bishops brought speeches with them for the reason already given. We simply did not know what to expect. The agenda of the Synod was pastoral rather than theological in a technical sense. Professional theologians would therefore have been of little help. They might, on the other hand, have disrupted the unity of the Synod. It is significant that the proposal to admit experts next time received the lowest vote of the whole Synod.

The spectacle of rival groups using their bishops to conduct warfare in the aula remains a bitter memory of many who took part in the Council.

[6] *Herder Correspondence*, December 1969, p. 364f. The Melchite Patriarch always used French as a point of principle, to distinguish him in a Latin Church assembly.

It is certain that when the experts (theologians, canonists, historians, sociologists and the rest) are admitted to the next Synod their activities will be restricted to helping the bishops. During the Council they became cheer-leaders and P.R.O.s for partisans. The reason why most of us (all, in fact, except the Orientals and the French) continued to use Latin right to the end was to make sure that our colleagues received the right message. I could have written my speeches in one tenth the time in English. But I did not know what the amateur translators might make of them. That is why I took the trouble to speak in Latin. At least the members of the Synod knew what I thought and felt. Otherwise over 70% of the bishops would have had only a second-hand version. The official translation of my first speech in the Synod was seriously inaccurate and misleading.

The most remarkable aspect of the Synod was the warmth of charity among the bishops. We did not talk a great deal of love—most Catholics have grown wary of a word which is so often by militants who specialise in hate—but the love of the brotherhood was self-evident. From this charity and mutual respect emerged the possibility of plain talking. It was remarkable to see the unity of bishops from Asia, Africa and areas of persecution. They constantly appealed to their brethren living in comparative ease and security in Europe and the Americas not to give collegiality too narrow a connotation. It seemed to them that we thought of collegiality almost exclusively in terms of sharing pontifical power with the Pope. They begged us to consider another aspect of collegiality. They wanted us to realise what harm we did when we spoke or wrote in criticism of the Holy See. They felt that it is a form of self-indulgence which prompts us to oppose the Pope and his curia. It was made eloquently clear that for the majority of the bishops true collegiality meant union with the Vicar of Christ. However cynical Europeans may be, the overwhelming mass of non-European Catholics idolise the Holy Father. Hence the remarkable success of his journeys to the Far East, South America and Africa.[7]

It is clear that the troubles so publicised in the West—largely relating to sex whether in marriage or holy order—have not yet come to the rest of the Church. When they come they will be more easily handled if in a spirit of collegiality bishops in the West proclaim ideas in harmony with Rome. This was the new version of collegiality which was pressed by the non-European bishops at every opportunity. They spoke their minds at the informal discussions in the language groups. They obviously felt that something like a plague was infecting the Church in Holland and North America. One highly civilised missionary bishop, an Oxford graduate, said that one of the best ways for the American Church to exercise collegiality would be to keep their Sisters away from the mission fields.

A word, finally, about the meetings of the Roman Congregations held during the Synod. These were of immense value and were, of course, in

[7] See Community Notes, *News Straight from Rome*, first paragraph. It is hoped that the intervention of Abbot Weakland, made at the Synod on 18th October, will be printed in the next issue. Cf. *Herder Correspondence*, December 1969, p. 371.

themselves collegial acts. The various cardinals in charge of the Sacred Congregations together with their chief assistants gave careful and patient explanation of their methods of work. The most impressive of the meetings was presided over by Cardinal Seper, Secretary of the Congregation for the teaching of the Faith. The head of each department gave a brief account of his own activities. Perhaps the most interesting was that of the prelate dealing with requests for dispensations from the obligations of the priesthood. He showed us that every priest was considered as an individual. There were no mass decisions presented en bloc to the Holy Father for ratification. Each dispensation is considered not only as a favour to the priest but also in its relation to his fellow priests and the people. Normally the process is slow and not rarely the applicant has overcome his sexual crisis before irreversible steps have been taken. One received the impression of vast compassion for individuals and communities. It was re-assuring. So was the whole Synod.

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EDITOR'S NOTE:

Following the Synod, where Pope and bishops discoursed on mutual consultation, and where the Curial Congregations were presented to the bishops as the papal secretariat, the Congregation of the Clergy (whose Prefect is the American Cardinal Wright) has issued a unilateral instruction ordering that Catholic priests throughout the world must reaffirm their vows, including those of obedience and celibacy, at a special Mass on Maundy Thursday. The instruction further states that priests are to continue their theological study in formal courses for several years after ordination. Bishops are asked to call study meetings for their priests, to organise libraries, to grant leave for study, to establish pastoral institutes.

The instruction has been sent, according to the Vatican news service, as a "circular letter to all Presidents of Episcopal Conferences". Nevertheless the three hierarchies of Great Britain and Ireland and the Apostolic Delegate in London have had no prior knowledge of the matter before hearing this news on the B.B.C. on 9th February.

In the same week, on the other hand, a new papal instruction on mixed marriages has been sent to hierarchies in accordance with the principle established at the Synod that in pastoral matters bishops would be consulted before decisions from Rome are promulgated.

THE GROWTH OF THE BIBLICAL MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND, 1940-1970

by

BERNARD ORCHARD, O.S.B.

WITH A REVIEW APPENDED

by THE DEAN OF YORK

Like a grain of mustard seed,
it grew and became a large tree,
and the birds dwelt in its branches.

Between the Wars, during the nineteen winters while England slept, Protestant and continental Catholic biblical scholarship reached out to new depths and new exactitudes. Their researches were offensive to pious ears, for they seemed to be rending the veil and trespassing into the sanctuary; but this has been the moan down the years wherever reason has driven back the frontiers of credulity a little further. Scholars were testing the authenticity of the books of the Old Testament, asking especially what were the several layers of the Pentateuch—Yahvist, Elohist, Deuteronomic or Pristley; and asking about the historicity of those books which purported to be historical: and then the same questions began to be directed to the New Testament. This in its turn raised the whole question of the origins of Christianity, told in documents written perhaps thirty years or more later; and with these questions grew the field of scientific historico-critical method, the tool to solve them. The science of Hermeneutics was developed, that science which deals with the various senses of Scripture—literal, typical, spiritual, consequential, accommodative and *sensus plenior*. So also the science of Literary Genre—poetic, dramatic, proverbial, rhetorical, historic, parabolic, allegorical. In these sometimes new categories, all of the books of Scripture came to be re-examined. Meanwhile Catholic England slept. From these ramifications more complex schools of method evolved—Form Criticism (Formgeschichte), Comparative Religion (Religionsgeschichte), Editing Technique (Redaktionsgeschichte), Theological-Typology and Salvation History (Heilsgeschichte), the last being a shift to an existential understanding of Revelation, which in its turn gave birth to Biblical Theology. Under this new wisdom, old polemics seemed too tawdry and were abandoned as the urge to search for living truth overtook them; and this was the seed of the ecumenical movement. Meanwhile England complacently continued to defend its "truths", as gold in a vault, as a miser might, unsharingly.

This was the scene when Dom Bernard Orchard of Downside and Ealing Abbey was ordained as war broke out, a monk not yet thirty in September 1939. He saw the need, and it is his story to tell, a story which found him, if not the most accomplished scholar, certainly at the centre of the stage for much of the time as an accomplished coordinator and general editor.

The climax of the story is the appearance of the *New Catholic Commentary* this year; and, to underline the spirit of cooperation that has been fostered between Confessions in England during the growth of this movement, the Dean of York, Dr Alan Richardson, has agreed to review the final flower of the movement. Himself a biblical scholar, he has written several books on the subject, among them "Genesis I-XI" (1953), "An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament" (1958) and "The Bible in the Age of Science" (1961).

THE publication of the second edition of "A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture", in fact practically a new work—as indicated by its title of "New Catholic Commentary" (hereafter referred to respectively as CCHS and NCC)—not only rounds off the 1960s, but seems also a suitable time to look back over the progress of the Biblical Movement in this country during the past 30 years.

Just prior to the Second World War the position of Bible studies in this country was startlingly different from what it is today. There was indeed no movement at all; only isolated scholars making each his own special local contribution. There were in fact only four public figures whom the Catholic public associated with Scripture. The first was Fr Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., a New Testament professor at Heythrop College, best known to the Catholic public for the series of Cambridge Summer Schools through which he strove to introduce Catholics to modern theological and biblical work in a pleasant holiday setting. Above all, he was the moving spirit behind the Westminster Version of the Bible, which the Jesuits had been sponsoring since before World War I, and of which the New Testament was finally completed in 1935. Fr Lattey was a notable scholar, a most humble and delightful man, ever anxious to encourage younger men to develop their talents in the biblical field. He was also the first Catholic to become President of the Society for Old Testament study (1947). He was universally loved and respected, but his life as a scholar had been inhibited and overshadowed by the biblical "Terror" imposed by the Holy Office after the Modernist crisis of 1905-10, with the result that his best work on the OT never succeeded in passing the Censors.

Next to him, there was Fr Hugh Pope, O.P., well known for his five volumes of "Catholic Students' Aids to the Bible", which until the coming of CCHS was the only summary of modern Bible activity available in English for Catholics. (Nor was it an easy guide, since it did not provide any systematic survey of the field, but rather an eclectic and apologetic discussion of certain topics only). He also produced in 1928 a "Layman's New Testament" (Douai Version text, of course) in a new format—text on one side of the page and his notes on the other—which proved very popular.

The third figure was Mgr M. T. Barton, still happily with us, who after many years of teaching at St Edmund's College, Ware, had retired to West Drayton, Middlesex, then a country parish, where he devoted himself to biblical work, especially review work and the summarising of the biblical movement abroad in the pages of *The Clergy Review*.

The fourth was Mgr Ronald Knox, who at one time had taught Scripture at St Edmund's, but who was then finding his vocation as a preacher and retreat-giver, after retiring from the Catholic Chaplaincy of Oxford University. On account of his Anglican background and love of the Authorised Version of the Bible, Mgr Knox was perhaps more acutely aware than anyone of the defects of the Douai Version; and therefore, now possessing all the time and freedom he needed, successfully petitioned the English Hierarchy in 1936 to authorise him to undertake a new translation.

The Bishops appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Mgr J. M. T. Barton to supervise his work.[1] As his new translation, which by Church Law had to be from the Vulgate (though with many glances at the original Greek), began to take shape—Mgr Knox believed he could draft it in "timeless English"—it became increasingly clear that he was determined to have his own way in all respects, and the committee soon realised that there was not much point in its existence and ceased to function, though never formally dissolved.[2]

Thus at the outbreak of the War the prospects of Biblical development had never appeared more bleak. English Catholic scholars dared not yet speak their minds in public, nor teach in their seminaries about the great critical questions of the day except within the strict lines laid down by the Pontifical Biblical Commission, whether it was the Pentateuchal Problem, and the Mosaic authorship, or the interpretation of Chs. 1-11 of Genesis, or the advocacy of any of the new theories of the evolution of the OT in the context of the Israelite community, or the airing of the problems raised by the prophetical literature. The same rigidity was also applied to the NT Books and their authorship. True, the Holy Office had in 1927 quietly gone back on its ruling of 1897 about the authenticity of the Johannine Comma. But a simpliste acceptance of the literal historicity of the Bible was enforced and prevailed in England. In fact, none of the traditional views had been breached in Catholic circles; some of the scholars who could have done so, such as Abbot John Chapman and Fr Hugh Connolly, both of Downside, out of loyalty to Rome had diverted their talents into the non-controversial channels of textual criticism. The last Papal document issued on biblical questions had in fact been the rather reactionary *Spiritus Paraclitus* of Pope Benedict XV (1920), which had effectively stopped the progress of Higher Criticism in the Church after World War I, when a burst of creativity might have been expected, and its effects lasted up to the Second World War. Nevertheless, by 1940 there were stirrings under the surface in many directions that were soon to break out in a remarkable way.

Just before the War began, an American secular priest, Fr William L. Newton, came over from the U.S.A. to tell the English about the project for a new Catholic translation of the Bible in the U.S.A., the Confraternity Version (CV), and about the inauguration of the Catholic Biblical Association of America which was to sponsor it. Later in 1939, Fr Lattey approached Fr Reginald Fuller about the possibility of setting up a Catholic Biblical Association of Great Britain, and at a meeting held at the Conference of Ecclesiastical Studies at St Edmund's House, Cambridge, at

[1] Fr R. C. Fuller, who had recently succeeded Mgr Barton at St Edmund's, Ware, was among those invited to join it, but felt obliged to decline owing to his teaching commitments.

[2] Mgr Knox therefore continued virtually alone on his long, lonely and successful Odyssey, and published in 1944 his trial edition of the New Testament, the success of which reassured the Bishops. Heartened by this success, Mgr Knox embarked on the Old Testament, and finally published his complete translation, from the Vulgate, but modified not a little by consultation with the original tongues, in one volume in 1952, with full approbation from the Hierarchy for its liturgical use.

Easter 1940, this Association was formally established, subject to final approval by the Hierarchy, with Mgr Barton as chairman, and a committee consisting of Fr Lattey, S.J., Fr Hugh Pope, O.P., Fr E. Sutcliffe, S.J. (also a professor at Heythrop), and with Fr Fuller as Hon. Secretary. The twin aims of the Association were "to provide Scripture scholars with the opportunity of meeting one another, and to promote knowledge of the Scriptures among Catholics by lectures, publications and other means". This was the beginning of national co-operation for a common biblical end, Mgr Knox alone remaining politely aloof.[3] Moreover in Rome itself new men of a more liberal temper such as Fr Miller, O.S.B., at the Pontifical Biblical Commission, and Fr A. Bea, S.J., at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, were beginning to make their influence felt. The first results were seen in the Papal Encyclical *Divino Affiante Spiritu*, issued on 30th September 1943, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Leo XIII's great Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. News of its contents reached England sometime in October, by which time plans had already been laid for the first meeting of the Catholic Commentary Committee at Downside for that December, with the approval of Cardinal Griffin. The two points in the Encyclical that made the greatest impression at the time were, first, general permission for the first time to make future translations from the original Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic—instead of from the Latin Vulgate, as had been insisted on even in the case of the Knox Version and of the Confraternity Version; secondly, the definite encouragement given to the study of literary forms that could alone give the "Catholic scholar an intelligent and honest way of facing up to the obvious historical problems present in the Bible" (Jerome Commentary, 629). Great relief and satisfaction were felt everywhere that we in England could at last tackle the problem of providing ourselves with new Bible texts from the original languages and also begin to write in a less inhibited manner about the OT and the NT. As for the little Committee for the CCHS about to meet at Downside, it felt that Divine Providence was indeed opening the way in a marvellous manner.

However, it was one thing to receive permission to spread one's wings but quite another to carry it out. The rest of this article will describe how one small group set about doing so. Many others were at work in different parts of the country, e.g., Mgr Davis in Birmingham; but this article is solely concerned with the Editorial Committee which originated in this way. At April 1942 C.B.A. Meeting in Cambridge, Dom Bernard Orchard, who was then teaching Scripture at Downside Abbey and felt very deeply the need for "a Catholic equivalent to Peake's Commentary", invited Mgr Barton to take the initiative in forming a committee. The latter, however, declined, and Fr Orchard then tried to enlist Fr Bruno Donovan of Ampleforth who declined, after careful consideration, about mid-summer 1943. He then decided to enlist his friends, first of all, Dom Dalph Russell, who had been his teacher of Dogmatic Theology, then Fr Fuller, a friend from

[3] It was this same single-minded dedication to his own translation project that made him later decline to contribute to CCHS.

schooldays, and finally Fr Edmund Sutcliffe, S.J., whom he had got to know and respect as a result of correspondence over the latter's "Two-Year Public Ministry". The four met together at Downside in December 1943, and finding themselves a well-balanced team formally consitituted themselves the Editorial Committee of "A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture". None of these original members of the Committee had any direct contact with the world of Protestant theology in our country and they were not prepared for it either mentally or scholastically at that stage. However, their aim was both long-term and practical: it was nothing less than to scoop all available Catholic talent in the English-speaking world and weld it into a team to produce the R.C. equivalent of Peake's evangelical one-volume commentary, that had first appeared about 1920, and of Gore's Anglican "New Commentary" (along much the same lines) that came out in 1928. Although they did not know how they were going to find the fifty or more scholars necessary to complete the task, they decided to go ahead with the blessing of Abbot Sigebert Trafford of Downside (then also Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation), and with that of Fr F. Mangan, S.J., the Provincial of English Jesuits, together with a gift of £100 from each prelate to pay the initial organisational expenses.

Right from the start, the Committee kept a Minute Book and a strict record of its resolutions, and the Preface to the CCHS gives a very fair idea of the way in which the Committee worked in great harmony, trust and goodwill until almost the last stages of its task. The Committee was absolutely clear (a) that the work should avoid polemics; (b) that it should incorporate the findings of the best non-Catholic work wherever possible; (c) that it should aim to sum up the results of international scholarship over the previous 50 years, and display them for the benefit of all, both inside and outside the Church; (d) that it should be a work of scientific erudition; (e) that it should be based on the doctrine of the Church, including that of the full inspiration of Scripture; and (f) that it should be based on the conviction that there can be no clash between the Word of God and the assured findings of modern scientific research; and that "orthodoxy and freedom of spirit can and ought to go hand in hand to produce a satisfying synthesis".

The overall object was to provide pastors, seminarians and teachers with the basic library that would enable them to see the relationship of all the Books of the Bible to one another; to provide a mine of information for the enrichment of the spiritual life of the Church, and a stimulus for further scholarship and research. That the Commentary achieved a fair measure of what it set out to do seems to be shown by its widespread diffusion and by the fact that it has since called into being the "Jerome Commentary" as well as the "New Catholic Commentary" now under review in this issue [see Appendix following].

Certain of its articles of course revealed the special preoccupations of that period, viz. "The History of the Rheims-Douay Version" (really a tribute to our ancestors of the days of Persecution); "Our Lady in the

Scriptures", "The Miraculous Element in the Bible", "The Brethren of the Lord", and "The NT Teaching on the Second Coming". These were clearly regarded as specially sensitive areas about which the faithful needed fuller instruction than could be allowed for in the commentaries on the text. But though the general outlook was still that of a Church that remained aloof from the rest of the world, yet the Catholic Commentary breathed a new, calm, ordered, friendly and indeed ecumenical spirit. Mention also should be made of the Response to Cardinal Suhard (16th January 1948) by the Pontifical Biblical Commission regarding the Pentateuch and Gen. 1-11, which played an important part in the Committee insisting on a more liberal interpretation of Mosaic authorship than Fr Sutcliffe was willing to concede at that date. The harmony of the Committee was, in fact, disturbed in its later stages when differences developed between Fr Sutcliffe and the other members about the degree of liberty to be left to the individual contributor. It was found that, as the OT Editor, he had heavily censored the work of certain OT contributors because of their too "liberal" views. Strictly speaking, Fr Sutcliffe was within his rights to do this, but he had omitted to explain to the Committee that he had done so, thus infringing the practice of the collective responsibility of the Committee for the finished work. The other members felt that his conservative stand was going to do serious harm to the liberal spirit and to the authority of the Commentary, and when he refused to modify his commentary on Genesis to allow for a more liberal view on the Mosaic authorship a serious crisis was only prevented by his final acceptance of a further article qualifying his standpoint and written by Fr R. A. Dyson, S.J., entitled "Some Recent Catholic Viewpoints". Great scholar and Catholic gentleman though he was, and a very humble man, Fr Sutcliffe all along had been very much afraid of causing *scandalum pusillorum;* but on the other hand he was not sufficiently sensitive to the possibility of *irrisio infidelium* or even the well-grounded criticism of many great scholars.

It was to be another 20 years before the Second Edition was able to put the whole question into the modern perspective!

The CCHS Committee had known all along that Mgr Knox's Old Testament would not be ready in time for them to use it as the basis for the commentaries, and so it had to content itself with the ancient and defective Douai Version (still splendid as a literary monument in its own right). Looking back now it can be seen that it would have been a bad thing to have used the Knox Version as the basic text for comment, partly because it was still based on the Vulgate, and partly because of its paraphrastic and idiosyncratic character. One result of the success of CCHS was to highlight the desirability of Catholics coming to acquire a really scientific Bible translation from the original languages. The main value of the Knox Version was that it made available to Catholics a very readable text, which accordingly played a big part in making young people in Catholic schools and the Catholic public as a whole aware of the Bible in a new way. But the problem of the production of a new Catholic Bible from the original tongues still remained. The CCHS Editorial Committee did in fact give very serious consideration to the question whether it could combine a new translation with the work of the Commentary itself, by getting each contributor to draft his own modern rendering of the Book or Books assigned to him. But it rightly concluded that this would be the "last straw", and beyond its strength.[4]

The publication of CCHS in February 1953 certainly inaugurated a new era in biblical studies in the English-speaking world. Despite its acknowledged conservatism it served as the basis of biblical studies for the next decade in most English-speaking seminaries, and was likewise of immense value to all pastors and to teachers of children, lay and religious.

Meanwhole Fr Fuller as Editor of *Scripture* was doing all he could to persuade our seminary professors, and any others who possessed the competence, to write articles for it, *Scripture* being envisaged as a forum and platform to spread ideas and interest and so to build up the biblical movement. Some years after the CCHS appeared Fr T. Worden of Upholland College took over the editorship of *Scripture* which he was to retain until it ceased publication last year in favour of the new *Scripture Bulletin.* During that time Fr Worden secured for it a great deal of distinguished writing on biblical subjects, and established its reputation as a first-class scholarly-pastoral review.

The outstanding success of CCHS immediately stimulated its Committee to consider further projects. Thomas Nelson & Sons, then still under the wise and far-seeing direction of Mr H. P. Morrison,, realised that there was a big Catholic market for Scripture-based works, and so did other publishers. In the years immediately following the launching of the CCHS a number of new ventures were begun; there was first "The Dictionary of Catholic Theology", edited by Mgr Davis and Fr Crehan, S.J. (Vol. 2 reviewed elsewhere in this issue). Then Fr S. Bullough, O.P., started to edit a new series of School textbooks, whilst Nelsons themselves planned, with Fr Fuller as Editor, an ambitious series of individual commentaries on every Book in the Bible. Unfortunately the only one of the latter series that ever saw the light after many years was a brilliant one on St Mark's Gospel by Fr Alex Jones. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that everyone on the Commentary Committee (except Fr Sutcliffe, who was given several sabbatical years), had a full-time job in a different sphere.

Meanwhile Fr Orchard got working on the idea of a Common Bible, taking as its base the Revised Standard Version; for before progress could be made on any new commentary series or a second edition of the CCHS it was vital to face the problem of finding a suitable basic text to comment upon. Fr Fuller, on the other hand, tended to be more interested in the production of the textbook series with an RSV text, thus easing the Church into familiarity with a Protestant text (for one must never forget that at this stage most of the Hierarchy and many staunch Catholics thought it

[4] The CBA was in fact invited about this time to join in the ecumenical New English Bible project, but Cardinal Griffin ruled it "inopportune" to accept.

was a betrayal of our Martyrs even to consider using a Protestant Bible, and likely to lead to Indifferentism). Nevertheless, as a result of their joint endeavours, by 1954 it had been learnt that ecclesiastical authority would have no objection to new commentaries, even for school children, being based on the Revised Standard Version text, and by 1956 all permissions had been obtained to print and publish a Catholic Edition of the RSV, except for the actual imprimatur of the Westminster curial office. Then, in August 1956, Cardinal Griffin, who had already written the Foreword for this volume, suddenly died; and since no other Bishop in England was at that time prepared to give the *imprimatur*, they perforce had to hold up the printing until after the appointment of his successor. When Cardinal Godfrey came to Westminster he was unfamiliar with developments and personally out of sympathy with the project, which was later vetoed at the Hierarchy Meeting of 1958. After this nothing more was to be hoped for from Westminster or from any other Bishops in the British Isles until a new era should dawn. In 1959 Fr Fuller and Fr Orchard while on a visit to the United States made efforts to interest some American Bishops, but after the veto of Westminster none was disposed to act. Nevertheless Bishop Bartholomé of St Cloud was approached through the good offices of Fr Godfrey Diekmann of St John's Abbey, Collegeville, and though the Bishop felt unable to give an *imprimatur* to the whole RSV Catholic Edition idea, yet in fact he gave it some time later to a series of NT extracts which the St John's Abbey Press published early in the Sixties, thus giving American Catholics the honour of first recognising in print the merits of this version in a Catholic context.

As the 1950s drew to a close Continental Catholic scholars were already making considerable progress in biblical studies following on *Divino Afflante*. The Encyclical *Humani Generis* (12th August 1950) had already given permission to discuss evolutionary hypotheses with regard to the origins of Man and of the Bible too, though with certain cautions; and in 1955 permission was given "to biblical scholars to pursue their scientific investigations with full liberty, except on matters immediately or mediately pertaining to faith or morals, when they must respect the teaching authority of the Church" (P.B.C. 1955). From then onwards the positions taken up in CCHS were increasingly seen to be out-of-date by scholars everywhere, and this was reflected in the desire of the Committee to start planning a revision as soon as possible. Fr Sutcliffe, however, at this stage withdrew and the Committee's choice as OT Editor was Fr R. Dyson, S.J., who, however, died before he could get to work (1959).

In 1960-61 the Committee was reconstituted with Fr Johnston of Ushaw as the OT Editor, and Fr Conleth Kearns, O.P., then NT Professor at the Angelicum, as the NT Editor, with Fr R. Russell, Fr R. C. Fuller and Fr B. Orchard (Chairman). The difficulty about getting down to active preparation lay in the fact that the English Catholics still did not yet possess a satisfactory text on which to base the revision of the CCHS. The DV was, of course, quite obsolete, the Knox was too much of a paraphrase for serious study, the CV was incomplete and no one knew when it would

be finished,[3] and there remained as a hope only the RSV. Yet much as the Committee desired to do so, it was impossible to name it as the basic text as long as Cardinal Godfrey occupied the See of Westminster. Nevertheless, during this period, 1956-63, the Committee had steadily been winning friends among the Bishops for the RSV, notably Archbishop Gray and Archbishop Heenan. In fact, within a very few weeks of his accession to Westminster, Archbishop Heenan decided to give the go-ahead and generously accorded to Archbishop Gray the honour of authorising the publication of the complete Bible with the Deutero-Canonical Books in their traditional position. This break-through came in November 1963 during the Second Session of the Vatican Council. During the seven lean years of waiting, our friends controlling the copyright of the RSV, Dean Luther Weigle, Emeritus Professor of Divinity at Yale, and the Revd Gerald Knoff, Secretary of the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., had proved most loyal, discreet and understanding, knowing that an ecumenical objective of this magnitude is not easily attained; their belief in our ultimate success never wavered. The way was now fully open for the use of the RSV as the basic text for the Second Edition of the CCHS. The NT appeared first in June 1965 and the completed Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition Bible on 17th May, 1966.

Other factors, too, were working for the success of the new commentary. The Holy Office *Monitum* on Historicity (20th June, 1961), the result of Mgr Romeo's attack on the Pontifical Biblical Institute earlier that year, had fortunately no permanent effect and the publication of the Pontifical Biblical Commission's document on *The Historicity of the Gospels* (in which Fr Kearns himself had had a hand), meant that there were to be no further curbs on the free and responsible expression of Catholic biblical scholarship. Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation which appeared in its final form on 18th November 1965, after undergoing an entire metamorphosis during the three previous years, reflected the climate in which the New Commentary was to be produced and gave added fillip to our editorial efforts. As we know, the Constitution did not solve the question of the relationship between Scripture and Tradition, nor did it throw much new light on the nature of Inspiration. It did, however, point out that Scripture teaches without error "*that* truth which God wanted put into the sacred writings for the sake of our salvation", and at the same time emphasised that in the "interpretation of them serious attention must be given to the content and unity of the whole of Scripture". The Sixth and last chapter also revealed that the Council Fathers had been duly impressed by the Committee's efforts and those of their friends on both sides of the Atlantic towards the idea of a Common Bible, as formulated by the Crêt Bérard Conference in November 1963. At this Conference the first draft of a set of rules to govern joint translation projects between Catholics and Protestant or non-denominational organisa-

[3] The complete one-volume edition will in fact appear in 1970.

tions had been agreed between representatives of the Catholic Biblical Association of Great Britain, the United Bible Societies' representatives, and the Secretariat of Christian Unity.[6] Chapter Six of the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation was therefore seen by the Committee as clearly giving its blessing to all the projects for which it had struggled so hard over the preceding 20 years.

However, there were also two factors adversely operating on the revision Committee. The first was the fact that it changed its mind several time about the extent of the revision required. Originally it thought in terms of a moderate one, the dropping of some articles and the introduction of a few new ones; then in 1963-5, it began to think in terms of a more drastic revision, and finally, when Fr Fuller took over as Editor-in-Chief in 1966, it was realised that practically a new work was necessary. The other factor was the preoccupation of the OT and NT Editors with other work imposed on them, coupled with much ill health. But for the good fortune that Fr Fuller was at Cambridge preparing for his Ph.D. (awarded him in June 1969) and that he was able to take the main load off both the Editors, the whole project might have collapsed entirely. It was also fortunate that his residence at Cambridge brought him into contact with the best of contemporary biblical thought, so that although the NCC shows some signs of its vicissitudes, yet the overall impression is one of full awareness of contemporary work and of a resolute adherence to the highest standards of scholarship.

This brief sketch of the biblical movement in England during the past 30 years is not meant to be either comprehensive or exhaustive, but is intended to provide the perspective in which the NCC may be viewed and judged. Many interesting ramifications have had to be omitted because they are not relevant to the main theme. For example, there is the visit that Fr Fuller and Fr Orchard paid to the Annual General Meeting of the C.B.A. of the U.S.A. at Manhattanville, New York, in September 1959, when the latter was privileged to address it about the RSV Common Bible project and the forthcoming edition of the CCHS. Remarks made then seem to have sparked off not only Fr Walter M. Abbott's enthusiasm for the Common Bible in the pages of *America* (which led eventually to his becoming the Director of Common Bible Work in the Secretariat of Christian Unity), but also to have laid the first germs of the project for the rival Jerome Commentary! Again, it was while Fr Alexander Jones was helping with the preliminary work for the RSV Catholic Edition that he realised he would be better employed in producing the English Jerusalem Bible! Nor has any room been found for reference to those friendly Professors' Conferences organised during the Christmas holidays by Fr Sebastian Bullough during his term of office as Chairman of the C.B.A.

[6] Cf. Dogmatic Constitution *de Divino Revelatione*. Ch. VI: "Not only should easy access to sacred Scripture be provided for all . . . but, given the opportunity and the approval of Church authorities, translation should be produced in co-operation with the separated brethren as well, . . . so as to enable all Christians to use them". (Sections 22, 25).

(1960-67); nor to refer to the great work for the biblical apostolate that Fr Hubert Richards, a Trustee of the CBA, has done at Corpus Christi College since 1964. Only those factors have been selected which relate more or less directly to the genesis of the NCC which must finally be viewed as the most recent fruit of the combined work of that small group of men who have played a leading rôle in bringing the best texts of the Bible, and the aids to understand it, to English-speaking Catholics in every Continent.

APPENDIX: REVIEW

ed. Reginald C. Fuller A NEW CATHOLIC COMMENTARY ON HOLY SCRIPTURE OT ed. Leonard Johnston, NT ed. Conleth Kearns Nelson 1969 xix + 1377 p 168/-

Review by the Very Rev. Dr Alan Richardson, M.A., D.D.

THIS commentary is a welcome indication of the full participation of Roman Catholic scholars in the trans-denominational and international study of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge. It may be recommended to people of all denominations who desire a balanced presentation of the issues and results of contemporary biblical scholarship. It is a vast improvement upon its predecessor, "A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture" (1953). That volume was written by men who had lived too long under the shadow of *Pascendi Gregis* (1907) and the excommunication of Alfred Loisy (1908). As James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C., has shown in his "Catholic Theories of Biblical Inspiration since 1810" (C.U.P., 1969), the latter event "annihilated all further ventures into the theology of biblical inspiration". "Catholic scholars got the message that new ideas, especially if imported from Protestant critics, were unwanted by Rome". The academics had come to expect "the Pope to make short work for them of the tough business of scholarship". Thus, it came about that "theories that were being put abroad confidently in the 1850s were being hesitantly hinted at by scholars in the 1950s". The truth of this latter statement is amply illustrated by the "Commentary" of 1953.

The "New Commentary", though distant from it by a mere sixteen years in time, is a whole era beyond it in outlook. Not more than one-fifth of the material of the former edition has been retained. The Revised Standard Version is the translation upon which it is generally based. One might almost have said that the pricing of the volume in guineas two years before the introduction of decimal currency is the only old-fashioned thing about it. (But "The Jerome Biblical Commentary", which is even more up-to-date, is also priced in guineas.) Not that up-to-dateness is a significant criterion, except where adherence to traditional views has obscured the critical issues raised by modern scholarship. There are certain instances of this habit of mind in the "New Commentary", whereas the first edition was infected by it throughout. The 1969 edition in general breathes the free air of *Divino Afflante* (1943)—"one of the most important

papal documents in the history of the Church" (p. 807)—and of the *Dei Verbum* of Vatican II.

Bishop B. C. Butler, however, re-writes for 1969 his article of 1953 on "The Synoptic Problem"; he still argues for the dependence of Mark upon Matthew, but he does not now add that his solution "gives us the traditional order of the Gospels" or that "it renders easier the traditional attribution of Mt's Semitic original to St Matthew the Apostle. It strengthens the traditional assertion that Mk. contains a record of St Peter's teaching at Rome". (It also necessitates an improbably early date for Mt. or at least for some conjectural Proto-Mt.). The question of the priority of Mk. (or the Two-Document Hypothesis) had been a test-case for Roman Catholic scholarship ever since the Biblical Commission condemned the theory in 1912. The CCHS cites as "an interesting example of how the decision of authority may fruitfully lead an open-minded scholar to change his views" the renunciation by Abbot H. J. Chapman of his previous acceptance of the Two-Document Hypothesis; in the New CCHS Bishop Butler says that he "revolted" against it. However, all this is swept away in the excellent commentaries by Dom H. Wansbrough in the New CCHS on Mt. and Mk. Here, as often in the volume, we are presented with the real issues of contemporary scholarship without any fearful looking back. For example, we read that Mt. used Mk. and Q, and we are given a (necessarily tentative) date for Mk. around A.D. 65-75 and for Mt. in "the last third of the first century". Of Mk. he says, in line with contemporary research, that the Gospel "bears all the signs of community tradition", not of St Peter or any other eye-witness, not even in the so-called eye-witness touches. W. P. Harrington, O.P., similarly tells us that a date after 70 is probable for Lk., and that "the only reasonable explanation" of the common non-Marcan passages in Mt. and Mk. is the Q hypothesis. Wansbrough on Acts is, like the commentaries on the Synoptists, up-to-date in the best sense of the phrase. The relationship of history and theology in all four writings is seen to be the centre of today's discussion and it is treated judiciously.

But when we turn to the commentaries on the Johannine writings, the case is different. (The "Jerome Commentary" falls down at this point too.) The Fourth Evangelist is John the son of Zebedee. This means that the real critical problems can be by-passed. Of course, if the author was present himself at the events recounted in Jn. 2, he was describing what he had seen. It is not noticed that there is a problem about Peter's having been introduced to Jesus as the Messiah (1.41) in view of Mk.'s careful account of the gradual opening of St Peter's eyes. If the four commentators on the Gospels are each right, John the Apostle becomes the only eye-witness amongst the Evangelists. Fr J. J. Scullion, S.J., who comments helpfully on the Apocalypse, thinks that "it would seem reasonable to put the Apoc and the other Johannine writings under the aegis of the Apostle John; and this in a manner analogous (every analogy is deficient) to the position ascribed by the Biblical Commission to Moses as author of the Pent., 'his great share and profound influence as author and legislator'."

However, when we turn to "Introduction to the Pentateuch" by P. G. Dunker, Consultor of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, we are reassured to find that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is set aside in favour of the hypothesis of J, E, P and D. Here, and generally in the excellent articles about and commentaries on the Old Testament, we are brought into the main stream of contemporary scholarship. It is carefully explained how not only the Pentateuch but the historical books (e.g. Samuel), the Psalter and the prophets (e.g. Isaiah and Jeremiah) have gone through a long history of compilation and editing; they did not, as they now stand, spring from the mind of a single human author or appear within the life-time of a single individual. "Jonah is a didactic fiction, a sermon in the form of a story" (p. 705). On all such questions the New Commentary is abreast of interdenominational scholarship, whereas the 1953 edition was more than fifty years behind it.

No one should suppose that the questions of critical scholarship mentioned above are of merely academic interest or are irrelevant to the understanding of the message of the Bible. We now see, as earlier generations did not, that the word of God came to real men in the particular historical situation of the age in which they lived. Unless we understand what the words of, say, Isaiah meant when they were uttered in the reign of King Hezekiah, we shall not properly understand their relevance for our own day; unless we put ourselves into the historical situation of the unknown author of Isa. 40-55, whose writings have been incorporated (along with other writings) into Isaiah's book, we shall miss the meaning of the prophet who, a century and a half after Isaiah's time, heralded the return of his people from their captivity in Babylon. God speaks in history through his acts and he makes known their meaning through the inspired utterances of prophetic men. Always the divine word (like the Word Incarnate) happens at a particular moment in human history. It is not given in the form of generalised philosophical truths. The truths are known from God's historical acts as interpreted by his servants the prophets. This is why, for us, modern men living in an historically-minded age, historical criticism is so very important. We cannot, even if we want to, see things in the way in which the men of the earlier years of the Biblical Commission saw them. This insight is well conveyed by the New Commentary as a whole and especially by its informative articles on the background of the Old Testament and of the New Testament. Criticism of itself, though it makes historical understanding possible, neither creates nor destroys faith in Christ. It can be used by those who are already committed to some philosophical principle, such as Heidegger's existentialism; but it is the philosophical principle, not the use of the critical method, which renders the conclusions reached (as in the Bultmann school) somewhat eccentric. Those of us who hold the full Catholic faith have no need to fear the use of critical methods. The "New Commentary" demonstrates the truth of this statement.

Of course, there is the problem of communicating the new critical standpoint to those brought up in the old ways. That fine scholar,

Raymond E. Brown, S.S., one of the editors of the (American) "Jerome Biblical Commentary" (Geoffrey Chapman, 1968), remarks on the scandal said to be created by the popularisation of academic discussion (II, p. 623b). "The whole distinction between discussion on a scholarly level and popularisation—a distinction presupposed in the warnings from Rome—is rapidly dying out, and we should face this problem more frankly. In the long run more damage has been done to the Church by the fact that her scholars have not always been free to discuss delicate problems than by the fact that some of the faithful are scandalised by the dissemination of new ideas." The two recent Catholic commentaries should help in the very important work of disseminating modern knowledge. The first great one-volume commentary, which was edited by a fine Nonconformist scholar, Professor A. S. Peake (1919, revised ed., 1962), showed thoughtful Evangelical Christians that faith in God's revelation in Christ was clarified, not dispelled, by modern critical scholarship; "A New Commentary on Holy Scripture" edited by Bishop Gore and others (1928) performed a like service for members of the Anglican Communion. The two recent Catholic Commentaries will surely have an equally salutary effect, not only amongst Roman Catholics. If, as Professor Burtchaell prophesies, "we seem hopefully to be approaching the brilliant noon of a new heyday of creative speculation on our problem of biblical inspiration", it is essential that the faithful should be kept informed concerning the new attitudes. Both NCCHS and the "Jerome Commentary" will serve admirably to set the stage for the continuing developments. If I were asked which is the better buy, I would say that "Jerome" is worth the two guineas difference.

Professor Burtchaell's book is reviewed elsewhere by Rev Bernard Reardon.

THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE is now complete. The Old Testament is to be published by the Oxford University Press on 16th March, an entirely new rendering of the original Hebrew text worked out by panels of scholars over a quarter of a century.

At every stage the whole translation panel examined the results of smaller groups, which were then handed on to a literary panel. The Hebrew has been compared with all known parallels in religious and secular history, the main ones being the Qumran texts and the Assyrian-Babylonian texts written in a sister language to Hebrew. Comparisons have also been made with the Septuagint Greek, St Jerome's Latin translation of c. 400, and several Aramaic and Syriac versions (often revealing the faults in those rather than modern Hebrew Texts). The vowel sounds put into the original consonant-only Hebrew script by the rabbis of Tiberias in c. 500 have been rechecked (and sometimes faulted).

This translation has strong claim to be the most careful ever made in any language. It is to be reviewed in the next JOURNAL *by Dom Bernard Orchard.*

INCREASINGLY ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT IN THIS CENTURY

by

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

It is arguable that the Vatican Council, with all its turmoil and all its generative fertility, is the progeny of three principal movements, which go back to the close of the last century: the Biblical Movement, the Theological Movement and the Liturgical Movement. In a sense, the clearest of these is the Biblical Movement which can be fathered onto Père M-J. Lagrange, O.P. (1855-1938), founder of the Ecole Biblique (S. Etienne's) in Jerusalem, founder-editor of the *Revue Biblique*, master of textual criticism and of the *méthode historique*, explorer of the *plenior sensus* and of biblical Inspiration; who had to endure so much misunderstanding during the time of the Modernist crisis. The Theological Movement has been more diffuse, its most fruitful inspirations coming from favourable reactions to Protestant scholars like Karl Barth and to ecumenical (Catholic-Protestant) universities like Tübingen. Of all of them, however, the one which has most successfully percolated down to the smallest parish in all its isolation and permeated the lives of those who do not pretend to be theologians or theorists is the Liturgical Movement, the transformation of man's daily worship into a consciously communal action of warm spiritual fervour.

Nothing illustrates the reality of the forces unleashed by the Council more graphically. Pressures never before in recent times built up more steadily towards the kind of decree that the Fathers were inspired to formulate. No Constitution has had such radical and ramified effect in the Church at large: for the changes wrought by *Sacrosanctum Concilium* have shifted centuries of customary practice in practically all spheres. It is fitting then at this moment to sketch out a survey of this movement, so to uncover its remarkable recent history.

It would be purblind and rather myopically arrogant to suggest that there was no liturical movement in the nineteenth century;[1] but the modern Movement owes its origin, by common consent, to a motu proprio of Pius X at the beginning of his reign (1903), whose preamble contained this now famous sentence:

> It is in (the house of God) that the faithful assemble to attain this spirit at its foremost and indispensable source, which is *active participation* in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church.[2]

[1] Cf. O. Rousseau, O.S.B. (Chevetogne), "Histoire du Mouvement Liturgique", 1800-1910, *Lex Orandi III, Paris* 1945. However the Bonn Professor Theodor Klauser, in his study of the history of the Western Liturgy, calls his fourth epoch from 1545 "the Epoch of Changlessness or Rubricism", when, thanks to the vigilance of the Congregation of Rites (founded in 1588), codified liturgical law was performed with uniformity in every corner of the Church.

[2] Motu proprio *Tra le Sollecitudini* dated 22nd November 1903, often subsequently referred to, e.g. by the Cardinal Vicar in 1912 and by Benedict XV in 1921, as a Letter to the Dean of the Sacred College.

The key-note was *participatio actuosa*, though the document was written in Italian; and later on in it the Pope added that

> special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian chant by the people, so that again the faithful may take a more active part in the ecclesial liturgy, as was the case in ancient times.

That theme was taken up again by Pius XI in 1928 when, speaking again about the Gregorian chant, he wrote:

> the faithful should take a more active part in divine worship; and therefore suitable parts of Gregorian chant should once again be regularly sung by the people. It is indeed essential that the faithful should not attend the sacred ceremonies merely as detached and silent spectators, but they should be filled with a deep sense of the beauty of the liturgy . . . they should unite their voices with those of the priest and the choir.[3]

Pius XII in his turn repeated the same injunction to the Lenten preachers of Rome in 1943, encouraging a more devout adherence to the Eucharist. Two years later he ordered new translations of the Psalter with that in mind, active participation. When he wrote his famous 1947 Encyclical, *Mediator Dei*,[4] he praised the spirit roused by the Liturgical Movement, the new understanding of the rites of both the Western and Eastern Churches that had come from it, the increase of attendance at Mass and the sacraments, the deeper realisation of eucharistic theology and the sense of corporate worship (echoing the doctrine of the mystical body which he had recently emphasised) with greater lay participation.

In *Mediator Dei*, Pius XII began by saying that

> the end of the last century and the beginning of the present one have seen an unprecedented revival of liturgical studies, due in part to the admirable initiative of a number of individuals, but especially to the devoted zeal of certain monasteries of the renowned Benedictine Order.

Pope Pius was referring principally to Dom Lambert Beauduin of Chevetogne and Dom Odo Casel with his abbot, Dom Ildefonse Herwegen of Maria Laach[5]—and indeed it has been levelled at this Encyclical that it appeared as a "quasi-canonisation" of Casel's mystery theology, which had been taken too far along an admittedly commendable path.

Beauduin galvanised the Movement into action in September 1909 with an address entitled "Il faudroit democratiser la liturgie", which caused some stir. He followed it up with a booklet in 1914, "La Piété de l'Eglise",

[3] Apostolic Constitution *Divini Cultus Sanctitatem*, December 1928. The sentiment runs through the whole Constitution: for instance, the Pope had written earlier, "the faithful come to church in order to derive piety from its chief source, by taking an active part in the venerated mysteries and the public solemn prayers of the Church".

[4] English C.T.S. translation "Christian Worship"; it followed *Mystici Corporis* (1946) translated for C.T.S. as "The Mystical Body of Christ".

[5] For details of Chevetogne, see Dom Theodore Strotmann's article, introductory notes, JOURNAL, Summer 1969. Maria Laach in the Rhineland was founded from Beuron in the late nineteenth century.

and this had much to do with the success of the Movement in his own country, Belgium, which soon brought in dialogue Masses and vernacular missals. By 1919 it had gathered some force at official thinking level under the leadership of such priest-scholars as Mgr Romano Guardini, Dr Pius Parsch (a populariser), Dom Odo Casel, Abbot Herwegen and Abbot Emanuel Caronti, men who were themselves taking up the insights of an earlier generation of liturgists, rooted rather in the romanticism of the late nineteenth century, notably J. A. Möhler, Abbot Prosper Guéranger of Solesmes in France and Abbot Maurus Wolter of Beuron in south east Europe.[6] But as yet Rome gave the Movement very little encouragement, the Congregation of Rites issuing a decree in December 1925 to the effect that in matters of vestments and vessels it was forbidden to deviate from the norm of the Roman Church.

In Germany specially, the Movement gathered momentum, attracting both followers and opposition. Holy Week of 1914 at Maria Laach Abbey is taken as the mark of German liturgical beginnings: there a society of laymen met under the new abbot, Herwegen (elected 1913), to work out ways of lay participation. In the years after the Great War Dom Odo Casel, back at his abbey of Laach after degrees at Rome and Bonn, expanded his ideas on the mystery character of the liturgy, of ritual as the sacramental presence of Christ's saving work. During 1921-41 he published 15 volumes of the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, while he was chaplain to the Benedictine nuns of Herstelle, Westphalia. His work, if it does not itself command entire confidence,[7] has certainly uncovered the doctrinal richness implicit in the liturgy in a way which has transformed the theology of the sacraments, especially the Eucharist. His significantly timed death as he was singing the *Exultet* on Easter morning 1948 has drawn attention to his life work. In 1934 a chaplain to Berlin students, Fr J. Pinsk, founded the journal *Liturgisches Leben* to air advanced views on sacramental and liturgical practice. Two years later the German Jesuit scholar Fr Joseph A. Jungmann published his first major book. In 1939 Bishop Landersdorf of Passau gathered together a working group (Jungmann, Guardini, Dr Kahlefeld and the vicar general of Trier, Dr von Meurers); and the following year the German hierarchy took over responsibility for the Movement, appointing the Bishop of Passau and Bishop Stohr of Mainz as liturgical

[6] Guéranger, a secular priest, founded the Solesmes Congregation in 1833: his best known work is "The Liturgical Year", a popular introduction to the riches of the missal and breviary, which has been imitated by Dr Pius Paarsch in recent times.
Solesmes is most famous for its school of musicologists, who have virtually revived from extinction the chant of the golden period of the twelfth century which had been debased and forgotten. Under Dom Guéranger's inspiration, another secular priest, Maurus Wolter, with his brother Placid Wolter, refounded the abbey and Congregation of Beuron, again orientated to the liturgy in its fullest monastic form. Cf. M. D. Knowles, "Christian Monasticism", p. 170-5.

[7] Cf. the criticisms of Hugo Rahner, S.J., in "Greek Myths & Christian Mysteries" (1963), and Odo Casel, "The Mystery of Christian Worship: & Other Writings", ed. Burkhard Neunheuser, O.S.B., D.L.T. 1962. *Mysterienlehre* may have been effective in those eastern Churches founded by St Paul, where pagan cults were baptised with the liturgy of the Church; but this was never the general pattern in, for instance, the neighbourhood of Rome.

advisers to the annual Fulda Conference. The hierarchy appointed a commission composed of Bishop Landersdorf's working group supplemented by representatives from the abbeys of Maria Laach, Beuron, Klosterneuburg and the Leipsig Oratory. In 1942 the Fulda Conference advisory council issued "A Guide to the Arrangement of Parichial Religious Services" and the following year the Conference reported to the Pope on the development of the Movement in Germany, asking for certain reforms. The Congregation of Rites replied with qualified praise, but nevertheless condemning the *via facti* and forbidding public discussion.[8] The Congregation allowed dialogue Masses and "benevolently tolerated" the so-called German High Mass, where—contrary to rubrics—the people sang in German (albeit very conservative and traditional stuff) instead of Latin. In the year of *Mediator Dei* (1947), a liturgical institute was founded in Trier under Professor Balthasar Fischer.

Elsewhere, notably in France, Belgium and Holland, the Movement had been gathering impetus later and less rapidly than in Germany. Casel, Pinsk and others were being translated into French. A series of pamphlets on the liturgy came out in 1942 under the title "La Clarté-Dieu", and the following year the Dominican fathers Roguet and Duployé established their Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, whose influence was soon recognised and encouraged by the French episcopacy. In 1944 the Centre was able to stage a study congress at Vanves on pastoral liturgy, and in January of the next year the review *Maison Dieu* was launched (even unto this day). That August a national congress was convoked at Saint-Flour to examine the parish Sunday Mass. Since then the Centre has organised an annual study meeting at Vanves or Versailles. In 1947 the Bishop of Bayonne appealed to Rome for permission to make the Introit more solemn by a simultaneous singing of psalms, and this—a controversial issue—was granted.

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon countries there was little interest in the revision or conscious study of the liturgy, except perhaps in the Society of St Gregory, founded in 1929 by Dom Bernard McElligott of Ampleforth, with its journal *Liturgy*. As *Mediator Dei* was to observe, "in some quarters there is little or no interest in the liturgy or understanding of it" (sec. 7). These countries were curiously insensitive to the stirrings of interest in those acts and attitudes which compose the worship of God or in the decreased participation of a predominantly silent lay throng.

* * *

This was the background to the promulgation of Pius XII's important encyclical, the first ever to be devoted to the liturgy and since then so often described as the Magna Carta of the Liturgical Movement. *Mediator Dei et Hominum* was published on 20th November 1947. Magna Carta it may have seemed, but for that it does not lack passages of warning: it was not a pure *placet* for the Casel-Herwegen mystery doctrines.

[8] In the light of the last decade, it is hard to conceive that the Roman Curia believed that it could possess the spiritual energy and fertility of thought to initiate all changes in the liturgy throughout the world; cf. *Mediator Dei*, Pt. V, Private Initiative.

Pius XII began with a definition: "the sacred liturgy is the public worship which our Redeemer, the Head of the Church, offers to the heavenly Father, and which the community of Christ's faithful pays to its Founder, and through him to the Eternal Father; briefly, it is the whole public worship of the Mystical Body of Christ, Head and members". It is linked with the pristine Church by the reference to Acts 2,42 where the early Christians "occupied themselves continually with the Apostles' teaching, their fellowship in the breaking of bread, and the fixed times of prayer".

The Pope argued for the importance of good liturgical ceremonies in that they move the soul to reverence for what is holy and add lustre to divine worship. But he stressed—and rightly so—the paramountcy of the internal element:[9]

> it is a total misunderstanding of the true meaning of the liturgy to regard it as the mere external and visible element in divine worship, or as the outward splendour of ceremonial: it is equally wrong to see in it a mere catalogue of rules and regulations issued by the hierarchy of the Church for the conduct of the sacred rites . . . for the achievement of holiness, the worship which the Church, united with her divine Head, offers to God is the most efficacious means. (Sec 27-8.)

He showed how the formal Mass and the personal spirituality of Christians mutually interact, the work of the priest and the interior acts of intellect and will combining to bring a soul to high perfection. So there is no confrontation, but rather a natural harmony, between liturgical devotion and private devotions. But "liturgical prayer, being the public prayer of the august Bride of Christ, is superior to private prayers" (sec 41).

Pius XII then touched on a danger of overstressing the law of prayer as determinant of the law of belief, *lex credendi lex statuat supplicandi:* truth lies more nearly in the opposite emphasis, that "the law of our faith must establish the law of our prayer". This was a small criticism beside those that appeared in Part V, *Private Initiative*, which made a direct assault on the conduct of the Liturgical Movement: "the Sovereign Pontiff alone has the right to permit or establish any liturgical practice, to introduce or approve new rites or to make any changes in them he considers necessary" (here he was quoting canon law, Canon 1257). He left it to the bishops "in their turn vigilantly to enforce the observance of the canonical rules on divine worship" (Canon 1261). No private person was left any initiative but to obey; the whole initiaton of liturgical change was to come from the Holy See, overseer of a Church of five hundred million souls in all corners of the earth. While granting that the Church was a living

[9] At about the same time (letter dated 3rd July 1947) Dom Odo Casel was writing: "the essential thing is the interior sharing of the Spirit's life with Our Lord and Saviour. Of course that will lead to forms which fit it; but the forms will develop where there is right understanding to begin with, while it seems dangerous to seek first for the outward form and then to build the mind upon it. The so-called Liturgical Movement may perhaps too often have confined itself to communal forms: we have thought it 'liturgical' merely to get people closer to the altar. There is in all this the danger of mistaking the husk for the grain".

organism, the Pope attacked all unauthorised innovations, and specifically the vernacular Mass, the local transfer of feasts and the dropping of Old Testament readings from public services. He also attacked liturgical "archaeologism", indiscriminate restorations of past custom (an altar like a table, no pictures or statues, non-suffering crucifix, plain chant alone) and in this his eye was on Maria Laach as much as anywhere. His one slight concession concerned the adaptation of the Roman missal to allow maximal participation in dialogue Masses, but with the proviso that "only when adaptations are in exact conformity with the rules of the Church and the rubrical instructions".

In the longest section (70-145) on Eucharist Worship, the Pope spoke of the ends of the sacrifice as praise, thanksgiving, propitation (and, with that, expiation and reconciliation), and impetration or entreaty. The faithful have as their highest privilege and duty to unite themselves with Christ, Priest and Victim, "dying mystically with Christ on the Cross". Nevertheless their common baptismal priesthood does not give them eucharistic priestly powers which they then delegate to the priest at the altar at what would then amount to a concelebration—he was answering a current interpretation. There is no delegation (sec 44, sec 88): nevertheless all do offer sacrifice, for, in the words of Innocent III, "what is performed in a special way by the ministry of the priests is performed in a general way by the desire of the faithful", each offering together according to their order, the faithful through and with the priest, so that "their offering also pertains to liturgical worship" (sec 96). This being so, it does not mean that priests must join in the main concelebration or concelebrate instead of saying a "private" Mass, or that a congregation of some minimal size is a *sine qua non* to "confirm or ratify" the sacrifice. Contrary to what was being said by liturgists at the time, every Mass (even those alone in a crypt) has a public and social character, all of them being offered for the living and the dead.

In the section (119-36) dealing with Holy Communion, the Encyclical again deals with rising errors. It stated it to be a false doctrine that the faithful should be made to go to Communion, and more false that they should have to communicate together with the priest—"on the sophistical contention that the Mass, besides being a sacrifice, is also the banquet of a community of brethren, and that the general Communion of the faithful is to be regarded as the culminating point of the whole celebration" (sec 121). For the minister, Communion is necessary, and in two kinds; but for the faithful it is only highly recommended, and that in one kind: moreover, while it is desirable to communicate with hosts consecrated at the same Mass, it is not essential so to do.

In the section (146-61) on the Divine Office, the Pope indirectly attacked the Herwegen spiritual tradition of exalting the glorified Christ. He spoke of "those modern writers who, deceived by the glamour of what claims to be a higher mysticism, have the effrontery to say that we ought to cultivate the 'pneumatic or glorified Christ', not the historical Christ". This school, he claimed, accuses the Church of dethroning the Christ seated with the Father in favour of the suffering Christ. But Pius XII insisted that the Passion should be the centre of our worship, the climax of the liturgical year which takes account of the phases of Our Lord's earthly life: *Mystici Corporis* had spoken of the Church as having a Head crowned with thorns.

Finally the Pope defended the traditions of non-liturgical practice. He anathematised liturgical innovators who wanted to close churches between ceremonies, to abandon visits to the Blessed Sacrament, to discourage devotional confession, to play down devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary: "these are poisoned fruits growing on infected branches of a healthy tree". The overall tone of the Encyclical is to modern ears authoritarian, over-centralising and too prone to criticism rather than encouragement: it is full of "warnings against modern errors" (false mysticism, quietism, humanism, false faith, archaelogism, etc.). In his solicitude for those who might be wronged, Pius XII failed sufficiently to bless this vastly important regenerative Movement, preferring to control it and to protect the purity of doctrine from it. And yet, in the light of the opening sections, it would be wrong to say that he misplaced the heart of the matter, which is, in the last analysis, the fervour of the faithful in regard to the Redeeming Christ.

* * *

The years between *Mediator Dei* and the Council (1947-63) were filled with episcopal activities designed to make the liturgical life of their dioceses a living reality to men and women unconcerned about Latin or uniformity or central control or "purity of doctrine", but concerned about prayer. Their desires were expressed in two specific directions: evening Masses, which would allow families to get to the Eucharist during working weekdays; and vernacular services, which would allow them to understand when they got there.

In March 1948 the Japanese bishops were authorised to grant evening Masses, and in that August some Polish priests. In fact, U.S. Army Chaplains had been granted this right during the War, and using it as a precedent some sensible bishops had granted the right in special cases in their dioceses (as when a chaplain went over from Ampleforth to the P.O.W. camps at Thirkleby)—this seems now so remote! In June 1949, when some Indian dioceses were given permission for evening Masses, they were also able to relax the eucharistic fast. In January 1953 the Apostolic Constitution *Christus Dominus* made changes for the whole Church along these lines. In March 1957 the motu proprio *Sacram Communionem* approved evening Masses in much wider terms, and further simplified the fast regulations. Finally, in March 1960 a decree approved afternoon Communion outside Mass under certain circumstances.

As to the vernacular, a bilingual Rituale, a straight French translation of the *Rituale Romanum*, was approved in November 1947. In July of 1949, Rome encouraged the Indian bishops to develop rituales in each of their more important vernaculars. In March 1950 the German Rituale was

approved as a model of bilingual rituales. In 1952 the Canon of the Mass was officially translated into German. And so this process went on, until finally in 1960 the English bilingual Rituale was published, in all respects like the Roman one.

During all of this time, the so-called German High Mass had been the subject of controversy. At the third International Study Meeting at Lugano in September 1953, resolutions included the request that the German Mass form should be extended to the whole Church in vernacular languages. But at the second International Congress of Church Music the following year at Vienna, this was resisted. In April 1955 the Holy Office limited the privileges of this Mass, but in April 1958 it confirmed the privileges concerning the singing of German hymns during High Mass. And so it stood till the Council.

The most important development during the 1950s, the period between the two documents *Mediator Dei* and *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (the Council decree), was over the Holy Saturday/Easter liturgy. In June 1950 the first German National Liturgical Conference, organised by the Liturgical Institute, was addressed by Mgr Romano Guardini. His address led to a resolution that the bishops should ask Rome to transfer the Holy Saturday liturgy to the night of Easter: in November the bishops of Germany, joined by those of France and Austria (significantly), asked the Pope that it should be transferred to midnight. They met with an immediate response: in February the next year the new *Ordo Sabbati Sancti* was introduced experimentally for a year. That July the Liturgical Institute combined with the Paris Centre de Pastorale Liturgique to organise an international study week at Maria Laach, where the Easter Mass and more generally the *Missale Romanum* were examined, the deliberations being forwarded to the Congregation of Rites. Many of these were adopted in a revised edition of the *Ordo Sabbati Sancti*. In January 1952 it was decided at Rome to continue the new Easter Midnight Mass in 1952-4. In September 1953 at the Lugano Meeting (to whom the Congregation of Rites were now sending their officials), the bishops requested that the reform of the Holy Saturday liturgy should be extended to the whole of Holy Week. As a result, in November 1955 the motu proprio *Maxima redemptoris nostrae* introduced structural changes in the whole of the Holy Week liturgy of a lasting kind, which marked the completion of a triumph for the Liturgical Movement, a triumph whose initiative was not at Rome. One further permission was granted in 1959, first to Hildesheim and then to four other dioceses for a three-year experimental period, to celebrate the Easter Mass in the early hours of the morning: but this has not been generally extended.

Accompanying these various changes has been a salutary increase in the number of liturgical books, journals and annual conferences. In 1948 Professor Joseph Jungmann, S.J., published his *Missarum Sollemnia*, a work of monumental erudition, which has been translated into English in 1959 under the title "The Mass of the Roman Rite" (notice how much

England has been behind the Continent). The same year the Herwegen Institute for Liturgical Studies was founded at Laach, bringing out a regular *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*. In 1949 the German Liturgical Commission issued a guide to church-building, which has since become celebrated.[10] In 1955 the German Catechism was introduced, much in the spirit of the Movement. In 1956 the Paris Institute Catholique started two-year courses in liturgical studies. It would not be useful to list the various congresses, study weeks and gatherings: suffice it to say that these included a few specifically given to Church music and that they reached a term with the 1955 Encyclical *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*.

This was the state of the Movement when the Council of Fathers took up the schema *Sacrosanctum Concilium* as one of the first on their agenda in October and November 1962, the first of them all to be promulgated (4th December 1963). That schema was described by Fr Clifford Howell, S.J., who did the first translation into English within hours of its promulgation, as "one of the most important documents ever promulgated". It has a longish story of gestation which we should here sketch in.

When in October 1958 Pope John came to the papacy, he appointed a new Pontifical Liturgical Commission (5th June 1960) to prepare for the Council. Its first act was to promulgate a new code of rubrics, to serve immediate needs and clarify the spirit of renewal which was stirring. That Commission faced four main problems, brewing since *Mediator Dei*: the pastoral character of the liturgy, its importance in missionary countries, the desire and need for vernacular in the liturgy (especially in the less developed societies) and the desire for concelebraton.

The liturgical apostolate in country after country made it evident that the liturgy was intrinsically pastoral. At the September 1956 Congregation of Rites sponsored Assisi Conference, it became especially clear that the liturgy had taken on universal dimensons. Many bishops, together with liturgical/catechetical proselytisers such as Fr Johannes Hofinger, made it evident that missionary activity must incorporate efforts in liturgical renewal. But in the missions the great hurdle to be surmounted was the vernacular proclamation of the Word in the Mass and in the sacraments:[11] until that came, the rest was subsidiary.

The other abiding hurdle was concelebration. Permission for its institution on Holy Thursday and at Lourdes had been seriously considered in the late 1950s. But the writings of Fr Karl Rahner and others, coupled with a prevalent priestly piety with regard to one's private Mass, and the fear of an infringement of it, led to this being forestalled as a disturbing

[10] Translated in *Worship*, December 1949; in ed. Peter Hammond, "Towards a Church Architecture", Appendix, p. 245-54; in R. Kevin Seasoltz, "The New Liturgy: a Documentation, 1903-63", Appendix, p. 617-23. These Appendices include the text of the 1957 Wisconsin Diocesan Church Building Directives.

[11] There are numerous tales of even priests who clearly found Latin beyond them. One is told of a pious and worthy priest, who customarily held up the consecrated host and proclaimed: *Ecce Agnus Dei, Ecce peccata mundi!*

innovation. Pius XII had not pressed for a practical rite of concelebration; the subject had been sidetracked.

At first, Pope John's Commission did not include those experts, episcopal and others, from France (notably Paris) and Germany (notably Trier) who had long experience in liturgical formulation.[12] But soon it became apparent that Rome simply had to call upon the services of the most able liturgists of Europe.

During 1961 the Liturgical Commission, working in sub-groups chaired for the most part by bishops, hammered out a preparatory schema to be put before the Council Fathers. Its main problem was whether to confine itself to the standard Latin liturgy or to legislate for other Catholic liturgies as well: and with this went the problem of orientation—should it be juridical or should it attempt to give a theological justification for its decisions on practical pastoral reform? The Council Fathers were later to object that a truly ecumenical council should not confine itself to the reform of a purely Roman rite, for the Church was of wider scope than that. But the Eastern representatives magnanimously said that they were happy to consider the reform of the purely Roman rite as they recognised that the principles underlying the liturgical reform of one rite are valid for all rites and for the whole Church.[13] The Pope clearly wanted to open up the Church to a wider diversity of liturgies than the standard Roman rite: he made this very evident on 2nd November 1962, on the Feast of St Charles Borromeo, when he got Cardinal Giovanni Baptista Montini to celebrate the solemn Ambrosian rite, and went on to speak of St Charles as *episcoporum exemplar et splendissimum lumen*, thereafter lapsing into Italian. He spoke of the distinction between unity-in-diversity and slavish uniformity, and of St Charles' efforts to renew the Church at Trent.

The second problem was solved by making the schema both disciplinary and doctrinal, i.e., not a simple decree settling momentary issues, but a Constitution establishing permanent law (the character of the law so established being as a satement of the *magisterium ordinarium*, a recognised teaching rather than a definition). In this regard it is unfortunate that there was not greater collaboration between the Theological Commission and the Liturgical in formulating this document. It was decided to make the Constitution biblical and patristic in its foundation, but certain general canonical precisions would also be made. The resultant was a schema outlining general principles of reform and a long list of *declarationes* to explain the text to the Council Fathers, indicating the direction of interpretation to be given to the Constitution.

On 13th January 1962 the plenary session of the Commission accepted the final draft of the liturgical schema. The text was at once sent to the Central Commission for signature by the president—but the programme

[12] particularly in Paris' Centre Pastorale Fr A. M. Roguet and Fr A. G. Martimort; and in Trier Fr J. Wagner.

[13] Cf. the speech by the Melchite Patriarch Maximos IV Saigh of Antioch, quoted at some length in Xavier Rynne, "Letters from Vatican City", p. 102-4.

of reform was so vast, that he hesitated for some days and then died five days after signing! Then, just as all was set fair, Pope John promulgated the mysterious document *Veterum Sapientiae* (2nd February 1962), which forbade any opposition to the use of Latin in the Roman liturgy. At once modifications had to be made in the schema.

When in October 1962 the Council opened, it was known that very powerful sections of the bishops wanted no liturgical change at all. The daily conciliar Mass was a non-dialogue non-sung low Mass partially accompanied by hymns sung by a choir of four. Later a dialogue Mass came to prevail. In the final fourth session (Autumn 1965) the new order for readings and supplications was used, and the solemn enthronement of the Gospel at the beginning of the plenary sessions was linked with the beginning of the Mass. The liturgical schema came up for debate at 15 sessions during 22nd October-13th November; and Rome then found with surprise that most of the world's bishops urgently wanted liturgical reforms, and the bishops in underdeveloped and missionary countries went far further than the already radical schema in their desire for reform.

* * *

The conciliar debate on this first schema unmasked the underlying tension between Roman curial central authority and episcopal collegiality: this had to be solved—or at least a *modus vivendi* found—before it was possible to go far further. Some speeches will illustrate the point:

1. Mgr Enrico Dante, the papal master of ceremonies and secretary to the Sacred Congregation of Rites, said that while episcopal conferences throughout the world might propose changes, it was the Holy See alone (notably his Congregation) which decided what should or should not be done. He insisted that the Mass and breviary should always be said in Latin.
2. Cardinal Gracias of Madras spoke of the great diversity of languages in the same cultural milieus, but insisted that the vernacular language was always necessary for instructing ordinary people and for giving them a taste of the true Christian experience. He felt that the language problem must be left to the decision of the conferences of bishops.
3. The Curial Cardinal Antonio Bacci insisted that the Mass must always be said in Latin, citing Rosmini's condemnation a century ago for saying that Latin was a barrier between priest and people. Other sacraments might be administered in popular languages but only with specific Roman authorisation, for episcopal authorisation would break the bond of unity.

It might be forgiven if we notice again what "waiting for Roman initiative" would have meant, and if we notice how much curial officials can become removed from the day-to-day needs of parishioners (and that is sometimes a luxurious word) throughout the world.

On 14th November 1962 the Fathers approved of the schema in general by 2162:46 votes, but with some 781 *juxta modum* votes (modifications requested) on the section dealing with the Mass, which caused the

Commission to insert an amendment granting that the local ordinaries should have control over concelebrations, etc.; and 1,054 *juxta modum* votes on sacraments, which caused the Commission to insert an amendment granting episcopal conferences the right to choose languages for the administration of sacraments. As much as anyone this was a triumph for the African and Asian bishops, who had persistently demonstrated that, as in the early Church, it was now again necessary to adapt the liturgy to the social, intellectual and natural milieu of their people, whose culture had to be accepted as it stood for what it was.

On 22nd November 1963 the Constitution was voted *placet* by 2,159:19 votes. It had been divided into those clauses which were doctrinal, establishing continuity between the teaching of the Councils of Trent and Vatican II; and pastoral clauses dealing with such matters as the vernacular. As to Trent, the proper forerunner of this Constitution, some Fathers asked for and achieved a number of amendments inserted in chapter 2 counterbalancing the new emphasis on the Mass as a meal, asserting that the Mass has a sacrificial character. Cardinal Bea, for instance, noted that the Mass was not only a *convivium* but a *sacrificium*, and not merely a sacrifice of praise but a propitiatory sacrifice. These insertions, for all their value, confused the flow of thought of the Constitution, as in Article 6 where rival forces appear to be vacillating between "sacrifice" and "sacrament". For all that and despite its imperfections, this first Constitution was, in the words of the German liturgist E. J. Lengeling, "a blessed rich harvest, which had been ripening in the last decades under the breath of the Holy Spirit"; and in the words of the Italian Benedictine liturgist Cipriano Vagaggini, "a great step forward in the toilsome reconquest of Christian essentiality".

Pope Paul promulgated the Constitution on 4th December 1963, in the first months of his reign. But on 25th January 1964 he issued a curious motu proprio putting only a part of the Constitution into effect. The papal text was castigated as a betrayal of the Council of Fathers. It failed to say anything about changes contemplated in the Mass, and actually contradicted the Constitution in regard to the approval needed for vernacular texts: the Constitution had given this right of approval to the episcopal conferences, while this new document ordered submission of all translations to the Holy See. By then Belgian, German and French bishops (though not English) had already authorised vernacular versions for the Mass and sacraments, on the basis of the Constitution; so they could only protest to the Pope, as they did. The Holy See then retracted, saying the episcopal conferences need only notify the Holy See of their decision to use the vernacular; and those phrases which were worded to suggest that all changes were made at the Pope's good pleasure, rather than in virtue of the Constitution, were withdrawn.

The Pope's nominations to the post-conciliar Commission pleased most liturgists, for they recognised the competence of Cardinal Lercaro of Bologna as president (though a shadow was to fall across him later) and

Fr Bugnini as secretary[14] and most of the other members. This represented a swing of the pendulum away from the Roman Congregation of Rites, which had controlled liturgical matters for over three hundred and fifty years, to a collegial responsibility undertaken by the bishops with the Pope. The swing was underwritten by what Xavier Rynne called "the leaven of contact between the people and the living eucharistic mystery of the Church resulting from the application of the (liturgical) Constitution".[15]

In all, the Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was a great breakthrough both for the Council and for the Liturgical Movement. But it is by no means a perfect document. As Professor J. A. Jungmann has written, "nobody will conceal the fact that the Constitution bears the imprints of imperfect human work, both as regards its contents and its form. On many questions a middle line has been drawn between ideal and tradition, a line which depends upon the momentary balance of rival forces which resulted in vacillations in the text of the Constitution itself".[16] Nevertheless it is a skeletal law and instrument of reform of decisive quality.

The form that the Constitution takes is this: first, a long statement of the general principles concerning the nature, the importance, the teaching and the reform of the sacred liturgy both in parishes and in "pastoral-liturgical action". Thereafter each in turn, the Eucharist, the sacraments and sacramentals, the Divine Office, the liturgical callendar, sacred music and sacred arts and furnishings are each given a chapter, six in all besides the statement of general principles. A chronicle of all amendments to the Constitution is printed by Fr Barauna.[17] The amendment process at the Council will indicate the work that has gone into this Constitution, quite apart from the hours taken up on the schema by plenary sessions of the 2,215 Council Fathers, who voted, after making 329 speeches and 350 written submissions. Thirteen sub-commissions were set up under the Liturgical Commission, and all speeches and submissions were relayed to all of them: it was in that stage of commission-room debate that the pastoral experience of the bishops met the cross-current of liturgical scholars before the Commission presented its amendments to the Fathers in Council. An example of these is the first, that "separated brothers in the Church" should be changed to read "all who believe in Christ" (2,181 votes *placet*).

Now let us look at the document *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Of the general principles the essence is this: that the liturgy is the exercise of the priestly office of Jesus Christ; it does not exhaust the entire activity of

[14] The Lazarist Fr A. Bugnini had been secretary to Pius XII's Liturgical Commission, and his appointment to this Commission linked the sentiments of *Mediator Dei* with those of the Council. He is the author of *Documenta Pontificia ad instaurationem liturgicam spectantia 1903-53, 1953-63*, 2 vols. He had also been secretary to the Conciliar Commission from January 1960 until the opening of the Council, when he was replaced by Fr F. Antonelli, O.F.M.

[15] "The Second Session", p. 305.

[16] ed. H. Vorgrimler, "Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II", 1 (1967), p. 71.

[17] ed. W. Barauna, O.F.M., "The Liturgy of Vatican II"; 2 vols., Franciscan Herald Press 1966, I. 71-94.

the Church, which besides being a praying Church is also a teaching Church;[18] nevertheless the liturgy is the summit towards which the activity of the Church is directed and the font from which her power flows; so the liturgy demands a full and active (*actuosa*[19]) participation by all her members; but the spiritual life is not limited to that, to the exclusion of private prayer and popular devotion (sec. 7-13).

The practical consequences of these principles are these: that the liturgy should be controlled by the Holy See, the diocesans and the episcopal conferences (but never at the level of the parish priest); that changes must succeed careful study in the theological, historical and pastoral fields; that changes must be clearly for the good of the Church and arising organically from existing forms; that rites should have a tendency to converge rather than differ in character in localities, since the services pertain to the whole body of the Church (sacrament of unity), the holy people united and ordered under their bishops; that where proper, public celebration is to be preferred to individual quasi-private celebration, each person present doing what is fitting to his office; that the liturgy should be distinguished by a noble simplicity[20] and an intimate connection between the words (readings and sermons) and rites; that the use of the vernacular should be extended in all sacramental rites; that within the substantial unity of the Roman rite, local cultural adaptations should be allowed under control of the Holy See and the guidance of liturgical experts (sec 22-40).

Sec 41-2, entitled "promotion of liturgical life in diocese and parish" makes it very clear that the bishop is the high priest of his flock and the centre of the Church's prayer life, and that the cathedral is more than just another parish church. The laity have a duty to foster a relationship with their bishop, as well as with his vice-gerent or delegate, their parish priest. In their turn the bishops are admonished to appoint in seminaries and

[18] Cf. the distinction between *lex orandi* and *lex credendi*, discussed in *Mediator Dei*, sec 32, and above on that subject.

[19] *Participatio actuosa* = inwardly attentive and co-operative participation, as distinguished from physical actions or speech. Cf. Baraúna I, 131-94, "Active Participation, the Inspiring & Directive Principle of the Constitution". Dom Odo Casel had made this point in a letter shortly before his death: "most of all we must encourage and promote the interior participation of the layman in the Church's life. It is my hope that worship understood as a mystery which brings in its train the intense participation of all initiates will encourage this interior participation. The more interior the religious life which lay people share in the Church, the more they will be able to take part in the works and the Offices of the Church. In this, there is a measure of preparation for the union of all Christians". This was the theme of Fr Bernard McElligott's Fortieth Anniversary Address to the Society of St Gregory last summer; see the Autumn 1969 Community Notes.

[20] Dom Casel, in a conference on Collosians in 1947, described the impressive outward pomp of later medieval liturgies as substitution for faith, which reaches beyond symbols to the world of God's mysteries. In the earlier stages, "the utter simplicity of the mystery's symbols could speak volumes to (Christians); it was able to make divine reality visible". Edmund Bishop made much the same point in "The Genius of Roman Rite", *Liturgica Historica*, p. 1-19. But in fairness there is a case to be made for the anagogical way, Abbot Suger's *mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit*; even Denis the Areopagite spoke of those "little material lights" as rays of the *vera lux*.

religious training houses in their cure a professor of sacred liturgy on the same footing as the dogmatic, biblical and morals professors.

Perhaps the most important part of the Constitution is chapter 2 on the Eucharist. Where Trent, for historical reasons, had stressed the cult of the Eucharist, the Liturgical Movement now sought to emphasise the celebration, and the Council decided to continue that emphasis by deciding to revise the Mass so that it "may become pastorally efficacious to the fullest degree", i.e., its intrinsic parts should be more clearly grasped, so that popular participation was achieved more easily. Accretions were to be shorn off and elements affected by historical accidents should be restored to their full vigour. The Bible should be read more lavishly, homilies delivered more regularly and prayers of the faithful (bidding prayers) brought back, all of this preferably in the vernacular. Regulations were drawn up as to concelebration and communion under both species for the laity (sec 49-55).

Of the other sacraments, all were to be re-examined with a view to the greater participation by the laity, so that they could take a more intelligent, active and uncomplicated part within the circumstances of modern life. The marriage and ordination rites were to be revised so that the grace of the sacrament should be more clearly signified. The burial rite was to express more clearly the paschal character of Christian death, again with an eye on local custom. Discussing Lent, the Constitution stressed the social consequences of sin as offending God: "the role of the Church in penitential practices is not to be passed over, and the people must be exhorted to pray for sinners". Penance in Lent was to be, not just internal and individual, but also external and social, done in ways fitting to local cultures. Finally, Extreme Unction was fittingly renamed "the Anointing of the Sick".

The Divine Office (sec 83ff), the Liturgical Year (sec 102ff), Sacred Music (sec 112ff) and Sacred art (sec 122ff) did not go unattended. In all, it proved a remarkably liberal document, free of all restriction other than those which safeguard the "noble simplicity" of the fundamental structure. Beyond that, the principles of accommodation to place and event and adaptation to new needs are honoured; and it is even recommended that pagan ritual should be duly adapted to Church needs. Protestant scholars have remarked upon how often this Constitution has acceded to the liturgical programme of the Reformation—Scripture more centrally orientated, the priesthood of all the baptised, the active participation of the faithful, the intimate connection between words and rites. In this, and in the effect it has had on the remaining Council deliberations, it has proven an instrument of convergence, a truly ecumenical document.[21]

[21] Nevertheless it has had its timidities, and two in particular. First, the Fathers were timid in advocating Communion in two kinds, host and chalice, on such rare occasions as they did: time has pushed the wedge in deeper than they were willing to press it at that juncture. Secondly, they perhaps prudently allowed priests to continue harbouring a devotion to the Mass as their "private" Mass, their exercise of piety: this may be spiritually salutary, but it is theologically inadequate, since a priest is ordained for the people and a Mass is the main public action of the whole Church.

Dom Cipriano Vagaggini has described the Constitution as "first of all the fruit of fifty-five years of the Liturgical Movement", which, at the theological level so carefully researched and at the pastoral level so firmly rooted, has inevitably had a very wide influence, growing up from the grass roots of the bishoprics to receive official acceptance. That is why the first schema of this document, unlike the theological schemata, proved at once acceptable in principle. Dom Vagaggini judges that 1909 marks the emancipation from the Tridentine epoch in liturgy; that 1909-63 was an epoch of transition, labour, struggle; and that with the promulgation of the Constitution on 4th December 1963 "a new liturgical era has definitely dawned", one of "profound compenetration of liturgical theology, liturgical spirituality, liturgical pastorals" in all practising Christians.

A year later to the day, an important clarification from the Holy Office stated: "In view of the difficulties in many regions concerning the observance of the eucharistic fast, the Holy Father, favourably receiving the petitions of the bishops, has granted that the fast from solid food should be reduced to one hour before Holy Communion. This applies to both priests and the faithful. In this concession is also included the use of alcoholic beverages in due moderation". The former norms had been abstention for three hours from solid food, an hour from non-alcoholic beverages. On 10th January 1964 these regulations had been standardised for both priests and laity as calculated from the moment of Holy Communion: before that, it was for the priest from the moment that he began his Mass. This "clarification", in fact a new regulation, had the widespread effect of allowing Communions at evening Masses or Masses following an early breakfast. It did a lot to ease the burden on willing communicants whose job or health made it otherwise difficult for them. It was an important step towards resetting the Mass in its fullest form into the contemporary life of a society peculiarly beset by stress.

During 1965 the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued two decrees, one regulating the concelebration of Mass and Communion under both kinds, the other regulating the Ordinary of the Mass (in implementaton of the Constitution). It also issued an instruction for implementing the Constitution,[22] stressing the need to encourage the active participation (*participatio actuosa*) of the faithful. It was the sign of things to come, an all pervasive reassessment of the liturgical life of the Church at diocesan and parochial levels. It dealt with bible services, liturgical translation, regional and diocesan liturgical commissions, changes in the Mass structure, the need for a homily in public Masses on Sundays and holy days, offertory prayers of the faithful, the use of the vernacular in various publicly recited parts of the Mass. However, the following was added for good measure: "the granting of permission to have other parts of the Mass in the vernacular belongs solely to the Holy See" (art 58).

This was the cue for the establishment of I.C.E.L. (the International

[22] Effective on 7th March 1965; text summarised in *Herder Correspondence* II.1 (1965), p. 13-15.

Commission for Englishing the Liturgy). Nine English-speaking countries around the Atlantic began working together to produce a standard English missal.

When in September 1966 the conference of German bishops met at Fulda, they issued a letter to the clergy expressing confidence in the progress of liturgical reform on the lines advocated by the Council, but severely condemned "scattered instances of arbitrariness and precipitancy". Answering the appeal of laymen, they declared that both Latin and German should continue to be used in the Mass.

A second instruction for implementing the Constitution appeared on 4th May 1967, stating that the vernacular may be used in the Canon of the Mass. The Roman rite of some 1500 years standing was then by degrees put into vernacular tongues; and on 14th June 1968 the long awaited three new Canons (or anaphoras) for the eucharistic liturgy of the Roman rite were officially published in Rome, the Latin text being authorised by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on 23rd May. All of them are shorter than the old rites: Prayer I, i.e., the old rite in vernacular dress, is 118 lines long in the English; Prayer II is 54 lines long in Latin, modelled on the very ancient (perhaps most ancient) Eucharistia of Hippolytus;[23] Prayer III is 74 lines of Latin, modelled on a version by Dom Vagaggini; Paryer IV is 100 lines long, and is based on an exposition of salvation history, following the best Eastern tradition. With them were provided four sets of acclamations for the people to make after the consecration.

A little before the three new canons were released, eight new prefaces were provided. Meanwhile the Pope presented to the October 1967 first Synod of Bishops the *Missa Normativa*, worked out by the post-conciliar Liturgical Commission. Modified in accordance with the synodal observations and the Pope's wishes, this new structure of the Mass will have come into general use by Lent 1970. It represents a return to an earlier and more traditional language and the theology of the Eucharist, using words like "memorial" and "meal" (*convivium*, banquet) which ring in some ears as Protestant, but which have long been used by the Church. For those who feel that the New Order is revolutionary and unnecessarily innovationary, the arguments of the Liturgical Commission (which becomes from April the Congregation for Divine Worship) are well represented in Fr Coughlan's book.[24]

One of the features of the New Order is the new Lectionary for the ministry of the word at the beginning. With it, we now have for the first time for centuries a comprehensible and mutually supporting pattern of Scripture readings taken from Old and New Testaments, Epistles and

[23] Cf. AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL LXXIII.1, Spring 1968, p.39-40, where an English translation of the *Eucharistia Hippolyti* is given. In 1926 the Berlin theologian Hans Lietzmann deduced that it must be a direct-line development/elaboration of the eucharistic prayer in common use in the communities founded by St Paul.

[24] Peter Coughlan, "The New Mass", Chapman, 1969, 16/-; it is discussed in J. D. Crichton, "The New Rite in Word & Deed", *Tablet*, 13th December 1969, p. 1221f. See also Peter Coughlan and Peter Perdue, "Commentary on the New Lectionary", 2 vols.

Gospels, all of them promoting concentration of thought, because they dwell on single corporate themes presenting the history of salvation in its various facets. "It is Christ himself who speaks when the holy Scriptures are read in Church", as the Council of Fathers told us (sec 7); and Christ's presence in the word is of a different order than his eucharistic presence, but for all that he is no less present.

* * *

A survey of this kind will alone remind us of the steady perseverance of a few visionaries in the Church (all too few in England, alas[25]), of the distance we have come in the seventy years of this century, of the acceleration we have seen in our own decade, and of the massive substance of the changes that have been effected—for better or for worse. Lonely figures standing at remote altars at the end of cold chapels, their backs to their congregations, their heads buried in Roman missals, wrestling with Ephesians in Latin words pronounced in Irish accents, while an inattentive laity told their beads or read prayer books as best they could in what passed for silence; all this is now a scene of the past. Today the altar is down among the people, and the priest, standing on the other side of it, shares his Sacrifice with them, sometimes also with other priests in concelebration, sometimes sharing with the laity even to Communion in both kinds. The congregation have put aside their rosaries and left behind their missals to participate by reading Ephesians, and with it perhaps Isaias or the Book of Wisdom, aloud to one another in their own mother tongues (some well, some badly, all as they are able). They sing the entrance hymns, compose and pronounce the Bidding Prayers, bring up the bread and wine to be offered, respond to all the offertory prayers, share in the choice of Preface and Canon, and in some places even join in at the climax of the Canon, "through him, with him, in him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour is yours, Almighty Father, for ever and ever" and always answer "Amen" (*cf.* I Cor. 14.15-17)—an Amen that is as forthright as the proclamation after the consecration. This is what the new liturgy has done and is continuing to do, for it has the power to penetrate into the lives of Christians and transform them. And this at every level, from earliest youth.

Recently a Catholic newspaper[26] gave an account of classroom Masses brought to the children of primary schools in Birmingham. Nothing could

[25] Of these, the leading names must be the secular priest Fr J. D. Crichton of Pershore, Editor of *Liturgy*; the Benedictine Fathers Bernard McElligott of Ampleforth, Gregory Murray of Downside; the Jesuit Fathers C. C. Martindale and Clifford Howell; and we should add Cardinal Hinsley who did more than any other prelate in England to foster the liturgy.

[26] *The Universe*, 16th January 1970, p. 12: "Mass in Class has come to stay". The principle runs right through the life of the Church. We at Ampleforth, for instance, are no less affected than others. Take Conventual Mass, the central act of the Community's day, for example—

In 1960 the Abbot, who never said Mass publicly except when pontificating, presided over the Community in his cowl at one end of choir while a single priest

Continued on next page

be more lyrical in showing the power of the liturgy as it has become in our lives today, to penetrate and tranform than this simple account of a classroom Mass. "The teacher's table is cleared to serve as an altar; and a desk is pulled up to hold the necessities of the Mass. While the priest is vesting ('dressing'), he holds up each article of attire, explaining its name, origin and purpose: he then explains the lay-out and coverings of the altar. Girls usually act as servers: this is regarded as a great honour, as they cannot serve in church. The hymns sung are accompanied in junior classes by a recorder. The antiphons are read by the children. The priest uses pictures pinned on the blackboard to illustrate his personal talk, which has more appeal than the normal church sermon. The petition or bidding prayers are composed and delivered by individual children. At the Offertory, each child brings a single host up to the altar for consecration. When the priest gives Communion, he dips each individual host into the chalice, so that the child like the priest receives the body and blood of Our Lord in both kinds. This is greatly appreciated by the children." They can hear everything, they are told what the action is about, they notice what is happening, and, as they say themselves, they feel at home in the atmosphere pitched to their milieu and important in being able so intimately to participate. For them, Christ has come to them to make them his guests.

Now as never before since the early days of the pristine Church, the Mass and the sacraments belong again to a participating clergy and laity, one body of faithful acting and praying together. If this is not yet entirely realised, it is only because it takes more time than to promulgate liturgical instructions to bring people to profound interior participation (*participatio actuosa*). The change is and will continue to be not merely external, a matter for description. It evokes those poignant words from Acts, chapter 2:

"Steadfast they remained in the teaching of the Apostles
and in the brotherhood of the breaking of bread, and in prayer . . .
Continuing daily to pray together in the Temple
and to break bread in their houses, they shared their food
with joy and with simplicity of heart."

(*Continued from previous page*)

sang the Mass (most of it said in silence) at the other end, alone throughout, even at the time of Communion, when no priest nor Junior stirred from his stall (there were other times for Communion). No pause was made in the singing and prayers through to the end of the Mass.

In 1970 the Abbot daily takes his place among the concelebrating priests in white albs and stoles, the president and deacon alone being fully vested, only the Juniors being in cowls. The whole Mass is sung or said aloud, creating a communal bond. At Communion, four fully filled chalices are put at the four corners of an altar now placed in the middle of choir, and two streams of white-albed priests approach from one side while two streams of black-cowled Juniors approach from the other, to give themselves the cup after receiving the host. That is followed by a longish communal Communion thanksgiving in silence before the Mass is resumed.

THE THIRD WORLD: MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS IN AFRICA

by

COLUMBA CARY ELWES, O.S.B.

We have been forced to become conscious of the underdeveloped areas of the earth, the homes of the underfed half of mankind, by the work of the Food & Agricultural Organisation, by the realities that succeed the evaporation of imperial government and by a succession of wise encyclicals culminating in Pope Paul's Letter of 1967, *Populorum Progressio*. We in the West are now more fully awoken to our responsibility towards the poor of the Third World and we wonder how we may help them, knowing how two-edged a weapon charity so often proves. Pope Paul wrote in section 71 of his Encyclical: "we are happy that experts are being sent in larger and larger numbers on development missions by institutions, whether international or bilateral, or by private organisations. They should not behave like overlords but like helpers and collaborators. A people quickly perceives whether those who come to help them do so with or without affection, whether they come merely to apply their techniques or to recognise in man his full value. Their message is in danger of being rejected if it is not presented in the context of brotherly love".

With this in mind, Fr Abbot sent out the writer to East Africa in October 1968, and he has returned there for a second year last January. While he was back in England during the autumn, he contributed the substance of this paper to a South African Seminar held at Campion Hall, Oxford. Some footnotes and an appendix have been added. The writer has some experience of making foundations, after becoming the founder-prior of St Louis Priory in America. His recent book "Monastic Renewal" shows that he has a grasp of the monastic ideal down the centuries. His previous book was "China & the Cross: Studies in Missionary History" (1957). So his experience adds a certain authority to this paper.

At one of the major seminaries in East Africa I was invited to speak to the students, and the subject chosen for me was monasticism. It seemed suitable enough and one that would present few problems. But when at my opening sentence there was a sound of incredulity (almost a jeer), it occurred to me that my audience was antipathetic. All I had said was: "I am going to speak to you about monasticism". The faces before me changed expression to a tolerant smile or to astonishment that anyone should speak of so dated an institution. Had not that vanished long ago?

It was clear that a special approach was needed, and quickly. So the second paragraph was somewhat as follows: "There is one great contribution made by the Church in Africa to the treasury of the universal Church, one that has influenced the Church at large for at least 16 centuries, and that is monasticism.[1] It was St Anthony of the African desert

[1] Cf. Dom Jean Leclerq, "Rediscovering a Tradition: Monastic Life in Africa", *Monastic Studies* IV (Advent 1966), 137-160. He prints as an appendix the Declarations of the Bouaké Congress, Ivory Coast, 26th May 1964. Bouaké was canonically erected in 1960, a foundation from Toumliline in Morocco.

who began it, drawing thousands of disciples to him. It was St Pachomius who first brought order into the monastic idea, and much of his rule found its way into the Rule of St Benedict. It was St Augustine, bishop and monk of North Africa, who wrote a rule which has been the source of yet a third stream of monastic life. It therefore behoves Africans to examine very closely and lovingly the ideal of the monk. Indeed, there remains on their continent a Church whose framework is monastic, Ethiopia; and it is salutary to observe that this is the only Church to have withstood the onslaught of Islam". I may say that this 'got them' and there was from that moment no difficulty about speaking of monks and their ways.

Allow me to state simply what is specifically monastic in the general life of Christendom. While we are all called to the love of God and our neighbour, bearing witness to Christ differently according to our calling, some are called more directly to prayer. The task of monks is not primarily action but reflection and ultimately the prayer of contemplation. This dimension is as vital to an expanding missionary Church as is the more evidently "useful" activity that characterises it. The early missionary stage of evangelisation will give place to the stage of consolidation—cultural, social, spiritual: and it is here especially that the monk has his place, in preserving and passing on cultural values and in lifting them to spiritual levels which will remind men of the eschatological purpose of life, that here is no abiding city. That in Africa today is a vital need: for, as we shall see, developing peoples are dazzled by wealth and the good things brought to them by technology. They are intoxicated by the novelty of the siren voice of material prosperity and the power it brings. They are liberated by the activity concomitant with prosperity, so that they cease to wonder, cease to stay still, cease to give praise and thanks. Here is the place of prayer. Perhaps we should recall the words of the Council fathers, speaking on the Religious Life: "no matter how urgent may be the needs of the active apostolate, contemplative communities will always have a distinctive part to play in Christ's Mystical Body, where all members have not the same function. For they offer to God a choice sacrifice of praise. They brighten God's people with the richest splendours of sanctity. By their example they motivate this people; by imparting a hidden apostolic fruitfulness, they make this people grow. Thus they are the glory of the Church and an overflowing fountain of heavenly graces".[2] These words were approved by missionary bishops.

I. The Problem of Monasticism in Africa

In October 1968 I went to East Africa partly to give retreats to missionaries, partly to discover the needs of the Church in those countries. I travelled through Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania for ten months, observing

[2] *Perfectae Caritatis*, sec. 7. Cf. also the Decree on the Missions: "Religious communities of the contemplative and of the active life have so far played, and still do play, a very great role in the evangelisation of the world. This sacred synod gladly acknowledges their merits and thanks God for all that they have done for the glory of God and the service of souls". *ad Gentes*, sec. 40.

and enquiring. The bishops of Uganda or their representatives (Masaka, Jinja, Tororo, Fort Portal, Kampala), those of Kenya (particularly those of Nairobi, Kisii and Kisumu), those of Tanzania (Arusha, Moshi, Bukoba, Dar) all wanted Ampleforth to make a monastic foundation in their diocese. It was noticeable that the African bishops were eager for a spiritual centre and less concerned with "works" than their European confrères, who would have liked us to take over a school or a seminary. In this, the Africans were ahead of the Europeans—at least in regard to schools, which are to be taken over by governments. The secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelizing of Peoples (Propaganda), Archbishop Pignedoli, came up to me at the Pan-African episcopal conference and earnestly begged that we should make a foundation, saying that the contemplative life was the most important thing in the missions today, not only in Africa but in all of the missions. The Holy Father also made a somewhat similar appeal in one of his addresses during his visit to Kampala.

What is at the back of this almost universal request? The way it was often put was as follows: Christianity in Africa is very young; it is therefore a plant without very deep roots. By providing a centre of prayer where the most important things are evidently put first, you would put forward a living witness to what the Church is really about. Besides, they say, we need somewhere where our priests and leading lay people and sisters can come for retreats and conferences, for research into the liturgy, discussions on theology, and studies on sociology and ecumenism. We monks ourselves think in terms of establishing the monastic way of life, where God may be praised, not for any ulterior motive, but simply because that is man's ultimate and proximate purpose.

In East Africa it is universally recognised that the permanence of expatriates there is not assured. There are three future possibilities. The first is that some more or less violent twist in the political situation will cause all expatriates to be hustled out unceremoniously: that kind of thing could happen anywhere in the Third World. The second is that expatriates may be phased out in 10 or 15 years under a policy of Africanisation: already the Indians are being squeezed out, the missionaries are finding difficulty in getting visas for Uganda. The third possibility is one which may not seem probable now, that once the Africans have shown they want to paddle their own canoe and can do it, they may feel a nostalgic friendship for the British (and others) and let them return at least to secondary posts—as has happened in India. The pressure against expatriates exists where Africans feel that they are being kept from lucrative jobs: schools, civil service, universities, banks, industry and commerce. It is unlikely that they would be much concerned with a small, insignificant priory, evidently not in competition for the riches of this world or for particular lucrative posts.

My first task, before I could begin forming opinions, was to visit some of the monasteries spread over East Africa. Of these, Lumbwa was the least inaccessible, and there I went in January 1969. It is Trappist (i.e., reformed

Cistercian), founded from Tilburg in Holland some 20 years ago, intended to be very simple and poor. The monks, when they first arrived, lived in little mud huts, one apiece, in a circle surrounding a mud church. One of these huts survives today, but the rest have crumbled. The force of economic circumstances has since made them emulate the medieval ideal, making a living by farming, cattle ranching and pig breeding. The monastery is in what used to be called the White Highlands, somewhat east of Kericho, the tea country. Lumbwa was too high up for tea farming. The monastery stands in a fold in the mountain at 7,000 feet, beautiful but high and dry. The British government had cleared some of the ground trees; the monks did more. They began with a wretched 50 acres, but even with 1,000 acres they could not make the farming pay, nor even with 2,000 acres. It was only when the estate reached the proportion of 2,500 acres that they broke even. Fortunately they had their wealthy monastery behind them in Europe, with its huge brewery which financed their undertakings and probably their errors. By now they have several thousand head of cattle and 600 pigs. It has become, as it were while they slept (or rather laboured hard) a vast business proposition. Because it was so remote from anywhere, money was needed for communications—cars, tractors, landrovers, bulldozers, feeders, and six miles of self-maintained road. All these things do cost a lot anywhere, and they cost a lot more in East Africa where repairs are so constantly needed.

So long as monasteries thought of themselves as European establishments with half a century of time ahead of them to acclimatise Africans to the religious life, such a way of life was acceptable. But history has taken a sudden twist in the early 1960s: Independence has come with a rush, with the result that Africans feel that they must be predominant in their own countries *now*. Africans are not interested in huge undertakings, on the whole not wanting to manage them—at least monks do not expect to do so. Lumbwa is very fine in its way, massively built up from granite stones, with spacious European cloisters and a high, awe-inspiring church. As the younger generation of monks tend to say, this is on a scale scarcely in keeping with the African setting, nor indeed with modern ideas concerning the witness to poverty, which is already difficult for Europeans in an Africa so much poorer than any Western country. Lumbwa is a happy place in which the majority of the monks are African, chiefly Wachagga and Baganda, these two each accounting for about a third of the 20 African monks, another 11 being European.

The problem that has presented itself from the start at Lumbwa is the perennial one that contemplative houses must face, that monks and nuns do not live on air: they must find a living or make one.[3] Lumbwa found its way by building up a very large farm in which they find themselves competing with their neighbours on the European ranches,

[3] *Regula Benedicti XLVIII*, 7-8: "but if the circumstances of the place or the poverty of the brethren require them to gather the harvest themselves, let them not be discontented; for then are they truly monks when they live by the labour of their hands, like our fathers and the Apostles". (Cf. 1 Cor. 4.12.)

all becoming more and more scientific as the years go on, the monks trying to "keep up with the Jones". What else can they do way out in the wilds? In the Middle Ages they were the pioneers, they set the pace; but now it is they who trail behind. What else could they do in their situation to earn a living? Retreat work comes to mind: they do have a retreat house, but travelling to Lumbwa is both costly and dangerous—all African travel in vehicles is costly, at least to wear and tear. It is cheaper for Mahomet to go to the mountain, for the retreatant to go out after his retreatants. But then, Cistercians do not ever like to leave their enclosure.

So long as a monastery has a large European community of well-trained monks (theologians, scripture scholars, philosophers, historians and the rest), there is no pressing need for the young ones to be going off for their training. But suppose that the number of such Europeans is small—and in these days it is likely to be so—then this problem of supplying adequate training for the juniors becomes acute. If the monastery is far from any major centre, the young may have to live for long periods away from their cloisters, possibly in a rather unsuitable environment for their maturing spirits.

For three reasons it seems to me that a monastery in East Africa should be near a great centre of life. The first is that monks could then be available more easily to the local church, both in the people coming to them and they going out to the people. The second is that monks could then do their training in educational establishments such as seminaries and universities, while returning daily to their enclosure (or if not daily, often enough). The third is that any great city is of its nature a centre of communication, allowing retreat-givers and lecturers to use modern conveyances to reach their destination in a day. Observing these requirements, it would seem that in East Africa there are three major centres able to fulfil them—Nairobi, the greatest centre of them all, with seminaries, schools, universities; Kampala in Uganda, similarly placed; and the Moshi-Arusha complex in Tanzania, the focus of the East African common market. There are other requirements for locating a monastery; of those, more later.

In the light of his "engagement", we should say a word about withdrawal, the tradition of *fuga mundi* or flight to the desert. None can fail to see that I take this principle in its broad intentional sense rather than its strict legalistic sense. It is undoubtedly a mark of the monk that he lives away from the world in order to give himself the more completely to God. But following the example of St Anthony and St Basil,[4] or St

[4] St. Basil's teaching in his two Rules and five ascetic sermons favoured subsequent so called "activist" monachism. He declared against even the theoretical superiority of the eremitical life over the cenobitical, and the fully contemplative over the partially active. To bring the apostolic life within reach of his monks, he built in or near towns, and undertook work concerned with orphanages (for girls as for boys), hospices, hospitals and education. He stressed the primacy of works of charity. Cf. Dom Léon Lèbe, "Règles Monastiques de S. Basile le Grand" and "Règles Morales de S. Basile le Grand", Editions de Maredsous 1970 (330 FB).

Benedict himself,[5] monks have always made excursions into the world to preach to it and to help in material and cultural ways. Only since the Reformation have we taken so strict a view of withdrawal and enclosure, alas as a reaction from the abuse of the more fruitful intentional interpretation. It may be time to return to that maturer flexibility.

II. The Success of Monasticism in Tanzania

In the south of Tanzania lies that great complex called Peramiho.[6] It is an abbey and great missionary centre founded by St Ottilien, the Bavarian missionary Benedictine congregation. In 1887 the Prefecture Apostolic of southern Tanganyika (as it was) was handed over to the St Ottilien monks, its organising centre being located first at Zanzibar, then Dar, then Lindi, further south on the coast. The monks, soon leaving the Muslims to look after themselves, left the coast and moved inland about 400 miles to Peramiho, some 100 miles from Lake Nyasa. By 1898 it was a thriving abbey with dependent missions: it became an abbacy nullius with an Abbot-Bishop in 1927. In June 1969 the Abbot-Bishop handed over the jurisdiction of the whole diocese of Peramiho to the new African Bishop James Komba of the nearby town of Songea. The Abbey remains with 60 monk priests, and nearly as many lay brothers spread out among the mission stations, seminaries and schools. The statistics of this development are set out in an appendix.

The impression Peramiho makes upon a traveller is overwhelming: its sheer size, its solidity and beauty, its rich pink-red bricks and deep-red tiles, all of this is set in a vast emptiness of mountains, wilderness and plains—empty, that is, to the foreign eye, but teeming with folk in their little farmhouses. The next impression is of complexity. Here in the centre of a vast area which in 1965 covered 66,000 sq. kilometres with its 40 mission stations and its 223,500 Catholics in a population of 335,000. Each of these stations had about 10 outstations. Since the severance of the new diocese of Njombe, the number of priests is reduced, and also that of the missions. But the centre at Peramiho remains almost the same. Besides the monastery and its huge church, able to hold up to 2,000 at Mass on a Sunday, there are the large hospital, major seminary and the craft schools —shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, goldsmiths, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, millers, builders. You name it, they have it! These craft schools are overseen by brothers from Germany. Then there are children's schools

[5] St Gregory in *Dialogues* 11.8, tells us that St Benedict "preached continually to the people of the vicinity (of Cassino), summoning them to the Christian faith" and that he "used frequently to send his monks to a village not far from the monastery for the spiritual benefit (of those there converted, among them nuns) . . . the monk who was sent having delivered his sermon. . . " (Ibid. 11.19). In his Rule St Benedict speaks of the Tools of Good Works as "to relieve the poor, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, to bury the dead, to help the afflicted, to console the sorrowing".

[6] *Catalogus O.S.B.*, 1965, records about 90 choir monks, 80 conversi, 33 African oblate priests. These numbers have since been reduced by Njombe diocese being cut out of that of Peramiho. See Appendix.

and until this year a Teacher Training school, which has moved alsewhere and been replaced by a catechists' school. To feed this gathering, there is a farm nearby run by two of the brothers.

It is said without exaggeration that south west Tanzania has been run by the monastery of Peramiho for the last half century. As Independence came, this had to change; but the shift will be slow in fact. First, those trained at Peramiho will increasingly set up shops for themselves. Then—as already in the ecclesial world—Africans will become more numerous than the Benedictines at the higher levels, taking over many of the key positions. In June of 1969 the great handover occurred, a symbol of these necessary changes. This has not yet happened in the sister abbey of Ndanda[7] only a hundred miles away from the coast. The reason for this lagging behind is the large Muslim population that has hindered the conversion of the people. Ndanda is repeating Peramiho stage by stage but on a smaller scale. Both monastic foundations have established subject priories throughout their territories, priories at six hours' walking distance from the next mission. These are beautiful *monasteriola* with their own cloisters and their church built in the same rich pink-red brick of the mother abbey. They are never manned by more than two or three monks at one time. Half of them are now manned by African priests, themselves trained at Peramiho.

At one time it had been hoped that these same secular priests, though not monks in the full sense, would be oblates of the Order and live somewhat like monks, at least vowed to obedience to their abbot, practising poverty and, of course, celibacy. But it was pointed out to them 30 years ago by the Apostolic Delegate that as secular priests they had no such obligations (except celibacy); so this dream of quasi-monastery establishments all over southern Tanzania had to be abandoned. In a way the plan was laudable: the monks refused to allow any African to become a full monk because they wanted to build up a native secular clergy as soon as possible. In fact their record is as good as any: 70 African priests in as many years. However, about 10 years ago two African priests presented themselves to the abbot saying that they specifically wanted to be monks, but not missionary monks. He sent one of them to Europe to explore. When he returned, still persistent, the abbot gave him two European monks from Peramiho, one as prior and one as novice master, and the project began. Now those two Europeans have gone, their jobs well done, and they leave behind them 30 African monks and as many postulants again. This is at Hanga,[8] some 30 miles from the mother monastery. The

[7] Begun in 1906 as a missionary station, became an abbey centre. In 1931 became an abbey nullius, with an Abbot-Bishop. *Catalogus O.S.B.*, 1965, records about 55 choir monks, 50 conversi, 6 African oblate priests.

[8] *Catalogus O.S.B.*, 1965, records Hanga as *Prioratus simplex SS. Mauri et Placidi pro benedictinis africanis*, founded at Hanga on 15th December 1960. In 1965 it had 2 priests and 4 monks in temporary vows, 2 novices, 11 postulants.

buildings are far less grand than those of Peramiho. They have plenty of land; and indeed the government is so pleased with their agricultural progress that it has presented them with a small mountain area to expand into, which will provide them with grazing for their cattle all the year round. They began very small and poor, and are now in danger (is this not the tale of monasticism?) of becoming a agricultural institution, the tail wagging the monastery.

A problem in these poor, simple agricultural communities will be the training of priests for the monastery. If one sends a young priest to an educational centre, for example a seminary, for eight years, by the end of it the chances are loaded—and most particularly in such countries where education carries such glittering prizes (even ecclesiastical ones)—that the student will not be able to face returning to his house. For such places as Hanga, this is a sore issue; and the only answer may be that select monks are chosen to be ordained without the canonical training of so many years. We can understand the feeling that must have gone into those closing phrases of the Bouaké Declaration: "the monastic life represents a state of humility within the Church; it does not tend of itself to prepare its members for hierarchical functions. Its end is normally exclusive of all pastoral care. But monks have no intention of just ignoring the radiance which monasteries by their life of prayer and charity cannot fail to cast over the surrounding population". There is the dilemma, so carefully put.

The style of monk who presents himself is of the simplest. He will know almost no English, he will be at the most a seventh grade primary school leaver. In fine, the intellectual level is low, even if the spiritual is high. Of course, few of these become priests, though they will have a long period of theological training. Manual labour is their great outlet: but as time changes things, field labour will be less possible for many of them. Their life is divided between prayer, work and study; work enough to keep themselves but not to pay for a monastery car or to keep going the necessary farm machinery. Peramiho has till now had to be a fairy god-mother, but that arrangement cannot last. Where they might make money for their house is in retreat and conference giving, but here the vicious circle turns on their lack of intellectual equipment for that, and the fact that they are too far from centres of population and along a poor track.

III. The Underlying Principles

All over Africa these problems are present in some form or another, and there are few parts of Africa that have not experienced some small attempt at monastic life. Toumliline, in the hinterland mountains of Morocco, was founded some 20 years ago from En-Calcat in southern France. In its early days it ingratiated itself with the Moroccan Muslim government by supporting the liberation movement. It entered the movement for agricultural improvement, and began to stage international con-

ferences on religion. Then in 1969 it was suddenly closed down by official decree; but not before it had hived off twice, once to Bouaké on the Ivory Coast in 1960 and once to Koubri in Upper Volta.

This is not the only monastery to have been affected by politics. Kansenia priory in Katanga was canonically erected in 1947, first at Kiswishi near Elizabethville, then at Kansenia as part of the Belgian St André missionary effort: it has now again been driven back to the Elizabethville area. Some hundreds of miles north, in Ruanda, Gitrindamuyaga was founded from Maredsous (Belgium), and this has been so disturbed by visitors and beggars that it has had to retreat to an island on a lake. A Solesmes foundation is Keur Moussa, founded in 1963 in almost the most westerly point of Africa: it is a purely contemplative house starting with nine monks, which has so far survived with little outside aid or interference. Another of its kind, founded a bit earlier in 1958 from La Pierre-qui-Vire (Mid France) is similarly placed as is the Belgian priory of Vila Luso in Angola, erected in 1962. Another house, founded from Engelberg in Switzerland in 1961, transferred three years later nearer into the Cameroons capital, Yaounde, to be more accessible for retreat giving and other such work.

From all of these examples we should now try to elicit some principles. It is a premise of thought that an abbey in Africa must rapidly be Africanised; but how? First, it should be established in or near a Catholic area, such as Buganda or the west of Lake Victoria, or Kakamega or the Kisii diocese to the east, or around the foothills of Killimanjaro, or in Luo country or in Arusha or near Nairobi; and thereby vocations should flow liberally. Then it should be close to a chief centre of communication such as Kampala (Uganda) or Nairobi (Kenya) or Arusha (Tanzania); and these, too, are the intellectual centres—e.g., Kampala with its university and Catholic seminary. I do not advocate that monasteries should be set in towns, for that is Dominican and Franciscan work as front-row forwards; the monks are three-quarters, somewhat outside—but not so far outside in country where travel is so expensive; perhaps at fly-half, approximately six/ten miles away. If monasteries shift from their old economy of mass farming to a new one of spiritual direction, they need not become engulfed in vast economic ventures, but can remain economically unpretentious and at the same time turn more of their energies to the work of the Church.

It is important to found an African house from the start, and not a house of Europeans whose presence in greater numbers and developed gifts over-awe the African postulants, who then seek to model themselves on a pattern more European than African. Those Europeans who do begin such ventures must already be counting the days till they hand over, from the moment they start. They must seek to encourage an African spirituality, and this is psychologically very different from a European. Take silence, for instance: it is almost incomprehensible to an African, whose strongest urge is always to communicate. He is a natural community man, who wants to share all he possesses and stands for—his meals and his mind. He does not understand silence or poverty as virtues, and admires not taciturnity but friendly gesture and shared frugality:[9] he has a natural magnanimity, a joie de vivre which transcends the ascetical virtues so dear to European spirituality. Sharing, in community or out of community, in season or out of season, that is the characteristic gift which should be built on.

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE DIOCESE OF SONGEA, TANZANIA : SUMMER 1969

Area : 50,000 square kilometres.
Inhabitants : 304,000.
Catholics : 208,000. Catechumens : 3,670.
Deaneries : 4. Parishes : 41.

Diocesan Priests : 52. European Secular Priests : 4.
Missionary Priests, O.S.B. : 68. Missionary Brothers, O.S.B. : 57.
African Monks, O.S.B. : 27. African Nuns, O.S.B. : 173. Missionary Nuns, O.S.B. : 87.
European Nuns : 12. Lay Helpers : 7.

Doctors : 4.

Baptisms : 9,670. Confirmations : 6,020. Marriages : 1,100. Anointings : 1,100.

Seminaries : Major (Peramiho), 62 students.
Minor (Likonde & Hanga), 300 pupils.
Catechetical (Mgazini), 75 pupils.

Hospitals : 3. Beds : 1,820. Nurses : 42.
Dispensaries : 15.
Leper Settlements : 2. Lepers : 2,500.

Schools : Secondary (Kigonsera):	16 teachers,	350 pupils.	
Secondary (Peramiho):	5 teachers,	72 pupils.	
Teacher Training :	16 teachers,	222 pupils.	
Trade (Peramiho) :	17 teachers,	68 pupils.	
Nursing (Peramiho) :	2 teachers,	45 pupils.	
Primary :	400 teachers,	21,200 pupils in	110 schools.
Bush (prep.) :	100 teachers,	4,500 pupils in	70 schools.
Homecraft Centres :	35 teachers,	820 pupils in	20 centres.
Catechetical Centres :	400 teachers,	4,850 pupils in	350 centres.

[9] The distinction between Poverty and Frugality is important in a country which knows destitution, endemic famine, subsistence farming, illiteracy and medical ignorance. St Benedict did not preach poverty to his monks but communal use of goods, held in frugal measure. What he insisted had to be rooted out in his monastery was *meum* and *tuum*. Poverty can cripple life whereas Frugality frees it; and that is the Benedictine purpose.

MICHELANGELO IN THE HOUSE OF DEATH

by

GEOFFREY WEBB

This first appeared as a talk on the B.B.C. under the title, "Two Faces of Renaissance Humanism"; and it was followed by a talk on Leonardo da Vinci, "The Beauty of Chaos", and a further talk on Bronzino's *Allegory*, now in the National Gallery. It is hoped to publish all three in turn, as they do share a common theme, viewing the Renaissance from the medieval standpoint rather than the common standpoint of all-perceiving hindsight. The three figures under discussion, two geniuses and a master, pair well together; for, as the author says, "following a Michelangelo you have to have your good academics, like Bronzino, to hold onto reality after the earthquake, as it were": one remembers Sir Kenneth Clark's 1967 lecture, "A Failure of Nerve: Italian Painting 1520-35", and appreciates the point. In all of these talks there is an underlying religious seriousness; and this is not surprising, for the author is a priest, a member of the Westminster Cathedral clergy. He has written on St Aelred and Cistercian spirituality. In 1967 he delivered two B.B.C. talks entitled "An Idea and its Icons", Christ in Majesty and the Christ of the Trades.

The frontispiece, the Florence Entombment Pietà, which Michelangelo worked on in the early 1550s, illustrates the paper. The photograph was taken by Mgr Francis Bartlett, Administrator of Westminster Cathedral, when he recently visited Florence Cathedral, where the Pietà stands behind the high altar.

VASARI's "Lives of the Artists" was published in 1550. It told the history of Italian art as a gradual progression, with its climax in Michelangelo. But Michelangelo was rather hard to please. He wasn't satisfied with what Vasari said about him. Vasari had made mistakes, he claimed. Some of the facts were wrong, and other important facts had been left out. And so he was very glad when a young pupil, Ascanio Condivi, told him he wanted to write his biography.

Condivi had come to Rome originally to study painting, when he was 20. But as soon as he got to know Michelangelo he decided that his mission in life was to take down everything that Michelangelo said, not only about art, but about everything else as well. Michelangelo, at the age of 70, had found his Boswell, and he seemed very pleased with him. Condivi's life of the master is perhaps uncritical, over-enthusiastic, but it does observe Michelangelo intimately, and what is very important is that we are quite sure that it's the record that Michelangelo wanted to leave for posterity. It conveys the great man's image of himself. Take this passage, for instance . . .

"He read the Holy Scriptures, both the Old and New Testaments, with deep study and attention, as well as those who expounded them—for example the writings of Savonarola, for whom he always had a great affection, and whose voice he never forgot. He also loved the beauty of the human body, as one who best understands it. And I have often heard him

hold forth on the subject of love, and I learned afterwards that he always talked about it in the terms that Plato used."

Now it may seem contradictory to us, this contrast between scripture and Savonarola on the one hand, and anatomy and Platonic love on the other. But in the way Condivi puts it, the ideas are quite in harmony, and I don't doubt that Michelangelo wanted us to believe that he didn't find them contractory at all, that he had in fact made a synthesis of the Christian and Platonic elements.

To the end of his life, Michelangelo liked to think of himself as a *piagnone*, one of Savonarola's weeping penitents. Savonarola had an enormous influence in Florence, not only on the crowds in the streets who thought of a sermon as good entertainment. He made an impact on extremely intelligent people like Pico della Mirandola. Let me give you an example of the kind of thing Savonarola brought into his sermons . . .

"If you want to do good, and keep away from sin, impress on your mind a strong, clear image of death! In the morning, the first thing you must do is to put on your spectacles of death—*gl'occhiali della morte*—by which I mean, say to yourself that you are dust, and unto dust you will return."

The sermons quickly got into print, and the illustration that goes with this particular passage shows a charming Renaissance interior being creepily invaded by skeletons and winged horrors straight out of the *danse macabre*.

Savonarola's influence was persistent, as he admits, but it didn't by any means exclude other influences. In fact, two years after that sermon, the year that Savonarola was burned on the Piazza della Signoria, Michelangelo produced his first Pietà. Of all subjects in Christian art, this one, the dead Christ on his mother's lap, was the one most designed to strike compunction into the heart. But whereas, until now, it had achieved its effect by being rigid, contorted, very angular, now it was relaxed, incredibly graceful, a thing of absolute beauty.

The early Medici influence on Michelangelo was so profound that you can take it for granted, even without Condivi's observations. You have only to think what it meant to be discovered by the magnificent Lorenzo, to be adopted, educated and admired by that brilliant circle, when Michelangelo's own father had been systematically beating him simply for wanting to sculpt. For several years Michelangelo virtually was a Medici.

In the Medici circle, works of Plato that were unknown in the middle ages were being translated and commented by Marsilio Ficino, a man with a poetic and metaphysical slant that seemed completely new. Lorenzo describes Ficino as "a lover of the holy muses, and a man of true wisdom, in whom poetry and philosophy don't exclude one another". And when he says that, I think he puts his finger on the contemporary criticism of that medieval scholastic philosophy that had produced people like the Dominican Savonarola. It had all come to be seen as old and musty and

rather tediously encyclopoedic in its aims, altogether too obsessed with technique. A man like Lorenzo wanted *his* philosophy to be something that held together as an interpreter of ordinary human experience, ordinary human life as a whole. He wanted a real synthesis of intellectual, religious, imaginative and sensual experience, and this is precisely what Ficino provided with his commentaries on Plato, particularly of course on the *Philebus*, which is actually on the subject of pleasure.

The Middle Ages have familiarised us with the division of life into the active and the contemplative, but now we have something completely new with Ficino, the introduction of what he calls the *vita voluptuaria*, the life of pleasure or delight. Now this is an original contribution, and one that becomes central to the Renaissance way of life. Because this delight or pleasure isn't the obvious thing you might suppose. It is a subtle overflow from all human pursuits, according to Ficino, but especially the pursuits of the mind. The thesis is that life is delightful, but because man is intellectual, and therefore immortal, his greatest delight must obviously lie in the eternal state beyond death, because experience proves that the fulfilment of pleasure is not in this life.

In Lorenzo di Medici's poem, the *Altercazione*, Ficino is almost turned into a figure of magic, so we have to remind ourselves that he was in fact a priest of the Roman Church, and the synthesis he achieved is just as Christian as it is Platonic. It fits together the traditional virtues of faith and hope with the Socratic intuition of the intellectual nature of man finding it way back to the divine intelligence whence it belongs.

Michelangelo was strongly influenced by this kind of thinking. We can see it in his early sonnets, for instance in the lines written on the death of a young man, Cecchino Bracci, where death is visualised simply as closing your eyes and opening them again in Paradise.

> Appena prima i begli occhi vid'io
> de, vostri aperti paradiso e vita
> che, chiusi el dì de l'ultima partita
> gli apperse in cielo a contemplare Iddio.

The assumption here is that anyone young, beautiful and virtuous, already belongs to the elect. There is no need to have any doubt about salvation.

As he grows older, however, Michelangelo's own experience of life makes him question easy assumptions like these, because he discovers that beauty changes with age, on account of what he calls, so beautifully, "skin-changing time". And he questions the virtue that he once took for granted in the young and beautiful. The soul becomes that much less beautiful under the ravages of time, just like the body. And this is because of that deeply problematical thing called love that seems to have tortured him all his life. The real thing can make you grow wings, but the unreal—*voglia sfrenata*, unbridled desire—is like the horse that won't obey the charioteer. The sonnets are patterned with these Platonic images.

This train of thoughts in the sonnets is reflected in the work that occupied his middle years, from 1520 to 1534—the monument to the Medici in San Lorenzo. By this time he was the great specialist in monuments, so when Giovanni di Medici became Pope Leo X, Michelangelo was the obvious choice for the family mausoleum.

He conceived the work as an allegorical triumph. At one stage he made a cartoon for it that incorporated Fame as a seated figure holding the epitaphs of the Dukes, and he added in a note that "Fame neither advances nor retreats, for they are dead, and their work is at an end. Day and night are talking together, and they say: How quickly we have led Duke Giuliano to his death! And it is right that he should take his revenge. We have killed him, but he, in death, has taken away our light. With his closed eyes, he has closed our eyes, which no longer shine over the earth. What would he have done with us if he had lived?"

When he speaks of fame holding the epitaphs, Michelangelo makes it quite clear that here we are in the traditional scheme of Petrarch's Triumphs. Chastity overcomes love, death overcomes chastity, fame in turn triumphs over death, and fame is itself overpowered by time. But in the end, eternity triumphs over everything that has gone before. Condivi adds, in his description of the designs, that the figures of Day and Night beneath Duke Giuliano were to have been accompanied by a mouse, which is the symbol of Time nibbling everything away.

However, the cartoon with Fame holding the epitaphs is only one of a number. One can imagine that Michelangelo was constantly changing his mind, and that the patrons were constantly concerned about how much each new design was going to cost. Erwin Panofsky in his "Studies in Iconology" analyses the cartoons and shows that the theme was very similar to what had been planned for the tomb of Pope Julius II. That had been a colossal concept, and if it had been finished it was to have stood in the middle of St Peter's, but it would have needed far too much time and money and in the end all that Julius II got was the Moses group that we have today in S Pietro in Vincoli.

The idea that Michelangelo wanted to convey in his funerary monuments was the ascent of the soul in Platonic terms. In the Julius monument there was to have been a raised platform with Moses and Paul —figures of those who have looked on the divine light—and two statues symbolising active and contemplative life, the two ways to God. Beneath them the famous "slave" statues represented souls in the bondage of natural desire, of unreason, and the "subhumanity" of animal nature. The statues of Victory in niches alongside them represented the moral struggle of the *psychomachia*. All this brought out the idea of the purging of the soul from physical bondage, as a preparation for spiritual triumph. The ascent goes from the slaves and victories, through the figures of contemplation, upward to Joy and Lament accompanying the figure of the pope in apotheosis at the top—a figure of the glorified human soul.

The Medici monument in Florence was clearly devised with a similar programme. This one is even clearer in fact, since the very top of the

design had lunettes with the Resurrection and kindred subjects, and the bottom was to incorporate the four figures of river gods—Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon and Cocytus—symbolising the *mondo sotteraneo*, a kind of hell in which the soul is enslaved in matter. We have to supply this bracket in our imagination to complete what we see today, namely the apotheosed Dukes in attitudes that identify them as active and contemplative respectively, the Madonna and the family patron saints Cosmas and Damian—doctors for the Medici—and the magnificent figures of Time, poised so uncomfortably on the sloping lids of the two sarcophagi.

The Medici chapel as we see it today is more complete than the tomb of Julius, but even so the absence of its original upper and lower elements has almost obliterated the ascent theme. What we have today is this extraordinary sealed chamber, in which the doors have been made to disappear into the articulated wall, and the two figures of the Dukes seem to be attending their own requiem. "The house of death" it has very aptly been called.

Presumably the iconographic programme was directed by the patrons, the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, but even so there are reflections of Michelangelo's feelings. Those calm, Platonic assumptions of immortality have had to come to grips with the fact that the passage of time has a nightmare quality about it at some period or another in every lifetime, and that old age and death are frightening when one is no longer young. The figures of Night and Day and Dawn and Dusk seem to be smitten with grief, and turn away from us, each one registering resentment. They are sinking figures, yet with the suggestion of some upward inclination, like the "Slaves". In the dimension of time, as Michelangelo complains over and over again in the sonnets, we are dragged in two directions—upwards by the Resurrection and pure love, downwards by *voglia sfrenata* and the rivers of Hades.

And yet, when one has said that the figures of Time are registering the tensions of time with total honesty, each figure proclaims in its own way that the perfection of form lies beyond mere beauty, and that beauty itself must survive in some dimension beyond the reach of time and change, in the place where it truly belongs. You have only to look at that magnificent thigh of the sleeping woman who is Night, and the tremendous muscular shoulder of Day, and there you have Michelangelo's own symbols of the ideal perfection that can never age.

Condivi tells us that no one understood beauty like Michelangelo. "Beautiful earth and heaven, beautiful rivers and countries and forests, beautiful trees and gardens and cities and temples and houses—he loved *every* beautiful thing." And of course he loved the beauty of the human form above all, because it expressed more than any other visible form. Vasari adds that, for Michelangelo, the body was sufficient for putting across the whole of the soul's emotions.

He had pushed the splendour of human proportions further than any artist had done before him. As far as Vasari is concerned, he has outstripped antiquity, he has scaled the highest possibilities of art, and pointed the way for all future generations. On the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel,

he had followed the medieval pattern in grouping prophets and sybils together to create the framework for "The Creation of Man", but there was obsolutely no precedent for introducing 20 naked athletes into the design. Just about the only reason for their being there at all, is to symbolise the perfect forms that a Platonist must postulate as existing in the mind of God from all eternity, before even the first thought of the creation of man. For Michelangelo the body was language. It had a God-like inexhaustibility in its range of expression.

I think it has been too often suggested that his last years were a time of spiritual darkness, of disenchantment and despair. Certainly he lost faith in humanity, he felt thoroughly humiliated and betrayed by his patrons. But what is more to the point is his profound disgust with himself. He calls himself vile and base, loaded with years and sin. *La faccia mia ha forma di spavento, he* says, "my face is frightening". As Papini says in his biography, Michelangelo was "expressively, but singularly ugly". Vasari and Condivi agree in their descriptions. He was a small, broad man, with a broken nose, big ears, and small yellow eyes. If no one understood beauty like Michelangelo, one of the reasons could be that he understood it as only ugly people can. It means so much more to them. And since, for a Florentine Platonist, beauty and virtue were so married that everything good was necessarily beautiful, sometimes ugliness could have seemed to him almost like a mark of divine reprobation. Certainly his later sonnets are tortured with the theme of judgment. But this is not true of the later sculpture.

The last word is with Condivi, who finishes his biography with Michelangelo still alive, even though death can't be far away now. He's still in anguish, but still at work, and we are given a splendid feeling of undiminished interest and energy when Condivi writes: "At present he has in hand a group in marble, which he works at for his pleasure, as one who, full of ideas and powers, must produce something every day. I tell you, it is a rare thing".

This group is the Deposition, now in the Cathedral at Florence. It is the group he designed for his own monument. It shows the moment when Christ is taken down from the cross, and it's wonderfully successful in the way it conveys the weight of the falling body. Mary and Nicodemus are struggling to hold it, and the right leg makes a very sharp angle as it meets the ground.

And you can see that the face of Nicodemus is Michelangelo's own face, idealised admittedly and yet not flattered. With his figures of Time in the Medici mausoleum he had revealed the essential distress of life and at the same time conveyed the ideal perfection that lies beyond it. In the same way now he comes to terms with himself. You can see how his own head relates to the head of Christ, with that same sense of dialogue that we get, for instance, in Donne's line, "Oh let me then his strange love still admire". As Nicodemus he embodies humanity, as it accepts responsibility for Christ's death, and at the same time accepts Christ's forgiveness, and therefore can look death calmly in the face.

It's a wonderful conception, full of possible meanings. Here he is, Michelangelo, recognisable as himself, symbolising Nicodemus, and at the same time there is a suggestion of the traditional Trinity group, where the tall central figure is God the Father, and the son seems to pour out of the Father's breast in a cascading form. It is one of the most complex things he ever attempted, so it isn't surprising that, being dissatisfied with it, he broke one side of it clean away in a fit of temper—a gesture that some have interpreted as despair, but which, I think, only goes to show his understandable impatience as he struggles with the material and strives to work out the complex idea. The work was still in progress, and the ideal was drawing him on, all the time, into further dimensions.

ALBERT DURER, "THE HOLY TRINITY", WOODCUT 1511 (DETAIL).
This was certainly the inspiration for the Florence Pietà.

DOWDING AND THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

A REVIEW OF ROBERT WRIGHT'S BOOK
by
AIR MARSHAL SIR ROBERT SAUNDBY, K.C.B., K.B.E., M.C., D.F.C., A.F.C., D.L.

per ardua ad aspera

Twice during the Second War was Britain forced to stare into the face of defeat: had we lost the sea battle of 1943 or the air battle of 1940, we would have had to surrender. In the Autumn 1968 JOURNAL, Vice Admiral Sir Peter Gretton gave us his impression of the Atlantic Battle as he saw it. Now, because the subject has again become topical, an account is given of the Air Battle and Lord Dowding's subsequent retirement, by an Air Officer who was serving as Director of Operational Requirements at the Air Ministry during 1938-39 and as Assistant Chief of the Air Staff (T) during the portentious days of 1940. It was he, significantly, who in 1938 organised the production in this country of the 20 mm. Hispano cannon and the modification of Hurricane and Spitfire wings and the Beaufighter night interceptor to carry it. This weapon proved of crucial importance in the closing stages of the 1940-41 air battles, when the ·303 bullets were shown up as inadequate.

There is a danger of the story becoming too personalised, of it being told in terms of a confrontation between the politician, Sir Archibald Sinclair (Secretary of State for Air), and the professional, Sir Hugh Dowding (Commander in Chief, Fighter Command), between Eton and Sandhurst on the one hand and Winchester and Woolwich on the other, between—so to say—opportunism and realism. To set the story in those terms and that tone, as Robert Wright has tended to do, would be to do an injustice as much to Lord Dowding as to Lord Thurso and to bring back to mind temperamental characteristics best forgotten. But since the issue has arisen, both in the pages of the book under review and in the correspondence columns of *The Times* during January of this year, it must be faced: this review authoritatively puts it in perspective. The culminating conversation took place at the Air Ministry on 13th November 1940 (the date, be it noted, being three days before the disputed "surprise" telephone conversation), when Sinclair told Dowding that the Government wanted to send him to the United States as adviser on military aircraft production: "I wished to express to him in no perfunctory way my appreciation of his great services as Commander in Chief of the Fighter Command. Nevertheless, I had come to the conclusion that it was right to make the change which this new project would involve. . . . I was proposing to appoint Air Vice Marshal Sholto Douglas to Fighter Command" (thus from the minute of the Secretary of State for Air, now in the Beaverbrook Library; cf. *The Times* 22nd January, p. 11). Dowding appealed to the Prime Minister.

The author was Deputy Air Officer Commanding Bomber Command (in common parlance, "Bomber" Harris's No. 2) during the testing years of 1942-45. It is a mark of the man that in 1961 he published two books together, "Air Bombardment: the Story of its Development" and "A Fly-Rod on Many Waters". Robert Wright's book is published by MacDonald & Co. at 45/-.

ONE of the greatest difficulties facing historians is the fact the same series of events, looked at by different people from different angles, often give rise to accounts that cannot be reconciled. It is sometimes permissible to wonder if the same incidents are being described. Robert Wright's book, "Dowding and the Battle of Britain", is a good example of this sort of thing.

The story of the battle itself has been amply recorded and is not in doubt. What has given rise to controversy is the replacement of the Commander-in-Chief of Fighter Command as soon as the battle had been won. In this book Mr Wright, assisted by Lord Dowding, attempts to answer this question.

During the battle an argument arose between the Air Officer Commanding 12 Group, Air Vice-Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory and the Air Officer Commanding 11 Group, Air Vice-Marshal Keith Park. Leigh-Mallory took the view that our fighters ought to operate in large formations, i.e., of wings of two or three squadrons, known as "Balbos". In this view he was strongly supported by many of his formation leaders, prominent among whom was Douglas Bader, the legless ace. Park, on the other hand, gave greater priority to the time factor. He was convinced that he should get his squadrons into the air as quickly as possible and meet an incoming raid at the earliest possible moment. Dowding was prepared to let his Group Commanders pursue their own tactical theories, provided that they were getting the results he required. This was a perfectly possible, and indeed sensible, line for the Commander-in-Chief to take, because both Group Commanders, allowing for their differing circumstances, were probably right. Park, responsible for the defence of London and south-east England, received very little warning of incoming raids, and could not afford the time needed to form up wings of fighters before attacking. Leigh-Mallory, responsible for the Midlands and the north-east, could count no longer warning, as the raids had to fly a greater distance to reach their targets. He therefore was able to assemble larger formations, and there is no doubt they could be very effective.

All would have been well had not Leigh-Mallory been so convinced of the superiority of his system that he did everything in his power, sometimes by methods that Dowding considered to verge on insubordination, to force his ideas on the Command as a whole. Park, naturally, resented these attempts and insisted on maintaining his own tactical system. In this he was supported by Dowding.

After the battle had been won, when it was decided that Dowding should be replaced, he got it into his head that his "dismissal", as he came to think of it, was due to the Air Staff at the Air Ministry taking the view that Leigh-Mallory, whose conduct he believed had been less than loyal, was right and that he, Dowding, had been wrong.

Before accepting this belief the following relevant facts, which are not in dispute, should be considered. Dowding was appointed C. in C. of Fighter Command on its formation in April 1936. He had been led to expect, by verbal statements, that he would be succeeding Sir Edward Ellington as Chief of the Air Staff, but in February 1937 he received a letter from Ellington telling him that Sir Cyril Newall had been selected for this appointment. Dowding replied, thanking Ellington for the information, adding "I trust that I may be permitted to serve until I have completed a year in my present rank" (of Air Chief Marshal), to which he had been promoted on 1st January 1937. The C.A.S. replied that he hoped he would "continue to serve at any rate for two or three years". Dowding was later informed that his retirement would take place at the end of June 1939. He had himself more than once stated in writing that he realised that the new C.A.S. might find it embarrassing if anyone senior to himself should wish to stay on in the Service for some years. In February 1939 he was informed that "no change would be made in his appointment during the present year". By that time he would have been C. in C. for considerably longer than the normal period of three years. In May 1939 he was informed that "after further consideration (the Air Council) have decided to continue your employment until the end of March 1940". His successor was nominated and Dowding was apparently reconciled to his retirement. Indeed, he had held his important post for a good deal longer than was customary.

Just before he was due to go, Dowding received a letter from the C.A.S. asking him to continue in his post until 14th July, and he received a formal notice of his retirement on that date. On 5th July he was asked to defer his retirement to some unspecified date, on the ground that the Battle of Britain was imminent, and that this was no time for swapping horses. Later, on 13th July, he was informed that the date of his retirement would be 31st October 1940.

After the daylight battle had been won, Dowding states that he was instructed, in a blunt and uncivil telephone call from the Secretary of State, Sir Archibald Sinclair, to relinquish his command immediately. Dowding has complained of the discourtesy of the Secretary of State, whom "he disliked and distrusted". This was followed by a letter from the C.A.S., giving 25th November as the date on which he was to hand over to Sir William Sholto Douglas.

Dowding was created a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and later a Baron of the United Kingdom.

Such was the course of events leading to Dowding's retirement. I was at that time Assistant Chief of the Air Staff at the Air Ministry, with many contacts with Fighter Command, and I may perhaps be permitted to make some comments. First, I am quite certain that Lord Dowding is mistaken in believing that the decision to replace him by Sholto Douglas was in any way connected with the controversy over tactics between two of his Group Commanders. The battle had been won to our great relief, and the controversy was a dead duck. It was of academic interest only, and at no time did I hear of any serious criticism of Dowding's handling of the affair. It never occurred to me, until I read it in this book, that it had anything whatsoever to do with Dowding's replacement. Look at the facts. He had been C. in C. since early 1936, a period of four and a half years. He was 58 years of age, and his retirement from the Service had been deferred five times. It had no doubt been very unsettling for him to have so many changes, but it must be remembered that he was already old by R.A.F. standards, and would, but for the war, have been retired at the latest in March 1940.

Dowding had worked hard to build up the Command, and had suffered six months of very heavy stress, not only in the Battle of Britain but during the fall of France, which in some ways placed an even greater strain on Fighter Command. Also, it is true that he had not endeared himself to many people, partly by his odd, but no doubt unconscious, habit of opposing most new things until they had proved valuable, and then suddenly demanding them immediately, insisting that he had always been in favour of them.

I do not doubt that the reasons for the change in Command in November 1940 were as follows. Dowding was, very understandably, worn out by the strain that he had endured. Always "Stuffy"—his nickname for many years—he had become definitely irritable and difficult. He had done an exceptionally long and arduous "stint", and was very much overdue for relief. In addition, he seemed to be unwilling or unable to use his night fighters effectively against the night blitz. This is not surprising, in view of his exhaustion and his complete lack of knowledge and experience in the new techniques of interception by night. It was obvious to all that the time had come for a change in the command.

I find it absolutely impossible to believe that Dowding was treated with rudeness and lack of consideration by Sir Archibald Sinclair, whose perfect manners, integrity and personal charm were well known to all who had dealings with him. Indeed, we called him "The Hidalgo", because of what we regarded as his "courtly Spanish grace". There must have been some misunderstanding, no doubt due to the strain and fatigue from which Dowding was undoubtedly suffering.

No one can deny that Dowding led Fighter Command with determination and ability to victory in the Battle of Britain, one of the decisive battles of the world, and in my view he should have been promoted to the rank of Marshal of the Royal Air Force on relinquishing his command. None of us could understand why this was not done. To put the matter in its proper perspective, however, it should be realised that successful Air Force commanders, with hardly any exceptions, were less handsomely rewarded than their counterparts in the two older Services.

The book has the common fault of presenting its central character as an unusually sensible, far-seeing and practical man for ever battling against a world of stupid, ignorant and intolerant superiors and colleagues. Lord Dowding's services to his country are so great that there is no need to attribute to him much of the valuable work done by others.

The incorrect claims and minor inaccuracies in the book are too numerous to mention.

On 15th February Lord Dowding died at his home in Tunbridge Wells, aged 87. Last September, at the première of the film "The Battle of Britain", he received a standing ovation as he sat in his wheel chair, before taking his place among 350 of the pilots he had commanded. "The Times" of 16th February (p. 1 and p. 10) spoke of his being "removed from his post", "treated rather shabbily", "overruled on several issues (and) relieved". This is the legend, in which he himself undoubtedly believed.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Scripture; Theology; Monastic History; Church History.

1. SCRIPTURE

Pierre Benoit, O.P. THE PASSION AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST Darton Longman and Todd 1969 x and 342 p 50/-.

We have met before in Père Benoit's writings the happy combination of learning with clarity in expounding the Scriptures. Once again he has done this in these illuminating discourses on the last chapters of each of the gospels. He explains allusions, suggests explanations of difficult passages, knowing just how much or how little to say, and he refers to books for further reading.

Before each chapter is set forth in parallel columns the gospel texts in the JB version. Take a few passages as examples of his treatment.

1. The young man in the garden at the arrest of Jesus. Mk. 51-2. One can be fanciful —that it fulfils Amos 2.16: The bravest warriors will run away naked that day; or that it was young Mark himself. Whatever the explanation, Mk alone has retained this detail "like a personal reminiscence engraved in his memory".

2. The tearing of the veil of the Temple. Mt 27.51—Mk 15.38. This detail is clearly included for its symbolism—the opening of the new religion to the Gentiles, as developed in Heb 10.11-20. What happened literally is scarcely what the writer tried to describe to us.

3. The appearance to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus. Lk 24.13-35. First, there is a discussion on where the place was—to test its authenticity. The incident is not told with all the factual detail we may seek because is explains in a catechetical and liturgical way how Jesus manifested himself. The pristine Christian teaching was based on the witness of the Old Testament to the Christ, and how Jesus fulfilled that. The talk on the road was like the initial part of the Mass—the Word. It ended with the breaking of bread, which is the sign by which the disciples recognized Jesus. We are back in the atmosphere of the liturgical assemblies of the early Church that Luke knew well, at which Jesus was present just at he was with the two at Emmaus.

This is the fruit of form-criticism. The truth of the revelation of Christ comes to us in the light of the experience of the first generation of the Church who wrote down what they knew in their minds and in their hearts. The exegesis through the book is suggestive rather than exhaustive, and this makes it most acceptable to the non-technical reader who reads the New Testament to enlighten his own faith.

Gilbert Whitfeld, O.S.B.

James T. Burtchaell CATHOLIC VIEWS OF BIBLICAL INSPIRATION SINCE 1810 CUP 1969 342 p 70/-.

The average non-Catholic is apt to suppose that a survey of Catholic biblical scholarship during the nineteenth century might well take its place alongside a history of the Swiss navy. If so, Fr Burtchaell's volume should dispel his ignorance, at least as regards the doctrine of inspiration. In fact the age of Möhler and Drey, of Newman, Lenormant and Franzelin was one in which the biblical problem evoked a wide range of opinions, some of them decidedly ligeral. For although Roman Catholic scholars nowadays "like to think that their theories of biblical inspiration and authority outstrip all previous attempts in sophistication and realism", views similar or still more radical were in the author's estimation expressed long ago not only by the Modernists but by their "liberal" predecessors of a half-century or more earlier.

Indeed the present discussion, made possible by the 1943 Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu*, has somehow been "deracinated". Thus there were Catholics casually proposing hypotheses in 1860 which in 1960 were only being hinted at with the utmost

caution. The recent events at Vatican II "have revealed that for some years now a liberal ideology has been secretly in possession in the Catholic Church, though kept underground by backwardness and incompetence in high quarters". And the same, we may suspect, may prove on closer investigation to have been the case between 1810 and 1910.

The present book (based on a Cambridge doctoral thesis) provides an extended review of a century of Catholic theorizing on this subject in so far as it diverged from the fundamentalist literalism commonly looked on by Catholics and non-Catholics alike as the only doctrine which the Church has countenanced or a loyal Catholic may expound. The author's horizon is therefore limited to a particular issue, matters of exegesis being left on one side. Moreover the fact that some among the scholars he cites ended their days outside the Roman communion in no way disqualifies them, in his judgment, from being introduced as representative of acceptable Catholic thought.

Fr Burtchaell opens with an account of the important Catholic Tübingen school of Möhler, Drey, Kuhn, Studenmaier and Aberle, whose general position was that scripture is essentially part of tradition, although of course an especially privileged part; that grace does not supersede nature, so that the human element in the Bible is always present; and that the prime medium of revelation is history itself, a fact which by implication involves a continuous development in man's understanding of God's action. Their aim was to meet both the orthodox Protestant contention that the Bible alone is the source of divine truth and the rationalist argument that Christianity is merely a creation of the human spirit. Next to be considered are a number of views which ran for a time but which were gradually dropped. They include the "negative" theory that inspiration was no more than a safeguard against error and that the actual words of scripture were not necessarily of divine implanting, to which the obvious objection was that a bare absence of error is not of itself sufficient to establish a writing as the word of God.

Newman's idea, that inspiration is partial and confined purely to matters of faith or morals(mere *obiter dicta* being discounted), also comes in for discussion and is shown to have been disallowed by the 1893 Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. The theory of "content-inspiration" favoured by the Jesuits, and notably by Cardinal Franzelin, likewise stresses that the human faculties of the biblical writers remain active, i.e. the content or material of Scripture was indeed divinely imparted, but its particular presentation (style, expression, etc.) was at all times subject to human conditions. This line of approach was not officially censured, but rather was superseded by a much revised theory of verbal inspiration according to which inspiration is "intensified intellectual vision" enabling the author to understand and judge the knowledge of divine things which he had acquired in his total experience. Of this view the leading exponent was the Dominican M.-J. Lagrange. However, Lagrange's relatively liberal solution failed to win much approval in the seminaries and during the period of the Modernist controversy was conveniently slipped under the counter. On Modernism itself Fr Burtchaell is well informed and entirely candid, since happily the subject is now no longer a hot potato. This is a book to be commended.

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BERNARD M. G. REARDON.

ed. Thomas F. O'Meara O.P. and Donald M. Weisser, O.P. RUDOLF BULTMAN IN CATHOLIC THOUGHT Herder & Herder 1968 254 p $5.95.

For students beginning to read the theologian who has influenced New Testament studies for the past fifty years more than any of his peers, it will be helpful to find some orientation in this collection of essays by Greman, French and American theologians. In discussing Bultmann's programme of demythologizing by existential analysis, some of his key theological principles, and select examples from his reading of the New Testament, the authors are generally at their best when exposing the great Marburger's pass of the book necessarily led to this result.

Several of the authors are well-known for full length studies of Bultmann and his influence. Thus there is a translation of Heinrich Fries' article on demythologizing and theological truth, abridged somewhat unevenly from *Gott in Welt*. René Marlé presents the common view that Bultmann undervalues the Old Testament, that he tends to reduce it to an illustration of the anti-thesis between Gospel and Law. Gotthold Hasenhüttl summarizes his extremely well documented and thorough Gregorian doctoral dissertation, published in 1963 as *Der Glaubensvollzug*. And with the authority one would expect, Rudolf Schnackenburg takes the second revised edition of *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (1921, 1962) as an occasion to survey today's use of form-criticism in the study of the Gospels.

In addition, a study of Bultmann's use of the distinction between *Historie* and *Geschichte* is offered by Claude Geffré, who agrees that we find here "too radical a cleavage between existential time and ordinary time". Helmut Peukert, a promising doctoral candidate under J. B. Metz who has just edited a book of essays on Metz's programme of "political theology", is represented by notes on the relation between Bultmann and Heidegger; Peukert states flatly that "we must concede that the analyses in *Being and Time* are ambiguous." A map of the post-Bultmannian landscape is sketched by Thomas F. O'Meara, who offers the thesis that, "the problem for theology after Bultmann, especially in dialogue with more history-oriented theologians such as the Pannenberg circle, is to show how faith and history, the transcendent and the empirical, meet in Jesus Christ."

Despite their praise for Bultmann's confrontation with the hermeneutical problem, his acute recognition of the secularization phenomenon, and his modernization of classical Lutheran themes, the authors in the collection typify much of the critical reaction against the oversimplifying tendency of Bultmann's philosophical instrument and more particular aspects of his thought such as the mere facticity of the person of Jesus, the exaggerated transcendence of God, and the absence of a social dimension. Since these remain threshold problems for Catholic theology itself, it is likely that Rudolf Bultmann will be still more prominent in Catholic thought when the matter grows more independently in these areas. Perhaps for this reason, the most refreshing items in the book are those by Josef Blank and John McKenzie, who confront Bultmann on John and the sacraments, respectively, with clearly developed these of their own.

Münster in Westfalen. LEO J. O'DONOVAN, S.J.

II. THEOLOGY

Bernard Lonergan, S.J. VERBUM : WORD AND IDEA IN AQUINAS Edited by David B. Burrell C.S.C. Darton, Longman & Todd 1968 70/-.

The articles here edited form a historical parallel to Father Lonergan's great "Study of Human Understanding". He has himself written an introduction for the edition. There is a useful index of concepts and names, and an index of "Loci".

"Our inquiry began," he writes, "from the observation of a strange contrast. St. Augustine restricted the image of God within us to the *Ratio superior*: St. Thomas restricted it to the *principium* verbi, *verbum*, and *amor* of rational creatures. But in prevalent theological opinion there is as good an analogy to the procession of the Word in human imagination as in human intellect, while the analogy to the procession of the Holy Spirit is wrapped in deepest obscurity." Billot, for instance, wrote: *Et similis omino est in imaginatione* (De Deo Trino. Rome. 1910. P.335), seemingly unaware of the relevant psychological facts, and unequal to the task of handling the difficulty of St. Thomas' use of terms. Hence the obstacles to understanding St. Thomas which come from making metaphysical ultimates of what were merely provisional positions, giving an air of finality and completeness to what in fact was incidental and incomplete.

The relevant data for the meaning of Aquinas being the written words of Aquinas, Lonergan's articles are based on a series of lexicographical notes, intended to preclude the misapprehensions on which misinterpretation thrives, and to establish at the same time the fact that Aquinas' rational psychology centres upon the act of intelligence.

He reminds us that if we are to understand what Aquinas understood and meant, we must learn laboriously: "Only by the slow, repetitious, circular labour of going over and over the data . . . can one hope to attain such a development of one's own understanding as to hope to understand what Aquinas understood and meant." Then there is "the negative task of detaching from Thomist interpretation the endless tendrils of an ivy mantle woven by oversubtle metaphysicians and conceptualist gnoseologists".

The texts, collected and analysed so carefully, reveal the steady development of St. Thomas' ideas, and his efforts to find a solution to difficulties of expression. They show also that introspective psychology figures much more significantly in his thought on the trinitarian analogy than the commentators have accustomed us to think.

Aquinas held that only rational creatures offer an analogy to the trinitarian processions. The analogy, then, lies in their rationality, and no purely metaphysical scheme (such as the subtleties concerning *operatio* and *operatum*) is relevant; for any such scheme is applicable no less to imagination than conception, no less to sensitive desire than to rational love. Again, no conceptualist theory of understanding meets the case, for conceptualism is precisely the affirmation that concepts proceed, not from intellectual knowledge, an *emanatio intelligibilis* but with the same natural spontaneity as images from imagination.

These articles and their further development in Insight must be studied by anyone who is interested in what is still the capital issue, human understanding. "The denial of soul today is really the denial of the intelligible, the denial that understanding, knowing a cause, is knowing anything real".

Much learning went to the making of these articles, they manifest a truly admirable scholarship: yet towards the end of the fourth article the intelligence gained is summed up thus: "All that has been said so far, and all that remains to be said can be reduced to a single proposition that, when Aquinas used the term *intelligible*, his primary meaning was not whatever can be conceived, such as matter, nothing, and sin, but whatever can be known by understanding".

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Ray L. Hart UNFINISHED MAN AND THE IMAGINATION Herder & Herder 1968 418 p $9.50.

This is a book about revelation. In part one there is a sharpening of those genuine questions in the face of which revelation proves a useful category in the struggle of theology to "bring the Word to understandable speech". In part two the ontological framework within which revelation works is defined. But the book is more than this. It is a prolegomenon to the interpretation of "the subject matter of revelation".

The whole should be viewed as a piece of meta-theology: a recommendation as to what at least one kind of theology should be about to-day, and how it should go about what it is about. p 51.

The "hermeneutical spiral" does a great deal of the work. This device, an adaptation of Dilthey's hermeneutical circle, is pressed into service to show how thought, impelled by the tension between being and knowing, moves through the area to be interpreted. "That which cannot be interrogated cannot be understood". Use of the hermeneutical spiral to interrogate revelation calls into question the scale on which such interrogation has to operate, "the fundamental trajectory of events in and by which human being is authentically constituted" and the use of tradition and scripture in the enterprise. The argument is so closely knit that any quotation out of context is dangerous. However, the link between the problematic and the issue of understandable speech is indicated here:

> there is "light" in events and "light" in the mind . . . Mind is possessed of a light whose rays chip a larger aperture in events: sometimes, as in poetry and scripture, to be met with a light more intense than itself. Such a light, in search of enlightenment, is active imagination. p. 90.

Interrogation of the active imagination starts from the assumption that "the will is the seat of the reality-sense in man . . . imagination is the medium through which the will registers in mentality." So the way is open for an attempt to understand how the imagination functions. The long section of the book devoted to this reads like a celebration of the imaginative inheritance into which we are plunged by virtue of our historicity. Augustine and Coleridge, Cudworth and Owen Barfield, Wordsworth, Shelley and Nietzsche, Laurence Durrell and Wallace Stevens, Paul Riccour, Heidegger, Farrer, Kant and Witgenstein are, I hope, a fair sample of the witnesses called. One emerges from this encounter with a vision of the rhetoric of revelation and the rhetoric of the arts working analogically: "through revelation man is offered not without his complicity his ownmost possibility of presence in the world."

The final chapter of the work examines "what theology may do to coax from the historical present its potency for expanding the human good." The theologian is urged to insist on his independence despite all he owes to philosophy. He needs the kind of independence which will set him free to understand out of the past, but to live out of the future. So attention is focused on tradition: "that potency established in the past which yet bears on our unfinished being." Biblical events are characterised as paradigmatic—as showing forth pattern—set free, as Nietzsche understood, from being "monumental history" (the dead burying the living) and offering themselves as images to strike archetypal chords in the hearer. Theology, as Professor Hart describes it, ends up Janus headed: one face has a view towards the "sedimented, ossified discourse of tradition", the other toward "the emergence of that first-order speech and life of enacted parable that goes with presently vital faith." With Wallace Stevens he concludes that religion and poetry" . . . both mediate for us a reality not ourselves . . . the supreme virtue here is humility, for the humble are they that move about the world with the lure of the real in their hearts." (Wallace Stevens: The Necessary Angel p 99.); but, Professor Hart adds, theology must issue in action—in the making of history; its speech rooted in the will, its knowledge of form of practical knowledge.

The main essay occupies but three-quarters of the book. In the final hundred pages four appendices handle the theory of imagination in the history of western thought.

The language in which Professor Hart writes seems at first sight, at anyrate to your reviewer, to bear some of the marks of what he describes as fired language: "language that needs thinking about". But this is deceptive. The language—its vocabulary and its style—is difficult but inherent in the task he set himself: the building of a bridge between theology—an independent discipline with confident hold on its own datum—and the bewildering complexity of speech through which the humanistic yearning after fulness of life is searching for articulation. This is undoubtedly an important work.

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Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P. GOD AND MAN Sheed & Ward 1969 308 p 60/-.

Many of Fr Schillebeeckx's writings are now being published in English under the general title "Theological Soundings". One part, consisting of three volumes, is devoted to the problem of faith in an increasingly secularised world; and the book under review is one of these three. It is made up of articles and lectures, written or delivered over a period of ten years, concerned primarily with a particular aspect of faith in a secular society, namely the relationship between God and man.

The longest chapter is a critique of Dr Robinson's *Honest to God*. Fr Schillebeeckx first gives the main outlines of the book, and shows that Dr Robinson is not just concerned with the problem of finding new religious language for the modern scientific world, but with the wider problem of the significance of religion in the life of man "bound in love and suffering to the secular world". He is in sympathy with Dr Robinson's purpose and with his message that it is in what is of ultimate interest to man, namely love, that we must find God; but he points out the weakness of *Honest to God* when one comes to analyse its argumentation. Dr Robinson's thought is not clear; and that is why it is possible—as has in fact been done—to draw almost any conclusion about his actual position, from orthodox Christianity to atheism. Fr Schillebeeckx suggests that the reason for this is the vagueness of Dr Robinson's theory of knowledge, his metaphysical and epistemological uncertainty.

In the second section of this long chapter the author considers whether evangelical Christianity is possible in the spirit of radical "horizontalism". He argues that it is not sufficient to affirm that God is just the transcendent Third in our human relations or the absolute ground of our being. The secularist's self-transcendence confirmed within the horizontal dimension is insufficient. There must be a vertical transcendence; for God is not just experienced in human I-Thou relationships; man has a metaphysical need for an immediate I-Thou relationship with God, and there must be a domain in our lives in which we pray and are simply together with God in Christ. In parenthesis, I find myself reacting, when bombarded with vogue words like "horizontalism", in much the same way as Goering did when he heard the word "culture". But this is probably unreasonable, as it would be to object to sentences such as "The abstract ideational content acquires the value of an intrinsic reference through concretely existential, non-ideational contact with reality" (p 294), which in fact is both intelligible and sensible in its context.

In the remaining chapters the author discusses other aspects of contemporary thought, such as non-theistic humanism and situation ethics. He always writes with respect and sympathy for the outlook of others, and seeks to find what is of positive value in their thought. In fact, his courtesy and breadth of view are noteworthy; and it would be well if some within the Church itself paid heed to one passage: "We may say that various types of Christian life are possible; some people will experience the growth of their intimacy with God above all in the sacral forms; others will do so more easily in the world of concrete life. But the question here is one of emphasis . . . Within Christianity it is possible to distinguish two radical types . . . a radical break between the two will certainly kill religion." (pp 205-6).

BRENDAN SMITH, O.S.B.

Adrian Cunningham ADAM Sheed and Ward 1968 210 p 30/-.

If one were looking for some means of alerting the less articulate but earnest, intelligent and thinking younger generation to the process of rethinking traditional teaching in contemporary existentialist and sociological terms, one could hardly find a more characteristic example than this study of the problem of evil.

With a fair, if not over profound, penetration of the orthodox view of original sin, an acquaintance with Tillich, and sufficient advertance to Bonhoeffer to merit an audience, the author attempts a contribution of his own which is heavily coloured by an emphasis on the historical communitarian nature of man. It is unecessary to say that this representative of the Catholic Left has a healthy preoccupation with community. Of itself this has the immediate welcome effect of placing the problem in a fuller context. Hence the title, ADAM—whole man in the world.

Being in the sin situation is the fallen state. Fallenness, following the biblical account, with illuminating use made of the Babel affair, is constituted by lack of community, "lack of community of man with God which is simultaneously lack of community between man and man". Idolatry, the main expression of fallenness, is "the perversion of community". This rich vein is, however, so deep in Scripture that it may well be submitted to much further and more sensitive digging.

Having raised so many hares of theological awareness one is interested in the author's formulation of the Christian "project". The project is the building of free community, the humanisation and socialisation of the world of things and of men. Individuality and totality, neither dissipation in heathen gods or human ideologies nor exclusiveness that would inhibit universality. The Kingdom is not a matter of natural given relationships but the unity of free wills. The project is revolutionary because always involved in building community, and simultaneously never in a position to call a halt. The Kingdom always transcends the present establishment.

A hasty tailpiece sets out to enfold Liturgy into this social web. At this, one draws the line. It is not adequate to the fuller meaning of Liturgy to state that it does not make community but only enacts it. Liturgy cannot be counter-poised to politics. So far, politics, economics and culture have neither pretended nor succeeded in creating the community of the Christian project.

Sancta Maria Abbey,
Nunraw. D. McG.

ed. Joseph Crehan, S. J. *et al* A CATHOLIC DICTIONARY OF THEOLOGY: II, Catechism-Heaven Nelson 1967 360 p 105/-.

The first of four proposed volumes appeared in 1962, the work of sixty-one scholars. It was well received: for instance, the *Heythrop Journal* lauded its breadth, clarity, conciseness, impartiality, its appeal to Scripture and Tradition, and its bibliographies. Since that date, the Council has changed the face of theology, and two of the four editors were there to notice this in its genesis. Nevertheless, this enterprise remains far short of the six volume dictionary of pastoral theology, *Sacramentum Mundi*, which is a true fruit of the Council. One sign of the times is that that dictionary was a swift immediately contemporary labour, four of its six volumes being done as a single coup de main (with two to come) in several languages, so that it has claim to being truly international, not merely an Atlantic project. This is the tenor of new thought in a much more professionalised Church since the Council.

This volume seems catholic enough. There are some thirty-six contributors to the 115 articles: but a count shows that Fr Crehan has done more than half of it himself, writing 62 articles outright and the two on Duns Scotus and Free Will in partnership (it takes us back to the days of Dom Henri Leclercq who wrote every word of the later volumes of his *Dic.Arch.Lit.Chrét.* with his own pen). And the catholicity is further in doubt when we begin to look for articles on Clement or St Cyprian of Carthage (much in vogue now for his episcopal doctrines); on SS. Gregory of Nyssa or of Nazianzen or of Rome (though the Gregorian Sacramentary is listed); or on either of the friar-founders, SS. Dominic and Francis. Perhaps this is fair enough in a relatively short work concentrating on living issues: the longest article is on Evolution and next is Development of Doctrine, the two filling over fifty columns together; while Creation, Church & State and Faith all take twenty-one columns each. In this connection, an unexpected and interesting title is: "The Faithful as a Source of Doctrine".

These sound modern enough, but the Editors' Preface casts a warning across the page. "It should be borne in mind that the Council itself declared that in view of its pastoral purpose it was to be understood to define only those matters which the Council itself declared to be defined. All other decrees were to be accepted loyally by the faithful, according to the mind of the Council, and this mind was to be gathered from the subject matter or the wording of the decrees, interpreted in the light of traditional theological principles. It will in fact be found that the Council was chary of definition but that it gave new life to many theological ideas which, in one way or another, were used to elucidate its teaching. It will be the task of theology in the years to come to take stock of these new ideas and to draw out their implications". This is to say that a dictionary is no place for modern interpretation; and so we find it here. Instead of any discussion of the Death-of-God movement, we have traditional treatises on the proof of God's existence and the ways of knowing him. There is no place for the existentialist ways of thought or the problems of the catechist in what are now highly personalised situations, in the articles on Faith and on Catechism. The article on the Church covers 2½ columns and cites in its bibliography just two books, by Cardinal Journet and Mgr Cerfaux, both of them from the 1950s. Evolution has its eye on *Humani Generis* and cites no book after 1960 except Père Teilhard's "The Future of Man." Concelebration deals with the history of the custom in the early Church and its theological meaning, on which there has been much discussion of late: yet no work is cited from after 1958 in the bibliography. The origin of man is hedged in by the traditional doctrine of Original Sin (for which a later article is referred to). Teilhard de Chardin receives a column and more with an appreciation that his work was a seeking to encounter materialist evolutionary views and to show that speculative evolution leads to God.

That is the measure of this volume: the contributors have long been well known in this country, and, as we might expect, their articles cover material long known in a way familiar to us—which is no cause for condemnation. In the spate of new writing on theology, it is fair to know what has been thought on these vital questions in the days before 1962. But the wind blows fast and chill in religious publishing, and one wonders if as it progresses this Dictionary will be able to hold its own against those altogether more rigorous ones coming from the continent.

G.W.
A.J.S.

III. MONASTIC HISTORY

ed. D. H. Farmer EARLY ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN FACSIMILE VOL XV THE RULE OF ST BENEDICT Rosenkilde & Bagger/Allen & Unwin 1968 Intro 29 p, collotype 157 p Cloth £50 8s 0d, Paper £47 5s 0d.

After Holy Scripture and the *Imitatio Christi*, the Rule of St Benedict has claim to be the most printed book in the world. Dom J. D. Brouckaert of S. André guardedly estimates that there exist about two thousand different printed editions.

In an unguarded moment, Professor Southern once named the Rule of St Benedict, after the Bible, as the most influential document in the Middle Ages. For all that, or perhaps because of that, it has been copied and "adjusted" many times (more times than any text from antiquity), till, as Paul Meyvaert tells us, "few traditions can be more contaminated than that of the Rule of St Benedict. There is hardly a known manuscript which does not bear some signs of emendation or correction". The variations settle into two distinct classes, the so-called Authentic Text, represented by the famous MS St Gall 914 dated c820,the basis of all critical texts and one which is to be edited by Professor Knowles for the Oxford Medieval Texts series (Latin/English); and the Revised or Interpolated Text, represented by St Gall 916 and by the even more famous O—Oxoniensis, otherwise Bodleian MS Hatton 48, a "polished up" version of St. Benedict's original written in vulgar forms and usages particular to the Montecassino area. Hatton 48 is the oldest English manuscript in the care of the Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the Oxford Bodleian Library, the oldest surviving copy of the Rule and the only one written in English uncial script (i.e. one of three charters and fourteen books extant from the time of Bede). It was scribed at a single set of sittings by one Anglo-Saxon master scribe, the late E. A. Lowe judges, a scribe with a large written hand in *scriptura continua*. Curiously and indefensibly, Dom Basilius Steidle of Beuron, in his 1952 commentary on the Rule, speaks of Hatton 48 as "alleged to have been written before 700, but actually dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century".

Where does Oxoniensis originate, and when? The editor of this facsimile has suggested a bold answer, and his experience—notably as author of "The Studies of Anglo-Saxon Monks, AD 600-800", in *Los Monjes Y Los Estudios*, Abadia de Poblet 1963—gives him the right to be heard. His case is conjectural but in harmony with all the evidence, and it is satisfying: so until it is proven otherwise, let this stand as the tentative answer. St Augustine brought to Canterbury forty monks from Rome, and with them St Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, but not the *Regula Benedicti* (if silence is sufficient evidence). St Aldhelm at Malmsbury in the west country quoted St Gregory's *Dialogues II*, but hardly knew the Rule at all (again, granted the interpretation of absence of evidence). St Benet Biscop at Wearmouth and Jarrow had travelled six times to Rome and had brought back *inter alia* the Benedictine Rule, parts of which he recommended in an eclectic or syncretistic manner. St Wilfred of Northumbria was equally an inveterate traveller, both to Rome and to Frisia, and in 702 at the Yorkshire Austerfield synod he said as an old man that his two principal achievements were to "teach first the true Easter in Northumbria and to have ordered the Rule of St Benedict to be observed by the monks", i.e. the 664 Synod of Whitby and the c666 introduction of the Rule to Ripon and Hexham. This introduction is the first certain knowledge we have of the Rule in England.

Wilfrid was by temperament a prince-bishop, fond of exuberance, wealth, display, contention, gestures: Becket might have taken him for his model. He ruled, he quarrelled, he appealed to popes, and he ordered sumptuous church books, notably manuscripts of the Scriptures "done in letters of purest gold on parchment all empurpled and illuminated", encased in gold set with gems (Eddius, *Vita* 17). His biographer speaks of "these treasures and several more besides" and many times recounts the golden silks and purple cloths and silver ornaments that he brought to his churches. The suggestion is that one of these treasures—perhaps at Ripon or Hexham—was the Oxoniensis English uncial text of the Rule. The lavishness of its production points to a wealthy patron and the choice of St Benedict's *Regula* to a milieu in which it was held in special veneration, a milieu moreover affected (as this was) by Roman rather than Irish influence—for no uncial scripts survive from Ireland or any areas of Irish influence. The tinge of austerity in its production (it has no pictures) can be accounted for by Wilfrid's later life, his reduced patronage brought on by endless exiles. Indeed this may well be the product of one of his exiles, perhaps in Mercia for the absence of strong regional characteristics may be explained by a peripatetic scriptorium, and Wilfrid must have had scribes with him on his journeying. Such a suggestion fits well with the strange mixture of large, solemn, sculpture-like script and of the economical use of parchment with holes in it.

What of the journey of Oxoniensis from Wilfrid's entourage or seventh century Yorkshire to its present home in the Bodleian? The early part is conjectural, the later certain. Wilfrid's name is connected with Bishop Egwin (693-717) and his foundation of Evesham: he may have presented this treasure either to one of the six Mercian monasteries that he founded, or through Egwin to Evesham Abbey. From there it found its way to the library of Worcester Cathedral Priory (founded c743, refounded 974), though when it is difficult to say; light may be cast on this by the fact that MS Hatton 20 is the copy of Pope Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* sent out by King Alfred's scribes in the 890s to "Wigorancester", i.e. Worcester (a point that the editor does not raise). In the time perhaps of the last of the Old English Bishops, St Wulfstan, or soon afterwards, it was bound with a discarded (because faultily scribed) leaf containing part of St Augustine's *Enchiridion*. When in 1623 Patrick Young catalogued the Worcester Cathedral library, he noted the presence of Oxoniensis. Lord Hatton later borrowed it with other Worcester manuscripts, three of them very old. He died in 1670 with them still in his possession and the following year they were bought by the Bodleian library, whose Keeper has had custody of them to this day. Soon afterwards Mabillon came to consult Hatton 48.

What of the influence that it represents? Itself it is still in almost pristine condition by marked contrast with the Durham Cathedral copy, which clearly did daily duty on the choir lectern. Some leaves in the middle of the book are almost as fresh as when they left the scriptorium. This must have been a library rather than a liturgical book, and that would largely account for its survival through the destructions of the Reformation. It seems never to have been copied: even Worcester's tenth century monastic revival copies are different in text (cf. Corpus Christi Coll Cambr 178, bilingual). Its value lies in what it reflects of the time that gave it birth, both as to the making of books and as to the state of the Rule's "development".

This is the fifteenth volume of a series of facsimiles that began with *Beowulf* and *The Leningrad Bede* and is to continue with *The Durham Ritual*. The Oxford University Press has helped with the photography and printing, where technical problems have been masterfully overcome. The dedication reads: *Abbati monachisque S. Mariae de Quarreria sub Regula Benedicti fideliter militantibus*. This is a volume which only libraries will be able to afford, but which monks and medievalists should know of.

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

ed. R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, O.S.B. MEMORIALS OF SAINT ANSELM Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, I Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press 1969 x + 370 p 120/-.

For many years Dom Schmitt was engaged in the production of definitive editions of the writings of St Anselm of Canterbury (Nelson, 1938-61) while Mr Southern has explored Anselm's life and thought, paying a special attention to the influence which he had upon all who encountered him. In *Memorials of Saint Anselm* the two masters combine their skills and offer us a collection of texts which show how Anselm was remembered by some friends and admirers. Their volume is not meant to be a complete record or guide to the souvenirs of Anselm's personality and speech or to the influence which all his writings exercised over contemporaries and successors. Some material of this nature already exists in print and some remains to be studied or to be edited. Mr Southern himself edited and translated Eadmer's *Life of Anselm* in 1962 (Nelson) and has surveyed the subject in his book, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge 1963). An edition of the works of Anselm's disciple, Ralph of Rochester, is expected in the future. Other pupils, such as Honorius Augustodunensis and Gilbert Crispin, find no place here.

What we have, however, are four editions. The first is the *De Moribus*, the primitive draft of Anselm's *De Similitudinibus*. The second are his *Dicta*, formal discourses pronounced by Anselm in the monastic chapter or church, to which is added a series of miracle stories told in Anselm's circle; both were collected by the monk Alexander of Canterbury. There is too a sermon, *De Beatitudine*, which Anselm spoke at Cluny and which Eadmer reconstructed. Finally, there are some miscellaneous fragments, some philosophical, which emanated from Anselm and which various collectors incorporated into various manuscripts.

The *De Moribus* and the *Dicta* reveal Anselm as a father of monks. Here Anselm treats of the obedient and disobedient will and of the virtues and vices as seen in a monastic context. Here he speaks of goodness, of beatitude and of peace and he speaks largely in similes. The material, though complex, makes at times for compelling reading, for Anselm was a supremely intelligent as well as a lucid and fair guide to the truths of the inner, Christian life. As a thinker Anselm has enjoyed the reputation of a perfectionist; he edited his writings with a rare degree of scrupulous care and one might be pardoned for having wondered whether Anselm was too speculative or too intellectual an abbot at Canterbury where few monks were much infected by his power. The *Dicta* make clear that Anselm's speech could be as logical and as earnest as his formal writings. In fact, while Anselm perfected his masterpieces, some of his colleagues cherished an enthusiasm for him which prompted them to rescue his drafts, to circulate his unfinished thoughts and to treasure his *obiter dicta*. Far from transcending the cloister as archbishop, Anselm contributed to a devotional and spiritual ferment that was felt, during his lifetime and beyond, within Benedictine cloisters at Canterbury and elsewhere. He was not a solitary genius altogether without impact upon the mainstream of monastic enthusiasms and of desires, nor was he at Canterbury a man wholly lost to teaching by virtue of having to lead the English Church during the monarchies of William Rufus and Henry I. The present volume enables one to see how the labours of Eadmer and Alexander as well as of the recorder of the *De Moribus* have preserved aspects of Anselm's approach to moral discussions and the quality of his spoken reflections.

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Cambridge. DAVID LUSCOMBE.

Amédée Hallier, O.C.S.O. THE MONASTIC THEOLOGY OF AELRED OF RIEVAULX Irish University Press 1969 xxxi + 178 p 60/-.

It is ten years since this modest fruit of a period of intensive research in Rome appeared in French. It is now, in a very much more questioning climate of thought about religious life, offered unrevised in a competent English translation with approving noises from two of the prophets of the monastic life in the modern world, one of whom, Thomas Merton, did not live to see the book's publication. The dust-jacket describes it as a definitive study. But could *any* study of a writer like Aelred be definitive? In common with most of the great writers of the twelfth century there is so much about him we do not, and perhaps can never, know and such of his works as have come down to us present us with a sufficiently large canvas to enable anyone to find in them almost (but not quite) anything they like. Speaking of Aelred's originality in his conclusions, Fr Hallier writes, "Aelred was able to take in the elements he received from Scripture, the liturgy, the Fathers and the monastic tradition and assimilate them in a way that was peculiarly his own. He rethought them, tested them, experienced them for himself, and this is precisely what constitutes the originality of his teaching and likewise its charm, for Aelred was no mediocre person. The stamp Aelred left on his works was the product of his own personality, his humanistic culture and the healthy realism of his spirituality". This could have suggested one possible avenue of approach to Aelred. But it is not really the one Fr Hallier himself chose to take, and its sharp delineation comes as something of a sudden surprise at the end of a book in which no explicit place is given to the histories on which Aelred spent so much time, and in which even the use of the spiritual works often seems to lack the edge of immediacy. It is, indeed, Fr Hallier's deference to acknowledged authorities that amounts almost to a defect of eyesight. What, for instance, persuaded him to quote (p. 129) Père Bouyer's clever sketch of Cistercian writers where it says that the problem of discouragement at the first experience of the desert "was a new one", when he knows as well as Père Bouyer that it was not? A desire to pass lightly over all reserves and tiresome details is exactly what sometimes makes an Englishman a little bit testy about the seductive clarity of a brilliant *esquisse* in French. Fr Hallier himself was certainly not trying to be brilliant but, rather, writing out of the legitimate conviction that Aelred has something to say to monastic life today. He was therefore not ashamed to assemble what he recognizes might be thought of as a mosaic of doctrine from all over the spiritual writings of Aelred with fair indifference to date and context. But once one explicitly sets out on an enterprise of this kind must one not do rather more persuading and interpreting than Fr Hallier does? We can often get the great writers of the past to throw floods of light on our own questions, but we can only really do so when we realise that ours are not always formulated in precisely the same way as theirs. Distance not only lends enchantment. It is always, when correctly measured, the true condition of fruitful relationship.

Dominican Convent,
Portobello Road, W.10. AELRED SQUIRE, O.P.

Aelred Squire, O.P. AELRED OF RIEVAULX, A STUDY SPCK 1969 177 p 42/-.

"Sitting with the brethren in a loving circle . . . I found no one in that great number whom I did not love, and whom I did not believe loved me". With Saint Aelred one is far removed from the mentality of even so charming a writer as Saint Francis of Sales, whose remarks on friendship begin with *De l'Amitié, et* PREMIEREMENT *de la mauvaise et frivole*. So many phobias have found their way into the idea of love in a monastery, that Saint Aelred's XII century views are just as important today as they ever were. He believes in the possibility of every capacity for friendship and affection being fulfilled in the religious community, having proved it for himself.

It is this primacy of experience that Fr Aelred Squire constantly turns to in his remarkable study. As he says, "imaginatively, the Cistercians seem to live in the world of the authorities they cite, and feel them as their contemporaries". Being thus deeply rooted in Christian tradition, they could afford to be themselves, and Aelred is certainly the most outstanding individual of them all. Somehow he always managed to project a personal view, full of fresh perceptions and happily phrased conclusions. He can share his meditation.

The theology and the psychology of charity concerned him first personally, and then, as he was made novice master and abbot, he had to work it out for the benefit of others. His major works, the *de Spirituali Amicitia*, and the *Speculum Charitatis*

show him communicating his own vision of the possibilties of monastic life to those who have had the initial inspiration of *conversio* and need all the help they can get in surviving the sheer hard labour involved in a real monastic training.

In Fr Squire's study, however, the whole of Aelred's literary output is analysed, so that we may observe not only Aelred the "convert", the novice master and the abbot, but Aelred the chronicler, the diplomat, and in some sense at least, the politician. In a fascinating chapter called "Knights and Kings", for instance, we are given the complicated history of the period following Henry I's death in 1135, when "justice and peace died with him". And in this context, one thinks how typical of Aelred to apply the words of King Edward's prophecy to Henry II, cheerfully seeing in him the corner stone that would unite an English wall with a Norman one.

"In the presence of these early Cisterian abbots", Fr Squire writes, "one is haunted by a background of so many unknown eyes and faces". The existence of such articulate figures as Aelred, Bernard, Guerric, William of Saint-Thierry, was made possible by a lot of people sharing their own intense zest for the life of love and the primitive rule. Here was a real communication of the Holy Spirit. It is the essence of this life that Fr Squire has been able to communicate in this book. We have been waiting for it a long time now, but the waiting was worth while, because it needed much time to browse over the material that he has assimilated. Instead of merely building a background for Aelred, he has empathised completely into his subject, and projects its reality to us with typical sobriety and absolute conviction.

Cathedral Clergy House, GEOFFREY WEBB.
42 Francis Street, S.W.1

David Knowles CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM World University Library Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1969 256 p 18/-.

The series to which this book belongs is international, drawing on some of the best scientists and scholars of our time. It is both a tribute to Dom David Knowles and a recognition of his right, that he should be asked to compose this study. If further proof of his right were needed, it is furnished by *"The Christian Centuries, Vol II: The Middle Ages"*, reviewed below.

Professor Knowles, for all the diversity of his scholarship, has steadily concentrated his deepest and most personal energies into two related theologies, historically examined —monastic and mystical. In 1927, when he was scarcely over thirty, he wrote two small books, *"The Benedictines"* and *"The English Mystics"*, both under th aegis of his former abbot, Cuthbert Butler of Downside. By 1934 he had modified his views very structurally on both subjects and had begun a stream of writing that was to end in two little resumés of his life thinking, *"What is Mysticism"* (1967) and this in 1969. Here, concerning monks, is the simple message of a monk-scholar twice made D.D. this summer, after forty years of serious thought. The marks of Downside in a brilliant but agitated moment have come through, uncompromised by the mellowing of the years: "time trieth truth". It is testimony to his fidelity to that vision, never quite realised.

Fr David's monastic theology is set out on his opening page—"a vocation for those who wish to dedicate themselves to a deeper understanding and more thorough observance of the commandments and counsels of Christ than is demanded by the simple profession of Christian faith". Its history begins in an Egyptian church in 271 AD, when St Anthony heard the words: "if you will be perfect go, sell all and follow me". It rises westwards as John Cassian brought the desert to Provence, telling the tales of the Church's most holy ascetics: "Old Abba Joseph rose, spreading his hands to heaven, so that his fingers shone like ten candles and he said: if you will, you could become a living flame" (". . . of love", added John of the Cross). Cassian taught purity of heart and tranquillity of mind: *unum est necessarium*, to cleave always to God, united inseparably with Him in contemplation. From those still beginnings grew up the structure of Pachomius, the charitable works of Basil, the scholarship of a dozen doctors of the Church (all the fourth century doctors indeed, save Ambrose who alone never knew the cloister). From there came the *Regula Magistri*, with its world famous

shorter successor: St Benedict and his Rule are put into exact perspective, properly reduced in relative stature.

Thereafter the panorama widens, finely supported by maps and by carefully selected illustrations—Skellig Rock of the Celts; the Rome catacomb portrait, the earliest known, of Benedict (c. 750); Kenneth Conant's drawing depicting the Cluny of Peter the Venerable; Abbot Suger's representation from the choir window of Gothic St Denis; the Bury carved ivory crucifix of c. 1140, recently sold to the New York Metropolitan Museum; the Lanfranc water supply plan from Christ Church, Canterbury; a page from the Byzantine *Studion Psalter* (c. 1066); four of the six prints showing the end of the London Charterhouse in 1535; the plan-picture of the home of D'Achery, Mabillon, Ruinart, Martène, Montfaucon; a photograph of St Vincent, Latrobe, first abbey in America (1846) whose last abbot is now Abbot Primate; a photo of Maredsous refectory; and much else . . . yes, an aerial photo of Downside!

The survey takes us full circle and back to the author's vision, "the Rule's essential spiritual teaching, which alters not with the ages", that is, absolute community and non-possession of mutual things, absolute equality and uniformity as the norm for all duties and obligations, residence in the monastery of profession within monastic observance, fixed silences, absence from pursuits liable to blunt the taste for spiritualia, obedience especially to the discipline implied in the vow of striving for an ever deepening love and service of God. The liturgical prayer of a monastery being the raison d'être of monks, to use a mis-statement *laborare est orare* to justify activism is "to use fair sounding phrases to cover a retreat from the one thing necessary, the direct adoration of the unseen God". Dom David Knowles's discussion of work fit for modern monks is highly restrictive; and indeed Ampleforth is selected for oblique criticism: ". . . and the Abbot has a very different family to deal with than the household of the Rule of St Benedict . . . Moreover, a schoolmaster's life, with its alternation of absorbing and exhausting duties in term-time, and reaction and lack of mental and spiritual energy in vacations, is at variance with monastic tranquillity". (pp. 236f, 242).

Though his mind is opened beyond it and his health would never stand it, at heart Fr David is a primitive Cistercian. And their early words he would make his own: "they had come to this solitude—inaccessible and unattractive to anyone save themselves—that they might keep the rule and their vows".

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

IV. CHURCH HISTORY

David Knowles with Dmitri Obolensky THE MIDDLE AGES—THE CHRISTIAN CENTURIES: A NEW HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH VOL 2 Darton Longman & Todd 1969 xxxii + 519 p + 72 p of illustrations + 15 p of maps.

Professor Knowles, with the help of Professor Obolensky who contributes some fifty pages on the Orthodox Church, here offers us his mature conclusions about the history of the Church from Pope Gregory the Great up to the eve of the Reformation. With its four parts and its forty-three chapters, many of them in their turn subdivided, his book is first of all an ordered *tour d'horizon* which exhibits in simple but trenchant terms the events, institutions, asd personalities of the medieval Church. The general reader will welcome it as a compendium for both reading and reference, while the specialist will wish repeatedly to ponder the deep, sober and perceptive judgments which are made upon specific men and movements.

But history, and therefore Church history, is a matter of interpretation as well as of record. Dr Knowles writes with a view of history which the reader, whether general or specialist, must constantly bear in mind and ask himself where he stands concerning it: "the stream of history is continuous and deep; revolutions only stir the surface and are themselves the culmination of a long process of change; within any and every period, long or short, there is unceasing movement". Dr Knowles perhaps best substantiates this view as regards his last two centuries, when the fabric of medieval life was dissolving. But does it so well fit the preceding centuries? From the Cluniacs through the

Gregorians and the Cistercians to the Mendicants, the Church had then regularly experienced waves of energetic reform, if not of revolution, which as means of renewal surely did do more than stir the surface while they were also accompanied by deep-seated stress and conflict. Perhaps it is indeed the case that, so long as the Church is *in via*, its well-being depends upon its being often renewed from within by disturbing reforms and challenges. During the later Middle Ages there was unceasing movement, but there was also no fresh impulse from any such renewal. It was this two centuries and more of slack water which (as Dr Knowles's account suggests) made it morally inevitable that reform when it again came, should come as it were from without, and that in many lands it should be tragically destructive of the fabric of the Church as the Middle Ages had shaped it.

Especially in the final part of his book, Dr Knowles makes us reflect upon such questions. But the overriding impression that he leaves upon our minds is of a historical judgment which, just because it is so evidently schooled in the things of God, also sees very deeply into the characters and affairs of men.

St Edmund Hall, H. E. J. COWDREY.
Oxford.

Marshall W. Baldwin ALEXANDER III AND THE TWELFTH CENTURY Newman Press, New York 1969 228 p 55/-.

Until recent years Alexander III received little attention from historians in his own right, though he figured often as the antagonist of Frederick Barbarossa and the questionable ally of St Thomas of Canterbury. Recently, however, the study of the schools and canonists of the early twelfth century has revealed him as the first, and not the least, of the series of lawyer-popes and, once revealed, he has been studied for his own sake. His reputation has benefited in the process, and many would now consider him the greatest pope of a century which provides poor competition for this distinction, though in other fields so rich in saints and great men. True, Alexander reigned for twenty-two years (1159-81), a span unrivalled between St Peter and Pio Nono; had he died in 1168 or had Eugenius III or Hadrian IV lived ten years longer our judgment might be different. But the closer one looks at his achievement the more one admires the man. Can the pope who poured forth such a flood of influential decretals and who settled so many disputes be the Alexander who, with a questionable title and scanty resources, kept his end up against the two strongest and most capable monarchs of the century, Frederick I with an anti-pope in tow, and Henry II in pursuit of a truant archbishop? Courage has not always been a papal virtue, though when present it has almost always paid off, but Alexander must certainly be counted a very brave man who never yielded to misfortune and lived to triumph over anti-pope, Emperor and King.

Professor Baldwin sees all this, and his short life provides for English and American readers a substitute for the longer and more penetrating, but somewhat turgid, work of M Pacaut. His narrative in the early chapters suffers from the great difficulty of following a single actor in the complicated story of Barbarossa's reign, and of the communes of Lombardy. Similarly, the two chapters on "the Becket affair" cannot in a few pages do more than give an accurate précis. By contrast, the last three chapters give a lucid and at times a vivid account of the Pope's settlement with Frederick and his work for the Church at large. Alexander will be remembered principally for his decision on the essence of matrimony, for his establishment of a formula for monastic exemption, for his regularisation of the process of canonisation, henceforward restricted to the papal curia, and for his approval of the necessity of a two-thirds majority for a papal election. Professor Baldwin mentions these in passing, but the reader might miss the great significance of this pontificate in which, without noise or show, Alexander III did so much to tie up loose ends of discipline and to instruct the bishops of Europe, and not least those of England, how to apply Christian morality and canon law to the needs of their people.

In a reprint the author might note that Archbishop Thomas, not "an acolyte" carried his cross at Northampton (p. 93), and that the crowning of the young Henry did not take place "at St Paul's Church, Westminster", nor in the presence of "Walter of Winchester" (p. 112).

Church Road, DAVID KNOWLES.
Wimbledon, S.W.19.

Gordon Leff HERESY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES Manchester University Press 1967 viii + 800 p 90/-.

It is a major historical undertaking to attempt a synthesis of such a thorny subject as later medieval heresy, and one that would daunt most modern historians: but Dr Leff (Professor at York University) is well-known for his remarkable industry. The topic is a wide one; the material is vast and often difficult to interpret. The only other survey that exists is H.C. Lea's *A History of the Inquisition* published in 1888. It is a classic but is now out of date and does not attempt to deal in detail with doctrine: but heresy in the last analysis is concerned with the Church's dogma. Dr Leff's task was to fill this gap. What he gives us is a full and on the whole a clear account of the main heresies and heterodox movements in Western Europe between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth century. It is an account of heresy rather than of heretics; of doctrine which was produced, extorted or simply deduced, rather than of what people really believed and why they dissented from orthodoxy. There have been occasions when the Church in the process of the persecution of heresy has defined it. The Albigensians were given views that they did not profess, as was John Hus. But for Sigismund's initial support for Hus at Constance and for his having a public hearing, modern historians might have written off Hus as a Wycliffite. Many at the time were astonished when Hus directly repudiated so much of Wycliffe's teaching. The technique of inquisitorial procedure did not always allow the truth to come out. So on account of heresy such as Dr Leff's, viewed solely from the aspect of doctrine and based often on rather one-sided sources, has its limitations. The heretics themselves do not emerge as men of flesh and blood. If this is so for the major figures such as Olivi, Marsiglio, Ockham, Wycliffe and Hus, it is true *a fortiori* of their followers. Hus has left much to be analysed; his followers who were the rebels left little. Hus receives detailed treatment; his followers almost nothing. In vain does one look for information on the views of John Zizka or Nicholas of Hus. The same thinness of treatment is apparent for those popular movements of the Waldensians and the Lollards.

The most prominant heretical movements, as Dr Leff points out, were centered on property, the mystical search for God and the nature of the Church. All of these are concerned with the place and role of the Church in this world. So much of late medieval heresy is best seen as a revolt against ecclesiastical authority and the institutional trappings of the Church: it is an attitude of mind rather than doctrinal heterodoxy, and as such embraces aspects much wider than that of the intellect. The historian of late medieval heresy needs to be versed in social and economic history as well. It is significant that the flight from intellect was so marked a characteristic of Europe, North of the Alps, in the later middle ages. Ockham's nominalism ran parallel to the pietistic movements in Bohemia, the Low Countries and the Rhineland where there was an affective piety that appealed to the heart rather than to the head. The *Devotio Moderna* is surprisingly not discussed by Dr Leff, not even in his chapter on the "Spiritual Climate": yet, without it, it is difficult to understand the true nature of Lollardy and its appeal to the restless urban classes.

All this is criticism of omission rather than of statement. We are not given a balanced view of late medieval heresy. Dr Leff's fine introductory chapter shows that he is aware of the wider issues, but that he is not disposed to deal with them. It is a pity. On the other hand we must be grateful for an analysis of the teaching attributed to the main proponents of heresy in the later middle ages. This book would be worth buying for its masterly treatment of the Spiritual Franciscans and the Fraticelli.

A dilemma faces the historian who has the courage to attempt a synthesis. Recent research has uncovered so much that he must sacrifice depth to breadth, or breadth to depth. Dr Leff has opted for the latter.

EDWARD CORBOULD, O.S.B.

Edward P. Echlin, S.J. THE ANGLICAN EUCHARIST IN ECUMENICAL PERSPECTIVE: DOCTRINE AND RITE FROM CRANMER TO SEABURY Seabury Press, New York 1968 viii + 305 p $7.50.

The author of this book, an American Jesuit, set out to trace the course of Anglican thought on the doctrines of the Real Presence and eucharistic sacrifice from Cranmer and the First Book of Common Prayer of 1549 down to the eucharistic rite of the American Episcopal Church in 1789. An Appendix deals with the changes in the American Prayer Book revisions of 1892 and 1928. Lest British readers pass over this work as of little interest to them, let it be stated at once that only in his final chapter does the author deal with American developments. After three opening chapters treating in detail the English eucharistic rites of 1549, 1552, 1559 and the discussions and very slight changes undertaken after the accession of James I to the English throne in 1603, Echlin analyses the short-lived Scottish Communion Office of 1637 and the English rite of 1662. Included in this section are treatments of the eucharistic doctrine of William Laud, his northern protegé James Wedderburn of Dundee, and the bishops John Cosin of Durham, Robert Sanderson of Lincoln and Matthew Wren of Ely. The chapter on the eighteenth century developments treats the Non-Jurors' rite of 1718 and the Scottish Communion Office of 1764. Here are set forth the views of the Real Presence and eucharistic sacrifice advanced by John Johnson, Rector of Cranbrook in Kent, the non-juring Bishop Thomas Brett, the Manchester Non-Juror Thomas Deacon, and the Scottish Bishop John Forbes. This leads naturally to a consideration of the first American Prayer Book of 1789, in which the eucharistic rite is strongly influenced by that of the Scottish Prayer Book, in fulfilment of the pledge made to his Scots consecrators by the first Anglican bishop in the United States, Samuel Seabury of Connecticut. Fr Echlin concludes by endorsing the statement of the official Anglican-Roman Catholic ecumenical commission in the United States in 1967 that there is now no substantial difference between the Anglican and Roman Catholic doctrines of eucharistic sacrifice. By implication he seems to extend this substantial agreement to the doctrine of the Real Presence, though he notes and sympathises with the reluctance of Anglicans to undertake or accept too precise definition of one of the greatest mysteries of faith.

The above summary indicates the book's basic thesis: that Anglican eucharistic belief "over four centuries has steadily drawn closer to Rome" (vi). Fr Echlin also contends "that Roman eucharistic thought has developed during this same period, and that Roman development has tended to converge with the insights of Anglicanism" (*ibid.*). Though the author states at the outset that his book "is not a comparison with Roman dogma", one feels at numerous places and especially when he cites Anglican theologians criticising Roman Catholic dogma (or what they assume that dogma to be), that in justice he should have told us what in his view Roman Catholic teaching actually is. How else is it possible to show the convergence of the two traditions? In the absence of guidance from the author one often feels that the supposed differences in belief were more apparent than real, and that the argument was over terms rather than over the beliefs behind thes terms. With this on reservation this excellent and important book may be warmly recommended to British readers as the work of a theologian who has not inherited, and is wholly unaffected by, a notion widespread in the British Isles: that there is an inevitable and insurmountable theological oppisition between Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, and that never the twain shall meet. This volume performs the valuable service of gathering together from numerous old and mostly rare works abundant evidence that it is not so.

In conclusion one cannot resist citing, from the many good things here, a delightful remark of Lord Cecil at the Hampton Court Conference with the Puritans in January, 1604. Pointing out an unhappy and unedifying consequence of the custom of standing to receive communion, Cecil told the conference: "The indecency of *ambling* communions is very offensive, and hath driven many from the church" (100). This Latin rite catholic could wish that some of his brethren might take these words to heart.

Naamsestratt 100
Leuven-Belgium. JOHN JAY HUGHES

CORRESPONDENCE

THE HILAIRE BELLOC CENTENARY

26th October 1969.

SIR,

May I take this opportunity of drawing your readers' attention to the forthcoming centenary of Hilaire Belloc on 27th July 1970.

Because Belloc is not very widely read today I feel this would be an ideal opportunity for the Catholic Church to make amends to one of her very great sons. I wonder if some of the people still alive that knew him personally would be willing to participate in some type of celebration to mark the occasion.

Fr Conrad Pepler, O.P., Warden of Spode House, Rugeley, Staffs, is prepared to set aside a weekend in July 1970 for the occasion but neither of us is sure exactly what form the celebration should take. We should therefore welcome any suggestions or offers of help.

Yours sincerely,

LOUIS SCHROEDER.

5 Buckhurst Way,
Earley, Reading, RG6 2RL.

From Lady Richmond, wife of Sir John Richmond, K.C.M.G.

14th November 1969.

DEAR EDITOR,

I wonder if anyone else objects as I do to your recommendation of Lt-Colonel Colin Mitchell's book as "superlative in its class and especially for the young" (Summer JOURNAL, p. 256I-K).

I was in some of the areas mentioned at the same time as Colonel Mitchell, and I know, as friends or acquaintances, some of the distinguished people he mentions; I spent four years in Kuwait and have a different idea from Mitchell's on the advisability of British troops being stationed in the Gulf. I was delighted to read of his dismissal since I agree with you on one point—that a man whose love of regiment so haunts his life must be basically immature—(and, I would also add, therefore an unfit model for the young). When the fuss about the Argylls blew up I contrasted it smugly, as a citizen of Durham, with the dignified laying to rest of the Durham Light Infantry.

Surely in a Christian School one cannot recommend to the boys someone whose political ideas appear drawn exclusively from the *Daily Express;* who refers to the enemy as "seedy little terrorists"; whose "special order" on the action in Crater accents domination rather than service. "In the Argylls," he writes, "we thrive on danger, so let us be even more alert,

with fingers on the trigger for the good kill of terrorists which may soon present itself." Had Mitchell been commanding in Northern Ireland one could have substituted "a good kill of papists", or "a good kill of Paisleyites", and this phrase alone should exclude the book from praise in the JOURNAL.

Yours sincerely,

DIANA RICHMOND.

20 The Avenue,
Durham City.

"A LETTER OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE. . ."

22nd October 1969.

DEAR SIR,

My attention has just been drawn to the comments in your JOURNAL (Summer 1969, page 273) on my letter to the *Catholic Herald*. The author of these not noticeably courteous comments has failed to answer my queries, which were (a) why the principal English Catholic apologists of recent years are mostly converts, (b) what eminent thinkers the English Catholic schools have produced, and (c) whether there is not some element in the education provided there that discourages independence of thought.

Your commentator apparently thinks that exclusion from Oxbridge was a chief cause of this curious state of things—a strange argument indeed. He opines also that some of the Catholic apologists on my list found their Protestant schools distasteful. If so, that surely shows their independence of mind and ability to think for themselves, as indeed does their subsequent conversion to Catholicism.

Your commentator's opinion that my letter is of little consequence and shows lack of understanding is not shared by the Director of the Catholic Enquiry Centre, who confesses that he is a little bit mystified at the way distinguished Catholics seem to have been converts. It could be, he says, that some of the Catholic schools in the past tended to be too conformist, and any independence of spirit was thereby extinguished.

I hope that in future this country will have little use for Ampleforth's generals and colonial governors. Ampleforth, you say, tries to prepare its boys not for a successful life, but rather for a successful death by way of a Christian life. This sounds to me a little egoistic. I should prefer boys to be educated for a more altruistic (and Christian) way of life, hoping that they follow the example of such benefactors of humanity as Leonard Cheshire and Sue Ryder (also converts).

As a member of the Newman Society in 1908, next time I go to Oxford I must have a look at the group photograph in St Benet's Hall, to see whether I figure in it. I knew and admired "Sligger" Urquart, but who was the other Catholic don?

Yours sincerely,

H. A. PIEHLER.

Garden Croft,
Matfield,
Tonbridge, Kent.

A REBELLIOUS TONE

25th November 1969.

DEAR SIR,

It was refreshing to read, in the autumn number, the scholarly and intelligent letter from Mr T. M. Charles-Edwards in reply to Fr Placid Spearritt. Like Mr Charles-Edwards I also feel obliged to use my own private judgment in regard to the public utterances of the clergy, and can only safely accept the pronouncements of the Holy See.

When Ampleforth monks are permitted to write articles in the JOURNAL commenting unfavourably on Authoritative papal teaching, no objection should be raised when an ordinary Catholic layman, such as myself, who, during a long married life, experienced some of its difficulties and temptations, is surprised and shocked and takes exception to them.

The articles I refer to are those by Br Alberic Stacpoole and Fr Placid Spearritt. In my opinion the general tone of all these articles is a rebellious one. The review of Von Hildebrand's book by Br Ralph Wright in the 1969 Spring number is on quite a different plane and the Spiritual outlook of the reviewer is very obvious.

I believe that all good and humble Catholics know in their hearts that Contraception is a grave sin and that the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae* expresses the true and traditional teaching of the Church. They also know that the great Christian virtue of Chastity has to be practised in married life and that this can only be done with the help of God's grace which they can obtain through prayer and frequent recourse to the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist.

Shortly after the Encyclical had been issued, a priest informed me that a Catholic layman had told him that he and his wife, like many other Catholics, deliberately refrained from receiving the Sacraments, during the child-bearing period of life, because they were practising Contraception. This shows that they had a sense of guilt and conscience pricked them.

Finally, let us never forget that the Catholic Church is a divine institution founded on the Papacy and it was in defence of Papal Supremacy that S.S. John Fisher and Thomas More and the other English martyrs gave their lives.

LEONARD ROCHFORD.

2 Providence Place,
Bruton, Somerset.

"FAITH & FACT" FOR INDIA

15th January 1970.

DEAR SIR,

I made an order asking a bookshop to send out the "Faith & Fact" series to the Asirvanam Benedictine Priory at Kengeri, Mysore, India; and over a period of some eight years they were delivered. But some of them never reached the Priory library, and these are now evidently out of print. May I, through your pages, appeal for a donation of the missing numbers,

to be sent to my address for forwarding to the Priory in India. The missing serials are: 1, 7, 8, 38, 42, 51, 55, 64, 119, 126, 133, 143, 145, 147-50 (17 in all).

Yours sincerely,

P. W. Davis.

1 Tullis Close,
Sutton Courtney,
Abingdon, Berks.

Pure Science *versus* Technology

26th January 1970.

Sir,

If the Church can learn something about authority from the scientific community (Dr Hodgson, Autumn 1969), perhaps the scientific community can learn something from the Church about humility.

Dr Hodgson contrasts the "incandescent fusing and re-fusing of ideas" in the scientific present with "the charred relics of the past, abode of teachers and engineers". One had hoped that this sort of opinion, common in the last century, had at last died among English pure scientists, if only because the truly great (such as Einstein) were also truly humble, and we could do with some more of the truly great here, too.

A recent West German survey of the British economy states that of the eighty most important scientific inventions since the war, fifteen had come from Britain, more than from the Common Market Six combined. It went on to say that the British industrial failure lay in slowness to apply new ideas and methods. Yesterday (Sunday) an economic survey of Common Market prospects on ITV stated that since the War Britain's relative economic position had declined from being higher than all the major members of the Six and second only to Luxemburg, to being below all except Italy.

I suggest that if this trend continues we will soon be unable to support Dr Hodgson and his colleagues in their ivory towers. While it is all very well producing laboratory toys, the different but equally demanding discipline of making reliable industrial products from basic discoveries evidently escapes us. If a pure scientist makes a mistake few will know (or care, perhaps); whereas if an engineer makes a mistake a bridge may collapse, airliners may crash or shipyards fail to meet delivery dates and hundreds or thousands of lives may be directly affected. Further, it has often been the requirements of applied sciences that have stimulated research and discoveries in pure science—some of them made by engineers. To suggest that the increased direct responsibility borne by many engineers goes with reduced intellectual challenge is to ignore, as many pure scientist contemporaries did, the work of such men as Carnot or Heaviside or many others.

Yours faithfully,

Adrian Stewart.

The Annet,
Oswaldkirk.

COMMUNITY NOTES

THE VISIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO THE ABBEY AND ST SYMEON'S HOUSE

Dr Donald Coggan, the Archbishop of York, paid his second visit to Ampleforth, when at the invitation of Father Abbot he came on Monday, 27th October to have lunch with the Community. Though several of the brethren had met with him previously, this was his first opportunity to get to know the Community at home. The visit, at his request, was kept informal. After he and Mrs Coggan had taken coffee with Father Abbot and Father Prior, he talked to a group from the Sixth Form who were making the School Retreat.

Before lunch, he and his wife met members of the School staff and some of the Community. He lunched in the monastic refectory and had coffee in the calefactory, when after a welcome by Father Abbot he expressed his pleasure at coming and wish to get to know about the life and work of the Abbey. There was a chance for a chat with him afterwards in the monastic guest room and a number of brethren gathered there for about an hour. The Archbishop, in the company of Father Abbot, then made his way to St Symeon's House, the Orthodox Centre in Oswaldkirk, where his wife had been entertained to lunch by Fr and Mrs Rodzianko. He was greeted according to Orthodox custom by being offered blessed bread and salt and then, at a short service, Fr Rodzianko welcomed His Grace speaking of the ecumenical importance of the St Symeon's venture and Anglican interest in it. The Vicar of Ampleforth, the recently appointed secretary of the centre, was one of the guests. At the tea which followed, the six students and other members of the House were introduced to the Archbishop. It was very much a family tea party and formed a happy ending to this pleasantly informal occasion.

NEWS STRAIGHT FROM ROME

By a chain of curious coincidences December has put the Community in touch with the central actions of the Church. In the first week the Abbot Primate, Abbot Rembert Weakland, visited us a second time this year fresh from representing the Religious at the October Synod of Bishops at the Vatican. He talked to us both privately and at an informal meeting, discussing the day to day details of the Synod, some aspects of the problems raised and the way that various groups of bishops reacted. It is especially interesting that, whereas the Western European bishops tended to seek a measure of greater independence from Rome, the bishops of Eastern Europe and more especially of Asia and Africa rejoiced in an undisguised daily dependence on the Holy See, for they had to outlay most of their energies not only on confronting other predominant religions but in standing up to aggressively secularist governments and so were very glad of papal apron-strings to hang on to. Though the Synod was too short to generate that depth of spirit to which the Council had given life and witness, it was

apparent to everyone there that the same conciliar spirit (which gloomier prophets said had evaporated) was still alive and smouldering not far below the surface: this heartened all the bishops.

With the Primate was Dom Benedetto Calati, Prior General of the Camaldolese congregation (based on Camaldoli, Tuscany; with one house in California). He had much to say about the monastic debates, activists *versus* contemplatives and coenobitical *versus* eremitical vocations. He and our Abbot (who took Fr Barnabas with him as secretary and consultor) were joining the Primate in work on the monastic commission *de Re Monastica*. It was held at St Benet's Hall, where there gathered also Abbot Jean Gaillard of Wisques, N. France, Abbot Dominic Hermant of En-Calcat, S. France, Abbot Daniel Kucera of St Procopius, Illinois and other monks, including Dom Pio Tamburrino of S. Georgio, Venice, a patristic scholar who returned afterwards to Ampleforth for some days. At a guest night at the Hall, the guests included Archbishop Dwyer (Birmingham), the Abbot of Nashdom (Anglican), Professor R. W. Southern (President of St John's College), Dr George Caird (Mansfield College, a one-time Vatican Observer), Mr Peter Brown (All Souls' College) and Billy Pantin, one of our confraters. It might be said of the commission's work that, where it had earlier in the year resolved those problems analogous to the field of *Lumen Gentium*, this time it had moved on to working on problems equivalent to those of *Gaudium et Spes*. It had moved on, so to say, from *esse* to *agere*, from nature to functions. An account of the work is given below

A little before Christmas, Fr Olegario Gonzalez, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Salamanca and one of the International Theological Commission appointed by the Pope, visited us for some days and spoke—as the Primate—both privately and at an informal meeting to the Community on the work of his Commission, which had held its first plenary session just before and during the early part of the Synod. He said with admirable humility that about half of the theologians had been selected *personaliter* and the others *territorialiter*, and that he was sure it was the name Salamanca and not Gonzalez that had brought him into the Commission. The genesis of this body, he said, was the long building tension over the last century between Authority and expertise (what he called 'competence'): the tension came to a head with *Humanae Vitae* which marks the first occasion that a papal document has been subjected to severe reactions of dissent from the Church at large. Rome realised that it was insufficiently "listening" to the *sensus fidelium* and has properly sought to redress this by calling a consultative body of theologians selected not from Roman provenance (and therefore not such as Fr Bernard Häring) but from a wide selection of disciplines (dogmatic exegetical, moral, historical), and a wide territorial range (from Brazil to the Phillippines to Canada). He showed that theologians properly represent the organ of interpretation of the mind of the Church; and that Authority, before it can act with responsibility, has to be in possession of a true cognition of the mind of the Church. This is a subtle understanding. It must be digested into a synthesis by correlating the *via intellectiva* of the more highly scholastic forms of thought with the *via connaturalitatis* of the forms of thought distinguished as monastic, experiential, intuitive. The places to look first, he suggested, for a true discernment of the *sensus fidelium* are these: among missionaries, among monasteries, among spiritual intellectuals, among visionary technicians (especially in fields such as sociology), and finally (sic) among prelates. The task today is immensely complicated by the breakdown of the former perhaps false harmony between faith/dogma/theology/scholastic philosophy in face of what Newman spoke of as "the wild living intellect of man".

THE COMMISSION *DE RE MONASTICA*

SCHOLARSHIP candidates calling at St Benet's in December were surprised to find an even more international society than usual in possession of the Hall; monks of varied provenance and appearance were holding long sessions in the library or endeavouring to make themselves understood round the tea-table in French or Italian, German or even Latin (though "renewal" was the theme of their meeting).

It came about in this way. At the Council the Church first set about defining her own nature in the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen Gentium*, and then turned to describe her relation with the rest of men in the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*. In a rather similar way the Congress of Benedictine Abbots issued in 1967 a *Statement on Benedictine Life*, as a description of the monastic vocation; and now two years later the same Commission of Abbots is attempting to define the relation of monasticism to the modern world in a series of papers and discussions, and to point to the joy and the hope that it has to offer.

The Abbot of Ampleforth has been a member of this Commission from the begining, and with two others prepared the first statement of 1967. The team at Oxford was under the skilful chairmanship of the Abbot Primate; it had been strengthened by the addition of Abbots from America and Switzerland, from France and Italy, and perhaps most notably by the presence of Dom Benedetto Calati, the Prior General of the Camaldolese Congregation, with their strong eremitical tradition; his remarkable and prophetic insights were expressed in such vivid Italian that even those who knew little of the language found themselves understanding almost every word. The party was completed by a number of secretaries and "redacteurs", including the General Secretary, Dom Pio Tamburrino of the ecumenical monastery at Venice, and Fr Barnabas and Fr Geoffrey from Ampleforth; and it was supported by the hospitality of the Master of the Hall and the willing services of undergraduate members.

There was much to talk about. The relation between the Christian monachism that took its origin from St Antony in about the year 270 and the world of the atom bomb and the astronauts is not at once obvious. But it is just this tension between the eternal ideals of Christianity and the temporary fears and ambitions of our own times that raises so many questions: does monasticism witness to the Beatitudes as strikingly as it

did to St Augustine and his friends, when they first heard the story of St Antony from Ponticianus (Conf. VI 14) towards the end of the fourth century? And if not, why not? Has it learned everything of value that the modern world can teach it? Does it do all it can to serve modern man in his special needs and anxieties?

Or has it become too much involved in one culture or one social tradition? Has it really disengaged the essentials of the monastic response to the call of Christ from the time-bound forms in which it has sometimes expressed itself? Are the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience still an authentic means to the following of Christ? How are they to be understood today, and how are they to be put into practice?

Religious of all kinds are trying to discover the answers to such questions as these; and especially the monastic orders, with pre-Tridentine and even pre-Constantinian origins, hope to find answers that will be deeply significant for our times; and thus they hope to be able to offer to others too who are in search of the truth, whether believers or not, a haven where they may find a new orientation towards the future and the answer to some at least of the problems of our times.

ST LOUIS PRIORY

Community

Father Mark Haidy has come out from England to be monastic cellarer and to look after the landscaping of that part of our 170-acre campus which we are not using for playing fields. Father Ian is taking a sabbatical year to recover from the strain particularly of the last two years when his responsibility has grown from about 70 Junior School boys to over 100, and he had the added burden of superintending the move into the new building. Father Abbot on his visit here judged that a year away from the Priory would enable Father Ian to rebuild his energies and return refreshed to his position next September. It is a position which he has filled with great success ever since the Junior House was started, and many people have expressed sadness that he should have to give up even for one year. His temporary absence is one which is also felt keenly by his brethren for he is a wonderful community man as well as a hard worker.

It is sad to have to record some losses to the Community (notably two American monks). These are real losses and are an added incentive to the drive for more vocations which is now being actively organised. They have also meant some redeployment of man-power. For the present at least Father Thomas is Procurator assisted by a lay business manager and by Father Mark on the monastic side. Father Prior is also novice-master, and Father Miles is taking care of the Junior School until Father Ian returns.

Building Programme

Excellent progress was made on the Upper School building until the untimely arrival for the first time in 21 years of a "white" Christmas. Except in the library section the walls are up to roof level, and given

another spell of fair weather, which is always a possibility in Missouri, it should be possible to put the roof on so that work can continue underneath even during further wintery spells. The football field and running track are complete. The grass got a good start during the "fall", and all will be ready for the athletics season in spring and the football season next September.

The new senior class which had such remarkable success in its Junior year has started off in promising style. One member of the class won the area competition to chose a delegate to attend the National Youth Conference on the Atom and another was invited as a guest of NASA to attend the launch of Apollo XII. In both of these cases the teacher shares the honour with his student and that is how Father Thomas found himself at Cape Kennedy sitting a few feet from the President of the United States to watch the astronauts being launched on their very successful trip to the moon. This class will certainly gain more honours before the year is out and reinforce our feeling that it was a wise decision to take *all* our students in at the seventh grade level and give them the benefit of a six rather than a four year course. Another sign of the reputation of the School in the educational world is Father Timothy's appointment to the national advisory committee of the College Entrance Examination Board which produces the advanced placement examination. This would correspond roughly to the "A" level examination committee of the Oxford and Cambridge Board.

The boys in the School have recently completed another work for the underprivileged. They collected funds which were sent to South Africa to defray the cost of building a school for the native children of Molapowabojang. The school has now been built, photographs have been received of the building and students, and it is hoped that a continuing relationship between the two schools will be developed to our mutual benefit.

GIVING THE GOSPEL MESSAGE

Fr Philip Holdsworth gives an account of his recent tour of the Continent

How to preach effectively? What ways are there of passing on Our Lord's teaching, the Gospel? What is the Gospel and how can it be presented nowadays? These were the sort of questions that were in my mind when I landed last summer at the Rotterdam Europort to visit certain places on the Continent and see how these problems were being tackled.

A striking feature met in many places was the liturgical homily. This homily at mass arises either out of the readings from the Bible that precede it or from the feast or occasion for the mass and involves an apt application of the theme to the current needs and problems of daily life. I saw this done in Amsterdam, Düsseldorf, Paris and Beauvais. It occurs, obviously, at Sunday Mass but also at weddings and funerals, even at baptisms, and at weekday masses too, even if only a few are present, provided it is an occasion for "a few words". Sometimes it is prepared by priest and a group of the congregation a day or two beforehand, as at the Dominican Pastorie of St Thomas Aquinas in Amsterdam, or the Jugendhaus in Düsseldorf or

for the regular Youth Mass at S. Vincent de Paul, Clichy, on the outskirts of Paris. On these occasions not only is the subject of the preaching chosen by those involved together, but also the scripture readings, the bidding prayers and the Canons of the Mass. In Holland there is quite a range of the latter, mostly of modern composition. In Germany at Youth Masses the reading of the Bible sometimes takes the form of a little dramatic presentation of the biblical passage which is then summed up by the celebrant.

All this is done with the purpose of engaging the members of a congregation in participation in the liturgy of a kind valuable to them. To ensure this, great effort is made to understand the everyday life of the people, a point made sharply to me by the priest in charge of a missionary team in Creil, a developing industrial town in Northern France: "Preaching is difficult only if one has no contact with the people or does not know their way of life". Other priests in France and Germany stressed this too.

An area in which this need for communication between priest and people is most felt is that of Youth. This emerged rather forcibly in last year's congress of German Catholic Youth, when the young people publicly rejected the address of their own bishop, declaring that he was not on their wavelength! These were committed Catholics, not off-beat outsiders, and their reactions have stirred a tremendous re-appraisal of the manner of conducting a youth apostolate. This can be observed in the previously mentioned Düsseldorf Jugendhaus, the centre of all German Catholic Youth organisations. The essence of the young people's complaint is the seeming irrelevance of the Church to the problems of the present world, famine, war, injustice, commercialism, illiteracy, etc., and it provokes the question of the meaning of the Gospel in contemporary terms. How can a supernatural message be conveyed today? An Amsterdam Dominican agreed that it must be, somehow, but what is it? He thought the best approach was to invite people to make something of their lives, taking Jesus as their model, thinking of him as displaying a way of life rather than as a speaker about God. A Düsseldorf student chaplain with parish experience took a similar line. How can one get across "eternal life" for example? "I don't want to live for ever" said an intelligent teacher he was instructing to receive into the Church. He judged the best approach to be to begin with people's lives as they experienced them and then show Our Lord as a figure meaningful in this context, not referring to all his titles but showing him as relevant to some of our situations.

Others considered that although one needed to take full account of the circumstances of people's lives if one were to preach instructively to them the greatest mistake we could and were making was ignorance of Our Lord. A Benedictine missionary back from Tanzania, whom I met in Würsburg, said that he thought that what was most lacking and needed in the Church today was the forming of a personal relationship with Our Lord in every Christian, beginning with the very young. Our Lord's mission was not well known and appreciated. Our teaching of the Bible should end with our hearers making for themselves their confrontation not merely with the Gospel message but with our Lord himself as a person.

I was struck by the way his remarks echoed those I had received months earlier from a Dominican priest working in the very different conditions of a Northern port and industrial city in England, echoed, too, by those of the parish priest of S. Vincent de Paul, Clichy, who said that he found that the best preaching occurred when one shared with others one's own experience of what the gospel of Jesus meant to oneself. A further point made by the missionary at Würzburg was that the encounter with Jesus made by the preaching should be sealed by an appriopriate reference in the Bidding Prayers.

Much, then, is taking place about the Church's work of preaching and how to carry it out. There is even discussion about who the minister of the word properly is, as discovered in talking to some of the staff at the Seminary for the diocese of Mainz. Lay theologians question whether it is only for the priest to be the preacher and whether all priests, simply because they are priests, are qualified for preaching. This evidently leads us into deep waters. More immediately practicable is the question of the training for good preaching and I found that in several places in Holland and Germany those preparing for the priesthood do their "practice sermons" in parishes and with the aid of lay people in both preparation and subsequent discussion of the sermon. Perhaps the role of the layman is more especially suitable in this stage, rather than as actual minister of the word?

One of the reasons for the work of preaching being at present so thoroughly investigated and performed in Germany is the existence of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Katholiker Homiletiker*, a working party that is a sort of "ginger group", to make priests become aware of the need for, problems involved in, and best ways of, good preaching. It has an annual conference, publishes its findings and was instrumental in getting a Homiletics section added to the Munich school of Catechetics. Perhaps we need something of this kind in England?

On 4th December William Carron, the distinguished Trade Unionist who was a relentless opponent of Communism, died. He had been made a Life Peer by his Queen and a K.S.G. by the Pope. In later years he had become a firm friend of Ampleforth, coming to lecture the boys and the Community, and to stay at the Abbey for short periods. "Sometimes when faced with a perplexing problem," the *Telegraph* obituary related, "Lord Carron, who was a devout Roman Catholic, retired into solitude. He did this during the national engineering and shipbuilding stoppage in 1957 and later cast his union's overwhelming vote in favour of ending the strike."

On 13th December the annual Ampleforth Sunday ("a Retreat with a difference") was held at Netherhall House, the *Opus Dei* centre in North London. The Cardinal graced the occasion with his presence, concelebrating Mass with the Abbot. Both of them then gave discourses. The Abbot spoke twice, the second time on Ampleforth past and present, stressing that we are foremost a community of monks with a relationship in prayer and brotherhood with the wide circle who come to our Abbey, not a community of school masters with a parent-teacher relationship to bind us together.

There were some 120 present, that is, full capacity: it is a salutary sign that we had to refuse some 30 others who would have liked to come if there had been room.

ON MONASTIC RENEWAL

Denis Bethell, who is a firm friend of St Benet's Hall, has been writing in the October number of *The English Historical Review* on "English Black Monks and Episcopal Elections in the 1120s", i.e. in the time just after St Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury. His conclusion is a sober warning to monks of all ages, and perhaps especially our own. "It is possible to demonstrate that this was not a time of disaster, but a time of renewal, and that far from losing influence, the black monks as a body actually gained it in the 1120s and 1130s. The true age of collapse and withdrawal was nearer the end of the century, when there was a reaction, but no attempt to remodel ways to suit the new age. No great men came forward to lead the black monks through that crisis, partly because no new controversy about the nature of the monastic life was there to give sense and reason to the mere defence of privilege and wealth. By the thirteenth century the English Benedictines were where perhaps their predecessors of the 1120s had really wished to be: in a comfortable backwater." (p. 693-4.)

This judgment reflects another by Fr David Knowles in a lecture on the monasteries of England in the late Middle Ages. "An imponderable change took place in the whole fabric of English religious life between the death of Henry V and the accession of Henry VIII; and during the same period the tide of English social and economic life was running very strongly out to the new and unknown, whilst the monasteries, like hulks embedded in the mud far up among the meadows in a creek of the Tamar or Fal, whither the spring tides had borne them long ago, saw the ebb falling past them without a thought that they were losing any hope they might have had of riding the flood across the bar and out to sea". (*History*, Feb./June 1954, p. 38.)

The metaphor is mainstream versus meadow-stream, and the warning is against reeds, rushes and sedgegrass and the comforting certainties of old ways. What was good for our fathers may in effect sound the death-knell for ourselves unless our ear is tuned to the shifts of social and economic life, which ask for changes in the religious and monastic life—not as a point of fashion but as a life-response. Without going so far as Dom Besret of white monk Abbaye de Bocquen in Brittany, who sought to rediscover monastic values "in concrete forms of expression freed from all legalism, formalism, pharisaism and anachronism, in order to enable them to make a real impact on the world"; without, that is, going as far as to open silent Cistercian cloisters, where the soil has been tilled serenely for centuries, to the chatter and shuffle of the secular world, we must go at least as far as to modify to the times if we are to serve the times. Our call is to bring Christ to a world needing Christ *now*, in ways that the world will countenance.

But equally, our response to the world must not so overwhelm monastic values as to render them redundant. A recent Sunday paper carried the report of an interview with a monk of Buckfast who had just left his cloister for good. His main interest had been in social welfare, which he felt the monastic rigour curtailed: "there are all sorts of ways we could help the poor. We could visit old people, wallpaper a room for them and keep them company. We could visit others in hospitals and mental institutions. Monastic life is devoted to the improvement of the world and one's self by prayer. Going out to visit people and doing good is a form of prayer". This is altogether commendable, but is it the monastic vocation or would it in fact destroy the very essence of monasticism? The siren voice of social welfare work serves only to seduce the monk from his cloister as the famine that calls out to the farmer to sell his seed-corn. "Doing good is a form of prayer" is the monastic heresy of our age: the Benedictine motto is not *laborare est orare*, but *laborare et orare*, and in these phrenetic and fretful times we must not lose sight of that truth above all.

"YORK REGENERATE" ENCORE

Since the last notes on this theme there has been a lively exchange of correspondence in *The Times* triggered off by Lord James, Lord Middleton and Lord Halifax on the subject of the Railway Museum. We may have forgotten in the last note to bring out the interest that has been kindled in York by the plight of the Minster and the excavations that have accompanied its renovation, but who would have thought that the Railway Museum was to become a centre of national interest? Yet it has; and the grapeshot discharged on all sides has been weighted with statistics worthy of our notice.

We discover that the visitors to the Castle Museum in 1968 have risen to three-quarters of a million, and that there were a million visitors to York last year. The Railway Museum has attracted a steadily rising figure, some 155,000 visitors last year, of whom 80,000 were children. After London, York is one of the most accessible places in Great Britain by rail; it is culturally and geographically well placed to play a leading part in growing tourism. It was the home of George Hudson, the Victorian railway magnate and the headquarters of the North Eastern Railway for the whole of its existence (1854-1923). It has already got—before Clapham adds its contribution—the most extensive collection of railway relics in the world, with locomotive yards and sheds available immediately at hand (including two turntables) for expansion in an authentic atmosphere. Moreover the Railway Board's historical records are to be concentrated in an annex to the Museum (a dream-world for thesis writers). England's past industrial greatness having rested in some considerable measure on railways—at home and for export—we should count this as a blessing more considerable than we knew.

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died: Patrick Higgins (1900) on 28th September; and Brigadier N. J. Chamberlain, C.B.E. (1913) on 8th January.

OBITUARY

LORD RHIDIAN CRICHTON-STUART

THE sudden death at the early age of 52 of Lord Rhidian Crichton-Stuart (C 34) deprived his family and countless friends in all walks of life of one they could ill spare

As a boy at Ampleforth he was full of spirit, which carried into his Cambridge days. But the war overtook him at 22, not long after the beginning of his very happy marriage. As a Territorial Officer he was marked unfit because of severe asthma. He refused to submit to this and somehow he sidestepped the doctors, got himself passed fit for active service, and fought the whole of the Italian campaign in the Royal Artillery.

After the War he worked abroad for some years but returned to his native Scotland some dozen years ago and set himself up farming in Kirkcudbrightshire. At this time, he took a significant step in seeking election to the Order of St John (known as the Order of Malta), whose precept of working for the sick he accepted and practised in the spirit and the letter.

Possessed as he was of a rare degree of love for his fellows, he took full advantage of the opportunities which presented themselves in Dumfriesshire (and each year at Lourdes) in dedicated and cheerful help to others. Being of considerate and uncomplicated character and consequently easily understood, helped him along this chosen path of service. In all this he gave freely of his time and experience, of which his voluntary work for the Dumfries and Galloway Hospital Board is one example.

BRIGADIER N. J. CHAMBERLAIN, C.B.E., M.A., R.A.E.C.

NOEL CHAMBERLAIN died of a sudden heart-attack on 8th January just as he was about to propose the Toast of *Alma Mater* at the annual Liverpool-Ampleforth Dinner. Sad and shocking as was his sudden passing, especially to those present and most of all to his brother, George, and his elder son, Father Leo, there was also an extraordinary appropriateness in it: scion of a distinguished Catholic family of Liverpool, where he was born and bred, a grandson of the Founder and first—and only lay—President of the Ampleforth Society, he had always been a devoted son of Ampleforth. He came to School in 1906 at the age of 11 and left in 1913 to go upto Oxford with a History Exhibition at University College—one of the first boys from the School to win such an Award. He played a notable part in the School life of the Ampleforth of his day, when the period of its development in members and reputation was just starting: he was the first Head

Monitor under the new monitorial system, which had taken the place of the older, partially elective, School Government, and he was also Captain of the School Rugby XV just after the change to Rugger had taken place—he claimed to have been awarded the first Rugger Colours given at Ampleforth. He topped this *cursus honorum* by being Captain of Cricket (though non-playing owing to illness) in his last summer term at School.

At Oxford his time was cut short by the outbreak of the First World War and, like all his Oxford generation, he soon found himself in the Army. He was first commissioned in the West Lancs. Brigade R.F.A. (T.A.) and from 1915 to 1918 he saw active service as a Gunner Officer, principally in the Middle East and Palestine, earning a Mention in Dispatches. The end of the War found him at Cairo with a junior staff appointment and he became engaged in the Army Education Scheme which was then being devised to take care of the needs of the thousands of young soldiers who were still in the Forces although fighting had ceased. It was this involvement that decided his life's work as, instead of returning to Oxford, and refusing the offer of a job in the Administrative side of the Civil Service, he took a Regular Commission in the newly formed Army Education Corps, in which the rest of his distinguished Army career was spent. The Royal (as it became) Army Education Corps was a military development from the First World War, in which, as with the Tank and mechanisation, the British Army established the lead but, unlike the Tank and the cause of mechanisation, did not lose it between the Wars; in the growth and fruition of this Corps, officers like Noel Chamberlain who had been with the Corps from its inception played a great part. In the 20s and 30s he held many appointments at home, in India and in Egypt and, in addition to his normal duties, he became closely identified with Army sport and its organisation—especially Army Boxing—for many years he was a Vice-President of the Army Boxing Association and a notable boxing Referee.

During the Second World War he saw much service in North Africa and Italy; from 1943 he held the important appointment of Chief Education Officer, Allied Forces H.Q., with the rank of Colonel and was Mentioned in Dispatches. After the War he was given a number of senior posts, including that of Commandant of the newly established Welbeck Army College, and he was responsible for carrying through several valuable reforms in the work of the R.A.E.C. His last appointment was Chief Education Officer, H.Q., B.O.A.R., with the rank of Brigadier, and he retired in 1956 with that rank and was gazetted C.B.E.—a well deserved acknowledgment of his very considerable services to education in the Army.

After retiring he lived at Fleet but later returned to the North and settled at Harrogate, where he was active in political and educational work. His warm personality always brought Noel many friends, who enjoyed hearing his forthright, but always charitable, views on men and matters, or engaging in a rubber of Bridge—but only if they took the game seriously, for he was a Master.

It is sometimes said in criticism of the products of the Catholic Public Schools that they are slow in coming forward in services to the community:

the life of a man like Noel Chamberlain gives the lie to this criticism, for his life was spent in the service of his country, and in the highest traditions of that service. We offer our deep sympathy to his widow and to his three children. He will be greatly missed at Ampleforth gatherings.

Marriages

Bernard Fogarty (A 63) to Elizabeth Leathem at Caterham Valley Congregational Church on 2nd August.
Francis Dearlove (W 57) to Mary Sheehy at the Church of St Brigid, Croghan, Co. Offaly, Eire, on 15th August.
Christopher King (A 65) to Carol Horsley at the Church of Our Lady and St Ethelreada, Newmarket, on 27th September.
John Wayman (E 59) to Adèle Scott at St Stephan's, Blairgowrie, Perthshire, on 8th November.
Simon A. Reynolds (C 56) to Beata Cornelia, Baroness von Heyl zu Herrnsheim on 31st January.
John Bridgeman (O 56) to Susan Gay Leonard Hill at the Guards Chapel, Wellington Barracks, on 9th February.
John Gray (O 62) to Joanné Ulrich at St Ansgar's Church, Bredgade, Copenhagen.

It is interesting to record, as is evident from the above, marriages being celebrated with Ecclesiastical approval in Churches of other Denominations in the presence of a Catholic priest.

Engagements

Anthony Barnes (J 64) to Anne Robinson.
Adrian Brunner (H 63) to Christine Ann Hughes.
Philip Butcher (T 61) to Stephanie Hassall.
John Corbett (H 60) to Philippa Mees.
Christopher Devas (E 61) to Anne O'Neill.
Frans Ellenbroek (B 61) to Pauine Hay.
Oswald ffield (H 64) to Mary King.
Kieran Fogarty (A 64) to Fransesca d'Abreu.
Timothy Gallagher (E 59) to Victoria Nowlan.
R. E. Haywood-Farmer (C 42) to Caroline Margaret Boyd Wilson
Jerome Jephcott (H 61) to Margaret O'Riordan.
David Lentaigne (H 61) to Sarah Margaret Keen.
Patrick McFarland (D 64) to Elizabeth Dana Wright Hudson.
Michael Tugendhat (W 62) to Blandine de Loisne.
Michael Vosser (J 63) to Susan Margaret Greenwood.
Andrew Zoltowski (D 63) to Anne Galli.

Births

Sarah and Leo Cavendish, twins, Antonia Clare and Dominic Leopold.
Ann and Michael Vickers, a son, Edmund Benedict.
Siobhan and David Dillon, a daughter, Julie Esmé.
Kirsti and Thomas Fattorini, a daughter, Anna Silvia .
Rosemary and Benjamin Marriner, a daughter.
Frances and Stephan O'Malley, a son, Thomas.

BOOKS

While his mother was writing about Wellington and Kitty Pakenham, and his father, the Earl, was taking post-Cabinet soundings in "Humility", the eldest of their sons, Thomas Pakenham (E 51) was engaged in a long study of the great Irish rebellion of 1798, "The Year of Liberty". All three have come under the reviewers' eye together, which must be a family performance rivalled only by the Sitwells. The facts that the Wellesleys, "that damned infernal family" as Cobbett called them in 1808, hailed from Ireland, that Lord Longford takes as his paragon of humility among statesmen President de Valera, that the subject of Pakenham's book is Irish revolt, and that the Longford title and lands are firmly rooted in the peat bogs of Ireland, all of these seem to share a cohesive element. The *Spectator* reviewer's comment may be taken as symbolic of the relationship of the Pakenham family to Ireland: "Thomas Pakenham disentangles this fantastically complicated episode of history with immense skill . . . if his prose style is sober, at times to the point of monotony, this is scarcely a fault when dealing with so heady, indeed historically so alcoholic, a panorama".

Last November P. P. Read (W 57) brought out his third novel, which was especially well received by the critics for its "dazzling, spare, controlled and witty" writing. The T.L.S. review opens: "Himself educated at Ampleforth, Piers Paul Read begins his story with an account of a school called Kirkham, thus introduced by his narrator—'acting on mistaken principles of piety and snobbery, my parents sent me to a boarding school in the English countryside which was run by Benedictine monks'." Perhaps the shrewdest criticism of an otherwise universally lauded book came from Mary Borg in the *New Statesman:* "nowhere, to use a perhaps unfair yardstick, does one find that sense of God, that intuition of what it is actually *like* to believe, which is instinct in Graham Greene's work. If, from whatever personal standpoint, a writer is treating of loss of faith and separation from God, surely somewhere he must convey, artistically if not intellectually, some sense of faith itself."

Let us turn a phrase of Scripture on its end and say that the fathers are not better than their sons. If read follows Read and pakenham Pakenham, no less does Vincent cronin (W 39) plough the furrow of his

father, A. J. Cronin. He has just brought out the second of his pair of studies: "The Florentine Renaissance" came out in 1967, and now "The Flowering of the Renaissance", whose title does more to match its partner than tell its tale, since disintegration and dispersion was already setting in, together with the slide into Mannerism (a forbidden word for reasons expounded in an appendix) and even wisps of Baroque. And yet there is movement. *The Times* reviewer writes, "the idea of society developing as a whole, of truth as 'communal and cumulative' rather than ' a piece of monolithic granite extending unchanged throughout history', becomes Mr Cronin's most original and valuable theme, with its obvious Florentine connection. It gives his special brilliance to an otherwise uneven book".

Hugo Young (B 57), now the *Sunday Times* chief leader writer and an Assistant Editor, has joined two of his paper's reporters, Bryan Silcock (a space and science correspondent) and Peter Dunn (a United States specialist) to write "a history of man's assault on the moon—the first major interpretative history of the moon shot, concentrating not only on *how* it happened, but why". Called "Journey to Tranquillity", the story that these three journalists have brought back "is one which no American could write—contentious, detached, free of space-age rhetoric". The heart of their message, after all their toil, is that world admiration was at the root of the enterprise. However much Machiavellis of the world were disguised as Galileos, "the builders of Apollo were not technicians at work in a laboratory insulated from the world: they were soldiers in an age when technology had become warfare by other means". The final judgment of this *Sunday Times* team seems to be that the moon shot was an insane distraction from the real work of the world. There is some stirring space-age rhetoric in all this!

RHODESIAN DINNER

Fr Philip Foster, c.ss.r., writes from Salisbury: "On Thursday, 8th January, there occurred in Salisbury a unique event, even though on a very small scale: namely, the first Old Ampleforth Dinner to be held in Rhodesia. It was organised by George Beale (D 47) with my support. We advertised in the Press and this brought some response, though more in the way of apologies for not being able to make it. Eventually we managed to number seven Old Boys and four wives. Those present were:—

George Beale (1947).
Roger Beale (1951).
Fr Walter Beale (1951).
Colonel Lind (1929).
Jeremy Fisher (1940).
David Brightman (1947).
Fr Philip Foster (1939).

There were many apologies, even from as far away as Zambia and South Africa, including General de Guingand. The McKersies could not come, nor could Fr John Eckes, s.j. (St Bede's)."

Fr Philip Foster has been reappointed local Superior of the Redemptorist Mission until 1972. He writes that the "work is expanding in Rhodesia with our taking over a new African township, which is growing rapidly".

HASTINGS TEACH-IN

Over the first week of January, Peter Hastings (W 41), now the Headmaster of Bishop Bright Grammar School, Leamington Spa, held a conference at Spode House on The Thinking Church and The Teaching Church. It was a follow-up of the conference called in similar circumstances two years ago on Authority, which resulted in a published symposium to which Fr John Dalrymple (O 46) and others contributed. On this occasion talks were given by Fr Robert Murray, s.j., of Heythrop College, Fr Peter Harris (now studying at Cambridge), Fr Michael Hollings (now in his last year at the Old Palace), Mr Derek Lance of Birmingham, Mr Mervyn Davies (Peter Hastings' resident theologian), Mr Fabian Radcliffe, o.p. (Peter Hastings' chaplain), and the Maynooth Morals Professor, Fr Enda McDonagh, whose paper "The Self-Critical Community" was distinguished above the rest.

During the course of the conference, Archbishop Beck of Liverpool came and gave a paper on "The Educational Structure", afterwards accepting a heavy baptism of fire from his questioners. Bishop Butler also came for the last two days and chaired the panel that brought the conference to a close. Besides Peter Hastings and members of his staff, Hawkesyard Priory was swarming with the Hastings family, Cecily Hastings from Strawberry Hill where she lectures on theology, Peter's wife, John's (W 38) wife . . . Adrian the White Father had been coming, but he got stuck in Africa. Two monks from Ampleforth, one of them Fr Columba Cary Elwes en route back to Africa, were present. When he put up this extempore bidding prayer at the communal Mass on the last day, "Pray for Bishop Butler (chief celebrant) and the clergy of England, that their work may be fruitful", a voice was heard next from Ramah, "Pray for Fr Columba and the clergy of Africa, that their work may be fruitful". The implications are interesting!

R. P. Cave (O 31) and Dr G. H. Dean (1939) were delegates to the Council Meeting of the International Federation of the Multiple Sclerosis Society in New York in September 1969. R. P. Cave, who was the founder and Chairman of the Multiple Sclerosis Society of Great Britain and Northern

Ireland, submitted a report on the past, present and future of the International Federation.

Dr G. H. Dean, who is the founder of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society of South Africa, delivered a medical paper on the epidemiology of Multiple Sclerosis.

Dr S. L. Sellars (O 55) is Consultant Surgeon at Groate Schuur Hospital, and Lecturer in Surgery at Cape Town University.

R. M. Bowen Wright (H 64) has passed M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. and M.B., B.S. (London) at St Thomas's Hospital.

C. S. Tugendhat (E 55) has been adopted as Conservative candidate for the City of Westminster at the next General Election.

N. E. Corbally Stourton (C 55) is Community Relations Officer for I.B.M. United Kingdom Limited.

P. J. M. Pender-Cudlipp (O 62) is in the middle of 18 months' field research into the pre-colonial history of the *Iramba*, a Bantu-speaking tribe of northern Tanzania as a research student of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa. He is now on the staff of the Institute in a lecturing capacity. He is also working on a thesis on the History of the *Iramba* to be submitted for a D.Phil. in Social Anthropology at Oxford.

R. G. Macfarlane Reid (O 54) has been exhibiting Sculptures at the University of Perth, Western Australia. A reviewer commented "his pieces have a spiritual and ascetic quality rare in our materialistic world".

J. M. Compton (H 61) has been awarded a D.Phil. at Oxford for a thesis on the Indian Civil Service and is working with the British Council in India.

J. R. Knowles (H 61) is Area Manager for Gulf Oil in Fernando Poo in Equitorial Guinea.

O. J. ffield (H 64) is Regional Organiser for Oxfam in Wiltshire and Dorset.

A submarine reunion dinner in October was attended by Cdr R. H. Brunner (B), A. Spender (B), A. E. Rabbit (E) and Cdr H. S. May (W), all of whom left the School in 1938. Cdr May is Deputy Chief Inspector, H.M. Coastguard.

J. M. Rogerson (W 58) has passed Law finals with distinction in Conveyancing.

SPORT

A. L. Bucknall (A 63) won his first cap for England against South Africa at Twickenham in December after appearing in two University matches for Oxford and many trials in the past four years. He played a prominent role in England's victory and ironically played opposite his friend and former University Captain, Tom Bedford. He is our first international since E. M. P. Hardy in 1951 and the first forward to win a cap.

R. C. Lister (W 66) became the first Amplefordian to win a Rugby Blue at Cambridge and contributed much to an unusually exciting match.

Among those playing senior rugby are: D. J. K. Trench (A 60), a former Captain of Rosslyn Park, plays regularly for Middlesex. P. R. E. McFarland (D 64), the former Oxford Blue, also plays for the Park. A Butcher (T 58), is Captain of Notts and plays alongside his brother, P. Butcher (T 61). B. Sampson (H 65) has played for Harrogate, and H. Pattinson (T 60) for Liverpool. M. Thorniley-Walker (E 64), another Oxford Blue, threw in his lot with the Harlequins and plays occasionally for the senior team.

Sedbergh 1919-69. The first match against Sedbergh was played on 1st November 1919. In order to commemorate the 50th anniversary, three of the members of the first Ampleforth team went to watch the match at Sedbergh on 8th November 1969: J. W. B. Fitzgerald, C. S. D. George and Father George Forbes. Like the initial match, this was lost! Of the 48 matches which have taken place, Ampleforth has won just 6, but spectators at matches during the last 20 years have hardly seen a dull or one-sided affair. It remains a great fixture.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS VETERANS' CHALLENGE TROPHY

Adrian White (E 62) has written to remind us that the present holders will be confronted with a repeat performance next summer, and that it is time to fire off our first sighter. The Veterans' Match is to be shot at Bisley on the afternoon of Thursday, 16th July. All are welcome, and it is stressed—despite our record—that the standard of ability is immaterial. All equipment will be provided on the range by the School team.

That evening there is to be a dinner at Guildford, to which both guests and those who have not been able to shoot are welcome. Adrian White asks that he should be contacted at Goddens, Hartley Wespall, Basingstoke, in good time.

O.A.C.C. REPORT (*see October number*)

By an unfortunate oversight (not the fault of the writer of that article, but of the proof reader) no reference was made to the gratitude of the Club to the wives of members of the O.A.C.C. who contributed so much to the success of the season—especially on tour—by their hospitality and enthusiasm. One thinks especially of Fiona Gray's party after the Uppingham Cricketer Cup match, the best part of the day for the Ampleforth players and even for at least one member of the victorious Uppingham team, David Ashworth, who could not bring himself to leave for London until 11 p.m. Also the generosity of Glen Birtwistle, Judy Dick, Shelagh Jackson and Gina Huskinson.

The following entered Universities or Further Education in October 1969:

History. M. C. A. Pender-Cudlip (*Worcester*), N. S. Boulton (*Queens*), J. P. C. Slater (*Keble*), J. F. Tufnell (*University*), M. A. Everall (*Lincoln*), Oxford; Q. D. Kean (Liverpool); A. Tempest (York); J. J. Harris (London —Bedford College); N. P. G. Boardman and A. E. J. Heaton-Armstrong (Bristol); R. L. Bernasconi (Sussex).

M. W. S. Knapton is reading History and French at *Corpus Christ*, Oxford; and M. Ryan is reading History, English and Philosophy at McQain University, Sydney.

Modern Languages. R. H. Staveley-Taylor (*St Catherine's*) Oxford; A. J. Coghlan (Lancaster).

English. D. F. Murphy (*St John's*), Cambridge; C. K. Kilkelly (York).

Mathematics. D. N. M. Coggan (*Clare*), Cambridge; R. L. Minio is reading Mathematics and Philosophy at *Merton*, Oxford.

Science. A. R. Leeming (Natural Science, *Keble*), S. A. Willbourn (Natural Science, *Exeter*) Oxford; D. E. Sattherthwaite (Chemistry), Sussex; J. M. Parker (Natural Science), T. C. D.; R. J. Watling (Zoology). B. N. Bartle (Physiology and Biochemistry), Reading.

Classics. C. H. J. Buxton (*Wadham*), J. D. Cape (*Merton*), W. W. R. Kerr (*Christ Church*), Oxford; C. Donlon (*Jesus*), C. G. Peake (*Queens*), Cambridge; P. H. Ryan (T.C.D.), P. R. Davey (Newcastle), P. Hadow (Kent).

Social Sciences. J. L. Crosthwait (P.P.E. *University*), Oxford; M. M. Griffith-Jones (Southampton); J. S. E. Laury (Economics, Warwick); D. S. Norton (Economics and Accounting, Bristol); J. P. Cahill (Economics, Newcastle); N. J. Couldrey (Social Studies, York).

Law. C. J. Raven (Sheffield); P. B. Kelly (London College of Law).

Geography. Br. Nicholas King, o.s.b. (St Benet's Hall), Oxford.

Theology. Br Richard ffield, o.s.b. (St Benet's Hall), Oxford.

Medicine. A. D. Harris (Caius), Cambridge; A. J. Macfie (Middlesex); H. R. Guly (St Mary's); A. H. Wojciechowski (St George's); N. J. Stanley-Cary (St Bartholomew's); D. R. B. M. Young (Guy's), P. M. H. du Boulay (St George's), P. Thomasson (Dentistry, Sheffield); M. Chisholm (Royal Dental Hospital, London).

Engineering. J. M. Cullen (Imperial College, London); J. M. Burnford (Mechanical Engineering, Newcastle); D. N. Young (Production Engineering, Birmingham); A. Mafeld (Chemical Engineering, London).

C. M. de R. Channer (General Studies, T.C.D.); M. J. Poole (Management Sciences, Manchester); N. M. Powell (Sussex); P. M. Davey (Sir John Cass College, London); A. M. Gordon Watson (St Andrew's); S. R. Leslie (York); D. L. Weaver (Cirencester); D. C. A. Mathias (Hotel and Catering at Oxford College of Technology); J. A. Callighan (Business Studies at Liverpool College of Commerce); P. I. Blake (West Scotland Agricultural College); S. E. J. Knock (Trinity and All Saints College of Education); M. J. Waddilove (Brighton Technical College), D. H. Powell (Farnham Art College).

A. D. Coker has entered Sandhurst.

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE POST OFFICE

Generations of Amplefordians will have known Joan and Billy Spence, who run our Post Office, and before them Joan's parents, the Ludleys. This March, Mrs Ludley has completed 50 years, half a century, at the Post Office.

The College Post Office had been going for six years before she came, run by Mr and Mrs Headland, who had come from Oswaldkirk when that closed down (as now) in earlier days. The Ludleys were married in February 1970 and were offered the post (so to say!) by Abbot Bede Turner in March of that year. Mrs Ludley's mother ran Ampleforth Village Post Office in her time for 53 years, and her mother before that . . . to cut a tale short, Joan and Billy Spence, who are both Ludleys, are the fifth generation to be connected with Ampleforth and the Post Office. Floreat Mrs Ludley; floreat the sixth generation!

In February Burns & Oates Ltd. ("Publishers since 1847", subsidiaries of Herder since 1967), sadly announced that they were signing no more contracts, though they would continue to market existing stocks. By the end of April the editorial department will be dispersed to the winds: Paul Burns (W 51) left last October, Simon King (E 55) and Jonathan Cavanagh (H 63) remain till April.

The reason? "Basic economics: once Catholics wanted to know how to be better Catholics—in time-worn language uncritically accepted. Now they want to know why they should be Catholics at all—reading many books defining the minimum theistic content commensurate with theism". Religious instability is economically unstable too.

SEP 1969

SCHOOL NOTES

SCHOOL STAFF

Dom Patrick Barry, M.A., Headmaster.
Dom Denis Waddilove, B.A., Second Master.
Dom Brendan Smith, M.A., Housemaster, St Aidan's House.
Dom Martin Haigh, T.D., M.A., Housemaster, St Bede's House.
Dom Walter Maxwell-Stuart, M.A., Housemaster, St Cuthbert's House.
Dom Dunstan Adams, M.A., Housemaster, St Dunstan's House.
Dom Edward Corbould, M.A., Housemaster, St Edwards House (Head of History).
Dom Benedict Webb, M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Housemaster, St Hugh's House.
Dom Benet Perceval, M.A., Housemaster, St John's House.
Dom Adrian Convery, M.A., Housemaster, St Oswald's House.
Dom Henry Wansbrough, M.A., S.T.L., L.S.S., Housemaster, St Thomas's House.
Dom Dominic Milroy, M.A., Housemaster, St Wilfrid's House (Head of Modern Languages).
Dom Cyril Brooks, B.A., Housemaster, Junior House.

Dom Anthony Ainscough, T.D., M.A.
Dom Paulinus Massey, B.A., B.SC.
Dom Cuthbert Rabnett, M.A.
Dom Barnabas Sandeman, M.A.
Dom Edmund Hatton, M.A. (Head of Economics)
Dom Julian Rochford, M.A.
Dom Gervase Knowles, B.D.S.
Dom Simon Trafford, T.D., M.A.
Dom Ambrose Griffiths, B.SC., M.A.
Dom Charles Macauley
Dom Michael Phillips, M.A. (Head of Physics).
Dom Ignatius Knowles.

Dom Oliver Ballinger, M.A.
Dom Anselm Cramer, M.A.
Dom Alban Crossley, M.A., S.T.L.
Dom Thomas Cullinan, M.A.
Dom Stephen Wright, M.A.
Dom Placid Spearritt, M.A., S.T.L.
Dom Gregory Carroll.
Dom Bede Emerson, M.A.
Dom Finbarr Dowling, B.ENG., S.T.L.
Dom Aelred Burrows, M.A. (Head of Religious Instruction).
Dom Leo Chamberlain, M.A.
Dom Bonaventure Knollys, M.A., S.T.L.

W. H. Shewring, M.A.
T. Charles-Edwards, M.A.
S. T. Reyner, M.A.
E. A. L. Cossart, B.ÈS.L.
J. H. MacMillan, B.SC.
B. Richardson, B.A.
J. E. Pickin, M.A.
G. T. Heath, B.A.
P. O'R. Smiley, M.A. (Head of Classics).

E. J. Wright, B.SC.
W. A. Davidson, M.A. (Head of History).
B. V. Vazquez, B.A.
J. McDonnell, M.A., B.LITT. (Head of Modern Languages).
E. A. Haughton, B.A. (Head of English).
I. B. MacBean, M.A.
D. K. Criddle, M.A.

G. A. Forsythe, B.SC.
G. C. C. Blakstad, M.A.
D. M. Griffiths, M.A. (Head of English).
E. G. H. Moreton, B.A.
E. S. R. Dammann, M.A.
P. Gorring, B.A.
P. A. Anwyl, M.A.
E. G. Boulton, M.A. (Head of Geography).
G. J. Sasse, M.A. (Head of General Studies).
J. B. Davies, M.A., B.SC. (Head of Biology).
J. G. Willcox, B.A. (Games Master).

T. L. Newton, M.A.
A. I. D. Stewart, B.SC.
R. F. Gilbert, M.A.
H. R. Finlow, M.A.
C. Briske, B.SC., PH.D., A.R.I.C. (Head of Chemistry).
F. D. Lenten, M.A.
G. W. Compton, B.A. (Careers Master).
I. Davie, M.A.
Mrs M. Rodzianko.
P. A. Hawksworth, B.A.
D. Nelson, M.A. (Head of Mathematics).
K. R. Elliott, B.SC.
C. J. Hudson, B.A.
R. D. Rohan, B.A.

Music:

P. Dore, M.A., MUS.B., F.R.C.O. (Director of Music).
H. G. Perry, B.A., A.R.A.M., F.R.C.O. (Piano).
G. S. Dowling, MUS.B., A.R.M.C.M. (Piano).
D. B. Kershaw, B.SC. (Wind).
N. Mortimer (Violin).

Art:

J. J. Bunting, A.R.B.S., A.R.C.A., N.D.D. (Sculpture).

P.E.:

M. Henry.

Procurator: Dom Robert Coverdale, T.D., B.A.
Assistant Procurator: Dom Rupert Everest, M.A.
Estate Manager: Dom Kieran Corcoran.
Medical Officer: Dr K. W. Gray, M.B., CH.B.

SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Head Monitor ... ... M. E. W. Studer

School Monitors J. W. Watt, A. M. Smith, Hon A. R. M. Fraser, B. P. L. Musgrave, W. J. E. Charles, M. P. Reilly, Viscount Asquith, P. J. Williams, D. S. P. Solly, J. P. McHale, D. C. N. Ogilvie, J. P. Rochford, N. H. S. Armour, J. C. Dawson, G. V. B. Thompson, P. M. Horsley, J. C. Gaynor, R. E. Baker, T. M. Fitzalan-Howard.

Captain of Rugby ... ... W. M. Reichwald

Captain of Boxing ... ... I. D. Bowie

Captain of Shooting ... ... J. H. Leeming

Captain of Squash	P. M. Horsley
Captain of Golf	C. R. Lochrane
Captain of Swimming	D. B. Dees
Master of Hounds	T. M. Fitzalan-Howard
Office Men	P. J. Williams, R. E. Baker, J. C. Dawson, J. H. Leeming, P. J. Russell, R. K. Milne, S. W. Ryan, P. Nunn, N. M. Watts, J. C. H. Berry, J. J. W. Wadham, J. F. A. Heagney.
Librarians	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, N. B. Herdon, R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, A. M. Ryan.
Bookroom	T. Doyle, R. G. Killingbeck, D. A. McKibbin, J. A. Durkin, M. A. Campbell.
Bookshop	M. A. Q. Shuldham (Assist. Man.), M. C. Blackden, M. S. Callow, M. H. Armour, C. N. F. Kinsky, R. P. Burdell, T. P. MacFarlane, R. A. Hunter-Gordon, T. J. Berner.

The following boys left the School in December, 1969:

St Aidan's: J. P. MacHale, B. C. McGing, D. C. N. Ogilvie, J. W. Watt.

St Bede's: A. Dufort, C. E. Lillis, S. A. P. Maclaren, A. M. Smith.

St Cuthbert's: T. A. Dunn, Hon A. R. M. Fraser, D. A. F. Kerr, N. R. B. Sykes.

St Dunstan's: N. H. S. Armour, R. E. Mackay, M. E. W. Studer, A. J. Walker.

St Edward's: B. P. L. Musgrave, A. P. Young.

St Hugh's: C. S. Dixon, C. C. Franklin, H. C. Hornyold-Strickland, P. W. James, M. J. Jayes.

St John's: D. J. Kerr, M. P. Reilly, G. V. B. Thompson.

St Oswald's: Viscount Asquith, R. D. Balme, P. C. S. Donovan, J. Seilern-Aspang.

St Thomas's: S. H. Barton, S. P. Fane-Hervey, P. M. Horsley, M. J. Pearce, P. J. Williams.

St Wilfrid's: R. E. Baker, A. J. Cunynghame-Robertson, D. S. P. Solly.

We congratulate the following on their success in the recent Oxford and Cambridge Scholarship Examinations:

Oxford

M. E. W. Studer. Scholarship (Classics), University College.
S. F. Fane-Hervey. Stearns Exhibition (History), Lincoln College.
W. J. E. Charles. Hastings Exhibition (History), The Queen's College.
R. E. Mackay. Exhibition (History), Worcester College.
M. J. Pearce. Hastings Scholarship (Modern Studies), The Queen's College.
C. E. Lillis. Exhibition (Classics), Christ Church.
J. W. Watt. Exhibition (Modern Languages), The Queen's College.

Cambridge

A. J. Walker. Exhibition (Natural Science Engineering), Gonville & Caius College.

We congratulate Mr and Mrs J. G. Willcox on the birth of a daughter, Sara Penelope, on 1st January 1970.

We congratulate J. C. Rapp, N. P. V. Lewen and S. G. Callaghan on being awarded Royal Naval Scholarships.

Two music recitals were given during the term: one by Miss Eugenie Castle (Soprano) and the other by Miss Mari Lidka (Violin) and Mr Peter Wallfisch (Piano). A more detailed account is given in the Music Notes elsewhere in the Journal.

As part of their training two students from Trinity and All Saints College, Leeds, joined the Masters' Common Room for the term. Mr R. Worthington taught Mathematics, and Mr T. Meir, History. Later in the term they were joined by Mr M. Goater, a graduate of Hull University doing post graduate study at St John's College, York, who helped in the English Department during the absence of a member of staff through illness.

In the latter half of the term a Meditation Group was formed. It was as a result of the Christmas retreat when Fr Aelred Graham took a group of boys who, through his discussions, became very keen on forming a group of this kind.

Six boys under the supervision of Fr Aelred, meet every Friday. They meditate for 25-30 minutes then just relax and talk for about 40 minutes.

The York Arts Theatre members continued to attend productions during the term.

One never knows quite *what* one is in for at the Arts Centre. The adventurous policy followed by its manager, Tim Haunton, and drama producer, Richard Drain, may be unpredictable, but certainly ensures that we are shaken out of the cosy, secure feeling with which we may have come to the theatre by giving us something that is always new and compelling, and which seldom fails to entertain. In contrast to York's Theatre Royal, with the dreary, conventional fare it offers for most of the year, the Arts Centre is very much alive and relevant to the world we live in.

I very much enjoyed the way Bradford College of Art, in "Looking Forward to 1942", viewed the events and heroes of the war in the setting of a Hot Gospel meeting—a most original conception, not least for the auction of the "Churchill" painting with which it ended (a painting acquired, after some vigorous bidding, for the princely sum of ten shillings by two of our members: David Simpson and Charles Dalglish). The sheer intensity which the cast brought to the singing of the Hot Gospel songs fully entitled them to the prizes this play has won.

Lindsay Kemp is no stranger to the Arts Centre, and his programme of mime, "The Turquoise Pantomime", was an outstanding performance for most people (though Patrick Donovan gave it a very critical reception

in "Spiral" this term). Few of our members will have seen anything quite like it before, and I hope they will be grateful to this artist for enlarging their dramatic experience.

The Centre's own theatre group gave us Mrozek's play "Tango". Its brilliant dialogue and dramatic technique, its absurd logic, and the unexpectedness of its situations, performed by a cast that had few weaknesses, made a wonderfully amusing evening.

After my criticisms of the Theatre Royal, it is pleasant to be able to salute their production of Dylan Thomas' "Under Milk Wood", to which a party of us went. A very large cast gave us a more than adequate production, with the essential requisite, for *this* play, fully present—perfect audibility of every word.

And now, an apology. We were to have gone once more this term to the Arts Centre, but a kindly warning from the manager, and (confess it!) lack of courage on my part, made me call the expedition off at very short notice. But mistakenly, I think. One of our number *did* manage to see it, and said it was compelling theatre; and the piece has since been reviewed in glowing term by the national press. So watch out for it: "Christie in Love", by Howard Brenton. (B.V.)

RETREAT FOR THE MODERN YOUNG MAN

The Autumn School Retreat was held on the Feast of Christ the King, going on to the evening of Monday, 27th October; and during it a new method was tried. One remembers the dim religious nights of the post-war years of austerity, when a battle-worn Fr Blake, S.J., O.B.E., appeared in uniform with a Jesuit cowl (or "wings", as Jesuits sometimes call them) over his R.A.F. blue, to entertain the whole School from tiro to leaver with tales of a wing and a prayer—"I've seen'em die" was his refrain. It took all of the 1950s to realise that one Father is not enough. And it took almost all of the 1960s to realise that four outside priests and two monks from the monastery are not enough.

So, in pursuit of the fruits of group dynamics and taking a leaf from industry, we divided the retreatants into senior and junior. Twenty-four monks and three lay masters are involved with senior groups, on a talk-followed-by-discussion basis. An optional side-show took the form of a series of lectures, Fr Aelred Graham on "Meditation", Fr Brendan on "Dante", Fr Martin on "The Shroud of Turin", Fr Dominic on "Teilhard de Chardin", Fr Adrian on "Church Music", Fr Edward on "Church Art" —we had to dissuade Fr Martin from showing the Hunt Everest photos to illustrate a talk on the Ascent of Mt Carmel! Archbishop Coggan of York visited us on Monday (see separate note) and he was most willingly co-opted to talk to the Upper VI in the Headmaster's room. *Amnesty* held their own liturgical service in St Wilfrid's. The film "Monsieur Vincent" (a prize-winning account of the life of St Vincent de Paul) was shown.

When Mass, Confession and Benediction are added to these, there was clearly little time for Benedictine *quies*.

The Junior Retreat took the same form. There were two plenary lectures on the Church by Fr Denis and on the Mass by Fr Dominic. Thereafter on each day 220 boys broke up into 10 groups of 22, each subdivided at times into half-groups, led by monks whose task was more to preside than to lecture. When one half-group was so occupied, its complement was away sampling one of a series of extra-conference activities. These took the form of two 20-minute slide/tape showings of "A Portrait of Jesus" and "A Portrait of Christianity", films on racial segregation in South Africa and on Lourdes, records of Martin Luther King's "I have a Dream" speech and of David KossoffS "Story of Moses", and tapes of a B.B.C. religious broadcast of a dying woman interviewed and of Spike Milligan's discussion of his own beliefs. Only Malcolm Muggeridge on "Humility" was missing! The two days ended with a concelebrated guitar Mass at which Fr Abbot was chief celebrant and the boys communicated in both kinds, host and cup. It was a ferment of creative religious activity, the *spinae* being more evident than the *pax*. But it is now clearly on the right lines, releasing astonishing spiritual energy at all levels.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

In 1948 the United Nations committed themselves to a famous document in which they asserted certain fundamental rights and dignities in which everybody, without any exception, should share. These rights, stripped of their inessentials, are the right to worship freely, and to express publicly and peacefully one's opinions. Nevertheless, it was necessary in 1961 to found Amnesty International, a voluntary charitable organisation whose purpose is to investigate and probe many thousands of cases, from over the world, in which people seemed to have been imprisoned largely, or solely, because of their political or religious beliefs.

Amnesty's method of doing this is for groups of its members to adopt a particular case in a foreign country and to continually write to embassies and governments requesting details and information. Should this prove ineffectual, the members may write to newspapers or to influential figures in order to focus public attention on the case. Amnesty also employs private investigators in many countries who work in compiling our information. Prisoners suspected of violence are not adopted by Amnesty, and in order to preserve a political neutrality, Amnesty's prisoners are spread equally among the Western, Eastern and uncommitted countries.

There has been an Amnesty group at Ampleforth for several years now, but this term the group has grown, partly because we began to allow people to contribute a subscription without taking a fully active role in our work. Amnesty at Ampleforth has groups working on behalf of six prisoners, besides a group who send postcards on behalf of a large number

of other prisoners. The six prisoners Ampleforth have come from Spain, Russia, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Poland. There have been several encouraging replies in response to the various letters sent by the group to each country's Embassy and Government. During the last year, two of the prisoners have been released with an encouraging possibility of a third.

Among other activities organised last term by J. H. Dagnall, the School's representative, a door-to-door leaflet campaign was held in York with the help of girls from the Mount School. The combined groups handed out approximately 5,000 leaflets. We hope, next term, to hold a sponsored walk on behalf of our prisoners, a sponsored candlelit vigil in the Abbey, and possibly a flag day with the Mount School in York.

It is very difficult at grass-roots level to generate and sustain concern in the welfare of people whom we have never met or seen. As far as charity is concerned, Amnesty is more difficult and more impersonal than helping the many who are closer to us; one consolation is the astonishing success which Amnesty is able to claim. Between 1961 and 1965, over 1,750 prisoners were released out of Amnesty's 3,000 adopted prisoners, and many more had their sentences reduced or their conditions improved; this is a testimony to Amnesty's integrity and reputation. Ampleforth is a part of Amnesty International.

MUSIC

Throughout the Autumn Term the School concerts have been truly representative. They have involved boys, masters and visitors in what would appear to have been a successful concentration of musical expression. Looking at the term as a whole, we may well be not displeased. On nearly every Tuesday there has been music of interest and stimulus.

Mr Vasquez's illustrated talk on 30th September on Poulenc's "The Carmelites" was a model of clear exposition and lively presentation. On 7th October we had a visit from Eugenie Castle, soprano, and very able accompanist, Sandra Gelson. Their programme was a long one yet they maintained its interest by a remarkable diversity of style and an apt sense of ensemble. The French school was represented by Fauré, Duparc, Berlioz, Poulenc, Debussy and Ravel. The German by Bach and Handel and Spanish songs by Granados, de Falla and Rodrigo completed the programme. Truly a feast.

The home team were to the fore on 14th October when Mr Mortimer and Mr Dowling gave a thoughtful and lyrical reading of Delius' Sonata in C for Violin and Piano. They were later joined by Mr Kershaw in Brahms' Horn Trio in E Flat, Op. 40. We are lucky to have as colleagues players of such astonishing virtuosity.

On 21st October the Ryedale Choral Union gave a neat and well balanced performance of Bach's Peasant Cantata. The solo parts were taken by Marguerite Jennings and John Moore and the accompaniments

were played by the College Chamber Orchestra, leader Neville Mortimer. Contrast was provided by P. W. James and S. Teale in groups of short pieces for Flute and' Cello. "Jesus, joy of man's desiring" made quite an impressive finish.

The programme on 28th October was given by Mr Nelson, Flute, Mrs Dore, Oboe, and Mr Dore, Piano. Mrs Dore had undertaken to play three new pieces by Iso Ticciati but last minute reed trouble caused her to withdraw them. Instead, Mr Kershaw and Mr Dore gave an excellent account of Schumann's Three Romances for Clarinet and Piano, Op. 94. Mr Nelson's playing of Debussy's Syrinx for unaccompanied Flute proved to be of unusual interest. The ensemble was heard in Trio-Sonatas by Bach and Loeillet.

R. F. C. Magill's Piano Recital on 11th November made us aware that we have a boy in the School of sufficient technical and interpretative skill to hold our interest throughout an exhausting programme. His Brahms and Chopin left little to be desired and his Waldstein Sonata was first rate—in fact it finished in a blaze of splendour. The additional piece that he played as an encore was a mistake.

Maria Lidka is an old friend. We were happy to hear her again on 18th November, this time with Peter Wallfisch. Three large scale Sonatas by Schumann, Janacek and Beethoven made a programme of absorbing interest. Here is ensemble playing of supreme perfection. Our appreciation of the music was enhanced by Mr Wallfisch's introduction and commentary. It was pleasantly informative, charmingly modest, in fact it was "just right".

The miscellaneous programme on 8th December was a mixed bag. It was intended to be. The Orchestra was heard in Edward German's Dances from Henry VIII, Bizet's second L'Arlesienne Suite and Chabrier's Marche Joyeuse. S. H. Webb played the slow movement from Haydn's Trumpet Concerto and R. M. Sharrard gave a restrained account of Rachmaninoff's Prelude in B minor, Op. 32, No. 10. James Hook's Trio in D for three Flutes was great fun, while Mozart's Quartet in A for Flute and Strings represented Chamber Music.

Two pieces for Flute and Piano by Moyse and Aubert completed the programme. They were played by P. W. James and Mr Dore. A word about P. W. James. This will be his last appearance as a member of the School for he leaves us this term. We shall miss him sorely and we wish him well.

DRAMA

The Theatre has been busy this term: three productions have been staged and one is in rehearsal. This is evidence of a healthy increase in interest in the drama, and it is to be hoped it will continue. The first production, "The Closed Lid", deserves particular comment since it is, I think, unique in the history of the Ampleforth Theatre in that it was written and directed

by the same boy, and Mark Lister is to be congratulated on his achievement. I can testify to the quietly efficient way in which he cast the play, took rehearsals, organised the props and scenery, and dealt with all the obstacles he encountered at every stage of the production. He was for the most part ably assisted by his cast, though one general criticism must be made: none of them fully appreciated the vital importance of speaking clearly and audibly all the time, with the result that it was difficult at times to follow the plot.

That said, however, high marks must be awarded to James Craig who tackled the difficult task of portraying Nick, an old man suffering from loneliness that was plausibly mixed with a belligerent independence and a tendency to an obsessive reminiscence. The others—William Dawson as Sebastian, a boy from the street who befriends Nick; Nichael Martin as Christine, the landlady, rather put upon by the comings and goings in Nick's room; Adrian Slattery as Eddie, a "redundant layabout" (to quote from the programme) who splendidly defends Nick; Andrew Hamilton as Jim, a friendly and, up to a point, generous shop assistant who supplies Nick with money for fish and chips; and Fergus Hampton as Fred, a kindly dustman whose present of a book retrieved from his dust-cart sets off the train of reminiscence in Nick—all managed their parts well. In particular, Slattery achieved a nice degree of truculence when, with knife drawn, he warded off the bullying others who with a mixture of curiosity and avarice were trying to break into Nick's trunk with the closed lid.

This is not the place, nor is there space, to comment on the play itself. It is enough here to say that it had moments of real dramatic suspense and of pathos, and that it was a serious attempt to study a serious problem. Lister complicated his task by introducing the (unintentionally?) mysterious reminiscence of the raid in which Nick feels he had let down one of his mates. But the portrait of the old man, desperately in need of companionship but unable to establish any relationship that might have answered his need, was well done and Lister deserves great credit.

It is to be hoped that the Junior Society will be able to look back on this production as the first of many in the Theatre. Perhaps it would be wise if, in the future, they were to attempt something a little less demanding of adult emotions and behaviour, but it was a courageous attempt and clearly they enjoyed doing it, as the large audience also enjoyed watching it and must be congratulated on their sympathetic attention and enthusiastic reception.

A.H.

THE CAST

NICK, a lonely old man	James Craig
SEBASTIAN, a boy from the street	William Dawson
CHRISTINE, a landlady	Michael Martin
EDDIE, a redundant layabout	Adrian Slattery
JIM, a shop assistant	Andrew Hamilton
FRED, a kindly dustman	Fergus Hampton

A few days after Mark Lister's play the Theatre was again full to capacity to witness "Major Bullshot Glorious", a translation of Plautus's "Miles Glorious". This is a play of broad comedy and the end of term is no time for over-subtle interpretation! It was soon apparent that the audience was in a pre-holiday mood and the actors soon lost their initial uncertainty as they realised that they were providing the very fare that the audience wanted. This was a guarantee of success and as we were in an indulgent, uncritical mood, the evening was noisy and boisterous—and one felt that those on stage were enjoying themselves no less than those in the auditorium. The cast as a whole is to be congratulated for setting out to amuse and achieving their objective, but perhaps I will be excused for singling out Chris Nevile's performance as Pox and Peter Willis's as Madam Love-a-Duck. Tom Dowling, too, as Dodger coped well with the problems presented by having to spend quite long periods on a stage alone. The Producers, Mark Vere-Henderson and Cyril Kinsky and Director, Paul Collard, should be encouraged by the success of their first venture to continue their work in the School Theatre.

P.A.A.

THE CAST

MAJOR BULLSHOT-GORGEOUS	Johnny Spence
DODGER	Tom Dowling
PROLIX	Mark Fitzgeorge-Parker
SHABBY SUCKPOT	Mark Vere-Henderson
POX	Chris Nevile
GOLDILOCKS	Andy Dagnall
HALCYON	Tony Bird
PENNY	Dom McCreanor
MADAM LOVE-A-DUCK	Peter Willis
MILPHIDIPPA	Giles Collins
PERSONUS	Simon James
CAIRO	Rich Crosthwait
BULLSHOT'S SLAVES	Bernie and Cyril

Earlier in the term P. J. Muir had directed "The Zoo Story" by Edward Albee. Two men on a park bench. So near, yet so far apart. Peter, middle-class, well-to-do, respectable. Jerry, a queer, an outsider, an outcast with the "coloured queen" and Puerto Ricans with whom he lives, cut off behind the barriers of convention from his fellow-men, like animals in a zoo. Only his landlady's dog communicates with him, barking at him every time he tries to enter the house. As he puts it: "If you can't deal with people, you have to make a start somewhere. With *animals*". But love and hatred are all one. As easy to kill the dog as win it over. Or so he thinks. The dog survives, they reach a compromise. Now, at least, they understand each other.

And as the dog drove him away, so Jerry drives Peter off the bench, antagonising him, forcing Peter to kill him, as he tried to kill the dog. Only in this way can he make Peter understand that we must communicate

at any cost if we are to escape from the zoo in which we have shut ourselves.

It was a great compliment to the reputation of the cast and its director, and sufficient indication of how drama at Ampleforth is flourishing under the enthusiastic leadership of Mr Haughton, that the theatre was packed to overflowing for this production. Nor did the applause at the end leave us in any doubt as to how much the School appreciated this opportunity of seeing a modern, adult play presented as competently as this was. It was something of a triumph for Jayes, whose long monologue spanned the whole play. But no less deserving of praise was Blane's admirable, and perhaps harder, role: as Jerry talks, it is Peter we watch, it is Peter's face that changes, Peter's character that is revealed. Blane's complete, though passive, involvement in the action, his command of gesture and facial expression, contributed in no small way to the effectiveness of this savage duet. Both players rose splendidly to the demands of their director. There was a give and take from one to the other that made one conscious, not so much of the actors, as of the play itself. And that is praise enough.

B.V.

THE CAST

PETER . . . . . N. Blane
JERRY . . . . . M. Jayes

Directed by P. J. MUIR

CAREERS

THE Careers Office in the first month of the Autumn Term was rarely empty; a steady flow of university applicants came to consult University Prospectuses and Careers Guides, publications on Industrial Scholarships and other awards, and to obtain advice on the complex business of completing U.C.C.A. forms.

Careers talks were relatively well attended. Forty boys came to hear Mr P. G. Holmes, of the University of Leicester Engineering Department, talk about careers in engineering, and 13 of them saw him in small groups to discuss their particular problems. Captain Baker, of the British India Steam Navigation Company, drew an audience of 25, speaking about the Merchant Marine as a career. A small, but lively, audience of half-a-dozen "quizzed" Mr R. F. Mountain, the District Staff Superintendent of the Midland Bank, on a variety of aspects of opportunities in banking. Our warmest thanks are due to these three gentlemen for the advice they have given to potential entrants to their professions.

We were also fortunate enough to be able to take advantage of the visits to the School of two parents—Mr J. New and Mr D. Macarthy—who kindly volunteered to talk to any boys interested in careers in the Law and the Diplomatic Service, while they were here. Between them they talked to 25 boys, and we are most grateful to them for giving up so large

a slice of their limited time here to give us the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

The School also received visits from the Schools Liaison Officers of the Army and the Royal Navy—Major-General Deedes and Captain Graham—both of them being kept very busy interviewing boys interested in obtaining commissions in one of the two Services. Captain Graham is now moving on to other fields of activity; we wish him the utmost success for the future and look forward to welcoming his successor, Captain P. I. F. Beeson, M.V.O., R.N., to the School very soon.

Three dozen boys from the Sixth Form—mathematicians and scientists for the most part—took part in a most interesting exercise in October known as the "*Marlborough Exercise*". A management team from John Laing and Sons, the well known firm of building contractors, spent a day here conducting the exercise in the Science Lecture Room and two laboratories. Describing to potential recruits to the building industry how a manager or technologist spends his time has not proved very informative, or fruitful, in some industries and the Central Personnel Service of John Laing and Sons hit upon the idea of using a simplified version of an exercise used in their own management courses to bring to prospective entrants to the profession a sample of managerial techniques.

The "Marlborough Exercise" sets out to teach a group with no technical knowledge, using only simple arithmetic and logical thought processes, how to draw up what is known as a Critical Path Network and Programme for the construction of a building, in particular the scheduling of labour resources and the calculation of the cost of construction. The exercise is set in the context of the building industry but the same techniques can be applied to any logical sequence of activities. Boys were first shown an instructional film on the principles involved in the techniques of Critical Path Analysis and were subsequently guided, step by step, through a carefully graded series of exercises to reinforce the teaching of the film. After lunch, boys set to work enthusiastically in pairs in two of the laboratories to programme the construction of a sports pavilion, and to calculate the time and cost of construction, assuming an unlimited and variable labour force. This theoretical exercise was then repeated, this time with the addition of a real-life factor—a limited and constant labour force—giving a realistic simulation of the nature of decision-making at managerial level, where advantages of time must be weighed against disadvantages of cost.

While no records were broken, two or three boys came very near the record time taken to do the exercise (and produce the correct results) at other schools. Although the successful completion of the exercise does not require any knowledge of advanced mathematics, it is interesting that mathematics specialists were in a majority among the quick finishers. Our warmest thanks are due to Mr Farrow, Mr Singleton, Mr Clarke and Mr Bentley, of John Laing and Sons, for their kindness in coming such a long way on such an unpleasant day to conduct the exercise so efficiently, and also to Fr Michael, who selected the "guinea pigs", made various com-

plicated time-table arrangements and prepared the laboratories. The exercise was so enthusiastically performed that we shall try to persuade other organisations to "sell" themselves to potential recruits not by a descriptive approach but by getting the boys to do the job themselves—even if within very restricted and selected limits.

G. W. COMPTON.

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE KINEMA

UNDER D. Kerr as Chief, the Box had a rather undistinguished term, but its members—N. Conrath, R. Kirby, M. Callow, R. Vaughan, J. Reid, M. Sutcliffe, J. Potez, P. Hugonin—learnt much by their mistakes. Some alterations were made; a magnificent amplifier was designed and installed by M. Rambaut and P. Ingham. Our thanks are a paltry offering for such a magnificent achievement. It is adaptable for 16 mm. and microphone as well as being used for its main purpose, 35 mm. sound. We now use 16 mm. from the Box to the main screen successfully, but we must look towards the installation of an arc 16 mm. projector.

David Simpson writes—This term was distinguished by a higher standard of films than for a long time. *The Pawnbroker* was for me one of the finest films ever shown at Shac. Some were bored by it—it was undoubtedly slow moving—but the imagination was so quickly caught up in the torment of the old Jew plagued by his memories of concentration camps that the pace could not possibly seem dull. For it Rod Steiger deserved every award he received. The ending seemed strangely underplayed, despite its parallel with the crucifixion, but one wonders whether in such a film of almost unrelieved nervous tension a climax of any sort is possible.

Georgy Girl comes a close second. Lynn Redgrave dominated the film, giving a chance occasionally to her near-boyfriend, Alan Bates. The film was very funny, well directed and sensitive. In the midst of the squalor, Georgy's longing for a child to care for survives and is satisfied. Everything else stands back and serves only to project Georgy at us.

Two films, *How I won the War*, starring Michael Crawford; and *Cool Hand Luke*, starring Paul Newman, were less good but not unenjoyable. In some ways the second was better in that it was more single minded but the first brought off a fine mixture of satiric and slapstick humour that succeeded where *Luke* failed. Michael Crawford impeccably plays the part of a young British Lieutenant, constantly haranguing his men in the name of noble manhood which the pitch of his voice laughably denied. In *Luke* such camp is not apparent. A serious but occasionally overdramatised film, it tells the story of a man, Paul Newman, on a prison farm. Technically the film approaches brilliance but for the faintly incongruous music, and the atmosphere is brought out with vividness and subtlety. *Luke* is the story of a man fighting authority, not hunting life as his companions do, and his ambition is to get free. When he does it is the expression of his victory. Finally he is killed by the chaingang overseer, who had barely uttered once, and became the symbol for all the evil behind the authorities.

The term was concluded with two films on colour, both starring Sidney Poitier. *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* was especially memorable as the last performance of Spencer Tracy, but it suffered from an overdose of American middle class slush, a sort of injection of a fairy tale liberalism into the film industry that doesn't exist in real life. *To Sir With Love* was equally slushy, and rather missed the harshness of the book's social message, but was good in its genre.

Mention must be made of three of the shorts we saw. *Crin Blanc*, *Horses of the Camargue* and *Pas de Deux* were such that no one could do them justice in print. They have to be seen. For all of these Fr Stephen deserves our thanks.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

THIS term the Senior Debating Society, despite much bigger membership, has suffered a depleted weekly attendance. It would appear that many members only join the Society with a view to breaking down the wide open spaces on their UCCA forms.

However, the House makes up in quality for what it may lack in quantity. The standard of debate has been consistently good, if never outstanding. Where debates have been dull, this character has been supplied by the motion: the Bill asking for debates on matters pertaining to the School was quietly shelved at the beginning of term.

There have been several competent and indeed good speakers who have delivered solid speeches regularly this term.

Mr R. E. Mackay led the House for the first half, his powers of logic and train of thought being most useful weapons. His natural idealism sometimes brought him to flights of real eloquence.

Mr D. J. Simpson led both the Opposition and then the Government benches during the term. He consciously projects his mildly aggressive personality and tends to dominate an argument. This is not to say that his performances are not well tailored to the motion: clearly a good deal of thought goes into them.

Mr R. D. Dalglish, quiet in contrast to Mr Simpson, has made several interesting speeches, delivered with assurance and thought-out rhetoric. His forte is serious presentation.

Messrs A. D. Wenham and C. D. Hall both made their debut this term, and have produced amusing speeches from the floor and the benches. Their complementary brands of cool humour played as a foil one to the other, usually on opposing sides.

Messrs Reilly, Lorigan and Blane have all delivered speeches worthy of a mention in despatches.

The best debate of the term was the last one, which was held in the company of the girls from Richmond Convent Debating Society. A lively and entertaining debate, with amusing and clever speeches from members of both sexes, was perhaps a fitting end to the term and the decade—we agreed to view the next through rose-coloured glasses, rather than through a glass darkly.

An enjoyable evening was also spent as the guests of Harrogate Convent, where (despite the Society's formal purpose) there was more concord than strife.

The following served the Society as officials: Vice-President: Mr M. P. Reilly; Committee: Messrs Dagnall, Lorigan, Balme, Williams; Senior Teller: Mr Lorigan; Junior Teller: Mr Russell.

A special mark of thanks should go to Mr Reilly for all the work he has done as the Society's first Vice-President, abundantly proving that "it is your Society".

The following nine motions were debated:

"This House maintains that, although we live in the era of the global village, our loyalty to our country exceeds any other loyalties we may have." Ayes 12, Noes 14, Abstentions 7.

"This House believes that it is the duty of the intellectual to remain with his people." Ayes 12, Noes 29, Abstentions 7.

"This House is convinced that the drop-out problem will not be solved by the return of National Service." Ayes 23, Noes 22, Abstentions 3.

"This House believes that television feeds the curiosity without stimulating the intellect." Ayes 12, Noes 15, Abstentions 5.

"This House believes that nuclear war would be a just end to human endeavour." Ayes 48, Noes 58, Abstentions 9. [Harrogate Guest Debate.]

"This House does not care one way or the other about Apathy." Ayes 6, Noes 8, Abstentions 3.

"This House would vote Labour." Ayes 12, Noes 16, Abstentions 19.

"This House believes that power comes out of the end of a gun." Ayes 8, Noes 17, Abstentions 1.

"This House views the New Year with foreboding." Ayes 17, Noes 44, Abstentions 11. [Richmond Guest Debate.]

(*President:* Br Alberic) EDWARD LEWIS, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FILM SOCIETY

PERHAPS the most astounding feature of the Film Society is its sudden and meteoric rise to become the School's most popular senior society. With membership at about 120, the organisers of the Society have been able to offer a wider range of films than ever before. (One need only remember that three years ago the Society comprised about 30-40 members and the number of films was equally trivial, say 3-4.)

Belying the President's fascination for Ingmar Bergman, the Society began its term with the "Virgin Spring", a sombre and mysterious film, containing all the ingredients of a Bergman pot-pourri—magic of sorts, the medieval setting, symbolic landscapes and characteristically beautiful and lingering photography.

Disappointing to many, but rewarding to the few who could bear the clash between Rachmaninoff's piano concerto and the quasi-melodramatic acting and climaxes of the film was "Metropolis", Fritz Lang's silent classic attacking the futuristic zeitgeist and possibly allegorising his fear of the power of large crowds and the demagoguery of the nascent Hitler.

The third film was perhaps the greatest ever produced, yet characteristically it passed unnoticed and was hardly appreciated by the vulgar multitude, "Les Enfants du Paradis"; one of the most famous of all French films, full of pathos, and lyrically romantic; starring, among others, were Arletti and the wonderful Jean-Louis Barrault, who played the mime, Baptiste.

Following this came another great classic, British this time, "The Third Man"; directed by Carol Reed and starring Orson Welles. It went down splendidly with most, and this revived the morale of certain members of the Society. Two intellectually stimulating films came next, both, ironically, were appreciated though the first, Albee's "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" was extremely biting and the second, Sartre's "Huis Clos" even more intellectually testing since it had little action and concentrated on dialogue. Nevertheless it proved Sartre's motif: "Hell is other people".

Depressingly unimaginative, however, was the shorts evening of which only the repeat of "Dream of Wild Horses" was enjoyed. On the other hand "Ivan the Terrible" was widely acclaimed, and it proved so popular that the second part was ordered and shown later in the term.

Another excellent film which came and went almost totally unviewed by most members was Kafka's "The Trial", directed by Orson Welles. Unfortunately, owing to the great number of new members, it was decided to move from the S.L.R. and make our location permanently in the theatre. But this new extravagant gesture caused sound problems, especially when it was decided to use the new amplifier. As a result, most of the members retired, and only the few remained to enjoy a most splendid film, conveying more than realistic atmosphere of nightmare in a manner hardly rivalled by any other director.

Strange and poignant was the last film of the term, "The Burmese Harp", a rare and beautiful specimen of the Japanese art of film-making. Needless to say, it went down well, though the legibility of the subtitles was disgraceful, and so ended a term, perhaps our best, of films covering a wide range of topics and interest.

I should therefore like to thank the Chairman for all he has done and wish him success with the extremely difficult task of choosing the films for next term. I should also like to thank the Committee, Pickford Sykes and Bobby Blane for their constant help, and all members for bearing with us.

(Fr Stephen, *Chairman*) PATRICK DONOVAN, *Hon. Sec.*

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THE Society continued to be active this term, retaining a membership of 50. At the first meeting Mr. Donald Barker, who had travelled specially from Liverpool University where he lectures, gave a most interesting and learned lecture on "The Plan of the St Gall Monastery". Working from a slide of the plan, Mr Barker showed in detail what monastic life in the Middle Ages

was like, and we were only sorry that he had to cut short his talk because of the lack of time at our disposal. At the second meeting, the President, Fr Henry, gave an illustrated talk on "The Development of Attic Sculpture". His approach to the subject was both thoughtful and sympathetic. At the next meeting, a rather poor film entitled "Aftermath" was shown; its treatment of the six-day war had an undisguised bias in favour of the Arabs. This film, of an apparently unarchaeological nature, served as a contrast to the films shown later in the term dealing with ancient Egypt. At the fourth meeting, Mr Peter Walker gave an extremely successful lecture on "Legal Aspects of Archaeology". As a police lecturer in Northallerton, Mr Walker was in a position to speak definitely on a subject on which every archaeologist should be informed. The last two meetings were film meetings. At the first of these, two very competently produced films were shown. They were "Stonehenge" and "Paleolithic Man". They afforded an interesting and instructive evening to the 35 members who were present. However, the films shown at the last meeting of the term, "This is Egypt" and "The Ageless Path", were of a less high standard. Nevertheless, provided their tourist propaganda was ignored, they gave a comprehensive view of many things of archaeological interest in Egypt.

The Society's activity was not wholly confined to these evening meetings: just after Half-Term, an investigatory dig was carried out on a site near Oldstead originally photographed from the air for the Helmsley Archaeological Group. The findings of the dig (which was kindly directed by Mr McDonnell) was that the site had been too much interfered with to be of interest.

On the whole the Society had an active and successful term, although attendance and enthusiasm at meetings might have been higher.

(*President:* Fr Henry) P. J. Ford, *Hon. Sec.*

THE CHESS CLUB

We welcomed a few new members to the Club this term, which was encouraging, and we would like to thank Fr Patrick for the generous donation of three chess sets. The Club was very sorry to say goodbye to Fr Henry, who has been President for many years. However, we were delighted to have Mr Nelson as our new President.

At the opening session of the term, H. M. Duckworth was elected Secretary and S. L. Cassidy was elected Treasurer. We all played regularly and enthusiastically and in the *Sunday Times* National Schools Chess Tournament, we easily beat a team from West County School, Whitby, which was a great achievement even though we were a year older on average. The results were as follows:

Ampleforth		West County School	
R. Honan (Capt.)	1	M. Howard	0
A Berry	1	D. Tong	0
H. Duckworth	1	T. Cook	0
J. Smyth	1	E. Marshall	0
R. Watson	1	D. Plant	0
H. Faulkner	1	I. Rodgers	0
Total	6	Total	0

(*President:* Mr Nelson) H. M. Duckworth, *Hon. Sec.*

THE COMMONWEAL

Five lectures were arranged for the term by the President, who, as usual, deserves the Society's gratitude for arranging all its meetings himself.

Monsignor Bruce Kent, just back from a visit to Biafra, gave a convincing and provocative account of the situation there. Mr Snowden, a Rowntrees executive, spoke on "Marketing, Europe and Britain", and told us of his experiences selling Smarties in Germany. He was followed by Fr Leo, who gave a particularly lucid account of the power structure in modern Britain. Dr Bernice Hamilton asked the question "Was Karl Marx ever a Communist?" and shattered the illusions of many members. To the shame of the Society, Professor Kathleen Jones's visit had to be cancelled because of a marked decline in attendances.

Attendances were consistently disappointing. It seems that the Sixth Form in particular is no longer society-minded. This is perhaps because there is now so much more opportunity and encouragement for varied individual activities, for which the more formal school society meetings were no doubt originally intended as a substitute.

Thanks are due to Mr Dalglish and Mr Thompson for serving on an unusually active committee.

(*President:* Mr Anwyl) Richard Balme, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FORUM

The Forum succeeded this term in its two main aims: to meet regularly for serious discussion, and to find all its speakers from among its members. The Society met six times, before the imminence of the Scholarship Examinations called a halt to all civilised activities.

Mr Smiley gave the traditional President's inaugural lecture, this time on the poetry of Philip Larbin, setting an example which five members tried to follow: Robert Mackay on the symbolism of trains in "Resurrection" and "Doctor Zhivago"; Mr Mark Roberts on the paintings of Francis Bacon; Mr James Watt on the decadence of the working-classes; Mr Paul Duguid on Bob Dylan and the Isle of Wight festival; and finally Mr Charles

Willis on the poetry of Yeats. We are especially grateful to Fr Dominic, whose hospitality we enjoyed on all but one of these occasions.

It is encouraging to see that while some of the larger school societies are going through a lean time with low attendances, a smaller and less group can enjoy a successful term. The actual lectures were always adequate, and some were outstanding. The discussions which followed them were usualy worthwhile, occasionally even intelligent. This is perhaps because the proportion of pseudo-intellectuals in the Society is reasonably low.

(*President:* Mr Smiley) RICHARD BALME, *Hon. Sec.*
(*Vice-President:* Fr Dominic)

HISTORICAL BENCH

THE Christmas Term started with the election of Mr S. Fane Hervey as Secretary and Mr D. Casserley as Treasurer to replace the weary Mr P. Horsley and Mr P. Kelly, with the inevitable Mr Davidson, as ever, faithful to the presidency. The first lecture was given by Fr Anselm, a native of London, who spoke on the historical aspects of the city in reference to the theme "History with the Naked Eye". His wanderings took him, not to the celebrated places, but rather to the back streets, where few historical cameras had ventured. It was both fascinating and astonishing and was very well received. Fr Edward succeeded Fr Anselm with a talk on the building of Abbey Churches in the Middle Ages, in which he dispelled the predominant myth that they were all built by the monks. The monastic stranglehold on the meetings so far this term was fittingly shattered by Gervase Belfield, a member of St Hugh's, and, significantly, of the Stuart Society. He talked about King Charles III of England, his life after the '45, and his descendants. The supporters of the present queen were shocked to hear about the claims of the Sobieski Stuarts and were shattered when Mr Belfield mentioned Mr "Stuart" (as he insists on being called), his own present king, who was apparently as shocked as the members when presented with the good news. This must be one of the most original lectures a boy has ever given to the Society. Our honourable President, upholding the high standard revealed in his frequent lectures, produced a well-illustrated thesis entitled "Split Personality". This vague title can be comprehended since the Dalmation court of Split grew up within the ruins of the vast palace which the Emperor Diocletian built for his retirement at the end of the third century A.D. The Secretary would like to take the opportunity of thanking Mr Davidson not only for his talk but also for his unflagging services to the Society. Br Felix concluded the term by giving a talk on the attempted impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the U.S.A.; whether Johnson would stand or fall rested wholly on the vote of one senator, a young man of 32, newly arrived to the senate. Thankfully, Johnson and the constitution stood, and the young senator sank into

obscurity with no sign of appreciation for his pains from anyone. Br Felix characterised this as "one of the most remarkable events in our history".

The attendances were not as good as usual.

(*President:* Mr Davidson) S. FANE HERVEY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE JUNIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

IT is hard to judge the relative success of the Society this term in the light of the experience of last year's excellent debating. On the whole the debates have gone well and several speakers have improved during the term. Unfortunately the President was absent for three debates early in the term when there was a real ned for continuity, but the House was very grateful to Fr Leo and Br Jonathan for standing in as Chairmen.

If there was not a large "hard core" of second year speakers, those who have spoken regularly have provided much entertainment and have maintained the standard of debate. Mr Durkin, especially, has provided several constructive and witty speeches. Mr Skinner is notable for his intelligent interruptions which have embarrassed many a bench speaker, and Mr Hamilton-Dalrymple for the speed with which he picks up a flaw in a speech. Intelligent points are invariably made by Mr Fergusson although he might be a little more willing to speak on the bench! His ability to understate his arguments with good effect and his dry humour mark him out as a performer of high quality. Mr Nelson and Mr Donnelly speak well, though usually under prepared, and if there is a general failing in the House at present it would be the lack of thought and preparation of speeches. Mr Norton is a promising debater but if he is to hold the attention of his audience he must avoid reading his speeches as though reading an essay to a tutor when both are in a hurry to go elsewhere. Mr Lister can be picked out for his successful attempts to colour the meetings with humour from the bench, and Mr Petit is an intriguing source of wit. Mr Dowley and Mr du Boulay have also spoken and the House would benefit greatly from their more consistent appearances.

Members of First Year have been slow to get into their stride, especially as now that debating has started in Junior House there is plenty of good material available. Mr Simpson is extremely promising and is prepared to speak on the bench at ten minutes' notice! Mr Martin Spencer has made clear and well-argued speeches but one would like to hear more from his twin brother Mr John Spencer. The duels between these two—they apparently prefer to speak on different sides—could become an interesting aspect of the Junior Debate for the next 15 months. Mr Finlow is another clear and forceful speaker who has benefitted from debating at Junior House.

The Society held two guest debates. At the first, two of last year's speakers, Mr Fitzgeorge-Parker and Mr O'Mahony, proposed and opposed that the House support Bloodsports, the motion being won by the Government by a single vote. Later in the term the Society was honoured

to receive Fr Dominic, a former President of the Society, and Mr Dammann who, strangely, had never been in the House before. After a most enjoyable evening the House was persuaded to prefer the Old World to the New. We are grateful to our guests.

Debating can be fun as several debates showed. But not only is a high quality of argument necessary; it does a lot to the morale of the House to have large attendances. Not only should more members from Remove C be encouraged to come, but it is to be hoped that the Junior Society will be able to encourage its members to attend and participate in the debates.

Mr Schlee was elected Secretary and the Committee comprised Messrs Donnelly, Durkin, Fergusson, Hamilton-Dalrymple, Lister and Morton, with Messrs Simpson and Martin Spencer from the First Year. The Society would profit if there were larger attendances at committee meetings.

The following motions were debated:

"This House believes that soccer is taken too seriously." Ayes 29, Noes 30.

"This House would ban unofficial strikes." Ayes 30, Noes 7.

"This House supports squatters." Ayes 12, Noes 16.

"This House deplores . . . 'Rather Red than Dead'." Ayes 19, Noes 18.

"This House believes in a United Ireland." Ayes 11, Noes 18.

"This House supports Bloodsports." Ayes 27, Noes 26.

"This House would ban the Springbok Rugby tour because of the South African's policy of apartheid." No vote taken.

"This House prefers the New World to the Old." Ayes 19, Noes 30.

Parachute debate: J. F. Kennedy 13, Jerry 11, Tony Jacklin 9, Bob Dylan 5, Dougal 2.

"This House believes that the attitude of the School and especially the Junior Society leaves a lot to be desired." Ayes 10, Noes 16.

(*President:* Br Felix) ROBIN SCHLEE, *Hon. Sec.*

THE JUNIOR SOCIETY

THIS last term the Society has seen several changes. In the Room itself there is now running water and a new roof, as well as a lot of new furniture. The decoration of the Room has also been improved by some paintings by members of the Society.

The new committee was chosen by the remaining First Year committee members from last year—Paddy Gaynor and Simon Hall. The people chosen were Chris Ainscough, Simon Clayton, Mark Lister and Pete Garbutt. John Potez was added to the committee later on in the term. Their first task was to reorganise the indivdual societies which had become too numerous to run efficiently. But although their number was cut down by half this term, they did not run as efficiently and well as had been hoped. However, there were a few that went very well. For example, the Football Society, which had three trips to football matches, and the Electronics Society which was run most efficiently.

When the subscriptions had been collected and the societies had all been working for some time, the committee was given the job of organising a retreat for the First and Second Year members of the School. This took up a great deal of their time, as the discussion groups had to be selected with great care. But it was worked out, and well it appeared, for it went very well. But the few minor points that were bad have subsequently been discussed and will be changed, and we hope for the better, in future.

At this stage in the term Mr Paul Hawksworth joined Fr Ignatius in helping with the organisation of the Society. Through him it has been possible to entertain some boys from Halifax, and we should be doing more of this sort of thing next term, entertaining boys from Borstals, comprehensive schools and others. We played Easingwold Grammar School twice at football, basketball, chess and table tennis. Although these trips went well, the teams were not representative of our skill, and in future we will have to select our teams more carefully, and also put in more practice.

All this time a Bring and Buy was being organised, and due to its good organisation the profits were beyond all our hopes. The matrons, and especially Miss Mackay, gave invaluable assistance. In gratitude for the matrons' and Mr and Mrs Compton's assistance, a cheese and wine party was given for them in the Room that evening.

The Society has been progressing steadily this term and it is hoped it will continue thus in future.

THE COMMITTEE.

THE MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY

THE Society was formed at the beginning of the term by Fr Thomas and a few enthusiastic boys. Mr MacMilan kindly agreed to be President and two lectures were given this term. Next term's membership should be increased and several lectures given. The first paper was given by the President on "Pitfalls of Relativity", which was extremely interesting and delivered in terms understood by all. The second lecture was given by Mr Desmond Lee and Mr David Mawes, both from Rowntree's Computers Section. A film, "Computers and Man: in Perspective" was shown and questions answered afterwards. We are very grateful to Mr Lee and Mr Mawes for their kindness.

(*President:* Mr MacMillan) P. B. QUIGLEY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE MUSICAL SOCIETY

BUSINESS as usual was provided by the Society room, despite the regular fits of temperament indulged in by the gramophone equipment. Several new records were bought, a notable advance being the introduction of Gershwin into the Society collection.

Most of the Society evenings were taken up by an unusually busy programme of concerts, notably the début of Mr Nelson (flute), and Ronan Magill's first solo piano recital, but there was room for one Society lecture, which proved to be particularly successful. Mr Vazquez spoke on Poulenc's

opera, "Les Carmelites", and played extracts, which members followed on the duplicated libretti (French and English), which Mr Vazquez had kindly provided. A fine modern opera and the speaker's refreshing enthusiasm combined to produce an evening which it is hoped may have shaken some members of the Society out of their complacently narrow musical tastes.

A record auction, disposing of duplicates from the Musical Society and various Houses, was surprisingly successful, only seven lots remaining unsold out of a catalogue of 34.

The usual thanks are due to the long-suffering committee, and to the President for his guidance.

(*President:* Fr Adrian) RICHARD BALME, *Hon. Sec.*

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

THIS term, with a membership of 150, the Society has undeniably been flourishing; we have had five guest speakers including two university professors, and attendances, although sometimes slightly low, considering the large membership, have averaged just below 90. Officials for the year had been elected in the Summer Term, so that they could arrange the year's activities in good time. They were J. C. Rapp, Secretary; A. M. Wagstaff, Treasurer; and J. Knowles, N. Davenport, P. Nunn and R. Schlee as committee.

The first meeting, originally arranged to be a lecture provided by B.P. Chemicals, had to be changed hurriedly to a film evening, when, a fortnight before the meeting, our lecturer discovered that he was unavailable. Instead, two films were shown, "Diamond Grinding of metals", and "Cobar —A New Era in Mining". Our first lecturer, Professor C. J. Polson of the Forensic Medicine Department at the University of Leeds, fascinated every one of the 125 members present with his lecture "Identification of the Dead". The last lecture before half-term was delivered by Mr N. Alcock, from the Board of Trade, who spoke about the "Air Traffic Control Service". After half-term we welcomed Professor T. R. Kaiser from Sheffield University. His subject was the "Ariel III Satellite", which was launched in 1967 as the first fully British satellite. Professor Kaiser is an expert on this subject as the satellite carries a highly successful experiment from his Physics Department. The penultimate meeting was arranged through the President (Professor R. O. C. Norman, of York University); Dr B. C. Gilbert spoke on "Fun and Games with Nuclei", a title which was slightly misleading as the talk was in fact on the high level subject of mass spectometry and nuclear magnetic resonance. The term's activities ended with the postponed lecture by Mr A. Walker, from B.P. Chemicals; he gave an interesting lecture on "Plastics".

On behalf of the Society I would like to thank Dr Briske, the Chairman, who has revitalised the Society.

(*Chairman:* Dr C. Briske) J. C. RAPP, *Hon. Sec.*
(*Professor:* R. O. C. NORMAN)

SYMPOSIUM

THIS will necessarily be a brief account as the Society has only been founded this term and therefore has been unable to have more than three meetings. At the first, D Simpson was elected as Secretary and various suggestions for rules were made, none of them very important. Mr Griffiths, the President, should be thanked for the inception of the Society and for his offer of a lecture on 17th Cent Sick Humour which the Society hopes to hear next term. It was decided that the membership list should be restricted to 25 members and that each member should be expected to give at least one paper during the course of the year. As someone pointed out, this would mean that eight papers would have to be given in each term at least, and as we are already behind schedule, we cannot possibly hope to achieve this ambitious target. The Society intends to rely on its own members to provide food for thought, rather than on outside speakers, although the President is hoping to attract a few blithe spirits to approach us, when possible.

So far this term, Mr M. Roberts has given a talk on James Joyce's "Ulysses", which was amusing and well informed, and the Secretary hopes to give one on E. M. Forster's "Passage to India" sometime after the writing of these notes.

(*President:* Mr D. Griffiths) D. J. SIMPSON, *Hon. Sec.*

THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE term was one of mixed success for the Society, for though the meetings were good, the membership was poor and the attendance at some of the meetings verging on the pathetic. Along with this the organisation during the first half of term demands an apology: only one meeting was held when the President delivered a lecture on "Crop Plants and their Evolution". Things started happening in the second half of the term, however, with lectures from the Secretary on "Darwin and Natural Selection" and from Fr Prior, whom we thank for his excellent lecture on "Form and Function". The final lecture of the term was given by Dr Christopher Rees from York University who fought his way through ice and snow to deliver a fascinating talk on "Cave Dwelling Animals". Many thanks are owed to him for he gave a glimpse of an almost unknown branch of Natural History, and if the Society is to survive it must have a wide range of topics. It was for this reason, and also because of the demise of the Young Farmers' Club, that the films were of a slightly more adventurous kind than usual, and so along with "The Living Pattern" came a film called "Game Harvest" which traced the year of a partridge keeper. Both were very enjoyable. However, the real success of the term was the film "Corps Profound" which, for a 6d. day membership of the Society, was shown before an audience of almost 300. This was the first film ever to be shown to a society in 35 mm. and it was not disappointing. While a special

camera device examined the human body in brilliant technicolour, paying visits to the brain, the lungs, the stomach, the heart and the womb, and X-ray photography revealed the secrets of eating, drinking and smoking, the President gave a commentary on the loudspeaker of such skill and confidence that few recognised him. For this and everything else he deserves the gratitude of the Society.

(*President:* Br Jeremy) J. C. H. Berry, *Hon. Sec.*

LINES OF COMMUNICATION

Ampleforth parents living in the south have persevered in their efforts to support Father Patrick in his desire to establish more full and fruitful communication and increased understanding between parents and the School.

Three more meetings were arranged for the latter half of the Autumn Term. Father Patrick, accompanied by a Housemaster on each occasion, nobly travelled south to attend meetings held in London at the home of Mr and Mrs Michael Ryan; and in Wonersh, Surrey at the home of Mr and Mrs Donald Cape; and near Tunbridge Wells, where a group of parents had organised a large meeting which took place in Mr and Mrs James Dawson's house.

On each occasion Father Patrick gave a brief introductory talk. He alluded to the steering committee which has been established at the School, to the problems and changes in religious discipline and training, and to the feasibility study that is being made by a firm of architects prior to a long-term building programme which Ampleforth is considering.

The pattern for each meeting was generally the same. The opening talk was followed by a period of questions and general discussion for about an hour and a half before a break for lunch. A further question session followed for another hour and a half. The range of topics in the three autumn meetings was considerable. Religious activities (with optional daily mass in particular), the school retreat and the Junior Society were the three main topics common to all the meetings. Remove C, the "O" level leaver, careers and university entrances, the monitorial body, the place of music and art in the school, scope for social service, school societies and activities, "corps", "Spiral", pubs, drugs, the winter half-term, rail fares and even co-education were just some of the subjects about which questions were asked and various shades of opinions aired. Through it all Father Patrick preserved a relaxed good humour and a forbearance that only an experienced schoolmaster would be able to exercise in the face of such prolonged discussion and so many questions that might so easily seem to be irrelevant to the initiated.

No dramatic conclusions were arrived at. But, undoubtedly, for all the parents who have so far been involved, there is a new quality in their relationship with each other, quite apart from new friendships, with the Housemasters who have so far been involved and above all with their sons' Headmaster. Instead of an awe-inspiring figure in the Headmaster's study, Father Patrick has become for them all a man who cares about the boys in his charge, who is concerned with the anxieties of parents, and who is not at all unapproachable.

Plans have been made for two more meetings to take place in March, one in Hertfordshire at the invitation of Mr and Mrs Rohan Wadham and a second Surrey meeting at the home of Dr and Mrs O'Neil Donnellon in Esher. This latter meeting is necessary as the number of parents living in Surrey and Berkshire is too many for any one drawing room. There is no doubt that the informal atmosphere that obtains in a private house does a great deal for these occasions. Father Patrick has agreed to attend both meetings. He has also agreed to plans going ahead for two further meetings for the summer term. One will include the rest of the London parents and the second will cover the remainder of Kent and Sussex and possibly Hampshire.

If any parent outside the area so far covered is able to offer hospitality sometime in the coming school year to a minimum of thirty people for one of these meetings it would be an enormous help if they would get in touch with Mrs D. M. Judd, Fairways, Miles Lane, Cobham, Surrey.

The Queen's Telescope.

On 29th July 1969, Her Majesty the Queen reviewed the Western Fleet in Torbay. During her visit she presented her telescope for the best cadet of the year to Cadet N. P. Wright, Royal Navy (T68).

The photographic editor apologises for the poor quality of this print

RUGBY 1ST XV

From Left to Right.
Standing: F. B. Skehan, M. Henderson, J. Knowles, A. R. Fraser, I. Bowie, B. McGing, R. J. Hughes, J. D. Dowling.
Seated: A. N. Kennedy, A. D. Lucey, D. C. Ogilvie, W. M. Reichwald (Capt.), C. Edwards, D. A. Callighan, D. C. Judd.

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE FIRST FIFTEEN

THIS was the most successful Ampleforth side for many years and it was capably, at times brilliantly, led by W. M. Reichwald at fly-half. It was essentially an attacking side with a thrustful threequarter line and a mobile pack. Occasionally the pack did not dominate an opposition and indeed only struck their best form in patches until they went on tour. Against Blundell's they were superb and if they suffered a reaction against Whitgift, they were obviously developing into a fine unit. If the team had a weakness, it was a tendency to over-confidence: this led them sometimes to give their backs poor possession in any part of the field and in any conditions. This cost them dear against sides who were bent on disrupting their rhythm.

W. Reichwald was the best fly-half the School has had for a very long time. His gifts are too numerous to mention here and when he develops more pace off the mark, and more strength in the tackle, he will go far. As a captain as well as a player, he was outstanding. Always cheerful and loyal, he had great power over his team and commanded the utmost respect from start to finish. Even in defeat, even when he himself played badly, as he did at Sedbergh, his first thought was for the team. It was this unselfishness which welded them into a most loyal and friendly group.

There were other good players in the side: A. D. Lucey at scrum-half was small in stature and a giant in courage with a good pass and a flashing break. D. Callighan at inside centre had a close understanding with Reichwald and was fast and powerful. His defence, and that of his partner, B. Skehan, was impregnable. Skehan himself was an admirable foil for Callighan: not as fast, he was a better balanced runner with excellent hands and a footballer's brain. He was inclined to turn inside and cut himself off but he ended as the leading try-scorer. The School were well served on the wings: R. Hughes was fast and well-balanced while the very strong I. Bowie, inexperienced though he was, had so improved by the end of the season with his powerful running that it was difficult to say who was the better. McGing at full-back had courage enough for 20 boys, and was usually safety itself: he was a little slow and his kicking always remained ungainly, but he played some admirable games.

In the pack, D. Judd had a fine year as hooker. He was a fast striker and an excellent coverer on wing forward lines. Kennedy had became a very powerful loose head prop by the end of term and, with his speed in the loose, he was always conspicuous. A Fraser and J. Knowles formed the second row and their strength in the tight was invaluable. They were not particularly good in the line-out but got through a lot of hard work in the loose where Fraser's stamina and speed rivalled that of Kennedy. The back row became a great force: when P. Moroney dislocated his shoulder before the matches began, the small, light and inexperienced J. Dowling had to be pressed into service. That he earned his colours after two brilliant matches on tour was a measure of his improvement and achievement. He is becoming a very good player. J. Gaynor was leader of the forwards and, if a trifle small for a No. 8, had an excellent season. His enthusiasm and determination were a constant source of encouragement, and he had great positional sense. The trio was completed by the blind side and vice-captain, D. N. Ogilvie: one of the most loyal and courageous of the boys, he did as much as Reichwald to keep the side happy and enthusiastic: he was a very great help to the captain in every way: it was pleasant to see that against Blundell's and Whitgift, he really came into his own, firing the side with his tenacious covering and determination.

The team was: B. McGing, R. J. Hughes, F. B. Skehan, D. A. Callighan, I. Bowie, W. M. Reichwald (Capt.), A. D. Lucey, A. N. Kennedy, D. C. Judd, M. Henderson, A. R. Fraser, J. Knowles, D. N. Ogilvie, J. D. Dowling, J. C. Gaynor.

The following also played and played extremely well: E. Lewis, S. Fane-Hervey, J. Rapp.

The Captain awarded colours to the following: R. J. Hughes, D. A. Callighan, F. B. Skehan, A. N. Kennedy, D. C. Judd, A. R. Fraser, J. D. Dowling, J. C. Gaynor. and half colours to the following: I. Bowie, J. Knowles, B. McGing.

RUGBY 1ST XV

From Left to Right.
Standing: F. B. Skehan, M. Henderson, J. Knowles, A. R. Fraser, I. Bowie, B. McGing, R. J. Hughes, J. D. Dowling.
Seated: A. N. Kennedy, A. D. Lucey, D. C. Ogilvie, W. M. Reichwald, J. C. Greene, D. A. Galligan, D. C. Judd.

v. O.A.R.U.F.C. (at Ampleforth, 28th September)

Once again the Old Boys brought a strong side to Ampleforth, but this year the School XV were a very different proposition. The game was played in a high wind and with this more or less at their backs in the first half, the School enjoyed a territorial advantage, spending long periods encamped in their opponents' 25. It was then very much against the run of play when de Chazal scored for the Old Boys a minute before half-time. The School's dynamic forward play and rucking kept them well in the picture in the second half and the tackling, particularly by the backs, was heroic. Lucey scored a good try on the blind side and though the Old Boys soon made it 10—3 and then 15—3, the School were not finished and came back with a marvellous try by Hughes which Reichwald converted. The School were still working hard at the final whistle, and one was left in little doubt that they have a powerful XV.

Lost 8—15.

v. MOUNT ST MARY'S (at Ampleforth, 4th October)

Ampleforth started the game with a flourish and all but put Hughes over in the corner from the kick-off. Throughout the first half they continued in this vein, dominating their opponents in the loose, and tiring them with the speed and persistence of their attacks. But to Mount's credit, the School could not get the early try they deserved and at half-time had to be content with a penalty by Reichwald and a try by Hughes. Chances had been squandered and this was even more true in the second half as the Mount side tired. A second penalty by Reichwald, a second try by Hughes and another by Skehan, converted by Reichwald, were all that the School could manage and the game finished as it had begun—with the School attacking hard and trying to increase their lead.

Won 17—3.

v. DURHAM (at Ampleforth, 8th October)

Durham came to Ampleforth full of confidence, having established a considerable reputation among the northern schools, and being unbeaten in four matches. The Ampleforth XV started with tremendous fire and in the first 20 minutes, playing with the wind behind them, completely dominated the proceedings. There were near misses in plenty but the only score they could manage was a try by Bowie on the blind side after a scissor in the centre had produced a good ruck. It was just before half-time that Durham, on their first visit to the home 25, scored an equalising try from a ruck won by Ampleforth; and this was immediately answered by a fine drop goal from Reichwald. Even though Durham had lost a man, there were signs that their very fine pack was getting on top, and as the School had to face the stiff breeze in the second half, 6—3 did not look enough. This impression was accentuated a few moments later when Durham kicked an easy penalty to equalise the scores at 6—6. Although Reichwald kicked a penalty, this was answered in its turn by a similar one for Durham and with 20 minutes to go the scores were level again at 9—9. Durham used the wind well but the Ampleforth pack, urged on by great support from the School, were staging a come-back against a tiring seven-man pack. Dowling and Judd combined in a thrilling movement, Callighan and Dowling in another and it was left to Bowie to crash over in the corner to make it 12—9. There were only a few minutes left when Hughes and Reichwald, after a bout of inter-passing, contrived to put the latter over in the corner. This was a most exciting match in which the handicapped Durham side played their full part although they could never match the elan of the Ampleforth threequarters.

Won 15—9.

v. GIGGLESWICK (at Giggleswick, 11th October)

The First XV made the mistake of underestimating their opponents and paid the penalty. Leading 8—0 after 20 minutes and assuming the game was dead, they proceeded to try to run the opposition off their feet by opening up from their own half, and over-elaborating in their opponents'. At the one end, then, two mistakes were made and at the other the XV failed to take their opportunities. Only leading 11—8 at half-time, the XV began to feel the strain but still assumed that the backs could win the game with ease. Giggleswick had other ideas and by dint of excellent tackling and covering, and by the hard work of their powerful forwards, they carried the game to their opponents. Despite this, with ten seconds to go Ampleforth were still leading 11—8 when a crucial mistake allowed the Giggleswick wing to run round the cover and score halfway out. The final kick of the match was good, and robbed the School of even a draw.

Lost 11—13.

v. DENSTONE (at Ampleforth, 22nd October)

Ampleforth showed their paces from the start in this game, playing attacking rugby throughout. The School were soon 11 points up through a drop goal and a conversion by Reichwald, a try by Bowie and the first of three scored by Skehan. At this stage Denstone already looked beaten but a startling rally some ten minutes before the interval produced one try and very nearly a second. This stung the School pack and after half-time they took complete control, tries being scored by Skehan (2), Gaynor, Kennedy and Hughes. The midfield backs, Lucey, Reichwald and Callighan had a hand in all the tries, most of which were made by their swift and sure handling.

Won 34—3.

v. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL (at Leeds, 25th October)

After their resounding success against Denstone, the XV looked a trifle jaded in the first ten minutes at Leeds, and were lucky to keep their line intact. But thereafter they hammered away at their opponents' line throughout the first half : but the score would not come. Five penalties were missed and two certain tries were thrown away by the backs. Leeds, encouraged by the score of 0—0 at half-time, grew in stature and their pack got well on top. They soon led with a penalty which Reichwald immediately equalised but then scored again with a drop goal after a heel against the head. The lead was increased two minutes from the end when a fortuitous bounce from a kick ahead put the Leeds left wing in at the corner. The try was beautifully converted from touch, thus giving Leeds an 11—3 victory—hardly a true reflection of the way the game had gone.

Lost 3—11.

v. STONYHURST (at Ampleforth, 28th October)

Ampleforth were given the wind and slope and immediately settled in the Stonyhurst 25. But the strong, cold wind unsettled the Ampleforth backs and it was a quarter of an hour and several near misses later that Reichwald forced his way over after a scissors with Lucey. He converted this try with an admirable kick and followed it a few minutes later with a well-judged penalty. Shortly after this Callighan made a break in the centre and Skehan and Hughes finished it off to perfection. Reichwald obliged with the kick. Ampleforth were now 13—0 up and in rampant form; the forwards, with Judd back to his best at hooker, were powerful in the tight though the absence of the injured Kennedy was noticeable in the loose : the loose ball was not coming back quickly enough and was being blocked by the Stonyhurst forwards. The School faced the wind in the second half but remained on top. Stonyhurst soon kicked a penalty but Ampleforth's reply was immediate, Skehan reacting quickly to an awkwardly bouncing ball and dropping a very good goal. The match ended with two telling thrusts by Hughes on the right and one by Bowie on the left.

Won 16—3.

v. SEDBERGH (at Sedbergh, 8th November)

High winds, heavy rain and a very soft pitch greeted Ampleforth's arrival at Sedbergh and in the event Sedbergh proved themselves more adaptable. Ampleforth started in great heart, having won the toss and spent the first 25 minutes in or around the

Sedbergh 25. But ill-fortune and stout Sedbergh tackling kept the School at bay and as half-time approached signs of desperation were creeping into the 1st XV's play. Two penalties and several other opportunities were missed. On the stroke of half-time, Sedbergh, in the Ampleforth 25 for the first time, snapped up their one chance with a fine opportunist try and the psychological battle was won and lost. Though Ampleforth territorially had nearly as much of the game in the second half, they continued their passing tactics, thus playing into Sedbergh's hands. Sedbergh in this half made the most of their chances, kicking a good penalty and drop goal and adding a try in the final few minutes. 12—0 was hardly a commentary on the way the game had gone but Sedbergh deserved their victory—their tactics throughout were exactly right, they tackled much better than the School XV and they snapped up their chances.

Lost 0—12.

v. ST PETER'S (at York, 15th November)

After their disheartening defeat at Sedbergh the previous week, it was a pleasure to see the School XV back to form and adopting the right tactics in similar conditions to those at Sedbergh. Reichwald won the toss and elected to play against the wind and rain, but within ten minutes the School went into the lead. Lucey achieved an ambition, scoring near the posts without being touched after a dummy scissors with Reichwald who converted the try. St Peter's cut the lead when they kicked a penalty but Ampleforth held on to this lead until half-time. Playing a balanced game, Ampleforth were soon well on top. Reichwald kicked a penalty and converted a try by Lucey and another by Gaynor after a fine push by the pack from a five yards scrum. St Peter's decreased the lead when they scored after poor defence on the blind side of a scrum but Ampleforth went further ahead when Reichwald and Callighan looped to put Bowie over for a fine try in the corner. Callighan converted with a kick worthy of the try. Ampleforth were still attacking hard when the final whistle blew.

Won 23—8.

THE TOUR

v. BLUNDELL'S (at Harlequins' Ground, Twickenham, 17th December)

Blundell's brought their undefeated side to the Stoop Memorial ground for the first match between the two schools, and what a magnificent game it turned out to be, with skill and excitement in plenty. Indeed, the match was finely balanced throughout with the result in doubt until the final few minutes. The first half opened with Blundell's on the attack showing their formidable ability to back up, create a maul and attack in the other direction. But the Ampleforth defence, though hard pressed for ten minutes, held firm; the tackling was hard and merciless (as it needed to be throughout); every man covered as though his life depended on it, and eventually Blundell's were rolled back. Callighan and Skehan, apart from one or two early misses as they set their sights, crushed the life out of their opposing centres with such forthright and powerful crash-tackling that the Blundell's line never managed to achieve their usual high standard of passing and catching. The back row, too, and most of all Dowling, were in superb form and for the rest of the first half, although the game swung excitingly from one end to the other; it was the Ampleforth pack which called the tune, rucking with power and skill.

It was thought that after half-time the strength and weight of the Blundell's pack and the strength and speed of their threequarter line would carry the day, but it was Ampleforth again who were quickly on the attack in the left corner. Judd heeled against the head, Lucey served, Reichwald and Callighan worked the scissors and Callighan put Dowling over for a most valuable try. Blundell's withstood a second Ampleforth attack and then for 20 minutes battered in their turn at the School's defences, which only survived through courage and tenacity. As the game wore on and Ampleforth began to scent victory, the tackling became more deadly and more incisive: the cover seemed to increase. The whole team, but particularly McGing, Kennedy and Bowie, all covered themselves in glory with last ditch tackles at this stage. Blundell's neglected to take a shot at goal from a penalty and with that their last chance disappeared. Ampleforth were swift to react: Dowling was nearly over after two great dribbles, Lucey almost put Reichwald over in one corner and finally got over himself in the other. Although Reichwald missed the kick, this try slammed the door on their opponents and Ampleforth were attacking again as the whistle went for no-side.

Won 6—0.

v. WHITGIFT (at Whitgift, 19th December)

Ampleforth suffered an inevitable reaction and were slow to start. They could get no possession from line-out or ruck and even experienced great difficulty in the set scrums! They were subjected to a barrage of penalty kicks which were all missed and were lucky to survive. Reichwald himself had a couple of sitting penalties before he opened the scoring after 20 minutes with a long, straight kick, but this was immediately nullified by a similar kick from Whitgift. But now Ampleforth were gaining more possession and their sporadic raids were changing into real pressure. First Dowling who again, together with Ogilvie, had a fine game, took advantage of a tapped ball at the end of a line-out and scored before anybody could move. Reichwald converted with a fine kick. Then Skehan, after a movement started by Lucey and Reichwald, scored near the posts, giving Reichwald an easy kick. The School was a trifle lucky to be 13—3 in the lead at half-time but their luck was out in the second half when they pressed continuously. Lucey and Reichwald were scheming well together, and the pack were getting good possession at last. Glimpses of the power and skill seen against Blundell's were becoming more frequent. Bowie appeared to be over after a thrilling run. Reichwald missed a penalty; but the pressure told and despite a try by Whitgift, the School answered with one by Callighan which was converted by Reichwald who also kicked an easy penalty shortly afterwards. The team were still attacking at the end and ran out comfortable victors.

Won 21—6.

THE SECOND FIFTEEN

The team had an excellent season. The forwards became a real working unit and, by the end of the season their rucking was second to none. They lost to Ripon 1st XV in an excellent game, but were up against a fine side that had beaten Leeds 1st XV. The only other match they lost was against Sedbergh, when they were robbed of a deserved victory by two careless mistakes in atrocious conditions which cost them eight points.

S. Fane-Hervey led the side with tremendous enthusiasm, and the spirit he built up made the hard training sessions enjoyable. To say that the success of the side was built round the pack is not wholly fair, because by the end of the season the backs would have been a real attacking force if only the weather had provided suitable conditions for them to show their skills. In the front row D. McKibbin was not only an excellent hooker but a great force in the loose. E. Lewis at loose head was a tower of strength and began to learn aggression in jumping for the ball in the line-out. P. Rochford at tight head did a lot of useful work in the rucks. At lock J. Wadham and P. Redmond combined well. Their packing in the tight was excellent and helped to drive many opposition packs backwards in the set pieces. In the back row, positional play was slow in developing, but all gave every ounce of their energies on the field. J. MacHale led the forwards from the open side and was very quick about the field. C. Dixon on the blind side was tireless in covering in defence, and A. Simpkin at No. 8 worked wonders in the loose.

At half-back R. Twohig and W. Moore worked well together, and W. Moore at fly-half made intelligent use of the boot, and had a sure pair of hands, but must learn to get over the advantage line by taking the ball more on the move. R. Twohig, new to the job of scrum-half, picked up the basic skills quickly and was not afraid to vary his game by running with the ball. In the centre J. Rapp and C. Harries were the final selection, but owing to injuries S. Fane-Hervey played in the centre for every match except the Leeds and St Peter's games. Their passing improved steadily, and their tackling in defence was tight. They learnt to vary the attack with scissors and dummy

scissors, and it was unfortunate that they were not able to play more together and be given suitable handling conditions. A. Gibbs was the regular left wing, and although his tackling improved, his hands remained suspect. M. Shuldham had several games on the right wing, but his hands were not too good, and although his tackling was safe, his acceleration over the first few yards was not sufficient to make him a real attacking force. The catching of T. Marshall at full-back was superb and his kicking improved, but he never managed to overcome the fault of being caught in possession. Mention must also be made of D. Lovegrove who played several games in the side at lock, and on one occasion at tight head. He learnt quickly and the packing in the scrum did not suffer. M. Forsythe was another utility man, but in the back row of the scrum. He played in four of the matches on the open side, and although his tackling was not his strongest point, he was a good man to have around in the loose.

The following played for the side: T. G. Marshall (full-back); A. S. Gibbs, M. A. Q. Shuldham, I. D. Bowie (wings); S. F. Fane-Hervey, J. C. Rapp, C. V. Harries (centres); W. A. Moore, R. J. Twohig (halves); D. A. McKibbin (hooker); E. A. Lewis, J. P. Rochford (props); P. Redmond, J. J. Wadham, D. S. Lovegrove (locks); J. P. MacHale, A. B. Simpkin, C. S. Dixon, M. M. Forsythe (back row).

S. F. Fane-Hervey awarded the following colours: D. A. McKibbin, R. J. Twohig, J. P. Rochford, J. J. Wadham, E. A. Lewis, P. Redmond, J. P. McHale, C. S. Dixon, W. A. Moore.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	Home	Won	9—0
v. Barnard Castle	Away	Won	12—6
v. Durham	Away	Won	17—11
v. Scarborough 1st XV	Away	Won	6—3
v. Leeds	Away	Drawn	6—6
v. Ripon 1st XV	Away	Lost	9—19
v. Sedbergh	Home	Lost	6—8
v. St Peter's	Home	Won	9—6

THE THIRD FIFTEEN

THIS side was rather below the normal standard and a long list of injuries and restricted practice due to the inter-house leagues added to the difficulties. In the event, two matches were won and four lost. The forwards, although light, always played with fire and generally won their fair share of the ball, but the backs lacked penetration and the tackling was suspect.

The following played in matches: A. Leonard, N. Colrith, R. Murphy, A. Walter, D. Lloyd, P. Baxter, P. Null, A. Young, D. Haughton, D. Simpson, T. Turnbull, C. Dixon, G. Pinkney, F. Cape, S. Baker, M. Forsythe, M. Longan, F. Flynn, A. Cumming, A. Cunynghame-Robertson, D. Dawes, D. Lovegrove, A. Gibbs, T. Berner.

The results of the matches were as follows:

v. Archbishop Holgate's G.S. 2nd XV	Lost	8—13
v. Richmond G.S. 1st XV	Lost	0—12
v. Giggleswick 3rd XV	Won	9—0
v. Scarborough 2nd XV	Won	30—0
v. Leeds G.S. 3rd XV	Lost	0—14
v. St Peter's 3rd XV	Lost	0—3

UNDER SIXTEEN COLTS

Played 8. Lost 0. Pts For 141. Pts. Against 22.

THIS year's Under 16 Colts was the first to achieve an unbeaten series of wins in the eight matches of the season. Although the team remained unchanged throughout except for injury, even in the last match a place in the team was not certain because of the strong challenge from the rest of the set, some of whom would have had a place in many other Colts sides. The forwards, led by the Captain, C. J. Harris, were soon moulded into a unified and fast pack. The agile back row of Harris, Duguid and Entwisle kept up with the backs and were seldom beaten to the loose by their opposition. McAuley and Sandeman formed a formidable second row. The front row of Richmond, Golden and McCarthy played with great enterprise, Richmond playing more like a wing forward in the open but essentially as a prop in the ruck. In the line-outs lay our weakness, for the jumping was not all it might have been, until Dawson, replacing the injured Richmond in the last match, made good this deficiency.

In the half-backs Lintin made easy work of all but the Stonyhurst scrum-half and supplied some fine passes which Stapleton at fly-half put to good use, with his powerful kick ahead and excellent handling. Stapleton's place-kicking, too, won us many valuable points. In the centre Ryan and Bowie were a powerful force, Bowie with a burst of speed and impressive acceleration, and Ryan with an unpredictable and effective swerve. Having three good wings made a problem for selection; when Robinson was injured White replaced him and played more as a full team member than as a reserve. Fane-Hervey, disregarding his disadvantage in size and weight, made full use of his speed and skilful kick-ahead. This he used to win the Stonyhurst match for us, scoring in the last five minutes on the blind side wing from a move from the base of the scrum, at full-back Fitzherbert joined in many of the movements, creating the overlap which had been coached to perfection.

The best combined performances were against Newcastle and Sedbergh. The Sedbergh match was played in a high wind and just after half-term; they provided excellent opposition, and we had to produce every move we could conceive to score.

All who played were given their colours for their part in an undefeated season, but credit must be given also to those who did not play but who provided the competition for places in the team. Our previous coaches, too, Mr Anwyl, Fr Gervase and Br Felix must be thanked.

Those who played were: F. M. Fitzherbert, T. S. Robinson, T. M. White, C. M. Bowie, R. J. Ryan, R. P. Fane-Hervey, M. T. Stapleton, T. E. Lintin, C. J. Harris, C. N. Entwisle, P. B Duguid, T. C. McAuley, G. T. Sandeman, R. J. Richmond, J. R. Dawson, P. J. Golden, S. McCarthy.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	Away	29—3
v. Durham	Away	18—3
v. Newcastle	Away	11—6
v. Ashville	Home	14—5
v. Stonyhurst	Home	5—0
v. Sedbergh	Home	21—0
v. St Peter's	Away	14—5
v. Barnard Castle	Home	29—0

UNDER FIFTEEN COLTS

Played 9. Won 8. Drawn 1. Pts. For 212. Pts. Against 39.

IT has been an outstanding term: this is the first Under 15 team to remain unbeaten and a record number of points was scored. There was a refreshingly open approach to the game although sometimes the desire to throw the ball about should have been tempered with more caution than was in fact shown. The highlights of the term were

the defeat of Leeds G.S., thus reversing last year's result, and a very creditable draw at Coatham. After this one felt that the team, perhaps unconsciously, became a little bit complacent and although subsequent games were won in a convincing enough manner one looked in vain for the care and attention to the basic skills which had been the basis of the early success.

Once again the team was fortunate in its captain, P. Gaynor, who was an outstanding wing forward whose leadership both on and off the field was first class. His enthusiasm and ability to come back at the opposition when his own side was losing rescued many a tight situation and brought out the best in the other team members. The particular distinction of the pack was its ability to provide so much good loose ball with each individual able to ruck and slip to the best possible advantage. The back row of the scrum was completed by Potez and Doherty. Potez took the eye for his positional sense and his ability to give and take a pass which many threequarter would envy, whilst Doherty, until his injury, was tireless in the loose, ever ready to take advantage of opposition mistakes. It is to the credit of Ainscough, who replaced him, that we did not miss him too much for the second half of the season. Sandeman and Briscoe were sound in the second row without ever making the best use of their physical attributes. Willis was the most improved forward: outstanding for his forceful touch-line runs, his short line-out work and capacity to be up in support of the backs. The front row was completed by Lewis and Clayton; what he lacked in striking speed as hooker, Lewis more than compensated for by his loose play, whilst Clayton, perhaps like all good props, was unobtrusive and hard working.

When in the mood the backs played with great verve and skill; with such an adventurous side it was inevitable that many mistakes were made. The quality of the back play lay in the Cooper twins at fly-half and centre. After some experiment, M. Cooper moved to fly-half where he proceeded to demoralise most oppositions. His sure hands and eye for the gap meant that the rest of the backs did not lack opportunities to show their paces. Once he has mastered the important art of timing his pass there will be little to fault him for. Inevitably he combined to great effect with his brother, H. Cooper. The latter's speed off the mark and finishing qualities perfectly complemented his brother's elusiveness. They were both masters of the dummy and side-step and gave great pleasure not only to their coach but also to others who might claim to be less involved! The service on which the Coopers relied came from Moroney who changed at the start of the term from back row forward to scrum-half. In a short time he made an excellent effort in the position and his robust play around the scrum created many an opportunity for scoring. Ironically the success with which he made the change denied a chance to two excellent reserves—Durkin and Fitzherbert—but neither of them should give up as I feel their chance will come, especially if they put on some much needed height and weight. Craig partnered Cooper in the centre, where he ran and tackled hard; when he can distribute the ball more effectively he will be a well balanced player. On the wings Ryan and Nelson ran hard and Hornyold-Strickland, who moved up from full-back, showed plenty of elusiveness and with his good tackling he could develop into a good player in this position. Full-back was to some extent a problem, but Liddell finally settled there and improved with every game. It is only fair to acknowledge the part played by the rest of the Set in the team's success; it was on their loyalty and competition for places that the results were founded.

The team was: M. Liddell, R. Nelson, H. Cooper, J. Craig, R. Hornyold-Strickland, M. Cooper, N. Moroney, B. Willis, R. Lewis, S. Clayton, C. Sandeman, E. Briscoe, P. Gaynor, J. Potez, W. Doherty. Also played: C. Ainscough, P. Ryan, J. Durkin, M. Faulkner, J. Stilliard, D. Unwin, M. Lloyd, M. Fresson.

Colours were awarded to: Potez, M. Cooper, H. Cooper, Moroney, Willis, Lewis, Briscoe, Clayton and Doherty.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	Won	21—5
v. Giggleswick	Won	31—5
v. Scarborough College	Won	52—9
v. Leeds G.S.	Won	6—0
v. Coatham	Drew	11—11
v. St. Peter's	Won	17—5
v. Barnard Castle	Won	23—0
v. Archbishop Holgate's G.S.	Won	26—3
v. Ashville College	Won	19—0

UNDER FOURTEEN COLTS

Played 6. Won 5. Lost 1. Pts For 71. Pts. Against 33.

In contrast to last season's team which was definitely on the small side, this year's XV was big and strong, especially in the forwards. One began to think in terms of forward dominance in every match, a plentiful supply of "good ball" for the backs and thrilling threequarter movements—possibly, an unbeaten season. As it turned out, the latter feat was almost accomplished, but on other counts the season was rather disappointing.

Despite their weight, the forwards rarely produced a clean heel from the tight scrums, and, in fact, they were often shoved off the ball by a lighter pack. In the loose, too, only one or two had sufficient speed and stamina to get to the breakdown of a movement quickly; and one or two, even if they get possession, prove ineffective if the rest of the pack is not there to support them. And yet five of the six matches were won, if not by handsome margins, at least quite decisively. There were clearly three main reasons for this: the fine defence of the whole team, the excellent work of the forwards in the line-outs and mauls, and the ability of both forwards and backs to adapt themselves to the conditions and play to their strength.

In defence McCarthy (the Captain) at scrum-half gave the side a fine example of first-time tackling and falling on the ball, especially in the last three matches. Pickin, Finlow and A. H. Foll needed little encouragement to throw their full weight into the tackle, particularly the latter who was responsible for so many of the opposing three-quarter movements coming to an abrupt halt. In the pack C. J. Foll, Simpson and Atsoparthis used their strength to good advantage in the mauls, and Vincenti's improvement was so noticeable in the last match that it gained him his Colours. If the team did not often play the open type of rugby one likes to see, the reason eventually became fairly obvious: so many of the forwards were very big for their age and had not yet acquired the strength to carry their weight swiftly about the field. Had they been able to do so, it would have been a very good team indeed, and the backs must have scored many more tries. No doubt a year will make a big difference in this respect.

The following played for the team: P. Marsden, J. Wakely, A. Hamilton, S. R. Finlow, N. Woodhead, C. Holroyd, R. Norton, A. R. Mangeot, J. P. Pickin, K. D. McCarthy (Captain), C. J. Foll, M. Spencer, J. Hall, G. L. Vincenti, C. J. Simpson, M. Atsoparthis, E. Willis, B. P. Lister, H. Dowling, C. Durkin, H. Hamilton-Dalrymple, A. H. Foll.

Colours were awarded to: K. D. McCarthy, A. H. Foll, C. J. Foll, J. P. Pickin, A. R. Mangeot, C. J. Simpson, B. P. Lister, G. L. Vincenti, S. R. Finlow.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	Away	Won	21—11
v. Scarborough College	Home	Won	9—5
v. Leeds Grammar School	Home	Won	9—0
v. Coatham	Away	Lost	10—14
v. Ashville College	Home	Won	11—3
v. Archbishop Holgate's	Home	Won	11—0

THE HOUSE MATCHES

Two weeks of frost and snow delayed the House matches until the final week of term. This meant that a few boys were likely to play four matches in six days. To offset this all the matches were shortened to 25 minutes each way. But a greater problem was that at this time a number of boys were absent at interviews, and the favourites, St Aidan's, having beaten St Bede's comprehensively in the first round, found themselves lacking McGing, Ogilvie and MacHale when facing St Thomas's in the second. St Thomas's played extremely well with the brothers Gaynor and the brothers Bowie outstanding. St Cuthbert's won the other first round match and then had a hard fight with St Hugh's in the second, only scraping home 3—0. The other semi-finalists were St Edward's who defeated St John's with ease, and St Dunstan's who were given a walkover in the second as their opponents did not have enough seniors to raise a team.

St Edward's had not the backs in the semi-final to cope with the penetrative three-quarters of St Thomas's and since St Thomas's obtained more than their fair share of the ball in the line-out, victory was inevitable from the first whistle. St Cuthbert's, too, welcoming back Fraser, had an easier victory over St Dunstan's than their first round triumph over St Hugh's.

The day of the final between St Thomas's and St Cuthbert's gave both teams the worst conditions of the tournament. St Cuthbert's were the better equipped with a powerful pack in which Rochford, McKibbin and Fraser did herculean deeds, and a fine scrum-half, Twohig, who covered himself courageously with both mud and glory. St Thomas's were dealt a grievous blow in the morning when C. Bowie was found to have a cracked bone in his hand and could not play. And in the event the weather was more unkind to St Thomas's who relied too much on Reichwald: he was the only back who threatened on either side though Moore, despite dreadful "collar-tackling", kicked well, as did Stapleton outside him. In the end St Cuthbert's ran out winners by 3 penalty goals and a dropped goal to nothing, but they knew they had been in a match! All credit is due to both captains and to both Houses for producing a fine game in exacting conditions.

The Junior House matches were only played through to the semi-final stage and this competition will be completed next term. The semi-finalists are: St Bede's, St John's, St Oswald's and St Wilfrid's.

SQUASH

This term we have been able to play squash on proper covered courts at Welburn Hall and Brandsby Hall by the kind permission of Major J. H. R. Shaw and Mr H. G. Pearson-Adams.

There is great enthusiasm for the game at Ampleforth but problems of distance and transport have meant that only a few boys have been able to play enough to improve their game. A team was formed, captained by Horsley, which consisted also of Davies, Daly, Knowles and Balme. Four matches were played and of these three were won, which is a very encouraging start. The St Peter's match however proved that there is no substitute for playing the game regularly from an early age.

It must be emphasised that squash at Ampleforth is in its infancy and any boy who has played at home or elsewhere should come forward and he will be considered for a place in the team.

Results

v. St Peter's 2nd V	Lost	0—5
v. Pocklington School	Won	5—0
v. Brandsby Squash Club	Won	4—1
v. Malton R.F.C.	Won	4—1

Unfortunately for the School a match arranged against the Lay Masters could not be played because of examinations.

GOLF

The weather conditions this term have not been favourable for good golf. We did, however, manage to play one match, against the O.A.G.S., which, unfortunately, we lost. But I am sure that I speak for the whole team when I say that we all enjoyed ourselves immensely.

For the first time this term it has been possible to have a golf group playing on games afternoons. This received a good deal of support from the golfers in the School, and has been operating successfully.

Our thanks are due to Fr Leo and Fr Gregory and their group for their admirable maintenance of the golf course.

C. R. Lochrane.

THE BEAGLES

This was T. M. Fitzalan-Howard's second season as Master with J. P. Rochford, J. H. Leeming and R. G. Plowden whipping in. All looked set for an early start after the dry summer and early harvest, though in fact the first day out was not until 27th September. This was partly because so much of our country is on the moors and shooting here this year went on later than usual. It is unlikely that this situation will ease in the future and we would do well to increase the number of our low country meets. The valley here is unsafe for beagling owing to increasing use of barbed wire and small mesh netting.

The season has not been a good one so far. A succession of hot days and bone dry ground meant no scent and the pack was unable to settle down to work as they should, and having constantly to be pushed on, they became too ready to overrun the line. Later on several promising hunts suffered in this way. Conditions improved towards the end of October, the meets at Beadlam Rigg and Grouse Hall providing fair hunts.

During the half-term we were met by the Master at Carlton Towers and most hospitably entertained, though dry conditions and rock hard plough meant that again hounds could not go. After the break we were again very kindly entertained at a lawn meet at Oswaldkirk Hall, spending the day as usual on Leysthorpe.

After a fair day at Rudland Chapel on the 13th, sleet and snow spoilt the rest of November and early December, though hounds went fairly well in the snow on the 29th at the Kennels, and after a day at Yatts Farm redeemed by the usual hospitality there and a short day in the fog at the South Lodge the term ended. Hunting continued in the holidays, conditions soon becoming ideal—but too late for our members.

THE VENTURE SCOUTS

The life of the unit, whose numbers fluctuate between one and two dozen, clearly depends upon the committee. If this is vigorous and representative, things work, if not they don't. These have served during the year : Chris Harrison, Robert Mathews, Tony Coghlan, Mark Leslie, Roger Guthrie, Anthony Phillips, Christopher Andreae, David Cumming, Richard Francis and Roger Willbourn. Fr Thomas has been available as chauffeur and chaplain.

Activities have been widely varied and must surely have catered for all interests. We have canoed down the Rye with the Easingwold Rangers, on the Ouse at York and the sea near Whitby. And the production of canoes in fibreglass was continued. The two Wineglass dinghies now trail round the countryside with ease (comparative) and have made possible a variety of trips; on one of these we sailed from Runswick Bay to Port Murgrave, a remote and tiny deserted harbour on the north coast, where we camped, and then back to Sandsend, surfing the boats in on breakers. Another

weekend took us, planing, and a little alarmed, from Teesmouth, via Redcar, to Saltburn. And for the hardy, a taste of frostbite racing in Whitby harbour in November.

The Lyke Wake Walk, completed in 13 hours, was more successful than the Three Peaks (Pennines) which was rained off half-way up Whernside. Again in May we organised the sponsored walk from Mount Grace to Rievaulx, raising £1,400 for Shelter and Christian Aid; thanks to Chris Harrison for organising this.

The underground pot world has developed with a number of old favourites visited, such as Dow, Antofts and Sunset, but Goyden Cave has become far better known and appreciated for its variety, Dowbergill Passage was . . . well, no one can say we didn't *try* the first part from Dow and the end part from Providence Pot (the through trip is a mile and a quarter of hard work). Sell Gill Hole was bottomed, and Kingsdale Master Cave graced with our presence, both during the Pennine weekend this term; which was among the best of events. Much of this activity has been made possible by more caving equipment, including an electron ladder given by Fr Thomas' mother. Wet suits also make themselves more and more evident.

The unit has also provided a camp at the lake for boys from Stockton Hall Approved School, near York; members have helped Br Jeremy with the Helmsley scouts, and also helped run a camp for boys of Welburn Hall Special School. We are also establishing firmly that members eligible to join the Rovers, must do so.

What else? Rock climbing with Venture Scouts from Middlesbrough, at Hasty Bank; a conference for Venture Scout leaders at Redcar Farm; a strange, mad hike last February in the snow (as a substitute for a cancelled Lake District weekend), spending the night in a barn at Hawnby; a number of Venture Award cum D. of E. Silver Award hikes have been completed, including one by dinghy in the Solent last Easter.

Thanks go to Br Jeremy and Fr Benedict for the patience in dragging us, falteringly, through First Aid, and indeed to all our friends who have helped so generously.

THE SEA SCOUTS

A WEEKEND fell-walking and canoeing in the Pennines, the annual inspection by Lt-Cdr Ginn, R.N., the repainting of the Troop Room and admission of 40 new members after the half-term break: these events together with the weekly routine of sailing and reconstruction were the main events of the term. At the Inspection, which took place when the Troop was small, the Inspecting Officer gave much encouragement and some constructive criticism which seems to have been accepted and adopted by the Troop.

The generator is now supplying 600 watts of light to the buildings round the Lake thanks to the work put in by P. Westmacott and his helpers during the term. Likewise a great deal of effort went into the construction of fibreglass canoes and it was an unexpected technical difficulty which prevented the mass production that C. J. V. Ryan predicted and organised. All the Patrol Leaders have put in a great deal of time organising some aspect of the Troop's activities and they will be missed next term when they move on to the Venture Scouts. We were sorry that Father Bede had to give up running the Troop through ill health and we also lost Father Gregory to Pottery. We should like to thank them for the work and enthusiasm that they put into the Troop; it is some comfort that Father Gregory maintains some contact through the walks over the Moors which he organises. Brothers Jonathan and Jeremy have now assumed Troop leadership.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

THIS is a time of change and the most recent manifestation of this is the reduction of a boy's time in the C.C.F. to three years. Boys after their third year may either choose to remain in the Corps or to do one of a number of other activities which occur on a Monday afternoon. Unwilling older boys are thus removed, which certainly makes the job of the officers easier; whether it is of benefit to the School is less certain. One thing which is certain is that the arrival of Br Andrew as an officer is a great benefit to the C.C.F. He is at present helping Br Timothy in the Basic Section.

Altogether there were 453 boys in the C.C.F. last term, of whom 56 were volunteers from the fourth and fifth years. These were for the most part instructors and senior ranks in all sections. The Joint Service Section which was begun last year to cater for the older boys was no longer necessary as a separate unit, but a number of items in its training programme have continued.

Lieutenant David Nicholson and his No. 11 (Green Howards) Army Youth Team once again conducted a Rock Climbing Course with great success. With Lt Nicholson and Cpl Jones now leaving the Team this particular course cannot be continued, but Lieutenant Roddy Bailey, who has taken over, is preparing a Jungle Warfare Course to replace it. The Signals Course has continued to flourish under the very capable command of C.Q.M.S. C. M. B. Ratcliffe and Sgt R. G. Graham. These two ran a course of instruction for beginners (there was some professional assistance given later in the term) and it is pleasant to record that they not only passed the Signals Classification test (as did three of those they had taught), but also obtained the Assistant Instructors Certificate. Our thanks are due to Lt Mike Backhurst who conducted the tests and who helped by sending signals instructors to assist whenever possible

U/O R. E. Baker and Sgt A. B. M. Phillips continued to run a small R.E.M.E. course and had the happy knack of being able to make anything on four wheels run smoothly even when the engine appeared to have dropped out. Progress on the Hovercraft under C.S.M. J. C. Dawson and P.O. H. C. Hornyold-Strickland continues to be satisfactory and the hull is now virtually complete.

A year ago an indoor ski slope was built at Catterick Camp. This contingent contributed to the cost of the slope and became a founder member of the Catterick Ski Club and able to use it free of charge. Advantage has been taken of this and a party of 18 boys, led by Br Gilbert Whitfield and instructed by him, have gone over to Catterick each Monday. By starting early and taking lunch packets it is possible to get an hour's skiing.

There was an unusually large number of candidates for the Army Proficiency Certificate Examination—mainly because so many had been judged unready to take it last year and had to wait until this term. These older cadets were taught by a group of instructors under the command of Fr Martin and U/O N. H. S. Armour. The younger cadets who joined the Army Section this term came under the command of Fr Edward and U/O T. M. Fitzalan-Howard. The results were good: 44 passed out of 79 and of those who were unsuccessful 18 failed in only one subject.

The following passed the Signals Classification on 24th November 1969:

C.Q.M.S. Ratcliffe C. M. B., Sgt Graham R. G., L/Cpls Duckworth H. M., Fitzalan-Howard R. A., Keohane P.P.

The following passed the Army Proficiency Certificate Examination on 8th December 1969:

Cdts Ainscough C. H., Allen A. V. M., Baxter N. St C. L., Berry A. S. I., Caulfield B. J., Clarence-Smith E. P. P., Coghlan B. W., Cooper M. R., Dawson D. R., Deedes O. H., Doherty N. M. Evans P. J., Eyston C. M. P., Fermor-Hesketh Hon J., Hamilton-Dalrymple H. R., Hunter-Gordon R. A., Hutchinson J. G., Kelly R. J., Kentish E. W., Lintin T. E., McDonnell J. G.,

Macfarlane T. R., McCreanor I. D., Morris T. D. S., O'Mahony S. J., Petit M. J. M., Ponsonby J. M., Price J. D., Purvis A. J., Rigby J. C. H., Riley M. J., Ritchie M T., Robinson T. S., Rothwell M. R. G. P., Sandeman G. T., Scrope P. G., Sherley-Dale M. B., Smith Hon W. H., Skehan F. B. C., Thomasson K. J. R., Ward J. F. B., Weaver P. G. K.,

THE BASIC SECTION

THE Basic Section, now officially part of the C.C.F., is under the joint command of Br Andrew and Br Timothy. This term the activities were successful due both to the inspiration of the instructors, especially U/O Gaynor J., and the hard work of the boys. The training itself was varied and included fieldcraft, map reading, initiative exercises, raft construction and the assault course. In the early part of each Monday afternoon, some boys washed the cars of the matrons. This broke the monotony of drill, and provided a useful service.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

WITH the phasing out of fixed wing flying in the Royal Navy, our parent establishment has moved from Linton-on-Ouse to Church Fenton. The greater distance from Ampleforth has meant an added burden to Lieutenant Colin Crowther, Royal Navy and P.O. Clayton and we are most grateful for all the help they give to us, without it would be difficult to operate efficiently. At the end of term Lieutenant Crowther organised a very good practical examination for the candidates for the Advanced Naval Proficiency at Church Fenton. Leading Seamen Codrington, Lewen and Shuldham were successful in this difficult examination and we congratulate them on this achievement.

Another venture this term was a weekend at sea with the Tyne Division R.N.R. in H.M.S. Northumbria. Although the adverse weather conditions restricted the training it was none the less most valuable for the senior cadets concerned and with the good cruising weather of the Summer Term should offer both valuable and interesting training. We are grateful to Lieutenant Commander R. Allison, R.N.R., an Old Boy, who has made this training possible.

In addition to M. Rowland, whose award was noted in the last issue, J. C. Rapp, N. P. V. Lewen and S. G. Callaghan have been awarded Naval Scholarships. The standard of achievement for these scholarships is rightly very high indeed and we congratulate the cadets concerned. The four naval scholars spent a day at Newcastle visiting H.M.S. *Glamorgan*, a modern Guided Missile Destroyer, and were entertained by Captain S. L. McArdle,M.V.O., G.M., Royal Navy.

During the term we have enjoyed visits from Captain W. G. Graham, Royal Navy, the School's Liaison Officer, who interviewed 15 potential Royal Navy or Royal Marine Officers; Commander J. Groom, Royal Navy, who is the Naval Member for the C.C.F., and Commander R. A. Duxbury, Royal Navy., the Senior Naval Officer at Church Fenton.

The Section will again provide the majority of cadets for the combined camp in Malta during the Easter holidays. A report on this camp will appear in the next issue.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

THE Section was led this term by U/O Donovan, assisted by W.O.s Dixon and Leeming and Flt/Sgt Dees. Gliding was possible for the first few weeks of the term, so the new intake became acquainted with our Primary Glider. For most of the term it was proficiency training for the first two years in the Section, and Flt/Sgt Dees plus his instructors worked solidly to instruct in the technical subjects.

This term, for the first time, gliding at Sutton Bank really got off the ground. Six boys went up on Wednesday afternoons and got quite a number of launches in. With

Sgt Purves as a qualified winch driver, it is hoped to use more Wednesdays profitably next term. As to powered flight, the weather reduced our days from six to two, and a profitable link-up with the Navy at R.A.F. Church Fenton had to be cancelled.

LT Pearce, R.A.F., came to visit the Section during the term and he seemed satisfied with us.

P. DONOVAN, *Under Officer*.

PROMOTIONS

ARMY SECTION

w.e.f. 11th July 1969.

To be Sergeants: Cpls Baxter P. St J. L., Fenwick S. E. S., Knowles J. P., Plowden R. B.

w.e.f. 20th Sept. 1969.

To be Under Officer: Sgt Fitzalan-Howard T. M.

To be C.S.M.: Sgts Dawson J. C., Fenwick S. E. S., Jefferson S. G. H., Russell P. J.

To be C.Q.M.S.: Sgts Baxter P. St J. L., Ratcliffe C. M. B., Sparrow, E. C. A., Watts R. M.

To be Sergeants: Cpls Blake M. J., Graham R. G., Howell P. G., Lees-Millais D. J. G., Maclaren S. A. P., McKibbin D. A., Phillips A. B. M., Quigley P. B., Tyrrell J. H.

w.e.f. 13th December 1969.

To be Sergeant: Cpls Armour M. H., Westmacott P. G.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

w.e.f. 20th September 1969.

To be Under Officer: P.O. Rapp J. C., L/S Gaynor J. C., L/S Baker R. E.

To be Leading Seaman: A/Bs Bowie I. D., Campbell C. A., Codrington R. J., Faulkner H. E. B., Hatfield W. E., Kirby H. G. S., Lewen N. P. V., Lochrane C. R., Moore W. A., Myles T. A. M., Rowland M., Twohig R. J., Shuldham M. A. Q.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

w.e.f.

To be Under Officer: W.O. Donovan P. C. S.

To be W.O.: Sgts Dixon C. S., Leeming J. H.

To be F/Sergeant: Sgt Dees D. V.

To be Sergeant: Cpls Compton N. A., Lorrigan M. C. A., Purves P. M.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

P. D. Macfarlane was appointed Head Monitor. The other Monitors were : N. T. Peers, J. J. Nicholson, E. W. Fitzalan-Howard, W. T. H. Wadsworth, M. A. Heape, R. J. G. Raynar, J. P. Pearce, F. J. C. Trench, M. Ainscough, J. D. Ryan, G. M. J. C. Scott.

C. A. Graves was the Captain and M. Ainscough the Vice-Captain of Rugby.

THE most significant innovation this term has been the arrival of Mr Ronald Rohan as the first layman since the war to be a full time member of the Junior House staff. Having already had a number of years experience of teaching this age group, he immediately made a most valuable contribution to the House, teaching Latin, History and English as well as taking games. We hope that his stay in the Junior House will be long and enjoyable.

IN accordance with the new liturgical trends the altar in the chapel has been moved forward so that Mass may be said facing the congregation. We have followed the Upper School in having Mass at 7 o'clock in the evening after work; twice a week (apart from Sundays) the whole House attends, on the other days Mass is free. We are also using the "Missa Normativa" which comes into use elsewhere at the beginning of Lent.

ANOTHER important change is that preps. are now done all together in the cinema room under the supervision of a master. This has certainly improved the quality of the work. Trestle tables in the cinema room are only a temporary expedient. There is a long-term plan to provide a suitably furnished library/prep. room in what is now No. 4 dormitory. A change like that depends on being able to sleep more boys in other dormitories and experiments are being made with two very smart double bunks to see how space can be used more economically without becoming in any way cramped. Results so far are encouraging.

THE Retreat was given by the four members of the Junior House staff, assisted by Br Matthew Burns. Each of the five retreat givers chose one topic and the House was divided into five groups which went to each retreat in turn. There was some energetic exercise in the afternoon to let off steam and in the evening the film "12 Angry Men" as well as Mass and Confessions. The religious point of the film had been previously explained at some length by Fr Cyril, so it was instructive as well as entertaining.

MRS Mallory has continued as Matron and is quite "unflappable" no matter what sort of crisis she faces. Mrs Kelly joined us as Nurse. Fortunately it was a term of good health so she had no epidemics to deal with, but the usual crop of minor injuries.

THE film show on the Saturday half holiday continues to be a popular item each week. The films which were most enjoyed this term were : "Von Ryan's Express", "633 Squadron", "Magnificent Men in their Flying Machines" and "Khartoum". We thank Fr Geoffrey for projecting for us and Fr Cyril who occasionally substituted for him.

DEBATES have flourished under the Chairmanship of Alan Rodger from the Upper School. It seems that the Junior House firmly believes in the existence of the Loch Ness monster, applauds the landings on the moon, would do away with blood sports, would ban the bomb and have nothing to do with racialism. The general standard of debating has risen. A number of boys, even speakers from the floor, are quite capable of speaking without reference to notes, the best being Richard Bishop who seemingly can defend any case. Houses of over 70 partisans are usual.

RUGBY

THE House ran four teams during the term, so well over half the total number of boys played in a match of some sort. The 1st XV had a mixed season. It started well enough with a couple of convincing wins over Howsham Hall and St Martin's. The backs got plenty of the ball and ran in 14 tries while the forwards added two more. Then the team was severely jolted by Leeds G.S. who beat us 25—0 on our home ground. We recovered two days later with a 12-0 win over a depleted St Olave's side and an easier 32—0 win in the return game with St Martin's. There followed a strenuous 0—0 match with Red House on the first of the season's wet pitches. At this stage of the term the team's morale was quite high with four matches won and 102 points gained, only one lost and 28 points conceded. Alas, the journey to St Mary's Hall brought us a heavy 26—0 defeat on an extremely wet pitch; the conditions were not the sole explanation for we played badly and we never really recovered our fair weather form during the rest of the term. But our rucking and defensive play improved a lot even though Barnard Castle beat us 17—0 and Red House won their return game 14—0. So in terms of results the 1st XV ended the season all square. Nine matches were played, four were won, four were lost, one was drawn; 102 points were gained and 85 surrendered. The team, then, did moderately well. It was a light team and a young one and it usually included at least four members of the first year. Simon Lintin was the only winner of colours but there are some matches in the Spring Term which ought to produce some more.

The First Year XV does not, of course, get anything like as much coaching as the 1st XV. It lost both its matches, against St Olave's and St Mary's Hall, but it was good to see some excellent young players in action for next year. We fielded a mongrel XV for a game with Howsham Hall and also a Set 2 team for one with Pocklington. This latter team was a successful experiment for it was a side composed of boys who would not have expected to play in a match, and it is something which surely must be repeated.

The following played for the 1st XV : C. A. Graves, M. Ainscough, W. T. H. Wadsworth, P. D. Macfarlane, S. J. Bickerstaffe, N. T. Peers, C. H. W. Soden-Bird, J. A. Dundas, R. M. Bishop, M. J. P. Moir, A. P. Sandeman, B. R. J. P. Corkery, C. E. Lees-Millais, D. G. M. Griffiths, S. N. Lintin, C. B. Moore, R. T. J. Kevill, R. J. Bishop, M. D. Leonard, M. W. A. Tate, J. D. Ryan.

The following played for the First Year team : M. R. F. Griffiths, J. H. D. Misick, S. B. Harrison, M. S. Thompson, R. T. St A. Harney, F. Brooks, D. A. J. McKechnie, M. J. P. Moir, C. A. Vaughan, R. G. Burdell, D. G. M. Griffiths, N. C. T. Millen, I. D. Macfarlane, P. J. Lees-Millais, S. P. O'Carroll-Fitzpatrick, R. W. Newton, M. W. A. Tate, B. L. Bunting, M. E. N. Shipsey, S. B. Glaister.

The following made up the Set 2 side : N. J. McDonnell, A. M. P. S. Ciechanowski J. E. L. New, N. S. Forster, M. J. Lawrence, K. E. O'Connor, J. V. R. Gosling, S. C. J. Murray, G. C. Rooney, J. N. Gilbey, A. R. I. Millen, C. A. Copping, E. W. Fitzalan Howard, I. F. Fawcett, P. H. Daly.

SCOUTS

THE combination of the exceptionally good autumn weather and the enthusiasm of the scouts made the first half of the Christmas Term a most vigorous and successful one for the second year members of the troop. All were able to get in some weekend camping.

Peter Macfarlane was appointed Senior Patrol Leader, with Andrew Hampson as his deputy. The other six Patrol Leaders are Michael Lawrence, Jeremy Nicholson, Rupert Raynar, Nicholas Peers, Mark Ainscough and Michael Franklin. All these and their Assistant Patrol Leaders enjoyed additional training camps and did the weekend hike-camp required for their Advanced Scout Standard Award. This award has already been made to three of them, Peter Macfarlane, Andrew Hampson and Michael Lawrence—a remarkable achievement so early in their second year in the troop.

The troop was well represented at the opening in October of the new Watson Scout Centre, a fine hostel and activity centre at Carlton-in-Cleveland. The ceremony was performed by the Chief Scout, Sir Charles Maclean. Several of the scouts were able to meet the Chief personally and the Senior Patrol Leaders of our troop and the Sea scouts welcomed him into the room at the centre which was partly furnished by our contributions. Fr Alban led the prayer at the ceremony. Our troop was quick to make use of the Watson Centre, spending the night there before hiking across the moors to Hawnby on All Monks' Day. This very successful expedition was the first major event in which the first-year aspirants to the troop

were invited to take part and they formed a good proportion of the group.

Thirty-one first year boys made the Scout Promise at the end of November, bringing the total membership of the troop well into the sixties. They had become well integrated into the activities of the troop during the second half of the term when a rota of Patrol activities took place, including scouting at the middle lake, hikes in the surrounding countryside and the construction of ingenious draw-bridges and suspension bridges over the Holbeck.

For the success of all these activities, a word of thanks must be said to all who have helped to lead them. We thank Br Nicholas who has left us for his studies at Oxford and we welcome Br Paul, who has taken his place as Assistant Scout Leader. We welcome Nigel Lewen, Andrew Bussy, Francis Cape, Richard Fitzalan Howard and Andrew Hanson, who have joined our team of Instructors from the Upper School. We thank them and the old hands who have continued to help, for their indispensable services.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: B. Hooke.

Captain of Rugby: S. P. S. Reid.

Captains: M. J. Craston, R. S. Duckworth, S. N. Ainscough, M. J. Morgan, D. S. C. Dobson, J. M. Murray.

Secretaries: N. J. Gaynor, J. M. Murray, E. C. Glaister, C. M. Dunbar.

Sacristans: J. Dick, D. J. Barton, N. J. P. Young, J. N. Norman, S. P. Treberne.

Ante-Room: D. J. K. Moir, J. B. Horsley.

Bookmen: P. R. Moore, C. W. J. Hattrell, N. G. Sutherland, P. A. J. Ritchie, T. J. F. Fincher.

Art Room: E. A. Dowling, R. D. Grant, M. C. F. Bailey, M. G. R. May.

Librarians: S. J. Connolly, P. D. M. Tate.

Woodwork: M. F. W. Baxter, S. Macpherson.

Office Men: M. N. Cardwell, C. A. Palairet.

Dispensary: B. P. Doherty, P. D. Sandeman.

THE following boys joined the School in September 1969:

J. P. A. Anwyl, S. C. Bright, M. J. Caulfield, C. F. H. Clayton, F. J. Connolly, E. R. Corbally Stourton, J. C. Doherty, J. M. W. Dowse, C. M. Dunbar, D. H. Dundas, T. R. B. Fattorini, G. L. Forbes, A. M. Forsythe, R. M. Glaister, J. P. A. Hall, M. E. M. Hattrell, T. A. Herdon, E. T. Hornyold-Strickland, H. N. B. Hunter, D. R. L. McKechnie, T. Macpherson, P. C. B. Millar, D. H. N. Ogden, C. E. Pagendam, C. E. B. Pickthall, A. C. A. Quirke, R. A. Robinson, W. P. Rohan, G. C. J. Salvin, J. J. D. Soden-Bird, J. I. C. Stewart, P. S. Stokes, C. J. Twomey, M. J. Velarde and G. E. Weld-Blundell.

THE new school year got away to a good start, helped not a little by quite superb autumnal weather which persisted into November. In early October a rugger match was played in a temperature higher than any recorded during the Summer Term.

AN anonymous donor has presented us with another Ping Pong Table. It has already received a great deal of use and we are very grateful.

HALF-WAY through the term we had to say goodbye to Fr Boniface who has gone to work on our parish in Leyland. We wish him well in this work which we know to be very much after his own heart and would like to thank him for all he has done at Gilling. He is much missed both in the School and in the village parish and we can assure him that he will be long remembered especially for his constant kindliness and cheerful sense of humour. We welcome Mr Anthony Milroy who joined the teaching staff.

THE long term, busy and happy, passed very rapidly. Though it ended nearly three weeks before Christmas we were treated to all the usual Christmas festivities. For these occasions and indeed for many other similar ones during the term we are very very grateful to Matron, Nurse Willis, Mrs Blackden, the cooks and all the other members of the domestic staff. They go to enormous trouble for the sake of our enjoyment and so much of their work goes on behind the scenes and sometimes at dead of night. At the Christmas feast there was an enjoyable entertainment with some delightful carols provided by Mr Lorigan's "Special Singers". On the last night of term a "Family" gathering in the Great Chamber was entertained by a group of Third Form boys who sang carols and accompanied them on the guitar—a new and pleasing venture.

SADLY we have said goodbye to the Matron, Miss Anne Willis, and to the Nurse, her sister, Miss Elizabeth Willis. In what, for us, has seemed all too short a stay at Gilling they have endeared themselves to every one of us. One will not forget the expertise, kindness and devotion they brought to all their tasks and the great and active interest they showed in so many school activities—skiing, dancing, tennis and even rugger! We thank them, wish them happiness in the new work, and sincerely hope they will keep in touch with us at Gilling.

WE extend a very warm welcome to the new Matron, Miss Pauline Flannery.

ART

Third Form

A new year for the art room but hardly a new year at Gilling—most of the new boys in the Third Form having made their acquaintance with the activity last year. There is always some hesitancy in the first term and the pictures chosen for the summer exhibition at the end of the Summer Term are not those executed in the Winter Term. The subjects ranged from the inevitable Apollo moon landing, about which most pupils are much better informed than adults, to sailing boats, rugger matches, the refectory, portraits, a race meeting, mosaic and stained glass and, on one occasion, a magnificent collection of blooms from the gardens. The work was brisk, keen and some of it outstandingly effective. Cardwell achieved some good pictures, also Reid and Craston. S. J. Connolly, one felt, could have done more but did not. Young and Murray both showed steady promise. By the summer's end other names will appear and other striking pictures emerge. That is at least the present likely indication. In addition, Father William has authorised an improved policy of embellishment for pictures. This will do much for some familiar but faded scenes.

The Second Form

Most of the art lessons this term were aimed at teaching the boys how to draw with pencil. Many of the subjects were modelled by the Divine Architect, such things as flowers, animals and people.

Near the end of the term about 30 boys in the Second Form were represented in the ante-room where there was an exhibition of art which illustrated some of the events that took pace at the time of the Birth of our Lord. A. J. Nicoll's "King riding on a Camel" was much admired by the other boys. C. Howard's "Angel Riding on a Cloud" was an interesting composition. M. C. M. Pickthall, M. F. Russell, T. D. Beck and S. R. F. Hardy painted shepherds with sheep which were good. Some of the best kings were done by L. R. Dowling, J. F. Nowill, B. J. M. Edwards, T. M. May and C. P. Watters. The crib scene itself was the work of the two May brothers who are gifted artists.

Several boys in the School, not necessarily members of the Second Form, spent the last days of the term making Christmas cards. Some of these cards were sent to members of the staff by being posted in a Christmas letter box in the Hall designed by Matron and made by P. D. Sandeman.

The First Form

Boys in the First Form learnt how to draw and paint standing up with their picture in a near vertical position. One of the most successful lessons during the term was when they painted some flowers which had been freshly picked from the garden. Everyone worked with great joy and enthusiasm in the art room, and many of the boys produced good pictures. D. H. N. Ogden and D. Rodzianko may develop into gifted artists.

The boys in the First Form have painted with their usual enthusiasm. Space modules and moon pictures have fired their imagination. Sea-escapes depicting air and sea battles abounded, especially among the new boys.

Prep. Form Handcraft

The Prep. Form worked well making cardboard boxes and cubes at the beginning of term. Great was their joy when we switched to clay modelling. Thumb pots were soon filling up the art room cupboard —from there we moved to coiled patterns and we finished the term by free expression.

Form 1B have been delving into the mystery of electricity and produced a working model of a lighthouse ably wired up by Rattrie, Elwes and Dowse.

RUGBY

This has been our most successful season for some years. The team played five matches, won all of them, never had its line crossed, and scored 87 points, the only adverse score being one penalty goal.

Like all good teams it was built on a good pack of forwards. Reid, Duckworth, E. Dowling and Craston were outstanding, and in addition the goal-kicking of Craston or Reid was worth a few points in most matches. They were well supported in various matches by D. Moir, Young, Murray, E. A. Beck and S. J. Connolly. The two wing-forwards, Ritchie and Judd, were very quick about the field, creating havoc in the opposition, and always quick to snap up possession of the loose ball.

Moore played well at scrum-half and N. G. Sutherland and N. J. Gaynor had made good use of the dry days in September to develop a good understanding for scissor movements of various types, all of which paid dividends in matches. Gaynor and D. Ellingworth were a good pair of centres, and Peters and Corkery played well on the wings. Particular mention must be made of Hubbard, the full-back, who showed the right blend of attack and defence, and to whom much of the credit should go for the fact that our line was never crossed.

The first match, against Glenhow, was won by 32 points and gave the team a good start. Wins against St Olave's by 18 points to 3, and against St Martin's by 23 points to nil followed, and then came the match against Malsis, who had always beaten us in recent years. It proved to be a superb match between two very good sides. Ellingworth and Sutherland both managed to score tries, and Reid converted one and also kicked a penalty goal.

The remainder of the term was badly hit by epidemics. Four matches were cancelled, and in the only other match to be played, against St Olave's, we had to take the field without Reid, Craston or Dowling, the three most powerful forwards, and with Peters playing at fly-half instead of Sutherland. In the first half Moir drove through for a try in the corner, and for the rest of the game the whole team covered and tackled tenaciously, and just managed to hold out.

Colours were awarded to Reid, the captain, Duckworth, the vice-captain, E. Dowling, Ritchie, Judd, Craston, N. Sutherland, N. J. Gaynor, Moore and D. Moir. The following also played for the First XV: E. A. Beck, Corkery, D. Ellingworth, Hubbard, Peters, Young, Murray, S. J. Connolly and Quirke. Mention should also be made of the many other players in the First Set who contributed so much to the success of the season, and in lower sets it was encouraging to see how many promising players were doing so well and showing so much improvement.

CROSS COUNTRY

There were three races this term, the last two being over a longer course than usual, round by way of the Dutch Barn. To judge by the results N. J. Gaynor was the best runner, closely followed by P. R. Moore, and then by R. D. Grant and M. P. Peters. Others in the Third Form who were prominent were Ritchie, Cardwell, B. Doherty, E. A. Beck, N. Sutherland, Judd and Murray. The best four in the Second Form were T. M. May, D. Ellingworth, C. F. H. Clayton and A. E. Duncan; and in the First Form they were P. M. Graves, D. Rodzianko, D. R. L. McKechnie and C. E. B. Pickthall.

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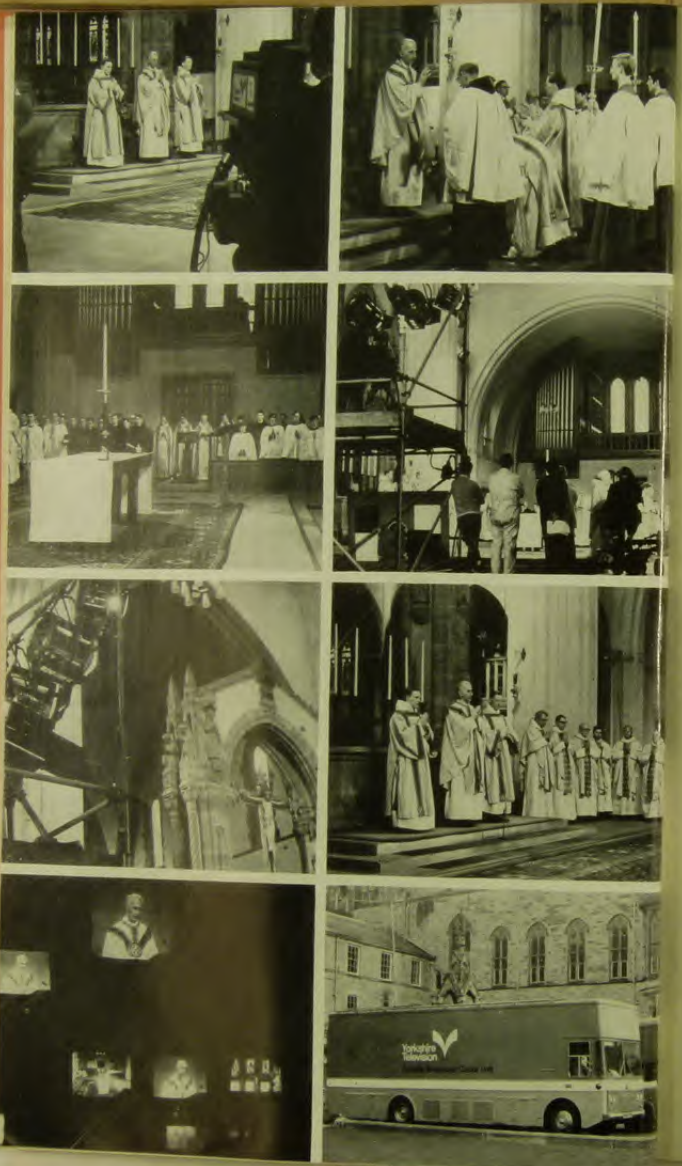

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EDITORIAL: THE 1970s, A DECADE OF FOREBODING

If the decade of the 1960s has has plenteously filled our wheat granaries and laden our lofts with fruit in abundance, then that wheat is not unmixed with tares nor is the fruit without bitterness; and, brilliant as the last decade may have been, it has left a legacy which will test as much as brace us. For no blessing here is ever unalloyed, nor any generation free of the burden of continuous response and continual adaptation.

We may pick out at this moment some nine signs of future difficulty, nine causes for foreboding which should brush away whatever complacency we inherit from the 1960s. If that decade was marked with the first joy of new freedom, then the coming decade may well be moulded by the turmoil of living out our new freedom—for liberty is always costing, both to protect and to experience.

First, the increasing DISSATISFACTION WITH THE EVOLUTIONARY MODEL IN THEOLOGICAL THINKING. It has been customary, especially since the 1830s with the advent of Newman, to believe that doctrines remain implicit in the life of the Church until they are contravened, when they are thereafter brought into an explicit statement, provoked by the occasion and formulated for the first time, though having existence from all time (and more specifically from the moment of positive revelation, for example in the Gospel message of Jesus Christ). This evolutionary view of doctrine, in its strictest form, allows of very little development in the sense of accretion or added experience: as Newman wrote, "they who look to Antiquity as supplying the rule of faith do not believe in the possibility of any substantial increase of religious knowledge". If this is so, then the main expression of theological evolution will be in the reconstruction of accepted doctrines to elicit deeper understanding of them. Newman stated the point most clearly in 1850 when he discussed the history of the doctrinal definitions of the Church ("Difficulties of Anglicans", p. 394-6), stating that such definitions "preclude mistake or ignorance . . . that process of doctrinal development, as you might suppose, is not of an accidental or random character; it is conducted upon *laws*, as everything else which comes from God". This is the dogmatic principle, and that principle is now under heavy fire from a civilisation which has experienced other principles that seem equally useful and equally transposable to theological disciplines. The widespread interest in historiographical method has undermined faith in laws which "preclude mistake or ignorance". The techniques of technology

have demonstrated the disposability of models and the passing usefulness of theories. The experience of rapid and violent change in every facet of human life has sapped much confidence in steady evolution of the theological kind, encouraging belief in permanent revolution of the political kind—sweeping away and building again with the bits. The Hegelian dialectic, the Toynbean Challenge/Response, the Marxist purification through struggle, all such interpretations of reality seem to contain a grain of truth that might be truer than the doctrinal dogmatism of a Church which is able to claim infallibility and then indulge in anti-Modernism and the predilections of *Humanae Vitae*. And further, a shift in historical method to sociology and anthropology have reinforced the unconscious belief that a description of what *appears* to be so, and is so accepted by an overwhelming majority (defined loosely as "the norm") is thereby, for all practical purposes, what *is* so. That is "majority truth", and by its mass subjective standards are being decided such issues as the empty tomb, or the meaning of the change wrought by baptism (and therefore the need for the sacrament, or otherwise), as though truth can be reached by consensus. Underlying it all is a shift in intellectual taste away from the search for immutable law to a satisfaction with relativism. If one denies the dogmatic principle and accepts historical relativism in theology (which is, after all, the fundamental science of mankind), then where stands the power of the papacy, which rests not on order but on jurisdiction and which will have to make its way in every century as best it can without a certain (and so undisturbable) theoretical basis? And if the papacy, then how much else as well, such as the theology of the seven sacraments, which "emerged" only in the twelfth century? Is not the relativism which ignores principle, undervalues the past and remains agnostic of the present one of the great diseases of our time?

Secondly, and because of the first, THE COLLAPSE OF THE IDEA OF ORTHODOXY. This is an idea, like "enthusiasm", which for all its virtues has had a bad press in our time. In its best form, it suggests only what Aquinas suggested in his magisterial beginning to the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, that we know only in part, that some minds (those of the wise) know as those of others (*rudissimi idiotae*) do not, that in Aristotle's words "as the eyes of bats are to the light of the sun, so is our soul's intelligence to what is most manifest in nature"; that discoveries of permanent purport should be communicated as principles, axioms or set procedures, that there must be yardsticks of orthodoxy. This is surely so if only because each generation cannot hope to have the intellectual creativity or available energy to think matters through again and again from end to end. No society can be forever digging up all of its roots, or there would be no flowering. But that is what tends to happen today in both the secular and spiritual societies of men. Rebelling against extremes of orthodoxy, society is denying that there can be heretics (only differences of opinion or of philosophical framework), denying then that heretics should be silenced or that the weak, the undecided and the indifferent should be persuaded to a more definite and committed faith, denying in short that there may be a truth with permanent rights

expressible in dogmas which should be brought to prevail. The field is increasingly open to syncretism (abandoned admixtures), eclecticism (scissors-and-paste theorising), "disinterested" comparison—and ultimately indifference. Freedom is coming to replace every orthodoxy, the freedom to believe anything or nothing. "The world must be reinvented every morning". The burden of proof is put upon what exists for its existence, never upon the overthrower for his right to overthrow. In secular matters the indiscretions of authority are answered by abuse, violence and the effrontery of property; in spiritual matters the decisions of authority are countered by manifestos and walk-outs. The essential tradition that he who bears responsibility is given the benefit of doubt and benefit of confidence till otherwise proven, is waning.

Thirdly and similarly, FAILURE TO SEE THE VITAL VALUE OF CREEDS AND TRADITIONS. This is brought about perhaps as much by the fair wind of ecumenism as by the magnanimous blurring of the definition of "Church". It takes a man very sure of his belief, very set in his father's ways and very central in his own Church not to be driven at least to confusion by the soft words of goodwill which diminish the hard lines of confessional differences or credal distinction, and which seek to convince us that two traditions are but stems of the one root. There is, moreover, much more to the idea of creed than formulae which specify a confessional group: creeds have their roots in common prayer of praise, common liturgical exaltation of what the assembly holds most in reverence. Creeds are doxologies of faith said and sung before the Supreme Subject of that faith, and said to strengthen the souls of those who say them. To diminish one's creeds, to subject them to analysis for other purposes too often, is to sap them of their prayer quality, of that quality which brings not intellectual certainty but spiritual certitude —for there is a realm of "knowing" which comes by grace in grace situations: if anyone doubt that, let him read the few pages on cathedral music and parish music in Professor Chadwick's second volume of "The Victorian Church" and his epilogue, which show the strength of hymns and anthems as vehicles of knowing, loving, praising and beseeching in a grace occasion. The same is so of traditions which represent the living experience of the past accumulated not just by thought, but by trusting action and listening sensitivity and all those areas of intuition which are nearer to poetry than to philosophy. Time trieth and testeth; and the knowledge of lived experience is communicable in traditions which are often understood only after they in their turn have been lived, and lived with a sure faith for a long time. Creeds and traditions are in the main sources of spiritual enlightenment beyond analysis: "Lord I believe; help thou my unbelief".

Fourthly and coupled with the last, A GROWING SECULARISATION OF SOCIETY. The indications of this are so widespread that it is scarcely useful to enumerate them. It is partly a matter of desecration, partly a matter of desacralisation and partly a matter of embracing the world to baptise it only to be baptised into worldliness by it. An instance of desecration, as to

the mind, is the abolition of the Lord Chamberlain's function as keeper of the public conscience as to decency in the communications trade, so that now the book-stalls are more than ever filled with pornography and violence and advertisements of unashamed allurement, the cinemas with films rated X, the theatres with what once was fit only for esoteric theatre clubs providing exotica. A clearer instance of the desecration of society, as to the body, lies in the 1968-9 VD statistics, which show that gonorrhoea and NSU have doubled in that year to a new record of 50,000 cases. Venereologists believe that saturation point is being reached in the provision of cure and clinics, and that there is no hope of curtailing VD increase. An instance of desacralisation lies in modern discussion of the role of the priest: a recent Manifesto urged "that a man need not commit himself to the priesthood 'forever according to the order of Melchisedech'; that is, that the priesthood need not be a lifelong commitment—e.g., a man may offer five or ten years service to the missions: That the early Christian ideal of priesthood was one of service to people rather than sacrifice at the altar—and that we rediscover this emphasis: That the traditional disqualification of women from the priesthood be removed as having no theological basis". Priests, bound in vow to episcopal obedience, are (as in the French *Echanges et Dialogue* movement) taking jobs and joining trade unions, taking wives and continuing their ministry, and taking control of the liturgy by discarding vestments and celebrating with old crockery, all in defiance of their bishops. Priests, once the fathers of their flocks in very name, are becoming (partly through accidents of history) functionaries in society, like doctors or solicitors or psychiatrists—and some, sad to say, are failing to rise to those standards and so are sinking into neglect. An instance of baptism by the world lies in the steady swing of men of fine conscience, through pity or magnanimity or "enlightened" concern, towards the condoning of adult homosexuality, premarital sex between affiancés, abortion in distress circumstances, life-margin transplants and even euthanasia. We live in a Christian country, let us remind ourselves, where 10,000 abortions have been legally procured since 1968, some of the foetuses then being used for medical experiment while still alive; and in the eyes of the Church abortion is infanticide, the taking of life in its most self-indefensible moment. Some small symptom of the growing secularisation of society to the detriment of the human spirit, is the suicide rate in Britain last year: at 5,000 suicides it reached its highest record ever, and it constitutes (after accidents, heart failure and cancer) the fourth most common form of death. And behind the hard statistic of 5,000 lies another ten times as great, the 50,000 of those who had need of the Samaritan service, which is the first stage towards suicide.

Fifthly, what we might label "QUANTITATIVE MORALITY". Morality is the doing of good and avoiding of evil, and the moral man in his inner conscience (who has become refined by a life of moral sensitivity, or blunted by a life of dissoluteness) knows without recourse to common opinion what is to be done or avoided and how far a course of behaviour may be pursued. But an age of the census, of opinion polls and quantity

ratings, of apparent liberty of expression under the name of "freedom" screening a new tyrannical conformism under the name of "fashion", has clouded the individual judgment and encouraged the sociological method of morality judgment by statistics. Continually we read, until our critical faculty is dulled to accept it, that such a percentage of the priests of a diocese or province believe that celibacy should be optional, that another percentage of people believe that divorce or permissible contraception or parental free choice of their children's religion must come soon, that since so many nuns and religious (statistics provided) have walked out of their convents or joined the underground Church or invented their own eucharists, others thereby become the more entitled to join them. And more insidious is the emergence of a general business morality which applauds aggressive competitiveness that gives to the rich and takes from the struggling, and condones covert swindling and clever forms of tax evasion (which throw added burdens on the honest in any community). Morality ultimately remains a response (and that not merely subjective) in the unique relationship between the single soul and the God who made him, not an agreement between fellow mortals.

Sixthly, and a corollory to the last, THE STEADY EVAPORATION OF A SENSE OF STABILITY. The communications revolution has brought with it at two levels a depersonalisation of the world. At the end of every trail now is a Hilton hotel or a Butlin's camp, places where people are anonymous and presumed to be standard in their needs. This assumption has allowed the mass production principle to work, where all men are given a saloon car, all women a washing machine and all families a package holiday. The anonymous fluidity of travel extends also to jobs, where to be overlong with one company or at one process is to be judged as falling behind. In intellectual communication, the other level (TV, radio, press, paperbacks), the regional world of a Dorset Hardy or a West Riding Bronte has been swamped—for better or for worse—by far wider horizons ever changing, ever standardising, ever hungry to be abreast of immediacy. One sad effect of all this is that increasingly man's powers to give and take long term or life commitments are fading. The Service life is no longer a lifetime's occupation, administrators abroad will one day be swiftly declared redundant, professions at home fluctuate; and in religion the solemn vow (or indeed, in the world, the marriage vow) is often held to be no longer binding beyond the moment when its swearer feels it loses meaning for him. Spontaneity has been given pride of place instead, with its own present value which disregards the past and the obligations that that may impose upon the future. The ideas of contract and of loyalty are being debased from the solemn to the useful.

Seventhly, a resultant upon the last, A SHIFT FROM SERVICE OF OTHERS TO FULFILMENT OF SELF. We might find the two poles best represented in the utterances of two Presidents of the United States. As to service, John F. Kennedy set his theme for the future in his Inaugural in these words: "ask

not what are your rights; ask rather what are your duties". But he was already too late, for near the beginning of American national life Thomas Jefferson had set another pattern, granting every citizen, with life and liberty, also the right to pursue his own happiness; and it is this that characterises the American way of life. It is this too which has been persistently exported until gradually there has come to prevail the sense that a man's, or his family's right to self fulfilment is a right which brooks no interruption. A most revealing utterance appeared in the pages of *Time* over the recent American student riots: a Chicago advertisement salesman was reported as railing against the rioters, "They're trying to destroy everything I've worked for—for myself, my wife and my children". Yet we were called not to self fulfilment but to self sacrifice, self effacement and the service of our brethren in a wide context. Only by resolutely refusing to seek happiness does man find it, and this is the paradox of the human condition.

Eighthly, and brought about by a breakdown in mutual social confidence in society, A SHARP INCREASE IN WHAT IS CALLED "BODY-RHETORIC", BOTH PASSIVE AND ACTIVE. By passive is meant placard demonstrations, protest marches, picketting, sympathy fasts, symbolic suicides. By active is meant filibustering, breaking up meetings, draft-card burning, the rifling of confidential files, sit-ins and lie-ins, and even outright violence such as "Paki-bashing", property smashing and other forms of racial prejudice or sectional bullying. It is an old adage that, in its essence, violence is a confession of ultimate inarticulateness; it is the use of the bludgeon where the word should prevail; it is the abdication of reason on the one side, or at least the admission of the abdication of reasonableness on the part of the other. Violence is the ultimate sanction of properly constituted bodies, and the final abuse of bodies not so authorised. It is always retrogressive, even if it is to be used rightfully; for the underlying assumption must be that at least one party to an alliance of interest has made non-negotiable demands which will yield neither to influence nor to the signals of serious contravention of the tolerance level, nor to direct moral/intellectual confrontation. Such demands are in the sphere of the child or the fascist, each lacking respect or responsibility; they suppose that the channels of resolution by compromise, explanation or adaptation have been finally closed or deliberately ignored. Those who make them fail to see that areas of vital concern cannot simply be conceded without redress or safeguard. Later the habits of violence may engender such constant recourse to mass emotive expression, that the realm of reasonable discussion is forsaken for a terrorist ethic, where there are no longer any canons of truth or even of mutual self-interest, where there is no attempt at justification or even self-justification, where there is no sense that the force of assertive affirmation imposed without valid motive is unacceptable. Will untempered and unenlightened by intellect, and unrestrained by tradition or responsibility, can be a terrible ravager: it is symbolised by the despairing cry of an American worker, "To Hell with your movement; all you are is a lot of kids destroying a chance that I never had!"

Lastly, and most difficult to evaluate, THE LOSS OF A SENSE OF WONDER; that is, the dimension of mystery. This is apparent whenever journalists hold forth on the technological mastery of, say, NASA, suggesting that now man is ever more in control of his destiny. So far have the frontiers of "faith" been driven back by knowledge and so quickly, that man's sense of awe at what he finds before him or humility in the face of what he knows to be beyond him is giving place to a bland confidence that nothing is beyond him—least of all the power to cause life. He has forgotten that there is not a living insect nor a blade of grass which does not surpass his creative capacity. It is this self-dazzlement combined with the developments listed above, which has brought upon the world such a sudden and appalling crisis of faith, and such a wall of indifference among the young. Even when a generation brought up in a scientific ethos with technical frames of thought wants to cling to its faith, it cannot always do more, driven by the habits of phenomenology, than split its mind between the assertion of the faith *act* and the abolition of the human *event*—as we see in the Resurrection debate. If Christ be not risen save in the minds of men, our faith is in vain and we are indeed in a crisis. And alas the crisis is of a new and different order, for the processes of modern life (science and planning) direct man's mind away from a spiritual past to an immediate concrete future, till he no longer asks why or whither—only how, how much, how quickly. His mind has contracted to the areas which are within his control, his narrow mechanistic, materialistic and hedonistic control, the areas of quantity and power, of measurability and manipulability. What his mind can grasp he calls "real" and what is beyond it he calls "unreal" (meaning "not useful"). Transcendent reality is not denied, because modern man does not stop to reflect upon it in order to affirm or deny it: for him it lies in that unexplored hinterland of consciousness marked "irrelevant" and sometimes "primitive". It is considered a world of fantasy that technological man grows up out of, both individually through childhood and socially through history: capacity to dream dreams in daylight, to hope beyond the grave, to feel that man's soul is greater than his mind, and to experience ultimate metaphysical contingency (the dependence of love), these are held to be the states of an as yet untutored intellect moving to order, focus, concentration, control—and, in so moving, leaving behind spiritual experience. Modern man does not stop to deny God, for he has no eschatalogical dimension; he simply forgets God as a factor in his reality (a factor even to be denied). By missing God out, man dissolves the dilemma: he need never wonder why, either causally or teleologically. He need not assert and witness, or deny and reject. "The signs turn in on themselves, on their mysteries; they no longer speak, they no longer call. A great silence stretches across the world."

THE CRUCIAL SACRIFICE

A MARRIED LAYMAN'S REFLECTIONS ON SECULARISATION AND CELIBACY

by

DAVID GOODALL

In chastity (the principle of purity) the Hebrews stood alone; and this virtue, which had grown up with them from their earliest days, was still in the vigour of fresh life when they were commissioned to give the Gospel to the nations. The Hebrew morality has passed into the Christian Church.

FREDERICK TEMPLE, "Essays & Reviews" (1859).

In an age when priests and religious under vows are leaving their presbyteries and cloisters in uncommon numbers to become involved in politics, to hold secular jobs and to marry (sometimes to marry exclaustrated nuns or divorced women); in an age which has seen not only the left wing individualist but even the traditionalist from the extreme right wing turn back his hand from the plough; in an age when even prelates surrender their celibacy late in their ministry and when an American bishop of high religious accomplishment can resign his episcopacy to marry a triple divorcee with the fullest publicity in all stages of his change of heart; in an age when of those who do remain many register doubt as to the cogency of the celibate state or tepidity as to their resolution in pursuing it; in an age when those who are resolved so to live are indefinite as to the value of its witness or their own purity of intention in undertaking it; in such an age it is proper to ask what has become of the crucial sacrifice.

David Goodall (W 50), now serving with the Foreign Office in Kenya where he has good reason to be compassionate towards the arguments for a non-celibate priesthood, writes as one who is exonerated by his own state and calling from the charge of special pleading.

I

THE issue of clerical celibacy seems to have replaced birth control as the central and most corrosive of the controversies which divide the Church. At first sight it is curious that this should be so, since by common agreement celibacy is not a matter of faith but only of discipline. But the simplicity of this distinction (between faith and discipline) can be misleading; for some disciplines can enter into the heart of our lives and determine the way we look both at this world and at eternity.

Clerical celibacy, perhaps the most formative and distinctive discipline of the Latin Church since the dark ages, is of this kind. To call it in question is to touch a central nerve of the Catholic system, as that system has evolved over the past thousand years. This is not to say that the system could not have evolved differently or that the evolution of the Church may not now be about to be providentially guided into a new course in which some modification of this discipline, even its abandonment, may be called for. But it helps to explain why such a superficially straightforward issue has become the touchstone of theological attitudes over practically the whole field of disagreement between radicals, moderates and conservatives. The way in which it is decided is likely to determine the balance between the "mystical" and the "secular" in Christian thinking and practice for many years to come.

What follows is the testimony of a married layman to the centrality of the celibacy issue, and to the positive value of celibacy as the norm of

the priestly life. The considerations advanced go well beyond the question of celibacy itself. They are neither new nor expressed with theological precision. They are the personal reflections of somone with no claim to theological expertise, offered, I hope without animus or certainty of being right, in the belief that the testimony of a married layman with children may carry more weight in some quarters than that of the clergy, who are deemed to be *parti pris* one way or the other.

Moreover married people who believe that the link between priesthood and celibacy has a value which in no way detracts from the validity of their own vocation to family life have a duty to rebut the kind of innuendo given currency for example by Hans Küng in his book "Truthfulness: The Future of the Church". Having advanced his own cogent case against the *law* of celibacy, Küng goes on to comment that the only protests he has received have been "of course, because a taboo has been infringed, from some notoriously fanatical Catholics—especially women without families and some older clerics".[1] These waspish words do less than justice to those who feel that, on this question, the Pope and not the *peritus* has the heart of the matter in him.

It would be a mistake to think that the celibacy issue can be decided in isolation from the other problems confronting the Church. It has to be judged in the context of a Church more open to the movement of the Spirit than at any time for centuries, but uncertain in which direction the Spirit is calling her; in the context of a Church in crisis.

This crisis has different aspects. There is the celebrated crisis of authority—between Pope and bishops, bishops and priests, clergy and laity. There is the tension—perhaps creative, perhaps destructive—between theologies: on the one hand those who see the Church gradually growing through the centuries in wisdom and understanding under the consistent guidance of God, so that we may safely progress only by building on and developing the practices and insights of our forefathers; on the other those who think of her (while always under the guidance of the Holy Spirit) as susceptible of apocalyptic renewal in each generation, open to radical *metanoia* in the light of "the signs of the times", with nothing relevant from the dead past except the scriptures themselves.[2]

To fuse these two conflicting strains into some kind of fruitful harmony is one of the most pressing conceptual problems facing the Church. But for me the most radical aspect of the present crisis, the aspect which should really be worrying all of us, is what I shall call the crisis of reality: the reality of God, the reality of his promises, the reality of the Christian life as distinct from, and better than, man's natural life untouched by grace. Celibacy is at the heart of this crisis, as is suggested by the following passage from the joint declaration by the Dutch major religious superiors published in May 1969:[3] "The motive for consecrated celibacy . . . is to be sought in a personal experience of God. According to the meaning of the Gospels one cannot choose the path of celibacy and remain within it, unless one holds, however obscurely, to the conviction

[1] Hans Küng: "Truthfulness: the Future of the Church", 1968, p. 94.

[2] Cf. for example Swithin McLoughlin, O.S.B., "Mixed Marriages", note 11, in the AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Autumn 1969; and Hans Küng (op. cit. p. 236), who promulgates the slogan "Vox temporis, vox Dei".

[3] Quoted by Père René Voillaume in "Contemplation in the Church Today", *Catholic Gazette*, November 1969, p. 9.

that God makes demands on us and that he is worth remaining celibate for. In a world where faith is opposed, it is not surprising that there is also a crisis of prayer and celibacy. Prayer and chastity are related, for in both cases it is a question of an attitude of loving attention towards him who revealed himself to this world and revealed himself to us. Thus without prayer there can be no lasting celibacy." Personal experience of God; the indispensability of prayer; the nature of the Christian revelation—and celibacy directly related to all of them. No wonder it is a central issue.

In arriving at what is meant by "the crisis of reality", the key phrase in the foregoing passage is "the conviction that God makes demands on us and *is worth remaining celibate for*" [my italics]. Behind many (but of course by no means all) of the arguments from the shortage of priests, the undesirability of maintaining a "sacral caste", the impossibility of finding full self-expression outside marriage and so on, it is this conviction of the reality of God and his promises which, it seems to me, is really under challenge. Let me elaborate on this without, I hope, falling into the trap of seeming to accuse those who disagree with me of bad faith or bad intentions.

II

The great gift of the Christian revelation is that it sets human life in a totally new perspective. It makes man aware that he and all this vast system of which physically he is such a tiny part lie in the hands of a Creator; that however mysterious and unknowable the ways of this Creator are, however infinite the complexity of the system He has created, the right analogy for his relationship to men is that of a loving father to his children; always accessible to us in prayer and where one or two are gathered together in his name; and so closely concerned for our welfare that "not a sparrow is forgotten before God" and even the hairs of our head are numbered.

God made the unthinkable gap between Him and his creatures bridgeable by sending his only son to live among us and to demonstrate the meaning of his love for us, and hence to demonstrate the nature of love itself. He carried this love to its ultimate point by dying for us; and then revolutionised the perspectives of human life by rising from the dead and promising to those who believed in Him that they would share in his resurrection. That is to say that they, too, shall live again after death a new and transformed life. "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise".

In other words Christianity is at once an admission that you cannot make sense of this world on its own terms and within its own horizons; and at the same time a revelation that we do not have to, because our perspectives are not limited to it. Even while we inhabit the earthly city and help to shape it, God is with us in all our undertakings; He is at hand to give us strength, consolation and courage; and, at the end, in a way we cannot understand, this present state of things will give way to a new world, in which we shall live face to face with God; where every problem posed in this world will be resolved, and every work begun here consummated. That is the Christian hope.

This may be a poor or jejune summary of the Christian message, of "the Faith delivered to the Saints". But the message is at least not *less* than this. When Pope John called the Second Vatican Council, his thinking, as I understand it, was that with the accretions of centuries this message had become obscured. It was not getting through to men because

the institutionalisation of the Church had distorted the character of the People of God and made them difficult to recognise for what they should have been, a people consumed by Christian love and filled with Christian hope.

Even the nature of Christian love and Christian hope had been obscured and to some extent misunderstood. For too many Christians, the former had become too narrow and selfish a thing, instead of overflowing, like Christ's own love, to embrace the whole of creation; and the latter had fastened too immediately on the next world, to the exclusion of this one, in which God's will is also to be done "as it is in Heaven".

The purpose of the *aggiornamento*, then, was to strip away these distortions and obscurities from the Christian life so that the Christian message would be audible to the world in its compelling purity. It is in this sense that it is right to see the Second Vatican Council as a second Pentecost, an infusion of the Spirit giving the Church the impetus to recapture its authenticity, and thereby to serve the world by making it possible for all men to hear the Christian message and recognise its truth. This and this only is the service which the Church—the People of God—owes the world.

But it should be emphasised that the service we owe the world is the Christian message in all its astonishing completeness; and that any truncation or impoverishment of that message is not a service, but a betrayal of trust.

Speaking of Christianity as a message to be heard should not obscure the fact that it is even more a life to be lived. Sincere and persuasive presentation—what is ordinarily understood by "preaching the Gospel"—is of the first importance. But unless it is preached from the context of a Christian life it is not even worthless; it is self-defeating. The obligation on every Christian, lay or clerical, is to disseminate Christian truth by living it. A Christian life, by which is meant not the mediocrity of a life lived simply without dramatic infringements of the Church's law, but a life in which all the qualities of Faith, Hope and Charity find their full expression, is the one demonstration of the truth of the Christian revelation which is not susceptible of refutation.

This is what Belloc saw when he wrote of holiness as the surest test of the existence of God.[4] When we encounter a man or woman whom we recognise as holy, we are recognising in a fellow human being the transforming power of God's grace. That is to say we are indirectly experiencing His reality. Fr Schillebeeckx, the celebrated contemporary Dutch theologian, makes use of the same thought in his book "God The Future of Man". But he transposes the setting from the individual to mankind and presents the result as something completely new, and peculiar to what he calls "our new culture". He writes:[5] "Christian faith in a post-terrestrial future can only be seen to be true if this eschatological hope shows itself capable of bringing mankind a better future here and now . . . it will have to be clear from the concrete practice of the Christian life

[4] "The unseen presence of Holiness . . . is a direct shaft into the individual mind, and by that character in it it is the more absolutely sure. There is something behind the senses which appreciates with violence and completely:—but how rarely." (Belloc to Mrs Asquith, quoted in Robert Speaight, "The Life of Hilaire Belloc", 1957, Ch. XVII, p. 379. Speaight comments: "This sixth sense of holiness was for Belloc a sixth proof of the existence of God".)

[5] Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., "God the Future of Man", 1969, Ch. VI, pp. 183-184.

that God *de facto* manifests himself as the one whose power can bring about the new future . . . Christian commitment to the world by concern for man will therefore be the exegesis of the new concept of God . . ." And a little further on: "In our new culture then a theological treatise about God will be the culmination and completion of an exegesis which consists in the practice of the Christian life. If this Christian practice is absent, the Christian faith will not be credible to modern man . . ." The only puzzle about these true statements is in the references they contain to a "new culture" and "modern man". That this profoundly Christian insight can be sincerely represented as something which has only become apparent with the advent of the "new culture" (i.e. technological culture) is perhaps a measure of how badly *aggiornamento* was needed. For conduct, in Archbishop Temple's phrase, has always been a test of prayer; and failure of Christians to realise a Christian society has always been one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of Christian belief.

Although the root idea is traditional, it would be wrong to pretend that there is no special significance about shifting the criterion of the reality of God's power from its effect on the individual person to its effect on society at large, and about measuring holiness in terms of the Christian's commitment to "the world". Fr Schillebeeckx cites St Thomas in support of his contention that "holiness and prayer are *essentially identical* [my italics] with concern for one's fellow men in the world".[6] Impeccable though this sentiment sounds, there is something about the phrase "essentially identical" which does not seem to correspond to traditional Christian experience. Concern for one's fellow man—that love of one's neighbour as oneself which our Lord gave as the second great commandment of the Law—is the *sine qua non* of holiness, in that it would be a contradiction in terms to describe someone as holy who was without this concern. But in ordinary language there is, about a man or woman whom we recognise as holy, an added aura of the presence of God in them which comes not from active "concern" by itself but from prayer; and through prayer, by God's free gift of Himself. This surely is part of what St Paul meant in his famous passage on charity in Corinthians, where the concept of "charity" includes that of loving union with God: "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing".

In other words union with God in prayer is indispensable to the Christian life, and without it Fr Schillebeeckx's "exegesis of the new concept of God" will be fatally incomplete.

But the shift he—and other contemporary theologians less wise and temperate than he—proposes involves more than this. The proponents of the "new theology" seem to be saying in effect that it is not individual people, however holy they may be, who can manifest the reality of God to the world, but only the state of the world itself. It is no good Christians looking to God to change themselves in the old individualistic way; they must look to him to change through them "the course of history for the better".

This is either true or misleading depending on how far it is pressed. In so far as Christians have traditionally looked to the multiplication of individual conversions as the *only* valid means of changing society

[6] Schillebeeckx, op. cit. Ch. III, p. 108.

for the better (and this point has been much exaggerated), it is imperative that their eyes should be opened to the social dimensions of Christian love; that they should be forcefully reminded that the obligations of this love (for the obligations of love are stronger than those of the Law) are not confined to cultivating one's own spiritual garden, and perhaps helping one's immediate neighbour to cultivate his. They extend to the betterment of society through social and political action; and to the extent to which this action succeeds in, or contributes to, transforming society for the better, it will bear impressive witness to the reality of God's power and the power of faith.

So far so good. But this shift in emphasis becomes misleading, becomes an impoverishment of the Christian life and message, at the point where it is taken to mean that social involvement, concern for mankind at large, can be a substitute for—or even an improvement upon—individual sanctification. For mankind, society, human history, have as their components so many persons, each of them members of one another, but each of them equally made in the image and likeness of God. Their sanctification must proceed hand in hand with the sanctification of society; the two processes are complementary and draw strength from one another. But whereas concentration on individual sanctification of the "Garden of the Soul" type to the neglect of the sanctification of society is an inadequate form of Christianity, the idea of working for the sanctification of mankind collectively to the exclusion of individual sanctification is, in the strict sense of the term, nonsense.

Just as the extent to which the new theologian's preoccupation with the community is valid turns out to be a question of emphasis, so too with his preoccupation with "the world". Here again there is only a razor's edge beween a genuine advance in our understanding of the truth on the one hand and, on the other, a step into the agnostic void where the reality of the traditional Christian message becomes suddenly irrelevant.

On one side of the divide is a heightened recognition of the need to bring salvation *to the world;* and to do this by presenting the Christian life in all its fullness and simplicity, shorn of legalism and superstition, with all the Christian's obligations for the right ordering of the earthly city, so that the world itself may (if God so wills) evolve in faith towards the Second Coming. On the other side is an exaltation of the world to be an end in itself, a reluctance to acknowledge the perspective of eternity which is central to the Christian revelation,[7] an aversion from dependence upon the fatherhood of God except in an unrecognisably attenuated sense; a preoccupation with activity at the expense of contemplation; and a determination to look for Christ only in one's earthly community, to the exclusion of seeking that direct access to him in prayer which has been the privilege and strength of Christians down the ages, and to which the experiences of the mystics bear the most striking testimony. These, broadly speaking, are the marks of "secularisation theology".[8]

[7] Cf. this casual comment in Fr Francis Davidson's review of Fr R. L. Richards' "Secularisation Theology" in the AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Spring, 1969, p. 85: "Fr Richardson also points out that, with their insistence on the this-worldliness of faith, they [i.e., the secular theologians] have not managed to integrate a Christian view of death and resurrection into their theology".

[8] In "The Secular City", the *locus classicus* of secularisation theology, Harvey Cox has nothing whatever to say about prayer.

It would be impossible to identify all the various pressures which push Christian theologians into narrowing their spiritual horizons in this drastic way. Some are, however, fairly readily apparent. In the first place there is the overwhelming psychological pressure of human technological achievement which seems, so to speak, to leave no room for God. Then there is the feeling of guilt at what is believed to be the Christian's past neglect of this world for the next, and his consequent readiness to acquiesce in an unjust status quo—the classic criticism of Marx. There are the discoveries of modern psychology, and the consequent suspicion that the traditional Christian dependence upon God is too much like wishful thinking, or an excuse for escaping from reality, to be intellectually comfortable. There is the reaction away from individualism, with all its attendant selfishness, in favour of a communitarian or socialised approach to life; and, finally, there is the evidence of statistics and personal experience which is alleged to show that the traditional language in which the Christian message has been presented has ceased to make any impact.

Only the most impregnable or the most insensitive of Christians today could honestly claim—or want to claim—to be completely impervious to all these sources of unease. But it is my strong impression (although I recognise how easy it is to make this kind of assertion) that they have had least adverse effect upon those whose prayer life is strongest. I cannot think from my own—admittedly limited—experience of a single priest or religious generally recognised as "a man of prayer" who seems to have been seriously thrown off balance by the winds of theological change, or who has ceased to view the future or traditional Christianity with serenity and confidence, even though his serenity may be tinged with melancholy.

It is also apparent that many of these contemporary "suasions" against orthodoxy derive their force at least in part from an inadequate understanding among Christians of what Christianity is really saying. So many people seem to have absorbed what they know of Christianity in Sunday School or as small children, and then simply put it aside. They have never been encouraged or helped to make sure that their understanding of religion matures along with their understanding of other fields of knowledge. The horror provoked by Bishop Robinson's discovery that God need not be thought of as "out there" illustrated the fact that many people, when they talk about the incredibility of traditional Christian language, have never understood the uses of analogy in talk about God, and are really complaining about the inadequacy for the adult of the language of the nursery.

Much of the talk about "the God of the gaps" seems to revolve around a similar sort of misunderstanding, perhaps more crucial because it inhibits even believing Christians from prayer. It is a solemn thought that traditional Christianity is apparently equated in many Christian minds with a belief that scientific explanations of natural phenomena must necessarily be incomplete, and that God is needed to provide explanations where no scientific hypothesis has, or can be, put forward. Clearly, if this is one's view of God, it will at best be only a matter of time before He is squeezed out of existence by the march of science.

In fact, the advance of science leaves unscathed the genuinely "traditional" concept of God as sustaining in being and permeating the universe He has created, with all its laws, discovered and undiscovered alike. It is tragic to think of Christians regretfully discontinuing the

practice of petitionary or other forms of prayer because they have come to the conclusion that there is no room for the intervention of providence in a universe being mapped out in progressively greater detail by the scientific cartographers, to a point where there are no blanks left for dragons, sea serpents, miraculous interventions or other figments of the pre-scientific imagination.

If the whole of creation is God's design, with all its laws and their consequences, and if God himself (as we believe) transcends time, but is concerned with his temporal creation to the extent of cherishing each sparrow which falls from a tree and numbering each of the hairs on our head, there is no reason why the divine plan should not take account—in temporal terms, prior account—of every prayer we offer, every act of faith we express, every aspiration murmured in the course of a day. It would, of course, be *simpliste* to put this forward as anything like a complete explanation of God's interpenetration of his creation, which indeed remains largely mysterious; but it is even more *simpliste* to suppose that unless God has left special gaps in the completeness of his creation (which we assume He has not), there can be no room for divine initiatives in response to prayer.[9]

I do not want to be misunderstood as saying that the new theology is tilting at windmills; that the specifically modern difficulties it is seeking to meet by exploring new statements of the Faith are illusions which could be dissipated by a sufficiently profound understanding of pre-Conciliar orthodoxy. It is right and necessary to look for new ways of presenting the Christian message—new ways of making the message "relevant"—to men whose earthly horizons have widened to include the possibility of exercising control over the whole created universe, and who at the same time are oppressed (as well as liberated, in Harvey Cox's sense) by the inhumanities, the loneliness and the remorselessly impersonal character of life in the secular city.

But my anxiety is that the degree of stress which contemporary theologians, in an effort to meet what they feel to be the preoccupations of modern man, are tending to put on the community at the expense of the individual and on this world at the expense of the next can no longer be regarded as redressing a previous theological imbalance, but has reached the point of distorting and impoverishing the Christian message. While there are many people to whom this seems to appeal, there are many others on whom it is inflicting that "laceration of mind" which Dr Johnson saw as the consequence of giving up Popery for Protestantism.[10]

Unless these trends are arrested, the next generation of Christians could —humanly speaking—be the last. For in the words of Père Voillaume, the founder of the Little Brothers of Jesus, "If the invisible world known by the simple faith of the Church and the Saints does not exist, or if no real communication with it is possible, if the only valid task for man is to

[9] Fr Schillebeeckx (op. cit., Ch. VI, n. 18), comments that "The fact that this basic Christian spirituality [i.e., relying in prayer on the presence of God] has waned seems to me to be one of the reasons for the defeatism in the Church and her apostolate". He goes on to use the illuminating analogy of the pilot of an aeroplane, who makes use of "the blind laws of matter" to make his aircraft go where he wants, in order to show how God can respond to prayer without interfering with "the sovereignty of nature in its own sphere".

[10] Boswell's "Life", Ch. XXIII.

work for the construction of the earthly city, then indeed not only the monastic life but any form of religious life is artificial".[11]

If such were to be the general conclusion of the faithful, the Council would have achieved the precise opposite of its purpose.

Writing as a layman on the very outside periphery of the great movements convulsing the Church, I would suggest that the paramount task confronting us, in obedience to the Spirit of the Council, is to restore to the faithful, and through the faithful to the world, an abiding sense of the reality and accessibility of God; and at the same time, while deepening our understanding of the obligations of the Christian towards human society, to set them firmly in their eternal perspective. For, to quote Père Voillaume again, "far from diminishing the enthusiasm for its construction [i.e. the construction of a just society on earth], hope which stretches out beyond this world is indispensable through a somewhat mysterious paradox. Man cannot bring to the building of this earthly city the spirit which will make it fully human unless his gaze is fixed beyond time on that eternal city; for without the reflection of this latter the earthly city will remain uninhabitable".[12]

III

All this may seem to go very wide of the particular issue of celibacy. But as Charles Davis has written: "The question today is not whether celibacy may be meaningful as a Christian style of life freely chosen by some. The question is whether in the circumstances of our time celibacy is a sufficiently transparent and central form of Christian witness to justify its present prominence in the Catholic Church".[13] It is impossible to answer this question without some analysis of "the circumstances of our time" and the priorities they impose upon the Church; and it is because it seems to me that the primary task the times demand of us as the People of God is the dual one of giving to modern man—Christian and non-Christian alike—a vivid sense of God's reality and of the Christian perspective of eternity that I would give an affirmative answer to Davis's question.

Writing from the point of view not of the theologian, the scripture scholar or the Church historian, but of the married layman who judges both celibacy and priesthood by their impact on the people whom they exist to serve, I am inclined to think that the faithful observance of the vocation to celibacy brings home more powerfully than any other outward feature of the priestly or religious life the *reality* of God's power and the narrowness of our terrestrial horizons; and I believe that this is more, not less, true in "the circumstances of our time" than it was a hundred, two hundred or five hundred years ago.

Let me formulate this conviction first in a somewhat negative way. It is clear that the good and the bad features alike of the so-called sexual revolution have combined to make a life of consecrated virginity in human terms both less initially attractive and less tolerable than it was. The evolution of a positive spirituality of marriage, the welcome dissipation of

[11] Voillaume, "The Contemplative Call", *Catholic Gazette*, December 1969, p. 7.
[12] Voillaume, "Contemplation in the Church Today", *Catholic Gazette*, November 1969, p. 8.
[13] Charles Davis: "The False Sacrifice of Celibacy", in *The Observer* Supplement, 10th February 1969.

the puritan or Manichean attitude to sex which has dominated Christian thought and practice (as distinct from doctrine) for so long, has diminished, and in some quarters eliminated altogether, the conviction that those called to the celibate life are *sublimiores animae*. The most dedicated of Catholics should no longer feel that choosing marriage means opting out of the process of "true" sanctification; on the contrary. Meanwhile, all question of the ideal desirability of the celibate life apart, the pressures of sexuality resulting from the relaxation of conventional restraints, and from the exploitation of sex by the mass media, have become such that even the most committed Christian must have legitimate doubts about his ability, in human terms, to resist them. Whether this is because we are moving into an age of unbridled sexual licence or simply (as Charles Davis prefers to put it) of unbridled sexual fantasy, is irrelevant; the pressures are for practical purposes the same.

At the same time, in the Western world at least, scientific, medical and social advances have reduced the social impact of death, blunted its oppressive immediacy and brought real temporal comfort for the first time within the reach of the great majority of the inhabitants of the developed countries. Consequently, for reasons which have nothing directly to do with the intellectual appeal of secularisation discussed earlier, there has been a decline in the *natural* readiness of many people (who formerly had no alternative) to look beyond this present life for fulfilment.

These developments have, of course, created tensions, frustrations and anxieties which were relatively unknown in simpler and poorer societies; and for the individual they have rather enhanced than reduced the bitterness of death when it eventually comes; but in the meantime they have made it much easier for people to shut death out of their minds for long periods at a time and to savour without more than intermittent anxiety the satisfactions and material comforts of this present life.

In this sort of climate it is increasingly difficult for anyone who is not physically or psychologically impaired to be able (still less to choose) to live a celibate life from purely natural motives, whether of convenience, comfort or human respect. Philosophical, intellectual and social factors have combined to produce an *ambience* in which, as a general proposition, only the transforming power of God's grace can be expected to bring a normal human being, with normal appetites and ambitions, to this degree of renunciation. Even more, it is only the continuing presence of God's grace and a vivid conviction of the reality of His promises that can sustain those who make this renunciation and can enable them to turn an apparent impoverishment not just into a full and satisfying life but into a life from which others can obtain some faint foretaste of the life of the Resurrection.

Thus, while "the circumstances of our time" make a celibate life more difficult for those who have entered upon it without a genuine vocation or with an inadequate understanding of its implications, they clarify and emphasise the value of the real celibate vocation as a witness to the reality of God's power and God's promises, of His ability to transform not human society only, but also the individual human beings who comprise it. They also make this witness more important.

It may be thought that this is a classic case of illicitly introducing bogus spiritual considerations to overthrow sound sociological arguments; or that the insistence on celibacy for priests in the climate I have described

is not bearing witness to God but tempting Him. I understand these contentions but I do not accept them. Priestly celibacy is not a new idea, invented to challenge contemporary preoccupations. It has been a central tradition of the Latin Church for the past thousand years, during which it has proved itself over and over again as a source of sanctification. Its validity as an exemplary form of Christian life has been demonstrated by innumerable saints. Not least important, it has its roots in scripture, which testifies to the special place of virginity in the divine plan by its insistence on the virginity of Our Lady,[14] on the fact that our Lord himself never married (surely a sufficient answer to those who argue that human fulfilment *requires* marriage), and on our Lord's own statements, not just in the famous text in St Matthew about those who make themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, but also where He speaks, in all three synoptic Gospels, of the life of the Resurrection in which "they shall neither marry nor be married, but shall be as the angels in heaven".[15]

However much it may irritate the sociologists, these considerations cannot simply be left out of the reckoning by believing Christians. We must be careful not to invoke the power of God simply to outweigh the inconvenient findings of experience; but we must not fall either into the seculariser's mistake of leaving God out of the equation altogether. The celibate priesthood as a state above nature—which it is—is the product of co-operation between God's grace and a resolute human will,[16] and neither of these elements can be overlooked in assessing its viability.

It is interesting that Charles Davis, whose article on "The False Sacrifice of Celibacy", from which I have already quoted, is one of the most persuasive attacks on the celibacy rule, admits "the general validity" of looking on celibacy as a "sacred sign" and on the celibate as "a living symbol that this world is passing away and our hope lies in a transcendent kingdom to come". But he argues that celibacy as at present understood and practised derives from a false world view imported into Christianity in its formative period as "part of the general shift towards paganism that turned the Church into a closed sacred order opposed to the profane world, and its ministry into a sacred caste"; and that, in consequence, it must "recede to a much more limited place in the life of the Church".

[14] It can hardly be an accident that celibacy has come under challenge most strongly in those countries and among those circles where the physical virginity of our Lady is given either a symbolic significance or else relegated to somewhere very near the bottom of the "hierarchy of truths".

[15] St Matthew 22:30; St Mark 12:25; St Luke 20: 33ff. For a full exploration of this line of thought, and one of the finest expositions of the scriptural and spiritual aspects of priestly celibacy and its relationship to our Lord's own priesthood, see the paperback by Ida Friederike Görres, "Is Celibacy Outdated?", The Mercier Press, 1965. I think she shows convincingly that, although the introduction of celibacy was a post-apostolic development, it was nevertheless an *evolutio secundum evangelium*, a development implicit in the Gospels, which it took time for the People of God to arrive at.

[16] Cf. Newman: "I will not be inconsiderate enough to make light of the power of temptation of any kind, nor will I presume to say Almighty God will certainly shield a man from temptation for his wishing it; but whenever men complain, as they often do, of the arduousness of a high virtue, at least it were well that they should first ask themselves the question, whether they desire to have it. We hear much in this day of the impossibility of heavenly purity . . . but . . . are you sure that the impossibility does not lie, not in nature, but in the will?" (Anglican) Sermon on The Power of the Will, quoted in Meriol Trevor, "The Pillar and The Cloud", pp. 235-6.

The historical judgment implicit in this contention is a matter for the experts who, as often happens, disagree: Dr E. L. Mascall, for example, states roundly that "nobody now holds that Catholic sacerdotalism and sacramentalism were introduced into the Christian Church from the pagan mystery religions".[17] But whatever the historical origins of priestly celibacy, its value today is not disposed of by showing that its appeal seventeen hundred years ago drew strength from a false or partly false understanding of the relationship between Christianity and the world, or that there have been times in the history of the Church when it has been enforced ruthlessly and perhaps for the wrong reasons. The fact that a person or a community takes the right decision or adopts a right code of conduct under the guidance of the Holy Spirit does not mean that the decision is necessarily taken for all the right reasons or with a full understanding of all its implications. It is a commonplace of Christian experience that the reasons which bring converts, humanly speaking, into the Church are often not those which seem valid to them in the light of subsequent experience. Since Newman, it is equally a commonplace that in the experience of the Catholic Church, whose evolution is measured not in years but in centuries, a right understanding both of doctrine and of practice is something which develops very slowly—but under the continuous guidance of the Holy Spirit—as emphases shift, misconceptions fall away and the true significance of what is believed or of what is done gradually emerges. In the case of the discipline of priestly celibacy, we are today in a position to see it as having evolved into a striking collective testimony to the most fundamental of all Christian truths: the reality of a personal and loving God and the dependability of His promises.[18]

It is because, for the reasons discussed earlier, these fundamental truths seem in danger of erosion that I believe that priestly celibacy is

[17] E. L. Mascall, "The Secularisation of Christianity", 1965, Preface.
[Cf. AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Spring 1970, p. 47 and note 7. It is interesting that Charles Davis wrote an introduction to the English edition of Dom Odo Casel's book, "The Mystery of Christian Worship", in 1961. He wrote: "Casel turns to the pagan mystery cults and finds in them that ritual type which can help us to understand the kind of thing the liturgy is. The Christian liturgy is unique and owes its origin to no pagan cult, but the mystery religions were a providential preparation for Christianity and the Fathers borrowed many special words and phrases from them and used these to express the new Christian reality. Even now, so Casel maintains, a consideration of these ancient cults and of the mentality associated with them can help remove the obstacles to an understanding of the liturgy that arise from the limitations and prejudices of the modern mind". The idea about pagan origins of Christianity is a classic Casel hare which has since been chased to earth; though alas not every hound has kept up with the chase. Ed.]

[18] The notion of "collective" testimony here is important. It is often argued that celibacy should be regarded as an "individual charism" rather than as the norm for the priestly life. But it is the collective witness of the priesthood which enables celibacy to make its impact on the world at large. In the contemporary moral and intellectual climate, a few celibate priests here and there would be looked on by the world as having chosen celibacy for human—and not always particularly creditable—reasons rather than from divinely inspired conviction.
As for the related argument that celibacy should be a free choice, I find this difficult to understand when put forward by people who concede that celibacy is a legitimate obligation of the religious life. No one is obliged to become a religious, but no one is obliged to become a priest either. They are both divine vocations; and the real question is not whether celibacy should be a free choice, but whether it is reasonable to expect God to combine the two vocations—the vocation to the priesthood and the vocation to celibacy. I discuss this below.

today, more than ever, a "transparent and central form of Christian witness",[19] and that to abandon it would be a betrayal.

But even if the central importance of celibacy is conceded, it is still legitimate to question whether we should normally expect God to combine a vocation to the celibate life with a vocation to the priesthood, instead of limiting it, for example, to the religious life. There are two main reasons why I personally do not think this expectation unreasonable.

The first is because it is the function of the priest to be a leader of the Christian community, from which it follows that he should exemplify those qualities of which the faithful stand most in need. And if, as I have argued, this is what the celibate life today is doing, then it follows also (and this is the second reason) that this example should be given by those who live among the faithful and serve them most directly, namely the so-called "secular" priests, and not just by those who have assumed the additional obligations and special responsibilities of the religious life.

I recognise that the definition of the priest as leader of the Christian community in which he is active begs a whole series of hotly contested theological questions about the nature of the priesthood, into which I am not competent to enter. The priest is not, of course, the *only* leader (the education of the laity has put an end to that) nor should he try to be. But whereas other leaders may emerge by reasons of their learning, their ability, their articulateness or their simple sanctity, the priest is a leader by office; he is ordained to it: it is his vocation to transform the whole of his life *explicitly* into one continuous act of witness to the truth and reality of the word of God, and, by doing so, to set before the faithful and before the world an example of what a life transformed by grace is like.[20] This is what was meant above by speaking of the life of a celibate priest as one from which others can obtain a foretaste of the life of the Resurrection.

The fact that this is the priest's vocation *ex officio* in no way detracts from "the priesthood of all believers" or lessens the obligation on the layman to present and live the Christian life as fully as the priest does. But in the nature of daily living the layman does this more often implicitly through his professional and family life than explicitly through preaching, counselling, praying, administering the sacraments and presiding over the liturgy. The priest is the focus of the Christian life of a community in a way in which a layman normally cannot be: and in a very real sense he personifies for the faithful Our Lord Himself. In the traditional phraseology, he is *alter Christus*.

In this well worn metaphor—*alter Christus*—is summed up the terrifying comprehensiveness of the demands made upon a priest. It is worth pondering in itself, and because it helps to put the issue of celibacy into perspective.

[19] In this connection the traditional link between virginity and martyrdom is of interest. Cf. Justin Gosling, "Marriage and the Love of God", 1965, p. 142: ". . . in the early centuries of the Church virgins were looked on as especially the heirs of the martyrs—the role played by the martyrs in early days later fell especially to consecrated virgins. . . Two things to be remembered here are first . . . their [the martyrs'] association with the cross, and secondly that the word 'martyr' means 'witness'."

[20] Cf. Karl Rahner: "No question, however, for us but that the whole of our charge—the proclamation of the revealing Word of God in Jesus Christ in the community of the faithful and for the whole world . . . is a task that engrosses the whole man . . . and consequently constitutes a calling and a status in the Church itself". Address to Priests at the 82nd German Catholic Congress.

The priest's vocation to celibacy is an expression first of all of the explicitness of the witness he has to bear to the reality of God and the power of faith. This point has been laboured enough. Secondly it is an expression of the directness or immediacy of the priest's dedication to God and the Church he serves. I do not say the "totality" of his dedication although it is indeed a sign of total dedication. But total dedication is required of all believing Christians. We are all called to perfection. Whereas, however, the married man's dedication to Christ is normally expressed in and through his wife and family, the celibate's dedication is expressed immediately, just as the mystic's knowledge of God is "immediate" by comparison with that of the Christian living a life of active charity in the world. Finally, the celibacy of the priest is a reflection of the celibacy of Christ himself, which so far from being a restriction or impairment of the personality, was an expression of the fact that his bride is the Church and that his love was not confined to his own family but extends to every member of the human race in equal measure.

The reiteration of the phrase "expression" in the foregoing passage is not accidental. For celibacy as a discipline—even a faithfully observed discipline—is not to be confused or taken as a substitute for the realities it should express. It is evident that a priest's acceptance of celibacy does not mean *ipso facto* that he has a strong and vivid faith, that he is directly dedicated to Christ or that he possesses our Lord's comprehensive love for all men. But these are, so to speak, the models he must set himself; and unless he is striving constantly towards them his celibacy will be meaningless.

The celibacy of a priest crouched over his television set, uncomfortably aware of being "professionally" set apart from other men, hugging his own loneliness and uncertain how to make fruitful use of it: the celibacy of such a priest is indeed a "false sacrifice", because it is sterile. In itself, the vocation of celibacy is only a beginning. Having assumed its obligations the priest is then called on, with God's help, to make real in himself the qualities it signifies: a faith so strong that others can draw strength from it; a prayer life so deep that others will recognise God's presence in him; a love for all men so powerful that he will make manifest to those he serves something of the power and quality of Christ's own love for them.[21]

This is not rhetoric. For we all know priests who realise, to some degree at least, this ideal; just as we all know priests who fall far short of it. And if it is objected that to ask so much is to ask our priests to be saints, this is simply to put into plain and traditional language what (I

[21] This is the justification for priests involving themselves in social revolution. It would be presumptuous for someone with no first-hand experience of the intolerable social injustice of, say, Latin America, to condemn a priest there for coming to the conclusion that he can only express Christ's love for the oppressed people he serves by associating himself with a violent revolutionary movement which seems to offer some hope of ending the dehumanising poverty and degradation in which they live. Although I cannot read the Gospel message as one of violent social revolution, I do accept that there are situations in which it could be a Christian duty to promote such a revolution and where this could override the equally Christian duty to oppose violence. The extent to which a priest should identify himself with a violent revolutionary movement must, in the last resort, be a matter for his own conscience; but his obligation to do so will not absolve him from the obligation to be at the same time a man of prayer. Indeed, union with Christ in prayer will be more necessary than ever; for without it he is likely to find the just anger which motivates him distorted into hatred by revolutionary passion and by experience of the injustices "crying to heaven for vengeance" which he is seeking to redress.

think) Karl Rahner meant when he said that the office of the priesthood today can only be lived charismatically. This is what it means to be *alter Christus*.

But are we not all called to be saints, and do we not all share in the priesthood of all believers? Is there not some suggestion, in this exaltation of the priesthood, of the layman projecting on to the priest his own obligation to sanctity, as a kind of excuse for his own mediocrity? Does it not amount to a perpetuation of the idea of a "sacral caste", of the division between clergy and laity which has sometimes led people to think of "the Church" only in the terms of the former?

There is force in these objections, and they must be taken seriously. I would reply firstly that the sacredness of the priesthood is a positive, not a negative, feature of the Catholic system. Properly understood, it has its roots not in the notion of a "sacral caste", but in the priest's vocation to represent to his people in a special way the person of our Lord. To reverence this vocation and those who try to follow it is not a human instinct merely, but a human need; one might almost say a human right. But it is a right which can only be exercised without risk to one or other party to the relationship when the priest himself, the recipient of reverence, is indeed *alter Christus*, a man who is striving to preach the Gospel by the whole pattern and quality of his life; and when the faithful share his vision and are themselves striving for perfection.

It is understandable that, while some priests have exploited this reverence, others, especially today, are impatient of it and find it oppressive. Nevertheless it is an inescapable part of the priest's vocation to attract it and to enable the faithful, through him, to touch the hem of Christ's garment. This is part of the service he owes them, and will continue to be so unless the priestly vocation itself disappears (as some reformers, now as in the seventeenth century, believe it should).

But although (as I believe) the sacredness of the priest's vocation could not disappear without radical impoverishment, his social and intellectual isolation must. It is a necessary part of the renewal of the priesthood to recognise with a fresh clarity that the priest is only one side of the equation; he makes sense only in terms of the people he serves and cannot attain salvation in isolation from them. Without abdicating his leadership, he must become integrated into his people and they with him. For just as they draw strength, courage and (humanly speaking) faith from him and from his example, so must he draw his strength and faith from them. He must be one with his people as Christ is with His Church; and they in turn must share his priesthood by the example of holiness[22] they set to him, to one another and to the world, by giving him the intellectual and moral support which comes from a frank and constructive exchange of ideas between intellectual equals who share a common vision and a common objective, and by relieving him of administrative chores so that, like the Apostles, he can "give himself continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word".[23]

[22] I hope it is apparent by now that the word "holiness" is used as shorthand for possession of all the positive qualities which should inform the Christian's life, and not as the equivalent of "piety" in its narrow, old fashioned sense.

[23] Acts, Ch. 6:4. I should like to suggest here that, whatever social criticisms may be levelled at them, it is perhaps the greatest single justification of Ampleforth and similar Catholic schools that they give future priests and future laymen a common education in the Christian life and that they can, at their best, produce the right

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This then, I would argue, is the ideal priesthood, the ideal relationship between priest and laity; and the celibacy of the priesthood is, for the reasons I have discussed at length, an integral part of it. But this still leaves unanswered the question whether we have the right to expect that this ideal will always and in all places be realisable. With the present shortage of priests—particularly acute in Latin America and Africa—and its aggravation by the rate at which priests in some parts of the world are leaving the priesthood, is the Church's insistence on the ideal of the celibate priesthood either unrealistic (amounting to a failure to discharge what Hans Küng calls the "*primary* obligation of the Church to provide leaders to the congregations");[24] or is it so contrary to "the signs of the times" as to be no longer justifiable?

It would, I think, be wrong to try to give a flat and simple answer to either of these questions. Although the whole purpose of this article is to express a strong personal conviction that the celibate priesthood is of central importance to the well-being of the Church—part of its *bene esse* if not of its *esse*—I should not want to argue that there could never be situations in which it was unrealisable, and in which to insist upon it would be to make the best the enemy of the good. There may, for example, be areas of the world in which the Church has become so corrupt and the notion of the celibate priesthood so tarnished that for the moment it no longer constitutes a "transparent and central form of Christian witness"; and there may be other areas where the faith has not yet established a sufficient hold on the understanding and imagination of the people for them to grasp the significance of the celibate vocation. In these circumstances it *may* be right to open the priesthood to married men as is done in other Christian Churches. But if this is done it should be done in the knowledge that it will be a retreat from the ideal, a diminution and not an enlargement of the priestly office, a narrowing of its potentialities to meet the temporary and local necessities of an unsatisfactory situation.

Before accepting that this was necessary there would need to be convincing evidence that, in the areas concerned, celibacy was in fact the root cause of the shortage of priests and the defections from the priesthood, and that to relax the rule would at least make good the deficit.

In Europe, still the heart of the Latin Church, neither of these contentions would be easy to sustain on present evidence. Celibacy is obviously a factor in the discontent which many priests today feel with their priesthood and no doubt helps to inhibit many young men from following a priestly vocation. But it seems to me that most of the blame lies elsewhere; in the inadequate understanding of the purpose and implications of celibacy imparted in seminary education; in the narrowness and inadequacy of that education itself; in the isolation of the priest from his people which has continued long after the priest has ceased to be naturally isolated, by his education, from an uneducated laity; in the greatly increased opportunities for a life of service in other fields; in the disturbance within the Church which, although itself a sign of life and hope, has temporarily clouded the clarity of the call to the priestly (or

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kind of relationship between the boy who becomes a layman and the boy who becomes a priest or a monk: a relationship of friendship, understanding and co-operation which includes the special respect due to each other's vocation but does not insulate the priest behind artificial barriers.

[24] Küng: op. cit., p. 90.

religious) life; and perhaps most of all, in the weakening of the life of prayer and the waning sense of the reality of God's power which I discussed earlier.

If these rather than celibacy are the real causes of the current crisis of the priesthood, it does not appear likely that the crisis can be resolved, or the defections ended, by the abandonment of the celibacy rule—rather the reverse, if I am right in arguing that priestly celibacy is a vital witness to God's reality, power and love.

It is, of course, true that ordaining married men—especially in mission countries where the network of catechists constitutes a category of married laymen virtually ready for ordination—is almost bound in the short term to ease the shortage of priests. But it seems unlikely that this would be more than a short term palliative. Nothing in the contemporary experience of the non-Catholic Churches suggests that having a married clergy makes it easier for them to attract recruits to the Ministry; and it is legitimate to wonder whether, once the vocation to the Catholic priesthood had lost its special quality of direct dedication, it would not prove less attractive (because less demanding) than it does at present, and especially so to those readiest to give themselves most completely to God and to the service of their fellow men.

Moreover the obligation on the Church to provide leaders for her congregations is an obligation to provide leaders who will really lead and exemplify to their people a life of dedication and of faith. If the jettisoning of celibacy involved (as I believe it would) a long term lowering of the standards of priestly leadership, the Church would have betrayed its obligation under the guise of fulfilling it; and our concept of the office of the priesthood would have been drastically diluted to no purpose.

What, then, are we to make of the "signs of the times"—the new appreciation of the value of marriage, the disappearance of the Manichean view of sex as "impure", the widespread discontent with celibacy as restrictive and unnatural, the loss of priests, and so on? Do these not suggest that celibacy as a universal and binding law has lost its relevance and needs to be modified?

With respect to Fr Küng, and indeed to the Fathers of Vatican II who also invoked them, it seems to me that the signs of the times need to be approached with some degree of caution. It is not easy to distinguish real progress from passing fashion, and "relevance" can be a misleading criterion, especially when it is interpreted to mean "immediately intelligible" or (for reason often plays only a limited role) "immediately appealing". It would be exceedingly odd if any worthwhile system of life or of thought about the world, let alone one which claims to enshrine the mysteries of divine revelation, were to appear relevant in this superficial sense. The "relevance" of Christian life and Christian teaching can be expected to become apparent only after experience of life combined with study, prayer and reflection. It is no compliment to Christianity to suppose otherwise.

In seeking to judge what is "relevant" in the light of the signs of the times, it is helpful to consider the example of St Thomas More, whose situation was in so many ways similar to our own; born at the end of one era, educated in the ways of a new age and sharing its enthusiasms, a child of orthodoxy deeply aware of the need for reform, he was forced to take sides in a major religious crisis which looked to many people like a

straightforward conflict between reaction and progress: on the one hand a corrupt, trivialised and oppressive papacy presiding over a system riddled with abuses; on the other the fresh ideas of the reformers, purging the Church of illegitimate accretions, revolting from the spiritual pretensions of the debased papal court, intent on restoring Christianity to its apostolic purity, and carrying much of Europe with them.

We all know what More's decision was; and we know how puzzled and disappointed his family and friends were at his inability to accommodate himself to what the times seemed to demand. And yet it would be a serious mistake to suppose that More ignored or failed to read "the signs of the times". His decision to opt for the papacy, despite all its corruptions, as the divinely instituted principle of unity, was in no sense a decision in favour of reaction or an endorsement of the manifold abuses which More passionately wanted to see corrected. It was the result of an ability to see clearly that, despite all the indications to the contrary, the papacy had not become "irrelevant". That the times did not require the fragmentation of Christendom, but rather a reassertion of the principle of unity: a reassertion made in the full knowledge that the credibility of the principle would only be restored after fundamental purification and reform.

This ability, at a time of religious crisis and confusion, to distinguish essentials from abuses is something we need as much today as More and his contemporaries did. It would be wrong to force too close a comparison between the practice of priestly celibacy and so central a dogmatic principle as the primacy of the successors of St Peter. But the analogy is not altogether inadmissible if, as I believe and have tried to show, the celibate priesthood is an *evolutio secundum evangelium*, a concept of the office of being Christ's representative which has evolved in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel, and which is ripe, not for abandonment (as one reading of the signs of the times might suggest) but for purification and renewal.

For nothing in what I have said should be taken as arguing against the need for further development. On the contrary, although I have not had room to explore possible directions it might take, I have drawn attention in passing to some of the ways in which the priesthood (and the relationship between laity and priesthood) seems to me to stand in urgent need of renewal and development. A separate article would be needed to examine the practical possibilities. But whatever form the development takes, I believe that, in the words of Ida Friederike Görres, it must involve an increase and deepening of our present concept of the office of the priesthood, and not retrogression, diminution or "curtailing its vast possibilities to the measure of the individual bearer's hankering for private happiness".[25]

For me, this means that celibacy is central to the future fruitful development of the priestly office; and that any variations from it which may be sanctioned must be either peripheral modifications to meet special situations or else concessions intended in themselves to draw men gradually back to the celibate ideal. Meanwhile, I believe that the celibate priesthood, renewed, strengthened and re-integrated into the body of the faithful, can do more than any other component of the Church to re-vivify the People of God and set the modern world the example it so badly needs of the transforming power of faith and grace.

[25] Görres: op. cit., pp. 54-55.

THE CONSTITUTION ON THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

by

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WHEN 2,300 bishops from many parts of the globe are gathered together in the ancient city of Rome to pronounce upon the nature of the Christian Church, when they believe that in some sense their deliberations are under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit—indeed that the Spirit is bringing to birth a veritable second Pentecost, when not a few distinguished prelates are persuaded that at long last the Church is being enabled by their efforts to hold an intelligible dialogue with the modern world, when further their activities and pronouncements are given front-page treatment by the communications media: when, in short, the occasion, whether appropriately or not, has become charged with an immense significance it is unlikely that the participants in such a gathering, aware of themselves as the cynosure of all eyes, will underestimate the importance of the work in which they have been engaged.

One of their accomplishments—most of them as yet, it is candidly admitted, still in the realm of words—was the Constitution *de Ecclesia*, "Concerning the Church". Judged as a piece of Christian literature, it is not a very exciting document. But then it is not the first business of prelates to provide excitement. Rather as Dr Albert C. Outler has pointed out, this particular dogmatic pronouncement is "a basic text for study, analysis and negotiation". We may leave on one side the study and analysis, as belonging more fittingly to a seminar or classroom—and take up the topic of *negotiation*. Dialogue is now the order of the day. So let us examine some of the things that a detached, though relatively well-informed, reader might point out with regard to the Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*.

In the first place I think he would linger quite a while on the opening paragraph of the document. In this it is proposed to unfold the nature of the Church to two quite distinct audiences: (1) to the Catholic "faithful", and (2) "to the whole world"—that is, presumably, to all who are not among the faithful. It should be obvious, however, that both of these groups cannot be treated alike, each requires its own specific type of presentation. With the *faithful* the whole of established Catholic tradition can be assumed and taken for granted; but in dealing with "the world", the problems raised by contemporary culture must be examined and debated with. An attempt to do this, in a rather vague and general way, appears in other Council documents (notably, in the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*); but here we are

really dealing with an essay on the Church's understanding of herself, largely for home consumption, and not with the Church in dialogue with her critics, actual or potential. The intention, explicitly stated, is to "follow faithfully the teaching of previous Councils"—not at all to enquire whether, perhaps, that teaching needs to be re-examined and possibly restated in the light of modern knowledge.

The Constitution is a thoroughly traditional and conservative document. Where it differs from parallel pronouncements in the past—for instance, Pope Pius XII's encyclical on the Mystical Body of Christ—is not in opening up any new horizons of thought, but in its ecumenical and pastoral tone, a sympathetic reaching out to those who do not yet belong to what used to be called "the one true fold". The tone of the Constitution, as of all the Council documents, is definitely and by design *pastoral*. Whether this is wholly an advantage is perhaps open to question. Those who acknowledge the authority of the pastor may feel comforted and encouraged; but those who do not, and possibly some of those who do, might have been prepared to sacrifice warmth of tone to greater clarity—and even more to the point, brevity—of expression.

Earlier Councils—Trent and Vatican I for instance—summed up what they particularly wanted to get across, in a number of pithy statements called "canons". This procedure was wisely not followed at Vatican II, for the excellent reason that convention demanded that each canon should terminate with a disagreeable formula taken from St Paul, assigning to everlasting perdition anyone who did not agree with what was said.

But could there not have been a compromise? Why not the pithy statements minus the concluding anathemas? The answer may not be very far to seek. The explanation may lie in nothing more complex than lack of time, mental energy and skill. It is of course much easier to write long rambling documents in which nothing is left unsaid, no avenue unexplored, no stone unturned, than to get clearly in one's mind—in this case, a collective mind—the appropriate thing to say on a given occasion, and then just say it. Should we not have been grateful if the 16 official texts promulgated by Vatican II had been supplemented by a number of brief, clear statements, summarising each of those 16 themes (they run to over 103,000 words!), making the points that seem most relevant to the human situation today? What is very much in need of being updated, I respectfully suggest, is the customary style of the pontifical and episcopal prose. How many of the documents of Vatican II can be read for their intrinsic interest, because something worth saying has been well said? How many of them, less than eighteen months after the close of the Council, are being read at all by any except professional students under compulsion?

Be that as it may, let us turn to the text of the Constitution itself. It begins, a detached observer would point out, not with empirical evidence, or any conclusion drawn from such evidence, but with a confident statement about a hidden plan of the eternal Father when he created the world.

Basically, we are left to infer, the Church is not a matter of *evidence*, it is a "mystery"; we are invited to look forward to the moment when all the just, from Adam, Abel, right down to the last of the elect, "will be gathered together with the Father in the universal Church".

Most of the questions which a contemporary mind would wish to raise about the Church are by-passed, and the discussion, or rather *pronunciamento*, moves at the transcendent level of the divine foreknowledge, election and predestination. What is the precise meaning of the word "church"? What is the relation, if any, between the biblical terms "church" and "kingdom of God"? Did Jesus *found* a new Church, or reconstitute an already existing one, or perhaps neither? What is the evidence that the authority conferred upon Simon Peter was transferable to his successors, assuming that he was meant to have any? To what extent does St Paul's doctrine of the Body of Christ, which is implicit throughout the teaching of Vatican II, reflect the original message of Jesus?

These questions, radical as they may sound, and perhaps still unfamiliar to many Catholic students, are worth raising because of one aspect of the Church's *aggiornamento*. Much has been made by commentators on the Council's teaching of a welcome discovery by Catholic theologians of the importance of history, and of a return to biblical sources. Instead of theologising in the abstract, in Platonic and Aristotelian categories, we are being urged to think existentially, in terms supposedly closer to the minds of the writers of the Old and New Testaments. This is too complicated a theme to be discussed adequately now. Let it suffice to admit, indeed to insist, that Christianity cannot be understood apart from its roots in history and an examination of its written sources. At the same time a point may be made in passing that is sometimes overlooked in the contemporary debates. The point is this: implicit in the orthodox Christian tradition is a style of philosophising which is as much a part of the Catholic inheritance as are the inspired scriptures. It is a type of thought, rarely to be found today, which transcends the alleged dichotomy between "essentialist" and "existentialist" thinking (to employ the current terms) and aims at achieving at least some tentative judgments touching on ultimate truth.

By way of illustrating the occasional ambivalence of the much-favoured biblical terminology, let us take the phrase "people of God" which recurs throughout the Constitution on the Church, as it does constantly in the new vernacular Liturgy. We need not agree with the complaint of a hostile critic who suggests that the ancient and universal Christian Church has recently been transformed into a new sect calling itself "the people of God"—for that is how in fact the earliest Christian community did think of itself. The original biblical source for the phrase is I Peter 2:9-10, "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people . . . who in times past were not a people, but are now the people of God".

This is indeed a poignant description, rooted in Israel's history, of God's setting aside for himself a chosen people. What governed the Council Fathers' selection of "the people of God", as a phrase to

designate the Church, was the consideration that here was a way to remove the emphasis from the juridical, institutional and hierarchical aspects of Catholicism and throw into relief the direct link with God of the entire body of the faithful, laity and clergy alike. Whether the choice was an entirely satisfactory one, seeing that the juridical structure of the Church has scarcely been modified, may be questioned. For in fact what is now being stressed is the element of divine selectivity: the members of the Church are an élite, a social body set over against the lesser breeds without the law who, presumably, are not "the people of God"—or to underline the point by a slight change of wording that does not affect the meaning, who are not "God's own people".

Is this the doctrine which the Council Fathers really wished to highlight, while at the same time encouraging ecumenical approaches to other Christian communions, and even allowing that God's grace can be operative in, for example, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam? Surely, then, it may be argued that there is a sense in which no human being is excluded from the people of God.

To many students it is a matter for curiosity that Catholicism should be following a fundamentalist pattern, associated with certain types of Protestantism, of earnest if not always intelligent appeals to the Bible at the very moment when disinterested biblical scholarship appears to be widening the gap between historical evidence and the interpretations of Christian orthodoxy. It is fashionable nowadays to decry the elements in Church tradition deriving from Greek philosophy. Although it is to be feared that the generation of Catholic writers who give vent to these prejudices owe more to the irrational elements in contemporary existentialism than to a study of Christianity's formative period. Most of the creative thinking that has affected Catholicism in recent years stems from Germany. Rather than comment on that from what might be described as a British standpoint—where the philosophical interest is chiefly on the use of meaningful language—I shall quote an illuminating remark by a modern French writer, himself of the existentialist school, Albert Camus: "The whole effort of German thought has been to substitute for the notion of human nature that of human situation and hence to substitute history for God and modern tragedy for ancient equilibrium . . . But like the Greeks, I believe in nature".[1]

For anyone who is concerned to know what Catholicism is all about, and how it came to be what it is, the focus of interest is not Vatican II, still less Vatican I or Trent, or St Thomas Aquinas or even the fourth century Greek and Latin Fathers: but what happened to the original Christian message between, say, the year 40 A.D. and the year 240. In those two hundred years there took place what has been called the Hellenisation of Christianity: from being a community which was regarded by officials of the Roman Empire as a Jewish sect, it became the Church catholic. This process of development, let me hasten to add, took place by

[1] "Notebooks", N.Y. Review of Books, 23rd Dec, 1965, p. 13.

divine providence, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But what needs to be noticed is that the biblical religion of the Old Testament, itself already tinged in part by Greek influences, was fused with a speculative and ethical philosophy deriving largely from Greece—and the result of that fusion was Catholicism.

Now it is true to say that the Christian revelation is not linked inseparably with any natural philosophy, whether Greek, medieval or modern. Catholic thinkers, when they make use of philosophical categories, should express themselves in the terms best understood by their contemporaries. But what is apt to be overlooked by those who are captivated by the notion of historical progress is that scientific and technological advance does not necessarily bring with it a parallel move forward in basic human insights. Greek philosophy, for example, is not just Greek, any more than German philosophy is just German, circumscribed by time and place. Certain intuitions of Plato and Aristotle are part of the intellectual heritage of mankind, as relevant to us today as are the perhaps no less valuable insights of, say, Heidegger or Jaspers. The march of time has brought with it an increased mastery over the material universe, mysterious as it still remains, but not necessarily a greater depth of understanding in terms of inter-personal relationships. Are there so many of our contemporaries who have more enlightening things to say about man and his condition than the Buddha or Confucius or Lao-tzu or Socrates: all of whom lived several centuries before Christ?

We have come, it would seem, a long way from the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. Not at all: it can easily be shown that the quite unmodern way in which the Church sets out its position goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. Three factors lie behind this procedure. First, there is the taking over by the Christians of the Jewish scriptures, what we now call the Old Testament, and interpreting them in a way that was new and distinctive. Secondly, there was the formulation of the Catholic "rule of faith" (*regula fidei*), by which the Church upheld its own orthodoxy against the heretics, particularly the second and third century gnostics. Thirdly, there arose the tendency to express Catholic teaching in legal terms, to adopt the canonical approach. And this last, it is worth noting, took place not originally at Rome but in the North African Church—under the influence of a Christian lawyer named Tertullian, whose writings had both immediate popular appeal and vast subsequent influence.

In the earliest days of the Church the Christians had no canonical writings of their own comparable to the Old Testament; so they took possession of those belonging to the Jews. (And here, I am afraid, is one of the chief sources of the Christian anti-semitism which has dogged the Church's history down the centuries). There is abundant Christian writing from that time to the effect that Judaism was to be judged as a sect rejected by God, a society of hypocrites, a synagogue of Satan, a people seduced by an evil angel—so that the Jews were declared to have no further right to the possession of the Old Testament.

All this sounds preposterous to us today; it is wholly alien to contemporary Catholic thinking. But the fact remains that in the Church's official teaching the Old Testament is treated as a Christian book. A clear instance of this would be a prophetic passage from chapter 31 of the Book of Jeremiah, quoted in section 9 of the Constitution on the Church, which reappears in the New Testament (Hebrews 8:8 ff.) as fulfilled in Christianity: "Behold the days shall come saith the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the House of Israel, and with the House of Judah . . . I will give my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their hearts and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. . . For all of them shall know me, from the least of them even to the greatest, saith the Lord."

The Catholic "rule of faith" seems to have developed in contradistinction to a "rule" formulated by the gnostic heretics, and was closely linked both with the early baptismal formulas and the original Christian "proclamation" or *kerygma*. Gradually, with the coming of the Church councils and the rise to ascendancy of the See of Rome, the "rule of faith" became more or less the official voice of the Church, the ecclesiastical magisterium.

Catholicism's canonical theology, with its oppressively legal tone, has been much discussed in our own day. But, as usual, it is a question of defining one's terms and evaluating them in their context. The relation between the spirit and the letter of the law is a matter which requires much more careful determination than is customarily given to it. However, that the Church still claims to be an authoritative lawgiver is clear from the following passage of the Constitution:

> But when either the Roman Pontiff or the Body of the Bishops together with him defines a judgment, they pronounce it in accordance with Revelation itself, which all are obliged to abide by and be in conformity with, that is, the Revelation which as written or orally handed down is transmitted in its entirety through the legitimate successors of bishops and especially in care of the Roman Pontiff himself, and which under the guiding light of the Spirit of truth is religiously preserved and faithfully expounded in the Church.[2]

In this passage, of course, nothing is argued; there is no attempt to persuade; we have simple affirmation. That may not be the way to elicit assent from the contemporary mind in this democratic age, but it is the traditional manner of dogmatic constitutions. There, take it or leave it, is the Catholic handout!

And this leads me to some concluding quite personal observations on the Second Vatican Council. To me it seems to have had a beneficent influence, at least in that it has provided us with a more intelligible, though hardly more beautiful, liturgy and a freer atmosphere for dialogue both within the Church and with those outside. Whether these benefits outweigh other results or perhaps by-products of the Council, which are not clearly on the credit side, remains to be seen. One seems to detect an air

[2] *Lumen Gentium*, sec. 25 end.

of no confidence, a tendency on the part of churchmen to follow rather than to lead, a lack of authentic witness to what the Christian life is all about. "For if the trumpet gives an uncertain sound," says St Paul (I Cor. 14:8), "who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

Speaking, however, as one who never at any time cherished any bright expectations from Pope John XXIII's interesting venture, I am not in the least disappointed. Those who appear to have been disappointed may be suffering from mental confusion with regard to what an ecumenical Council is able to undertake. Vatican II's main achievements are in the areas of reforming public worship and Church organisation. What it did not set out to do, and was perhaps incapable of doing, was what many of our intellectuals, and just plain thoughful people, expected from it—namely, a radical restatement of Church doctrine in terms of contemporary thought.

Whether or not that particular outcome was desirable, it was neither the aim nor the function of the Council to bring it about. Bishops seldom have the time, or perhaps the inclination, to become scholars and theologians; nor can they approach doctrinal questions with an open mind. Their minds are loaded, by reason of their office, with a whole weight of pre-conceived ideas. Thus the Constitution on the Church claims to "follow faithfully the teaching of previous Councils", not to strike out afresh.

Where the new thinking in the Church should come from—and there is much need for new thinking, provided it be well informed—is precisely from the scholars and theologians. But they should be men who are themselves aware of what has been thought and said in the past, and so able to place their fresh thinking in proper focus. What requires to be better understood is that bishops on the one hand, and the professional scholars and theologians on the other, have quite distinctive roles to play. There should be few occasions for them to get into one another's hair, as they have done all too frequently in the past. Bishops are largely concerned with what the empirical Church wants to say or do officially at any given moment; the thoughtful man of learning is, or should be, preoccupied with stating the truth as he sees it. So it is, I submit, that the Catholic theologian, who should have no wish to speak in the name of the Church, merely to offer his own highly fallible opinion, should be allowed without anyone's interference to say and write whatever he thinks to be true.

If, however, one has the liberty to speak one's mind then one must also observe certain responsibilities. Stating the truth is almost always a matter of balance and proportion. Therefore the witness to theological truth will resist the temptation to state his case in the eye-catching terms of headlines for the press, to tailor his message to the techniques of radio and television, to provide titbits for the religious sections of *Time* and *Newsweek*. He might even prefer to absent himself from the limelight of ecumenical councils. When St Thomas Aquinas was summoned to just such a council, he found the prospect so uninviting that he died before he got there. The basic content of theology, so he had discovered through his

contemplative prayer, was so all-absorbing that its discussion at the conceptual and verbal level—what we might now call ecumenical dialogue—was an affliction to the spirit.

Let me end these scattered remarks on Vatican II with some wise words by Friedrich von Hügel:

> Never has religion been purely and entirely individual; always has it been, as truly and necessarily, social and institutional, traditional and historical. And this traditional element, not all the religious genius in the world can ever escape or replace: it was there, surrounding and moulding the very pre-natal existence of each of us; it will be there long after we have left the scene. We live and die its wise servants and stewards, or its blind slaves, or in futile, impoverishing revolt against it: we never, for good or for evil, really get beyond its reach.[3]

[3] "The Mystical Element of Religion" (1909).

We must get used to dissonance in the Church. We must learn to understand that tensions need not cancel out the unity of faith, the will to obedience or indeed love. Both sides must get used to that: the officials who must not think that silent assent is a duty of Christian citizens, and the laity who must not think that the fundamental possibility of theological differences of opinion and of particular refusals of obedience entitle them to arbitrary theological thinking and revolutionary obnoxiousness.

KARL RAHNER, S.J., *Demokratie in der Kirche?*

THE SCIENTIFIC PRESUPPOSITIONS OF *HUMANAE VITAE*

by

P. E. HODGSON

There is no need of excuse in returning to the Encyclical, for it must rank as one of the most important documents to come from the signature of a Pope—important less in itself than in the reaction it provoked (quite without precedent) and in the presuppositions lying behind it. Perhaps no document in recent years, except the Conciliar Constitutions on the Church (*Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*) and on the Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) has been so influential.

It is very evident that it is the work of several minds, not all in detail sharing the same philosophies, not all writing at the same level. A cursory illustration of this comes from examining the apparatus. There are several passages, notably at the outset, without references at all. The passages on the competency of the Magisterium and the licit/illicit ways of birth regulation draw heavily on papal statements from Pio Nono to Paul VI. The passages on doctrinal principles (set in a high key) and giving pastoral directives are all related to Vatican decrees. Section 17 on "grave consequences of methods of artificial birth control", dropping altogether below the level of principle to one of prudence, has a single reference. It is important to notice that the several phases of the Encyclical are by several hands, because—men being what they are—this involves various sets of presuppositions. It is clearly not an integrated statement from a single mind or even a single school of thought; and that is in fact heartening, in that it indicates a healthy, if unintentional, pluralism of thought.

Where science comes into conflict with the Church is where the evolutionary law appears to challenge the moral law. Scientists identify and formulate the first as theologians the second; neither of them have responsibility beyond expounding them. But all truth is one, and He who made the evolutionary laws is the Author of the moral law; and he is beyond contradictions. There is a harmony between the two even if it is not evident to us at this moment of development. Only by continual and sympathetic questioning will we find that harmony. What is evident until then is that man is forced into situations involving unavoidable evil (though not sin, for that lies only within himself) whatever course he takes. He is left to choose—an old conundrum in a new guise—an intrinsic evil or inevitable wrong, he is caught between Scylla and Charibdis, between irresponsible and irremovable. Several hierarchies, following Archbishop Hurley of Durban,† have accepted in those cases the principle of Overriding Right or overriding duty at a moment of a conflict of evils. That is as it stands for the time being.

Dr Hodgson has developed his conception of the responsibility of the scientist, including the need for constructive criticism, in two articles in the *Tablet*, 3rd and 10th January 1970. He is a lecturer in nuclear physics at Oxford.

† Cf. Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I., "A New Moral Principle: When Right & Duty clash", *The Furrow* 17 (1966) 619-22; "In Defence of the Principle of the Overriding Right", *Theological Studies* 29 if (June 1968) 301-9. The Archbishop's thesis is this: "When the infringement of an obligation is necessarily involved in the exercise of a proportionate right, the obligation ceases". He recommends its application to the moral problems of contraception, sterilisation and transplanting of organs from living people.

THE morality of human acts cannot be determined without taking into account the nature of man and the concrete circumstances of his life on earth. A necessary preliminary to any discussion of morality is thus the investigation of the relevant facts, and any justification of the conclusions inevitably makes reference to these facts.

The current discussion of the morality of contraception is no exception to this, and it may therefore be useful to summarise and comment upon some of the scientific presuppositions of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. These are of two main types: firstly the scientific data in the arguments brought forward to justify the conclusion of the encyclical, and secondly the general view of science and technology that is implicit in the encyclical itself. Such a study is inevitably tentative because the arguments for the decision have not yet been published in detail,[1] so that the extent to which it depends on particular data is unclear, while the scientific background has to be reconstructed from a few incidental references.

The central decision of *Humanae Vitae* is that the use of artificial (mechanical or chemical) means of preventing conception taking place in a normal act of intercourse is always essentially and intrinsically evil.[2] It can be justified in no circumstances whatever, and so all considerations of hardship, medical danger or population problems are quite irrelevant to its morality.

The traditional natural law argument for this position is that it is always intrinsically evil to frustrate a natural act so as to prevent it fulfilling its essential purpose. To use this argument to justify the decision it must first be shown that the physical nature of the act is decisive from the moral point of view, irrespective of other considerations, and, second, that artificial contraception does indeed frustrate the essential nature of the act. The former is not evident, particularly as in other contexts (e.g., killing) the indubitable physical evil is sometimes permitted for an overriding moral reason.[3] Concerning the latter, the view that the essential purpose of intercourse is procreation in each case is now giving way to a deeper understanding of the purpose and relation of the unitive and procreative aspects. Each normal act is certainly unitive but rarely procreative, and it is impossible to say until later which acts are in fact procreative. Man is quite different in this respect from the higher primates that usually copulate when conception is highly likely, namely at the appropriate stage in the female cycle. It has been plausibly suggested[4] that this difference is due

[1] It would be useful if those who have publically declared their belief in the existence of convincing arguments in favour of the decision would publish them in detail. (See T. C. Potts, *The Month*, March 1968.) This would greatly help the discussion of the Encyclical that has been encouraged by the English Bishops (*Tablet*, 28th September 1968). At present there is very little real discussion as it is generally considered either as above discussion or as unworthy of it.

[2] *Humanae Vitae* 14.

[3] Statement of the French Bishops. *Tablet*, 16th November 1968: extract in AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Spring 1969, p. 70 f.

[4] D. Morris, "The Naked Ape", p. 58.

to the long period of infant dependency in man which requires the parents to stay together far longer than is biologically necessary in other species. The unitive function of intercourse has thus evolved to strengthen the pair bond during this period. Thus, purely biological considerations do not support the view, essential to the natural law argument against contraception, that procreation is the essential purpose of each act of intercourse.[5]

The rhythm method of regulating births is recognised in the Encyclical as legitimate,[6] but it has several disadvantages.[7] It imposes considerable psychological strain on many couples, and requires time and temperature measurements that many people find difficult. Although it is more reliable than mechanical and chemical methods, it is less reliable than the pill, and is useless when no further pregnancy is permissible on medical grounds. (The report[8] that it could also be responsible for infant abnormalities, particularly anencephalus and spina bifida is not correct, as these are genetically determined.)

One of the arguments used in the Encyclical is that the acceptance of artificial contraception "opens up a wide and easy road towards conjugal infidelity and the general lowering of morality".[9] This is a sociological assertion for which there is no scientific evidence.[10]

One of the most revealing statements in the Encyclical is the remark that "marriage is not the effect of chance or the product of evolution of unconscious natural forces; it is the wise institution of the Creator".[11] Presumably this refers to marriage in general and not to specifically Christian marriage, since the reference is to the Creator. The phrase mentions three theories of the origin of marriage and affirms one in opposition to the other two. Considering these in turn, it is certainly the case that many writers have spoken of man as the effect of chance,[12] but their meaning is not always clear. They could be implying a radical indeterminacy in all physical and hence biological processes, but this is unsatisfactory on other grounds and is not required by the evidence,[13] or they could be using the word chance in its normal sense as referring to a process whose outcome is unknown to us because of our ignorance of the detailed mechanism, even though this may in fact be determined. This is then the same as the second theory, that marriage is the result of unconscious evolutionary forces.

[5] See also Dr E. P. Daugherty, "The Lessons of Biology", in "Contraception and Holiness".

[6] *Humanae Vitae* 16.

[7] "Report of the Centre for Population Research", Georgetown University, 1969. This study concerns the calendar method only.

[8] Dr R. G. Cross. Quoted by *Herder Correspondence*, October 1968, p. 308.

[9] *Humanae Vitae* 17.

[10] Dr J. Marshall. Letter to *The Times*, 31st July 1968. Cf. the Pope's recent statement about sociologists and their assertions.

[11] *Humanae Vitae* 8. Cf. E. Schillebeeckx, "Marriage: Secular Reality & Saving Mystery", reviewed in AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Spring 1968, pp. 54-58.

[12] E.g. Professor J. Monod, Inaugural Address, November 1967.

[13] "Causality and Creation". *Tablet*, 17th December 1966.

The theory of evolution is so well-supported that it is simply a general description of the complex series of processes, extending over many millions of years, by which life and ultimately man came to be on earth. There is, of course, much that is still to be understood concerning the details of how this came about, but the overall truth of the theory is indubitable. The point to emphasise is that this is quite consistent with the third theory mentioned in the above quotation. To say an institution evolved is not inconsistent with saying that it is due to a wise Creator; the evolutionary theory just describes how the Creator acted. The antithesis introduced between Divine institution and the evolutionary theory is both unnecessary and misleading. To speak in this way is to betray a pre-scientific mentality that invites the ridicule of those familiar with modern science. Instead of leading the non-Christian on from a recognition and understanding of what he already knows to an appreciation of its deeper significance it repels him from Christianity by putting the science he already knows and values in opposition to the Creator. Furthermore, Christians unfamiliar with science are led to think of it as an alien force opposed to their beliefs, and thus existing misunderstandings are increased and perpetuated.

Modern scientific and technical developments have brought about a great liberation of man. In most countries he does not have to devote all his time to providing for his material needs, and thus has the opportunity to engage in a wide range of academic and cultural pursuits, as well as travel and recreation. Modern medicine has given him a deeper understanding of his own body and how it can be restored to health. This increased freedom brings with it a correspondingly greater responsibility to see that it is rightly used. It is thus difficult to understand the implications of the statement that the Church "engages man not to abdicate from his responsibility in order to rely on technical means",[14] since it is precisely the technical means that increase his power of choice and hence his responsibility.

The possibilities of man's domination over his own body appear limitless, and the moral problem is to decide to what extent interference in bodily functions is licit. According to the encyclical, the limits "cannot be determined otherwise than by the respect due to the integrity of the human organism and its functions".[15] The difficulty with this purely biological criterion is that purely biological processes frequently go seriously wrong, and it is only by interfering with them that life can be maintained. Is it not possible to take into account other laws as well?[16]

The section of the encyclical addressed to men of science contains presuppositions concerning the rhythm method and the nature of the scientific community. Scientists are urged to "provide a sufficiently secure basis for a regulation of birth, founded on the observance of natural

[14] *Humanae Vitae* 18.

[15] *Humanae Vitae* 17.

[16] Luke 10.27.

rhythms".[17] However, "the only means by which a known and determined regulation of births can be secured is in *replacing* the often variable and unpredictable natural rhythms by *imposing*, by some as yet unknown substance—another 'pill'—an *artificial* rhythm of known duration and periodicity". But we "cannot impose a medically-planned rhythm and still retain 'natural rhythms'",[18] so it seems that the encyclical asks the impossible. Even if this difficulty could be overcome, there would still remain the uncertainty due to the variable life of the sperm. Furthermore, it is not clear why the rhythm method must be improved if the sexual act must always remain "open to the transmission of life".[19] Is "the rhythm method acceptable only because it carries a chance of failure, and are 'men of science' being asked merely to shorten the odds? Why bother when we already have the pill?"[20]

Although the section of the encyclical addressed to scientists is evidence of general goodwill towards science, it was not always well received by them.[21] Scientists find it very odd that a spiritual power should attach absolute importance to the purely biological nature of an act, and then take so little account of the results of relevant scientific researches. It seems to many of them that the Church has got itself into quite unnecessary difficulties by strict adherence to past norms and then, instead of developing these norms in the light of modern knowledge, it appeals to scientists to provide a solution. Scientists as a whole have little taste for this sort of work, and *World Medicine* represented the views of many of them when it remarked in an editorial "the Pope has rejected the results of scientific investigation into the nature of human sexuality and, against the background of this contemptuous dismissal of scientific research, his exhortations to doctors and 'men of science' are not only arrogantly presumptuous, but also gratuitously insulting".[20] This makes painful reading, but it is just what would be expected by anyone familiar with the scientific community.

It might be useful to mention some of the considerations that could be taken into account in this discussion. In the first place the whole problem of the morality of contraception should be treated not only from a consideration of each individual act, but also from the viewpoint of man's gradual evolution and striving towards perfection.[22] It could usefully take into account the limits imposed by his environment and by the circumstances of his life. Nothing less than a total view of man suffices as a precondition of the discussion.

The limitation of man's environment to this planet implies that the average reproducing family size cannot exceed two without ultimately leading to catastrophe. This is an inescapable fact and sets a definite

[17] *Humanae Vitae* 24.
[18] Sir Francis Walshe. Letter to the *Tablet*, 7th September 1968.
[19] *Humanae Vitae* 11.
[20] *World Medicine*, Editorial, 27th August 1968.
[21] "Scientific Reactions to *Humanae Vitae*", New Blackfriars, April 1969.
[22] *Humanae Vitae* 7.

boundary condition to any discussion of sexual morality. It is only quite recently that the declining death rate due to advances in medical science has made it imperative to take this into account.[23] A detailed analysis of the consequences of this fact leads to the necessity of contraception in many marriages.[24]

On the level of the individual acts, some consideration of the consequences of the probabilistic nature of contraception would seem desirable. It has been argued[25] that since no method of contraception is completely reliable all contraceptive intercourse remains "open to the transmission of life"[26] to some slight degree. This argument would, however, empty the encyclical of all meaning. What could be said, however, about methods that are 90% reliable, that might well be useful to couples who look forward to more children but who for legitimate reasons wish to spread them out a little?

In the absence of a detailed justification of the decision, it is difficult to know to what extent it depends on these scientific presuppositions. If it does not depend on them it might have been preferable not to mention them at all, for the way they are presented inevitably weakens the authority of the decision.[27] If, however, it does depend on them it will be necessary to consider to what extent the decision should be altered by a thorough reconsideration in the light of new knowledge.

The studies of the Papal Commission were conducted in a very thorough way and experts in the relevant fields of medicine, demography, sociology and economics participated throughout.[28] The final report[29] was scientifically accurate, and took account of all the data in a balanced way. The encyclical, however, shows little trace of this work. Indeed, a reader unfamiliar with its origin might well conclude that it is the work of minds enslaved by the past, impervious to the present and fearful of the future, living in a remote community with no effective contact with scientists or doctors, or indeed with the whole development in the understanding of man and his nature that has taken place in the last hundred years.

[23] See Dr F. F. Darling's fourth Reith Lecture, *Listener*, 4th December 1969.
[24] J. L. Russell, S.J., "Contraception and the Natural Law", *Heythrop Journal* X (1969) 121. This closely-reasoned and carefully worded study deserves wide attention.
[25] Dr J. McCarthy. Letter to the *Tablet*, 31st August 1968.
[26] *Humanae Vitae* 11.
[27] See "Authority in the Scientific Community", Ampleforth Journal, Autumn 1969, pp. 386-95.
[28] An extensive bibliography of the documents relating to the discussion of birth control both before and after *Humanae Vitae* is given in Ampleforth Journal, Spring 1969, pp. 66-72.
[29] See "On Human Life", Burns & Oates, 1968.

INTERIOR DEBATE, EXTERIOR UNIFORMITY

THE ABBOT PRIMATE'S RESPONSE AT THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS

by

ABBOT REMBERT WEAKLAND, O.S.B.

At a time when Curial Cardinals are clamouring for unanimity and Cardinals Primate are pleading for debate in open forum on the celibacy matter (caught as they are between the upper millstone of the Pope and the lower millstone of their own priests), when the collegial principle is underscored at the same synod where the Pope appealed for simple adhesion to a decision which cannot be questioned, this synodal intervention on faith and communication has a special relevance.

It was made at the World Synod of Bishops on 16th October 1969 by the Abbot Primate of the Benedictine Order. He here introduces his intervention (in two parts) with a commentary to set it in context. Born in 1927, Abbot of St Vincent Latrobe from 1963, he will have been one of the youngest (if not the youngest) prelates present with right to participate: in that light, he represented the newer voices in the Church.

Of the three Cardinals mentioned, Cardinal Garrone is Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education (Seminaries, Universities, Schools); and Cardinal Wright is Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy (Clergy Studies, Ministry of the Word, Ecclesiastical Temporalities). Cardinal Daniélou is a close adviser of the Pope.

THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS

16TH OCTOBER 1969

BOTH Cardinal Gabriel Garrone and Cardinal Jean Daniélou, S.J., spoke in the Synod of Bishops of the crisis of Faith in the Church. To both of them this back-drop could not be out of sight during the discussions of the Synod. These allusions to a Faith-crisis in many of the members of the Church, naturally enough, meant that that back-drop did not depict a scene of tranquil confidence, but rather an atmosphere of tension. The solution they proposed varied somewhat in tone: Cardinal Garrone suggested that the bond between Pontiff and bishops be one of agreement so that the minds of the faithful be not perturbed; Cardinal Daniélou emphasized the importance of a single firm authority to counteract this crisis. These two solutions seemed to me too simplistic. They proceeded from the premise that the Faith problem could be solved by stronger authority figures and by stronger and more united positions by those in authority. The situation, it seemed to me, in the Church was not exactly that presupposed by the two cardinals: namely, that some people were in doubt as to the exact contents or meaning of this or that particular article of Faith and that these doubts could be allayed by a strong authoritative pronouncement. Instead, we live in a world where strong differences of opinion are clearly visible because of the opportunities of open forum. These differences are seen even in the Church among high ranking

dignitaries. Some might wish they did not exist and might be scandalised by them, but they remain a natural, healthy sign of life and growth. What causes the most dangerous crisis of Faith is any attempt to hide such differences in the name of loyalty or charity. One felt a certain tension in the Synod with regard to this problem: if disagreements were openly aired it would scandalise the faithful. There was also an inevitable tension that to speak in favour of collegiality would be interpreted as speaking against the specific role of the Pope. Perhaps this accounted for the seemingly unnecessary repetitions of orthodox assertions of loyalty on the part of some speakers. There was an inner need to affirm their loyalty before taking issue with any point of the schema.

If the Church is constantly afraid that any disagreement in opinion among its leading prelates will lead to a weakening of Faith in the members, then she will necessarily have to continue to operate in secrecy behind closed doors, a method that leads more to politics than to truth and honest, clear, sincere exchange. A Synod would then become a prefabricated show. It is for this reason that the Faithful, too, must be taught to accept open dialogue as the means of arriving at solutions within the Church. Such sincerity and honesty in the search will heighten, not weaken, the credibility in the Church itself. It was in the light of this back-drop that I said in the Synod:

> "I would like to reaffirm the statement of Cardinal Garrone and of Cardinal Daniélou that the discussions here must be seen in the light of the crisis of Faith in the Church. This crisis is not just a phenomenon within the Church, but concerns the very credibility of the Church itself. However—and in this I hope and believe the Most Reverend Cardinals would agree—I must state that this crisis will not be helped by a false and exterior manifestation of agreement, even if in the spirit of charity. It can only be helped by a clear and free opening of our opinions on the problems that vex the Church today. Any kind of sham or pretence, any lack of sincerity, openness or honesty, any sign of fear or intimidation in our discussions will render the Church less credible. There have arisen scandals in the Church among some of the faithful because of disagreement among the members, but the greatest scandal and the deepest crisis arises, especially among the young, from a hiding or glossing-over of differences which, as all know, must be present in the Church from its human aspect. This Synod, to be of value, must show that the Church is willing to find the necessary new structures within which differences of opinion can be expressed and worked out in a spirit of charity. Only in this way does one come to a true consensus."

In discussing the problem of subsidiarity in the Church one necessarily touches on the problem of the local Church and how it is linked administratively to Rome. No one would deny that the Pope needs an efficient administrative organism around him (call it the Curia or what you will), but no one would say that any special form that this administrative organism takes would be of divine origin. Time demands changes in such organisms, and the Church must therefore be flexible with regard

to their structure. The question must be asked: what structure fits best the concepts of collegiality and at the same time permits a necessary subsidiarity in our times? To answer this, one must fall back on the natural structures as they exist in our society, in our world. The Vatican still operates on a world basis through delegates and nuncios and accepts ambassadors from particular nations. Cultural and national differences cannot be ignored. The mentality of Ghana is not that of Holland, and the problems of U.S.A. are not—right now at least—those of New Guinea. The Church is not a super-culture but finds her incarnation in the historical development of cultures. It is true that she must at times remain detached and aloof, at other times develop and create, but always in a specific context of a specific culture.

Cardinal John Wright saw a certain danger in emphasizing the National Conferences of Bishops in the discussion of collegiality because of the dangers of nationalism. These dangers are real and it is good to hear them reiterated. The Church in any specific nation could easily—and even by means of its national conference—become the puppet for a nation's political interests that would jeopardise the freedom of the Church and its message. Cardinal Wright introduced into this context a theological consideration that one can only speak of the simple diocese as the local church. I am sure many theologians would find this concept of local church far too narrow and historically untenable. To speak theologically only of the local diocese and the Roman see does not solve the problem of how to organise on an effective basis a collegial instrument.

The fear of an organisation in which only the Roman see and the local diocese would interact is also real: it easily leads to the imposition of uniformity in all Church practice through a highly centralised administrative body. The fear of nationalism is to be avoided, but also the fear of external uniformity that does not take into account the national and cultural differences. For these reasons the National Conferences seem the best solution for our times, but without pronouncing such a structure of divine origin so that further modifications can be easily adopted as history progresses. For these reasons I stated in the Synod:

> "Although His Eminence Cardinal Wright rightly pointed out the necessity of avoiding the evil of exaggerated nationalism as in the past, nevertheless we must, as Cardinal Daniélou said, accept the facts as they are. We cannot ignore the cultural differences in the world. Thus, although avoiding exaggerated nationalism, we must at the same time avoid a new imperialism or absolutism of conformity. The National Conferences of Bishops, in close union with the Holy Father and among themselves, remain, at least for our day, the best means of creating a balance between these two tendencies. Therefore the Conferences should be strengthened. Perhaps after a few centuries the Pope and the fathers of a space synod will have to decide otherwise."

THE MODERNIST MOVEMENT IN RETROSPECT

A Review Article

by

Bernard Reardon

The events of the first decade of this century are receiving their due and overdue attention from Church historians because they have come to have, as a timely cautionary tale, a strong bearing on the present situation. If history is past politics, then past history can become present politics when it has the power to throw light on the contemporary scene and affect it: that is what Modernism is managing to do now.

Fr Bernard Reardon, senior lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies at Newcastle University, has twice before written for us on this subject, first reviewing John Ratté's book, "Three Modernists", and then reviewing J. J. Heaney's book, "The Modernist Crisis: Von Hügel". He is himself writing a book on the subject and supervising doctoral theses in the field.

Recent articles in this Journal have dealt with new books on Modernism hailing from the U.S.A. A third now reaches us, *via* an English translation published by the Oxford University Press, from Italy. The author is Dr Michele Ranchetti, who naturally enough views his subject in a transalpine perspective, the greater part of his work being devoted to the course of the movement in Italy and to the personalities with which it was associated.[1] This is likely to be of real interest to English readers, to whom the names of von Hügel, Tyrrell and Loisy are more familiar. For Italy, unlike Germany, was a main centre of Modernist teaching and influence. Indeed it has been said that Modernism proper was a movement of the Latin mind and that at the head of every department of its activity stood a man of Latin race. The observation may be exaggerative—Tyrrell and von Hügel were no mere off-shoots of an essentially Latin plant—but it has substance. Although no Italian exponent of Modernist views achieved the international fame of Loisy, Italians were numerous among the movement's lesser lights. It could even be argued that in Italy alone did Modernism really deserve to be described as a *movement*, and it continued its struggling existence there for some time after *Pascendi* and the excommunication of Loisy and Tyrrell, Buonaiuti's "Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche" survived until September 1910. Buonaiuti himself—like Miss Petre in this country—soldiered on as a lone Modernist for years after, although his opinion of the movement so far changed in the end as to make his own part in it seem to him no more than "a youthful mistake".

The history of Modernism was well documented by its protagonists, who have given to the world an abundance of memoirs, letters and con-

[1] "The Catholic Modernists, a Study of the Religious Reform Movement 1864-1907", 1969. Pp. x and 230. 45s.

temporary comment generally. First and foremost, of course, are Loisy's monumental "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire religieuse de notre temps". Completed in 1931, they are as full, down to that date, as could be wished, drawing as they do upon a mass of correspondence and quotidian jottings garnered over many decades.[2] As Dr Ranchetti remarks, they "follow the day-to-day progress of a young priest who realised that his own story would be immensely valuable, both humanly and ecclesiastically, and who therefore compiled an enormous dossier of irrefutable evidence that would help towards an understanding of the religious history of his age". The extraordinary candour of the "Mémoires", as well as their frequently mordant style, makes them fascinating reading. The author, always an aloof, solitary man, is self-absorbed. Ever convinced of his own right judgment, his ironical detachment saves him from becoming a self-justificatory bore; although it has to be admitted that most of the irony is expended upon others, not upon himself. On the contrary, he seldom takes the trouble to be fair to others and freely speculates on the purity of their motives and even on their mental condition. That von Hügel, for example, a consistent friend, should in the time of crisis have held on to his Catholic faith he attributes to his ailing health. Loisy alone, we are to believe, saw things as they really were. "Ethical and theoretical thought," remarked Dr Ranchetti, "were narrowed to such an extent that science, freedom, free investigation, relative or absolute truth, all the bases of judgment, were no longer critically dealt with but were used to prop up Loisy's own attitudes." It may be so, yet the little abbé's keenly critical intelligence informs everything he writes.

Loisy's personal account of the movement must, then, be used with circumspection, but as a study of the psychology alike of religious belief and unbelief it has had few rivals in any age. Tyrrell's "Autobiography", along with Maude Petre's "Life" (1912), is of scarcely less interest, however. Tyrrell, surely, was the authentic Modernist, the truest representative and most forthright publicist of the views and opinions, the hopes and the doubts, which the movement drew into itself. Von Hügel proclaimed him a model of Catholic and Christian spirituality, and respected him highly as a thinker. *Thinker*, we should agree, is the word, since rather like Newman (whose influence on Tyrrell was hardly more than passing) he was not specifically a philosopher (though he taught philosophy at Stonyhurst for a while), an academic theologian, an exegete or a historian. Brought up in the uninspiring Protestantism of the Church of Ireland, he became a Roman Catholic at the age of 18; but Dr Ranchetti over-rates the importance of Tyrrell's "conversion" in the formation of his mind. At the time he was a pretty callow youth and showed no sign of either intellectual or spiritual gift. After his extrusion from the Society of Jesus and his failure to regularise his position as a priest he had, it is true, intermittent thoughts of returning to the Anglican fold, but behind them there was little more than pique—understandable enough—and nostalgia. But it can be said

[2] His papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale are to be released in two instalments, the first next year, the second in 1981.

that the "Life" and his own letters disclose a constant wish to found "a new philosophy of religion, different from the teaching of Rome yet within the Church and through the truth of the Church", and that to this new philosophy the traditions of other Christian denominations would have something to contribute, besides the various intellectual forces, characteristic of the modern world, which lie outside Christianity altogether. Tyrrell, in fact, was a man of deep religious sentiment, which Loisy, on his own showing, was not.[3]

Next in order come von Hügel's letters. These include the published "Selected Letters", edited by Bernard Holland in 1925, but also the papers at St Andrews University and his correspondence with Tyrrell, now in the British Museum. Of the baron's own very active part in the movement we have already spoken.[4] Suffice it to say here that he was ever the movement's friend and patron, prompt with advice and encouragement always most conscientiously considered, whatever the circumstances. For a decade and more the *aggiornamento* of Catholicism for which he and his associates hoped and strove dominated his mind. "I am having", he wrote to Tyrrell, "the strange, very sobering impression that God is deigning to use me—me, in my measure, along with others who can and do do more, and much more—towards making, not simply registering history. And, dear me, what a costing process *that* is!" Time and experience were to bring home to him the full truth of his words.[5]

In Italy the scene revealed many figures, if none whose interest is as commanding as that of the men just mentioned. Ernesto Buonaiuti's autobiography, "Pellegrino di Roma",[6] however, at once calls for attention. It is an odd book, characteristic of its idiosyncratic author. Ordained priest in 1903, he first taught philosophy at the College of the Propaganda in Rome, but his opinions soon got him into trouble. His particular *flair* was for periodical publication. Besides the "Rivista storico-critica", he also undertook the short-lived "Nova et Vetera" (1908). Later he edited *Ricerche religiosi*, till it, too, was put on the Index. He in all probability was the author of the anonymous "Programma dei Modernisti", an outspoken reply to "Pascendi". In 1915 he was appointed to the chair of the history of

[3] Nevertheless Loisy was not all intellect, although he was careful to hide his feelings. Many passages from the "Mémoires" were excised from the published version. These revealed, according to Houtin, "instead of a peaceful mind, one which was profoundly troubled, instead of an avid and narrow heart, a whole world of passionate, tender feelings, instead of a life filled only with the search for truth, an existence tortured with every kind of doubt, ambition . . . and deception". (A. Houtin and F. Sartiaux, "Alfred Loisy, sa vie, son oeuvre", ed. E. Poulat, p. 57.)

[4] THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Autumn 1969.

[5] In recent years the publication of a series of volumes of Maurice Blondel's letters, along with those of his correspondents, has added very considerably to our understanding of the philosophical movement to which "L'Action" gave the prime impetus. These include Père René Marlé's "Au coeur de la crise moderniste : le dossier inédit d'une controverse" (1960), the two volumes of the Blondel-Auguste Valensin correspondence (1961), and the Blondel-Lucien Laberthonnière "Correspondence philosophique" (1961).

[6] Rome, 1945; 2nd ed., Bari, 1964.

Christianity at Rome University, but his relations with the Vatican remained difficult. In 1926 he was excommunicated. Dismissal from his professorship by the Fascist government quickly followed, for the negotiations were then under weigh which produced the Lateran Treaty of 1930. His persistent refusal to take the Fascist oath, moreover, ended in his banishment from the university altogether. Finally, in 1944, the Vatican placed his complete works on the Index, and also successfully opposed his reinstatement at the university under the new government. He died in 1946, at the age of 65.

The "Pellegrino di Roma", with which should be coupled "Una fede e una disciplina" (1925), is less a record of Modernism as a movement than a personal interpretation by one of its most active supporters upon whom, however, in the end, disillusionment settled. As he says himself, "the modernist crisis . . . caught me up completely and swept me into its explosive centre. But I was quickly disabused, and all that was paradoxical and untimely and eccentric in the—admittedly very noble—programme of the movement, which, though it would all at once make the Church irresistibly effective, thanks to a basic renewal of its attitudes and outlook, soon fell away like dross. No one around me believed so, and I was left to my solitary pilrimage". But in saying this, no doubt in all sincerity, was he really speaking the truth? In view of known facts the disillusionment must surely have been less sudden and radical. It is in human nature to minimise the binding-power of former convictions since abandoned. A man who was unquestionably a force among the Italian *modernisti*, Salvatore Minocchi saw matters differently, and in an open letter to Buonaiuti in the "Giornale d'Italia" (17th February 1925) declared flatly: "You are wrong. That time, which I lived through with you, or even before you did, was in fact the solemn moment in which our young souls rose to a higher faith, with a wider vision of the Christian principle, leaving behind them the dross of a theological tradition that was destined to vanish with civilisation". Of the many who then shared this brave hope was he, Buonaiuti, the one alone to regret it? "The first error into which you fell was your repudiation of Modernism."

Minocchi himself edited "Studi religiosi", but suppressed it on the publication of "Pascendi". At the beginning of 1908 he was suspended by his bishop. Later in the year he was laicised and in 1911 he married, being at the time lecturer in Hebrew language and literature at the university of Pisa, a post he was to retain until dismissal by the Mussolini regime, at the instance—or so it is said—of the philosopher and idealogue of Fascism, Giovanni Gentile. He published much, although no work of major importance. His "Memorie di un modernista" remains in manuscript, apart from the extracts published in 1948 and 1961.

A very distinguished figure, and probably the real leader of Italian Modernism, was the Barnabite, Giovanni Semeria, a fine preacher, a learned scholar and an engaging personality. Among his close friends were Loisy and Paul Sabatier, a liberal Protestant but a strong Modernist sympathiser. It was Semeria who, along with Minocchi, paid a much-

talked of visit to Leo Tolstoy in 1903. Such, indeed, was the respect in which he came to be held that when the anti-Modernist oath was imposed in 1910 he was expressly permitted to take it subject to certain reservations of his own. But condemnation came at last and he was suspended from all duties in Italy, although shortly afterwards he was welcomed by Cardinal Mercier in Belgium. During the first world war he served as an army chaplain. His best-known works of scholarship were "Dogma, gerarchia e culto nella chiesa primitiva" (1902) and "Scienza e fede" (1903).

A moderate liberal in opinions was Giovanni Genocchi, of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart, consultant of the Biblical Commission of 1903 and something of a go-between for both Modernists and their opponents. Not surprisingly he was attacked from both sides. But he never fell into official disfavour and at the time of his death in 1926 was about to be made a cardinal. Another liberal, Don Romolo Murri, belongs rather to the political wing of Italian Modernism, since theologically he was an unbudging conservative. Nevertheless his political activities got him into trouble; suspended *a divinis* in 1907, he was excommunicated in 1909.

Best known however outside Italy was Antonio Fogazzaro, poet, novelist and senator. A fervent admirer of Rosmini he believed that in Catholicism there are forces tending not only to preserve ancient forms but to produce new. Later he came under Semeria's influence and despite the condemnation of his novel, "Il Santo" (1905),[7] and his unfeigned respect for authority—Loisy he had openly repudiated—he was among the sponsors of the Modernist periodical "Il Rinnovamento", the first number of which appeared in January 1907. From the start this last had strong support, others associated with it being Alfieri, Casati and Gallarati-Scotti, Fogazzaro's biographer. Von Hügel, too, gave it warm encouragement. But officialdom soon frowned upon it, von Hügel indeed being rebuked by name —the only occasion in his life when he incurred such distinction. Undeterred, the baron continued warm in his praise of "those young fellows in Milan" who were "acting *admirably*, like the chivalrous, high-minded gentlemen, and strong-souled, tough-willed Christians and Catholics that they are". In fact "Il Rinnovamento" became the storm-centre of discussion and Pius X, in an allocution (17th April) to the Cardinals, warned the faithful against "rebels who profess and repeat, in subtle phrases, monstrous errors . . . the poisonous distillation of all heresies". Mgr Benigni's "Corrispondenza Romana", needless to say, was beside itself with protests and execrations. Indeed, in face of the commotion authority could hardly have failed to act. "Lamentabili sane exitu", rejecting 65 allegedly Modernist propositions (most of them culled from Loisy's writings) was issued in July 1907, to be followed in September by "Pascendi

[7] The "Civilità Cattolica" complained that "the author of 'Il Santo' has suggested to his Italian admirers nothing less than a reform of divine Christianity through utopian ideas of a Christian humanism that consists of unrestrained inquiry, mystical rationalism, Pharisaical scandals, personal independence and scorn of tradition, all wrapped up in a visionary's burst of asceticism. Society certainly needs no such 'saints' to be saved, nor do they deserve a book to do them honour!"

dominici gregis". In November Cardinal Ferrari of Milan forbade the buying or reading of "Il Rinnovamento" under pain, for priests, of suspension, and little more than a month later he excommunicated the review's editors, directors, authors and collaborators" in a bunch. Even so it still survived and von Hügel himself continued to write for it and to champion its cause, though Tyrrell's enthusiasm was more qualified, since he disliked the extreme immanentism of certain of its contributors. In fact it did not cease publication until the end of 1909. Even then, when von Hügel talked the matter over with Don Achille Ratti—afterwards Pope Pius XI—he noticed with satisfaction the latter's "kindly feeling for the young men".

The story of the final suppression of Modernism has often been told and hardly needs re-telling. Pius X was a saintly pontiff, but it has been said—without cynicism—that saints rarely make wise popes. (Pius V may be thought a case in point.) The former Cardinal Sarto, himself no theologian and almost void of any sense of the intellectual needs of the age to which as supreme pontiff he was called to minister, took fright at the least suggestion of doctrinal renovation. Leo XIII, at heart, had had little enough regard for "liberalism", but, as a *politique*, he was concerned for the image (to use our own jargon) which the Catholic Church assumed in the eyes of the world. His successor's horizons were narrower, and Pius soon became obsessed by the idea that the faith was in peril not only from external enemies but from traitors within. At the very outset of his pontificate he had referred publicly to the "insidious 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". The wonder is that he did not strike sooner than he did.

With the definitive pronouncements of the summer and autumn of 1907 Modernism was shattered. "Lamentabili" made it clear that in the present century there could be no modification of the Church's doctrinal tradition, any more than in the days of "Quanta cura". Criticism could exist only by recognising that its conclusions had already been prescribed. And "Pascendi" settled matters. It explained Modernism in its own way and to its own satisfaction. That the Modernists themselves rejected it as—to use Loisy's phrase—"a fantasy of the theological imagination" was of no consequence. Whose hand (or hands) had drafted it? Père Billot's? Cardinal Steinhuber's? The precise authorship is irrelevant. No one today is likely to take the document seriously as an interpretation of what it so uncompromisingly condemned. But what came afterwards was a mopping-up operation in which Benigni (among others) played a rôle that well prepared him for the services he later was to render Fascism. With the succession of Benedict XV the scare died down and in any case Europe was gripped by other and graver concerns. However, the comprehensive anti-Modernist oath, first imposed in 1910 (by the motu proprio "Sacrorum antistitum"), was to continue and even today is still a quite recent memory.

Dr Ranchetti has produced a book which the student of Modernism will on the whole welcome, although for the general reader it assumes an

acquaintance with the subject such as he probably will not have. It also is marred by a frequent opacity of style which Miss Isabel Quigley's not always very elegant translation does not dispel. Thus the present reviewer is still of the opinion that a really good, up-to-date account of Modernism, at least for English readers, remains to be undertaken. But any such enterprise had now better wait until the Loisy papers have been made available.

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Since the foregoing was written two further books on Modernism have made their appearance: "A Variety of Catholic Modernists", by A. R. Vidler (Cambridge University Press, viii and 232 p. 50/-) and "Pilgrim of Rome", by C. Nelson and N. Pittenger (James Nisbet, x and 186 p. 45/-). The second of these is designed as an introduction to the life and work of Buonaiuti, and as such is welcome. The bulk of the volume consists of extracts from Buonaiuti's writings, in an English translation that copes well enough with his florid Italian prose. They include a lengthy passage from "Il Pellegrino di Roma", as well as excerpts from "Il Programma dei modernisti" (a version of which Tyrrell produced in 1908), "Le modernisme catholique", "La chiesa romana" and other publications. On the impact of "Pascendi" in Italy the author, himself of course in the thick of the conflict from the start, is especially interesting. It is sad, though, to read how the encyclical was applauded by humanistic socialists like Treves ("We should frame this document"). They did so, as Buonaiuti says, to be able to continue to represent the Church as an anachronistic and obscurantist institution conspiring with the capitalist world against the rising working class. Alas, where power, policy and propaganda are involved—and politics, civil and ecclesiastical, is compounded of them all —how slender, ultimately, is the care for either truth or justice! Yet such a free-thinking intellectual as Croce was no more sympathetic; with true Hegelian complacency he found the whole thing nicely explicable in terms of the historical dialectic.

Buonaiuti was an impassioned advocate, the force of whose personal commitment undoubtedly comes through in these selections. Unfortunately, although ten years in gestation, the present book is less valuable than it might have been. There is too much panegyric at the expense of plain fact, and the omission of any bibliography is a serious fault. There is also no index, nor are page-references given for the extracts, and the proof-reading has been careless. Of the five contributory essays the best is George La Piana's Harvard Divinity School address entitled "Ernesto Buonaiuti's Spiritual Vision of Life"; but it dates from as long ago as 1946, shortly after Buonaiuti's death.

Dr Vidler's book is evidently intended less as a sequel to his "Modernist Movement in the Roman Church" (1934) than a replacement thereof, since the latter is now out of print and is not likely to be re-printed. It is not wholly a replacement, however. The earlier book, for

long the only comprehensive account of the movement in English, sets Modernism in its historical context as well as supplying a narrative of events, mainly as regards its two great protagonists; and it admirably combines sympathy with impartiality. The introduction to the new volume tells how its author's life-long interest in this subject began—and he probably knows more about the movement than any other English-speaking scholar. He also recalls the reception of his first book by the English Catholic press: it was not a friendly one. "The Catholic Times" (19th October 1934), for example, opened its review with the sentence: "About thirty years ago there ended a movement within the Church which would never have started had the chief participators not succumbed to the temptation of intellectual pride"; and concluded with the Pecksniffian pronouncement: "The encyclical *Pascendi* brought the Modernist Movement to an end. It is dead, let it lie buried. This attempt at exhumation, even on a plea of history, is not worth the attention of Catholics". Since then there have been repeated exhumations, and some may think that the corpse now leers back menacingly at those who vainly tried to inter it. As Loisy once said, ideas are not killed with a blow from a bishop's crozier.

"A Variety of Catholic Modernists", as its title implies, is an eclectic study. Of the seven chapters two are devoted to Loisy and deal firmly and in detail with what the author considers to be the false insinuations and misrepresentations of Houtin and others. Loisy, whom Vidler knew personally, had (as we have said) his fair share of human weaknesses, egocentricity not least among them—although Bremond thought him less egocentric than Newman. But Houtin was a disciple disillusioned and all he afterwards wrote of his former idol is coloured by his bias. Loisy's undeniably was a complex, elusive character—reserved and sensitive, suspicious of others and given to the vanity which regrettably is not seldom to be found among scholars and academics. However—and this is the question that hangs over his memory—was his Catholic modernism in fact only a sham and had he not, from about 1886 or even earlier, been a sceptic if not an atheist? Vidler, following Bremond's pseudonymous "Un clerc qui n'a pas trahi", argues that the answer must be No and that in 1902, when Loisy published "L'Evangile et l'Eglise"—the watershed of his career as a Modernist—he was sincerely Catholic.[8]

Subsequent chapters deal with other French Modernists, and notably Marcel Hébert, although Dr Vidler has also some pertinent remarks on Blondel, whom he compares to the Anglican Bishop Gore: both "at first appeared to be *avant-garde* Christian thinkers and both for the rest of their lives not only refused to go any further or to budge from the

[8] The inscription Loisy himself directed to be set upon his gravestone reads as follows:
ALFRED LOISY
Prêtre
Retiré du ministère et de l'enseignement
Professeur au Collège de France
Tuam in votis tenuit voluntatem.

positions that they had taken up in the 1890s, but became extremely censorious of any who did go further in the exploration of uncharted theological territory". Blondel influenced Modernists, that is, but was not himself really to be counted among them, largely from genuine conviction but also, one may suspect, from a certain old-maidish timidity (paralleled in Gore's case by a kind of obstinacy, the blindness of those who won't see).

Among the English sympathisers with the movement Dr Vidler singles out, somewhat surprisingly, Edmund Bishop, who has not till now figured in histories of Modernism. Here indeed he has done some quite original research in the Downside papers—Bishop is buried at Downside—and reveals that in private this unobtrusive layman, a convert to Roman Catholicism at the age of 21, "acknowledged, and acknowledged emphatically, that he was a modernist" himself. But although Bishop held Modernist opinions he had little hope that any such reforms as Modernists generally sought would ever come about. As he wrote (28th June, 1908) to von Hügel, that repository of confidences: "I do *not* believe, have long not believed, in those party, or non-party, efforts for 'reform' in the Church, as I think they originate in an entirely false estimate of the situation and want of realisation of what the modern 'R.C. Church' has constituted itself as being". He thought the state of the Church, Jesuit-dominated as he judged it to be, "*irreformably* settled". His comment on "Pascendi" was simply "that scandals must needs come". As for von Hügel himself Dr Vidler rightly deplores the sustained attempt to minimise his Modernist role, a fault detectable even in the *Selected Letters* and not wholly absent from the otherwise admirable biography by Michael de la Bedoyère. The fact is that in all *critical* matters, as distinct from philosophical, von Hügel was as much a Modernist as any, Loisy alone excepted. C. C. J. Webb, who knew him well and had no reason to mask the truth, had no doubt of this whatever. And Nédoncelle's penetrating study of von Hügel's thought also bears it out.

Dr. Vidler's book is a mine of unfamiliar information and is written with the author's usual ease and unselfconscious grace of style, although every statement is precisely documented. Another attractive feature of the book, the best of those dealing with this subject that have lately appeared in English, is its illustrations. For a moment, as one looks at the excellent photograph of Loisy, fashionably dressed in frock coat and cravat, one seems able to stay the past in its ever-retreating motion.

THE HOLY BIBLE

ENGLISH TEXT, AMERICAN COMMENTARY
A REVIEW OF THE *NEB* AND THE *JEROME*

by

BERNARD ORCHARD, O.S.B.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

English biblical scholarship has been undergoing a renaissance of unprecedented proportions during the last few years. In 1966 the RSV (Roman Catholic version) appeared, in 1967 "The Jerusalem Bible" (English version), in 1968 "The Jerome Biblical Commentary" (admittedly American, but at once taken into English use), in 1969 "The New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture", and now in 1970 "The New English Bible" complete with a NT second edition. Never before has the Word of God in words of men been better presented and better explained in any place or any language; and we might pause to remind ourselves that, as Professor Owen Chadwick has brought out in his second volume of "The Victorian Church", English Protestant biblical scholarship has led the world for over a hundred years now, and we are only reaping the fruits often without having been among the sowers. English-speaking Catholics owe a very real debt to this brilliant tradition of scholarship.

The NEB has been published in three volumes: the Old Testament (1,366 pages, 50/-), the Apocrypha (362 pages, 25/-), the New Testament (second edition, 446 pages, 25/-), all of them uniform. It has also been published in a one volume standard edition (reviewed below) and in a library edition at 25/-. The reviewer, Fr Bernard Orchard, who was concerned with the two "Catholic Commentaries" (see the last JOURNAL) as General Editor, is about to go out to St Anselmo in Rome to take up a three-year appointment as General Secretary of the World Catholic Federation for the Biblical Apostolate. "We shall have to find a shorter title", he remarks of it.

Since we asked the Dean of York to review the English equivalent of the JEROME COMMENTARY in the last JOURNAL, it seemed complete to ask one of the NCC contributors in his turn to review the American Commentary and this has been done here by Fr Henry Wansbrough.

THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE, WITH THE APOCRYPHA Oxford University Press Cambridge University Press 1970 35/-.

The appearance of this splendid volume marks almost the last phase of that vast release of biblical scholarship and energy accumulated and pent up during the War years 1939-45. For it is the last but by no means the least of that series of new translations that came to maturity during and after that terrible conflict, viz. the Knox Version (1943-49), the Bible de Jérusalem (1952) (and its English version, the Jerusalem Bible, 1967), the Revised Standard Version (1946-57) (and the Catholic edition thereof, 1966-67), and the American Confraternity Version (1938-70) (due to appear complete in one volume this summer after more than thirty years' gestation).

THE PLAN

The outstanding characteristic of these Bible translations (apart from Knox's personal tour de force) has been the fact that they have all been the labour of teams of scholars working together according to a predetermined plan and method. In the case of the Bible de Jérusalem and of the Confraternity Version the teams have reflected respectively the outlook of the Roman Catholic Church in France and in the United States; while the RSV and the present New English reflect respectively the scholarly outlook of the Reformed Churches in the United States and in Great Britain. But whereas there was no attempt in the early stages of the Standard Bible Committee to make their version truly ecumenical (the time was not then ripe), the Joint Committee responsible for the NEB did make an overture to the Roman Catholics in this country, an overture that was unfortunately not responded to.[1] There is no doubt that the collaboration of the Catholic Church in England was missed more and more as the project progressed, but it was not to be. Nevertheless, the intention was always there, and an important sign of it was the election of Bishop B. C. Butler to serve on the Joint Committee as the Roman Catholic observer some two or three years ago. It has been a not inconsiderable loss that the first really inter-denominational Bible translation project in our country has not had the benefit of Catholic support. In fact, the text as printed is generally acceptable to Catholics and there can be no serious obstacle on religious grounds to its receiving approval from a Catholic bishop. There are, however, two matters in which the present edition is defective from the Catholic standpoint. These are:

(i) The Introduction to the Apocrypha does not really state at all the Catholic case (and for that matter the case of the Orthodox Churches as well) for the canonical acceptance of these Books. Nor does it say, as it should, that the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches do not regard 1 and 2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh as canonical. Moreover the crucial sentence "The generally accepted modern usage (i.e. of Received Books) is based on that of St Jerome" is misleading since this is only true of the usage of the Protestant Churches. The Catholic Church has never accepted St Jerome's views in this matter and has followed a far older usage, based, it seems, on the Septuagint.

(ii) The printing of the "shorter" (i.e. non-canonical ending of the Gospel of Mark before the "longer", and canonical, ending; the impression that the "shorter" ending possesses equal authority and status is enhanced by its having been printed in the same type as the other. For Catholics the "shorter" ending has historical interest, but is not authoritative.

A minor innovation which nearly all Catholics would be inclined to accept is the transfer of the pericope of the Adulteress (Jn. 7:53-8:11) from its present position to an appendix at the end of the Gospel.

The religious bodies represented in the new translation are the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the Church of England, the Church of Scotland (which took the original initiative), the Congregational Church in England and Wales, the Irish Council of Churches, the London Yearly

[1] See footnote to my article "The Growth of the Biblical Movement in England, 1940-1970", AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Spring 1970, p. 37.

Meeting of the Society of Friends, the Methodist Church of Great Britain, the Presbyterian Church of England; and also the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland.

The Joint Committee set up by these Churches was naturally able to call upon the cream of scholarship within each of these communions. Outstanding among them was Dr C. H. Dodd, representing the Congregational Union, who from 1949 not only acted as Convenor of the New Testament Panel but also as General Director of the whole operation besides acting as Vice-Chairman of the Joint Committee throughout. Dr T. H. Robinson, who represented the Baptist Union, became Convenor of the OT Panel until on his retirement in 1957 he was succeeded by Professor G. R. (now Sir Godfrey) Driver who in 1965 became Joint Director with Dr Dodd. Professor W. D. McHardy, the Convenor of the Apocrypha Panel, became Deputy Director of the whole project in 1968. The Chairman of the Joint Committee was from 1950 Dr A. P. T. Williams, who also convened the panel of literary advisers until his death in 1968.

To judge the NEB fairly one must recall the mandate given by the Joint Committee to the translators, "to make a new English translation of the Bible from the original languages in the language of the present day". And since the Revised Version of 1881 had been restricted by its briefing, the new undertaking had to take into account not only all the immense increase in knowledge and understanding since 1881, but also the changes in the English language since 1611, when the King James Version (Authorised Version) first appeared. Clearly a new and direct representation of the ideas of the Bible would involve a whole host of changes that would be bound to raise a good deal of resistance and disquiet from conservative minds devoted to the old and familiar. It cannot, indeed, be said that the New Testament, published in 1961, met with a very enthusiastic reception, but the fact that it did well enough by its sales to convince both the publishers and its organisers that the project was worth pursuing with renewed vigour to complete the OT showed that the policy adopted was justified by its results. "The new translation", to quote the official Handbook to the NEB, "was not directed primarily to those for whom the language of the AV and the Book of Common Prayer was the familiar and natural language of devotion; nor was it intended to supplant the AV in public worship. The public in view was that large section of the population which has no effective contact with the Church in any of its communions . . . a translation which may in some measure succeed in removing a real barrier between a large proportion of our fellow countrymen and the truth of the Holy Scriptures". We shall revert later to the question of whether this has in fact been achieved.

The more serious criticisms and suggestions received with regard to the NEB New Testament were all carefully filed away, and later, after careful consideration by the Panel, enough alterations were made to justify (according to the agreed practice among British publishers) the title of Second Edition for the NT text now printed with the First Edition of the

OT; and therefore all references to the NT in this article will refer to the Second Edition text.

Perhaps the most important innovation in the long run in the now completed NEB is the insertion of the Books of the Apocrypha between the Old and the New Testaments, thus corresponding to the time of their original appearance in the Inter-Testamental period. Incidentally this is also a return to the practice of the King James Version of 1611, and still more surprising it is in agreement with the rules for future joint-translation projects recently (1968) agreed between the United Bible Societies and the Secretariate of Christian Unity. Although the editors insert a disclaimer to the effect that the insertion of these Books of the Apocrypha "does not imply that any of the participating Churches hold a common opinion upon their canonical status", their very presence is a most important ecumenical gesture, fraught with hope for closer understanding between the Catholic Church and the participating Churches. It is impossible here to go into the matter fully and two or three comments must suffice.

Firstly, the Apocryphal Books, or the Deutero-canonical Books as the Church prefers to call them (and, of course, the two lists do not entirely coincide), bridge an all-important gap between the last of the Prophets and the first of the NT writings, i.e. the period between 400 BC and 50 AD. During this long period, which overlaps the age of Apocalyptic, the thought, the customs and the spiritual life of the Jews continued to develop, and neither Testament can be properly understood without this intervening literature. For it is a real part of the Jewish heritage.

Secondly, the Jews believed that only the Messiah could determine the inspiration and the authenticity of these later Writings, and the Christian Church believes that He did so through the decision of his Church to include a certain number of them in the final collection of canonical Books.

Thirdly, the acceptance by the Protestant Churches of the Reformation epoch of the restristed Jewish Canon was due to a number of factors, not least of which were the loss of respect for the authority of the Church of the Renaissance, and the ignorance of sixteenth century scholars with regard to the criteria employed by the early Church for including the Deutero-canonical Books in the complete OT Canon. The present revival of interest in these Books can do nothing but good to the spiritual life of the Churches and to the better understanding of the problems connected with them.

The Format

Remarkable, too, is the new presentation of the Bible in the NEB, which in fact consistutes a break-through for the Churches concerned. For, for the first time in an officially sponsored Protestant Bible, we have not merely one column only to the page, but also sub-titles within Books (including directions as to the speakers in Song of Songs). Other Bibles of course have done this for some time past, e.g. the Jerusalem Bible (both

French and English editions); but hitherto the fear of distorting the Word of God by introducing glosses has dominated all official editions of the Bible in this country; but the enormous advantage of such sub-titles for aiding the less scholarly to understand, and (let it be honestly added) for the quicker reference of the more learned, has now been recognised in this edition. It is safe to assume that this usage will become the universal practice in a short time, since modern printing devices make it easy to distinguish the text from the gloss. In this edition verse divisions also disappear, the verse numbers simply appearing neatly in the margin, thus giving an entirely clear page. It is perhaps almost unnecessary to add that verse and prose are everywhere distinguished by verse being written in verse lines, and since the whole page is used, it is impossible any longer for a line of verse to overspill into the line below.

On the other hand space has been saved by the omission of cross-references altogether; and although these are invaluable in a student-Bible, there is a good case for omitting them in a work for the general reader. The case is all the stronger, since the absence of references to the NT helps to make this version acceptable to the orthodox Jewish community. Indeed, the decision not to print the sacred tetragrammaton in Ex 3:14 and other passages, and to substitute the hybrid JEHOVAH, now makes the present text, so it is alleged, entirely acceptable to the orthodox Jew, e.g. Ex 3:14 "And God said further, 'You must tell the Israelites this, that JEHOVAH the God of their forefathers' . . . has appeared to you".

The use of footnotes is now, in fact, restricted to indicating alternative readings where the panels could not agree, and to indicating readings or emendations of greater probability. Yet despite all the extra space required for the new layout, the overall size and weight (2 lbs. plus) is but minimally greater than the bound Catholic Edition of the RSV. The printing and paper are of excellent quality and the volume is a pleasure to read and to handle.

THE TEXT

With the money and resources of the Oxford and Cambridge Presses behind it and with the wealth of scholarship available and with the aid of a clear scientific method of approach to the textual problems, and under the direction of perhaps the most famous scholar of his generation, Dr C. H. Dodd, the New English Bible has everything for making the greatest possible impact on the English-speaking world of our time. Has it indeed achieved its aim of conveying the ideas and thought patterns of the ancient Jews into meaningful and vivid English of today?

When the NT came out in 1961 it was still debatable whether it was either possible or desirable to translate the basic documents of our religion into everyday speech. But the practical question has now long been settled by the enormous popularity, especially among students of the American Today's English Version (TEV). But other questions still remain, viz.: how faithful to the letter and spirit of the original languages can a modern

version be? How much is lost by such a rendering of the spirit of the original by a modern version? Especially by the use of paraphrase? And perhaps most important of all, what is meant by the "English of today"? Is it not, as one critic wrote, that "the area over which contemporary prose sprawls is so great as to be almost unplottable"? What is certain is that the men responsible for the NEB, despite the searching and severe criticisms to which the First Edition of the NT was subjected, have given basically favourable answers to all these posers. Can we agree with them? The present reviewer agrees with them.

As regards the first two questions, the answer must be that something has been lost but that also there has been much gain. It is, I think, generally agreed that for the purpose of detailed exegesis a text that follows the originals as closely as the RSV is still indispensable. Compare, for instance, the following:

NEB Mt 5:3	How blest are those who know their need of God;
RSV	Blessed are the poor in spirit.
NEB Ps 1:1	Happy is the man who does not take the wicked for his guide
RSV	Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked

or, to take a more controversial topic, compare

NEB I Cor 9:5	Have I no right to take a Christian wife about with me. . . . ?
CV (L956)	Have we not a right to take about with us a woman, a sister?
NEB Jn 1:1	When all things began, the Word already was.
RSV	In the beginning was the Word
NEB Gen 1:1	In the beginning of creation, when God made heaven and earth, . . .
RSV	In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.

Two more instances must suffice:

NEB 2 Sam 18:33	O my son! Absalom my son, my son Absalom! If only I had died instead of you! O Absalom, my son, my son!
RSV	O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! Would I had died instead of you, O Absalom, my son, my son!

Here I think the NEB changes are for the better.

RSV Lk 1:46-48 And Mary said,
"My soul magnifies the Lord,
and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour,
for he has regarded the low estate of his handmaiden.

NEB

Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord,
rejoice, rejoice, my spirit, in God my saviour;
so tenderly has he looked upon his servant,
humble as she is.

I think the reader will agree that, strange though the latter reading seems at first hearing, it has quite a lot to commend it.

As regards the use of "Thou", "Thee" and "Thy" for God, the usage has not been entirely abolished, but is now restricted to direct prayer to God, e.g., Our Father in heaven, thy name is hallowed; thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as in heaven. Give us today our daily bread. Forgive us the wrong we have done, as we have forgiven those who have wronged us. And do not bring us to the test, but save us from the evil one.

The fact that the Joint Committee has made a number of compromises that are by no means entirely satisfactory emerges from a closer look at the Lord's Prayer here.

The reason given in The Handbook issued to reviewers for the retention of "Thou", etc., is "that it was thought that the public for whom the NEB was intended was not generally ready for the use of "you" in address to God with all the overtones of familiarity and casual speech that this would bring with it". Yet earlier on, we were told that "the public in view was that large section of the population which has no effective contact with the Church in any of its communions; people sufficiently educated to understand a good deal of the Bible, but to whom the language of the current versions is in part unintelligible or misleading, and has an air of unreality; those young people now growing up for whom the Bible, if it is to make any impact, must be contemporary; intelligent churchgoers for whom the traditional language is so familiar that its phrases slide over their minds almost without stirring a ripple". It does however rather seem as if "thy", "hallowed" (no longer a word of common speech), have been left in to make the Lord's Prayer palatable to those of conservative temper whilst "wrong" for "trespass" and "test" for "temptation" are changes not likely to upset them. Clearly the translators have had one eye on the conservatives and the other on the liberals.

Another instance of a strange compromise within the Committee is the retention in the Second Edition of the footnote to Mt 1:16, "*One witness* (the italics are mine) has Joseph, and Joseph, to whom Mary, a virgin, was betrothed, was the father of . . . " To retain a mention of the one solitary, and unimportant, witness in the textual tradition against the Virgin Birth is indeed out of all proportion and ridiculous.

It is also probably on balance, even in this untheological age, a pity to drop certain words of theological import, such as "elect" and "redemption", and replace them with "God's chosen", "deliverance", or as in Mt 11:28 to replace "rest" by "relief", a word which has still unfortunate overtones!

To sum up, however. To the present reviewer, the NEB is basically a splendid achievement. Though there are still banalities here and there, the Old Testament has by and large been made to come alive in a new way, and never before has it been made so intelligible. As to the New Testament, to the reviewer it does not seem to have come off quite as well, perhaps because he knows it better, and is still suffering from the prejudices engendered by older versions. Nevertheless the NEB is going to do for the English public at large what the JB is already doing for the English Catholics, viz., to make the word of God better known and better loved and understood; and it has the additional advantages of being better printed, better translated, and at a fantastically low price.

ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Roland E. Murphy THE JEROME BIBLICAL COMMENTARY 1968 xxxvii + 637 + 889 p 210/-.

The Dean of York concludes his review of the English counterpart of the Jerome Commentary, "A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture" (JOURNAL, Spring 1970, p. 44) with the remark, "If I were asked which is the better buy, I would say that 'Jerome' is worth the two guineas difference". There is about the Jerome a certain firmness and definiteness, an intellectual integrity and lack of fear for the consequences which is characteristic of the three fine scholars who are the editors. To them are due twenty-two of the eighty articles, and they have put their mark on the work as a whole. It is interesting to see the different reaction of the editors on either side of the Atlantic when their contributors defaulted: on this side a desperate search was made for someone who would undertake the work, on that side the editors themselves shouldered the task, sometimes with results which were not entirely happy, but with the forceful determination which is everywhere apparent.

Another contrast which is immediately striking is symbolised by the titles: the English work is the successor of an earlier "Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture", which was a landmark in its day, published really as soon as Catholic biblical studies got under weigh in the post-war period under the impetus of the new encouragement by Rome to responsible scholarship; but it was necessarily still cautious and anxious to present points of view which were acceptable to Catholic censors; it showed the world that the Catholic Church was willing to consider the non-Catholic contributions and to accept some of their conclusions. The "New Catholic Commentary" still bears some traces of this traditionalist attitude (another example of American confidence: the censors deputed by the ecclesiastical authorities to give clearance for ecclesiastical approval of the Jerome were the editors themselves; i.e., the authorities put their confidence in them as the men best qualified to judge whether certain opinions were in accordance with Christian teaching). For many people today the word "Catholic" has overtones of timidity, repression and clique. In any case one may perhaps question whether a specifically Catholic commentary is possible today; the contributors may be Catholic, but it would be hard to find anything specificially "Catholic" about many opinions held today by Catholics. However, the title was necessary to show the continuity. The American volume, on the other hand, strikes back magnificently deep into

the Christian tradition with its appeal to St Jerome, that brilliant, indefatigable, self-opinionated and fiery old lion, who domineered over the Christian world with the awe-inspiring letters which he wrote from his cave at Bethlehem.

In a review of this kind it is impossible to discuss each article at length. The technique I have chosen is to make various probes into subjects which are of comparatively general interest and usefulness, one into the treatment of history, a second into an introductory article, a third into some passages of individual commentaries on the gospels, and a fourth into some topics of biblical theology. First, however, a remark on the arrangement of the articles: an attempt has been made to print the commentaries on individual books in the correct historical order of the books, deserting the traditional order in which they are normally printed in our bibles, which is often the result of strange criteria, e.g., the epistles of Paul are traditionally printed in order of decreasing length. Here, however, instead of the traditional Matthew-Mark-Luke-John, Mark, the earliest gospel to be written, and the one on which Matthew and Luke draw for much of their material, is given first; of the epistles Thessalonians are given first, instead of the traditional Romans. This was an imaginative idea, a determined tribute to the historical development of revelation (as well as a slight snub to tradition); that it canonises an order which is often hypothetical is inevitable and unimportant, but it does have the disadvantage that one is compelled to use the table of contents much more to find an article. I would also complain that the project has been half-heartedly carried out: the Pauline epistles should be first, not the synoptic gospels of which the first was surely written some years after Paul's death. In the Old Testament one could make out a strong case for a very different order: it would be a striking acknowledgment of historical development if the fact that Israel began to reflect on her early history only after the establishment of the monarchy under David and Solomon were reflected in the order of the commentaries. It is an interesting attempt but it breaks down.

The treatment of history is, on the whole, excellent though obviously variable from book to book; perhaps it errs a little on the side of caution. In Genesis (Maly) there is no hesitation in saying that the story of the Rape of Dinah is not, as it purports to be, a story about persons, but is in fact about the tribes traditionally descended from Simeon and Levi, who probably did not go down into Egypt, and therefore did not take part in the exodus. But is it sufficient to say that the story of the temptation of Joseph "contains a motif found in many popular stories of the day", when some would maintain that the story in fact derives from popular folklore? Exodus (Huesman) is less successful; on the plagues there is no satisfactory discussion of the fact-content, only vague allusions to "epic colouring" and a good deal of paraphrasing; the question is never faced on what scale these things in fact occurred: were they all over the land of Egypt or merely local, was the Pharoah really involved or just a local headman and his property? (In the discussion of Genesis 12:10-20 the latter seems to be envisaged). Joshua, on the other hand (Kearney), is far firmer and more

confident in dealing with stories based not on events but on etiologies. To take a passage at random in the gospels, the Gerasene/Gadarene swine receive amusingly different treatment, though none of the three commentators doubts their historicity, oddly enough. Here, as elsewhere, Mark (Mally) is the most thorough and inspires great confidence, Luke (Stuhlmueller) is good, but Matthew (McKenzie) gives the impression of having been written in rather a hurry; it is full of the interesting ideas which one would expect from so great a master, but it is by no means a painstaking piece of work—occasionally one might almost call it slovenly.

As specimens of introductory articles those on prophetic literature and on the synoptic problem may serve. The former (Vawter) is an excellent discussion, putting Old Testament prophecy in the context of other prophetic phenomena of the ancient world, but showing its uniqueness. But some treatment of the psychology of the "prophetic process" would have been welcome: were the prophets carried out of themselves or was their naturally sensitive perception heightened so that they had immeasurably deeper insights into the meaning of events? The article on the synoptic problem (Gast) is a good catalogue of opinions, but unambitious. More discussion of the worth of each view might have been provided to guide the uninitiated through this jungle—but perhaps it was thought that any path was possible and none the best!

For the synoptic gospels one might examine two passages of great interest for the light they throw on Jesus' psychology. A good test case is the story of Canaanite woman, to whom Jesus uses the harsh "dogs", currently used by the Jews of the gentiles, and distinctly contemptuous. The interest here is that Jesus at any rate seems to be a victim of the Jewish prejudices and insularity in his attitude to gentiles. The commentary on Mark evades the issue by the ploy common until recently, that Jesus uses the diminutive in order to take the sting out of the word, and translates "pups"! McKenzie on Matthew is more profound, putting the whole dialogue in its context of an oriental duel of wit, "much more a scene of pleasant good humour than of solemn theological debate". A similar difficulty about the psychology of Jesus is posed by the discourse about the "end of the world": did Jesus accept the crude notions of his contemporaries—of stars falling from heaven, etc.? There is no discussion of this at all in the commentaries on these passages. On a quite different but equally thorny problem, the infancy narratives, Stuhlmueller on Luke is excellent, supple yet clear, while the Matthew commentary is somewhat pedestrian. At the other end of Jesus' life on earth, the Ascension, we have a curious enigma: Stuhlmueller is concerned only to show the liturgical overtones of the narrative (no comment on its historicity), while Fitzmyer on the account in Acts contents himself with the oracular "The visible departure . . . was probably the developing tradition's response to the delay of the parousia".

Finally, the theological articles. In general these are probably the most useful part of the book, especially those on aspects of Old Testament and of New Testament thought, though all are invaluable inventories of biblical

theology. In particular McKenzie's section on Messianism is excellent (he has written much on this subject in other works); his portrayal of the gradual development of thought, showing that the idea of the Messiah as an ideal, supreme king solidified only after the return from the exile in Babylon, is delicate and convincing. Only it is a pity that he dismisses passages of Psalms 110 and 2 simply as *Hofstil* (symbolic court language) without any further explanation; it then becomes a puzzle whether the Church (and earlier the New Testament itself) had any right to use them as they do. Was there not a glimmering of realisation of the messianic role at least of the dynasty as a whole? The section on life after death is less satisfactory, but this is more a reflection of the need for some thorough new work in this field than it is a reproach to the author. In the New Testament theological articles the sections on the gospel miracles and on the resurrection by Brown are first class, succinct summaries. Pauline theology is also well served by Fitzmyer; particularly valuable is his section on Pauline soteriology, combatting to good effect many outworn notions of the wrath of God and the atonement which have for long constituted an oddly un-Christian island in Christian theology (but it is odd that he repeats once more Deissmann's misinterpretation of the evidence of sacral manumission of slaves, shown to be irrelevant by a work quoted in Fitzmyer's bibliography).

It is difficult to sum up the pros and cons. There is a whole forest of stools for every biblical commentary to fall between: should it give standard, accepted views at peril of boring; or should it embark on interpretations, which to a particular writer seem immensely valuable, at the risk of misleading? Who should be envisaged as the reader of a one-volume commentary: the biblical student, the priest delving into the meaning of his devotional reading, the general enquirer? An approach which is helpful to one of these may seem pedestrian, scandalous, over-simplified or far too erudite for another. You cannot answer everyone's questions in the same breath. Indeed it is questionable whether such a commentary can ever do more than merely indicate answers to questions; it can never prove them. Hence any such compressed commentary is bound to mislead (except perhaps in the introductory articles where topics are treated at greater length); the American volume perhaps tends to mislead on the liberal side, the English on the conservative. But the American work is thoroughly competent, fresh, optimistic and forward-looking, an excellent guide which minor blemishes cannot mar.

THE BEAUTY OF CHAOS

by

GEOFFREY WEBB

"Like the butterfly that insists on being burned in the candle flame, Man is always longing; yet he never realises that he is asking for his own destruction. Aware that his spirit is shut up in a human body, he is always longing to get back to the one who put it there in the first place"; so wrote Leonardo da Vinci in his notebook.

Fr Geoffrey Webb continues his study of genius and mastery in the Renaissance period. He began with Michelangelo, and will end with Bronzino. At that level of human existence, the religious element is invariably present.

LEONARDO DA VINCI retired to the little château of Cloux, near Amboise, in 1517. François I^er^, who had invited him, knew well enough that it was too late to expect new works from him. As it was, Leonardo had brought a few treasures with him—including the Mona Lisa—and the old man's presence in itself was a foundation of prestige for the school of Fontainebleau. Leonardo had already said his last words, in fact, before leaving Italy. In the wonderful series of drawings of floods and storms that we have been able to browse over in the Queen's Gallery during 1969, his theme is not difficult to define.

In the first drawings in which the theme is broached, we are looking at the land. We see a wide plain with cities scattered over it. But there is a fiery cloud coming down from the sky that immediately makes you think of Dürer's woodcuts for the book of Revelation. One of the drawings shows a volcanic crater about to erupt, and another cloud—this time a great black one—is being drawn into it. Alongside it, there is a group of gesticulating skeletons which put you in the context of the traditional last judgment. So much so, that when you see a huddle of figures being pushed, as it were, out of the corner of the picture, you think straight away of the group on Charon's boat in the Sistine Chapel.

But as Leonardo develops his theme through more and more of these drawings, you gradually leave the earth behind you. Everything eventually seems to have been destroyed—the rocks and the trees, the cities and the people who lived in them. The elements of wind and water and fire have taken over. You are looking at the cataclysm as God might be expected to see it, when there is no human eye left to look. And what you are looking at is something of staggering beauty because destruction and chaos—as Leonardo visualises them—have their own rhythm, their own harmony. The destruction has only happened, you feel, because the divine intelligence has thought up something new and better, and is impatient to get going on it. But the new creation—so Leonardo implies—will use the same vocabulary of forms as the old; these spirals and curves and circles that he has observed a thousand times already, whether it's in the wind or the water, in clouds or grasses or a woman's hair.

This series of drawings is perhaps the most exciting thing he ever produced. It is implicit in many previous studies. He was very interested in the structure of rocks, and the effect of explosions in mountains. As the rocks fell, he noticed how they threw out curves of dust beneath them, like the petals of a chrysanthemum, and the rocks would describe a great arc in the air for a moment, before they fell into the dust. The drawing here is so powerful that it evokes a positively auditory response through the eye. One thinks of the noise that James Joyce conjured up for the fall in "Finnegans Wake", that resounding, hundred letter word that ends in . . . "toohoohoordenenthurnuk!"

The thing that intrigued Leonardo in these studies was the energy of nature, whether it was creative or destructive: something invisible in itself, but made visible as it moves these solid objects. The fact that there are people in the early drawings of the series, cringing in groups, waiting for the end, is really only a decorative detail. We don't have to feel sorry for them, as we do in the subject as treated by Dürer or Michelangelo. These are just specimens of anatomy which, like the tree that shelters them, make beautiful movements as they are blown away into chaos. Overhead, the clouds are full of wind gods blowing trumpets—here again, a purely decorative element. Leonardo loved to see long banners floating in the wind, and his wind gods seem to be getting a similar pleasure on a larger scale with their clouds and waterspouts.

The only use that Leonardo put these drawings to, was to show a painter how to approach the subject of storm and flood. His directions described in detail exactly what we see in the drawings. He recommends that the air should be drawn dark and cloudy, "beaten about by the courses of contrary winds, and thickened by driving rain. Draw old trees dragged up by their roots. Draw the mountain tops crashing into the rivers beneath them, damming them up so that the water has to rise higher and higher, and so come pouring out in new directions, and drowning everything before it . . ."

But Leonardo had not only observed such things. He had reflected on them, and intuited certain implications in what he saw. In his notes "On the pros and cons for the law of nature", he wrote: "Everything, everyone, wants to go back to the original chaos, like the butterfly that insists on being burned in the candle flame. Man is always longing for next spring, next summer, future months, new years. It always seems to him that the thing he lusts after never comes soon enough. Yet he never realises that all he is asking for, in fact, is his own destruction, his own *unmaking*. And this desire, so unconscious and deep down in him, is of his very essence. He has the spirit of the elements in him, and this spirit, being aware that it is shut up in a human body, is always longing to get back to the one who put it there in the first place. And I want you to know that this desire in the quintessence of man is the companion of nature. And man is the model of the world".

Just as he had looked at wind and water and seen creative energy made visible, in the same way he looked at human behaviour and could

judge of the quintessential soul that was responsible for the behaviour. It was his observation that proved both the existence of this quintessence of man, and of some mysterious first cause that brought it into being. He could have used the Christian terms "soul" and "God", but his observations didn't give proof of anything so clearly defined as these Christian concepts. Anything that doesn't come under human experience he won't talk about, because he has never seen it, never intuited its inner being through his sight. He admits there are many secrets that lie beyond human experience, but he cannot accept that anyone has the right to be dogmatic about such things. "I leave all that to the friars," he says, "they know all about secrets." His sarcasm was usually like that, polite and detached.

Leonardo was not really a philosopher, he was a craftsman who acquired an extraordinary amount of learning through his own intelligence and labour. The fragments in his notebooks are a mosaic of ideas available at his time—hundreds of fragments collected together because they all helped to build up his picture of the universe. Painting was the pursuit he felt destined for, precisely because it was universal in its aim. It could show everything.

Here it is a help to make a comparison between his aims and Michelangelo's. When Michelangelo spoke unkindly about oil painting (he said it was a job for women), it was taken for granted that he was talking about Leonardo, whom he disliked. For Michelangelo, sculpture was the only worthy medium, and human anatomy the whole subject matter of art. To him, the painting of landscapes and plants and clouds must have seemed an insane waste of time. But Leonardo, as Nietzsche said, has "a more than European quality", something much more oriental in fact, the quality "such as distinguishes every man who has seen too wide a range of good and evil things". That is precisely it, Leonardo had to see, and to draw, everything. And with his extraordinary eye went a fantastic insight into the being of what he saw, which is why one makes the obvious comparison between his art and that of the Chinese and Japanese. All those whirling forms in the deluge drawings for instance—their nearest parallel is the screen painting of Korin where clouds, waves, rocks, and pines are echoing forms. When Leonardo painted his portrait of a woman holding an ermine, it's undeniably the ermine that steals the picture. It has the intensity, you might almost say the personality, that you associate with the animals in Chinese ink painting.

But although you can't call Leonardo a philosopher, you have to take into account the philosophical framework that he used for tabulating his experience. It was the old theory of the four elements—an antique theory destined for a long life, and still going strong during the Renaissance. The four elements—earth, air, fire and water—explained the constitution of the universe, and that included mankind. Man was not the measure of all things in this system, he was just one of the things. He was considered the microcosm of the universe because he seemed to represent it in a privileged way. His flesh and bone were analogous to earth and rock. His humours, the liquid part of him (blood, bile and so on) were the counter-

part of water. And his spiritual and mental powers seemed to have the volatile character of air and fire. Just as the end of the world was visualised as a conflagration, with the element fire consuming everything, so the end of man was a return to his constituent elements: the body to the earth, and the spirit to the more subtle elements. For the traditional believer it returned to God. For Leonardo it was the butterfly and the candle flame. All this happened of necessity. The law of nature, in the element theory, is emphatically *necessità*. Nothing will ever change it.

In the Christian use of the element theory, there had always been something of a problem about the status of nature. If you identified nature with God, that made you a pantheist and that was heretical. But if you thought of nature as God's henchman or lieutenant (and this was thought acceptable) you were only attributing the same function to God and nature, giving two causes where one was sufficient.

Now it is rather interesting that Lorenzo di Medici made a contribution on this point. He had a special interest in the god Pan, and there seems to have been some sort of poetic devotion to Pan at his villa at Careggi. In his poem, the *Altercazione*, he speaks quite explicitly of Pan as the god who destroys and makes again. And in this way he resolved—at least for the benefit of his Platonic circle—the medieval confusion of God the creator, and nature with its law of necessity. By making Pan at least allegorically responsible for nature, the Christian God could be isolated into the sphere of mystery where he belonged, where he was respected and unquestioned. The friars could waffle on about him for the benefit of the ignorant, and the intelligent could worship him intelligently, paying due homage to his total unknowableness, his mystery.

It was a Renaissance scholar, Pico della Mirandola, who formulated the theory for the taste of the time, but the doctrine as such goes back to a ninth century scholar, Eriugena. He translated and commented the works of that anonymous author who had become identified with the Dionysius whom Saint Paul met in Athens. Eriugena's major work, the "Divisions of Nature", made a clear distinction between what could be known and what could not be known, about God.

The image that emerges from the "Divisions of Nature" is precisely the one that so fascinated Leonardo—the invisible that becomes visible, and therefore knowable, only insofar as it animates the forms of nature. Eriugena, the pseudo-Dionysius, and Pico, all distinguish three levels of being. There is man on the lowest level, looking for knowledge, and God on the highest level, who is essentially beyond all knowledge. Between the two there is this mediating nature, which is not God, but a manifestation of God. God can be known only insofar as nature reveals him through the experience of the human mind and senses.

In the passage I quoted earlier from the "Pros and cons for the law of nature", Leonardo is careful not to use too definite a term for the creator. He speaks of a *mandatario*, which is a technical term for a delegate, or agent. The word is an intriguing one for Leonardo to use because it

connotes the principal agent etymologically, of itself. You can't be a mandatory unless you have a principal behind you to give the orders.

By using this intermediary concept of the *mandatario*, Leonardo is virtually saying that he has no experience of the one ultimately responsible for creation. But he has a great deal of knowledge, and even a deep and intimate relationship, with nature, the mediator between God and man. Nature, if you like, is God made visible. Nature conveys some knowledge of God to the mind through human senses. A god experienced, because intuited through the senses, takes the place of a God revealed by faith. The highest point of the experience is chaos, a turmoil of energy that draws everything, including human aspiration, into itself.

"Everything, everyone, wants to get back into the original chaos", he says. And you can see why he says that when you take his drawings of chaos as your vantage point and survey the whole of his panorama of nature. This was exactly the perspective achieved at the exhibition in the Queen's Gallery. The chaos series was arranged on the upstairs level, and from there one could look down and pick out all the subjects that had led up to this . . . the clusters of plants, the delicate silverpoints of draped arms, the carefully drawn maps, the studies for Leda's hair, and above all, of course, the horses. There, most powerfully, one could see how he intuited the driving force of the *mandatario*. The familiar curving line moves from muscle to muscle, through the whole of the animal's frame. The stance begins as something statuesque, drawn from an antique model, and then, as observation grows keener and takes over, as he measures a favourite horse in particular ("Galeazzo's big jennet") and concentrates on its moods and its movements, he penetrates to the very quintessence of horse, its vigour and power. And from there he goes on to imagine sea-horses, with a flourish of tails lashing the foam and disappearing in the waves.

As I said in the beginning, Leonardo's observation and imagination of floods and cataclysms eventually take the viewer to a point where our creation has disappeared, and the elements are thrashing about on their own—great whirlpools of wind and rain and smoke. When he drew these things, I feel there is no possible doubt that he was enjoying himself in a way that reflected the activity of his *mandatario* consciously. "Painting is the child of nature", he wrote. "Call it the grandchild of nature for all visible things derive their existence from nature, and from these things painting is born. We may speak of it as nature's grandchild, one of God's relations."

It is this curious sense of a family tie that makes him so at home in the beauty of chaos. As the rocks split open and the trees are carried off in the flood, you know that he has related himself to them, and to the power that disposes of them. You feel that he *knows* that chaos is creative and affirmative, and that after destruction the womb of the universe will produce again.

One of the most mysterious things he ever painted was the hand of the Virgin of the Rocks, which we have all become so familiar with in the

National Gallery. It is stretched out over the head of Jesus in a very strange gesture, a movement that suggests magic more than motherhood. In this painting we are again in the world that he evoked in his treatment of Leda and the swan—the mother figure surrounded by her children—with a quiet, triumphant celebration of the mysterious processes of creation.

In the early version in the Louvre, the effect of that strange hand is lost by the interposing hand of the angel pointing to the infant Saint John. But in the London version the angel has taken away his hand, and instead of looking out of the picture, is concentrating intently on the hand of the Virgin spread out over the child's head. The hand, you notice, has become the centre of the conception now. In that forbidding Alpine landscape, with the cold green water and the dangerously poised rocks, there is a sense of awful, threatening calm before the storm breaks. The gesture, which at first sight you take to be merely protective, the longer you look at it, it seems to be on the edge of describing Leonardo's familiar "creative" curve—a curve to set another world in motion.

THE WHEEL

Through winter-time we call on spring,
And through the spring on summer call,
And when abounding hedges ring
Declare that winter's best of all;
And after that there's nothing good
Because the spring-time has not come—
Nor know that what disturbs our blood
Is but its longing for the tomb.

W. B. YEATS.

HOLY WEEK AND EASTER AMPLEFORTH, 1970

AMPLEFORTH has never had a larger number of guests to stay over Holy Week than this year. The boys went home on the Tuesday, but a number of them (forty, joined later by a further dozen) remained as guests of the Abbot, partly to lead the singing of the congregation at the Easter Day Mass; the monastery itself seemed to have more guests than usual staying for the *Triduum* (over thirty); and this year not only did more Amplefordians than of other years come to the Retreat (well over a hundred), but they brought with them their ladies and families (a further twenty-five, staying locally), who—to coin a cliché—"added a new dimension" to Easter at Ampleforth. What follows is an account from Wednesday to Wednesday; and it shows, if nothing else, that the cloister has not forgotten the world.

THE OLD AMPLEFORDIANS' RETREAT

THE O.A. Retreat was given by Fr Patrick, who found the resources to cease being headmaster on the Wednesday and become a fully prepared spiritual father on the Thursday, his conferences having a freshness which did not suggest that they might have had to be prepared in the Christmas holidays. Because so many of those present found them so satisfactory, it has been judged not out of place to give some short account of them.

There were, in fact, five conferences (two on a single theme), but they fell into a co-ordinated pattern of two pairs, each beginning with the individual and broadening down to the community in action. The first dealt with being (*esse*), the relationship established and presumed in the act of faith, a person's faith, a people's faith; while the second dealt with action (*agere*), the resultant of the relationship, a person's prayer, a people's prayer. If there were to be a third part to this pattern, it would concern the more tangible fruits of action, those material acts which flow from the interior act of prayer, a person's deeds, a people's deeds—for truth gives rise to love, and love to demonstration: as St Augustine has said in a celebrated place: "holy leisure is longed for by love of truth; but it is the necessity of love to undertake requisite business". It was, however, the thought behind action that Fr Patrick chose to concentrate upon.

He began with the single soul before God, emerging to consciousness in an age of militant secularism, which holds history in light regard. He recalled Newman's warning that we shall live in an age of infidelity of a kind never experienced by our fathers, one of a different kind where "the elect themselves will be in danger of falling away" in a world simply irreligious, a world of uncaring indifference. To this the inexperienced Catholic may react by retreating into fundamentalist assertion, for instance creating an omniscient papacy; or else he may rephrase his Christianity in

terms of the secular language; or else he may simply withdraw, stating that God and religion are dead. These are no answers, and the only answer in all ages is to seek out the Word of God: "whom do *you* say that I am?" —for in the pages of the New Testament, as nowhere else to such a degree, is God manifested among men, in his teaching and in his supreme act of love. And it is there that we find the strength to assent, for "flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father in heaven". St Paul speaks of an obedience in faith, by which he means that response which is the only adequate one in face of the evidence of faith. And it is made not without labour, not without what Newman so constantly stressed as "preparation of heart"—by prayer itself ("Lord, help thou my unbelief") and by a heightened conscience, a high and constant sense of sin and its horror. Faith is a discovery by individuals, not a complex of social pressures; and once discovered, it ever has to be rediscovered in prayer and in the continual responses of love.

The Church is a community of the faithful, a body of believers, a vine of life having its own inner coherence, not in virtue of its structure, but in virtue of that inner principle by which it is truly the body of Christ. What structures it has developed, have grown out of the needs and actions of the body organically; that is to say, the structures were not revealed, but the nature of the Church was, and the structures are a harmonious reflection of that nature in act. Of recent times, this structure has been caricatured on both flanks, by the one as a tridentine monolith of doctrinal and moral certitude, by the other as an amorphous body wallowing in post-Vatican confusion without direction and discipline. The key to the structures that are validly of the Church's true character lies with the historian—he whose bread and milk is the principle of development. It is a return to that rich vein which has shown us the value of the concept: "People of God"; and it is that which tells us that the Church is not a society within Society, but a diaspora again, a waiting to be gathered up, a fidelity to the future. And with this return of perspective in recent times, with this new knowledge and new teaching has come new strains and a new challenge to the lay element to a more total participation. It is not a Church of hierarchs and hierocrats designed to dominate, but of all men waiting for God and waiting upon God. The element of development is ever present, and there is no return from the seeming desert of today to the safety of yesterday's Egypt (and so we might describe the Trent we are leaving behind). The Church is ever a mystery, ever changing, ever half known and half hidden in future and beyond-future: no one doctrine is ever quite complete, even in face of all the refinements demanded by the challenge of heresy (and while we are touching this matter, we might well reflect in the light of modern eucharistic theology, so perturbing to so many, that Aquinas said of Christ's presence: *localiter non*). The Council fathers knew all this well enough: "the tradition that issues from the Apostles progresses in the Church under the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Insight into the realities and the words transmitted *grows*: this results from contemplation and study by the faithful who ponder over them in their hearts, from their

experience of a profound understanding of spiritual realities, from the preaching of those who, with the episcopal succession, received the unfailing charism of the truth. Through the centuries the Church always strives after the fullness of divine truth, until the ultimate fulfilment of God's words in herself" (*de Divina Revelatione*, 8): notice the place of the bishops in that statement, last; and the place of total truth, at last. The same sentiments pervade the documents of the Council: we need only look to the main one on the Church, where we are told that its law is the command to love, its goal is the Kingdom, its beginning in God's hand, its consummation only at the end of time; its life "the toughness of the rising shoot of unity, hope and salvation for ALL MANKIND, founded by Christ for a fellowship . . . sent on a mission . . . on pilgrimage in the desert, in search of the lasting city" (*Lumen Gentium*, 9). And so we might single out as the eight marks of a true contemporary Christian these: that in mind he lives in a diapora waiting to be gathered up; that he sees the Church not as a political organisation, but as Christ's body; that he cherishes his faith unconcealed, while never imposing it on those unripe to receive it; that he holds the central act of his Church to be, not its institutional functions, but prayer and the Eucharist; that he holds to the principle of growth, life, development; that he is ever open to the burning light of truth, whatever it costs; that he sees the prime enemy—at least in these days of ours—as self-indulgence and materialism; and lastly that he sees his bishops not as army commanders, but as servants of Christ, true successors of the Twelve, appointed guardians and teachers of revelation . . . and of its proper development.

That was Fr Patrick's statement on the being of faith. Logically he went on to the action, the activity which expresses the inner being. The first act of the single soul before God is awareness of spiritual reality as something more real than material reality. It is the Christian's essential state to be ever conscious of the interfused dual presence of two worlds, interacting each in our lives without respite. The experience has been registered by great spirits of all ages, Christian or not, from Plato in Greece before Christ to Tokayev the aircraft genius in post-Christian Russia today. Before prayer, there must always be this sense of presence, the presence of God to the other self, who by knowledge and love (both, in their ways) is aware of the other world. The ingredients of "presence" are at least these: openness, listening, sympathy, friendship; and these are never lacking on the side of God, our Father in heaven. It was Christ who taught us to pray to our Father in heaven and who approved—more, advocated—prayers of petition: but at the root of both is the *fiat* of his Mother: "thy will be done", here as there. Prayer is not a secret weapon for the propagation of Christian good fortune, a magic word of "sesame" to open the hand of God; no, it is silent vital surrender—more, wilful giving—of self to God, asking of God what is his will for us. The keynote is silence, not active reflection upon our corporate and private past or upon our plans for the future, but tranquil meditation on our present state before God; and in the silence the Spirit himself will speak for us what we dare

not say, speaking to God and to ourselves. Paul tells us this in writing not to Saints, but to "the saints at Corinth" who were yet to be sanctified, bestial as they had been beyond any of our habits today. He offered them, not stoic asceticism, but silence, the presence of God and the advocacy of the Spirit before their God in default of words. And words will not return, but the quiet possession of inner certitude: do to me also according to Your will.

And in prayer there is also the corporate dimension, the inner strength of the body together, worshipping through the liturgy. But the liturgy has in recent times become not a rock but a stone of stumbling to those who loved it most: indeed there is a definition of a liturgist, that he is "sent from God in times of no persecution to make certain that we should suffer"! Where we once had the safe rite of the Tridentine Mass, now we have had thrust upon us the vernacular (Eliot's ". . . exporting intellectual enlightenment, and several versions of the Word of God"?), communion in two kinds, woolly doctrines enshrined in woolly prayer formulae, a laity unwillingly called in to participate: we have division where we had unity, uncertainty where we had certainty, distress where we had peace. Fr Patrick spoke as one entirely happy with the Trent Rite, being a Latinist and a universalist by taste and sharing that same sense of the power of the Mass to move so well described by Douglas Hyde in his search for belief and his discovery one Christmas midnight. But despite the international translation of ICEL, the Mass in words we were born to still has that power to move, a power beyond sentiment reaching "even to the division of soul and spirit". Its essence lies in the words of Christ: "do this in commemoration of me", a commemoration which means so much more than what is done in plaques and anniversaries, a commemoration which is a re-presentation of Christ, so that in the liturgical act the Lord is present among us as he was among the Twelve. This understanding of *memoria* was there from the start—in Paul's very early letters (I Cor. 11), more veiledly in the writings of the sub-apostolic Church because of the *disciplina arcana*, the rule of secrecy, then after the early group of persecutions in the 215 A.D. Hippolytan *Eucharistia*, and so on in all stages of the development of the rite of the Latin Church. If in recent times we have confused Meal and Sacrifice in our teaching of the liturgy, it is only because the Tridentine liturgists cast the balance too far into the scale of Sacrifice and it is hard to right an imbalance without overbalancing: both are properly present in the *memoria* of Christ in their due balance, and both have their proper place in the new *Missa Normativa*, in its Latin form as in its English. That Mass was devised in great part to meet a very real and critical need; for the old Mass so loved by regular churchgoers had ceased to attract most Christians—as a French Mass attendance survey glaringly illustrates, showing 6% for Paris, less than 3% for most of northern France and 16% for Italy as the average weekly Mass attendance. The New Rite is designed to attract those who have rejected the old, and its noble simplicity, unencumbered by useless repetitions, is already appearing to have that effect. If, as is the case in England so often in these recent years, the laity have been unready and taken by surprise, that does not discount the Rite but only those whose task it was to give it a fair launching. Itself, it has little beyond loss of uniformity to its discredit (and is that such a discredit?), and it has much to commend it—principally its adaptability in an age veering from high Masses to group Masses with a love of variety that is a sign of life. Above all, the New Rite has brought a new participation to the whole living worship of the Church in all its many churches (and of that enough has been said in these pages last time). Living participation, the interior prayer of the community's greatest corporate act, this is what matters most; and true liturgical development is by degrees bringing this about.

If the concept of historical development has been an undercurrent of all of these discourses, it is because Christianity is a historical religion and theology is a historical subject. It is the nature of all that is good in man to grow and burgeon and to change in response to new needs, but not so much that the underlying character has become obscured. So it is with the Church at present: we are in a period of rapid change—and yet she remains ever the same, the Church Christ founded.

EASTER SUNDAY PONTIFICAL HIGH MASS ON YORKSHIRE TELEVISION

AMPLEFORTH is not an entire stranger to the scaffolding, the arc lamps and heavy-current wires, the trolleys and cameras, the back-up equipment and signal vehicles which inevitably accompany an outside broadcast inside our Abbey Church. But Easter is a peculiarly testing time to undergo it as we still have the term heavy about our ears, visitors heavy upon our shoulders and Triduum liturgy heavy in our horarium. Nevertheless it is a privilege to be asked to undertake a broadcast of this kind, and doubly so when we realise from the letters that came to the community afterwards how much a Benedictine Easter Mass has meant to so many viewers in terms of the transmission of the one thing we would most want to transmit at such a moment, an assured sense of God's peace and presence.

The idea of it was broached during last July. It was to come as a climax to a series of Lenten services and sermons done by various denominations; for instance the Bishop of Durham, Dr Ramsay, preached from Manchester Parish Church on "Carrying the Cross . . . in the community", and (after three more bishops) Rev Geoffrey Ainger preached in Notting Hill Methodist Mission on "Carrying the Cross . . . in low places". The Abbot preached on "Carrying the Cross . . . in hope", and the text of his sermon is given below as it was delivered.

So during Holy Week the Abbey Church, which had begun to resume its Benedictine *quies* as the boys left, became a TV studio with lighting and camera installation, testing and rehearsing. The church bell was recorded and a full dress rehearsal was staged on Holy Saturday exactly twenty-four hours before the event. The great Exultet Mass of midnight, with its full splendid Easter liturgy beginning with the blessing of the new

fire, began to appear of secondary consequence as the TV morning Mass loomed larger. Choirs practised, readers read their lines, servers walked the ground. It was agreed that, since many of those present were spending three days in retreat at the Abbey, the occasion was such that those who came to communion might receive the chalice.

The commentary on Easter morning was done by Fr Robert, who, after a short introduction, began with these words: "five times each day the monks gather in this church to perform their essential work which is the public praise and honouring of God. Today we are to take part in the central act of the daily worship, the great thanksgiving—the Eucharist. . .", and so the great sacrifice unfolded. When it came to the sermon, Fr Abbot spoke as follows:

"The journey through life would be very much easier if only we could rid ourselves of the present burden which may be discouraging and depressing us. So many lives are wrecked by some unhappiness or strain. Ill health, for instance; the loss by death of someone who is dear to us; loneliness or a sense of failure, or a broken heart, or just the feeling of being misunderstood, judged unfairly, criticised unjustly.

So today's Easter liturgy, with its theme of triumph and conquest over evil and death, may well be sounding in you a jarring discordant note rather than bringing you peace and joy. If you are suffering today you have a shrewd suspicion that it will be the same tomorrow. Why do we have to suffer? Why did Christ not free us from trials and sorrows? The final and complete answer to these questions escapes the human mind. But from what happened to Christ himself, from what he said and promised, we can achieve some partial understanding of the meaning of suffering. Christ did not get rid of suffering, rather he gave it meaning and has made it worthwhile. We can go even further than this and say that we can find joy in it, not for its own sake, but for the good that it can bring.

Let us look more closely: God cared so much for us that he became man and he shared our experience of human living and shared therefore our burdens too. He knew the sickening fear of death; he knew rejection even from those whom he loved, and he, too, experienced a sense of failure. And he knew that most cruel of all experiences, the feeling that life is ebbing away, meaningless and empty. 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' That was the cry of a man without hope. It is very often at the very point where we begin to fall into despair that we find hope: that there comes a shift of emphasis in our lives—the discovery of new values and unsuspected possibilities.

Do you remember the two thieves who were crucified with him? Life had nothing more to offer them. One accepted the situation in which he found himself: he turned to Christ and was freed from despair by the promise 'today you will be with me in paradise'. As he died he discovered the meaning of life. The other revolted, turned away and became bitter. Death for him was the ultimate absurdity of living.

'Today you will be with me in paradise'. The follower of Christ does look forward to a time and place when every tear will be wiped away and there will be no more death or mourning, or cries of distress, no more sorrow—and where his deepest and strongest desires to know and to be known, to love and to be loved, will be finally and completely satisfied.

For the present we are pilgrims through life. The way we follow will often be hard. It will lead us sometimes in the direction of Calvary and the burdens we carry will weigh on us as the Cross weighed on him. We can do a great deal to support each other, removing the burden where we can, consoling where we cannot. And we can remind ourselves too, and each other, of that saying of Christ, 'My yoke is sweet, my burden light'.

How does the yoke become sweet and the burden light? In the first place, remember that according to Christ's teaching we are indeed his followers if we are prepared to carry our crosses daily and follow him. It is not a question of seeking out ways and means of carrying the cross, but rather of recognising that today's burden is the cross, and Christ's cross as well as ours. We can allow our minds to dwell on the sufferings of Christ and then come to see ours as a sharing in his, as his sufferings were a sharing in ours—accepting ours for his sake, as he accepted his for our sake. In the same way our dying is a sharing in his death, for his death was a sharing in ours. And our death, like his, will be the birth-pangs of a new life. Gradually then the meaning of suffering becomes less obscure, its persistence less frustrating. Indeed it can become even more worthwhile for it often happens that two people get to know and appreciate each other because the sorrow or suffering which they share together has made them open and sensitive to each other. So it can be between Christ and us.

Thus we are men and women of hope. Not the faint hope of the weary, but that hope which is born of the strong conviction that Christ is in us and we in him, and that those who are called to share in his passion will one day share in his glory. What is the justification for this? 'If Christ be not risen our faith is in vain' so St Paul tells us. We believe that he has, and we are at peace."

THE MIDDLESBROUGH DIOCESAN ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE AT AMPLEFORTH

THE purpose of this conference, held at the Abbey during Easter Monday and Tuesday, was to establish a basis on which to build up work for Christian unity in this Diocese, and to sound out the feelings of the Diocese on ecumenical issues. In addition it would provide an occasion for priests, religious and laity to exchange ideas in an informal setting. With this in mind, the programme had four main parts: an opening talk of some authority to furnish a sound framework, a controversial panel and a thought-provoking film to throw up material for discussion, talks and discussions on the practical problems, and finally the gathering of conference reactions and their formulation into resolutions so that the conference would have some positive (or rather visible) result.

The opening talk by Fr John Coventry, S.J., was undoubtedly the theological high spot. He managed in forty minutes to convey the two attitudes to Christian unity which can be described roughly as pre- and post-Vatican II. The former equates the Roman Catholic Church with God's Kingdom on Earth to which all other Christians must be persuaded to return so that they may share the unity that we already possess. The latter view, based on *Lumen Gentium*, sees the Church not as God's Kingdom, but rather as the sacrament or sign of the Kingdom whose fulness is to be achieved at the Second Coming. As such the Church is a pilgrim on the road of life guided in truth by the Holy Spirit, but ever endangered by the human frailty of its members (cf. *LG* 8 end). Viewed like this all baptised Christians are as the Council puts it "incorporated in Christ" and deserving "to be recognised by the children of the Catholic Church as their brothers in the Lord" (*LG* 15), and so the present disunity is a scandal which it is our duty to remove. The Reformation will only truly come to pass when we and the reformers come together in a true unity of the spirit, for all valid reform must take place within the people of God which is the body of Christ, and not by dismemberment.

After an excellent lunch, the next stage was a panel of speakers from other Christian Churches giving their views of the Roman Catholic Church. Fr Vladimir Rodzianko, presenting the Orthodox view, reminded his listeners that less than twenty-five years ago Catholics and Orthodox were killing each other in his own country. He then went on to the two schools of Orthodox opinion: those who distrust Rome's motives as still triumphalist and monopolistic, and those who believe that a change of spirit had indeed taken place since Vatican II. He welcomed Fr Coventry's distinction and said that all Orthodox watched in hope to see which way Rome would move, back to the pre-Conciliar view or forward to a post-Vatican II collegial view more easily reconcilable with Sobornost (see AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Summer 1969, pp. 204 ff) and other Orthodox teachings. An interesting point was that for the Orthodox no Council is accorded the title "Ecumenical" until it has ended and been accepted, viz. received the approval of all members of the represented Churches.

The Archdeacon of Cleveland gave a short and pithy analysis of Anglican misgivings on R.C. uniformity in the guise of unity. He likened the Counter-Reformation Church to a ship which battened down all hatches to weather a storm, and while this may well have been necessary at the time, as the Church today warily emerges and peeps out it may find that in the passage of time it may have wandered off course. Miss Joyce Blake, of the Society of Friends, delivered some very disconcerting criticisms of a few of the practices we hold dear but have never stopped to re-examine, although she expressed approval of other equally little appreciated aspects. The Rev Donald Dugard agreed largely with Miss Blake and gave an account of Methodism which emphasised many respects in which Methodism was a special case among the Free Churches. Mr Donald Mackirdy, Editor of the *Ryedale Christian Council Record*, concentrated on "prestige" as a phenomenon of the Catholic Church both for good and

for ill. Returning to the fear of uniformity, he concluded that if reunion with Rome involved uniformity of system and dogma, then it was more honest to say that on these terms re-union was not possible, and that other Christians should continue to work for a unity apart from Rome, which did not entail the suppression of conscientious differences.

From the question which followed it was clear that deep feelings had been touched. Miss Blake drew much fire and gave an extremely lucid account of the Quaker position, standing as it does at the opposite pole from conservative Catholicism. She defended the non-use of sacraments by arguing that all human contact was sacramental and pointing to the dangers of a magical interpretation of sacraments. Asked if she believed that Christ was God, she replied "If you will tell me what you mean by God, I will answer your question". Many took this to be dodging the issue, but it was clear that she was not answering in a straight negative.

After tea and an animated discussion, there were two films which served to stimulate thought. Fr Mark Butlin, O.S.B., introduced the first, "Christ and Disorder", as a positive account of the effects of divided Christianity, and shocking it was, with a multitude of religious activities in empty churches contrasted with crowds at a football match, with the pomp of Rome and Constantinople compared to the squalor, suffering, and poverty of the underdeveloped countries. He then introduced "Parable" a puzzling portrayal of a Christ figure in the setting of a circus, which caused much argument.

Concelebrated Mass in the crypt led by our President, Bishop John Gerard McClean, was the culmination of the day. There followed a short discussion on practical ecumenism which brought to the surface a number of important issues; the role of the Catholic Press, the need for better communication of ideas in the Church, and the attitude of young people to the apparent indifference of the older generations, which was leading them to divert their energies into channels outside the Church.

The second day began with a talk by Mr Graham Sasse on the problems of ecumenism in home and school. His talk arose out of questions put to members of the Diocesan Ecumenical Commission at a number of earlier meetings in various parts of the diocese. The problems were about what to teach children concerning other Churches, what to do about religious instruction for Catholic children in state schools, about teaching ecumenical attitudes in Catholic schools, and what steps to take with other Christians to meet the secularist attack on religious education generally. He suggested that our present practice tended to neglect the traditional teaching that religious education should be entrusted to the parents and that our energies should be re-directed to educating parents and giving them the confidence to undertake this role. This would make possible many solutions at present closed to us, and would provide a vital new focus for parish activity.

After coffee the final stage of the conference began with the members in groups preparing two recommendations each to the conference, at least one of which was to be a practical suggestion. This proved to be an

important part of the programme, because it provided a time during which issues raised earlier could be discussed and digested, and secondly it ensured that the conference would yield some concrete result. The proposals were called "recommendations" because it was not the wish of the conference to be strident or controversial, but rather to achieve a consensus as a guide to the Diocesan Commission and to the Bishop of the feeling in the Diocese.

Bishop McClean opened the final session after lunch by addressing the conference and expressing the gratitude felt by all to the Abbot and Community for their kindness in receiving the conference and for the excellent meals and accommodation. He thanked the domestic and catering staff for all their hard work which was much appreciated. He then went on to emphasize the importance of this conference for him, as Bishop, to be able to listen to and learn the feelings of the Diocese. At the same time he underlined the importance for the success of ecumenism of the observance by all of the guide-lines laid down by the hierarchy. He was always ready to receive the views of his people, and those who knew him would agree that he was "a good listener".

Under the Chairmanship of Fr Robert Carson, Chairman of the D.E.C., the conference then discussed and voted on its twenty recommendations. The following are some of the more interesting proposals:

That we should make our Catholic parishes aware of the needs of ecumenism and of their responsibility to serve the whole community.

That joint Christian groups should be formed to prepare to meet the medico-moral problems of the future, like euthanasia, which is now urgent.

That we should proceed by a form of experimentation to the establishment of Christian schools rather than denominational schools, especially where community needs are obvious in this respect.

That in common practice there should not generally be intercommunion ("not generally" was substituted for "never" after strong pressure from the floor that total bans might become obstacles to progress later on).

Several proposals wanted more adult education through the medium of "house-groups", and more use to be made of local radio and the Catholic press for local news.

Perhaps the most important resolution was the one recommending that this event should be annual to include more people, coming as it did from a wide cross-section of the Diocese (some 50 priests, 16 nuns and 34 laity); for this indicated that a conference of this kind answers a need. The variety of members from all over the Diocese, the contributions of the observers, like the Anglican sister who read the lesson at the closing service, the fact that the recommendations would go on to be considered at other levels in the Church, and the new tasks to be undertaken at parish level, all helped to make this an important first step along the path to unity, a path whose end is hidden from us. All we can know is that, aided by the Holy Spirit, we must seek that unity which Christ desired by the means he chooses.

G.J.S.

E.B.C. STUDIES CONFERENCE AT BELMONT ABBEY

A NEW venture in the theological and pastoral studies of the English Benedictine Congregation was tried out just after Easter at Belmont Abbey. This was a three-day study conference on psychiatry and its relevance to the pastoral work of priests and monks. It was fitting that the 44 priests and monks of the Congregation should assemble at Belmont, for it had been a common house of studies until 1919 serving the whole Congregation. Most of the English monasteries of the Congregation sent representatives and others came from Prinknash, Indianapolis and Maredsous. The largest contingents were from Belmont itself (13), Ampleforth (13) and Douai (10). The conference was organised by the Magister Scholarum, Fr Swithun McLoughlin (Douai) and was guided by Dr David Duncan, a psychiatrist from Reading, and his wife, Moira, a psychologist with much experience in pastoral counselling through her work with the Samaritans.

Dr Duncan brought with him tapes of interviews with five of his patients, each illustrating typical problems with which the priest and the psychiatrist have to deal. In addition Fr Swithun and Moira made four tapes of different confessional situations and techniques of priest response. To facilitate the running of the conference, the participants were divided into five groups and it was in such settings that the tapes were heard and discussed. There were also two lectures, one on "listening" and the other on "Group Therapy", both given by Dr Duncan. This proved a helpful way of conducting the conference for it meant that the experience of the older priests, the ideas of the students and the practice of the psychiatrist could all come to bear together on the problem in hand. Most groups devoted one or more sessions to discussing other topics such as prayer and psychology, community life and its therapeutic value, the influence of psychological advances on the understanding of traditional moral concepts like sin and guilt.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the conference was its spirit of searching. Dr Duncan and his wife, both of whom are Quakers, emphasised especially the existing role of both priest and monastic community in helping people; they were as eager to learn about monastic life as we were about psychiatry. This all helped to produce an informal atmosphere and encouraged all to realise that they had something to contribute as well as to learn. So successful was it that there was a universal request to hold another such meeting next year, at another of our Abbeys. Furthermore an important by-product of such a conference is that it enables members of the Congregation to share in the prayer and life of another community than their own and to share for a short time a Congregational community life. This was an enriching experience at Belmont.

* * *

While many of the Juniors were away at Belmont, and others were involved in the ecumenical meeting, and while reports were being sorted, there was time for Fr Martin to lead a Borstal walk to Mount Grace.

Thereafter we moved into calmer waters.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Jesus, the Christ, 30—1970; Biblia Sacra, from the Beginning to the Reformation; Theology of the Grace, of Pastoral Action, of Man, of the World; Pelican Theology; Theology of the Priesthood; Women in Church; the Church in Dissent; Reality—a Philosophy and a Poem; Spirituality and the Flowering Spirit; Gay Poverty; Professorial Pamphlets.

I. JESUS, THE CHRIST, 30—1970

David Flusser JESUS Burns & Oates 1969 159 p 45/-.

The Jewish attitude to Christ makes interesting reading as presented in this well-illustrated little volume by an eminent scripture scholar of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. However, the Christian reader must immediately be conscious that for the author Jesus was not the Messiah, not divine, not the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. He was nevertheless a "son of God", a "prophetic preacher", God's "elected". Dr Flusser opens several windows into Christ's personality, revealing facets of his character and environment which help the least erudite to understand Jesus more sympathetically. The writer's clear mind and thorough knowledge of Essene Society show us Jesus, not as an original and rather extraordinary *guru*, superimposed against a totally hostile backcloth and expounding new and dangerous revelation. As Flusser sees him, Jesus was the unsure witness whose Messianic convictions only grew slowly. He was, evidently, considerably influenced by Essene thinking and it was this comprehension of things divine, together with his rare and sensitive understanding of the Scriptures which resolutely convinced Jesus of his unique position in the relationship of the Father with His Creation. As well as juxtaposing Jesus against Essene modes of thought, the author also underlines the Pharisaical sympathies in his philosophy. Despite the many influences which are seen to affect Christ's vocation, a unique individual does emerge for the Christian reader. Whatever the pedagogical merits of his abundantly annotated text, and they are many, Dr Flusser's biography reveals a warm and dynamic personality who manifests very fully the charismatic reality of Divine life as it was realised in "JESUS", the Son of Man.

T.W.J.

Donald Attwater JESUS: WHAT HE DID; WHAT HE SAID Burns & Oates 1969 224 p 25/-

The accounts of Jesus' life in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are combined in one continuous story and are followed by the Acts of the Apostles and then St John's Gospel. The translation is in good readable English, yet free from gimmicry.

This is a valuable book for any Christian and especially for those involved in teaching. I wish that the combined account had included references to the relevant Gospels and, more important, had an index of topics, or at least a fuller summary of contents as are given for Acts and St John's Gospel. This would have made it a more valuable reference book.

G.J.S.

Elizabethe Corallel OBERAMMERGAU AND ITS PASSION PLAY Burns & Oates 1970 128 p 20/-.

This cloth-bound booklet of 128 pages, divided into 21 sections, was first produced for the 1934 Passion Play, has been re-edited for each successive season (1950 and 1960), and is now brought up to the minute with all relative detail for 1970. It has some excellent photographs of the village, its personalities and of members of the 1970 cast. Perhaps too much space is devoted to the historical and topographical background but it does manage to give a fair idea of the remarkable charm, simplicity and sincerity of the villagers and the real devotion that they put into the ritual fulfilling, every ten years, of the vow of 1633. I doubt that the reading of the booklet would persuade an otherwise unconvinced person to make the journey so far to see the play yet it is my experience that the play has an effect far more moving than any description or recommendation can give. To anyone who can go this year and who hesitates I would most strongly say "Go: you will never regret it". Perhaps this booklet is the ideal reading matter for the journey, as it will prepare the traveller for the quite extraordinary atmosphere in which he will find himself for some forty hours, and he will certainly get more pleasure from his visit.

BERNARD BOYAN, O.S.B.

The reviewer led a large Ampleforth party to the 1960 play, and is taking a smaller one this year. Those interested should write to him at: More House, Heslington, York.

II. BIBLIA SACRA, FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE REFORMATION

ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE: VOLUME I, FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO JEROME CUP 1970 x + 649 p 90/-.

A book of this size, consistency and erudition might daunt any reader, for the authors are each experts in their own field. It is too detailed and scholarly for the general reader, but, as all reference books, has nothing new to say in a particular area to a reader who happens to be competent in the field covered by a chapter. Perhaps its major contribution is to such scholars when they need a thoroughly well-informed and well-balanced survey of a field which borders their own, or whose knowledge enters into a particular subject of their research. For this the book is a mine of invaluable information, providing cross-beams of light which throw many important features of a subject into relief.

There are five sections of the book. The first, on language and script, is brief, consisting of only two chapters, Matthew Black on biblical languages and D. Diringer on biblical scripts. One feels that the former is grievously confined by his narrow limits, which are practically a characterisation of the languages of the Bible; there is, however, a fascinating little discussion of New Testament Greek, whether it is simply the language of the common people or a specifically Jewish sort of Greek, much influenced by the Old Testament and by Jewish modes of thought. The second introductory section, on books in the ancient world, again comprises two chapters, D. J. Wiseman discussing what is relevant to the Old Testament, and C. H. Roberts books in the Graeco-Roman world and the New Testament. Interesting is the former's analysis of education in the ancient Near East, the amazingly low standard of literacy (e.g. 7 scribes in a population of 3,000), and the statement that universal elementary education in Judah was introduced in 75 B.C.; the crucial question here for NT origins is whether in fact it "took", and whether all Judaeans at the time of Christ were literate. Dr Roberts' chapter is of crucial importance for the many passages where an easy solution to what seems to us an illogical arrangement or break is sought in the hypothesis of lost or misplaced pages of early MSS. One fascinating observation is that the early Christian MSS of the Bible are written in the hand not of literary scribes but of businessmen and minor officials—a reflection on the social conditions of early Christians.

Of the third major section, on the Old Testament, perhaps the most interesting of the four articles is that of Shemaryahu Talmon on the text of the OT, documenting the bewildering variety of textual traditions of the OT, and the surprising casualness of scribes and scholars about any attempt to achieve uniformity; this is an important and original article. P. R. Ackroyd, one of the editors, is self-effacing in undertaking an article on the OT in the making where he can do no more than summarise some accepted conclusions about literary forms and traditions. Similarly G. Vermes is unambitious on Bible and Midrash, giving a division and examples of types of early, Jewish exegesis; his date for the codification of the early traditions is very high, and, if correct, would have important reflections on the environment of the NT. On the development of the canon among the Jews G. W. Anderson is informative, especially about the critical moment of the fixation of the canon after the destruction of Jerusalem and in the face of the Christian use of the OT.

In the New Testament section C. F. Evans, the other editor, plays the same part as his colleague for the Old ("The NT in the Making"), providing a dull but perhaps

useful summary on the occasions of the writing of the NT literature; there are some brief but interesting remarks on the difficulty of harmonising the biographical data of Acts with those of the Pauline epistles. R. M. Grant follows with an essay on the NT Canon, in which he discusses also the oral tradition and the many "sayings of the Lord" which are found in the Fathers but not in the gospels. It is characteristic of this book, which is at pains to regard the Bible from the outside and objectively (there is barely a mention of the Holy Spirit) that he does not even suggest as a criterion of decision between canonical and non-canonical books whether the Church felt a book to be in accord with its life and the Spirit. The essay by J. N. Birdsall on the NT Text is an important assessment of old and new methods of estimating the value of textual traditions and readings; the principles are discussed, with a demonstration of the limitations of the "classical" methods of Lachmann and the attempts to establish a stemma of MSS, and a full discussion is given of the characteristics of the more important groups of MSS. Finally C. K. Barrett shows the various ways in which the OT is used in the New; especially valuable is his analysis of the difference between the use made of the OT by the synoptics and John, and his remarks on the paradox "at the heart of Christianity" of the retention of the old law after it has been superseded by Christ.

The last major section, the Bible in the Early Church, has a quite different interest (and some overlap with volume 2). R. P. C. Hanson traces the uses of the Bible by the earliest Christians; here one of the most puzzling phenomena must be the early loss of the true, Hebraic sense of the Bible, which we seem to be rediscovering in our day; Hanson attributes this to the fact that the age in which the Church grew up was one dominated by secret oracles, so that the Bible too was regarded as a source of obscure sayings which were to be interpreted allegorically. There follow four essays on the biblical giants of the early Church: Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia (an interesting contrast) by M. F. Wiles, the former being the first really critical scholar both of text and of interpretation, the latter bitterly opposed and responsible for extraordinarily modern work on the historical development of the Bible. H. F. D. Sparks throws valuable light on the complexity of Jerome's work, and Gerald Bonner provides a chapter on Augustine as a biblical scholar, stressing his affective and homiletic approach. The volume is completed by a good little essay, full of useful information, by J. A. Lamb on the place of the Bible in the Liturgy.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

ed. G. W. H. Lampe THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE: VOLUME 2, THE WEST FROM THE FATHERS TO THE REFORMATION CUP 1969 x + 566 p 70/-.

An adequate review of this book might fill the whole of an issue of this JOURNAL; and it would have to be written by nearly as many reviewers as there are contributors to the book. It is a book which for all but a few polymath readers will divide itself into three parts: the part where the reader has full independent knowledge of the material, and can form a serious critical judgment; the part where he has a reasonable general acquaintance with the terrain, and recognizes the landmarks; and the part with which he is quite unfamiliar, and finds himself learning from every sentence. This gives him the best of all possible worlds, and the book is one from which most readers will derive a great deal of satisfaction.

The first chapter, by B. J. Roberts, deals with the manuscripts, texts, and versions of the Old Testament. This is a first-rate survey of the most recent work on the subject, seasoned with acute comments, and leading to observations on the value of the Massoretic text and the intrinsic interest of the versions. The corresponding New Testament chapter, by the late C. S. C. Williams, summarizes the essential data on Text and Canon, but has little to say about the motivation that determined the work of ancient editors and copyists, and the theological origins and significance of the Canon. T. C. Skeat's essay on early Christian book-production is a fascinating account, with special reference to the development of the papyrus codex. An outstanding figure in the early Christian use of the Bible is Jerome; his work as a biblical scholar is described by the late E. F. Sutcliffe in a useful article, which however just fails to sparkle as one hoped it might.

There follows what, at least to the present reviewer, is the outstanding chapter: Raphael Loewe's treatment of the "Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate". Least of all among contributions to the book is this a summary of other men's views, but a splendid original contribution to the study of one of the central (if, for that reason, often hidden) strands of the development of Christianity through an important period. Whether this large composite work, which in the nature of things cannot cover the whole of its huge field at equal depth, was the best place for Mr Loewe's essay to be published is another question. The main thing is that we have the essay.

"The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture" is dealt with in chronological and other subdivisions. The Editor handles the period up to St Gregory the Great, J. Leclercq that from St Gregory the Great to St Bernard, Miss Beryl Smalley the "Bible in the Medieval Schools". S. J. P. van Dijk continues with the "Bible in Liturgical Use", and E. I. J. Rosenthal with the "Study of the Bible in Medieval Judaism". These essays are all good in themselves, and taken together afford the additional interest of variety, due partly to the various kinds of material studied and partly to the individual characteristics of the authors.

The present reviewer found himself learning all the way in Chapter VII: The "People's Bible": Artists and Commentators (R. L. P. Milburn) and Chapter VIII: Bible Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts (Francis Wormald), but never in doubt about the learning of his teachers. Chapter IX, on the vernacular Scriptures, is again subdivided: The Gothic Bible (M. J. Hunter); English Versions before Wyclif (Geoffrey Shepherd); the Wycliffite Versions (Henry Hargreaves); Germany and the Low Countries before 1500 (W. B. Lockwood); France (C. A. Robson); Italy (Kenelm Foster); Spain (Margherita Morreale). Here it is the differences, in motive and method, between the various vernacular versions that first catch the attention.

The book ends with a chapter on Erasmus and the medieval biblical tradition, which forms an appropriate link with Volume 3 of the *History* (published in 1963). This is a short study by Louis Bouyer, which shows how Erasmus's attachment to the *Devotio moderna*, his reading of Valla's *Adnotationes*, and his old familiarity with Jerome led to his special contribution to biblical study.

This volume of the *Cambridge History of the Bible* is illustrated by forty-eight plates. It is excellent stuff, to read through, to dip into, or to refer to. Dr Lampe and his team are to be congratulated and thanked.

Durham University. C. K. BARRETT.

Professor Barrett is a contributor to the first volume of this History.

III. THEOLOGY OF GRACE, OF PASTORAL ACTION, OF MAN, OF THE WORLD

Peter Fransen, S.J. THE NEW LIFE OF GRACE Chapman 1969 x + 369 p 60/-.

This is a larger version of an earlier shorter book, "Divine Grace and Man" (Desdée, New York, 1962) that in its time was acclaimed a classic, and some passages are word for word the same. While this may seem a criticism they are both well worth reading as well by the theologian as anyone interested. This is not "another wild book from Holland" but is sound and responsible whilst looking forward.

The book "combines in a remarkable way the *experience* of grace in its many dimensions . . . with the *theology* of grace", John Macquarrie, writes in the Foreword. Its aim is to answer the question "what is grace?" and "what should man expect from grace?" and is in fact divided into two parts with these titles. The first is more purely theological, the second is trying to find points of contact between the theology of grace and the secular sciences.

The subject is an extremely large one, elusive, profound and mysterious. It is at the heart of the Christian life and sums it up in a word. It comprises the experience of Salvation and of a love or force-for-good at work in the world and in us: it is therefore difficult to write about well. But this is a very good book. In it, the past teachings of the Church, honest present theological thinking and personal human experience are closely linked; and it this rooting of all his theology in human experience which makes

Fr Fransen so readable. To say that it is good spiritual reading may put people off—and indeed, the somewhat excessive quotations in the early sections from the Flemish mystic Jan Ruysbroeck are trying to the English mind. But, to be fair, Dame Julian of Norwich or another English mystic might seem apposite to us quoted here.

Fr Fransen deals refreshingly with the difficult problems of created and uncreated grace, predestination and freedom. He traces the history of the discussion on created grace from the Middle Ages to Karl Rahner. His "thesis" is that grace is not a "thing", created or otherwise, but that God or rather the Trinity comes to live in us, bringing to life concurrently in us "a hunger for His presence, a thirst for His life. And that precisely is created grace". This presence attacks sin at its roots—in pride.

He has in the section "Grace and Psychology" interesting things to say on Christian charity, with his suggestion that we should love our neighbour not for God's sake, as much as for his own sake as Christ loves him, as child of God and brother in grace.

The translation, by a fellow Jesuit is fair. There is an excellent bibliography which is combined with an index and set out according to subject matter.

MATTHEW BURNS, O.S.B.

Karl Rahner THEOLOGY OF PASTORAL ACTION Burns & Oates 1968 144 p 30/-.

In this important book, we are presented with the first volume of a projected series of Studies in Pastoral Theology in four volumes, under the joint editorship of the Jesuit Fr Karl Rahner and the young American Dominican Fr Daniel Morrissey. Already in 1964, at least one year before Vatican II ended, the German original appeared; and it is worthwhile asking why Rahner thought it desirable to have the English translation launched under American co-editorship. The answer is in the General Introduction, over the names of both editors, and in the Preface by the American editor. I would go so far as to say that an English-speaking reader who failed to read both these documents might easily miss the real purpose not only of this volume, but of the whole series.

What exactly are these two enterprising theologians aiming at? The fostering of interest in pastoral theology among readers of the English language culture, and especially in America, is, to be sure, one element in their intention. But their ultimate object is to stir up in readers with this cultural background an interest in things pastoral so lively, that nothing less than personal reflection and practical research would content them. It is to be hoped that talented, prayerful theologians of virile faith, bred in this economic, social and cultural milieu, will soon be available to undertake such studies. The impact made in Europe by Harvey Cox's book "The Secular City" is an encouraging sign. But if this initiative is to be kept alive and developed, there will be need of a deeper theological reflection, whose traditional roots would be vitalised by an acute down-to-earth perception of the realities of our affluent pluralistic world, and made rich in insight by personal contact with Christ in prayer. Rahner himself is an example of this kind of theologian.

It is just here that this book will prove so useful. Rahner, with his usual clarity and profundity, supplies the guidelines, the choice fruit of thirty years of theological reflection. Endowed as he is with a keen appreciation of contemporary trends and insights in philosophy, psychology, sociology, and kindred studies; possessed also of a firm hold on Christian tradition from Apostolic times, coupled with a deep knowledge of history and of the developments in Christian doctrine and practice which historical change has helped to bring about, he is well equipped to take a well-balanced, realistic view of the concrete situation of the contemporary Church; and this, after all, is what pastoral theology is about. This he does in Chapter 2, where all the traditional ecclesial structures come up for constructive critical review. But in the light of what? Of the theological reflections set down in Chapter 1, which people who find Rahner's thought and language difficult would do well to persevere with, if they wished to appreciate the more practical second Chapter. Fortunately the translation is well done.

An up-to-date bibliography and a useful general index bring this soberly thrilling book to a close.

Mount St Bernard Abbey,
Coalville, Leicester.

ROBERT HODGE, O.C.R.

Ladislaus Boros MEETING GOD IN MAN Burns & Oates 1968 xi + 142 p 30/-.

This is in effect a series of reflections on "existentially significant virtues". Since no attempt is made to write a systematic treatise, there is no point in criticizing the author for not doing so. However, two weaknesses do result. Taken individually each chapter makes good reading. As always with Boros there are brilliant insights, deep thinking, and a modern approach to an age-old subject. But there is an uncomfortable lack of unity about the book as a whole. I can find little organic growth from virtue to virtue. If they are truly existential they must in some way relate to each other in an evolving movement towards full personal authenticity. This relationship has not been brought out by the author. These virtues as presented form a series rather than an integrated unity. A second weakness is that each description, while intellectually satisfying, is not sufficiently down to earth, not existential enough, for the ordinary reader. One feels that the descriptions, for instance the description of "fallenness" in the chapter on Reverence, spring not so much from personal and empirical observation as from an attempt simply to reformulate the Heideggerean categories that are used.

In most of the chapters the author begins with a description of man as he finds himself, in his fallen state, devoid of the virtue that is being considered. This description is then contrasted with some typically Christian example of the practice of the virtue, and then this is seen to be applicable to one's brother, to oneself, and finally to God. In some cases, notably in the fine chapter on Serenity, the negative description owes much to Heidegger. In my opinion it is most helpful to have Heidegger's thought present as the basis for further development (with the reservation I have just made). Perhaps no other philosopher is more likely to influence Catholic thought in the future; though it should be pointed out that he himself writes of these virtues or "vices" from a purely metaphysical standpoint without any Christian overtones. In this case—in the reflections on Serenity—it may seem strange to confront his apparently atheistic phenomenology with the last words of Christ on the Cross. But it is justified by an appeal to the mystical trend in Heidegger's thought—his "openness to the mystery"—for in this way Ladislaus Boros demonstrates his gift for blending the old with the new and giving the perennial virtues an unsuspected relevance.

Mount St Bernard Abbey,
Coalville, Leicester.

HILARY COSTELLO, O.C.S.O.

Johannes B. Metz THEOLOGY OF THE WORLD Burns & Oates/Herder & Herder 1969 155 p 30/-.

The title of the book in Germany is "Zur Theologie der Welt" and it is unfortunate that the publishers of this the English edition chose to sacrifice accuracy in translation in order to have a clean sounding title: the book very definitely does not present a "theology of the world" but is moving TOWARDS one. The preposition is apt for two reasons. First, Metz's concern, as he makes clear in the preface, is with a particular starting point (a secular one) and not a finished treatise on "the world". Secondly, the book is a collection of essays written between 1961 and 1967 which show a clear internal development. Indeed, as one might expect, the author has since moved on from the point at which the book ends. Professor Metz has not yet written his major work outlining a theology of the world for our generation but he clearly promises to do so.

The twin dynamics of Metz's political theology are the notions of secularization and eschatology. The book begins with an uncritical acceptance of secularization. In the later essays this is transformed by the intrusion of a Moltmannesque eschatology into an understanding of the socio-political function of the Church as primarily critical. "As a socially separate institution the Christian community can formulate its universal claim in a pluralistic society without ideology only if it presents it *as criticism*" (p 154). An appendix "On the Institution and Institutionalization" only serves to confirm, as Metz himself would probably be ready to admit now, that the separation he finds between the Christian community as institution and the political realm is not so separate in reality. Furthermore, in his careful analysis of the Church's task of criticism, he does not consider sufficiently the possibility and reality of direct opposition to the Church. Christ did not merely die; he was killed. One's chief criticism of Professor Metz must be that

although he continually shows that he recognises the dilemma inherent in the traditional opposition of theory and practice, he remains far too firmly fixed to the former than is good for a political theologian.

On the positive side, he does show himself fully able to adopt the concepts of others and make them his own (even if he is inclined to be too uncritical in that adoption). The result is that he remains firmly in line with current developments in theology while keeping an eye as well on the Church's past (for example, the chapter on "The Theology of the World and Asceticism"). For the same reason the book serves the useful purpose of presenting the socio-political perspectives of certain theological concepts (notably secularization and eschatology) in such a way as to make them both intelligible and relevant to the intelligent reader who has not yet succeeded in assimilating them. On this score the book deserves to be widely read, though the prospective reader should be warned that its German origin is everywhere apparent—despite the fine work of the translator.

Norwich House, ROBERT BERNASCONI.
Sussex University.

IV. PELICAN THEOLOGY

William Nicholls SYSTEMATIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, Vol. I 1969 363 p 10/-.

The purpose of the Pelican Guide to Modern Theology is to provide an articulate account of the main movements, personalities and concerns of modern Christian theology. So far two volumes have appeared, one on Systematic and one on Historical theology. William Nicholls, professor and head of the Dept. of Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia, in the first volume writes at a very high standard indeed and offers perhaps the best introduction for the general reader in English of the outstanding twentieth century theologians and their works. In his Introduction, he shows his purpose: "This is not a book about what I think, but about the work of others. I have tried to understand what they mean, to think their thoughts after them as far as possible and to express them again, in my own words and theirs, for the benefit of newcomers to the subject". It is precisely this task which Professor Nicholls so admirably accomplishes, writing with sympathy, lucidity and even wit—a rare quality in theological works. He is indeed even too modest when he remarks that he has not offered criticism of his own, since his account of the limitations of the various theologians he discusses and in particular of the misunderstandings that occurred between the three main writers (Barth, Bultmann and Bonhoeffer) are both perceptive and constructive.

Professor Nicholls frankly admits that his main concern is with German Protestant Theology, since it is his conviction that the bulk of creative theological thinking in this century, at least until the recent past, has come from this source. This supposition determines the main structure and choice of subject matter in his book. After a concise and perceptive account of the nineteenth century background to modern theology, the secular and Christian movements which set the stage for the Christian thinkers of this century, the author offers a fairly exhaustive analysis of the four men whom he regards as the most original and influential of modern theologians, Barth, Bultmann, Bonhoeffer and Tillich. The section on Barth is particularly useful since the voluminous character of the latter's works renders acquaintance with his thought, particularly for Anglo-Saxon readers, a difficult task but nevertheless an absolutely necessary one, if one is to grasp the power and originality of the thinker whom Pope Pius XII called the greatest dogmatic theologian since Thomas Aquinas. Professor Nicholls continues his account with a survey of the Scandinavian "Lundensian" school and the two Niebuhrs in America and in his final chapter, entitled Language and God, presents a brief outline of the movements and personalities of the contemporary scene. This latter section is

perhaps the least satisfactory in the book, but this is rather due to the intrinsic complexity of the present state of theology than to any inability on the author's part. Indeed, Professor Nicholls shows his grasp of the contemporary problems by pointing out that both continental and Anglo-Saxon theologians are preoccupied with the question of language and it is in this field that one may hope both for fruitful developments from each point of view and for a more comprehending and constructive co-operation between the two schools of thought than has been the case up to the present.

It was mentioned earlier that the main theme of the book is German Protestant Theology and here perhaps Professor Nicholls may be criticised for one-sidedness. For, though it is doubtless the case that the most creative thrust of the twentieth century theology has come from this quarter, nevertheless to write an account of modern systematic theology without a single mention of Teilhard de Chardin or Karl Rahner seems to take this thesis to an unwarranted extreme. Nor is it accurate to excuse this omission, as the author does, with the remark that "Catholic theology is a separate subject, with different intellectual roots and social purposes" (p 14). For, particularly in the case of the two men mentioned above, their theological writings are not sectarian or simply "concerned to express a corporate faith rather than a personal vision, religious or intellectual" (p 14); and it would have been of great value if a man of such insight and sympathy as Professor Nicholls has attempted to fit the theological views of Teilhard and Rahner into the main stream of modern Christian thought.

I should not however wish to end this review on a critical note since Professor Nicholls has accomplished a remarkable achievement in pulling together the threads of thought of recent theology into a coherent pattern with such clarity and objectivity.

Ettaler Studienheim, DAVID MORLAND, O.S.B.
Munich.

J. Daniélou, A. H. Couratin, John Kent HISTORICAL THEOLOGY Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, Vol. II 1969 383 p 10/-.

The second volume consists of three essays, the first by Cardinal Jean Daniélou on the patristic period, the second by A. H. Couratin on the liturgy and the third by John Kent on the work of modern church historians since 1930. This volume is unfortunately not up to the high standard set by the first volume and can hardly be recommended as an intelligent layman's guide to the study of Church history, the avowed purpose of the series. The basic weakness lies not so much in the quality of the essays as in the lack of clarity about the type of account to be written and the audience to be reached. The sections by Jean Daniélou and John Kent really comprise an extended survey of recent literature on patristic studies and post-Reformation Church history and would hardly be intelligible to anyone without considerable acquaintance of the subjects considered. It is rather the scholar, cut off for some reason from scientific writings on these topics for the last thirty years, who would benefit most from these surveys, than the interested layman, who would soon get lost in the mass of names and titles. This failure to adapt the essays to suit the affirmed purpose of the book comes out also in small ways: the terms *katiaskué* and *anaskué* for instance are introduced in the text without explanation with reference to Origen's scriptural exegesis (p 57), while on the next page a footnote is given to explain the meaning of the term "subordinationist". A. H. Couratin's essay, on the other hand, offers a synopsis of the history of the Eucharist and Baptism from their origins to the present day. Here the sheer scope of the survey makes for a compression and generalisation which can hardly fail to dissatisfy. The authors would perhaps have been better advised to have chosen two or three specific topics in Church history and to have dealt with them in some detail, in order to show how a modern church historian works and to illustrate the importance of sober historical criticism for the pursuit of theology today.

Ettaler Studienheim, DAVID MORLAND, O.S.B.
Munich.

V. THEOLOGY OF THE PRIESTHOOD

David N. Power MINISTERS OF CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH; THE THEOLOGY OF THE PRIESTHOOD Chapman 1969 216 p 35/-.

ed. Brian Passman THE EXPERIENCE OF PRIESTHOOD Darton, Longman & Todd 1968 165 p 25/-.

W. T. M. Quant *et al.* THE PRIESTS WHO GO: AN ANALYSIS OF FIFTY-TWO CASES translated from the Dutch by Hubert Hoskins Sheed & Ward 1969 135 p 30/-.

The current and continuing explosion of publications on ministerial priesthood has familiarised us with the fact that the New Testament nowhere uses of the Church's ministers and leaders the traditional terms to denote sacrificing priests or a sacerdotal priesthood. It regards the Church's ministers not as another example of the well known phenomenon "priest", but as something radically new. It is hardly less well known that by the middle ages the Christian priest had become what the New Testament writers were clear he was *not*: a "sacrificing priest", a minister of cult, the ceremonially "holy" man set apart from other "profane" people (the laity) to act as a mediator between them and God.

The full history of this development has yet to be written. But in the first of the books reviewed here the Irish Oblate father and theologian, David Power, has presented an excellent outline of how this development took place. His method is thoroughly sound, being firmly rooted in history, as dogmatic study must always be if it is not to lead to wholly false conclusions. He proceeds from the evolving rites of ordination (which always imply and express a theology of ordination even when this is not adverted to), and then proceeds to examine the conscious reflection of theologians on the significance of these rites, and of the orders of ministry which they confer. It is a fascinating tale, well organised and lucidly told. Power is enormously sane. Even when tracing what is clearly a departure or decline from the radical newness of the New Testament, the author resists the temptation to polemicise. He shows the element of truth (the result of the Spirit's guidance, in virtue of which the Church is indefectible) in statements which, taken in themselves, are one-sided and misleading. Thus Power reminds us that St Thomas Aquinas defined priestly "character" as a "deputation to cult" —and he was speaking only of liturgical cult. Taken simply by itself this could be understood (and for centuries was so misunderstood) as a reversion to the pre-Christian conception of the priest as the ritually "holy" man. Power shows that St Thomas's statement is true, however, if we realise with Vatican II that cult must not be confined to liturgy: "all the actions of the ministry contribute to that worship of God which is a holy life" (176).

There are so many good things in this book that the choice of examples is unusually difficult. Power is especially good, however, in showing that ordination is not the conferment of sacerdotal "powers", but of *functions* within the one body of Christ, in which all members are essentially equal in virtue of their baptism. The primary function conferred by ordination is that of service. The powers exercised by the clergy are the result of their functions, not vice versa. It cannot be said, however, that this has been sufficiently realised either in the Church's ordination rites or in the writings of her theologians. Vatican II has begun to restore the authentic Catholic tradition in its fulness, and the author's last three chapters, in which he summarises and analyses the Council's teaching, are especially fine. It becomes evident what a watershed we have passed when a Catholic theologian, writing with the imprimatur of an English bishop, can tell us that "the ordination of a presbyter for the sole purpose of consecrating the body and blood of Christ and offering sacrifice . . . is an abuse" (111). Anyone acquainted, even superficially, with Catholic life and literature since the Reformation is aware of the oceans of ink and floods of pulpit oratory expended to prove that the ministry of the Catholic Church is essentially (and if need be solely) what is here flatly called an abuse: a "consecrating and sacrificing priesthood", instituted and maintained to offer propitiatory sacrifice to God on behalf of people who, lacking ordination, are unable to approach him directly. The book's brief compass is no indication of its merit. It has been drawn upon already by the Anglican authors of a proposed substitute

Anglican-Methodist Reunion Scheme to be published this summer with joint Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic sponsorship under the title, *Growing into Unity*. Yet when the book was mentioned by an Anglican member of the Anglican-Catholic Unity Commission at its meeting in Windsor in January of this year, none of the Catholic participants seemed to have heard of Power's work!

The other two volumes may be dealt with more briefly. When thirteen priests give anonymously their very frank accounts of their own *Experience of Priesthood*, the results are so diverse as to be impossible to summarise or even comment on in detail. My initial reaction was to dismiss the whole thing as the moaning and complaining of malcontents. Gradually, however, I found myself increasingly impressed and fascinated by what these men were telling me. Most of them are clearly devoted to the Church and the priesthood. But to a man they hate "the system" under which they must live and work, and which they have found all too often stifling personal initiative, a truly pastoral and evangelical approach to the ministry, and even the practice of Christian virtue amongst the clergy. My copy is full of underlinings. And while it would be too much to say that I agreed with all the criticism voiced here, a very large number of them are fully justified, and accurately identify real evils, many of which are still very much with us. Though good value for money, one looks in vain, alas, for the addition: "Half price to bishops and curialists". Archbishop Hurley's introduction shows that the book has not been completely overlooked, however, by those against whom most of the criticism is directed, though in his case one feels that the authors are preaching to the converted. This would be discouraging had we not been told on the highest authority that in this world it will ever be so: to them that have will be given . . .

The final book is the slightest of the three both in quantity and quality. Only the first third is concerned directly with "The Priests who Go" of the subtitle: an analysis of the reason why fifty-two Dutch priests who applied for laicisation left the ministry. The data analysed is admittedly scanty and incomplete, and the results inevitably fail to satisfy. Most of the book is taken up with a plea for the abolition of compulsory celibacy. While a number of good points are made, the case is vitiated at more than one point by overstatement and by failure to give more than superficial and inadequate recognition to the evangelical ideal of the single life as an eschatological sign and (where properly lived) one of the Church's great treasures, the disappearance of which would leave her immeasurably poorer.

St Louis University, Missouri. JOHN JAY HUGHES.

Joseph Blenkinsopp CELIBACY, MINISTRY, CHURCH Burns & Oates 1969 252 p 35/-.

Dr. Blenkinsopp is a biblical scholar and an ex-priest (this last fact is, incidentally, nowhere mentioned). He has written on one of the main problem areas in the Church from these viewpoints. As the title suggests, celibacy is only a lead-in to a much wider discussion of "what is wrong with" the priesthood and the structural organisation of the Church.

The main argument appears to run like this (greatly oversimplified): (a) Early Christianity gained most of its force by dissociating itself from "priestliness"—a separate, sacred priestly caste—just as some of the Old Testament prophets did. (b) As the immediacy of the Second Coming receded and the new faith settled down and became "institutionalised", a priestly caste evolved again and the priest himself became seen as a "sacred" person remote from the rest of us. The author sees this sacrality and apartness of the priest as inessential accretions which at present hinder Christian development, although he does not argue for a return to the primitive structure.

This line of argument is not new and the author does not claim that it is; he sees his original contribution as bringing a scholar's understanding of the Old Testament to the problem. The biblical discussion is interesting and informative, but I am not sure that its relevance to the difficulties of the modern priesthood is established. The two elements, biblical and modern, are intermingled but not integrated, and do not seem to add to each other as the author intends. In the process, however, some useful points are raised which it is right to repeat until they are answered. Why should sexual experience

make a man unfit to handle the Eucharist? Why not ordain women? Where does the erotic element in man come in God's scheme of things? Why should priesthood be only an alternative to other elements of life, jobs or marriage?

Two faults mar the book. The style is not easy to read. Words like "routinization", "sacralization" and "cultic" occur more frequently than one would wish. This kind of jargon is not wholly avoidable in sociological writing but it is worth making the effort a bit harder. The other, more serious, is the intrusion of personal bitchiness when dealing with certain problems a priest faces in the modern world, especially the "interminable and humiliating" process involved when he decides to resign from the ministry. The bitter tone of these passages is obviously derived from experience, but chips on the shoulder, however justified, always detract from an objective scholarly discussion.

Lansdowne, COLIN MCDONALD.
Upper Park Rd., Camberley.

VI. WOMEN IN CHURCH

Mary Daly THE CHURCH AND THE SECOND SEX Chapman 1967 187 p 30/-.

At the outset let us be quite clear about one thing: as long as women have to carry children for nine months and put up with all the other physical accompaniments of childbirth there can be no *complete* equality of the sexes; and as there seems to be no other arrangement of propagating the race in the foreseeable future, it is just as well to admit this. I therefore feel that Mary Daly has somewhat prejudiced her case by starting with a rehearsal of Simone de Beauvoir's argument in *The Second Sex*, where it is stated that the difference between men and women is due to a kind of indoctrination, that it is prompted by (male) society and is not a result of nature.

Now I have always considered this argument absurd. For why is it that, apart from a few primitive matriarchal systems, woman is accorded a different role from man in *all* civilisations? Why has she never rebelled? Can this different role not have something to do, not indeed with any inferiority, but with the simple fact that childbirth involves periods of particular vulnerability during which she has to be far more protected than the male? Further, if in most societies adultery is considered more serious in a woman than in a man—a fact which the author greatly resents—is this not quite understandable, seeing that if a woman's adultery were easily condoned a man would not know whether his wife's children were his own and society would be disrupted? The more thoroughgoing feminists seem to take no account of these simple physical facts by which nature has made women different from men; and there are surely quite a few occasions when a woman, unless completely blinded by militant feminism, will say, even if in a whisper: Vive la différence!

But after this has been said—and the book under review would have been better balanced if the author had said it as well—there can be no doubt that women as such have had a very rough deal throughout the ages, and not least in the Catholic Church. As Mary Daly rightly says, on the one hand women have been exalted in a totally unrealistic way and surrounded with a peculiar mystique, while, on the other, they have been treated like infants, with no rights whatsoever. It is unfortunately also true that women have often been their own worst enemies and even now quite a few react violently against such really very innocuous demands as that women should at least be allowed to serve Mass and be consulted by canon lawyers on matters relating to their own sex.

For, as the author says, though there have always been outstanding women who were accorded great respect and influence in the Church such as St Teresa of Avila, St Catherine of Siena, and many others, the "ordinary" woman has had no rights and standing whatsoever, and this treatment has been based on a mistaken interpretation of Scriptural texts, especially on the Yahwist creation account of woman as having been taken from Adam's rib and the various pronouncements of St Paul, which must really be seen in the context of his time and not be regarded as dogmatic utterances.

The author buttresses her work with a wealth of quotations, though her choice is at times somewhat one-sided, particularly when it comes to the Greek Fathers. For though it is true that especially the Desert Fathers regarded woman almost exclusively as the temptress, there are many others who stated her equality with man. Professor Daly gives only one derogatory quotation from Clement of Alexandria, but he emphasised in the Stromateis (4, 8) woman's equality both in nature and virtue, and men like Theodoret, Procopius of Gaza and others held the same view. But by and large it is true to say that woman was considered inferior to man and bound to obey him. In fact, some of the pronouncements not only of the Fathers and the medieval theologians, but also of modern Popes are quite frightening. For example, in *Casti Connubii* Pius XI spoke of "false liberty and unnatural equality with her husband", and in his "Address to Women of Catholic Action" Pius XII said: "A true woman cannot see and fully understand all the problems of human life otherwise than under the family aspect".

But what is a "true woman"? This is the question, and the author rightly says that the Church had construed a special image of what a "true woman" ought to be like, which scarcely resembles the reality of individual women. In this building up of an ideal woman Churchmen are ably assisted by such women as Gertrud von Le Fort, who talked about the "awesomeness" of "The Eternal Woman" in her book of this title, and made much of woman's "mystery" and the symbol of the veil. But Pius XII's "true woman" and Le Fort's "eternal woman" are simply abstractions. By placing such an abstraction on a pedestal and shrouding it in mystery it becomes very much easier to deprive the real woman of her human rights and blame her for not corresponding to this shadowy ideal if she shows any discontent with being treated as a perpetual, albeit mysterious minor. And I was horrified to read a quotation from Père J. Galot, whom I had always considered a very sensible mariologist, to the effect that woman "is less capable of receiving the doctrinal deposit objectively, of mastering its essential lines by a vigorous synthesis, of submitting it to a rational work of elaboration and of explicitation, and of transmitting it objectively after having re-thought it."

She is less capable, is she? How does Père Galot know, seeing that women have never until quite recently been given the opportunity of studying theology? If women are mathematicians, professors of literature, physicians, historians, chemists and the rest, why should only theology be beyond their ken? And have men been so wonderful at it? Seeing what some of our modern theologians say about the work of their predecessors it would seem that they have not all been such geniuses as Père Galot would have us believe. Indeed, a little feminine commonsense might sometimes not have come amiss among the flights of masculine speculation! Especially when theologians are making the wildest deductions about the relationship between men and women from the relation of Christ and Mary, of which they know next to nothing in any case, as there are only two or three brief biblical texts round which they spin their marvellous theories.

Mary Daly considers that the priesthood of women is essential to their rightful status in the Church; and I would suggest that the much lamented scarcity of priests at the moment may perhaps be a providential indication of God's will to let what the Church calls the "devout sex" participate also in her pastoral office. Professor Daly quotes Ida Görres' objection that the existence of women priests would lead to the most embarrassing and grotesque situations, but replies quite rightly that such situations exist also in the case of priests and women. Indeed, it is one of the drawbacks of the creation of man in two sexes that such situations are inevitable.

"As long as the Church maintains a significant distinction between hierarchy and laity, the exclusion of women from the hierarchy is a radical affirmation of their inferior position among the people of God" (p. 155). This cannot be denied. And the author is also right when she says that "although Vatican II's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World speaks out against discrimination on the basis of sex, the situation of women in the postconciliar Church has not changed greatly" (171). This is partly due to the apathy of women themselves, but it is not helped by exaggerations and by a refusal to see that there is some truth in the Church's continual teaching that the fundamental role of women as a natural being is that of wife and mother. Is

it really due to mere conditioning that little girls like to play with dolls and that the majority of young girls are longing for marriage and a home of their own and babies? It is certainly monstrous to demand of intelligent women with the desire for a profession that they should sacrifice their gifts to the life of the family and to become nothing more than child bearers and home makers. But it is closing one's eyes to reality to imagine that most women who devote themselves to their household and the interests of their husband and children are unfulfilled and not persons in their own right.

I suppose Mary Daly, who is at present assistant professor of theology at Boston College, Mass., meant to make her point about the need for equality of opportunity in the world and especially in the Church as forcefully as possible; but being a professor she probably moves in university circles and seems to speak almost exclusively for intellectual women. However, just as most men are not creative personalities, but are quite content with a none too interesting job that assures them a livelihood, so most women are content to be wives and mothers; indeed they would resent having to go out and work instead of making a home for their family.

But that the minority should be given every opportunity to use their gifts to the full is a crying need, and the Church can certainly not be absolved from failure to have done so by zealously propagating the image of the "eternal woman" and practically treating women as more or less chattels of their husbands.

At the moment it is probably necessary to be very articulate in order to make the point that women are as fully human as men and have the same rights. But sometimes the author is a trifle strident, and though her strictures on modern Popes are well deserved, she might perhaps have modified her sarcasm a little and also taken into consideration the fact that the Popes are Italians, not Americans, hence their views of women are necessarily conditioned also by their nationality. In fact, a little more of "vive la difference" might have been indicated, for let's confess, it is very nice if a man opens the door for us or brings us flowers, and we would not want it the other way round—even if we are professors of theology, would we? But that's wanting the best of both worlds—how very feminine!

Oxford. HILDA GRAEF.

ed Sr M. Charles Borromeo, CSC THE NEW NUNS Sheed & Ward 1968 30/-.

The purpose of this collection of 19 previously published articles is to advance the renewal of nuns. A few of the articles show what is being done to make the life of religious women more fruitful. The majority show, largely through a searching analysis of institutional obstacles, what still has to be done to harness the tremendous potential for good contained in the religious orders of women. Although this book is written by Americans for American Sisters, the problems and the proposed solutions are shared by Sisters everywhere.

The book is divided into two parts: *Transformation of a Life Style*, and *Changes in Community Structure*. The first is concerned primarily with the changes that are taking place in the Sisters' own self-image and personal way of life within their institution. The second deals with the profound changes needed in the structures of community life and in the methods of government, called for by the changes in the Sisters themselves and by changes in contemporary thought about the nature and primary functions of the Church. The whole is introduced and rounded off by the editor, who, in her own article and then in her Conclusion, shows considerable anxiety about the slow rate of change at the institutional level, and a sense of uncertainty about the actual possibility of sufficiently radical change in existing orders. It is not surprising to learn from the dust-jacket that she has since left her order to try and find "new, secular ways of being celibate, totally available to others". The message of the book as I read it is that existing orders *can* become revivified, though undoubtedly at great cost, and that, indeed, if we say that it isn't possible we will be failing in our vocation in the Church today—if the smaller institutions cannot be born again, what hope is there for radical reform in the larger institution of the world-wide Church? In this respect a most positive contribution is made by several of the contributors who show how renewal

can be helped by the application of the insights of sociology into the nature of human institutions and groupings. The two articles by Sr Marie Augusta Neal S.N.D. are particularly impressive. It is good to see, running through the book, the realisation that there must be a re-creation of genuine communities of mature and dedicated adult women, for the basic apostolate of any religious order is precisely that: to be a Christian community.

Convent of the Holy Child Jesus, Edgbaston, Birmingham. SISTER HELEN FORSHAW, S.H.C.J.

Rosemary Haughton THE GOSPEL WHERE IT HITS US Chapman 1968 150 p 18/-.

Criticism of a book is often more likely to expose the needs and deficiencies of the reviewer than of the writer. One approaches a book of this sort looking for answers to problems, principles of progress, and insights into the Gospels and their central figure. When it fails to produce any of these results one criticizes, when it succeeds one praises. Only in the third requirement did this book fail to provide what was expected of it. The main cause of this is the misleading title. Most of the book is not concerned with the Gospels as such but with the problems of present day Christianity.

It is as well to draw attention to the fact that this book is a set of talks the author was asked to give. She explains this in her introduction. The reader is warned not to come to the book thinking the author has the solution to the problem she is tackling. "I was asked questions, and I have been obliged to search for answers, or at least to show here such answers may be found. They are not always the kind of answers that I liked . . . I really asked myself these questions". Here lies the great merit of the book—the genuineness of the search. And, even if the book does not answer the questions finally, it does make one more aware of them.

Some of the subjects she deals with are: marriage and virginity, the nature of woman, educating conscience, the work of a Christian. In some places, frankly, I found the opening discussion difficult to follow. For those unaccustomed to being at sea, heavy seas right at the start of the journey may be off-putting. However, once these initial complications are over, one's interest in the journey soon catches up. The Chapter on the Nature of Woman was very interesting. It is the age-old matter of joining opposites. Her basic contention is that women should not be striving to become less feminine and more masculine in order to achieve equality—the trend in our present "state". Neither masculine nor feminine qualities are sufficient by themselves. Both sets of qualities are necessary if each sex is to attain fulfilment. In a mature relationship, the man will develop the opposite and complementary qualities of woman, and vice versa.

Unless I am very much out of touch, this book could be of use to anyone engaged in preaching or teaching, as well as to those bringing up children. (Apart from one misprint on p. 121, line 2, "its effects", the book is well brought out.)

Mount St Bernard Abbey, Coalville, Leicester. MARCELLUS HARTLEY, O.C.R.

VII. THE CHURCH IN DISSENT

ed. Charles E. Curran CONTRACEPTION: AUTHORITY & DISSENT Burns & Oates 1969 240 p 25/-, paper.

The contraceptive debate has abated in public where hasty pronouncements have left a sad trail of individual truculent utterances of dissent on the one hand and insensitive use of episcopal power on the other. Fortunately for the Church the argument has largely ceased to be the occasion for denunciations, demonstrations and signatures and the focus of attention has shifted to the serious discussion which is essential if progress is to be made.

Progress in what direction? The opponents of the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae* saw it as an unmitigated disaster. The Holy Spirit which these same voices felt had

abandoned the vicar of Christ at this crucial moment, has, in fact, acted—as it always does—in mysterious ways. It has succeeded in unleashing the most thoughtful and far-reaching discussion about the nature of authority. It is very doubtful if any other event would have been important enough to mobilise the people of God, laity, priests, nuns, bishops to look at this vital aspect of the life of the Catholic Church. The results will have far-reaching repercussions and as this book clearly shows, the time is now most appropriate to take a long, hard, cool look at authority; recognising its authentic roots but pruning the accumulated dead wood of centuries of theological, social, political and psychological irrelevancies.

These essays vary in quality but those of John Coulson, John T. Noonan, Jnr. and Charles E. Curran merit special attention. In conjunction with the others they show convincingly that obedience has its limits, is never blind and papal authority with all its undoubted importance cannot be a substitute for truth unfolding within the whole Church. A special aspect of this truth in this controversy and in surrounding medico-moral issues is that the morality of human actions cannot be seen principally in terms of physical, biological characteristics. Biology serves the whole person and the Church which has proclaimed the supremacy of love in interpersonal relations has to come to terms with sexuality not only as an instinctual generative force but as the means of uniting two people, a husband and wife. The enosis of human love in marriage transcends the biology of procreation. This is the truth which the Encyclical did not grasp in its totality and in its limited vision does unintentionally run the risk of fragmenting men and women.

This book does not claim to examine all the issues of the Encyclical but its limited enquiry into authority and dissent is carried out with care and carries conviction.

Copthorne Rd., J. DOMINIAN.
Rickmansworth.

ed. Malcolm Boyd THE UNDERGROUND CHURCH Sheed & Ward 1969 xvi + 246 p 45/-.

A discursive Introduction does not make at all clear to the ignorant Englishman what this title really indicates. But it is much more informative than Chapter 1 from which I do not think the general (or specialized) reader will get enlightenment. Take, for example, this from the opening paragraph:

"Yet each [The Ecumenical Movement and the dynamism of John XXIII and Vatican II] aroused expectations which could not pragmatically be satisfied hierarchically as *noblesse-oblige* handouts; so a double thrust of reaction to debilitating organizational slowness followed initial action, set in motion by ecumenical activity and response to a world-wide cry for the discovery of human meaning amid threats of dehumanization and even annihilation."

After which a page of Amanda Ros is daylight and champaign.

This first chapter is followed by two which assume that their reader is by now in possession of a good working picture of the subject. Faint but pursuing we come next to a "Diary of the Underground", an irrelevant and absurdly pretentious piece of "poetic" name-dropping, followed by a lengthy "Litany of the Underground", worthy but turgid. [O God who couldn't take it any longer and was in the streets this summer and was called hoodlum, communist, agitator, bum, wino, drug addict: Help us to know you.]

But now the style changes. A staccato and incisive chapter speaks of the Church and Civil Rights with real impact, and is followed by another of equal force on Black Power *vis-à-vis* the Kingdom of God.

A little more, and we come at last, on page 120 to the chapter which should have come first: Up from the Underground. This is an efficient and inclusive *exposé*. The doctrinal and aesthetic hairs on the English traditional head rise alternately and often simultaneously, but after rapid mental adjustment and a hard swallow, the interest and sympathy are fully engaged. The writer's evident concern that Overground and Underground should not remain diverced purges his article of wilfulness or aggression. He genuinely conveys what is going on, and why. For this chapter alone the book is worth having but its value goes beyond its own content. It enlightens much of what precedes and follows. It explains why the Underground is deeply involved in the race problem; what Church, Life, Prayer, Invisibility mean to Undergrounders. It is a pity this chapter did not come first. It would have obviated a temptation to dismiss the book as farrago of half-baked extremism from a country which often half-bakes its extremes. It illuminates the whole thesis of the book, which is that a crass failure of leadership in the Overground Church in America has forced into the catacombs the living enthusiasm which it ought to have met, encouraged and guided. Together with six other worth-while articles in the book it goes a long way to establishing that contention in the mind of an honest and uncommitted reader.

Goodings, J. P. BUSHELL.
Newbury, Berks.

Theo Westow THE AGONY OF THE CHURCH Sheed & Ward 1969 225 p 32/6.

Rosemary R. Ruether THE CHURCH AGAINST ITSELF Sheed & Ward 1969 27/6.

These two books are from the stream of modern "Lay" theology. Both can be classified as Prophetic—that is that they draw attention to faults in the Church. This stream is becoming a bewildering torrent of critical writing, and creates the problem for us as we read of deciding what is and is not acceptable criticism. It seems to me that the following will serve as an acceptable rule of thumb by which to judge whether a book is Prophetic or not.

If a critic advocates change from what is the present practice of the Church, he must not only state the alternative clearly, giving reasons for the change, but he must also indicate how we are to make the transition from our present situation. So the true prophet will be constructive and positive.

These two books illustrate the point well. Both are critical and thought-provoking. But Rosemary Ruether, while conducting a penetrating critique of the Church and pointing out many genuine weaknesses, fails to show the reader how the Church is to make the transition. Theo Westow however has written a more practical analysis of the Church, more concerned with improving the Church we have than with destroying it to replace it by some other untried ideal. This is not to deny that Rosemary Ruether is an excellent antidote for complacency, but rather to suggest that Theo Westow is more constructive and will help us to see a path forward from our present problems.

G.J.S.

VIII. REALITY—A PHILOSOPHY AND A POEM

Thomas F. Torrance SPACE, TIME AND INCARNATION OUP 1969 92 p 25/-.

Professor Torrance has written a book of the very first importance. Starting from the attempts made by modern Protestant theology to detach the Gospel message from any essential relation to the structures of space and time, Professor Torrance examines the place of spatial and temporal ingredients in basic theological concepts, clarifies the epistemological issues they involve, and goes on to offer a positive account of the relation of the Incarnation to space and time. He does so, to quote his own declaration of intent, "by penetrating into the inner rational structure of theological knowledge and letting it come to articulation within the context of modern scientific thought". This last undertaking he sees as essentially ecumenical, and rightly so, because if the introduction of scientific rigour can prevent subjective factors from intruding into the transcendental content of theological knowledge, the consequent collapse of pseudo-theological structures can only serve to lay bare the objective ground common to us all.

The central problem that arises in our knowledge of God is posed by Barth: "How do we come to think, by means of our thinking, that which we cannot think at all by this means? How do we come to say, by means of our language, that which we cannot say at all by this means?" Professor Torrance accepts Barth's premise that where knowledge of God is concerned we cannot raise questions as to its reality from some position outside it (since there is no such position), yet granted the incongruence between our knowing and the Divine Object of our knowing, such knowledge as we do

possess must rest upon the reality of the Object known, and just as all scientific questions presuppose the rationality of that into which they inquire, so theological questioning (*Fides quaerens intellectum*) seeks to bring to light the rational grounds on which our knowledge of God claims to rest, "either to establish it evidentially upon those grounds in such a way as to exhibit a thoroughgoing consistency between our understanding and that into which we inquire, or to use the rationality that comes to light and the coherence of our operational structures to enable us to discriminate between realities and fictions".

Taking up Origen's question as to the legitimacy of using spatial and temporal terms to speak of God who in His own essence does not exist in a spatial or temporal relation to the creaturely world, Professor Torrance shows that if human language about God is to have "any real intention terminating objectively upon Him, it can only be on the ground of His interaction with the world He has created and within the relation He has established between it and Himself. Put the other way round, this means that statements about acts of God in the Incarnation imply and demand statements about the creation of the universe and the unique relation in which as Self-existent Being the Creator stands to the creation, for it is within that relation that we as God's creatures belong and within it alone that we can conceive and speak of God in any true way."

Professor Torrance's account of the Incarnation in its relation to creation singles out, in respect of the question of space and time, two rival theories based, respectively, on the receptacle notion and the relational notion. The receptacle notion is found in two different forms—that of the finite receptacle and that of the infinite receptacle—the former exemplified by Aristotelian and Stoic thought, and the latter by the Atomists and Pythagoreans. Both were rejected by Patristic theology, but the one entered western thought with Aristotelian physics and philosophy and tended to encourage a *deus sine natura* view of the relation between God and the world (and hence a sharp distinction between nature and supernature, natural and revealed theology), while the other entered Renaissance thought through the Florentine Academy, influenced Galileo, was taken up and elaborated by Newton, and eventually gave rise to deistic dualism. In his second chapter Professor Torrance shows how Luther, operating with a receptacle notion of space, thought that in the Incarnation something of the Word of God was left "outside" (the "Calvinist extra"); further, he shows that the positing of spatial relations *without extension in time* made it impossible to discern any difference between the real presence of Christ in the days of His flesh, in the Eucharist, and at the Last Day, with the consequence that the historical foundations of faith came to seem irrelevant.

Professor Torrance then traces the relational notion from Plato, through Origen, Athanasius, St Augustine and St Anselm, to its fullest expression (via Leibniz) in the relativity theory of Einstein. In his first chapter Professor Torrance argues that the revealed events had forced Nicene theology into the construction of a sort of *topological* language in order to express the dispositional and dynamic interconnexions between one sort of "place" and another. For example, "Christ is 'in' us through sharing our bodily existence, but He is also 'in' the Father through His oneness with Him, but how are we to work out the relation between these two?" Professor Torrance considers the Athanasian use of *paradeigma* "as an operational term in which some image, idea or relation is taken from our this-worldly experience to point beyond itself", and he holds that these *paradeigmata* have their ultimate ground in the relation between the Father and the Incarnate Son, "the relation that bridges the separation (chorismos) between God and man and supplies the epistemological basis for all theological concepts".

In his final chapter, the differential concepts of Nicene theology—concepts defined in accordance with the interaction between God and man and working within a sort of co-ordinate system between two horizontal dimensions (space and time) and one vertical dimension (relation to God)—provide the framework for a reformulation of the doctrine of the Incarnation in terms of modern scientific theory and Einstein's theory of relativity in particular. "When considered theologically, that is from a centre in God, the world is to be understood as subsisting in His creative word. . . When considered naturally, that is from a centre in nature itself, it is to be known and understood in so far as we penetrate into its inherent intelligibility and succeed in giving it intelligible representation." Professor Torrance argues that it is owing to "the relation of creative freedom between God and the creation and of contingent freedom between the creation and God, that nature itself speaks only ambiguously of God, for while it may be interpreted as pointing intelligibly beyond itself to God, it does not permit of any necessary inference from its contingence to God." The relation between divine freedom and contingent necessity Professor Torrance sees as exactly analogous to that found in the variational principles of physics—"as is apparent when we apply Fermat's principle, that light takes the shortest route between two points, to the formulation of natural law, for the selection of one possibility as the real one thereby stamps the others as really impossible." Thus we must think of the Incarnation as "the decisive action of God in Christ which invalidates all other possibilities and makes all other conceivable roads within space and time to God actually unthinkable. In this way the Incarnation together with the Creation forms the great axis in God's relation with the world of space and time."

One of the most important consequences of Professor Torrance's thinking is that the traditional separation between natural and revealed theology ceases to be tenable. Einsteinian theory, involving as it does a profound correlation between abstract conceptual system and physical process, is shown to have considerable epistemological implications for theological as well as natural science—"if only because it yields the organic concept of space—time as a continuous, diversified but unitary field of dynamic structures in which the theologian as well as the natural scientist is at work. Since this gets rid of the old dualism between material existence and absolute space and time, or between nature and supernature, it is no longer possible to operate scientifically with a separation between natural theology and revealed theology any more than between geometry and physics. In physics this means that geometry cannot be pursued as an axiomatic deductive science detached from actual knowledge of physical processes or be developed as an independent science antecedent to physics, but must be pursued in indissoluble unity with physics as the science of its inner rational structure and as an essential part of the empirical and theoretical interpretation of nature. In theology this means that natural theology cannot be undertaken as a prior conceptual system on its own apart from actual knowledge of the living God, or be developed as an independent philosophical examination of rational forms phenomenologically abstracted from their material content, all antecedent to positive theology. Rather must it be undertaken in an integrated unity with positive theology in which it plays an indispensable part in our inquiry and understanding of God. In this fusion 'natural' theology will suffer a dimensional change and will be made *natural* to the proper subject-matter of theology. No longer extrinsic but intrinsic to actual knowledge of God, it will function as a sort of 'theological geometry' within it, in which we are concerned to articulate the inner material logic of knowledge of God as it is mediated within the organised field of space-time".

This passage is quoted in full, because once its crucial importance is acknowledged, Professor Torrance's book can be welcomed as one that is destined to exercise a profoundly formative influence on the future course of theology.

IAN DAVIS.

Ian Davie ROMAN PENTECOST: A Poem Hamish Hamilton 1970 48 p 21/-.

"Roman Pentecost" is a very dense theological poem of some 500 lines, in three thematic sections divided into "paragraphs" of widely varying metre. The poem is flanked by a Preface and a section of Notes, both of which are indispensable to its full impact, for the verse itself is deliberately and richly derivative and only comes fully to life when its external references are identified. The verse is by no means obscure, and its lucid and spacious syntax requires no commentary; this is, indeed, an extremely clear poem when judged by contemporary standards. But it is also a very subtle one in which many meanings converge, and it is the rather specialised nature of these meanings, and the presence of a perennial but too often unfamiliar metaphysical concern, which makes the prose commentary not only welcome but integral.

Ian Davie calls his poem "an extended meditation on the apocalyptic events of the Nineteen-forties, as seen in retrospect from a point in time that coincides with the last hours of Pope John's pontificate". His standpoint is that of a European and a Christian groping for an interpretation of the tragedy of anti-semitism which will be big enough, in its vision of an ultimate order, to contain and balance the colossal forces of dissolution released by men in the age of Auschwitz and Hiroshima. His perspectives are extremely modern, and the fact that his theological and poetical language is so pointedly traditional creates an interesting tension which runs throughout the poem. The violence of the subject is balanced by a fastidious sense of cultural continuity; the crude and somewhat simpliste power to fascinate which is exercised by the horrific is continually checked and elevated by a vision large enough to afford reticence. This continual sense of tension, at several levels, between mysteriously opposed poles—ancient and modern, Pagan and Christian, order and disorder, Being and non-being—is curiously reminiscent of the artistic and moral contradictions which attracted Britten to the theme of his "War Requiem": in a striking evocation of the horrors of Auschwitz, Ian Davie breaks his poetic narrative with a series of straight biblical quotations; the resulting fusion of images constitutes one of his main themes:

It is accomplished:
Over six million dead.
The Passion of Christ is made one
with the Passion of Israel. . . .

The central theme of the poem is a purely metaphysical one, of which the secondary subjects (Rome, Israel, Pope John) are images. Behind the particular and transient phenomena of human culture lies the mysterious total structure of

. . . the world, the constituents of being
strung out on the notes of the atomic scale . . .

Behind the particular and transient clashes of which man's destructive history consists lies a world of "antagonist-angels" in which Creation and counter-creation are locked "in shadowy combat". It is in the final section of the poem, "Apocalypse of Pope John", that this difficult transition from the particular image to the transcendent vision is most fully developed. The first section, "Images of the City", is largely visual in its impact, and the underlying theme, that of

. . . Counter-creation fathering momentum

is only introduced in the final stanza. The second section, "The Passion of Israel", adds a particular historical perspective and a dimension of moral horror, into which is inserted a striking theological development of the central theme: the Annihilation of Hiroshima, the "breaking of primal matter" is set over against the creative "Exnihilation" of God, the breaking of the Eucharistic bread. There is a final paragraph to this section, a sort of quick survey of the Secular City with its gambling-machines and all-night cinemas, which seemed to me somewhat gratuitous and distracting, almost amounting to a lapse in taste.

The final section is the longest, and deservedly so. Here there is some magnificently sustained "didactic" verse, in which a Teilhardian vision is laid out with great precision and with an abundance of fine conceits and images. The structure of the inner world is explored in terms of a repeated musical image, "the dialectic of counterpoint" with its

Complexities of harmony established
At the extreme limits of dissonance . . .

The world's order, "the marvellous mounting force concealed in things" yet has at its heart a deep tension between contrary impulses, the deepest being the tension between life and death. In the holiness of a great Pope is embodied the mission of the Spirit

. . . to bring
Rejoicing out of death.

The poem returns finally to the point from which it started—Rome at a particular point in its long history, the point of intersection between time and eternity.

This is the sort of work to which even a sympathetic reviewer cannot do justice. Its theme is out of fashion and will surely outlive it. For those who feel somewhat unnerved by its mystical tone, there is some marvellous language in its own right, especially perhaps in the first section with its luminous evocation of Rome. At times one has the sense of Hopkins translated by Eliot. One memorable image remains in my mind, that of

. . . Adam unparadised,
Shouldering through the mists of Genesis,
Behind him, the great forest of begettings,
Green shade and shuttered gold,
Magnificent summering trees
Where the winged lion paces.

DOMINIC MILROY, O.S.B.

IX. SPIRITUALITY AND THE FLOWERING SPIRIT

Dom Jean Leclercq, Dom François Vandenbroucke, Louis Bouyer THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE MIDDLE AGES Burns & Oates 1969 602 p 115/-.

This is the second of a three-volume series. After the spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers we are given a guide to the spirituality of the Middle Ages, divided into two periods. The section from the sixth to the twelfth century is written by Dom Jean Leclercq. The section from the twelfth to the sixteenth century is written by Dom François Vandenbroucke. Finally there is an appendix on Byzantine spirituality by Louis Bouyer.

In an ever wider context we can see Byzantine spirituality, and more especially the Dionysian theology of "negation", as a central point of contact between India and the West. Through Dionysius the spirituality of Latin and Western Europe came under the influence of this "apophatic" theology: God is ultimately experienced as a reality beyond all human images, concepts and discursive reasoning and therefore the language most apt to express that experience is the language of "negation". This tradition is highly relevant to our present situation. For there is a growing tendency, particularly among young people to see the limitations of a one-dimensional, rationalistic and technological civilisation and to look towards the East for a "counter culture". For this reason I find Dom Vandenbroucke's approach to Dionysian spirituality somewhat inadequate. I am referring not only to what he calls the anti-intellectual tendency to be found in the "Cloud of Unknowing" (p. 242). Principally I think that he has failed to show how deeply Aquinas was influenced by that tradition (p. 334). Aquinas tells us that, when we have said everything that we can say about God, we know God ultimately as unknown. The witness of St Thomas Aquinas is of central importance. For this great mystic represents pre-eminently the philosophy and theology of the West. Surely we should interpret this "way of negation" not as an "anti-intellectualism" but as a higher kind of understanding?

I am not suggesting that all spiritual men experience God in this kind of way and express that experience in the language of the *via negativa*. Père Bouyer's appendix on Byzantine spirituality, in my opinion the finest contribution to this book, points to the pluralism of religious experience and language even within the Byzantine tradition. He shows us the tension between Studite monasticism and the monasticism of Sinai. In Studite monasticism society and indeed the whole of human existence is seen as one vast, collective, hierarchical structure, converging on the Liturgy, the visible, symbolic expression of the spiritual world. In contrast the monasteries of Sinai reveal an interior, heremitical, spontaneous and characteristic spirituality (pp. 555-8). He refers also to the tension between the hellenistic intellectualist interpretation of the Christian Revelation and the language of the Bible. In the Hesychast prayer he sees the descent of the *nous* (pure intelligence) into the heart as a return to a Biblical anthropology with the "heart" rather than the "head" as the centre of the human person (p. 581). Very perceptively he also draws our attention to the paradox in the division "active" and "contemplative", quoting the words of Elias Ekdikos: "The active man, because of his painful efforts, desires to be freed in order to be with Christ (cf. Philippians I.23)

but the contemplative prefers to remain in the flesh, both because of the joy he receives in prayer and also for the benefit of his neighbour here below" (p. 560) and Père Bouyer's comment is very much to the point: "Thus the connection between action and contemplation is not so much a parallelism as a dialectical progress".

Père Leclercq, as always, gives a clear, lucid exposition of his theme and penetrates to the basic doctrine of St Gregory the Great and William of St Thierry. But one misses the sense of subtlety and complexity to be found in Père Bouyer's appendix. This is perhaps inevitable in a wider field. However, I should have liked a less simplified treatment of William of St Thierry and, more specifically, a greater awareness of the tension between "the ascent of the soul", the predominant theme of the *Speculum Fidei*, and "the ascent of the mind", the predominant theme of the *Aenigma Fidei*. There is a different point of departure, a contrasting development, to some extent a pluralism in theological method, and finally a converging movement towards the central mystical experience of the Trinity.

I welcome Dom Vandenbroucke's concern over the fragmentation in later mediæval development which severs mysticism and theology (p. 543). We are now searching for unity. I would suggest that the contemporary philosophy of the human subject, the philosophy of a reflexive self understanding, might reveal a new principle of a differentiated unity based on the unity and complexity of the human person in his openness to the experience of God.

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Geoffrey F. Nuttall THE FAITH OF DANTE ALIGHIERI SPCK 1969 83 p 10/-.

This short book is made up of four introductory lectures on Dante given at the University College of Wales. Dr Nuttall's hope is to communicate his own enthusiasm to others and so to lead them to read Dante for themselves. Many of those who have fallen under the spell of Dante must feel the same sort of missionary zeal about the *sommo poeta*, who is unfortunately more talked about than read. Although it is difficult to attach much meaning to the blurb's claim that the author's "own prose style breathes the very spirit of Dante"—indeed, I found the rather breathless manner of the first two chapters a little irritating—Dr Nuttall does succeed in communicating his own delight in Dante.

In the first chapter he writes about the poet and his purpose; and he then devotes a chapter to each of the three *cantiche*, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, *Paradiso*, always from the point of view suggested by the title of his book. He rightly emphasizes Dante's didactic purpose and his superb craftsmanship in making us see and feel what Dante the pilgrim saw and felt. In explaining the connotation of *torto*, the twisting of human nature by evil, Dr Nuttall does not perhaps connect it sufficiently with love, which is so central to the *Commedia* and one of its unifying themes. Again, although he points out that the concept of *giustizia* in the *Commedia* is complex, he does not bring out its importance as the communal aspect of love. The City of Dis is the kingdom of injustice, where all is strife, and love has turned into hatred. Paradise is the kingdom of justice, of right order, where the many are gathered into the unity of love through union with God, and the more there are to say "ours" the greater is their joy, as Virgil explains to Dante in *Purgatorio xv*.

Dr Nuttall points out the astonishing change of atmosphere as soon as we have left the *Inferno* behind, and stand with Dante on the shores of Purgatory. We come out "from the dead air which had afflicted eyes and heart" into this most human of the three *cantiche*. In fact, the author brings out well the whole atmosphere of the *Purgatorio*: the springtime of new life, of flowers and greenness, of poetry and sweet airs, and the patient humility and brotherly love of those whom Dante meets there. In his chapter on the *Paradiso*, he makes a good point about "the fusing of deep emotion with intellectual passion", which we find in Dante. The astonishing combination of acute sensibility and penetrating intellect, unified by unrivalled imaginative powers, is indeed one of Dante's outstanding characteristics. One finds something

of the same quality in Donne or Eliot; but in scope they are miniaturists beside Dante.

Dante's poetic voice is a very personal one, and to know his poem is to feel one knows a person; so that one is ready to accept him whole, including his idiosyncrasies and his *longueurs*. The only other writer I know who gives one quite the same feeling of living in the company of a person is Proust. A rather improbable parallel perhaps, but one that might have appealed to Proust himself, who liked to make unlikely connections, and who says somewhere that the crowing of the cock and the cooing of the wood-pigeon are but two variations of the same theme played by different instruments. Once one has come to know Dante in this almost personal way, it is difficult to imagine what it would be like not to be familiar with the *Commedia*. Dr Nuttall's book is an invitation to meet Dante; and I hope that many will accept it.

BRENDAN SMITH, O.S.B.

Vincent Cronin THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE Collins 1968 353 p 45/-.
THE FLOWERING OF THE RENAISSANCE Collins 1969 352 p 50/-.

The first of these volumes appeared in 1968 and so has already had time to prove itself the perfect guide to Florence. Its historical framework is the fortunes of Cosimo and Lorenzo di Medici, and it ends with the breakdown under Savonarola, and the invasions which in some sense mark the end of Florentine greatness.

Significantly, the second volume has one of Bronzino's courtly portraits for its jacket. The posture is now rigid and proud and suspicious. The Medici are beginning to forget their banking background, as they set themselves up as full-time aristocrats. We are already far from the spontaneity, the delightful sense of truly human contradiction that characterised Lorenzo.

From the cultural point of view, the centres involved in this new period covered by the second volume are Rome and Venice. First of all Rome, with the pontificate of Julius II and all that that meant for the arts. And after Caesar, Augustus—Lorenzo's "clever" son Giovanni who became Leo X. Here Cronin does rather tend to let his enthusiasm for all things Medici run away with him. One remembers that Erasmus had entertained great hopes for learning under Leo, but in fact all that lavish patronage produced little of real value, apart, of course, from the great achievements of Raphael. Leo seems to be lacking in the perception that made his forbears great, inheriting principally their sense of humour, and that to a degree which must have been embarrassing. But he epitomises splendidly the Rome that just could not see how a noisy little German friar could be *important* in the affairs of the Church.

Renaissance Rome, as Cronin skilfully emphasises, was an artefact. Its achievements didn't spring from the populace, as they had in Florence, they hadn't the reality of something rooted and flourishing in their own soil. With the Venetian republic one has something more akin to Florence, though with this difference, that the artists in this milieu were not the *uomini completi* of Florence, capable of turning a hand to various trades and disciplines. Painting in Venice was always more concentrated on visual enjoyment, without the philosophical background that makes the Florentines such an endless field for discovery.

As with the first volume, Cronin has managed to summon up a whole cavalcade of Renaissance personalities and their works. He evokes the period by digesting everything relevant and characteristic. Indeed the second volume is a very worthy companion to the first. One is a little surprised that he didn't call it "the decline of the Renaissance", since that is what it came to be, with the passing of humanism as Erasmus and Pico understood it, under Reformation and Counter-Reformation. But even when one disagrees with Cronin's judgments, one admits the impossibility of being dogmatic oneself. The Renaissance, as Berenson put it, "has the fascination of those years when we seemed so full of promise both to ourselves and everybody else". Not even Burckhardt managed to be dispassionate about it.

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X. GAY POVERTY

Iona and Peter Opie CHILDREN'S GAMES IN STREET AND PLAYGROUND OUP 1969 xxvii + 371 p 40/-.

Even when the subject matter of a special study (for instance the Old Testament) is readily available to everyone, it is rare to find a work which so assimilates the material as to be able to trace themes, contradictions and generally present a picture not immediately visible to the casual observer. But when the material itself has to be collected by dint of years of correspondence and personal contact, the achievement is even more rare. This is what Iona and Peter Opie have given the world in their latest work "Children's Games of Street and Playground". Those who have enjoyed a good laugh browsing through the pages of their previous volume, "The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren", may be a little disappointed to find the new work much more of an encyclopaedia. But in the long run this is what it should be. There has been no major work on the subject of children at play since the two volumes of "Traditional Games" by Lady Alice Gomme published at the turn of the century: and a lot has happened in the children's world since then. The subject has suffered from the two dangers to which it is particularly prone. On the one hand there are the writers and television producers who scratch together a few fragments of the child tradition and then use the material to deduce all kinds of sinister and pseudo-folk conclusions about primitive tribal instincts. On the other hand there are writers who make a detailed and useful survey of the games of an area, but are unable to relate it to the whole picture in the British Isles, let alone the world picture. The present work is too scholarly a masterpiece to fall into either of these pits. Painstakingly to collect the material presented here over very many years is one thing, but so to master the material as to be able to give a lively and readable picture rooted in the traditions of children throughout the world is nothing short of genius. I am glad the subject matter covered is severely limited: with so few starters in this field the public can well afford to wait several years for at least one further volume. The present work does not survey the whole field of children at play. It deliberately excludes what Peter Opie calls "the more sophisticated games": games which require apparatus in the most general sense, such as ropes for skipping, marbles, tops and whips and also the whole mass of the essentially feminine tradition of singing games, whose history must to some extent run parallel to the world of Nursery Rhymes.

This is a book which is likely to become a standard work of reference, and the index alone confirms this, not only for decades to come but centuries.

But it would be wrong to conclude from what I have written that this book is just a mass of observations without any relevant conclusions. The Introduction is deeply disturbing and deserves a wide public of readers themselves concerned with education. It concludes with this thought: "If children's games are tamed and made part of school curricula, if waste-lands are turned into playing-fields for the benefit of those who conform and ape their elders, if children are given the idea that they cannot enjoy themselves without being provided with the 'proper' equipment, we need blame only ourselves when we produce a generation who have lost their dignity, who are ever dissatisfied, and who descend for their sport to the easy excitement of rioting, or pilfering, or vandalism" (p. 16).

DAMIAN WEBB, O.S.B.

The reviewer provided the photographs for this book. Elsewhere in this issue are two of his photographs illustrative of what the authors call "the more sophisticated games", not dealt with in the book.

Dame Felicitas Corrigan, O.S.B. GEORGE THOMAS OF SOHO Secker & Warburg 1970 174 p 36/-.

This short biography tells the life of one born to experience extreme suffering. George Thomas had the use of his limbs for the first sixteen years of his life, but then he was incapacitated by muscular dystrophy until his death thirty-four years later in 1952. Dame Felicitas allows George to tell his own story from his diaries and letters, filling in the background for us herself. Despite a forced simplicity in living conditions because of poverty, George was not a simple person. His main occupations were reading and writing; he trained himself to develop a literary style, and wrote three books. He also kept up a large correspondence, and fell in love with Mary Tiernan solely through the medium of their mutual letters. He married her and enjoyed nine years of blissful happiness with her. He was so incapacitated that he depended for the most simple tasks on the help of another, and it is because of his valiant heart and unconquerable mind that his story is full of interest.

JONATHAN COTTON, O.S.B.

XI. PROFESSORIAL PAMPHLETS

Owen Chadwick FREEDOM AND THE HISTORIAN CUP 1969 42 p 5/-.

When one recalls Professor Southern's substantial Chichele inaugural on the Stubbs revolution in liberal Oxford (1961) or Professor Ullmann's Ecclesiastical inaugural on the Medieval revolution from superior law-giver to citizen law-maker (1966), one wonders if Professor Chadwick's Regius inaugural lecture is not more a valedictory for Trevelyan than a Tract from the Chair. He resolved to vindicate Trevelyan as more than a Whig historian. His underlying intention is laudable, to advocate in place of the old views of history championed especially by the Treitschke school's *kämpfende wissenschaft* (fighting scholarship, fashioning marching songs for German folk—the kind of stuff in fact found in Churchill's "English Speaking Peoples") a truer appraisal of history as a magic mirror perhaps, but "also a demanding goddess and glacier of cold truth . . . pursued only because it is there".

The theme is considerable, Freedom and Truth versus Prejudice. But the subject, with his simplicity and his unquestioning patriotism, with his trenchant belief in the power of natural virtue, himself torn between social historian and littérateur, like Grey of Fallodon torn between contested championship and the winds, woodlands and watermeadows of Northumberland, proved insufficient match for the cause. Like Christopher Dawson, he thought too much, sweated too little and used the result for moralising—history, he wrote, "taught youth to aspire and age to endure; it enabled us to see what we were and dimly to perceive the form of what we should be". Such sentiments are akin to those of the writer of the "English Speaking Peoples", the high sentiments of Liberalism which have since succumbed to professionalism.

A.J.S.

Robert Blake DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE CUP 1969 36 p 6/-.

With this pretty Leslie Stephen lecture, Provost Blake virtually serves notice that he has done with Disraeli and is going on to Gladstone, whose remarkable and extended diary is in course of publication. Few would deny that he is moving from the lesser to the greater; and, if we take only statistics of time in office, we see how true that is. When Disraeli became Prime Minister, he had merely the experience of four years at the Exchequer; but Gladstone in his turn had had thirteen years in office and over twice as long at the Exchequer. When Disraeli died, he had been in office some eleven years; and at that moment Gladstone, well into his twentieth year of office, was embarking on the first of two more tours as Prime Minister. But Gladstone's claims to prior consideration rest on richer ground than that.

Dizzy spoke of Gladstone as "an unprincipled maniac—an extraordinary mixture of envy, vindictiveness, hypocrisy and superstition"; and he in turn called Dizzy "the most immoral minister since Castlereagh . . all display without reality or genuineness". Where one was an imperialist *realpolitik* adventurer, the other was a liberal idealist prophet. Where one came like Melchisadek from the mists, leaving no heir, promoting himself into the raffish aristocracy as the slightly cynical man of sense without claim to "respectability"; the other came through the solid institutions of the middle classes, blessed with a large family and refusing to "move in Society". Where one drank white brandy and upheld the magic circle, what he called "the aristocratic settlement of the country"; the other drank wine in due measure, not so much as to alienate his support from the dissenting shopkeepers or chapel-going artisans. Where one never travelled except occasionally to Paris or Berlin, spoke no languages except unusable French, resorted to barbed epithets in strange company and flattered his Queen; the other travelled constantly, was at home in the main European languages besides the Classics, was gregarious and amusing in all company and addressed the Monarch as a monument. It is a wonder that Disraeli was ever a match for Gladstone—but he was.

R.E.

* * *

Stephen Dessain WHY PRAY? St Paul Publications 1969 127 p 10/6.

At this particular juncture in the Church's history we are not asking the more superficial "how" questions which a former age asked of Christianity but the fundamental "whether" questions which belong to a radical generation. Among the Christian things to be subjected to this questioning is the practice of prayer. This generation wants to know whether to pray at all before it asks how to do so, and until the first question is satisfactorily answered, all the old books on how to pray (Van Zeller and all that) are not helpful. Fr Dessain's book is a useful contribution to this. He draws heavily on Newman (who wrote and preached for laymen), so there is no dull page and much wisdom. Perhaps this short book will be more appreciated by liberals asking radical questions than by actual radicals, because Fr Dessain does not ask radical questions from the inside. He plainly wants to help but gives the impression of doing so from outside the "whether" problem.

JOHN DALRYMPLE.

Drygrange,
Melrose.

CORRESPONDENCE

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

26th April 1970.

DEAR SIR,

The case for the new order of Mass has seldom been presented so ably as in the editorial and liturgical article of your Spring number (p. 1 *seq.* and p. 45 *seq.*). It seems churlish to pour cold water on the new pentecostal fervour there expressed, but there are, I think, some misconceptions to which I would draw your attention.

Part of the motivation behind liturgical reform has been archæological. On p. 3 of your editorial we read of a shift "to the purer traditions that had been vitiated by the innovations of the early and central Middle Ages". This is the language of the sixteenth century reformers, to whom Newman's concept of the developing Church would have come badly amiss. We have been assured of the weight of scholarship behind the revised texts but it is to be feared that this is slighter than has been implied. To take but two examples. Canon II is largely a medley of the Roman Canon and the Latin translation of an anaphora attributed in your JOURNAL to Hippolytus. This common attribution has little scholarly basis, and there is virtually no evidence that the anaphora was known in Rome at all. The Verona fragments which conserve the Latin translation are of North Italian, not certainly orthodox, provenance. The anaphora is otherwise known mainly from Eastern sources, and the only rite known to have used it over the centuries is that of Ethiopia. On p. 4 we are told of the priest interposing himself between the sacred elements and the people. The implication is that, in the early Church, the orientation of the priest was governed by the usage of the communal banquet. The most casual acquaintance with the writings and remains of the pre-Nicene period shows that the overriding consideration in orientation at prayer was the eastward position addressing Christ as *Oriens ex alto* and *Sol justitae*.

Part of the motivation behind liturgical reform has been immediately pastoral and on pp. 62-63 a glowing account is given of the joy of children at classroom Masses. It is to be expected that, as a novelty, a classroom Mass will be appreciated. It is less certain, and in fact highly doubtful, whether its value is lasting. The associations of the classroom are not overwhelmingly pleasant; they suggest the commonplace, routine, boredom and constraint. Even if this were not so, many children, perhaps most, have a sense of sacral place, an archetype of Bethel. The legislation of the Council of Laodicea against house Masses rests on psychological insights which are perhaps in danger of being forgotten.

On p. 61 there are enthusiastic allusions to the eclectic nature of the revised rite, with its borrowings from Gallican, Ambrosian, Mozarabic and eastern sources. It is true that the Roman rite has borrowed from other rites during its long history, but never so as to obliterate its distinctive

romanitas. One of the most depressing experiences today is travel between the world capitals; the voyager will encounter in London, Stockholm, New Delhi, Sydney and Washington the same tower-block hotels, the same furniture, the same food, the same paper-backs and the same films. The joy of the material world, its diversity, is being busily scrubbed away. And so with the liturgy. Each rite had once its authentic note, and as one worshipped in one or the other, fresh facets of the life of the Church were experienced. We are in danger of losing all this in a concerted drive towards standardised and rather drab eclecticism.

This brings me to my last and most serious criticism. It is casually remarked on p. 3 that the reaction against Arianism "drove men to overstress the Godhead of Christ". This has, of course, been a much emphasized theme in the influential writings of J. A. Jungmann. The implications demand scrutiny. The Arian could not accept a truly Divine Christ, nor can many today. And when Catholic belief dilutes to Arianism and thence to Deism, then indeed we have an eclectic vague religiosity, barely distinguishable from the agnosticism without hope into which it finally passes.

Yours faithfully,

R. H. Richens,

Chairman, Association for Latin Liturgy.

11 Barton Close,
Cambridge.

The author of the article writes:

The language of the sixteenth century reformers was not at all without basis, and it has been our constant lesson in these last days of ecumenical co-examination that the reformers were often all too right in what they taught and criticised. Rather than go into protracted detail here, may I commend to readers' attention Dr H. O. Oberman's study of late medieval Nominalism, "The Harvest of Medieval Theology" (1963), especially the eighth chapter on Christ and the Eucharist. Newman's account of the development of the Church's life and doctrines does not pretend to be of a steady rise from lesser to greater without any need of correction at all; what he writes in his "Essay on Development" is this: "its vital element needs disengaging from what is foreign and temporary, and is employed in efforts after freedom which become more vigorous and hopeful as its years increase . . . from time to time it makes essays which fail, and are in consequence abandoned". To speak of the *Eucharistia Hippolyti* as "an anaphora attributed in your Journal to Hippolytus" is to fly in the face of all serious scholars on the subject: since Eduard Schwart (1910), Dom Hugh Connolly (1916), B. S. Easton (1934), Dom Gregory Dix (1937) and Dom Bernard Botte (1946), together with a flood of articles from these and other scholars to the same effect, it is now generally held that "The Apostolic Tradition" (of which the *Eucharistia* is a part) is the work of Hippolytus of Rome. The phrases "early Church" and "pre-Nicene period" are too nebulous for argument as to whether they celebrated eastwards or not: certainly in the very early domestic eucharists it is extremely unlikely that this eastern orientation entered into the congregation's thinking.

Of course the value of classroom Masses is not lasting, either for individuals or for a society; for the first it will not remain an authentic form of celebration beyond their adolescence, and for the second there is a surprise value (Christ in our mundane places) which cannot be overworked, though it has been found to have advantages. But it is terribly true that there is in us all a psychological need for a sacral place, an archetypal Bethel.

The last two paragraphs only warn us that we are forever treading a middle path, prone to enthusiastic extremes. The Mass is one in a many-cultured world. Christ is born of the Father before time began, incarnate of the Virgin Mary.

26th April 1970.

Sir,

I read with great interest the article on the liturgical movement (Active Participation) in your last issue. I consider, however, that your description of a Tridentine Latin Mass before the recent changes is a travesty of the truth. "Lonely figures standing at remote altars at the end of cold chapels" (I had not realised that central heating was a result of the liturgical movement) "their backs to their congregations" (for the simple reason that they were all engaged in the worship of God, not a sort of dialogue or exercise in mutual admiration) "wrestling with Ephesians in Latin words pronounced in Irish accents" (no doubt a cut-glass English accent would have been instantly recognisable to St Paul), and so on.

I should like to mention some of the results of the liturgical changes which are not often mentioned in Catholic publications: the impression that all is sweetness, light, and progress must not be disturbed by the harsh facts of reality. The liturgical changes have:

produced dismay in many parts of the mission field (Africa, India) where the multiplicity of languages makes the use of a common language (Latin) imperative in the Mass;

given rise to disorders and near-riots at times in parts of Europe where language is a political issue (Belgium, Spain);

made peaceful recollection and prayer almost impossible, the congregation being regimented into singing hymns and responding aloud without regard for differences in temperament among the worshippers;

produced the beginnings of an anti-clerical feeling among the laity in this country (hitherto completely free of this attitude) due to the intrusion of the priest's personality during Mass, painfully so at times;

threatened, where they have not relegated altogether to the museum, the Church's heritage of Gregorian chant and polyphony;

exchanged the language of worship, a truly *sacral* language, for a banal, lifeless, and often clumsy vernacular.

Yours faithfully,

A. D. J. GRUMETT.

45 Beaumont Avenue,
St Albans, Herts.

A REBELLIOUS TONE

4th April 1970.

DEAR SIR,

I was shocked and saddened by a point in the letter from Leonard Rochford published in your Spring number.

It was indeed rash, as well as uncharitable, of him to claim that all Catholics who disagree with the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae* are in bad faith. Anyone who followed the work of the Papal Commission will know that they received massive evidence that many Catholics had been forced to conclude that for them it would be wrong to fail to use some other method of family planning than the so-called safe period, whose grave demerits were recognised by the Vatican Council itself. This, together with the inability of the supporters of the traditional teaching to produce any convincing theological arguments, forced many members of the Commission to change their views and led to the Commission's advice to the Pope. Those responsible for persuading him to ignore that advice must by now realise that the damage which they have done includes making it impossible for very many Catholics any longer to share Mr Charles-Edwards' view that it is reasonable to accord the Holy See's pronouncements "an obedience which is not hesitant and questioning". The vast majority of Catholic married couples with children whom we know personally share Colin Macdonald's inability to accept *Humanae Vitae*'s teaching as valid, and are grateful to the bishops and priests who are working to minimise the damage done by it, and who have made it abundantly clear that no Catholic should abstain from the sacraments because he feels obliged in conscience to practise contraception.

Yours sincerely,

DONALD CAPE,
(D41, British Legation to the Holy See 1962-67).

Hilltop,
Wonersh, Surrey.

PURE SCIENCE *versus* TECHNOLOGY

21st April, 1970.

DEAR SIR,

I am grateful to Mr Stewart for giving me the opportunity to correct a misunderstanding in my article "Authority in the Scientific Community" that arises from the ambiguity of the word "engineer". Creative research can, of course, be pursued in applied as well as in pure science, and the relative neglect of applied science in this country has indeed led to the effects that Mr Stewart rightly deplores. However, in redressing the balance it is important not to undervalue pure science. There is some danger that in the coming decade pure science will be starved for short-sighted economic reasons; but if it is, the results will be disastrous because it is from pure science that all the applications of science ultimately flow.

I would certainly hope that the scientific community could learn something about humility from the Church, though I suspect that the converse is also true.

Yours sincerely,

P. E. HODGSON.

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

18th March 1970.

SIR,

The first 70 pages of the JOURNAL for Summer 1969 contained 155 footnotes; in the Spring 1970 number there were only 113. The first 100 pages of the Summer number contained 198 words, phrases and sentences in Latin. In the Spring number, after disqualifying three false concords, two wrong declensions, and one haplography, I counted only 153. Dare one hope that both these trends will continue?

Yours,

P. O'R. SMILEY.

The Masters' Common Room,
Ampleforth.

The Editor should here take the opportunity to apologise for the unusual number of misprints in the Spring JOURNAL. *The reason, though it is a poor excuse, is that the readers at the Press were down with 'flu, proofsheets reached the Editor in very unamended form and 'flu and pressure of work took its own toll at the Abbey too. Apologies are particularly owing to contributors who were thereby driven into quaint errors: the Cardinal's* preses, *for instance, came out as* presus perpetuus coetus, *and even the Editorial had flexible collegiality turned into "cexible collegiality", a brew which delighted some and puzzled most.*

COMMUNITY NOTES

THE Abbots of the English Benedictine Congregation together with Fr Luke Rigby (Prior of St Louis and the only representative from the States at this meeting) and Abbot Mooney, the recently retired abbot of Douai, and several of the chairmen of the Congregation's sub-commissions, met at Ampleforth for informal talks during 19th-22nd April. Their agenda included a review of the work of the sub-commissions and other matters of mutual interest, including the possible forthcoming canonisation of the English martyrs, of whom three were members of the Congregation.

THE PARISHES

SHORTLY before Easter a questionnaire was sent to our parish fathers with a view to composing a contemporary picture of our mission work. What follows is a short account of parish activity in the majority of our missions.

In the ten years since 1959 we have ceased to operate four of our twenty-six parishes and yet have about a thousand more people to serve with two less priests (current figures: 52 monk-priests serving 37,350 people, 4 of these priests from other monasteries, 3 of the parishes served by the resident Community).

Everywhere the new English liturgy has taken over the bulk of the Masses on a Sunday, although the larger parishes still provide a sung Mass in Latin, and also one of their weekday Masses in Latin. House Masses are beginning to appear and there are frequent special Masses for children or societies in the parish. "We have dropped one weekday Mass per week in order to say house Masses. The problem of choosing the right house has been overcome by saying Mass in the homes of people who are on Sick Communion. This is much appreciated and should, in time, do a lot of good—as much to the area as to the household itself."

The emphasis on teaching and preaching the Gospel is everywhere evident in a wide variety of situations both within and outside the framework of the liturgy. More and more, short commentaries on the Scripture are to be heard at weekday Masses and on the occasions of marriages and funerals. As in every age this work poses a problem of language, the need to speak in familiar terms.

"This is an industrial area; to judge from the traffic jams along roads from Wales on fine Sunday evenings, it is over-populated. The setting of the Gospels is a farming area, or sometimes desert; many of the images used in the parables come from this: growth of seed, shepherding, vineyards, etc.—all concerned with growth, all known to those who were listening to Christ.

Here, these images do not readily attract attention. People do not think easily in terms of growth, because they are not directly affected by it. Food comes out of shops, instantly on demand; no time is needed to produce it. The idea that food grows, and depends on weather, is so remote as to be unreal as people in general do not garden. Factory work does not give the idea of growth, as it is all work on inert things, metal or plastics.

Likewise, nobody here knows the desert. Enormous numbers drive out of town at weekends, but you cannot know the desert from a car. The only people here who know the desert are those who bog-trot over the centre of Kinder or Bleaklow at weekends, or explore other wild country off the beaten track; and not many do this.

So people here do not find it easy to absorb a sermon given in these terms. They also find the parables hard to read; partly because the setting is foreign, and partly because they don't read anyway.

It is hard to find images which suit the parables and which the hearers can take in without effort. I don't think they should have to make an effort. The kingdom of heaven should be immediately attractive; then comes the effort to bring it about. The problem is to find a language that strikes home at once."

Connected to this work of spreading the Gospel is the subject of discussion and seminar work in the adult world as much as in the schools. Virtually all our parishes are involved in considerable educational work (there are about 7,000 children on our rolls) and many also have active adult groups. This would appear to be demanding work but one which offers great hope of reward.

"There are three Discussion or Family Groups in the parish. Would that there were more! Each has an average membership of twenty. Meetings are held in members' homes. Subjects are theological or catechetical or anything that ought to interest a Catholic. Somebody, usually a priest, introduces the subject and then throws it open to discussion. After that the less a priest says the better. The main purpose is not to impart instruction from outside but to stimulate interest, thought and prayer. Our nuns have helpfully described and defended the Religious Life. Non-Catholic ministers too have attended meetings, made confession of their beliefs, and cheerfully submitted to keen criticism."

This last aspect of pastoral work is leading to an ever-increasing effort at mutual understanding. Vatican II has made this a compulsory exercise, if one may put it so, and many parishes report a most cordial atmosphere among their local clergy. "Ecumenism lives and slowly gathers strength. Some outward signs are: frequent meetings of the clergy at which there are solid theological discussions marked by equal freedom and friendliness; joint religious services when opportunity offers; support of the local Churches Fellowship which deliberately tries to find openings for common action; best of all, an agreeable cordiality where formerly aloofness and restraint reigned." This co-operation spills over into the lay side of parish life. "The men of the local churches, two Anglican and one Methodist, meet here bi-monthly. Priests and vicars attend but leave the discussion severely to the men except when an appeal is made to one of them. Agreeable and instructive. They arrange between themselves rotas for the visiting of the sick. They visit in twos: one Catholic and one Anglican or Methodist. Our K.S.C. have also looked after and entertained the

children of the local Anglican Church in our Parish Hall to enable adults to organise their own Christian Stewardship enterprises."

Many of our Fathers are concerned in social work at parish and diocesan level and four areas have Marriage Guidance centres (Cardiff, Warrington, Workington, Preston). Some social work runs outside the more usual S.V.P. and K.S.C. sponsored projects and one such has recently begun in the Preston area. "A hostel has been founded for the benefit of young working men between 16 and 20 years old who are homeless and have become 'institutionalised'. It is deliberately kept down to a moderate membership and is given as strong a family character as can be managed. It is hard to over-estimate the value of such work. The interest shown by professional men in the neighbourhood is wholly admirable." Added to this type of activity many parish have youth clubs, some of which have full-time professional leaders.

Almost without exception all the parishes who answered the questionnaire have new building schemes in progress or planned for the future. Much of it is, of course, connected with the schools and clubs attached to the parishes. The financing of such projects is of major importance and many parishes have now adopted the Planned Giving system.

All the above is a most diluted picture of what is a very active part of our apostolate.

NOTE: In the list of parishes published in the autumn edition of the JOURNAL 1969, Goosnargh in the diocese of Lancaster was omitted. Fr Raymund Davies is the parish priest. Since that date there have been changes at Parbold and Seel St, Liverpool. Fr Alban Rimmer has been appointed parish priest of Parbold and Fr Aelred Perring has gone to join Fr David Ogilvie-Forbes at Seel Street.

GROUP MASSES: THE XVIIth LITURGICAL CONGRESS, GLENSTAL ABBEY

THE phenomenon of Group Masses, i.e., celebrations of the Eucharist for small groups in informal or non-consecrated settings, is now being widely exploited in many different countries as a means of getting the Mass across to our modern, later twentieth century, secularist and industrialised society. Here at Ampleforth too a number of the fathers have been searching in this direction for the most profitable setting, symbolism, and language, in which to communicate the grace of the Eucharist to our tender charges, and three of them, Frs Dominic, Aelred and Leo, have drawn up a sizeable memorandum on the subject of Group Masses for the Abbot here, and the Abbot Primate in Rome.

This Easter (7th-8th April) Fr Aelred and Fr Leo attended the Irish Liturgical Congress at Glenstal Abbey, which was devoted to Group Masses. This conference, attended by over 200 priests and religious, proved

of immense interest. First, we discovered that the Irish Church, in the old custom of the Station Mass, already has a tradition of House Masses dating from penal times—although this consists largely of reproducing in an Irish cottage the same kind of rite, the same secondary symbolism, that would be fitting in a large parish church. Still, the Irish are accustomed to the idea of Mass in an informal context. Secondly, from an excellent survey by Fr Brian Gogan, CSSP, we heard of the attempts being made in Austria, France, Germany, Canada and Holland, at making the Mass more meaningful for different groups and situations. Some of these countries seem to be way ahead of our own in their thinking and action on this whole problem of the alienation of our modern society from "Sacramentalism". The Reverend Professor Manders from Haarlem in Holland was extremely interesting on the Dutch experiments, and the attitude of many Dutch priests towards Roman efforts to preserve liturgical centralisation. Fr Liam Ryan of Maynooth gave a talk on the sociological background to the problem, pointing to the two movements which today seem to be working against one another, unable as yet to find a balance, the Roman centralising tendency, and the search for local community and its ability to express itself liturgically.

Thirdly, Frs Aelred and Leo were able to tell the Congress of their own experience and ideas, in which considerable interest was shown. Over fifty copies of the Ampleforth Group Mass memorandum† were sold, and Fr Aelred was part of a panel of four who discussed and answered questions on the Group Mass outside Ireland. All in all, the conference was a great success in disseminating information and in broadening minds, and a good deal of this was due to the preparation, kindness, and hospitality of the Abbot and monks of the Glenstal community.

† *It is hoped in due course to publish a revised version of this memorandum in these pages, with an introductory article by one of those concerned. The memorandum is being published in parts in current issues of* LIFE & WORSHIP.

YOUTH ACTION YORK

Ampleforth Camp during Low Week

AT Redcar Farm, during the 4th-8th April, a new venture of a different sort was taking place. Youth Action York ran a five-day camp for 14 deprived children from York, who would not otherwise have had a holiday this year. They were aged from eight to ten. The camp was run jointly by John Packer (an Anglican ordinand reading for a diploma in Sociology at York University) and Br Timothy. There were five other helpers; Miss Catherine McDonnell from the Bar Convent in York, Miss Catherine Barry from the Convent in Hull, Peter Hodgson from Archbishop Holgate's School in York, and John Gaynor and Paul Nunn from Ampleforth. In spite of unseasonable weather—it snowed on every day—many energetic activities were organised to satisfy the seemingly tireless energy of these boys. A trip across the valley to Ampleforth on one day was crowned with

a football match against the Ampleforth Village Youth Club, played in a blizzard. Certainly by the end of the camp all were exhausted, both the boys and the organisers.

Perhaps the most significant feature of this camp was the way it brought together people of very different backgrounds and experience. The spirit of willingness and co-operation among the helpers which overcame any deficiencies engendered a great spirit which was communicated to the boys, in many of whom a marked transformation was noticeable. On the first day there was a definite unwillingness to help but by the end they were offering to wash up and even brought coffee to the more exhausted helpers on the last morning. This to us was the visible proof of the value of such camps, that they teach all participants something about living together.

Up till this camp groups coming to Redcar Farm fell into two broad groups: they were either totally self-sufficient with little link with the Abbey, or else they were run totally by the School. The experience of this camp has shown that there is a third level which ensures contact with the monastery and its life of prayer and at the same time maintains links with outside organisations.

* * *

Seventeen boys from Everthorp Borstal came over to the Abbey, where on Easter Monday they joined some monks on a walk along the western escarpment of the Cleveland Hills from Sutton Bank in groups. At intervals they gathered into a single party for a short sermon by Fr Martin on such themes as Christ's own experience of imprisonment. At Mount Grace, Mass was concelebrated by the priests on the walk together with the priest on the spot, and again Fr Martin preached. The day ended with a tea given by the Franciscans in the locality. By talk, if by nothing else, the Borstal boys learned something of monastic values, and we something of their lives and of their search for values. Another visit, combined with a return visit to Everthorp by some of the monks, was made later in the month.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE: RYEDALE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

This year the subject of the Annual Conference, held at Ampleforth on 11th April, was "The Crisis of Belief". Three papers were given and the three speakers then composed a panel to answer written questions. Because of the speakers and the papers delivered, it was an outstanding conference; and it is hoped that in the next Journal a more protracted account will be given of the papers delivered.

The Dean of York, Dr Alan Richardson, spoke on the nature and implication of belief, touching on the idea of a specifically orthodox interpretation of faith and its effect over the two Christian millenia. Dr Gordon Rupp, the Cambridge Methodist, gave an amusing paper on belief past and present, suggesting that the World Council of Churches should, according to the Dean's terms, be renamed the World Council of

Heresiarchs and Schismatics: he complained that in religious controversy Christians were always in to bat and were never allowed to bowl. Our own Fr Aelred Graham read a chapter of his forthcoming book and promptly told this writer that all his utterances were copyright; but we are allowed to tell the title, which makes Edith Cavell look pale—"Is Christianity Enough?"

In the panel game which followed the Dean was judicious, very much captain of the side; Dr Rupp was adroit, very much the spin bowler; and Fr Aelred was enigmatic, possibly a good slip fielder. The umpire in the chair was Rev Donald Steward. No score was kept, but we did make a tape. There was a closing service in the pavilion, that is the Abbey Church.

METHODIST DAY OF RECOLLECTION

A day of recollection for the clergy of the York and Hull district of the Methodist Church was held at the Abbey on 23rd April. Some 44 ministers including the Chairman of the District, Dr Cyril Downes, and four deaconesses attended. The theme of the day was "Prayer in Action" and the opening talk in the morning was given by Father Abbot on "The Prayer of Monastic Life". Later Fr Placid Spearitt spoke on "Traditional Methods of Prayer and Meditation". After lunch in St Edward's House, Fr Kenneth Brennan dealt with "Prayer in everyday life—the Practice of the Presence of God". The day ended with a service of dedication led by Dr Downes in the choir of the Abbey Church which lent itself magnificently to the powerful voices in the Methodist tradition of hymn singing.

The clergy afterwards expressed great appreciation for what they had learnt during the course of the day, the first of its kind to be held at Ampleforth. The opportunity to meet the community and hear some of them speak on their experience of prayer was valued. It is hoped that this contact with our Methodist brethren in this area will be maintained.

* * *

Fr Columba Cary Elwes, now back in Nairobi, writes of a musical conference held at Lumbwa at the beginning of May. It was asked whether a distinction should be made between sacred and profane music; and the agreed opinion was that man is one, body and soul, and so should be one in his music—as were the Israelites who sang and danced before the Lord. "Nothing in the world is profane unless we make it so", they say; but they might more cogently have said, "Nothing in the world is sacred unless we make it so"! A good African musician distinguished four kinds of music: night club or initiation music (as at beer parties or circumcision rites); music while you work (as in hoeing rhythms or herding songs); sacred music at religious ceremonies; formal group music (which could be described as, alas, neither sacred nor profane, but fit for girls' parties). The question is: to what extent can the first two and the last be baptised into

the third, or the third be transposed without a loss of the sense of the sacred? The difficulties lie in mental association with external circumstances (as to the music, the words and the sort of instruments), and the cultural generation gaps which have to be bridged: organ oratorio for the sinewy goose versus saxaphone Gershwin for the fledgling gander, so to say. What "sends" some to God sends others to sleep. In the African setting, the tradition is still set soft, and the expression range is generous—dancing, clapping, rhythm, repetition, and the strong abrupt endings characteristic of a people that utters its emotions in sound. In the wider setting, there is ever the need for subdued spontaneity, for variety (as the cycle of the seasons) and for the counterpoint of full congregation, select choir, single voice, and the still voice of silence. In the Liturgy, the great contrasts are always between these four: hymnal singing, vocal prayer, formal reading and . . . silence.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR LATIN LITURGY

In these times of Liturgical streamlining, with immense emphasis now placed upon the availability of participation through intelligibility and simplicity, there is considerable danger that much of perennial beauty and value contained in the traditional Latin texts and Church music (e.g. the splendid phrases of the Vulgate Bible, or the concise beauty of the Mass Sequences) might be lost in a couple of generations. The Association for Latin Liturgy, which was inaugurated in September 1959, now exists to foster and promote these elements in our Catholic heritage. Lest, however, they be confused with the eccentric Tridentinism or the schismatic inclination of the Latin Mass Society, the members of this Association disclaim any connection with the "restricted outlook which refuses to perceive the positive elements in contemporary movements".

The programme of the Society is summarised in six points:

1. Securing liberty for and encouraging the use of Latin and Latin Church Music in the Roman rite.
2. Promoting understanding of the ceremonial and setting of the Roman rite.
3. Promoting education in liturgical Latin and Latin Church music in seminaries, colleges of education, schools and elsewhere.
4. Studying the Latin liturgy and disseminating such results of world-wide liturgical study as could contribute to the religious life of our times.
5. Promoting the continued composition and performance of Latin Church music.
6. Assisting the faithful in adapting to such changes in the Roman rite as may be ordained.

We have no hesitation in commending such aims to our readers. Applications for membership or further enquiries should be directed to the Chairman, Dr R. H. Richens, 11 Barton Close, Cambridge.

MONASTIC MILLENIUM IN ENGLAND: 970-1970

Those who are by taste millenarians, though not in Professor Norman Cohn's biblical-anarchical sense of the word, may have noticed that since 1940 (the year that "The Monastic Order in England" appeared) we have been living through a series of millenial anniversaries of the second spring of English monasticism, which goes by the name of the Tenth Century Reform Movement. It was in 940 (though this was not known in 1940) that St Dunstan was appointed to the abbacy of Glastonbury, an event which is judged to have set the movement in motion. It was in 954 that St Ethelwold, later the principal drafter of the *Regularis Concordia* (c. 972-3), came to the abbacy of Abingdon. It was from these two abbots, together with St Oswald, and from these two places, later supplemented by Ramsay, that the continental monastic tradition spread throughout England again, turning England by degrees into the most complete monastic civilisation that the world has seen so far. In these small beginnings perhaps the most fruitful date was 970: in that year Ely and Chertsey were certainly founded, and possibly also St Albans, Athelney and Muchelney; and our first knowledge of Bath, Deerhurst and Westminster dates from that year, the year of the reforming synod. Ely certainly is not letting the anniversary go by this year unheeded.

* * *

It may be of interest that Dr J. T. Cliffe has written a learned book entitled "The Yorkshire Gentry: from the Reformation to the Civil War", Athlone Press, 1969, 446 p, 90/-. In one of his appendices he shows that in 1554 Sir Nicholas Fairfax of Gilling had almost forty servants; and that in August 1609 Sir Henry Bellasis of Newburgh Priory (an estate worth some £4,000 a year) kept a household of over fifty servants. Admittedly these were large households by any standard in Yorkshire at that time.

* * *

CRY AGONY

Cry agony at the infamy
of torn logic—reason's nerves,
pinnacle of man's perfection,
lying savaged by our crude incompetence
or rude impotence at tight thinking—
men called by Christ daring to call
all men brothers turn and first apply
After Shave then having wined and dined
watch in colour and with mild concern
—but no rage—
men cattled in the filth of sheds
or hungered in the dry air
hammered by sunlight
without food without friends without hope
without God
—brothers—
fast becoming bones.

Ralph Wright
Fribourg 1970

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died: H. J. Lynch (W 44) on 10th February 1967; Dr T. F. Roche (C 34) on 5th June 1969; J. T. Conroy (1926) in August 1969; C. Rochford on 21st January; J. H. S. New (E 43) on 27th January; Lt-Col R. S. Richmond (W 35) in February 1970.

OBITUARY

J. H. S. NEW

JOHN NEW died suddenly in London on 28th January. On leaving Ampleforth, where he had been in St Edward's House under Father Raphael Williams, he joined the Royal Air Force (these were the war years), was sent to Canada, commissioned, and went to Trinity College, Oxford, for a six months' course. At the end of the War he returned to Oxford, read Law, became a solicitor, and went into the City of London firm of Messrs Allen and Overy where he became a partner and spent the rest of his working life.

John quickly gained a reputation in the City for his skill at commercial litigation. But for many of us he will be remembered and loved not so much for what he did but for what he was. This is why he was able to do so much good, and why his loss is felt personally by so many. Ampleforth owes him much for his help in welcoming parties of boys at his offices in London and by explaining with great patience the work of a solicitor. He also helped many individual boys, always ready to give his advice on a careers problem, or on any problem on which his advice was asked. This personal sense of loss amongst his friends was shown by the large number who came to St Dominic's Priory, London, to be at his Requiem Mass and to pray. He had an unusually large circle of friends. They came to warm themselves in the happiness of his family life, and remained his friends not only because that meant amusing and delightful company but because there could be found kindness and wisdom. A lawyer has many claims on his patience but also many opportunities for good. There must have been many who turned to him for good practical advice. They got not only this but also what comes from contact with firm and high ideals which somehow always managed to inspire not only respect but affection.

To his wife, Susan, his four children, and his mother, Lady New, we offer deep sympathy.

SEAN RICHMOND

SEAN RICHMOND (W 35) died without any trace of warning in February 1970. There are few now at Ampleforth who remember him as a boy but he had then, as always later, a fine upright and determined character. He entered Woolwich and was commissioned into the Royal Artillery. He fought his way through the war and was serving as a Lieutenant-Colonel at

the time of his death. A career in any of the services should produce in a man, above all else, a spirit of loyalty and it was this noble characteristic which shone out in him. Loyalty to his Regiment, his brother officers and men; loyalty to his family, his wife, two daughters, and his son; loyalty to Ampleforth and perhaps above all loyalty to the Church and the faith. Two recent appointments had determined him to settle in Yorkshire where he was happy and within easy reach of Ampleforth. There he had created a beautiful home in which to retire, where he could pursue his hobbies among so many friends. He was an exemplary layman and was one of three selected by the Diocese of Middlesbrough to serve on its Liturgical Commission. He was very humbly proud so to serve his Church. It was shortly after his first meeting at which he made his contribution that he was called to God. It crowned for him a life of true dedication of which he would never be able entirely to see the value but which Almighty God certainly has. To his widow and children we offer our sympathy and remembrance in the community's prayers, both in private and in the Liturgy of which he was such a faithful participant. May he rest in peace.

MARRIAGES

Gregory Jephcott (H 62) to Ann Hawthornthwaite at Our Lady and St Joseph's, Warwick Bridge, on 11th August 1969.

R. E. Hayward-Farmer (C 42) to Caroline Boyd-Wilson at the Guards Chapel, Wellington Barracks, on 4th February.

Anthony Oliver John Barnes (J 64) to Patricia Anne Robinson at St John's, Horsham, on 11th April.

Kieran Fogarty (A 64) to Francesca d'Abreu at the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Farm St., on 23rd May.

Graham Stewart (A 63) to Penelope Allison at Douai Abbey on 6th June.

Dr Roderick Macaulay (D 46) to Maureen Jane Scrivener at the Church of Our Lady and St Michael, Garston, Watford, on 12th June.

ENGAGEMENTS

Anthony Bowring (A 59) to Felicity Whitting.
Adrian Brunner (H 63) to Christine Anne Hughes.
David Davenport (B 61) to Gabrielle Hawkings.
Timothy Eales (O 61) to Joanna Lane.
Anthony Ford-Hutchinson (O 65) to Jane Allen.
Timothy Knight (A 65) to Charmian Cretney.
David Lloyd-Williams (A 62) to Charlotte Jane Glover.
Michael Maxwell Stuart (B 50) to Kirsty Salveson.
G. P. H. Ryan (B 66) to Gawen Jill Coghlan.
Simon Scrope (C 53) to Jane Parkinson.
Major Kevin Teulon Sellars (O 55) to Elizabeth Lee Forster.

Births

Gilli and Laci Nester Smith, a son.

Morwenna and David Goodall, a son.

E. J. T. Bagshawe (1921) is a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn.

M. Cripps (E 46) after 12 years with S. G. Warburg has set up C.W. Capital Ltd., a smaller merchant bank, with George Warburg.

A. Buxton (O 36) is Chief Executive of Anglia Television and has been appointed a Trustee of the British Museum.

Sir Edward Tomkins, c.m.g., c.v.o., has been appointed H.M. Ambassador to The Hague.

E. Bannen (1954) and D. Lewis (1954) have launched 'Shares-in-Action', a controlled circulation publication for private investors.

Sir Hew Hamilton Dalrymple (O 44) is Assistant Managing Director of Scottish and Newcastle Breweries.

Roland Brown is legal adviser to President Nyerere of Tanzania.

Lt-Col R. J. Freeman Wallace has been appointed C.O. 1st Battalion the Gloucestershire Regiment.

A. J. Boyd (B 37) is Vice-President and Managing Director of Merck Sharp and Dohm (International) Ltd., Bermuda, a subsidiary of the American company.

R. Whitfield (T 57) is with Smiths Gore (Overseas) in Tortola, B.V.I.

A. C. Ryan (A 51) has been appointed to the legal staff of Clark Equipment Company, the American materials handling company.

B. Richardson (W 64) has been appointed Lecturer in Modern Languages (Italian) at the University of Strathclyde.

Dr P. Evans (T 55), at present in the Zoology Department of Durham University, has been awarded the Stonborough Prize for his work on Bird Migration.

A. W. Ford-Hutchinson (O 65), with a degree in Biochemistry from the University of Birmingham and an M.Sc. in Molecular Enzymology from the University of Warwick, is working for a Ph.D. in the Department of Chemical Pathology, St George's Hospital, University of London.

In addition to those mentioned in the last Journal, the following have entered University:

C. M. P. Magill, Trinity College, Dublin (Law).

M. A. Judd, Trinity College, Dublin (Law).

M. G. Smith, Royal Free Hospital, London (Medicine).

P. Mostyn (W 63) and S. A. C. Price (C 69) are at Mons Officer Cadet School.

P. J. Liddell, d.s.c. (C 39) has recently been appointed to the Sports Council by the Minister of Sport. He is Vice-Chairman of the Association of River Authorities, Chairman of the North Regional Sports Council and Vice-President of the Institute of Fisheries Management.

R. L. Nairac (E 66) captained the Oxford University Boxing team to their 5—4 victory over Cambridge.

C. Masraff (E 66), a direct contemporary of Bobby Nairac in St Edward's, was a second member of the Oxford Boxing team and won his bout on points.

A. L. Bucknall (A 63) played throughout the season for England's Rugby team and was a member of the Barbarians Easter tour party.

The above notes about Old Amplefordians are either gleaned from the national press or are received personally by the Secretary. The career cards, filled in by so many for the careers master—for which he is very grateful—are not being used for purposes other than intended when the circular was sent out. Several Old Boys have, however, already received helpful information from the careers master as a result of the return of these cards.

NOTICES

Midland Area

The Summer Party will be held on *Saturday, 11th July*. A private train is being hired from the Severn Valley Railway Company which will leave Bridgnorth station at 6-30 p.m. Restaurant and Pullman car facilities are available which will take the form of a cold buffet and cocktails. Tickets, £2 single and £3 10s. 0d. double, are available from the Secretary, R. H. Dunn, Lawn Farm, Tibberton, Nr. Droitwich, Worcs., until 21st June.

As the School Cricket XI will be playing at Denstone that day—the first match of their four match tour and festival—there may be some members who would relish a day in the sun before setting forth for Bridgnorth.

Liverpool Area

The Dinner will take place in *October* this year. The date: Tuesday, 13th October.

Newcastle

Jim Muir (O 56) has agreed to start an area around Newcastle.

THE OLD AMPLEFORDIAN GOLFING SOCIETY

Spring Meeting 1970

The Spring Meeting of the Society was held at Royal Ashdown Forest on Saturday, 21st March, followed as usual by a match against the club on the following day.

For the first time this year it was almost shirtsleeve weather and possibly as a result of this some of the scoring was very commendable, in particular George Potts' winning score of 41 points in the Raby Cup before luncheon. Playing from the front tees and with the rough still dormant the course gave a pleasant and not too testing introduction to the season. After luncheon the members set out in foursomes, playing for the Honan Cup. David Palengat and Kenneth Bromage, who won the Goremire Putter at Ganton last October, brought off the double with a score of 37 points.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE A.G.M. was held after the Spring Meeting. After a number of years as Captain, Arthur Russell handed over to John Donnellon, the third captain since the Society was re-formed in 1953. Hugh Strode, who has been such an able Secretary since he was suddenly handed the job in 1955 announced that he felt 15 years to be a fair term of office. A new Secretary will therefore take over from Hugh at the next A.G.M.

Members present expressed some misgivings about the march of time as it affected those that had attended nearly every meeting since 1953, while there is a disappointingly small number of Old Boys under the age of 35 coming to the meetings. Kenneth Bromage agreed to act as Membership Secretary.

All Old Boys and golfers in their last year in the School who are interested in the O.A.G.S. who are not already members of the Society are asked to write to Kenneth Bromage, The White Cottage, Fishlake, Doncaster, Telephone: Stainforth 288.

The Autumn Meeting will be held at Ganton on Saturday, 26th September. Particular care will be taken to ensure that new members have partners both for the morning round and for the afternoon foursomes. There will be a match against the School at Ganton on Sunday, 27th September.

THE MATCH

O.A.G.S. *v.* Royal Ashdown Forest Golf Club

THIS is always a delightful fixture, perhaps growing more so as each anniversary comes round. This year we were sorry to find that K. B. Bristow who has raised the side for the Club every year since the match started, was unable to play against us. He had still raised a side that was good enough to beat us after a very hard fought match that did not finish until the last hole in the afternoon.

	R.A.F.G.C.	O.A.G.S.
Morning		
	R. C. Burton and D. A. Lovell beat	A. King and P. O'Brien.
	C. E. Allen and M. R. Nutting lost to	G. Potts and A. McKechnie.
	K. Stewart and C. G. Hutchison beat	C. Petit and D. McDonnell.
	G. H. Wills and C. R. Burton beat	P. Sheahan and K. Bromage.

Afternoon		
	Nutting and R. C. Burton lost to	H. Strode and Sheahan.
	Stewart and J. K. Hill halved with	King and A. Morgan.
	Allen and Lovell beat	Potts and McDonnell.
	C. R. Burton and Hutchison lost to	Petit and O'Brien.

Result: R.A.F.G.C. 4½. O.A.G.S. 3½.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 88th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY

THE 88th Annual General Meeting was held at Ampleforth on Easter Sunday, 29th March, 1970, with Fr Abbot, President, in the Chair; 100 members were present.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report was presented to the meeting and the Accounts were adopted, subject to audit. A sum of £770 was available for the Headmaster to allocate.

The Hon. General Secretary presented his Report which was accepted. Total membership of the Society had reached 2,579. Six hundred members were in arrears with their subscriptions which amounted to £1,300. Dinners had taken place in Liverpool, Birmingham, York, Dublin and Salisbury, Rhodesia, and 120 were present at the Ampleforth Sunday in London. J. M. P. Horsley had handed over the duties of the York area to M. D. Scanlon. T. R. Gallagher had resigned as Secretary of the London area and J. Muir had undertaken to start a new area at Newcastle.

It was resolved to revise Rule 9 as follows:

All the Professed monks of Ampleforth Abbey shall, *ipso facto*, be members of the Society but shall not be liable to pay any subscription, annual or otherwise. The membership shall not include the right to a copy of the AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL or the Address Book of the Society. Monks of Ampleforth who are Life Members shall retain the privilege of such life membership.

ELECTIONS

The Hon. General Treasurer: W. B. Atkinson, Esq.

The Hon. General Secretary: Rev J. F. Stephens, O.S.B.

The Chaplain: Rev J. B. Boyan, O.S.B.

Committee for 3 years: Rev S. P. Wright, O.S.B., D. T. Peers, Esq., P. Grafton Green, Esq.

THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY

PROVISIONAL BALANCE SHEET

As at 31st March 1970

1969		£ s. d.	1969		£ s. d.
14,979	General Fund, per Account below	14,338 9 1	13,299	Investments at cost per schedule	12,658 7 2
837	Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund	210 19 8	260	Income Tax Refund Account 1969/70	251 9 10
13	Gilling Prize Fund	8 16 3	1,000	Loans to Local Authorities	2,000 0 0
—	Revenue Account	563 17 11	3,947	Balance at Bankers.— £ s. d.	
100	Address Book Provision	50 0 0		2,254 Deposit Account 565 12 6	
60	Subscriptions Paid in Advance	61 11 5		1,693 Current Account 441 2 4	
					1,006 14 10
2,517	Sundry Creditors* £ s. d.		—	Sundry Debtors*	
	*Journal 3rd Issue est. 850 0 0			*Borough of Luton	
	Hon Treasurer Reserve 5 0 0			Deposit Interest 154 17 11	
		855 0 0		General Motors Dividend 7 4 7	
				Bank Deposit Interest 10 0 0	
					172 2 6
£18,506		£16,088 14 4	£18,506		£16,088 14 4

PROVISIONAL GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT

For The Year to 31st March 1970

1969		£ s. d.
12,633	Balance forward 1st April 1969	14,978 14 0
1,431	Subscriptions from new Life Members	863 8 0
915	Ex-gratia from existing Life Members	163 12 0
—	Profit (loss) on Sale of Investments	(1,667 4 11)
£14,979		£14,338 9 1

W. B. Atkinson,
Hon Treasurer.

Subject to Audit

PROVISIONAL REVENUE ACCOUNT

For the Year to 31st March 1970

1969		£ s. d.		1969		£ s. d.	
2,513	Members' Journals (estimated)	2,566 19 4			Members' Subscriptions :		
20	Chaplain's Honorarium	20 0 0			1,653 For the Year 2,672 9 3		
	£ s. d.				74 Arrears 145 15 0		
100	Address Book 436 0 0			1,727		2,818 4 3	
	Less provided 100 0 0			778	Income from Investments—Gross	901 8 0	
		336 0 0		891	Balance Forward ... ... — — —		
	Printing, Stationery and Incidentals :			891	*Less* Disposal Rule 32 Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund ... — — —	— — —	
	General and Area Secretaries :			—	Net Loss for Year transferred to		
51	Ryedale Printing / Herald Printers 23 17 0			451	Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund	— — —	
54	Envelope Address 19 8 7						
26	Secretary Assist. 25 16 0						
84	Postages 46 0 0						
15	Travelling 6 9						
4	Midlands Area 9 13 4						
		125 1 8					
23	General Treasurer 19 13 4						
36	Old Boys' Sporting 58 0 0						
30	Grant to Lourdes Pilgrimage ... 30 0 0						
		107 13 4					
—	Balance, being Net Income	563 17 11					
£2,956		£3,719 12 3		£2,956		£3,719 12 3	

PROVISIONAL SCHOLARSHIP AND SPECIAL RESERVE FUND ACCOUNT

For the Year Ended 31st March 1970

1969		£ s. d.	1969		£ s. d.
872	Educational Grants	626 0 0	1,259	Balance forward—1st April, 1969	836 19 8
451	Net Loss transferred from Revenue Account ...	— — —	10	Part Refund of Grant	— — —
837	Balance—31st March 1970	210 19 8	891	Amount Transferred from Revenue as above ...	— — —
£2,160		£836 19 8	£2,160		£836 19 8

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS were:

Head Monitor	J. C. Gaynor
School Monitors	J. C. Rapp, J. Sherley-Dale, J. P. Rochford, D. B. Dees, A. N. Kennedy, W. J. Charles, D. S. Lovegrove, J. C. H. Berry, T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, D. J. Casserly, M. A. Q. Shuldham, M. A. Henderson, J. C. Dawson, P. P. Nunn, W. M. Reichwald, Hon J. E. M. Vaughan.
Captain of Rugby	W. M. Reichwald
Captain of Cross Country	J. P. Rochford
Captain of Athletics	R. J. Hughes
Captain of Boxing	I. D. Bowie
Captain of Shooting	J. H. Leeming
Captain of Swimming	D. B. Dees
Captain of Squash	D. T. H. Davies
Master of Hounds	T. M. Fitzalan-Howard
Office Men	J. C. Dawson, P. P. Nunn, M. A. Q. Shuldham, J. H. Leeming, J. F. A. Heagney, S. Jefferson, H. Lukas, R. K. Milne, P. J. Russell, S. W. Ryan, J. J. W. Wadham, N. M. Watts.
Librarians	R. S. G. Watson, P. St J. Baxter, M. C. Blackden, P. Grace, G. R. Gretton, S. G. Callaghan, A. M. J. S. Reid, P. P. Keohane, E. P. Clarence-Smith, N. B. Herdon, R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, A. M. Ryan, J. N. P. Higgins, A. J. Purves.
Bookroom Officials	T. A. Doyle, D. A. McKibbin, C. M. Durkin, J. A. Durkin, M. A. Campbell, R. G. Killingbeck.
Bookshop Officials	C. N. F. Kinsky (Assistant Manager), T. J. Berner, M. S. Callow, M. H. Armour, R. P. Burdell, T. P. MacFarlane, R. A. Hunter-Gordon.

THE following boys joined the School in January:

B. M. S. Allen, M. Beardmore-Gray, A. P. D. Berendt, A. P. C. Danvers, S. J. F. Dessain, A. M. Gray, S. J. Hampson, F. J. Heathcote, D. P. Herdon, N. A. Johnson, W. S. S. Karwatowski, J. Q. Knock, P. M. F. Langdale, M. J. Macauley, S. J. Marshall, H. J. C. Plowden, P. F. B. Rylands, H. A. Schlee, S. C. Thomasson, N. G. G. Wadham, D. M. A. Wallis, C. P. R. Williams.

THE following boys left the School in March:

St Aidan's: S. P. E. Dawson, M. A. Roberts, D. J. Simpson.
St Bede's: S. B. Wakefield.
St Cuthbert's: M. Sutcliffe, S. H. Webb.
St Hugh's: P. Q. de B. Collins, C. G. Goss.
St Wilfrid's: A. Zivkovic.

IAN DAVIE, a member of the Masters' Common Room, has recently published "Roman Pentecost" (Hamish Hamilton), successor to "Piers Prodigal and Other Poems".

THE Steering Committee has been kept busy during the term, being asked to consider, and in some cases making recommendations on, the following topics: The place of the Arts in the School curriculum; Dormitory and Gallery Discipline; Organisation of the School day with especial reference to the afternoon; Discipline and Dress; Whole Holidays; Pocket Money; Big Study Discipline; Weekend Organisation. This might be an appropriate juncture to remind members of the School that the Steering Committee of Monks, Masters and Boys exists as a filter for all serious suggestions (or, indeed, complaints) and that they would be glad to hear what you have to say.

DURING the Autumn Term an informal Sub-Aqua group made themselves wet suits for skin diving from sponge rubber sheets. Practice sessions have been taking place in the indoor and outdoor baths and this term some of the British Sub-Aqua Tests taken. Progress has been good considering the circumstances but it will not be possible to depend on a borrowed compressor and ex-W.D. cylinders from World War II permanently. The future of the activity, despite this promising start, is therefore rather uncertain.

PRAYERS OF LIFE

IN an attempt to bridge the gulf between religion and the problems of the world, a series of short services—rather unfortunately called *Pray-ins*—was started this term. They took place on Wednesday evenings in the Crypt and lasted about 20 minutes. The subject and form varied from week to week according to the interests and tastes of the boys who ran them. But all had readings, meditative passages and pauses for reflection and prayer. Some had guitar songs, others prayers said communally; sometimes the pauses were silent, at other times there was background music from Beethoven or The Beatles. On one occasion there was a tape recording of a speech by Martin Luther King. These "Prayers of Life" were flexible and as informal as the numbers and circumstances would allow. Attendances hovered between 40 and 50. These were the titles of the services:

1. *For those suffering in Nigeria;* Leader: J. H. Dagnall; Readings from *The Sunday Times* and *Populorum Progressio.*
2. *Vietnam, Conscience and Military Service;* Leader: J. Potez; Readings from *Time,* "In Solitary Witness" by Gordon Zahn and "Letters and Papers from Prison" by Dietrich Bonhöffer.
3. *Exploitation of Young People;* Leader: W. M. Docherty; Readings from *The Daily Telegraph* Colour Supplement; An interview with Trevor Huddleston published in *Help.*
4. *Race;* Leader: C. Kinsky; Readings from "Justice First", edited by Lewis Donnolly; and "The Introspective Society" by John Baron Mays.

5. *Drop-outs and the Selfishness of Society;* Leader: P. Marsden; Readings from "Bury me in my Boots" by Sally Trench.
6. *For Freedom in Brazil;* Leader: I. Campbell; Readings from speeches by Archbishop Helder Camara and Mgr Fragaso, and accounts of torture published in *Croissance*.
7. *The Need for Revolution;* A summary service of the previous six. Leader: A. Haughton; Readings from Archbishop Helder Camara's address to the S.C.M. Conference in Manchester in 1969, "The Shaking of the Foundations" by Paul Tillich and "The Last Revolution" by L. J. Lebret.

On one Wednesday there was a vigil organised by J. H. Dagnall, for Amnesty International, on the theme "Man and his Neighbour".

MUSIC

Gerald Moore on 6th February held our interest for an hour and a half with an astonishing display of informed virtuosity—informed because there was reason and logic in everything that he said and virtuosity because his illustrations were of technical perfection and rare insight. He developed the theme that the compleat accompanist was neither reticent nor apologetic because he had a status in his own right. I don't think that anybody would be inclined to dispute this, but Mr Moore's treatment of his unoriginal theme was delightfully and charmingly informative. He showed us how the accompanist had not only to reflect the mood of the singer, he had sometimes to create a mood for him and to project this mood to the listener. He played several of the splendid Schubert introductions and epilogues and showed us that not infrequently an apparently easy accompaniment needed more thought than a manifestly difficult one. He discussed problems of balance between the singer and the accompanist and he drew mainly upon Schubert, Schumann, Brahms and Wolf for his illustrations.

The Maria Lidka, Rohan de Saram and Peter Gellhorn Trio played on 16th February. An exceptional dynamic range was evident in the Beethoven Trio Op. 70, No. 1, together with complete spontaneity and an apt sense of climax.

The Kenneth Leighton Trio is a new and significant addition to the repertory and it had a splendid performance—the long sweeping phrases working out the argument with irresistible logic. The final peroration with the muted strings and the piano diatonic discords was most impressive. This must have been among the first performances of this work. Certainly it was a pre-London performance.

Peter Gellhorn played the early Chopin Rondo in E flat, Op. 16, with clear articulation and neat figuration.

The Schubert Trio Op. 100 in E flat was well worth while. Not so often played as the Op. 99, it seemed almost its equal. As in the Beethoven Op. 70, No. 1, the quite remarkable range of the dynamics was again

evident. The crescendi seemed to go on for ever—so did the solemn tread of the Andante. The canon in the Scherzo gave an irresistible feeling of drive while the strength of the Unison passages gave an architectural, almost a monumental quality to the last movement.

David Nelson and William Howard's Flute and Piano Recital on 19th March broke some new ground. Stravinsky's three movement Piano Sonata was of unusual interest and Hindemith's Flute and Piano Sonata (1936) was given a thoughtful and thoroughly competent reading.

Mr Dore played organ music each Sunday after High Mass throughout the term, Bach, Reubke, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Whitlock, Tournemire, Reger and Widor were among the composers represented.

LOURDES CONCERT 1970

For some years the Ampleforth Lourdes Pilgrimage has been accompanied by over 30 sick pilgrims. Invariably the majority of these sick people are unable to pay, yet thanks to the generosity of pilgrimage benefactors this has proved no obstacle. However, the annual budget to perform this practical charitable work is now in excess of £1,000 and in an attempt to raise this considerable sum Fr Martin, the Pilgrimage Organiser, last year staged a concert, the undisputed success of which led him to repeat the operation this year. His confidence in the musical gifts of Ampleforth and its friends was not misplaced: the evening was remarkable for the talent of the performers and their enjoyment was such that it was soon communicated to the audience. The mixture was much as before: guitar solos and groups, monastic (dis)harmony, and an item obviously directed at the balletomanes in our midst.

Fr Dominic, as Master of the Revels, displayed an aplomb which one can only presume stems from his ever increasing television appearances, and with a line in patter which betrayed a very definite House Punch influence! After an opening medley of songs, the monks gave us some insight into what they really get up to in choir practice with a very competent selection of mellifluous monastic medleys. The Dowling/James guitar duet started rather nervously but when they realised that we were on their side they settled down to enjoy themselves (and so did we). After a brief interlude by Fathers Martin and Placid, the Bar Convent Group changed the mood with a medley of sentimental love ballads sung with distinct fervour (how could they fail with so many potential or actual swains in the audience?). Fathers Dominic and Cyril then showed that in these days of intensive advertising Ampleforth need not be left behind; their "commercials" designed to advertise Ampleforth and its wares could have significant effects on the form of future school brochures. Lovegrove's singing and guitar playing gifts were well represented in the selection he gave us and just in case we should feel too sombre Fr Martin attempted to prove to N. Blane that he was "The only girl in the world"—a performance notable for both its panâche and the way in which they managed to make dancing look so difficult. No Ampleforth concert would be quite complete

without the twin charm and talents of Gerry and Judy Spence; the soothing key in which they pitched their songs was in complete contrast to the raucous virtuosity of the Jazz Group whose technical limitations were more than compensated for by the vigour and confidence of their performance. The evening's pleasure was rounded off by a rousing chorus from "The Gondoliers". £200 was raised from the three performances given at Ampleforth and the Bar Convent, York. The troupe consisted of the following:

Monks:
Dominic Milroy, O.S.B., Andrew Beck, O.S.B., Cyril Brooks, O.S.B., Adrian Convery, O.S.B., Martin Haigh, O.S.B., Placid Spearritt, O.S.B., Henry Wansbrough, O.S.B.

Guitar Groups:
Jeanette Cieslik (leader), Susan Andrews, Elaine Buckley, Eileen Bentley, Veronica Cieslik, Catherine McDonnell, Marion McGarel.
David Lovegrove (leader), Tom Dowling, Simon James.

Jazz Group:
Charles Dalglish (leader), Dominic Davies, William Howard, Ted Lewis, Patrick Newsom.

also Nicholas Blane, William Howard (piano), Ronan Magill (piano).

YORK ARTS THEATRE

The visits to the productions of the York Arts Theatre continued to be popular with senior boys and the following two reviews give some idea of the range of plays presented.

Last term members of the York Arts Theatre witnessed an unusual production of "The Tempest". It was performed by only two players, Barry and Marianne Hesketh, who, together with their tape-recorder, make up the Mull Little Theatre. Between them, they contrived to act twelve speaking parts, the silent parts of "Lords" and "Mariners" being, of course, omitted. Barry Hesketh took all the male parts and his wife the only female part, Miranda, and the part of Ariel, the spirit servant of Prospero, which she read from a position at the side of the stage. Characters were acted in basically two ways. Those of the main plot, Prospero, Alonso, Gonzalo, etc., were acted without costume on the front of the stage. Different characters were designated by boards with names painted on them, under which the actor stood when playing that particular part. However, one soon became familiar with Barry Hesketh's different "voices", and one was never at a loss as to the speaker. Marianne Hesketh, of course, needed no such designations, since she acted only the part of Miranda. For the characters of the sub-plot, Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano, use was made of a tape-recorder and three life-size puppets. The tape-recorder spoke the parts previously recorded by Barry Hesketh, and the puppets were worked from behind by a combination of the two actors. This turned out to be a vivid and highly successful way of playing characters whose parts scarcely justify human portrayal. The tape recorder also provided the various sound effects of storms and spirit visitations.

The aim of the production, explicitly stated by Barry Hesketh in a short informal talk before the play began, was to provide an evening's

entertainment. To do this effectively, considerable cuts were made, notably the "masque", and most of the spiritual visitations. We were left with the essentials of the fairy-tale plot, which was acted out in this production in two longish acts instead of Shakespeare's five. The result was a continuous and uninterrupted flow of action, unbroken by major scene changes and intervals. The acting itself was evidently designed to amuse: Gonzalo was played as an entertainingly senile, but honest, adviser; Antonio and Sebastian as stock villains, Sebastian even having a squint; Ferdinand and Miranda were presented as innocent young things, and there was perhaps a touch of mockery at their romantic love. The really comic characters, Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano were played very vividly, and even Elizabethan humour became amusing through them. Barry and Marianne Hesketh were clearly determined not to read any subtlety that was not there into the play, but to extract as much amusement as possible from it. Only in some of Prospero's speeches did Barry Hesketh adopt a more serious tone, and they accordingly sometimes seemed slightly out of place in what was essentially a humorous production.

Throughout, diction and presentation were polished and capable, and even the Prospero speeches one could enjoy for the sound of their poetry alone, without perhaps seeing their relevance to the rest of the production. The actors obviously had immense confidence in their production, and the smoothness of the action and the polish of the playing helped to overcome the company's innate disadvantage of size. I certainly thought this was one of the most capable and successful productions I have seen at the York Arts Centre. (P. J. Ford.)

Part of the appeal of our Arts Theatre evenings lies in their unpredictability. We invariably enjoy a very pleasant and smoothly organised outing, but the audience, each time it crowds round the stage, feels rather as if it is embarking on yet another voyage of Captain Cook into the unknown. Perhaps we may find a land very like the one with which we are familiar; we are much more likely, however, to find ourselves in a strange land offering us new experiences, a new dimension.

I find it more satisfactory, when confronted with the latter, temporarily to suspend judgment along the traditional analytical lines and to allow my opinion to form itself more subjectively, to feel, in other words, whether the play succeeds in impressing, depressing, elating, amusing, purging, entertaining or in any other way affecting me. "Death Trip", by Richard Drain, did succeed.

Since we witnessed the death of Captain Cook at the beginning of the performance, I feel justified in considering the end first. When the play was finished, after what seemed like years of tension, I was left feeling as elated as I might feel on finding myself still intact after being trampled by a stampeding hert of elephants. Apart from the first fifteen, or so, minutes when lack of orientation was discouraging (the snatches of space-flight film could only find a place retrospectively), I was increasingly astonished and thrilled as one dramatic effect after another was introduced

to force Cook's saga along its course. We found our viewpoint shifting so that, after identifying ourselves initially with our compatriot adventurer on his kindly invasion of alien cultures, we saw him and our culture, whose ambassador he was, becoming first pathetic, then sinister and debased as we saw more and more through the eyes of the savages. Finally we found Cook transformed by a kind of cultural double-think into a pawn in an awful sequence of Polynesian mythology.

Earlier, while the high-level discussions and preparations for the voyages of exploration were going on, the cosy and condescending complacency of the English Establishment life, with representative minister, bishop, scientist, trader and admiral delightfully lampooned in their cardboard cut-out parodies, contrasted strongly with the down-to-earth approach of the Yorkshire sea captain who had been chosen to lead the enterprise. Cook was also a visionary and as such often found himself in conflict with the only other deep-thinking man on board ship, the sensitive painter, Buchan, who was alone in foreseeing some of the degrading consequences of the inevitable cultural contamination that was to result from their arrival among the savages. This, with other sinister allusions to the outrages of colonialism, provided something approaching a unifying theme, but the vast ramifications of the play, supported by very effective and original dramatic devices, sometimes mime, sometimes simple but unusual props such as a huge sheet of polythene or a great net, ending with the overpowering spectacle and sound of the climax as the Cook-god falls and is destroyed in the fiery entrails of the monstrous totem figure, all left me dazed but enthralled by a most impressive and ingenious theatrical event. (P.A.H.)

CLIMBING IN SCOTLAND

It was a varied party of boys, lay staff, a parent, an old boy, two guests and a monk who were ferried across Loch Nevis in a small motor boat one bright April morning. The occasion was the start of the Mountaineering Club Easter meet on the Knoydart peninsula in the west of Scotland.

Knoydart has no access by road and once landed at the small settlement of Inverie we were faced with an eight-mile walk over a 1,500 ft. col to our base at Barrisdale Bay. A week's supply of food, together with camping equipment, seemed very heavy at times but later at Barrisdale on the shores of Loch Hourn with the rain sheeting down outside the tents and the whisky breached, all was forgotten.

Six miles to the east of Barrisdale at Kinlochquoich is a rain gauge which records the highest average rainfall in the British Isles at 159 inches per year. We certainly had our share of rain but the essence of Scotland is contrast and the sunshine when it came was doubly appreciated.

Fresh snow fell every night down to 1,300 feet and the high hills were sheathed in snow and ice. We climbed Sgurr Sgiath Airigh from the particularly beautiful Glen Barrisdale with its deer and stands of

Caledonian pine trees, while the hillsides were streaked with white water from the burns in spate. The highlight of the meet was the ascent of Ladhar Beinn, 3,343 feet, the principal mountain in Knoydart. This ascent involved scrambling and step cutting and the final ridge was narrow and heavily corniced over the northern cliffs. Mist prevented any view but we were fully occupied in finding the one way open that missed the cornice break line yet did not force us too far down the steep and icy southern slopes. It was a memorable evening returning to camp at 8-0 p.m. with the skies clear and the hills glowing in that greenish light which is characteristic of the west of Scotland.

The walk back to Inverie was with light hearts and packs and after a hailstorm on the col the sun shone and we watched a golden eagle being dive bombed by two hawks high up in Coire na Cloiche. From the boat between Inverie and Mallaig we had excellent views of the Cuillins of Skye, Rhum and Eigg as well as back down Loch Nevis to this wonderful part of Scotland.

Those attending the meet were Richard Gilbert, Fr Michael Phillips, Paul and Peter Hawksworth, Peter and Henry Grace, Nicholas Davenport, Brendan Skehan, Michael Burnford and his guest.

R.F.G.

THE AMPLEFORTH PRESS

Founded in 1958 with small Adana presses, the Ampleforth Press was established by Fr Patrick in a small room under the theatre. By 1959 it was working with an Arab hand-platen press and a range of Bembo from 8 to 30 point in roman and italic. In five years 350 contracts were completed, and the printing done was of an exceptional standard. An old Heidelberg press was added, but during 1967 and 1968 the press fell into relative disuse.

In Autumn 1968 the old joiner's shop in the courtyard north of the monastery kitchens was allocated to the Press. Thanks to the energy of a group of boys, notably P. Duguid, R. Ryan and T. Macauley, everything was moved piece by piece to the new and larger premises. Printing was again under way by March 1969. Since then more than 90 contracts have been completed. D. Davies is to be thanked for handing on much of the skill of the Press from earlier years, though there is still a long way to go. There are 12 members at present, of whom J. Ward and J. Mounsey are responsible for much of its success. There are now, in addition to the Bembo, some 30 point Perpetua, 30 and 36 point Perpetua Titling, 18, 24 and 30 point Sans ("Grotesque") and 8 and 10 point Bembo (Bold).

We owe our gratitude to Mr Walter Smith of The Herald Printers, York, for his material assistance and constant interest, and to Fr Patrick who keeps a paternal but tactful eye on developments.

P.M.B.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

The Society has had but one handicap during the session—attendance, or rather lack of it. In all other respects the Debating Society has been well provided for: motions have been thought-provoking and stimulating; officials have been in the main dutiful; bench speeches have been well prepared. Yet, despite all this, on most nights the attendance has been little more than a score, which compares unfavourably with 1965's average attendance of 47 and even more so with that of 1947, 91.

Mr Lewis was chosen as Leader of the Government and he produced several well composed, if somewhat ponderous speeches. His opposite number, Mr Simpson as Leader of the Opposition, far more lively, prepared to make a fight out of anything and backed by a good footing of sound facts, provided an entertaining contrast; but he went off later in the term. Amongst the others who led the benches as the term progressed Mr Fenwick and Mr Charles were outstanding. The former relied on an attacking, mildly sarcastic style which proved most effective, while the latter's effect was due to the well-polished and forcefully sincere nature of his words.

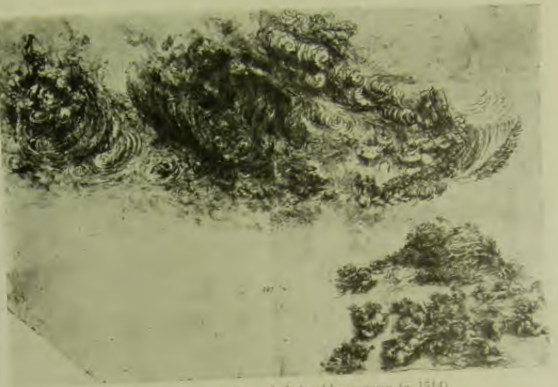
There was a hard core of other regular speakers of varying styles and qualities. Mr Dawson and Mr Belfield both had pet theses which they invariably worked into the debate, whatever the motion. Mr Duguid was forthright, if not a little basic in his approach, while Messrs Dalglish, Anderson and Fitzgerald could always be relied on to make sound and interesting speeches. The Secretary on several occasions spoke, as did several others fairly regularly; on the other hand there were many who did not. Even so one can take encouragement from Messrs Solly, Nevile, McCauley and the others who made maiden speeches.

The highlight of the term was the Harrogate guest debate which unfortunately was the last of its kind, for that famous school is closing down at the end of summer. The Society owes a lot to the busloads of girls who have come over regularly for the last four years and provided very enjoyable evenings. Their final visit was no exception. The Society had a thoroughly entertaining evening with perhaps the emphasis being on entertainment rather than debating as such. But what can one expect from the fair sex? They did their best, poor girls!

The Society went as guests to Richmond Convent and spent another very pleasant evening there, though there was a slight sense of anti-climax, perhaps because it was the last debate of the session.

Mr Charles and Mr Simpson were chosen to represent the Society in the *Observer* Mace debating competition and they duly won the first round at Ripon.

The Society certainly suffered from the loss of the likes of Mr MacKay, Mr Reilly and Mr Balme, but there are many debaters worth their salt still around for next season.



Deluge: Trees and people being blown away (c. 1514)
pen or ink over black chalk, Royal Library Windsor

Deluge: an explosion in the form of a chrysanthemum (c. 1514)
black chalk, Royal Library Windsor

Leonardo da Vinci Illustrates the Beauty of Chaos

"Oranges and Lemons"

"THE MORE SOPHISTICATED GAMES"
See Fr Damian Webb's review of "Children's Games"

"Two, two the Lily-white boys . . .
From Green Grove the Rushes O

We all owe a lot to the various officials, especially the President and his Vice, Mr Rosenvinge, and the two tellers, Messrs Thomas and Fane-Hervey.

The following six motions were debated:

"This House believes that, in the light of Biafra, immediate foreign aid is no solution." Ayes 8, Noes 6, Abstention 1.

"This House believes that Shack has nothing more to offer than has a good Crammer." Ayes 17, Noes 11, Abstentions 6.

"This House believes that the scientist (as such) has no place in either cabinet or pulpit." Ayes 6, Noes 5, Abstentions 3.

"This House believes that creative art should be on a par with formal studies in a fully rounded education." Ayes 9, Noes 9, Abstention 1.

"This House abhors the destruction of the countryside." Ayes 9, Noes 4.

"This House believes that the best things in life are free." Ayes 47, Noes 37, Abstentions 3. [Harrogate Guest Debate.]

(*President:* Br Alberic) N. HALL, *Hon. Sec.*

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THIS term there were 50 nominal members of the Society, although active attendance at meetings was on average about half that. Perhaps the best attended was the first, at which Mr Smiley, the founder-president of the Society, very kindly returned to speak on "The Origins of Human Speech". Mr Smiley, with his characteristic blend of learning and wit, outlined some of the more bizarre theories on the subject, before giving in some detail an account of the most plausible, as advanced by Professor Diamond. At the next meeting, two films were shown; "The Rise of the Roman Empire" and "The Fall of the Roman Empire". They were a disappointment in that they made little use of the extensive archaeological heritage that remains from this period, but preferred to use diagrams and symbols much of the time. Mr Charles Anderson, a former member of the Society, spoke at the next meeting on the interesting subject of Atlantis. The topic drew several new members to the Society. Mr Anderson's treatment proved as fascinating as his subject, his lecture being capably as well as wittily delivered. He described some of the many theories about Atlantis before advancing the one he considered most plausible, that of the Greek seismologist, Professor Galapulos. Working from evidence given by Plato in his dialogues, Galapulos locates Atlantis in the Mediterranean Sea, identifying it with the volcanic island of Thera. Geological testimony seems to support the thesis, and it has the advantage of tying up with many ancient events such as the crossing of the Red Sea. After the lecture, there was lively discussion, a new and pleasing feature of meetings. The last meeting of the term witnessed the showing of a colour film, "Life in Ancient Egypt". This was extremely well produced, and gave a detailed view of ancient Egypt by examining closely numerous tomb paintings,

which are a fascinating art form in their own right. The film was greatly enjoyed by all present, who might have been more numerous.

The activities of the Society this term confirmed that there is still considerable interest in archaeological matters in the School, although the pressures of work and television occasionally get the better of it.

(*President:* Fr Henry) P. J. Ford, *Hon. Sec.*

THE CHESS CLUB

The officials, H. M. Duckworth (Hon. Sec.) and S. L. Cassidy (Hon. Treas.), were unchanged from the Christmas Term. There was an encouraging increase in the number of members this term and the Club is now bigger than it has been for a long time. Our new chess sets arrived to cater for our new members.

Mr Nelson, the President, very kindly gave a series of lectures on the opening gambits and the game in general. These were well attended and very much appreciated, as they were the first of their kind in the Chess Club.

Towards the end of term, R. P. Honan began to organise a chess competition for the whole School; however, this probably won't get under way until the Summer Term.

We had two matches this term. The first against Hymers College was lost rather too easily at ½—5½. The second was also lost to Ripon Grammar School at 1½—4½.

Most of the team will be back next year and I am sure they will have better luck.

(*President:* Mr Nelson) H. M. Duckworth, *Hon. Sec.*

THE COMMONWEAL

Three meetings were very kindly arranged this term by the President who once again deserves the thanks of all in the Society. We had hoped that Professor Kathleen Jones could come but no suitable evening could be found and thus unfortunately the last meeting of the term had to be cancelled.

For the first meeting Mrs Butler came to talk of her experiences with the Special Operations Executive in France during the war. This proved to be fascinating and held the Society spellbound so that when the meeting eventually had to end many were disappointed. All said that it had been one of the most successful meetings that they had been to.

For the second meeting Mr Fotheringham, who has had wide experience teaching at both independent and comprehensive schools, gave us an interesting and provocative lecture on the advantages of an integrated school system in England. Many found it extremely valuable since their knowledge of other systems of education was very sketchy.

The attendance declined alarmingly for the second meeting of the term since it seems that many boys are increasingly looking for entertainment rather than intelligent lectures on less superficial matters. It is undoubtedly obvious that there is increasing competition for our free time and thus many of the more serious societies are finding that the attendances are decreasing or even more seriously that it is always the same boys that turn up to all the Sixth Form societies. In the future, therefore, these societies are going to have to find a balance with intelligent yet entertaining lectures which will appeal to a large section of the boys and obviously this will be very difficult to do. I would like to end by thanking all those who did come for their support.

(*President:* Mr Anwyl) S. B. Wakefield, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FILM SOCIETY

We heard a lot about John Schlesinger this term—first on his winning an award for "Midnight Cowboy", and secondly for "Far from the Madding Crowd". It was interesting, therefore, to have as our first film of the term one of his earlier successes—"A Kind of Loving". This film captured the life of the early sixties vividly; it dealt with the classic problem of sex before marriage with extraordinary insight and depth. Carrying on the theme of man and woman, our next film was Claude Lelouch's "Un homme et une femme". This, too, went down well with the Society, though some were somewhat put off by the cutting review given by the Monthly Film Bulletin. The photography and the music, plus Anouk Aimee, combined to make a slushy but beautiful film. It was interesting to compare with "Elvira Madigan".

Next came "the inevitable dose of Bergman", as one person put it. Although some of his films are certainly too intense for showing here, I think there can be no doubt that "The Seventh Seal" had much to be admired; if the intensity and the symbolism did not appeal to most, certainly the vivid portrayal of mediaeval life can have left little to be desired.

Shack loves Bette Davis. "The Anniversary" was perhaps the most popular item on the programme. This story about Mrs Taggart, the domineering one-eyed widow (with matching patch!) was uniquely entertaining for its quick, witty dialogue and the theatrical performance of Bette Davis.

Another Shack "hero" is Jean-Paul Belmondo. "A bout de souffle" (Breathless) was one of Godard's earliest films (before he went slightly mad, if I may say so), and was made before Belmondo had become the international star he is today. There can be no doubt, though, of his ability. His scenes with Jean Seberg were superb, mostly impromptu, all highly amusing. Indeed, Godard's interest with a free almost abstract technique of film narrative went by for the most part unnoticed.

"The Hidden Fortress" came as something of a surprise. Taken as a whole, it was a joke film; it was an obscure Japanese Western acutely Hollywood-ised except for the technicolour (the film was shot in black and white, and the effect was strangely successful). Even the music had shades of how the West was won to it, except for during the long and incredibly intense duel scene. This was one of the longest fight scenes I can remember; even the native drummers bong-bonging away got fed up and packed it in. It was a good bit of light entertainment, and there was little more to it than that.

"Elvira Madigan" was the last film of term—the Society seemed a trifle disappointed with it, perhaps because it had been praised and publicised so much already. It was, though, a true work of art on the part of the director (Bo Widerberg). His photography was enchanting. If it hadn't been for Widerberg and Mozart this film would have been a total failure, but as it was, the story was treated with reverence and respect for its beautiful portrayal of the development of a deep, tragic relationship.

The last meeting of the term took the form of a lecture plus two films. Elaine Collard, who is a film producer and the mother of a boy in the School, very kindly came up to introduce two films she had brought up with her. These were based on two stories by Chekhov, and they used a new technique of having the actual words of Chekhov narrated, while on the screen can be seen the director's interpretation of the story. It was a very interesting evening and we are very grateful to her indeed and hope that she will come again.

The term, then, was about the most successful yet for the Film Society. Membership was over 200, and the films all had something for everybody. We had Schlesinger, Godard, Bergman, Widerberg and Lelouch—all the films had something to offer both from the entertainment point of view and that of the art of cinematic technique. Thanks are due to the Committee—Patrick Collins and James McEwen, the latter especially for arranging Mrs Collard's lecture. Thanks also, of course, to Fr Stephen for obtaining such a variety of successful films.

(*President:* Fr Stephen) NICHOLAS BLANE, *Hon. Sec.*

HISTORICAL BENCH

THE term began with a short business meeting. Mr N. Watts and Mr G. Belfield were elected Secretary and Treasurer. They succeeded Mr S. Fane-Hervey, who has left, and Mr D. Casserly, who has resigned.

Our first speaker of the term was Mr Ronald Rohan. In a highly amusing lecture, he traced the early history of his own country, Ireland. By the use of some excellent colour slides, made by himself, Mr Rohan illustrated the beauty of early Irish literature. Nicholas Rodger, a former secretary of the Society, spoke on the rise and fall of the Japanese Imperial Navy. Once again he produced a lecture full of detail and interest. Fr Aelred, the only speaker from the monastery this term, described the capture of Constantinople by the Turks under Mohammed II. His lecture was most entertaining and illuminating. The last meeting of the term consisted of a film, kindly lent by the B.B.C., which outlined the career of Oliver Cromwell. Once again the Society would like to thank all the speakers, and Mr Davidson for his tireless efforts throughout the term.

(*President:* Mr Davidson) N. M. WATTS, *Hon. Sec.*

THE JUNIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

THE Society has had a very good term indeed. Attendances have varied as usual—the numbers are never as great as they were some years ago—but the standard reached by the leading dozen or so members has been above average. Mr S. Clayton, making his first entry into the arena at the end of his second year, took the House by storm and together with Mr Fergusson ensured that the intellectual standard of the speeches would be high. These two were backed up by Mr Schlee, Mr Lister and Mr Norton, while Mr Hunter Gordon, not a regular speaker, emerged with Mr Norton as the quickest destroyer of an argument. The faithful Messrs Dowley, Donnelly, Hamilton Dalrymple and Skinner supported the leading members and all these should provide solidity for the Senior Debate next year if they are prepared to continue.

The standard in the first year was higher than it might have been, given the paucity of numbers. Mr Finlow is outstanding but will need to push himself to the forefront if he is to lead the debate next year. Mr Simpson is simply irrepressible as well as talented; the Spencer twins, and Mr Southwell—when he appeared, all these have much talent.

There were two highlights to the term: the debate with Easingwold Grammar School in which the House surpassed itself by the clarity of its thought and the sensitivity of its approach in what was a difficult motion concerning the Supernatural, and a guest debate in which Fr Placid opposed Dr Seymour Spencer's claim that Man is more than an Animal, a debate which was less successful than had been anticipated.

The House also owes a debt of gratitude to its Chairman, Br Felix, for the way in which he controls the course of the debate.

At the first meeting of term, Mr J. Durkin was elected Secretary, and Messrs Dowley, du Boulay, Fergusson, M. Lister, M. Spencer, Simpson and Finlow were elected to the Committee.

The following motions were debated:

"This House deplores capital punishment." Ayes 17, Noes 29.

"This House regrets the influence exerted upon modern youth by books and films which specialise in violence." Ayes 10, Noes 23.

"This House believes that modern society demands no skill from its artists." Ayes 5, Noes 14.

"This House would rather see a film than a play." Ayes 13, Noes 18.

"This House believes in the supernatural." Ayes 24, Noes 19. [Easingwold debate.]

"This House believes that man is no more than an animal." Ayes 14, Noes 12. [Guest debate with Fr Placid and Dr Spencer.]

"This House is optimistic about the future." Ayes 8, Noes 11.

(*President:* Br Felix) J. A. DURKIN, *Hon. Sec.*

Br Felix writes:

Several points emerged from the term's debating. First, it is now clear that the days of an attendance of 80-100 are now over. There are either too many options available or there is more apathy at that level, or boys want to take the opportunity, often denied them during the rest of the week, of some peace and quiet. Secondly, debating is taken more seriously by those who are interested. The humorous motion gets less far than one concerned with ideas and ideals, or one dealing with politics, school or national. Thirdly, there is less stress on the full-length set speech and more on the give and take of debate. This, as Dr Spencer pointed out, has its disadvantages: speeches are less well prepared, arguments are diffuse and repetitive, the debate can disintegrate into casual conversation. On the other hand, only a few will take the trouble to write good speeches, but very many more are prepared to intervene in the debate and it must be made possible for those who wish to do so to stand up on their feet and speak even if they get muddled. The J.D.S. cannot be conducted on the lines of the perfect debating forum; it is a place to learn, to be encouraged, to gain satisfaction from success, and above all to find enjoyment. All the evidence suggests that on the whole many improve their speed and clarity of thought. Fourthly, it is noticeable that the Society demands a strict formality. It is frequently suggested that what is wanted is more "discussion" and that the debate should become closer to a small discussion group. But it is clear that a debate will only succeed where the structure remains formal, where speakers address the Chairman, and where personal attacks are not permitted. In addition to this there has been a general advance this term in the objectivity of the Society. This was revealed most strongly in the debate on the Supernatural where several speakers took up positions for the purpose of debate which they would not normally hold. Similarly it became clear that some were beginning to vote on the merits of the case as presented rather than on their personal view of the motion. Finally, for the first time emphasis has been placed on diction and the quality of tone of voice of the speakers, and the House, and especially Mr Norton, will have learnt much from Mr Clayton and Mr Hunter Gordon who are outstanding in these respects. It is to be hoped that the leading speakers will do all they can to assist in the development of the Senior Debate which has its ups and downs. It would be a pity if what has been gained in the Junior Debate were to be squandered at the very time when the capacity of the intellect for growth is at its height.

MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY

UNDER our new Chairman, Mr Nelson, the Society met three times during the term. The first lecture was given by an actuary, Mr J. Tonks. He showed how insurance premiums were calculated and also gave some idea about the career of an actuary. We are grateful to him for an enjoyable evening.

The second meeting was a film evening. Several films were shown, giving both serious and comic views of maths. For the last meeting, J. Smythe gave a lecture on "The Parallel lines Axiom". This lecture provoked much discussion on non-Euclidean geometries and completed a successful term.

(*Chairman:* Mr Nelson) P. B. QUIGLEY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

THE Society's activities continued in earnest during the Easter Term, with four meetings, excellent both in quality and and members' attendance. Because of a summons to a meeting at the Ministry of Technology in London, our first lecturer, from the British Steel Corporation, was unable to come; however, Fr Michael, who can always be relied on to support the Society in time of need, agreed to stand in. He gave a lecture on "Satellite communications" and demonstrated a number of the basic principles involved. A fortnight later, Mr J. M. Petrie, of the North Eastern Road Construction Unit, spoke on "The Design and Construction of Motorways"; using coloured slides, he outlined all the complex factors involved from the initial survey of the route to the final layer of tarmac. The final lecture of the term was the year's Address by our President, R. O. C. Norman, Professor of Chemistry at York University. Bringing with him a gas chromatograph, he spoke on "Gas Chromatography: Pollution to Purification". During his lecture, his accompanying assistant analysed some liquid mixtures, including commercial petrols and blackberry wine. The final meeting comprised a film evening when two colour films, "Oil is where you find it" and "Frontiers of Friction", were shown. Both were first class, notably the former, which was semi-animated, and, in parts, very amusing.

Attendances were good, and averaged 75 for the term. It is encouraging that the Society continues to flourish while the School's interest in the majority of its Societies is sadly lacking.

(*Chairman:* Dr C. Briske) J. C. RAPP, *Hon. Sec.*
(*President:* Professor R. O. C. Norman)

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE "A" XV

Two matches were cancelled this term but in the other four the XV showed their capabilities, looking as though they might carry on where Reichwald's XV left off. J. S. Gaynor led the team with his usual aplomb and fired them with his own enthusiasm. He also led a fast back row in which C. Harris, the Under 16 Colts Captain made an instant impression. The weakness lies if anywhere in the front row where it will be difficult to find props to give D. Judd the necessary support, and perhaps in the lack of sheer pace on the wings: there were times, too, when the side as a whole displayed a lack of tenacity and determination in the tackle which surprised all who were watching. This indeed cost them their two narrow defeats against Harrogate Colts and Newcastle R.G.S. But there was much more on the credit side: R. Twohig's play, unfortunately cut short by injury, was a revelation and made exciting watching. This was a much needed bonus as was P. Redmond's determination in the second row. C. Harris's courage, too, was important to the threequarter line and with more pace he will be a great asset. R. Fane-Hervey, when he gains confidence, should score a lot of tries; and then, of course, there were the four or five boys from last year's 1st XV. All in all, we have the prospect of seeing some exciting rugby from this team in 1970.

v. YORK UNIVERSITY 2nd XV (at Ampleforth, 27th January)

This was the School's first fixture against the University 2nd XV and clearly the boys were out to enjoy themselves. Twohig, making his debut at fly-half, had an outstanding game, and opened the scoring after a fine ruck gave him room on the blind side. The team then worked hard to get on top and Ryan made it 6—0 after half an hour when good rucking made the overlap again. Skehan converted this try with a fine kick. 8—0 at half-time soon became 13—0 as Skehan paved the way for a second Ryan try near the posts, 16—0 as he himself kicked a penalty and 21—0 as Redmond crashed over from a five-yard scrum. Fane-Hervey completed the scoring with a delightful run along the touchline after some good work by Lintin. This was a most encouraging start for next year's 1st XV.

Won 24—0.

v. POCKLINGTON (at Ampleforth, 5th February)

The School were hard hit by injuries for this, their second "A" XV fixture, Judd, Lewis Ryan and Twohig all being unfit. But their deputies played supremely well, particularly McKibbin and Entwistle who engineered five heels against the head and who were outstanding in the loose. The match started in a snowstorm but the School, well led by Gaynor, were ten points up in five minutes after the pack had worked the first of a string of loose heels and gained the first of their five strikes against the head. Fane-Hervey finished off the first try in thrilling fashion: he scored two more with some exquisite changes of pace and direction, and in other matters, too, had an outstanding game. Skehan showed his increasing maturity and skill and was responsible for 15 points, while Dowling and Gaynor of the Old Guard were always prominent. Harris's ferocity into the tackle and his perpetual motion style were a welcome sight. These last and Lintin at scrum-half were a constant source of worry to their opponents and continued to set up tries throughout the match which ended in an easy victory for the School.

Won 30—0.

v. HARROGATE COLTS (at Ampleforth, 8th February)

A high wind spoiled this match as a spectacle but there was much to admire in the play of the "A" XV who were up against a powerful pack and strong running three-quarters. It was the School who carried the game to their opponents in the first half. They did all the attacking and only looked under any pressure when the Harrogate threequarters had the ball. Ampleforth were still on the attack when a sudden counter by Harrogate and weak tackling on the School's right wing put the visitors into the lead, but the School were soon back in the saddle, Lintin scoring a fine try after a ruck. But from the kick-off Harrogate were awarded a penalty which went dead; Ampleforth got in front of the drop-out, Harrogate won their own ball and scored on the same flank as their previous try. There was hardly time for the School to reply but they kept trying and were considered most unlucky to lose.

Lost 3—6.

v. NEWCASTLE R.G.S. (at Ampleforth, 11th February)

This game had to be played on the Old Match Ground as frost had rendered the Match Ground unplayable, and there seemed to be a lack of atmosphere as both sides played some indeterminate rugby for 15 minutes. The match only came to life when Skehan put the School into the lead with a try in the corner. When Newcastle then showed some fire, Ampleforth continued with their rather sketchy tackling and the big, fast Newcastle centre had no problem in beating the defence twice in the space of a few minutes and putting his side into the lead. His second try was a remarkable affair starting as it did from his own ten-yard line and with all 29 other players in front of him, and finishing as he planted the ball by the posts. This made the score at half-time 8—3 and the School looked in trouble. But they came to life in the second half and for a long period besieged the Newcastle line; but always the vital pass was dropped or thrown forward. The School then committed the cardinal error and refused to take a penalty in front of the posts, and although soon after that they did cross in the corner, they hardly deserved the draw they nearly achieved. None did better in this bruising second half than Harris, Gaynor, Dowling and Lintin: the tackling improved one hundredfold: if only they had played like that in the first half!

Lost 6—8.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE MATCH COMPETITION

This competition which was cut short last term by the weather was continued from the semi-final stage. A tremendous struggle saw St Oswald's beat St Willrid's in one semi-final but St Bede's had no difficulty in beating St John's in the other.

THE HOUSE SEVENS (1st March)

Both St Thomas's and St John's were drawn in the first round and played some entertaining rugby on their way to their hard-fought final which St Thomas's won by 3—0; perhaps with a little to spare. Reichwald was a commanding figure but I. Bowie, Forsythe and Fane-Hervey all had their moments, as did Lucey and Hughes for St John's.

St Aidan's, who owed much to the efforts of de Guingand, Craig and Finlow, won the Junior Competition, beating St Bede's 6—3 in the final.

THE AMPLEFORTH SEVENS

These were scheduled for Sunday, 8th March, and the same seven schools as last year were invited to take part. Unfortunately the weather caused an early cancellation.

THE WELBECK SEVENS (at Welbeck, Tuesday, 17th March)

In this competition the School were drawn to play against Oakham in the first round and, playing some superb sevens in which Reichwald, Bowie and Hughes excelled, they had no trouble in winning 21—0. Their next opponents were the home team who had disposed of Leeds Grammar School and who looked a strong team. But again the ball-playing skill shown by some brilliant handling and passing of the Ampleforth Seven were too much and the School ran out easy winners. In this match Skehan, who had taken the place of the injured Callighan, showed his excellence while Kennedy and Judd were noticeably swift to gain possession and then move the ball. The running off the ball of the whole team was indeed most creditable.

Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Wakefield, had struggled through their previous two rounds but raised their game impressively in the final, destroying the rhythm of the Ampleforth Seven by fierce tackling and powerful running. The School could not get the ball, were soon 6—0 down and then lost their Sevens composure completely. It was a sad end to a most heartening performance during the day.

Results: *v.* Oakham. Won 21—0.
v. Welbeck. Won 23—0.
v. Q.E.G.S., Wakefield. Lost 0—26.

THE ROSSLYN PARK SEVENS
THE FESTIVAL TOURNAMENT

The School were drawn against Reading for the first match in their group and a gamble was taken which did not succeed and which left the School in grave danger of not qualifying for the last sixteen. Callighan, having recovered from injury, took his place in the centre and Skehan was used at scrum-half instead of Lucey. Neither was at his best and Callighan had only been on the field five minutes when he was injured again; these facts, allied to the early morning look of most of the Seven, did nothing for the School's chances and they went down rather sleepily 10—13. Callighan's injury brought about the required changes, Skehan reverting to centre and Lucey replacing him at scrum-half; immediately the side regained its flair and disposed of its next opponents, Trinity. At the end of the first day an interesting situation had developed in that each of the four schools had won one and lost one of its matches. This meant that the winner of the group would be one of the two schools which won two matches and which acquired more points than the other. Ampleforth's answer to this was a devastating 31 points against Bromsgrove, and a return to form of most of the players. The match for a place in the quarter finals was against Millfield and was a fine match in which the School were a trifle unlucky to lose. The tackling had a crispness about it which had been lacking in all the previous Sevens matches, and every player raised his game. It is interesting to record that Millfield went on to become runners-up in the tournament, losing 6—0 in the final to Monmouth.

The Ampleforth Group was: Reading School, Ampleforth College, Trinity School, Croydon, Bromsgrove School.

Results: *v.* Reading. Lost 10—13
v. Trinity, Won 13—6
v. Bromsgrove. Won 31—0 } Ampleforth winners of group.
v. Millfield. Lost 0—9

THE OPEN TOURNAMENT

Again Ampleforth started their effort in rather early morning fashion but had little trouble in defeating Ipswich 13—0. The luck of the draw again saw them face Millfield and again the School were involved in a thrilling match. Skehan opened the scoring with a long, accurate penalty, but Millfield went ahead with a goal. 5—3 at half-time!

Reichwald and Kennedy combined for a Reichwald try under the posts which Skehan converted. Reichwald put the School further ahead (11—5) with a wonderful long range drop goal; Bowie saved them with a fine covering tackle and Millfield could only manage one more goal in the time available. This was a good win and a happy augury for the match against St Edward's, Liverpool, the next day. Unfortunately the School were never in the same form as against Millfield and were rather lack-lustre in going down 10—3. Rather surprisingly their handling as well as their tackling let them down.

Results: *v.* Ipswich. Won 13—0
v. Millfield. Won 11—10
v. St Edward's, Liverpool. Lost 3—10

In these two competitions all the boys had their moments but the stars of the team were undoubtedly Reichwald for his skilful footwork, acceleration, and at times brilliant sleight of hand; Skehan for some swift and heavy tackling and excellent place kicking; and Judd for his fitness, determination, speed and alertness in all the matches played.

CROSS COUNTRY

Both the cross country teams had a good season. The 1st VIII started off badly, losing to a strong Leeds Grammar School side and then coming a bad third to Durham and Barnard Castle at Durham. After that they did very well, winning their remaining fixtures, coming 5th (out of 12) in the Midland Public Schools meeting and 7th (out of about 70) in the Northern Schools meeting at Disley. The side was well led by J. P. Rochford who, after a rather disappointing season himself, found his form at the end of the term and came very well up the field at Disley. R. F. Mathews, M. M. Forsythe and J. T. Prendiville formed a powerful trio up front with Mathews just having the edge on the other two. Mathews, a very determined runner, had an outstandingly successful season; running against Sedbergh he was only 7 secs outside the School record for our course. He came 6th in the Midland Public Schools meeting and 29th in the huge field of the Northern Schools. The rest of the eight packed well and were never far behind the leaders.

J. P. Rochford was the only old colour and he awarded colours to R. F. Mathews, M. M. Forsythe, J. T. Prendiville, C. J. J. O'Reilly and N. M. Watts. D. P. McKenna, J. D. Pratt, C. M. R. Hardy all ran frequently in the eight. P. P. Nunn ran on one occasion. R. G. P. Plowden, a regular member of the side last year, sustained an injury in training at the beginning of the term and sadly was unable to run in any of the matches.

The results of the 1st VIII matches were as follows:

v. Leeds Grammar School. Lost 25—55.
Ampleforth placings: 5 Mathews, 6 Forsythe, 9 Rochford, 10 O'Reilly, 12 Watts, 13 Prendiville, 15 McKenna, 16 Nunn.

v. Durham and Barnard Castle. 1st Durham 44, 2nd Barnard Castle 45, 3rd Ampleforth 84.
Ampleforth placings: 5 Mathews, 13 Forsythe, 14 Prendiville, 15 O'Reilly, 18 McKenna, 19 Rochford, 20 Hardy, 21 Watts.

v. Stonyhurst and Denstone. 1st Ampleforth 40, 2nd Stonyhurst 70, 3rd Denstone 75.
Ampleforth placings. 1 Mathews, 3 Forsythe, 7 Rochford, 8 Hardy, 9 Prendiville, 12 Watts, 13 McKenna, 14 O'Reilly.

v. Pocklington. Won 24—60.
Ampleforth placings: 1, 2 Mathews, Forsythe, 3 Prendiville, 5 O'Reilly, 6 Watts, 7, 8 Rochford, McKenna, 13 Hardy.

v. Sedbergh. Won 32—48.
Ampleforth placings. 1 Mathews, 3 Forsythe, 4 Prendiville, 7, 8, 9 Rochford, O'Reilly, McKenna, 11 Watts, 12 Pratt.

Midland Public Schools Meeting at Worksop. Placed 5th.

Northern Schools Meeting at Disley. Placed 7th.

The 2nd VIII were unbeaten in their five matches. Most of the side have another year in the School and so the future looks quite bright.

The following ran : E. C. A. Sparrow, P. Grace, M. A. Q. Shuldham, J. C. Dawson, C. G. Edmonds, M. G. S. A. Kirby, A. D. FitzGerald, L. D. Pratt, L. Jennings, T. R. V. Buxton.

The results of the matches were as follows :

v. York Youth Harriers. Won 64—72 (first eight counting).

v. Scarborough College 1st VIII. Won 34—44.

v. Stonyhurst and Denstone 2nd VIIIs. 1st Ampleforth 33, 2nd Stonyhurst 45, 3rd Denstone 112.

v. Scarborough High School 1st VIII. Won 30—48.

We sent a Junior team of four runners (J. D. Pratt, P. S. Gaynor, Hon F. M. W. Fitzherbert and S. C. G. Murphy) to run in the Junior event of the Northern Schools meeting at Disley. They came 29th out of about 80 schools.

The Inter-House races now have fixed courses which are unlikely to be affected by either the weather or barbed wire. J. Gaynor was the only outsider to break into the first eight places in the Senior race. St Cuthbert's won comfortably by having five runners well up in the field. In the Junior A race there was keen competition for first place with Fitzherbert rather surprisingly beating Pratt who had been running in the School team. St Edward's had a comfortable victory, gaining six of the first 13 places. In the Junior B, Hamilton-Dalrymple led from start to finish. The team event was closely contested.

The individual results were as follows :

Senior : 1 Mathews (T), 2 Prendiville (E), 3 Forsythe (T). Time : 22 mins 35 secs.

Junior A. 1 Fitzherbert (C), 2 Pratt (E), 3 Murphy (E). Time. 18 mins 7 secs.

Junior B : 1 Hamilton-Dalrymple (E), 2 Knock (H), 3 Mathews (T). Time : 19 mins 1 sec.

The results of the Inter-House competition.

Senior. 1 St Cuthbert's 93, 2 St Edward's 122, 3 St Thomas 130.

Junior A : 1 St Edward's 45, 2 St Thomas's 83, 3 St John's 154.

Junior B : 1 St Oswald's 34, 2 St Cuthbert's 47, 3 St Wilfrid's 48.

ATHLETICS

ALTHOUGH the training period was again cut short by the weather, the meeting itself was mercifully relatively warm. There were no records broken but there were both some interesting and outstanding performances. R. S. Willbourn was probably the surprise of the meeting, coming first in the 440 Yards and second in the 100 Yards in Set 2. There were others who demonstrated that the School teams will not be at a disadvantage next term. R. J. Hughes, the Captain, though not on form in the Shot still achieved his two victories, as did J. P. Knowles and R. F. Mathews in Set 1. J. Dowling put his stamina to good use in the 880 Yards and Mile in Set 2, while in Set 3, although B. de Guingand was the outstanding athlete, there were a number of others, such as T. White, C. Bowie, R. Fane-Hervey, P. Gaynor, Hon F. Fitzherbert and T. Robinson who made a strong impression. Set 4 was dominated by M. Gallwey and S. Murphy while in Set 5 the mature S. Finlow's four firsts in five events was a marvellous achievement.

The Senior House Competition was closer than it has been for many years, though St Thomas's ran away with the trophy for the Junior Competition. On the eve of the relay meeting three houses, St Thomas's, St Edward's and St. Hugh's, were separated by one point. In the event St Thomas's took this trophy as well and are to be congratulated on their spirited efforts while St Edward's, St Hugh's and St John's, who stole second place at the last minute, must not be forgotten for their part in a splendid competition.

RESULTS OF THE SCHOOL ATHLETICS MEETING 1970

Best Athlete		-	R. J. Hughes
Set 2	-	-	J. D. Dowling
Set 3	-	-	B. C. de Guingand
Set 4	-	-	M. S. Gallwey
Set 5	-	-	S. R. Finlow

SET 1

100 Yards.—(10.3 secs, G. A. Belcher, 1957, A. N. Stanton, 1960 and N. O'Donnell, 1965)
1 J. P. Knowles, 2 I. D. Bowie, 3 A. S. Gibbs. 10.6 secs.

Quarter Mile.—(52.0 secs, J. J. Russell, 1954)
1 J. P. Knowles, 2 M. A. Shuldham, 3 M. C. Lorigan. 55.1 secs.

Half Mile.—(2 mins 3.1 secs, M. G. Tolkien, 1961, A. G. Milroy and P. C. Karran, 1965)
1 M. A. Shuldham, 2 M. M. Forsythe, 3 J. C. Gaynor. 2 mins 11.4 secs.

Mile.—(4 mins 35.4 secs, R. Whitfield, 1957)
1 R. F. Mathews, 2 M. M. Forsythe, 3 J. C. Gaynor. 4 mins 52.4 secs.

Steeplechase—(3 mins 42.8 secs, R. Channer, 1956, S. E. Brewster, 1960)
1 R. F. Mathews, 2 D. P. McKenna, 3 J. P. Rochford. 3 mins 52.1 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.4 secs, A. N. Stanton, 1960)
1 M. A. Henderson, 2 C. M. Hardy, 3 J. C. Rapp. 18.1 secs.

High Jump.—(5 ft 10 ins, J. G. Bamford, 1942)
1 D. P. McKenna, 2 A. D. Lucey, 3 R. D. Murphy. 5 ft 3 ins.

Long Jump.—(21 ft 10 ins, M. R. Leigh, 1958, V. Tang, 1965)
1 R. J. Hughes, 2 A. D. Lucey, 3 W. M. Reichwald. 20 ft 3 ins.

Shot.—(46 ft 11 ins, C. B. Crabbe, 1960)
1 R. J. Hughes, 2 E. A. Lewis, 3 D. T. Davies. 39 ft 5¼ ins.

Javelin.—(175 ft 0 ins, P. J. Carroll, 1965)
1 A. N. Kennedy, 2 D. J. Haughton, 3 W. A. Moore. 138 ft 8 ins.

SET 2

100 Yards.—(10.7 secs, I. R. Scott-Lewis and P. B. Czarkowski, 1956)
1 J. G. Ruck Keene, 2 R. S. Willbourn, 3 R. W. Coghlan. 11.2 secs.
Quarter Mile.—(54.6 secs, F. H. Quinlan, 1957)
1 R. S. Willbourn, 2 C. J. Harris, 3 M. H. Ryan. 62.2 secs.
Half Mile.—(2 mins 5 secs, P. C. Karran, 1954)
1 J. D. Dowling, 2 J. T. Prendiville, 3 J. S. Burford. 2 mins 13.0 secs.
Mile.—(4 mins 43.5 secs, H. C. Poole, 1966)
1 J. D. Dowling, 2 T. R. Buxton, 3 M. P. Hubbard. 5 mins 11.2 secs.
Steeplechase.—(3 mins 49 secs, H. C. Poole, 1966)
1 J. T. Prendiville, 2 J. S. Davey, 3 ———. 4 mins 20.5 secs.
Hurdles.—(15.7 secs, A. N. Stanton, 1958, N. R. Balfour, 1961
1 D. C. Judd and A. D. FitzGerald, 3 C. N. Entwisle. 18.2 secs.
High Jump.—(5 ft 5 ins, D. B. Reynolds, 1943, P. D. Kelly, 1952)
1 R. D. Guthrie, 2 C. J. Anderson, 3 S. M. Garston Zuntz and R. D. Dalglish. 4 ft 10 ins.
Long Jump.—(20 ft 8½ ins, M. R. Leigh, 1957)
1 J. S. Burford, 2 J. G. Ruck Keene, 3 D. K. Lloyd. 18 ft 10 ins.
Weight.—(42 ft 5 ins, C. B. Crabbe, 1959)
1 C. B. Dalglish, 2 C. B. Murphy, 3 A. N. Bird. 29 ft 2 ins
Javelin.—(163 ft 8 ins, M. R. Hooke, 1946)
1 P. D. Hiscocks, 2 C. J. Anderson, 3 J. M. Newsam. 119 ft 2 ins.

SET 3

100 Yards.—(10.5 secs, O. R. Wynne, 1950)
1 B. C. de Guingand, 2 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 3 T. M. White. 11.1 secs.
Quarter Mile.—(56.4 secs, G. R. Habbershaw, 1957)
1 B. C. de Guingand, 2 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 3 C. M. Bowie. 59.9 secs.
Half Mile.—(2 mins 12.1 secs, G. R. Habbershaw, 1957)
1 B. C. de Guingand, 2 P. S. Gaynor, 3 R. P. Fane-Hervey.
Mile.—(4 mins 51.6 secs, H. C. Poole, 1965)
1 P. S. Gaynor, 2 Hon F. M. Fitzherbert, 3 J. D. Pratt. 5 mins 22.4 secs.
Hurdles.—(15.1 secs, J. M. Bowen, 1960)
1 T. M. White, 2 T. S. Robinson, 3 N. R. Cape. 16.9 secs.
High Jump.—(5 ft 4 ins, A. R. Umney, 1955)
1 T. M. White, 2 T. S. Robinson, 3 C. F. Oppe. 4 ft 11 ins.
Long Jump.—(19 ft 4 ins, D. R. Lloyd-Williams, 1960)
1 T. S. Robinson, 2 T. M. White, 3 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland. 17 ft 7 ins.
Weight.—(37 ft 11 ins, F. C. Wadsworth, 1946)
1 E. W. Kentish, 2 T. S. Robinson, 3 Hon F. M. Fitzherbert. 32 ft 8¼ ins.
Javelin.—(136 ft 4 ins, J. M. Bowen, 1960)
1 C. M. Bowie, 2 P. D. Garbutt, 3 Hon F. M. Fitzherbert. 134 ft 2 ins.

SET 4

100 Yards.—(11.2 secs, A. B. Smith, 1952)
1 M. S. Gallwey, 2 T. J. Park, 3 S. C. Murphy. 11.9 secs.
Quarter Mile.—(59.0 secs, O. R. Wynne, 1949)
1 S. C. Murphy, 2 M. S. Gallwey, 3 C. V. Clarke. 63.7 secs.
Half Mile.—(2 mins 17.5 secs, R. C. David, 1951)
1 S. C. Murphy, 2 N. Moroney, 3 J. M. Moorhouse. 2 mins 28.0 secs.
Hurdles.—(15.1 secs, M. J. Dempster, 1958)
1 M. S. Gallwey, 2 S. C. Murphy, 3 R. A. Hunter Gordon. 16.4 secs.
High Jump.—(4 ft 11½ ins, I. R. Scott-Lewis, 1954)
1 M. S. Gallwey, 2 N. Moroney, 3 P. D. Fazackerley. 4 ft 6½ ins.

Long Jump.—(17 ft 4 ins, O. R. Wynne, 1949)
1 M. S. Gallwey, 2 T. H. Wettern, 3 M. W. Faulkner. 12 ft 5 ins.
Javelin.—(105 ft, P. J. Stilliard, 1966)
1 C. A. Sandeman, 2 R. H. Fergusson, 3 N. Moroney. 109 ft 0 ins.

SET 5

100 Yards.—(11.5 secs, A. D. Coker, 1965, T. E. Howard, 1966)
1 S. R. Finlow, 2 F. P. Hampton and J. J. Hornyold-Strickland. 12.2 secs.
Quarter Mile.—(60.8 secs, R. R. Carlson, 1960).
1 S. R. Finlow, 2 A. P. Marsden, 3 G. L. Vincenti. 63.8 secs.
Half Mile.—(2 mins 24.9 secs, J. M. Rogerson, 1957)
1 S. R. Finlow, 2 D. M. Wallis, 3 K. D. McCarthy. 2 mins 35.2 secs.
Hurdles.—(15.9 secs, R. R. Carlson, 1960)
1 A. A. Hamilton, 2 M. P. Atsoparthis, 3 C. J. Satterthwaite. 17.6 secs.
High Jump.—(4 ft 9 ins, G. Haslam, 1957)
1 N. F. Woodhead, 2 M. P. Atsoparthis, 3 J. J. Hornyold-Strickland and R. H. Faber. 4 ft 6 ins.
Long Jump.—(16 ft 6 ins, R. R. Boardman, 1958)
1 S. R. Finlow, 2 N. F. Woodhead, 3 J. J. Hornyold-Strickland. 15 ft 0 ins.
Javelin.—(107 ft 3 ins, A. G. West, 1964)
1 A. A. Hamilton, 2 N. G. Wadham, 3 J. F. Hall and A. P. Graham. 99 ft 6 ins.

INTER-HOUSE RESULTS

SENIOR

4 x 100 *Yards Relay.*—(43.9 secs, St Oswald's, 1958)
1 St John's, 2 St Thomas's, 3 St Hugh's. 45.5 secs.
Half Mile Medley.—(1 min 40.9 secs, St Hugh's, 1965)
1 St John's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Thomas's. 1 min 42.7 secs.

JUNIOR

4 x 100 *Yards Relay.*—(47.6 secs, St Aidan's, 1947)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Aidan's, 3 St John's. 47.7 secs.
Half Mile Medley.—(1 min 50.9 secs, St Aidan's, 1957)
1 St Bede's, 2 St Aidan's, 3 St Thomas's. 1 min 54.9 secs.
4 x 440 *Yards.*—(3 mins 58.4 secs, St Edward's, 1961)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St John's, 3 St Aidan's. 4 mins 8.7 secs.
Half Mile Team.—(6 points, St Cuthbert's, 1931)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St John's, 3 St Aidan's. 11 points.
One Mile Team.—(6 points, St Wilfrid's, 1935)
1 St Thomas's and St Edwards, 3 St John's. 28 points.
High Jump Team.—(14 ft 4½ ins, St Wilfrid's, 1939)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St John's, 3 St Aidan's. 13 ft 9 ins.
Long Jump Team.—(51 ft 5½ ins, St Hugh's, 1962)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St John's, 3 St Cuthbert's. 47 ft 3½ ins.
Weight Team.—(99 ft 2 ins, St Dunstan's, 1961)
1 St Hugh's, 2 St John's, 3 St Edward's. 86 ft 6 ins.
Javelin Team.—(355 ft 1 in, St Cuthbert's, 1953)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Edward's, 3 St Hugh's. 300 ft 0 in.
4 *Miles Relay (Senior and Junior).*—(14 mins 33.8 secs, St Bede's, 1957)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Hugh's, 3 St Edward's. 15 mins 26.5 secs.

BOXING

The Boxing Club's annual fixture with Newcastle R.G.S. took place at Ampleforth on Wednesday, 4th March, the same day as the Varsity boxing match in which C. Masraff and R. Nairac appeared for Oxford. It is pleasing to report that Nairac captained the winning team, although losing his bout, and that Masraff won. Our own match resulted in a win by six bouts to five.

The afternoon began well with two closely contested bouts. O'Connor boxed with great style to win and has great potential. Macauley in the next bout showed the value of a confident approach and boxed with determination and great skill to give the team a 2—0 lead. T. A. Fitzherbert, undoubtedly the best junior prospect for years, boxed an opponent who was much taller and had a longer reach. Although he lost this bout he performed with great credit and at the final bell was still attacking. The score became 2—2 when Cassidy lost the next bout to a very fine counter-puncher. There were few points between them at the end of a wonderfully skilful bout. Simpson lost the first round of the following bout but took the final two rounds clearly with a good performance of sustained aggression. Heape increased our lead with a splendid display of crisp left-hand leads and straight punching and won each round as convincingly as one could wish. Finlow was forced to box defensively for most of his bout and was hustled out of his stride. When he did go forward he showed much better style and with more experience he would have won. Harwood-Little, tall and elegant in style, showed great confidence in his ability and won convincingly with great style and verve. Garbutt boxed well and made great efforts to get through to his opponent but didn't quite have the necessary speed of foot. His opponent was fortunate to take a split decision. F. M. Fitzherbert gave the team the winning margin by beating an experienced and stylish opponent in the most exciting bout of the afternoon. He took the fight to his opponent and forced him into errors. His brisk two-handed attack and upright, confident style left a memorable impression on all who watched. Bowie, in the final bout, was rushed out of his usually impeccable stride by an opponent whose width of shoulder indicated immense strength. Only in the last round did he begin to box with any authority; by then it was too late.

The Captain of Boxing, I. Bowie, awarded full colours to Cassidy and half colours to F. M. Fitzherbert, Harwood-Little and Heape.

Results :

v. Newcastle R.G.S.

O'Connor beat Young.
Macauley beat Elliott.
T. A. Fitzherbert lost to Heron.
Cassidy lost to Goodwin.
Simpson beat Brookes.
Heape beat Doyle.
Finlow lost to Carr.
Harwood-Little beat English.
Garbutt lost to Sutherland.
F. M. Fitzherbert beat Gordon.
Bowie lost to Shaw.

Ampleforth 6, Newcastle R.G.S. 5.

Rugby "Sevens", 1970

Standing left to right: R. J. Hughes, F. B. Skehan, I. D. Bowie, A. N. Kennedy, D. C. Judd.
Seated left to right: A. D. Lucey, W. M. Reichwald (Capt.), D. A. Callighan.

CROSS COUNTRY

Standing left to right: J. D. Pratt, N. M. Watts, D. P. McKenna, R. G. Plowden, C. M. Hardy.

Seated left to right: C. J. O'Reilly, R. F. Mathews, J. P. Rochford (Capt.), M. M. Forsythe, J. T. Prendiville.

BOXING

Standing left to right: Hon T. A. Fitzherbert, J. J. Simpson, S. R. Finlow, C. J. Foll, J. M. O'Connor, M. J. Macauley.

Seated left to right: R. M. Heape, S. L. Cassidy, I. D. Bowie (Capt.), T. S. Robinson, Hon F. M. Fitzherbert.

SHOOTING

DURING the Autumn and Winter terms the .22 rifle shooting reached a standard that has probably not been surpassed at Ampleforth. This was borne out by results in three competitions: The Staniforth; The Assegai Trophy (R.A.F.); The Country Life.

In the Staniforth, the team were placed third with a score of 787 points out of 800, two points behind the winners. One hundred and eight schools were in competition. In the final, made up from the first ten schools, we came fourth. The second team were sixth in their class.

In the Assegai the team dropped 18 points out of a possible 600. Such a score might well be a winning one and at the time of writing the result is anxiously awaited.

At the Country Life Landscape target the shooting could not have been improved. Three of the four scoring circles held "possible" scores but the fourth was unfortunately a partial failure through an error of judgment, so easy to make, by the leader.

The above results, together with others, show that many in the Club can consistently place their shots within a radius of a quarter of an inch at 25 yards, an area considerably smaller than a sixpenny piece. It is splendid marksmanship and great credit must be given to C.S.M. Baxter and the Captain, J. H. Leeming.

INTRA-SCHOOL RESULTS

Donegal Badge—Won by R. G. Plowden after a tie shoot with T. M. Fitzalan-Howard.

Stewart Cup—Won by T. M. Fitzalan-Howard. Average score: 78/80 points.

Johnson Ferguson Cup (1st Year)—Won by S. D. Mahony after a tie shoot with M. C. Hay. Score: 68/75 points.

Inter-House (Hardy Cup)—1st St Oswald's; 2nd St Cuthbert's; 3rd St Bede's.

Classification Cup—1st St Cuthbert's; 2nd St Oswald's; 3rd St Thomas's.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS VETERANS' CHALLENGE TROPHY

THIS will be shot for on Thursday, 16th July, after the Ashburton. All Old Boys who would care to shoot—lack of ability or practice matter little—are asked to write to Adrian White, Goddens, Hartley Wespall, Basingstoke, Hants. There is no problem about rifle or equipment.

THE BEAGLES

THE term started on 16th January and on the next day hounds met at the Lund. There was still a covering of snow on the heather but not enough to prevent a start being made. After some hunting in the usual area, hounds ran up the moor to the old railway line short of Thorgill where they were stopped. The remaining two Saturdays in January were disappointing with very little scent, at East Moors and the South Lodge.

February opened with a good hunt at Grouse Hall after a long draw, the hare being lost on the Blakey road. The next two Saturdays were cancelled, and on the 28th the Master hunted hounds at Beadlam Rigg as Jack Fox was ill. Scent was very catchy as it was with the Sinnington who were also in the vicinity. Conditions were much better the next Saturday with the meet at Potter House and the Master again carrying the horn, but again hounds could not really go.

The weather was perfect for the meet at Rudland on the 14th. Scent was fair and the day was spent hunting several hares on and around the Harland fields. Then on the 21st we met at East Moors "to finish the season": damp and drizzle and some scrappy hunting to end a very poor season in which the pack never really settled down to steady line-hunting.

Conditions were good for the Point-to-Point, held over the usual course on 26th February. Entries were up on last year. J. P. Rochford won again, followed by P. Grace and T. M. Fitzalan-Howard. N. O. Fresson won the Junior race. S. A. Stainton was second and J. F. Buxton third.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

As in most other departments of life, considerable changes are taking place in the C.C.F. movement throughout the country. The one which is going to affect us most is the introduction of what is called the APEX scheme. This is a completely new syllabus for the Army Proficiency Certificate which removes most of the theoretical part, which is learnt in a classroom, and concentrates on active training. There are difficulties in the way it is to be examined, but it throws open the door to all sorts of adventurous training and will allow the more enterprising items, some of which have already been introduced for senior cadets, to be part of the regular syllabus and count towards obtaining a Proficiency Certificate. This APEX scheme becomes operative in 1971, but we intend to start training on these lines straight away.

Another innovation of a different kind has been caused by new regulations governing safety of arms. The Armoury is now considered insecure and as a result three large steel cupboards have been installed to store the rifles. This has meant that less space is needed for the rifles and by re-arranging lockers and furniture the one long room has been converted into three medium size rooms: a rifle store and workshop, a uniform store and instructional room, and an office. Most of the work has been done by C.S.M. Baxter, who has greatly improved the appearance as well as providing a much more economic use of space.

ARMY SECTION

Courses run during the term included training for the Army Proficiency Certificate, an Instructors' Course (Fr Martin and C.S.M. Baxter), Jungle Warfare (Green Howards Army Youth Team), Skiing on the Indoor Slope at Catterick (Br Gilbert), Signals (C.S.M. Ratcliffe and Sgt Graham) and R.E.M.E. (Sgt Craven). The Field Day provided an admirable climax to the term's work. The Green Howards laid on a full day's Jungle Warfare for their course, while the remainder went over to Catterick. The Signallers went to No. 8 Signals Regiment and the rest were trained by 1st Bn. Royal Anglian Regiment: the R.E.M.E. Section had a busy day in the battalion's workshops and the Band was attached to the Corps of Drums. The others saw and handled a great deal of modern equipment: this included firing S.L.R.s, G.P.M.G.s, Carl Gustav and Wombat sub-calibre rounds, and 81 m.m. mortar practice bombs. They drove 432 A.P.C.s, Stalwarts, Land-Rovers and Ferret Scout Cars (not on the public highway!) and had opportunities of examining many others, including the Chieftain tank. Just in case all these items left anyone unoccupied the battalion Assault Pioneer Platoon had rigged up an extensive aerial ropeway and a long slide. In spite of the cold weather and the threat of snow, a very valuable day was spent for which we are particularly grateful to the Commanding Officer, Lt-Col Roy Jackson, who personally supervised all that we did, Capt John Everett who organised the programme, and all the officers, W.O.s, N.C.O.s and soldiers of the battalion who made the day such an outstanding success. We were sorry that Brigadier John Roberts was prevented by other duties from visiting us; he commands No. 6 Infantry Brigade and it was through his kindness that the Royal Anglians were able to do so much for us.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

Training continued throughout the term and much was done in spite of much unfavourable weather. Field Day was extended to cover the whole weekend and during this time the new 16½-foot C.C.F. dinghy was taken to Whitby on Sunday and sailed both on that day and on Monday. We are very grateful to Father Thomas for all the assistance he gave us that weekend. A party also visited *H.M.S. Tartar* at Newcastle and in addition to visiting the ship flew in her Wasp helicopter. This was a very valuable visit and much enjoyed. Another party had an interesting visit to our parent establishment at Church Fenton.

For the third successive year we were lucky enough to be allocated a Malta camp which, although a combined camp, was largely Naval in its personnel.

The main body, consisting of four officers and 36 cadets (30 from Ampleforth College and six from Magdalen College School), arrived at Luqa at 0430, Tuesday, 14th April. They were met by Ft. Lt. M. H. Sawyer, R.A.F., and myself and settled into their quarters. After lunch they were briefed by Station Officers on the nature of the training they would follow and warned of the health hazards to be met in a semi-tropical climate.

The next four days were spent on an educational tour of the island and visits and training with the Services. We toured the station, flew in Canberras of 39 Sqdn., went to sea in the launches of the Marine Craft Unit, did dinghy drill in the sea, toured Fort St Angelo which has hardly changed since the days of La Vallette and the Great Siege in 1565, and visited the Carrier, *H.M.S. Hermes*, in Grand Harbour and went all round the harbour in a launch. The days at R.A.F. Luqa always started with a lively session in the gymnasium.

On Sunday, 19th April, we crossed to the island of Gozo for arduous training; although in the next five days the cadets (and officers) walked a great distance and did much swimming, training in such splendid weather conditions can hardly be described as arduous. On Gozo the cadets were divided into parties of 9's for duty watches who cooked in turn and map read their way about the island. By the time the cadets returned to Malta on Thursday, 23rd April, they had visited all parts of the island and swam at four different places. In the early hours of Friday, 24th April, the party flew back to England and dispersed. I have now been to a great variety of C.C.F. camps for training but I do not know of any form of training that covers such a wide variety of interests and activities as the R.A.F. camp at Luqa.

During the Easter holidays, too, three cadets were sufficiently fortunate to be taken on the Spring cruise of *H.M.S. Northumbria* by Lieutenant Commander R. L. Allison, R.D., R.N.R., an ex-member of St Bede's House. They had a most interesting and valuable cruise in company with *H.M.S. Killiecrankie* to Wilhelmshaven. We are greatly indebted to Lieutenant Commander Allison for his assistance and for providing us with such splendid practical training. During the coming term he is taking another party to Denmark on a long weekend cruise. The Section thus has opportunities for a most varied training programme.

R.A.F. SECTION

Under J. H. Leeming the Section prospered. The training was quieter than normal—much effort being put into the Proficiency examinations. During term seven boys glided regularly under the auspices of the Section, and all enjoyed and benefited from it.

W.O. Fenwick, R.A.F., was able to lay on an M.T. course at R.A.F. Topcliffe, and six members of the Section attended every Monday. We hope to continue our association with W.O. Fenwick, R.A.F., after he has been transferred to Catterick (R.A.F. Regiment), and we thank him for his help.

The Field Day was spent at R.A.F. Linton-on-Ouse and R.A.F. Leeming. An interesting programme was put on by the stations and those who went on them got an insight into the working of an R.A.F. establishment.

Air experience flying was forced to be cancelled during the term owing to the weather, but we are grateful for the help given us by Squadron Leader Burns, R.A.F., at Church Fenton who continually brings his Chipmunks to R.A.F. Topcliffe for our flying.

The Section team for the Assagai Shooting Trophy did very well this year under the Under Officer who is also School Shooting Captain and at this moment we are anxiously awaiting the results.

J. H. Leeming, U/O.

PROMOTIONS

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

To be Petty Officer: L.S. Codrington J. R., Lewen N. P. V., Shuldham M. A. Q.
To be Leading Seaman: A.B. Callaghan S. G., Dalglish R. D., Duguid P. B., Gretton G. R., Hughes J. D., Judd D. C., Meares C. G., Roger A. D. A.

ARMY SECTION

To be Under Officer: C.S.M. Dawson J. C., Fenwick S. E. S., Russell P. J.
To be C.S.M.: C.Q.M.S. Baxter P. St J. L., Ratcliffe C. M. B., Sparrow C. A.
To be Sergeants: Cpls Cassidy S. L., Craven P. O. C., Entwistle C. N., Gadd T. D., Hardy C. M., Hall N. D., Hiscocks P. D.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

To be Under Officer: W.O. Leeming J. H.
To be W.O.: Sgts Lorigan M. C., Purves P. M.
To be Sergeant: Cpls Bidie T. C., Reid A. M.

The following passed the Army Proficiency Certificate Examination on 2nd March 1970:

Badenoch, Baker, Bates, Bourke, Bowie, Clarke, Colacicchi, Conolly, Dagnall, Davenport, Dowley, du Boulay, Duncan, Harrison, H.-Little, Haughton, Jennings, Killingbeck, Fitzalan-Howard, Gallwey, Geddes, Loring, Macadorey, Macauley, Murphy, Newton, Nolan, Norton, Quigley, Reford, Roberts, Rylands, Seilern-Aspang, Slawinski, Spacek, Stilliard, Townsend J. P., Townsend R. C., Van Heyningen, Weaver, Craig.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

THE officials were the same as for the Christmas Term with C. A. Graves added as Captain, and J. D. Ryan as Vice-Captain, of Cross Country running.

WE record a number of material improvements in the House. Fitted wardrobes have appeared outside nos. 1 and 2 dormitories. Acoustic tiles have reduced the noise in the refectory most satisfactorily. The first of the bunks has come off the Procurator's own assembly line and is now in use. The trestle tables in the prep room have been replaced with handsome pel tables which not only improve the appearance of the room but also aid concentration.

THE daily evening Mass continues. We have devised our own morning prayers based on a psalm, a reading from Scripture, a period of silence for private prayer and a concluding prayer. On the whole, we think that we are keeping abreast of liturgical experiment. We would like to thank Fr Henry for his occasional return visits to play the chapel organ.

A DOZEN trebles regularly augment the Upper School choir and this involves practices on two evenings in the week and on two mornings. They seem to thrive on hard work and they did well in the Easter televised Mass for which most of them returned from their holidays.

MRS Mallory and Mrs Kelly continued to preside over an almost illness-free term and, despite occasional crises behind the scenes, preserved a general air of unruffled efficiency and calm.

THE debaters were in action again. They were against the immediate and total abolition of compulsory games at school. They did not believe that television does more harm than good. They were firmly convinced that the British police force should not be armed when on duty. Well over half the House attended each debate and there was a marked improvement in the standard of speaking.

THE 1st XV lost its two remaining matches, against Pocklington and St Olave's, and so wound up its season with the following rather indifferent statistics: played 11, won 4, lost 6, drawn 1, 108 points for, 112 points against.

THE Cross Country team won three matches against Upper School houses but lost its single school match at St Olave's. 78 runners competed in the House championship race which was won by the Captain, C. A. Graves. The Vice-Captain, J. D. Ryan, was second, and twe first-year boys, D. A. J. McKechnie and M. S. Thompson, were third and fourth.

IN the House Boxing competition in March J. E. L. New beat R. A. Duncan, S. J. Bickerstaffe beat R. T. J. Kevill, A. P. Sandeman beat K. E. O'Connor, C. de Larrinaga beat M. J. Pierce, S. I. C. Clayton beat M. J. P. Moir, C. H. W. Soden-Bird beat B. J. Dore, A. J. Hampson beat M. J. Lawrence, H. J. C. M. Bailey beat M. W. A. Tate, J. A. Dundas beat C. F. J. Maclaren, and S. N. Lintin beat R. M. Bishop. The cup for the best 2nd-year boxer was won by S. N. Lintin and for the best 1st-year boxer by J. A. Dundas. We thank Mr Callighan for training the boxers and managing the competition, and Mr Gorring and Mr Henry for judging it.

THE Gosling cup for shooting was won by N. T. Peers with a score of 73 out of 75. The standard was higher than of recent years and all the finalists (N. T. Peers 73, A. R. I. Millen 68, S. N. Lintin 67, E. W. Fitzalan Howard 66, G. M. J. C. Scott 64, C. E. Lees-Millais 61, K. E. O'Connor 49, M. A. Heape 47 and R. J. G. Raynar 44) are to be congratulated. We thank C. S. M. Baxter for coaching them.

FIELD Day in March saw a visit by the entire House to the Forum at Billingham for a day's indoor sport consisting of 5-a-side football, squash, cricket, table tennis, swimming and ice skating.

SCOUTS

THE scout troop had another very active and successful term, remarkably unhampered by winter weather.

Perhaps the most exciting event of the term was a night hike, which was undertaken early in February by a dozen of the troop, accompanied by Fr Cyril and Fr Alban. The first and most difficult part of

the hike was the crossing of Bilsdale East Moor with only compasses to find the way in the dark. The rest of the hike was comparatively straightforward, along roads or tracks, ending just east of Helmsley, a total trek of about ten miles. There was a stop for soup and another for bacon and eggs. The party arrived back at Junior House about 3.0 a.m. and was allowed a very long lie-in the next morning.

The twelve chosen to take part in the night hike were the twelve best in a competition for compass work, which was won by the Senior Patrol Leader, Peter Macfarlane.

A larger number (thirty-two) took part in a long week-end hike through the forest west of Scarborough and then northwards along the coast, through Robin Hood's Bay to Whitby. Two nights were spent at Youth Hostels and the expedition ended with a coach journey to Billingham to join the rest of the House at the Forum.

A training week-end for Patrol Leaders and their assistants was held at the Watson Scout Centre, Carlton-in-Cleveland. Brendan Corkery has been appointed a Patrol Leader and became the fourth scout to be awarded the Advanced Scout Standard in this school year. The first-year members of the troop are making good progress; many of them joined in the Youth Hostelling week-end and most have done their individual hikes required for the Scout Standard.

A small group of P.L.s and A.P.L.s joined Fr Alban in the Lake District at the end of the Easter holidays to make some preparations for the main camp in the summer. A lot was achieved despite very bad weather. As a pledge of greater things to come in the summer, an assault was made on Saddleback (2,847 ft.), which resulted in total defeat for the mountain.

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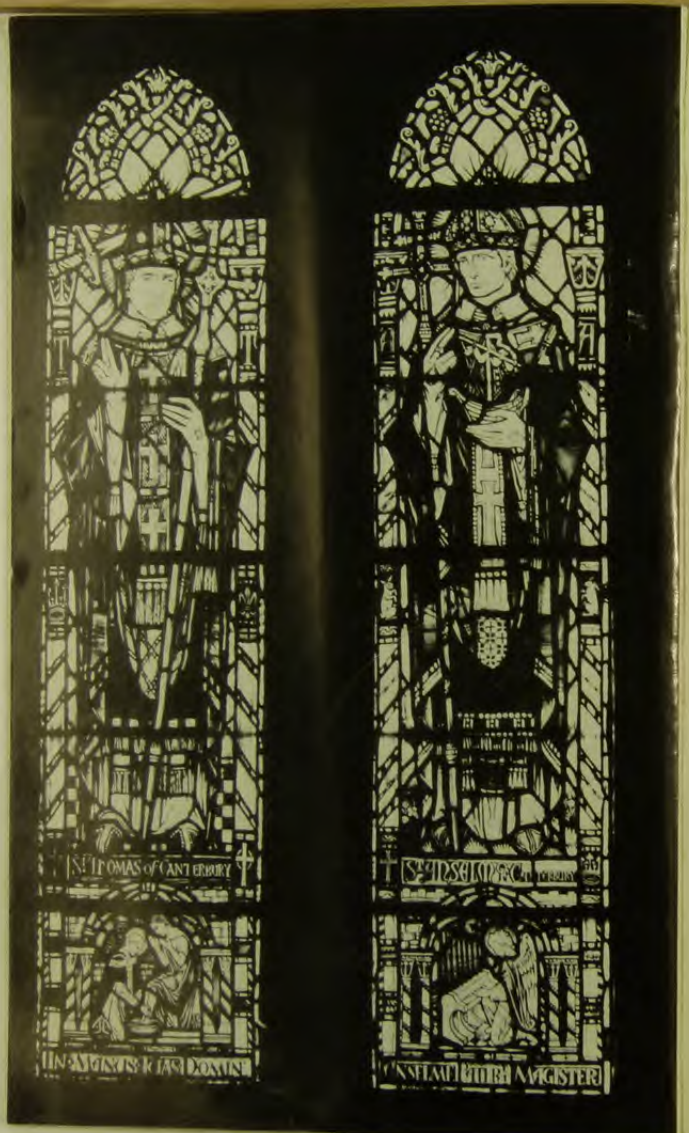

THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL

Volume LXXV Autumn 1970 Part III

EDITORIAL: ON MARTYRDOM

You shall receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you, and you shall become witnesses for me . . . even to the ends of the earth.

Acts I.8.

The perfect notion of martyrdom requires that a man suffer death for the sake of Christ. Christ's martyrs are his witnesses to the divine truth made known to us by him. Martyrdom is the most perfect of human acts as being the sign and the greatest proof of the perfection of charity.

Summa Theologiae II.II.124.3-5.

MARTYRDOM has been brought back to our mind by the Canonisations of the 25th October, which have stirred some animus and many anima. Inevitably cooled political embers have been re-raked and fanned by this event, so that some areas of ecumenical goodwill have suffered strain from it. Dr A. L. Rowse of All Souls and St Austell has been the harshest voice inveighing against "the fools of time, who die for goodness, who have lived for crime", i.e. the supposedly treasonous seminary priests.

Dr Rowse's case is that Cardinal Allen and Fr Robert Persons, S.J., were the catpaws of our greatest enemy, Philip II of Spain, catpaws who instigated the Armada against their own native country; that the now beatified Fr Cuthbert Mayne and the seminary priests were virtual fifth columnists inciting their fellow countrymen to rebellion; and that, faced with the test-question "Who would you support, your native country or a Catholic invader?" they invariably chose the latter. Dr Rowse views the issue not *sub specie aeternitatis* as necessary witness to Christ but *sub specie aetatis* as perverse treason towards the monarch. In the eyes of Protestant political England, the recusant martyrs died for assaulting the Establishment.

However, Protestant religious England takes a very different view of the matter. An example among many, to confirm this, is the published opinion of Dr Gordon Rupp, the Principal of Wesley House and Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, who writes: "Protestant Christians have everything to gain by pondering the holiness and courage of good men, and by realising that from the sixteenth century onward these qualities have not been in any sense a Protestant monopoly. Those of us who are William Tyndale AND Thomas More men, without romanticising either, can joyfully put Hugh Latimer and Edmund Campion, Anne Askew and Margaret Clitherow alongside one another and, in so doing, help to

exorcise the evil spirits of Bogside which are fast turning the great name 'Protestant' into a dirty word." (*Times*, 29th Dec. 69). Another example, from nearer home, comes from Canon W. Wallis of Pickering Vicarage, who writes: "As an Anglican I find it utterly distressing that the proposed canonisation of the Forty English Roman Catholic Martyrs should be met by any expression of disfavour by the Anglican Church. Ought we not by now to be past any attitude other than admiration that Christians, whatever their allegiance, should be ready to give their lives, in great torment, for what they believed to be the truth; and shame that Christians, again whatever their allegiance, should force them to so great a sacrifice." (*Times*, 18th Dec. 69). He goes on to suggest—as others have done since—that in Canterbury and Westminster Cathedrals, as in reciprocal Anglican and Catholic churches throughout England and Wales, simple memorials should be erected in thanksgiving to God for the martyrs of the reigns of Henry VIII's two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth (some 288 Protestants, some 190 Catholics).

This is a salutary reminder of the proper perspective of these martyrdoms. If we abstract from the political strife of the period and see these people as Christ's witnesses (as surely we should), it may dawn on us that more than six hundred men and women of both religions, the Old Religion and the New, offered themselves to the public executioner—where they need not have done so, and most of them might easily have obtained pardon of their lives—primarily and often solely on account of their religious convictions. And there were others on both sides who died silent testators in prison, and there were others who were put to the sword after risings; and there were others who did not die publicly nor officially, but who—if only because of social isolation, economic pressure or broken hearts—were nevertheless in their own humble and unaccountable way martyrs to their religious beliefs. What is astonishing in these years of unrivalled social upheaval is that so many people cared so much for such an unrewarding ideal and for so long. As at no time before, perhaps, and certainly as never since, their religion was at the centre of their lives.

The martyr years should be seen in their proper historical context, not in isolation as a duel between intransigent monarch and invincible witness. No monarch of England after the psychologically unbalanced Henry VIII wanted martyrdoms: such deaths made for bad politics and a drain on resources. Until she was driven into a political corner partly by the imprudent and ill-timed bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570), Elizabeth did not put a single Englishman to death for his faith. The first four to die during 1570-72 were all concerned with the Northern Rising or the promulgation of the Bull in her realm, a bull which attacked her power to rule at its very roots. Her policy of persecution, put upon her by her constitutional advisers, was primarily an act of state which contained in it the ingredients of desperation; for the Queen was called to reign in a time when the rule of monarchs was being questioned and the instruments of central government were jejune. Her choice of heart ever remained against persecution: it so exhausted her spirit that she began in her last years to refuse assent to it. The same was no less true of the Stuarts, who found

themselves increasingly goaded on by a Puritan Parliament demanding persecutions—once more as an instrument of political rather than religious policy in a constitutional struggle. In the main the fault lay beyond both king and clergymen in the seventeenth century, and the Church of England has a right to stand aside from most of the blame.

It is to be remembered, too, that the English scene was unique in the period of the Protestant Revolt. France, Germany and Italy were in a state of flux more like a fluid battle front, where pockets of resistance held out, lines of demarcation were unclear or shifting, issues were tied to princes whose rule was arbitrary and often very temporary. In England this was not so in that way. When priests left their continental seminaries and monasteries to bring the Old Religion to their fellow countrymen, they did not come to disturb *regium* by means of *religio;* they came quite simply to bring the sacraments and the consolations of the priesthood in a troubled time. They came as ministers of grace and peace, dismayed that their work impinged upon the secular order. They came to do what their priesthood required of them, to preach the Gospel in Christ's Church—and had they not done so, it would have gone ill with them. The fact that their preaching was highly charged in temporal terms was not of their asking or making. They came from another world to speak of another world.

When all is weighed, and now that time has done most of its healing, we should see this England, this Anglican and Catholic England, as Christ's own Church in self-conflict: and that conflict, if we are to conjoin the traditions, has thrown up a corporate martyr tradition more glorious, more persistent, more unimpeachably exemplary than any in the world since the Ten Persecutions of the early Church. This we must count as our heritage, a shared elite experience, where Anglicans and Catholics alike, in virtue of their common tradition, speak proundly as peers one to the other. Now that the quartering is over, we should see it as a single shared history, and a prime ecumenical witness to the power of the seeds of martyrdom to bring new blood to a country's faith.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The Secretary of the JOURNAL writes, *this present issue of the* JOURNAL *marks the beginning of a new phase in the* JOURNAL'S *development. Our established readers will notice some changes in layout, the purpose of which is to make it possible to publish a separate edition of the articles and reviews for general sale. It is our hope that this new edition will meet a need at a time when religious publications are often faced with acute difficulties in the shape of rising costs. Even in our own case a revision of subscription levels is necessary, but we hope to continue to provide subscribers with exceptional value for money. No change in editorial policy is envisaged, apart from the constant effort to maintain standards.*

This "portrait" is taken from a steel engraving opposite an additional title-page to William Nicholson's "Life and death of Mrs Margaret Clitherow" [1849]. It is a pastiche in the seventeenth or even sixteenth century manner, but is unlikely to be derived from an earlier portrait as none has been recorded. It has no claim to authenticity but has acquired a certain value as an icon.

(Photograph by courtesy of the Superior, Bar Convent; information from Mr J. A. Gere, Deputy Keeper of the Dept. of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.)

THE "TRIAL" OF MARGARET CLITHEROW

by

KATHARINE M. LONGLEY

It was no tragic accident, a fortuitous and unrepeatable set of circumstances, which led to the Crucifixion.
AELRED GRAHAM, "The Christ of Catholicism".

From long before the writing of Aristotle's "Politics", men have known that the laws of society are not merely the creation of that society which may then abrogate or bend them at will. When St Peter proclaimed to the Sanhedrin that "obedience to God comes before obedience to men" (Acts 5.29) he was stating not new revelation but the ancient natural law, which was to be restated by St Thomas Aquinas, St Thomas More and all men of clear mind to this day. The fundamentals of human law are not ours to play with, but are ours to live by and to reflect in our own lives—even to the point of death.

When St Margaret of York, that is Mrs Margaret Clitherow, died in 1586 (a year after 27 Eliz I c 2, the "Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and other such like disobedient persons", an act which made it felony to harbour or relieve a priest), she died for her Lord and for his law. Like More before her, she claimed rightly that there was no law in England which could justly touch her, and like him she died innocent before the law. Improper legislation is no law at all, and *a fortiori* the misuse of legal processes and powers: her "trial", immensely more complex than it seems at first, was no trial at all. She died untried, unheard, unconvicted, the victim of national religious politics and local York conspiracy.

But much more, she died a *martyr caritatis* to protect others for the love of Christ and out of care for them. She was the second woman to die in the penal period, the first being Blessed Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, mother of Reginald Pole, later the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury (Tower of London, 28th May 1541). It would not be too extravagant to claim that Margaret Clitherow's life and last hours stand in recusant history second only to those of Cardinal John Fisher and Lord Chancellor More. Her "trial" certainly has no rival in martyrology, save only that of More: but this has been obscured till now, when it is here presented in detail for the first time. She was not the only Catholic to die refusing formally to plead: the Benedictine Fr Mark Barkworth (for instance) adopted the same attitude at his arraignment and died without his priesthood having been established (Tyburn, 1601). But her case, for all that, is unique and deeply moving.

The author is Archivist to the Dean and Chapter of York, and is a Catholic. Under the name of Mary Claridge she wrote "Margaret Clitherow" (Burns & Oates, 1966, 30/-; Fordham University Press, $5.00), which is the ruling biography on the subject. It is now being sold by Fr Clement Tigar, S.J., Vice-Postulator of the Cause of the Forty Martyrs, 114 Mount St., W1Y 6AH, at 20/- plus 1/6 postage. The book gives a careful reconstruction of the Saint's early life and background and her last week: but this article goes far beyond those pages and all former printed knowledge in regard to the "trial".

OF the Forty Martyrs of England and Wales now raised to the altar, the great majority were executed after trial. There are a few exceptions. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, died in prison under sentence of death. Nicholas Owen died under torture. Margaret Clitherow, having

been brought to court, successfully evaded trial by refusing to plead. For her success she paid the terrible penalty prescribed in such cases, that of *peine forte et dure*, or pressing to death.

Close study of the circumstances of Margaret's arrest and arraignment[1] throws much light on her attitude, and confirms the judgment of her confessor, Fr John Mush,[2] that in refusing trial she showed "great wisdom", and "rare and marvellous discretion and charity".

Fr Mush was the first to notice the *artificial* nature of her arraignment, its staginess. "This tragedy", he calls it, and in the sixteenth century the word still connoted the actor's mask. So, too, his satirical interpretation of the names of those who drove her into an impossible situation, is derived from the *Dramatis Personae* of a Morality Play: "by the cruel killing and mischiefs of Meyrs, by the malapert arrogancy of Cheeke, by the violent fury and weight of Hurlston, by the unjust halting of Clynche, by the barbarous sharpness of Roodes, by the uncharitableness of Froste,[3] by the injury of Fawcet, by the craft of Foxe,[3] and finally by the rage and fury of other heretics, this pageant was played, and this martyr's blood was spilled . . . "[4]

At one point, indeed, the scene in court actually degenerated into a blasphemous farce, when the vestments found during the search of Margaret's house, and now ready for production as exhibits, were donned by a couple of "lewd fellows" who scuffled about in them before the judges, and held up unconsecrated altar-breads, all without rebuke. The purpose of the scene was, of course, to break down the defendant's self-control, but it failed; she remained calm and poised, and herself administered a quiet rebuke when asked "how she liked these vestments".

Then the Puritan preacher, Giles Wigginton, was allowed to make a dramatic entrance into the court to intervene on Margaret's behalf, just before the passing of the sentence. It seems as though anything was permitted, at this travesty of a legal process, that might possibly lead to the breaking of Margaret's resistance. The total effect, even to a contemporary, was one of unreality.

A factual analysis of the situation reveals the arrest and arraignment of Margaret Clitherow as a misuse of the procedures of the law, involving other factors besides the desire to stamp out recusancy. Personal ambitions, in the particular circumstances of the losing battle of the City of York with the Council of the North, played a large part in manoeuvring a butcher's wife into the Assize court in March 1586.

[1] "To arraign, is . . . to call the prisoner to the bar of the court, to answer the matter charged upon him in the indictment." (W. Blackstone, "Commentaries on the laws of England", iv (1769), 317.)

[2] Fr Mush's work, "A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs Margaret Clitherow", written within three months of her death in 1586, is the basis of all study of the subject. For a list of surviving manuscripts, indicating which have been published, see M. Claridge, "Margaret Clitherow" (1966), Appendix I. See also note 64 below.

[3] "Frost, a minister" and "Fox, Mr Cheke's kinsman", were among those present at Margaret's martyrdom; the identity of the other persons named will become apparent in the course of this article.

[4] "True Report", MS. A, ff. 82v-83r (unpublished passage).

The Council,[5] expanded and reorganized after the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, had been intended to curb rebellion and bring justice and order to the lawless and impoverished North. A creation of the royal prerogative, it was given plenary powers, both civil and criminal, far beyond those of any other court in the kingdom, and was itself subject only to the Privy Council. Its commissions, of Oyer and Terminer and of Gaol Delivery, were supplemented by a series of Instructions to its President. The cities within the bounds of its jurisdiction were ordered to obey its commands even to the ignoring of their royal charters. Its headquarters were just outside the city of York, at the King's Manor,[6] formerly the house of the Abbot of the great Benedictine Abbey of St Mary, and so within a Liberty owing nothing to the City. From this administrative stronghold the Council of the North dominated, with more or less of courtesy and tact according to its leadership, the adjacent City in which intense conservatism, feudal links with the great northern lords and pride in the past were tempered by the problems of poverty and loss of trade, increasingly by fear and very gradually by the introduction of new and Protestant ideas.

After the failure of the second great Northern Rebellion in 1569, in which the motives tended much more obviously towards the restoration of the Catholic religion than had those of the confused Pilgrimage of Grace, a determined effort was made to bring the North to heel, by the appointment, first, of Edmund Grindal as Archbishop of York, with extensive powers in the High Commission, and then in 1572 of the Queen's kinsman Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, as Lord President of the Council of the North. He was a convinced Protestant supported by, and often the supporter of, the extreme Puritan party, and northern Catholics came to see in him their supreme tyrant. He was, however, loyally aided in carrying out his commission by the more prominent members of his Council, especially those with high legal qualifications, four of whom were in continual attendance at the Manor, and by his Vice-Presidents, who had ample powers to act in his absence. At the time of Margaret Clitherow's arraignment, the Earl of Huntingdon was in fact absent from York and ill, and her death at least cannot be laid to his charge.[7]

The struggle of the Corporation of York for some measure of freedom from the Council reached a climax during the mayoralty of Robert Cripling (1579-80), a man of strongly independent, even eccentric, character, elected after stormy scenes. (A certain Roland Fawcett was questioned about his insulting behaviour at this election.[8]) Cripling tried to bring a test case against an attorney named James Birkby, on the ground that he had broken the terms of his patent of appointment as clerk to the City Sheriffs.

[5] See R. R. Reid, "The King's Council in the North" (1921); F. W. Brooks, "The Council of the North" (1953), and "York and the Council of the North" (1954).

[6] In Elizabethan times this building was known simply as "the Manor".

[7] M. Claire Cross, "The Puritan Earl" (1966), 211-2, 217. Dr Cross has pointed out in "Recusant History", viii, no. 3 ("The Third Earl of Huntingdon and trials of Catholics in the North, 1581-1595") the curious errors of Dr Rachel Reid, who held him responsible both for Margaret's death and the inhuman treatment of her friend Mrs Forster. Cf. Reid, "King's Council", 209-10.

[8] York City archives, House Book xxvii, f. 142r (unpublished).

Birkby, however, also practised before the Council of the North, and immediately brought the Lord Mayor and various members of the Corporation before that court, rigidly opposing them on every point. Finally, Cripling played into the Council's hands by creating a scene in York Minster after a "railing" sermon by the Chancellor, and for this he was imprisoned in the Castle at the command of Lord Eure, Vice-President of the Council. At the end of his term of office he was totally disfranchised on a string of charges, the first being his failure to report recusants. No more was heard of Birkby's invalidated patent, but a few months later he was one of the attorneys appointed to sue Cripling before the Council on another charge.[9]

From this time onwards the increasing subservience of the City to the Council may be traced. It reached, perhaps, its nadir in the mayoralty of Henry May (1586-7), Margaret Clitherow's stepfather. The account of his reception of the Earl of Huntingdon as Lord Lieutenant in September 1586 shows that he consciously symbolised this subjection by lowering the point of the Sword of State, redecorated for the occasion,[10] in his presence; by so doing he reversed the practice of 1581, when, on a similar occasion, Robert Asquith[9a] as Lord Mayor had the sword held with the point upward. (In 1609, after a ruling by the Earl Marshal that this sword should be lowered only in the presence of the monarch, Henry May's account, drawn up as a precedent for the future, was corrected.) Henry May had, however, a great feeling for pageantry and outward show, and tightened up the ceremonial discipline of the City, though at the same time he deprived it of much of its meaning.

In this *milieu* an ambitious man might expect to rise by toadying to the Lord President; this was the setting for the arrest of Margaret Clitherow. Her arraignment was the result of a deliberate plot to undermine her constancy. Fr Mush accused her enemies of "contriving her death",[11] but he misjudged them; the scandal of her death was the last thing they expected or desired. They were trying to contrive, not the death, but the apostasy of "the only woman in the north parts", as the Councillor Hurlestone described Margaret Clitherow. She, however, had "had good experience of their subtleties" and could see no other course open to her than to refuse to plead. Her attitude infuriated the Council; the only champion she had in court, save one, was the judge who passed sentence upon her, for he was free from hatred of the Faith, and as an outsider he was also unaffected by the personal considerations that to some extent motivated almost everyone else involved.

[9] Id., f. 230v (unpublished). Birkby was Lord Mayor in 1588-9. On 15th July 1586, four months after Margaret Clitherow's death, Robert Cripling and his wife appeared before the court of Quarter Sessions on a charge of recusancy. (York City archives, York and Ainsty Quarter Sessions Book iv, 1583-6.)

[9a] Spelt "Askwith" by himself, it seems from the House Books and his monument.

[10] The great Sword of State of the City of York bears the name of Henry May to this day. See C. Oman, "The Civic plate and insignia of the City of York. I: The Insignia", in *The Connoisseur*, Oct. 1967, 70-1.

[11] "True Report", MS. A, f. 85r (unpublished).

What we call "history" is a faded and threadbare canvas compared with the rich tapestry of life. The background to Fr Mush's biography of Margaret Clitherow is the social life of the close-knit oligarchy of merchants and craftsmen who governed the City of York. Margaret had many "worldly friends". After her condemnation, every day "there came to her either ministers or some of her kinsfolk both men and women", but apart from her brother George Middleton,[12] a draper, a member of the Common Council, one of the City Chamberlains in 1580, active in the affairs of the parish of St Martin, Coney Street, it is impossible to identify her kinsfolk, for her mother's family remains unknown. Somewhere in the roll-call of officers, ex-officers and Aldermen of the City, it is almost certain to lie. Even so, in that roll-call may be identified the names of many of her husband's relatives and friends, and, of course, Henry May, her stepfather, happened to be Lord Mayor in 1586. Margaret Clitherow was surrounded by people who, without appreciation of her spiritual stature, were very well acquainted with her.

Much of the inhumanity that strikes the reader of Margaret's story was provided by one man, the senior Sheriff of the City for that year, Roland Fawcett, tailor, draper and innholder. It was the Sheriffs of York who were sent by the Council to search Margaret's house (in circumstances rightly described by Fr Mush as deceitful), accompanied by at least one "ruffian bearing a sword and buckler", and in addition to their duties they stole two or three mattresses from her. (Whether it was the same men who later that day took Margaret from the King's Manor to a cell in the Castle is not known, but whoever was in charge seems to have allowed her to become the sport of the scoundrels who ducked her in the River Ouse as a scold; she arrived at the Castle "in so wet a bath, that she was glad to borrow all kinds of apparel to shift her with".[13] This at last explains how Margaret came by her soaking, and the fact that she did not explain it herself gives us a further glimpse into the soul of the "Pearl of York".)

It was the Sheriffs and their companions in the search who took a half-Flemish twelve-year-old boy whom they found in Margaret's house sharing her own children's lessons, stripped him, "and with rods threatened him, standing naked amongst them, unless he would tell them all they asked". He broke down, "and brought them to the priest's chamber, wherein was a conveyance for books and church stuff, which he revealed". And so the prosecution obtained its single witness against Margaret Clitherow.

The Sheriffs may have done no more than their duty in taking Margaret through the streets after sentence, with her arms bound, and accompanied by halberdiers, but Fawcett's suggestion the next day that he should "cause a quest of women to pass upon her" to test whether she

[12] Margaret's other brother, Thomas Middleton, a tile- and brick-maker, is difficult to trace with certainty after 1582. Her sister Alice married a locksmith, Thomas Hutchinson, and had two children by 1560.

[13] In 1581 a ducking stool had been set in St George's Close by the river and near the Castle, "for common scolders and punishment of offenders". (Ho. Bk. xxviii, f. 5r.)

was pregnant sickened Judge Clench, who changed the "jury of matrons",[14] the Mrs Gamps who examined female criminals to decide whether they could claim the "benefit of the *venter*" as a respite from the death sentence, into "four honest women which know her well". Fawcett's own wife was pregnant at the time.

The Sheriffs were officially responsible for Margaret's execution, but the junior, William Gibson,[15] was quite unable to watch it; "abhorring the cruel fact", he "stood weeping at the door". Fawcett, on the other hand, set about his appalling duties with a zest that can only be described as sadistic. He hustled Margaret over the bridge from her prison to the Tollbooth, and told her, "Mistress Clitherow, you must remember and confess that you die for treason", which brought the response, "No, no, Master Sheriff, I die for the love of my Lord Jesu".

"Then Fawcett commanded her to put off her apparel; 'For you must die,' said he, 'naked, as judgment was pronounced against you'."

This, Margaret had confessed to a friend, had shocked her more than the sentence of death itself, and now she and the four women appointed to see her die—no Papists these—united in a common sense of shame, "requested on their knees that she might die in her smock, and that for the honour of womanhood they would not see her naked; but they would not grant it". Fawcett did, however, allow the women to undress her, while the men turned away their faces.

She lay down on the ground "very quickly", "the door was laid upon her, her hands she joined towards her face. Then the Sheriff said, 'Nay, you must have your hands bound.' . . . Then the two sergeants parted them. . ." Yet four sergeants were present; these were the two attached to Roland Fawcett.

The final indignity came after her death; her body remained under the weights for six hours, and then "the sergeants and catchpolls were commanded to bury her body at midnight in an obscure and filthy corner of the city",[16] and they chose a spot "beside a dunghill",[17] in "a place of contempt".[18]

[14] John Humffreys Parry, Sergeant at Law, giving evidence before the Capital Punishment Commission on 4th March 1865, described the only occasion in his life when he saw a jury of matrons empanelled. "The old ladies had, according to custom, a glass of gin each and some bread and cheese, and examined the woman in gaol, and they declared her not to be pregnant". They were wrong.

[15] Both Fawcett and Gibson were in trouble at this time with the High Commission, being involved in separate cases of usury. (Borthwick Institute, High Commission Act Book xi, 17th and 20th Jan., 21st Feb., 11th Apr. 1586.)

[16] "True Report", MS. F, f. 38r (unpublished).

[17] An anonymous work, written in 1586 and transcribed by Fr Christopher Grene, S.J., in his *Collectanea* E (p. 364); Fr John Morris, S.J., gave it the title, "A Yorkshire recusant's relation", and published most of it in "The Troubles of our Catholic forefathers", iii (1877), 65-102. Fr Morris conjectured (id., 359) that the writer was Fr John Mush, who was known to have written such a work, but as the author of the "True Report" is described in the "Relation", for reasons of prudence, as "a friend of ours" (id., 86), Fr Morris hesitated to make the attribution. The style is, however, identical with that of the "True Report", and there could scarcely be two persons with Fr Mush's powers of vituperation.

[18] Term used in the ancient manuscript note, now lost, for long kept with the Bar Convent relic of Margaret Clitherow. (Fr H. J. Coleridge, S.J., "St Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York" (1887), 384.)

Roland Fawcett had been no stranger to Margaret Clitherow when he came knocking at her door; on the contrary, he may even have been chosen to open the attack in order to disarm suspicion. The wills of his contemporaries throw further light on the position. In 1598 his son Roland (baptized at St Helen's, Stonegate, on 22nd July 1586[18a]) received the bequest of a "little gilt bowl" from his godfather Robert Man. Robert Man was a wealthy clerk or attorney, formerly in the office of Thomas Eynns, Secretary to the Council of the North.[19] Man had been the close friend of a scrivener, Edward Turner,[20] whose election as a Sheriff of York in 1562 had been quashed at the request of Eynns on the ground that "Turner was a clerk so meet and necessary for dispatch of matters before the . . . honourable Council that they in no wise could want [i.e., do without] his daily attendance".[21] This Edward Turner, together with Thomas Jackson (Lord Mayor in 1589-90), had been appointed by Margaret's father, Thomas Middleton, in 1560 as supervisors of his will. (They are distinguishable from other persons of the same names by the references in Edward Turner's will to "my well-beloved cousin, Mr Henry May", who had married Margaret's widowed mother, and "my cousin, Thomas Jackson".) Jackson was an attorney before the Council and is frequently mentioned together with this Edward Turner; he was a supervisor of Henry May's will also. Edward Turner's father, like Margaret's, had been a waxchandler.

This was the social circle in which Margaret's mother had moved for years; it was on the fringe of the Council of the North. It included Robert Man, and Robert Man's circle included Roland Fawcett. It is evident that Roland Fawcett was included in Edward Turner's circle also, for in 1621 Turner's son Lancelot bequeathed £10 to Fawcett's daughter Isabel. There is a link, too, between Fawcett and Margaret's husband, John Clitherow. In September 1582, at the church of St Michael le Belfrey, John Clitherow stood godfather to a son of Christopher Smithson, draper. (The wife of Edward Fawcett, a notary, perhaps a relative of Roland, was godmother.) In May 1583 Christopher Smithson was godfather and the wife of Roland Fawcett godmother, to the son of Cuthbert Watson, at the same church. There is a connection, also, between Christopher Smithson and the widow of Edward Turner;[22] York society was very closely interrelated, and by the fifteen-eighties the majority of the ruling families had friends or relatives working for the Council of the North. For a member of one of these families to oppose the Council required immense strength of will.

[18a] Parish Register, in the Borthwick Institute.

[19] Eynns died in 1578; the witnesses to his will were Edward Turner and Robert Man, both legatees.

[20] See R. Davies, "Pope: additional facts concerning his maternal ancestry" (1858). Edward Turner was the great-great-grandfather of the poet Alexander Pope. He died in 1580.

[21] Ho. Bk. xxiii, f. 66r. The Edward Turner who was Sheriff in 1571-2 was another man, a weaver and innholder.

[22] Mrs Jane Turner (will proved 11th Dec. 1588) left 2s. to her goddaughter Elline Drinkell, daughter of William Drinkell. Christopher Smithson (will proved 9th Mar. 1591) left to his "gossip and old acquaintance William Drynkell" his best hat and an English crown "for remembrance".

What personal motives impelled Roland Fawcett to set about his abominable duties at Margaret's execution with such enthusiasm and attention to detail will never be known, but the fact that he stood on the edge, if no closer, of her father's circle of friends and also of her husband's, must have some relevance. One of his duties as Sheriff was to pick the juries for the City Assizes, and this Margaret would have known, for her own father had been Sheriff in 1564-5. It is extremely important, for a correct assessment of Margaret's attitude at her arraignment, to realise that had she pleaded she would have faced a Grand Jury of twenty-four and then a Petty Jury of twelve substantial citizens, every one of whom, probably, would have been well known to her, hand-picked by Roland Fawcett and the weaker Gibson. She saw them as so many souls on the brink of damnation; as well might she expect justice from a jury picked by Judas Iscariot.

Margaret had feared that her house would be searched while her husband was in attendance upon the Council, and so it fell out. Now the Council had a pursuivant and other officers of their own, and normally preferred to trust their own staff to make arrests, particularly in cases of recusancy.[23] There was no great urgency in Margaret's case for the day and time chosen for the search—the afternoon of a weekday in Lent—indicate no strong desire to catch a priest saying Mass. (Farce and "pageant" would have had no place at Margaret's arraignment then.) If the Council's pursuivant was otherwise occupied, could they not have postponed the search until it could be made without risking a crisis with the Corporation of York? The crucial question is, Why did the Council send *the two Sheriffs of York* to make the search while they had John Clitherow at the Manor?

Having found evidence in a secret room that someone was being hidden, not in Margaret's house but her next-door neighbour's, to which she had access, and having also found great quantities of "church stuff", vestments, plate, pictures, books and "singing-breads", it was no doubt correct for the Sheriffs to take their prisoners before the Council, for there was *prima facie* evidence that Margaret had broken the bonds upon which she had been released from prison 18 months before; one of these bonds was no doubt to the High Commission,[24] and another may well have been to the Council. But this does not explain the use of the Sheriffs to make the search.

Suppose they had found evidence of a less serious nature; would they have taken Margaret before the Lord Mayor, her stepfather, who was *ex officio* Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the City?[25] Did

[23] F. W. Brooks, "Council of the North", 20.

[24] See Bond of 6th May 1584 (Borthwick Institute R.As. 30/103), most of which is quoted in my "Margaret Clitherow", 105-6. Another is given in W. R. Trimble, "The Catholic laity in Elizabethan England, 1558-1603" (1964), 108-9.

[25] On 15th August 1581 Mrs Vavasour's house was raided by the two Sheriffs for that year, with three Aldermen (James Birkby, Christopher Maltby and Henry May), and a priest taken saying Mass, and all his congregation, were brought before the Lord Mayor, William Robinson. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 311-2.) When tried before the court of Quarter Sessions for the City on 4th Oct. 1581, most of these people refused to answer; against their names is the note, "nihil die[it]". (York & Ainsty Q.S. Bk. iii.)

they set out with this possibility in mind? (Sessions for the City were held *the next day*.[25a]) If Fawcett was so keen a hunter of recusants, might he not have been wiser to search this house during the few months that had elapsed between his own election as Sheriff and Henry May's election as Lord Mayor?[26] But Fr Mush says the Sheriffs were sent by the Council, and the Council, in the absence of their President, the Earl of Huntingdon, would scarcely have been so foolish as to have the house of the Lord Mayor's stepdaughter searched in this way unless *with the connivance of the Lord Mayor himself*.

The timing of the search and other circumstances point to this as the truth. While Margaret's mother, Henry May's wife, lived, he may have hesitated to attack her daughter, though he had had no hesitation in searching the house of her friend Mrs Vavasour.[27] But Jane May had died the previous summer, and Henry had made an honest woman of Anne Thomson, who was now his "Lady".[28]

Henry May was a social climber; Margaret's mother, according to Fr Mush, had "taken him from the beggar's staff", and he owed his rise to the office of Lord Mayor entirely to her wealth. Nothing is known of his origins, but that he was a man of great intelligence and ruthless energy, intent on ingratiating himself with the Lord President of the Council, may be seen from the record of his mayoralty.[29] (The Earl of Huntingdon was anxious that the problem of the poor should be solved; one of Henry May's first actions as Lord Mayor was to order all inhabitants who had any undertenants in their houses, to turn them out. He might be expected to show no more compassion in dealing with recusancy in his own family.)

Margaret Clitherow was arrested on Thursday, 10th March 1586. The Lent Assizes, the first of Henry May's mayoralty, were due to open on the following Monday. This left sufficient time for the Council to engage in a war of nerves with Margaret before bringing her into court, which was

[25a] York & Ainsty Q.S. Bk. iv, 11th March 28 Eliz. I [1586].

[26] The Sheriffs were elected on 21st September, the Lord Mayor on 3rd February.

[27] Mrs Dorothy Vavasour, wife of Dr Thomas Vavasour (fifth son of Sir Peter Vavasour of Spaldington) had entertained, about February 1581, the future martyr, Fr Edmund Campion, S.J., but Margaret Clitherow was imprisoned in the Castle at this time so did not meet him. (Cross, "Puritan Earl", 240, from Huntington Library, H.A. 4140.)

In 1571 Dr Vavasour's house was described as "by the common school house" in Ogleforth ("Cal. S.P. Dom. Add. 1566-1579" (1871), 369), but by 1576 his family had moved to the parish of Holy Trinity, King's Court, or Christ Church. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 237.) R. H. Skaife's MS. "Civic officials of York and Parliamentary representatives" (3 vols. in York City Library) reveals, in the pedigree of Dr Thomas Vavasour, that the later house had a frontage of 59 feet on the east side of the present King's Square, and extended for 116 feet down St Andrewgate on its north side. The name of the house in 1627 was "Duke Gill Hall, heretofore called the King's Court". This historic house, in which Mrs Vavasour ran her "maternity home", where St Margaret Clitherow was instructed in the Faith and St Edmund Campion said Mass, probably stood on the site of the palace of the tenth century Eric Bloodaxe which gave its name to the church, Holy Trinity, King's Court, and to the present King's Square, and also determined part of the parish boundary.

[28] "True Report", MS. A, f. 68v (unpublished).

[29] "York civic records", ed. by A. Raine, viii (1953) (Yorks. Arch. Soc. rec. ser. cxix), 114-132; and more fully in Ho. Bk. xxix.

duly done by passing on alarming rumours as to the charge against her and the outcome of her trial.

That Margaret's arraignment was an attempt to frighten her into a spectacular apostasy that would forward her stepfather's career is also indicated by the astonishing fact that although the secret room was found in her "next neighbour's house", that neighbour was never arrested, and his or her identity remains unknown.[30] This would have been gross dereliction of duty on the part of those zealous Sheriffs, had they not been very sure of their instructions. Their search was not aimed at catching priests or punishing their harbourers in general, but at catching one woman, Margaret Clitherow, and giving her a good fright.[31]

That her martyrdom was the result of a trick that misfired is indicated also by Henry May's subsequent behaviour. When he found her adamant, he went on his knees to her, "with great show of sorrow and affection, by all flattery alluring her to do something against her conscience". But when the tragedy was played and his year of office had been blotted with his stepdaughter's blood, he spread the story that she had chosen this death as a form of suicide, being unable to face the shame of exposure as an adulteress; he went so far as to accuse her of sexual perversions.[32] Later, too, he seems to have quarrelled with the Sheriffs and their sergeants.[33]

One further fact points to the timing of Margaret's arrest having been deliberately chosen to suit her stepfather's interests; in 1580 it had been agreed that "the Judges and the Clerk of Assize shall yearly from henceforth dine at the Lord Mayor's place two times in the year, . . . on Monday in Lent Assize Week, and on Monday in Lammas Assize Week". The purpose was immediately shown to be to give the Lord Mayor an opportunity to discuss with the judges various business relating to the city's concerns.[34] The whole city must have been aware of this custom, and Margaret with them, and this too would put her on her guard. It is difficult to believe that Henry May made no attempt to mention his stepdaughter's case on this occasion, at least to the junior judge.

For the junior judge, Sergeant Rodes,[35] was no stranger to the city; his appointment was entirely contrary to the spirit of the law, which

30 See note 91 below. The neighbour was not Margaret's cell-mate Anne Tesh, who lived in the parish of St Mary Bishophill Junior, on the other side of the river. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 255.)

31 Similarly, parents have been known to bring troublesome children before a juvenile court as beyond parental control and then to have been horrified when they have been committed to the care of a County Council.

32 "True Report", MS. A, f. 68r (unpublished).

33 Ho. Bk. xxix, ff. 118v-119r (22nd August 1586), 133v (3rd October 1586).

34 Ho. Bk. xxvii, ff. 223v, 225r.

35 "Dictionary of national biography"; E. Foss, "A Biographical dictionary of the judges of England" (1870); J. & J. B. Burke, "A Genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England" (1838), 448-9; J. Hunter, "South Yorkshire", ii (1831), 129-30.

required an Assize judge to have no interests in his circuit.[36] For 11 years, since 1574, he had been one of the salaried, legal members of the Council of the North, resident at the King's Manor,[37] and he was still a Councillor.[38] Newly made a Justice of the Common Pleas, in 1585, he was now coming to York as judge for the second time since his appointment.

Fr Mush, who evidently had channels of information by which he received some of the gossip current at the Manor, repeats a story that Rodes "at his coming to York this Lent Assizes . . . greatly reproved the Council"[39] for having executed Marmaduke Bowes the previous November on the charge of harbouring a priest, "saying that by law they did great wrong, and ought not to have condemned him upon the evidence of an infamous person". Mush alleges that the Council retaliated by bringing Margaret Clitherow before the Assize judges with a single witness against her, and that a child, a foreign boy. This theory, however, will not stand; the Councillors were not to foresee that Margaret would refuse to plead, and had she done so, there would have been a number of witnesses against her.

There seems little doubt, however, from the prominent part taken by Rodes at Margaret's arraignment, that Fr Mush rightly reported his desire "to show his authority above this Council, in his controlling humour". He was a domineering bully, throwing his weight about as a new judge before his old colleagues on the Council.

The case of Robert Bickerdike,[40] tried at the next York Assizes at Lammas 1586, shows Francis Rodes even more obviously in an ambiguous position, acting in both his capacities simultaneously. Bickerdike was twice acquitted at the courts held for the City, first at the Quarter Sessions in 1585,[41] on a charge of aiding a priest and for indiscreet speech, and then at the Lammas Assizes, 1586,[42] before Judges Clench and Rodes,

36 Under a series of Acts down to 33 Hen. VIII, no man of law was to be a judge of Assize in his own "country", that is, the county of his birth or residence. Rodes's family were settled in Derbyshire; in 1583 he had begun to build a large house at Barlborough, between Rotherham and Chesterfield, two miles from the West Riding county boundary. (It is now a Jesuit preparatory school. I am deeply indebted to Fr Bernard Brown, S.J., for drawing my attention to this fact.) The house is fully described by Mark Girouard in "Archaeological Journal", cxviii (1961), 223-7. Though residing just outside Yorkshire, Rodes built up extensive estates in the county, in the parishes of Darfield and Hickleton (Hunter, "South Yorks.", ii (1831), 130, 135); these he settled on two of his younger sons.

37 Cross, "Puritan Earl", 161-3.

38 Reid, "King's Council", 495. As Assize judge, Rodes would be a Councillor in any case.

39 "True Report", MS. A, f. 81r; Morris gives "reprehended".

40 Ven Robert Bickerdike, martyred at York in the summer of 1586; the exact date is uncertain.

41 York & Ainsty Q.S. Bk. iv (23rd July 1585).

42 Mrs Anne Tesh was acquitted at the same Assizes on a charge of harbouring priests, being merely fined a hundred marks for hearing Mass. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 90 (the "Yorkshire recusant's relation"), from Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 186.) It was unusual for a sixteenth century jury to ignore the judge's direction in this way; evidently for a time after Margaret Clitherow's appalling death the city juries were loath to convict.

apparently on the same charges. Martin Birkhead, who held the very important post of Attorney to the Council, "said he would frame a new indictment against him, whereupon they removed him to the Castle (for until that time he was prisoner on the bridge). Being arraigned again in the Castle", at the Assizes for the County, before the same judges, Clench and Rodes, "and indicted upon the same articles whereof he was acquitted before, Rodes said to the jury, 'This traitor had too favourable and too scrupulous a jury in the town, but I trust you will look otherwise to him, being the Queen's enemy and a notorious traitor'. Upon which daily Rodes's and Birkhead's earnest pursuit, the jury forthwith found him guilty of high treason". Questioned about this case afterwards, Rodes "in great dudgeon" said, "We are not sent hither to scan and dispute the statutes, but to give judgment against offenders".[43] Rodes is the key figure here, for whereas Clench was his fellow-judge, Birkhead was an officer of the Council.[44]

Martin Birkhead must have played a large part in the deaths of Fr Hugh Taylor and Marmaduke Bowes at York in November 1585, as prosecutor before the Council,[45] and it was perhaps he who framed Margaret Clitherow's indictment. Marmaduke Bowes was the first, and Margaret Clitherow the second, victim of the clause in the Act of 1585[46] that made it felony for any person to harbour or maintain any priest ordained "in the parts beyond the seas" since 1559. (Margaret was, too, the first woman to die for the Faith in England under Elizabeth I.) It is instructive to observe that Martin Birkhead was one of the Members for Ripon in the Parliament that passed the notorious Act; having helped to create the crime he returned to York to put the Act into effect.

The Council's (non-legal) Secretary, Henry Cheke, who also took part in Margaret's arraignment, and urged the judge to let her die, had represented Boroughbridge in this Parliament. He was the eldest son of Cecil's old Cambridge tutor, Sir John Cheke, whose sister had been Cecil's first wife; his father, one of the first generation of Protestant scholars, had been tutor to Edward VI, and also to the Earl of Huntingdon, who had shared the young King's studies and his opinions.[47]

Less is known of the other two legal members of the Council who examined Margaret and attended her arraignment, Lawrence Meeres[48] and

[43] Morris, "Troubles", iii, 91, from Fr Grene's MS. E, pp. 187-8.

[44] The following October, Rodes took part in the trial of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay.

[45] The Council had also condemned Fr James Thompson (executed 28th November 1582) and Fr Richard Thirkeld (29th May 1583), and were to condemn many more Catholics before the court, too, fell victim to Parliamentary displeasure.

[46] An Act against Jesuits, seminary priests and such other like disobedient persons (27 Eliz I, c 2).

[47] *D.N.B.*; J. Strype, "The Life of the learned Sir John Cheke" (1821), 140-5; Cross, "Puritan Earl", 9-11.

[48] See Harleian Soc. li, "Lincolnshire pedigrees" (1903), 663, and further references in Morris, "Troubles", iii. It was probably Lawrence Meeres's elder brother Anthony who fled abroad in 1556 rather than face Cardinal Pole's visitation of the diocese of Lincoln. (Strype, "Ecclesiastical memorials", III, pt. 2 (1822), 390.)

Ralph Hurlestone.[49] Meeres, like Rodes, had been a Reader at Gray's Inn, and he became Recorder of Berwick. (It may not be without significance that Rodes had been a contemporary at Gray's Inn of the infamous Richard Topcliffe.)[50]

The Vice-President, too, William, second Baron Evers or Eure, has left comparatively little mark on the sands of time, no doubt because all the records of the Council of the North have been missing for 300 years. He had no legal qualifications, but was a zealous hunter of Catholics, and had arrested Fr Hugh Taylor himself after searching a Catholic house.[51] (He also sent the obstreperous Lord Mayor, Robert Cripling, to prison without waiting for the Privy Council's order to that effect.[52]) It will be seen later that the final responsibility for Margaret's death was probably his.

The organization of the Council of the North having been imposed upon the existing pattern of the Assizes, all members of the Council were named in the single commission read at the opening of the Assizes, and all had the right to sit on the Bench with the judges. On the other hand, the Assize judges for the time being were *ex officio* members of the Council.[53]

The Council sat first as a civil, then as a criminal, court, four times a year, with power to try every type of case, including treason[54] and felony, whereas the Assizes were held only twice a year, in Lent and at Lammas (late July-early August). The Council could have arraigned Margaret Clitherow themselves, but would not have left her to await trial at their next session, when the Assizes were due to start within a few days; they did, however, take the preliminary hearing.

So the scene was set for the opening of the York Lent Assizes, 1586. In the morning, while Margaret "made herself ready", the two judges entered the Common Hall[55] in Coney Street, preceded by Henry May as Lord Mayor, with the swordbearer and macebearer and the Lord Mayor's six "esquires", and accompanied by the two Sheriffs and their four sergeants and many ceremonial officers and halberdiers. The morning was occupied with traditional ceremonies and the reading of the Commission. Dinner

[49] See Harleian Soc. lix, "Visitation of Cheshire, 1613" (1909), and further references in Morris, "Troubles", iii. Possibly he is the Randal Hurlestone, a disappointed lessee of the collegiate lands of Manchester, who in 1581 charged the Bishop of Chester with withholding funds. (Strype, "The Life and acts of Matthew Parker", iii (1831), 137; J. R. Dasent, "Acts of the Privy Council", n.s. xii (1896), 346; "The Episcopal see of Manchester: the foundations of Manchester", i (1848), 114-5.)

[50] J. Foster, "The Register of admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889" (1889), 14, 20.

[51] Morris, "Troubles", iii, 84, from Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 181.

[52] Ho. Bk. xxvii, f. 215v; Dasent, *A.P.C.*, n.s. xi (1895), 377.

[53] Reid, "King's Council", 493.

[54] Id., 283. M. C. Cross, in "Recusant History", viii, no. 3, 141, is incorrect in stating that the Council had no power to try treason cases, and in "The Puritan Earl", 161, 184, she whittles down their powers. They had the full range of power of both the common law courts and the prerogative courts. (See Reid, "King's Council", 149, 262, 285, 296, etc.)

[55] The modern Guildhall has been rebuilt as a replica of the ancient Guild or Common Hall, destroyed during the Second World War.

at the Lord Mayor's house,[56] Margaret's old home, was over by one o'clock, and soon the cry went up, "Call Margaret Clitherow".

She came, wearing her big hat, token of her status as a merchant's wife, and a cause of offence in itself. She came looking as unlike a figure in stained glass as any one of us might. She came, "a woman, and not skilful in the temporal laws", but one of great intelligence, upon which alone, humanly speaking, she had to rely, in an age when the defendant on a criminal charge was not allowed counsel. She looked around the familiar and crowded Common Hall, at the well-known faces of the Councillors, of Sergeant Rodes flaunting his new judge's robes, of her stepfather in a place of honour, with the two Sheriffs who had arrested her, and among them all she saw a face that was unfamiliar, the face of the senior judge, John Clench.

Clench had roots in Yorkshire, for his grandfather, also John Clench, had belonged to Leeds. He had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn under Mary, and so was a younger man than Rodes, who had entered Gray's Inn in 1549. In 1574 Clench had been appointed as "town counsel" to the Borough of Ipswich, and later became its first Recorder. He was made a judge in 1581, as Baron of the Exchequer, and in 1584 became a Justice of the Queen's Bench. His monument in Holbrook Church, Suffolk, and his portrait, both show him as a sad and serious-looking man.[57] To rise so high in the legal profession is not a happy lot.

Although Fr Mush reports that Rodes, arguing for Margaret's death, told his fellow-judge, "Brother Clench, you are too merciful in these causes",[58] Clench had in fact, as Assize judge on the Northern circuit, already condemned to death several of Margaret Clitherow's confessors, Fathers Lacey and Kirkman, and probably Fr Hart as well. Yet he was slow to condemn and inclined to hesitate, whether from weakness, compassion, or the common lawyer's distaste for the creation of new crimes by statute, it is impossible to tell.[59]

When Judge Clench encountered, in March 1586, the provincial butcher's wife whose fame was to outlast his own by many centuries, he had been a judge for five years. It was nearly 30 years since he had heard the Collect of the Mass for a Female Martyr, which began, *"Deus, qui inter cetera potentiae tuae miracula etiam in sexu fragili victoriam martyrii contulisti . . ."* "O God, among the wonders of your power you have granted even to the weaker sex the triumph of martyrdom . . ."

Heaven turned its starlight eyes upon the scene as well.

[56] The "Lord Mayor's place", where the judges dined, was his own house; there was no Mansion House until 1726.

[57] *D.N.B.*; Foss, "Judges of England"; R. L. Cross, "Justice in Ipswich", published by Ipswich Corporation (1968), 14-5; W. A. Copinger, "The Manors of Suffolk", vi (1910), 65-6.

[58] "True Report", MS. G, f. 56v has "you are so merciful in these causes"; this is not a sixteenth century idiom. MS. A has "you are too merciful in these cases".

[59] Fr Richard Holtby, S.J., gives us a glimpse of Judge Clench at the Lammas Assizes, 1592, at Newcastle, trying in the company of the Earl of Huntingdon, the Dean of Durham, the Mayor of Newcastle and others the case of Fathers Lampton and Waterson. When the jury demanded the statute book "that they might proceed the more assuredly", it was not Clench but his junior, Sergeant Snagge, who told them that "the law was clear enough". (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 223.)

The only record of the legal proceedings is that given in Fr Mush's "True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs Margaret Clitherow", since the Assize records for the Northern circuit survive only from 1607. The account of Margaret's arraignment, pieced together by Fr Mush[60] from the reports of various people who were present, stands not only as a vivid narrative but as a classic example of the procedure described 200 years later by Blackstone as applied in cases of felony in which the accused refused to plead. Here may be found the centuries-old *trina admonitio*, the triple warning—in actual fact, one way or another, Judge Clench warned, even pleaded with Margaret Clitherow no less than seven times—also the "respite of a few hours", in this case a whole night. It cannot be said that the law was administered harshly by Judge Clench; it was the law itself that was brutal and inhumane. Palgrave, who cites Lingard's account of Margaret Clitherow's death as evidence that "this execution was attended with fearful horror", says that "the subject is one, amongst others, which shews that the English law . . . must forfeit many of the encomiums of humanity, which have so long passed current amongst us".[61]

The following account of Margaret's arraignment, here printed for the first time, differs in some small respects from that printed by Fr Morris.[62] It is taken from a newly discovered, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century manuscript of chapters XVIII-XX of Fr Mush's "True Report" which was bought in York in the last century and has been in the Minster Library since 1890;[63] this has proved to be so close to the manuscript at Oscott (in the Peter Mowle collection, complete by 1595), that it is possible that one was copied from the other. I have modernised the spelling and punctuation and corrected a few obvious errors.[64]

[60] Or perhaps by that detached, intelligent and courageous prisoner, the draper William Hutton, the "Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote", who used to write Mrs Vavasour's letters for her. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 299-315.)

[61] Sir F. Palgrave, "The Rise and progress of the English Commonwealth", ii (1832), cxci. Palgrave is the authority on this penalty.

[62] "Troubles", iii, 360-440.

[63] Add. MS. 151. (This volume contains other, unpublished, Catholic material.)

[64] I have used the text of the same MS., G, in quotations from chapters XVIII-XX of the "True Report" throughout this article.

The following letters were used, in Appendix I of my "Margaret Clitherow", to distinguish the manuscripts of the "True Report":

A. Late sixteenth century, published, but not in its entirety, by Fr Morris. (Formerly in the possession of the Middleton family, and now of the R.C. diocese of Middlesbrough.)

B. Seventeenth century transcript. (Bar Convent, York.) Published with alterations and omissions, by William Nicholson in his "Life and death of Margaret Clitherow, the martyr of York" [1849]. Nicholson's statements about his "faithful transcript" are most confusing, and his (erroneous) remark that "the original of the present manuscript is in the possession of . . . Peter Middleton, Esq.", meaning that B was copied from A, misled me into thinking that Mr Middleton might have possessed a second MS. Nicholson nowhere states that the Bar Convent MS. is his source; we owe this information to Fr Morris ("Troubles", iii, 357-8).

C. Eighteenth century transcript. (County Record Office, Beverley.)

D. Pre-1595, chapters XVIII-XX. (St Mary's College, Oscott.)

E. Transcript among the Alban Butler MSS., Archbishop's House, Birmingham. (Missing.)

(Continued on next page)

The 14th day of March, being Monday, after dinner, the prisoner was brought from the Castle to the Common Hall in York, before the two judges, Mr Clench and Mr Rodes, divers of the Council above named[65] *sitting with them on the Bench.*

Her indictment was read, that she had harboured and maintained Jesuits and seminary priests, traitors to the Queen's Majesty's laws, and that she had heard Mass, and suchlike. Then Judge Clench stood up and said, "Margaret Clitherow, how say you? Are you guilty of this indictment or no?"

The prisoner about to answer, they commanded her to put off her hat, and then she said mildly,[66] *with a bold and smiling countenance, "I know no offence whereof I should confess myself guilty".*

The judge said, "Yes, you have offended the Queen's Majesty's laws forasmuch as you have harboured and maintained Jesuits and priests, enemies to her Majesty".

The prisoner answered, "I neither know nor have harboured any such persons. God defend I should harbour or maintain those which are not the Queen's friends".

The judge said, "How will you be tried?"

She answered, "Having made no offence, I need no trial".

They said, 'You have offended the statute, and therefore you must be tried", and often asked her how she would be tried.

The prisoner answered, "If you say I have offended, and that I must be tried, I will be tried by none but by God and your own consciences".

The judge said, "No, you cannot do so, for we sit here", quoth he, "to see justice and law, and therefore you must be tried by the country".[67]

The woman still appealed to God and their consciences. Then they brought forth two chalices, [and] divers pictures, and in mockery put two vestments and other church gear upon two lewd fellows' backs, and in derision the one began to pull and dally with the other, scoffing on the bench before the judges and Council, holding up singing breads, and said to the prisoner, "Behold thy gods in whom thou believest".

(Continued from previous page)

F. Early seventeenth century. (Vatican Library, Barberini Latini, Codex 3555.)

To these may now be added :

G. Late sixteenth-early seventeenth century, chapters XVIII-XX. (Very close to D.) (York Minster Library, Add. MS. 151.)

All the accounts of the trial are essentially the same; the only significant difference seems to be, "I thank God I may suffer any death for this good cause", not "I think I may suffer . . ." as given by Morris from A.

I take this opportunity to correct what is almost certainly an error in A, followed by Morris, who (p. 377) has "Some little imperfections reigned in her". MS. F, f. 6r has "Some little imperfections remained in her".

[65] The Councillors had been listed (MS. G, f. 50r) as Lord Eure (Vice-President), Meeres, Hurlestone and Cheke.

[66] MS. A. (MS. G has "boldly".)

[67] The "country" was the jury, chosen from the defendant's own district.

They asked her how she liked these vestments.

The prisoner said, "I like them well if they were on their backs that know how to use them to God's honour, as they were made".

The Judge Clench stood up and asked her in whom she believed.

"I believe," quoth she, "in God".

"In what God?" quoth the judge.

"I believe," quoth she, "in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; in these Three Persons and One God I fully believe, and by the death, passion and mercy[68] *of Christ Jesus I must be saved".*

The judge said, "You say well", and said no more.

After a while the judge said to her again, "Margaret Clitherow, how say you yet? Are you contented to be tried by God and the country?"

The prisoner answered, "No".

The judge said, "Good woman, consider well what you do; if you refuse to be tried by the country, you make yourself guilty and accessory to your own death, for we cannot try you but by order of law. You need not fear this kind of trial, for I think the country cannot find you guilty upon the slender evidence of one child".

But she still refused. They asked her further if her husband were not privy to her doings in keeping priests.

[She answered,] "No, God knoweth I could never get my husband in that good case that he were worthy to know or come in place where they were to serve God".

The judge said, "We must proceed by law against you, which will condemn you to a sharp death for want of trial".

She said cheerfully, "God's will be done. I thank God I may suffer any death for this good cause".

Some of them said, seeing her joy, that she was mad, and possessed with a smiling spirit. Mr Rodes also railed against her, and on the Catholic faith and priests, so did the other Councillors also, and Mr Hurlestone openly before them said, "It is not for religion that thou harbourest priests, but for whoredom", and furiously uttered suchlike slanders, sitting on the Bench; as Mr Cheke and Mr Meeres also reported after she was taken, that priest[s] resorted to none but such as were comely and beautiful young women, to satisfy their lusts.

The Bench brake up that night without pronouncing sentence against her, and she was brought from the Hall with a great troop of men and halberts, with a most cheerful countenance, dealing silver on both sides the streets, to John Trewe's house on the bridge, where she was shut up in a close parlour.

The same night came to the prisoner as she was praying upon her knees, Parson Wigginton, a Puritan preacher of notorious qualities, and ministered talk unto her, as their fashion is. The woman regarded him

[68] MS. A has "passion, death and merits".

very little, and desired him not to trouble her, "for your fruits," quoth she, "are correspondent to your doctrine". And so he departed. All that night she remained in that parlour.

The next day following, about eight of the clock, she was carried again to the Common Hall, and standing at the bar, the judge said unto her, "Margaret Clitherow, how say you yet? Yesternight we passed you over without judgment, which we might have pronounced against you if we would; we did it not, hoping you would be something more conformable and put yourself to the country, for otherwise you must needs have the law. We see nothing why you should refuse; here is but small witness against you, and the country will consider your cause".

"Indeed," saith the prisoner, "I think you have no witness against me but children, which with an apple and a rod you may cause to say what you will".

They said, "It is plain that you have had priests in your house by these things which are found".

The prisoner answered and said, "As for good Catholic priests, I know no cause why I should refuse them as long as I live. They come only to do me and others good".

Mr Rodes, Hurlestone, and others said they were all traitors, rascals, and deceivers of the Queen's subjects.

The woman said, "God forgive you. You would not speak so of them if you knew them".

They said, "You would detest them yourself if you knew their treasons and wickedness as we know them".

The prisoner said, "I know them for virtuous men, sent by God only to save our souls".

These speeches she uttered very boldly and with great modesty.

Then Judge Clench said, "What say you? Will you put yourself to the country, yea or no?"

The woman said, "I see no cause why I should in this matter do so. I refer my cause to God and your conscience. Do what you think good".

All the people about her condemned her of great obstinacy and folly, that she would not yield, and on every hand persuaded her to refer herself to the country, which could not find her guilty, as they said, upon such slender evidence; but she would not.

"Well, then," said the judge, "we must pronounce sentence against you. Mercy lieth in our hands, and in the country's also, if you put your trial to them; otherwise you must have the law".

The Puritan preacher Wigginton stood up and called to the judge and Bench, saying, "My lord, give me leave to speak". But the great murmuring and noise in the Hall would not suffer him to be heard; yet he continued still calling that he might speak, and the judge commanded silence to hear him.

"If this judgment be according to your conscience, I pray God send you a better judgment before Him": St Margaret Clitherow to Judge John Clench on receiving her sentence.

Engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar of a portrait of Judge John Clench (d. 1607), published by Sir William Dugdale in his *Origines juridiciales* (1666). Clench lived to be the oldest judge of his time and was pensioned off in 1603, retiring to his manor of Holbrook in Suffolk, where he died.

(*Photograph by N. J. Cotterell, Ipswich, by courtesy of Ipswich Corporation Information Office.*)

JUDGE RODES'S FIREPLACE

This superb example of Elizabethan *kitsch* is the fireplace in the Great Chamber—now a Catholic chapel—in Barlborough Hall, Derbyshire, the building of which was begun by Judge Francis Rodes in 1583.

The mantelpiece is made of stone, now painted, and bears the heraldic achievements of Francis Rodes, and below, figures of Rodes and each of his two wives, Elizabeth, daughter of Brian Sandford, Esq., of Thorpe Salvin, co. Yorks., and Mary, daughter of Francis Charlton, Esq., of Appley, co. Salop. The figures act as unofficial "supporters" to the arms of Rodes impaling first Sandford and then Charlton. The arms shown do not altogether tally with those given in Burke's "General Armory".

The abundant biographical information ends, curiously enough, with an error: Rodes was made a justice of the Common Pleas ("*de Banco Communi*") in 1585 (27 Eliz.), not in 1588 (30 Eliz.).

(Photograph by Wrigleys of Rotherham, by courtesy of the Rev Fr R. J. Higham, S.J., Headmaster of Barlborough Hall School.)

Then he said, "My lord, take heed what you do. You sit here to do justice; this woman's case is touching life and death. You ought not, either by God's law or man's, to judge her to die, upon this slender witness of a boy, no, nor unless you have two or three substantial men of very good credit to give evidence against her. Therefore look to it, my lord, this gear goeth sore".[69]

The judge answered, "I may do it by law".

"By what law?" quoth Wigginton.

"By the Queen's law," saith the judge.

"It may well be," quoth Wigginton, "but you cannot do it by God's law", and said no more.

The judge, yet desirous to shift the thorn out of his own conscience into the country's, and falsely thinking that if the jury found her guilty his hands should be clean from her blood, said again, "Good woman, I pray you put yourself unto the country. Here is no evidence but a boy against you, and whatsoever they do, yet we may show mercy afterward".

The woman[70] *still refused it.*

Then Rodes said, "Why stand you all the day about this naughty, wilful woman? Let us dispatch her".

Then the judge said, "If you will not put your cause to the country, this must be your judgment. You must return from whence you came, and there, in the lowest part of the prison, be stripped naked, laid on your back next to the ground, and as much weight laid upon you as you are able to bear, and so continue three days without any food except a little barley bread and puddle water, and the third day to be pressed to death, your hands and feet tied to posts, and a sharp stone under your back".

The woman, standing without any fear or change of countenance, mildly said, "If this judgment be according to your conscience, I pray God send you a better judgment before Him.[71] *Yet I thank God heartily for this".*

"Nay," saith the judge, "I do it according to law, and I tell you this must be your judgment unless you put yourself to be tried by the country. Consider, if you have husband and children[72] *to care for; cast not yourself away".*

She said, "I would to God both my husband and children might suffer death with me for this good cause".

69 i.e., This is a serious matter.

70 MS. G: "The woman she . . ."

71 MS. A. (MS. G has "God".)

72 Margaret Clitherow had at least four children. (See my "Margaret Clitherow", App. III.) William and Thomas Clitherow, who have been supposed to be her sons, were the sons of John Clitherow by his first wife Matilda Mudd; both were converts. (William became a priest and Thomas died in prison for the Faith.) Contrary to popular belief, no son of Margaret's became a priest; her son Henry tried his vocation in two or three different orders and died sadly, "*mente motus*", and presumably still young. Her daughter Anne became an Augustinian Canoness Regular of the Lateran at St Ursula's, Louvain. The identity of the other children is uncertain.

77

Perſecutiones aduerſus Catholicos à Proteſtantibus Caluiniſtis excitæ in Anglia.

Et tua fœmineum commendat gloria ſexum,
Dura nec in ſummis animo demiſſa virago
Supplicijs, teneramque tui non pondera molem
Corporis, iniecti non turbauere molares:
Quin, ait, his totos membris imponite montes,
Spiritus innocua tranſcendet ad aſtra ruina.

K 3 PRES-

The martyrdom of St Margaret Clitherow, as portrayed the year after her death by the martyrologist Richard Verstegan in his *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*, published in Antwerp in 1587.

The letters indicate, A, Margaret Clitherow; B, Thomas Bell, suspended by his feet in York Castle for days at a time; C, entrance to an underground cell; D, imprisoned Catholics.

The verse tribute may perhaps not unfittingly be rendered thus:

"In thee, also, the female sex is praised,
Who, anguish past, to heights of heaven is raised.
Whose courage failed not, harshest threats to hear,
Nor shrank thy flesh the greatest weights to bear.
Nay, heavier loads put on me yet, she said,
Till freed, her soul its ruined mansion fled."

(*Photograph by courtesy of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.*)

Upon which words the heretics reported after, that she would have hanged her husband and children if she could.

After this sentence pronounced, the judge asked her once again, "How yet, Margaret Clitherow? Are you contented to put yourself upon the trial of the country? Although we have given sentence against you according to law, yet will we show mercy, if you will anything help yourself".

Then she lifted up her eyes and hands towards heaven and said, with a cheerful countenance, "God be thanked, all that he shall send me shall be welcome. I am not worthy so good a death as this is. I have deserved death, I must needs confess, for mine offences to God, but not for anything I am accused of".

Then the judge bade the sheriffs look unto her, who pinioned her arms with a cord. Then she looked first at the one arm[73] *and after at the other, smiling to herself, and joyful to be bound for Christ's sake; at which they all raged against her.*

The sheriffs brought her with halberts to the bridge again, where she was shut in a parlour with one Yoward, a prisoner, and his wife, two evil disposed heretics. Some of the Council sent to mark her countenance as she was carried forth of the Hall, but she departed from thence through the street with a joyful countenance, whereat[74] *some said, "It must needs be that she receiveth comfort from the Holy Ghost", for all were astonished to see her of so good cheer. Some said it was not so, but that she was possessed with a merry devil, and that she sought her own death.*

The two sheriffs of York brought her betwixt them, she dealing money on both sides as she could, being pinioned.

After this none was permitted to speak with her but ministers and such as were appointed by the Council.

Margaret Clitherow had evaded trial by a human judge, but her trial in the divine crucible was about to begin. For another ten days her constancy was tested by a continuous stream of visitors, and the alternatives presented to her now were no longer, to plead or not to plead, but quite simply, apostasy or death. Even a last meeting with her husband was denied her unless she would "yield unto something", go to church or hear a sermon, but she replied, "God's will be done, for I will not offend God and my conscience to speak with him"; so she did not see him again. Instead, "her hat she sent before she died unto her husband in token of her loving duty towards him, honouring him as her head".

Her actions became increasingly symbolic, and therefore capable of direct interpretation without the frequent ambiguities of language. Finally, it was as a bride that she stepped out of prison for the short journey "to her marriage, as she called it". "*For the marriage of the Lamb is come: and his wife hath prepared herself.*"

[73] MS. A. (MS. G omits "arm".)
[74] MS. A. (MS. G has "whereas".)

It is unfortunate, in the absence of the official records of the arraignment, that Fr Mush's account should be vague just where it most needed to be precise. Without the exact terms of the indictment, which in law had to have "a precise and sufficient certainty",[75] it is impossible to judge how far the entire proceedings were illegal.

Fr Mush had the best of reasons to be vague; a specifically-worded indictment would have included his own name, revealed by the Flemish boy as that of the priest Margaret had harboured, for he had actually been in her house when the Sheriffs arrived to search it. If the indictment did include his name, then the arraignment was illegal, for he was still at liberty,[76] and "by the old common law the accessory could not be arraigned till the principal was attainted".[77] It is, however, difficult to believe that Judge Clench, whom Queen Elizabeth called her "good judge" and who, on Fr Mush's own showing, was deeply concerned at Margaret's plight, would have allowed the indictment to stand if its wording had not been adequate. He said himself to Margaret, "It is plain that you have had priests in your house by these things which are found",[78] and possibly, with the addition of the words, "whose names are unknown", the indictment was just sufficient to bring her into court.

The judge himself, as a common lawyer, was in something of a dilemma. The charge was so recent an innovation of statute law that this was perhaps the first indictment for "harbouring" that had come before him. The making of harbouring priests into a felony was itself anomalous, for to be a priest ordained overseas and returned to England had been made treason, and accessories in treason cases should have been treated as traitors too.[79] (This had, in fact, been the provision of the original Bill, but the House of Lords, with more clemency than legal expertise, had reduced the charge of harbouring to felony.[80])

The judge, however, had to administer the law as it stood. The record of Margaret's arraignment, if it survived, would stop short with the indictment; by her simple refusal to plead, her giving "answers foreign to the purpose, or with such matter as is not allowable",[81] she technically "stood mute". The 24 members of the Grand Jury, who would have found the indictment a "true bill" upon which trial could proceed, were left with no part to play. It was an older law that was administered.

[75] Blackstone, "Commentaries", iv, 301.

[76] Fr Francis Ingleby, the other priest named by the Flemish boy, was probably still at liberty also, for he was not tried until Whitsun, by the Council. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 87, from Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 184.)

[77] Blackstone, "Commentaries", iv, 318.

[78] It is, however, clear from various references in the "True Report" that "these things" were actually found in "the next neighbour's house"; this would have been revealed in the evidence had Margaret allowed the trial to start.

[79] G. Jacob, "A New law dictionary" (1756), headings Accessary, Treason.

[80] Sir J. E. Neale, "Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1584-1601" (1957), 38. The sentence was thereby reduced from hanging, drawing and quartering, for a man, or drawing and burning, for a woman, to simple hanging; but the evidence of one witness was sufficient to obtain a verdict, whereas at least two witnesses were required for treason.

[81] Blackstone, "Commentaries", iv, 319.

Why did Margaret Clitherow refuse to plead? Lingard, writing before any version of the "True Report", other than the "Abstract" of 1619, had been published, stated that she refused to plead guilty because she knew that no sufficient proof could be brought against her, or not guilty, because she deemed such a plea equivalent to a falsehood.[82] This cannot be true, for she had pleaded "Not guilty" to the charge of non-attendance at her parish church, when tried at Quarter Sessions in 1583.[83] She was familiar with the procedure of arraignment and understood the formal nature of the plea.

Fr Mush repeats the reasons Margaret gave to "a very friend", Mrs Vavasour, in the same prison with her on Ouse Bridge: "Alas! if I should have put myself to the country, evidence must needs have come against me, which I know none could give but only my children and servants. And it would have been more grievous to me than a thousand death[s], if I should have seen any of them brought forth before me to give evidence against me. Secondly, I knew well that the country must needs have found me guilty to please the Council, which earnestly seek my blood; and then all they had been accessory to my death, and damnably offended God. I thought it therefore in the way of charity on my[84] part to hinder the country from such a sin; and since it must needs be done, to cause as few to do it as might be; and that was the judge himself".[85]

To take her second reason first, the root of it lay in her utter conviction that the Council was determined on her death. (Even before she was called to court, she expected to hang, and in fact a "messenger" had been sent to tell her that she would.) Without the records of the Council of the North, it is impossible to know how often Margaret had appeared before them. After her arrest on this occasion, she had "moved their fury vehemently against her" and they had uttered "cruel threats and railings". Fr Mush had warned her, after the passing of the Act, that she "must prepare her neck for the rope". The swift execution of Marmaduke Bowes, tried by the Council alone on a charge of harbouring, had shown that the Act was to be taken seriously, and in her own case, the fact that the Council permitted her execution showed how correct her instinct was. She did not hold out in the hope of receiving a reprieve; every word and action showed that she had rightly judged the chances to be nil. Before her arrest she had said, "They pick quarrels at me, and they will never cease until they have me again, but God's will be done". After her condemnation, she told the Councillors who visited her, "You have me now, do your will".

Judge Clench, having insisted that if she were with child he would not "for a thousand pounds" let her die, had eventually "referred all to the Council, and willed them to do their own discretion; and at his departure he commanded to stay the execution till Friday after . . . and then to do

[82] Fr T. A. McGoldrick, "Blessed Margaret Clitherow", 15, n 1, quoting from the 4th edition of Lingard's "History of England" (1837-9).

[83] York & Ainsty Q.S. Bk. iii (8th March 1583).

[84] MS. A has "in part".

[85] MS. A, f. 75r. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 436.)

as they thought good, if in the meantime they heard not from him to the contrary".

The onus for the decision did, then, rest with the Council, and in the past they had reprieved without applying to, or even informing the Assize judges.[86]

One cannot know whether the Earl of Huntingdon was informed of what was going on; Fr Mush particularly says that at this period he was usually absent from the criminal trials.[87] If responsibility for the carrying out of the sentence is to be placed upon one man, it must be upon the Vice-President, Lord Eure, who had the same powers as the President in his absence.[88] The extraordinarily domestic nature of the tragedy is brought home by the fact that this man from 1569 to 1572 had had a house in Margaret's childhood parish of St Martin, Coney Street.[89] He must have known Margaret Middleton as a girl, for he and her stepfather were two of the wealthiest parishioners of St Martin's.

Margaret's first reason for refusing to plead was to prevent her children and servants from giving evidence against her. We need add nothing to her own statement here, except that her servants would be children too. Yet another motive for silence lay in the fact that the secret room and the "privy conveyance", or hiding-place, had been constructed not in Margaret's house, but her neighbour's. As soon as evidence was given this fact would be revealed and her neighbour would find himself or herself facing the same choice, of death or apostasy. The continental tradition of Margaret's martyrdom gives as the single reason for her refusal "to answer as they wished or to name anyone else" as her unwillingness "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".[90] Fr Mush, writing within three months of her death, did not dare to mention this neighbour, who would still be expecting arrest, and he recommended his readers to study Margaret's life rather "than curiously to know

[86] Reid, "King's Council", 340, n 1. In this case, in 1561, the Council had been told that they were exceeding their commission.

[87] Morris, "Troubles", iii, 83: "When they intend to make us away, the tyrant himself seldom of late hath sitten on the bench to condemn us, but some of his vice-presidents . . ." (Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 180.)

[88] Reid, "King's Council", 247.

[89] Assessments for the salary of the parish clerk of St Martin, Coney Street, 1570-2. (At present in York Minster Library.) Lord Eure appears in this parish again in 1585-6. (Churchwardens' Accounts, in Borthwick Institute.)

[90] Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (1587), 76. "*Et cum ex voluntate eorum respondere nollet, nec quenquam nominare (ne alicui mortis esset causa, neve in tantas cruciatuum miserias traheret, ac naufragii in fide occasionem daret) morti admodum crudeli adiudicata est . . .*" This account is copied verbatim in the "*Concertatio ecclesiae catholicae in Anglia*" of Fr John Bridgewater, S.J. (Treves, 1588).

Bishop Challoner uses the traditions of both Bridgewater and Mush on this point: "She refused to plead, that she might not bring others into danger by her conviction, or be accessory to the jurymen's sins in condemning the innocent" ("Memoirs of missionary priests", ed. by Fr J. H. Pollen, S.J. (1924), 119.)

in what sort she obtained . . . a glorious[90a] death". Curiosity on this point might still endanger the person who owed his life to Margaret's silence.[91]

To those who urged her to apostasy and accused her of despair and of indifference to her family, Margaret had this to say:[92] "You charge me wrong. I die[93] not desperately nor willingly procure mine own death, for being not found guilty of such crimes as were laid against me, and yet condemned to die, I could not but rejoice, my cause being God's quarrel. Neither did I fear the terror of the sentence of death, but was ashamed on their behalfs to hear such shameful words uttered in that audience, as to strip me naked and to press[94] me to death amongst men, which methought for womanhood sake[95] they might have concealed. As for my husband, know you that I love him next unto God in this world, and I have a care over my children as a mother ought to have. I trust I have done my duty unto them, to bring them up in the fear of God, and so I trust I am dis-

[90a] "True Report", MS. A, f. 46r. (Morris gives "virtuous".)

[91] John Clitherow was a tenant of the Dean and Chapter of York, and the history of his house may be traced in their archives, until it can be identified, allowing for the re-numbering of the houses, with the present nos. 10-11 Shambles. These houses, made into two by 1731, and refronted in brick by 1847 (Dean & Chapter muniments, E 4 c) are now of two storeys only. They are on the opposite side of the street from the shrine at no. 35 Shambles. A house on the south side of Little Shambles (probably not no. 3, "traditionally" connected with Margaret Clitherow, but no. 2), was also leased to John Clitherow; in 1628 it is described as a stable. (Dean & Chapter muniments, W d, f. 84 v.) This house was among those demolished of recent years.

It is only fair to mention that R. H. Skaife claimed to have found John Clitherow occupying a house on the corner of Shambles and Pavement; he gives no source, and it has not yet been traced. This house, however, would be in St Crux parish, not Christ Church, the parish in which John Clitherow was living by 1572 (Ho. Bk. xxv, f. 38r).

The tenants of the Dean and Chapter and their rents are entered in the Fabric Rolls year after year in exactly the same order, and this seems to indicate the order in which the houses stand in the street. (The name of John Clitherow appears absolutely regularly from 1569 (E 3/51) to 1639 (E 3/64)—the occupier by then was the grandson of Margaret's husband—always third in the list, paying a rent of 16s.) From 1576 (E 3/54) down to at least 1587 (E 3/61), William Calverd, another butcher, is listed next to John Clitherow, on the north.

After the death of John Clitherow's sister Mary in 1571, administration of her goods was granted (15th Nov. 1572) to her brother Edmund together with William "Caverd" and Millicent Caverd alias Clitheroe, her sister. Millicent Calvert was still alive in November 1603 when probate of her husband's will was granted to her. (On 21st June 1573 another William Calverte married another, unidentified, member of the Clitherow family, Alice "Clitherall", at St Crux Church.)

If Margaret Clitherow died to protect her husband's sister, his apparent failure to act is more easily explained. But Millicent Calvert is not known as a recusant, and the "next neighbour's house" may equally well have been Humphrey Smith's, adjoining John Clitherow's on the south (E 3/60-1), or it may have lain in Colliergate, backing on to the Clitherows'.

On the other hand, Millicent Calvert, Margaret's sister-in-law, is perhaps to be identified with "the sister of Mrs Clitherow" whose acquaintance was made by the boy John Jackson in York about the year 1593. "*Alteram cognovi feminam prope nos habitantem, quae soror fuit dominae Clytherow, devotissimam catholicam . . .*" (Catholic Record Society, liv, "The *Responsa Scholarum* of the English College, Rome. Pt. I, 1598-1621" (1962), 124, 126.)

[92] MS. G.

[93] MS. A. (MS. G has "did".)

[94] MS. A. (MS. G has "and oppress".)

[95] MS. A. (MS. G omits "sake".)

charged of them. And for this cause I am willing to offer them freely to God that sent me them, rather than I will yield one jot from my faith. I confess death is fearful and flesh is frail, yet I mind by God's assistance to spend my blood in this faith as willingly as ever I put my pap in my child's mouth, and desire not to have my death deferred".

After that declaration, it is strange to find that one of the modern, even one of the official,[96] explanations of her refusal to plead is a desire to save her property from forfeiture for her children's sake. Fr Mush particularly mentions Margaret's attitude to wealth and to her children's inheritance: "For riches she desired none, but prayed God that her children might have virtuous and Catholic education, which only she wished to be their portions".[97] And on her husband's business losses she said, "God giveth, and he hath taken them away again; farewell they, for I will not be sorry for the loss of any temporal matters".[98]

The explanation is quite new, and does Margaret Clitherow a gross injustice, making her in effect the martyr not of God but of Mammon. Margaret admitted she was "not skilful in the temporal laws", and it is unlikely that she would know the legal consequences of her sentence.[99] It seems to have been very rarely carried out in York.[100]

The suggestion that Margaret had a maternal, but nevertheless a worldly, motive for refusing to plead, arises, I think, from Fr John Gerard's reference to the reason for the deferring of execution of the same sentence on Mrs Jane Wiseman in 1598. He says of the Privy Councillors, "What they were after was her property for the Queen. And had she been executed, this would have gone, not to the Queen, but to her son". But Fr Gerard, writing about the year 1609, says that Mrs Wiseman was following the example of Margaret Clitherow both in motive and action, and he gives Margaret's motive as "She knew that the jury were certain to declare her guilty in order to please the judge, and she wanted to spare their consciences. She knew they would be fully aware of the injustice".[101]

[96] ". . . she refused to plead, in order to save her children's inheritance and the conscience of the jury." ("Forty Martyrs", 6.)

[97] MS. A, f. 37r. (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 399, has "portion".)

[98] Morris, id., 400.

[99] As early as 1577 William Harrison, in his "Description of England", which appeared as part of Holinshed's "Chronicle", had described the punishment of pressing and declared that felons standing mute "commonly hold their peace, thereby to save their goods unto their wives and children, which if they were attainted, should be confiscated to the prince". But Margaret Clitherow's tastes in reading tended towards the New Testament, the "Imitation of Christ", and William Perin's "Spiritual Exercises", not to the works of Protestant historians, nor does it seem likely, from what we know of John Clitherow, that he would read this book aloud to his family.

[100] The only other case known in York is that of Walter Calverley of Calverley, Esquire, who murdered two of his children and attempted to murder his wife, refused to plead at his arraignment, and was pressed to death at the Castle in 1605; this, Dr Whitaker thought, was "an act of reparation". (T. D. Whitaker, "Loidis and Elmete", ii (1816), 220.)

[101] "John Gerard: the autobiography of an Elizabethan"; translated by Fr Philip Caraman, S.J. 2nd edn. (1956), 53.

No doubt it is easier to believe that Margaret had a concrete and material reason for her action, and one that normally motivated the choice of standing mute, but the suggestion depreciates immensely her spiritual worth and her supernatural outlook, and it should never have been made.

So much attention has been given to Margaret's refusal to plead that the significance of some of the words she actually uttered, "such matter as is not allowable", has been overlooked. She could equally well have avoided bringing others into "shipwreck" by maintaining an obstinate silence. Fr Mush says Margaret knew her cause "to be so just and godly that neither any human law could justly reprove it, nor any profane judge be competent by any pretence of equity to deal against her for her religious works and Christian duty".[102] In other words, she challenged the right of the state to make such laws and of the court to try her. She was in effect making the same point as St Thomas More, after his own condemnation 50 years earlier: "This Indictment is grounded upon an Act of Parliament directly repugnant to the laws of God and his Holy Church . . .; it is therefore in law, amongst Christian men, insufficient to charge any Christian man".[103]

The cult of St Thomas More, already part of the recusant tradition, must lie behind Margaret's attitude.[104]

Margaret's execution had the curious result of uniting intellectually two men who were poles apart, Fr John Mush and Giles Wigginton. It sent Fr Mush to the law books, to Stanford's "Pleas of the Crown"[105] and to the Statute of Westminster of 1275 which first introduced the practice of "*prison forte et dure*" as a means of dealing with "*les felons escriez*", "notorious felons and which openly be of evil name"[106] who refused trial when arraigned; they were to be thrown into "strong and hard Imprisonment".[107] Here they might gradually starve to death. (The practice of loading such prisoners with weights was introduced some time between 1357 and 1407; the sharp stone was intended to bring a merciful and swift release. Daines Barrington[108] supposes that the purpose of the innovation "arose from the anxiety of the Justices of gaol delivery to leave the assize town as soon as they could".[109])

[102] Morris, "Troubles", iii, 85. (Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 182.)

[103] E. E. Reynolds, "The Trial of St Thomas More" (1964), 121.

[104] Within two years of More's death another Catholic lawyer, Robert Aske, was saying that "all men much murmured at" the royal supremacy "and said it could not stand with God's law". (Fr Philip Hughes, "The Reformation in England", i (1952), 311.)

[105] *Les Plees del Coron . . . composees per le tres reverend Iudge Monsieur Guilliaume Staunforde . . .* Editions in 1560, 1567, 1574, 1583, etc. Fr Mush refers to this work in his anonymous "Relation". (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 86; Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 183.)

[106] "The Statutes of the Realm", i (1810), 29.

[107] The Statute adds: "*Mes ceo nest mie a entendre por prisons qui sunt pris pur legiere suspecium*". "But this is not to be understood of such Prisoners as be taken [of] light suspicion."

[108] D. Barrington, "Observations on the . . . statutes . . ." (1766).

[109] Palgrave, "English Commonwealth", ii, cxc.

As Fr Mush points out, Margaret Clitherow was not a notorious delinquent; the exact degree of her contravention of the new law had still to be judged by the evidence. He pursues the subject in many unpublished pages, but misses the point, as Wigginton did, by supposing that the evidence of the Flemish boy was all that could be called, although the boy was evidently the only witness named in the documents before the judge. But examination of the original grounds for passing the sentence of *peine forte et dure* led him to the conclusion that in this case, at least, it was illegal.[110] (Blackstone, writing nearly 200 years later, when the sentence was still occasionally imposed in all its brutality, referred to "doubts that may be conceived of its legality".[111])

Giles Wigginton reached the same conclusion by a much simpler process, telling the judge, "You ought not, either by God's law or man's, to judge her to die . . ." Fr Mush was glad to avail himself of this unexpected witness for the defence, although he characteristically calls Wigginton "Balaam's ass"!

Fr Mush was theoretically correct in stating that the sentence was illegal, but it had become customary, and it was probably not more illegal in the case of Margaret Clitherow than in many another. (Women had never been exempted from it, and between 1607 and 1616, out of 32 persons who died in this way in the county of Middlesex, three were women.[112])

Judge Clench had probably never thought about the origin and history of the penalty. He missed a great opportunity to strike a blow for humanity when he passed the sentence, but the training of a common lawyer in the sixteenth century would not dispose him to this kind of gesture. Moreover, Fr Mush's own narrative shows that he passed the sentence *provisionally*, hoping that thereby Margaret would be frightened into pleading. This was a personal act of mercy; statutes and text-books make no allowance for his "Although we have given sentence against you according to law, yet will we show mercy, if you will anything help yourself". (The sentence could have been avoided by pleading, which was not an act of apostasy; later, its execution might have been avoided only by such an act.) Judge

[110] The gist of ff. 76r-80v (mostly unpublished) of MS. A, also Morris, "Troubles", iii. 86 (Fr Grene's MS. E, p. 183), is an attack on Judge Clench for pronouncing the sentence upon a person who was not a "notorious felon", in the absence of sufficient evidence to find her Guilty if she had pleaded. The relevant passage in Staunforde, *"Les Plees del Coron"* (1567), 150, continues, *"per que lessa le Iuge pour le meliour satisfaction de ce statut, et le discharge de son duty; examiner le evidence que prova le prisonier culpable del fact, avant que il proceda al ce iugement du pain fort et dure"*. Fr Mush is not fair to Judge Clench, who was satisfied that the "church stuff" found was sufficient evidence of Margaret's guilt. He did not learn that it had not actually been found in Margaret's house, for no witnesses were called; that was the chief reason for Margaret's refusal to plead. Moreover, her ambiguous statements about "good Catholic priests" could be taken as amounting to a confession.

[111] Blackstone, "Commentaries", iv, 323. The penalty was not abolished until 1772 (12 Geo. III, c 20).

[112] L. Radzinowicz, "A History of English criminal law and its administration from 1750", i (1948), 141, n 15, quoting J. C. Jeaffreson, "Middlesex county records".

Clench also gave Margaret a week's stay of execution in the hope that she would change her mind.

Both the judges and the Council had power to reprieve, but of them all it is clear that only Clench had the desire. He lacked the courage. Have we not all at some time sympathized with Pilate?

The penal legislation against Catholics, soon to be extended to Protestant nonconformists, in a political situation that had drifted into mortal crisis, led to a deeper study of the principles underlying Church and State. It fell to the real protagonists in the undeclared war of religion, the Puritans and the Catholics, to consider, with St Thomas More, the fundamental difference between Law and laws, and at this point to draw closer together in opposition to an erastian state.

Judge Clench, in passing the sentence in this case, may have lost the Queen's favour. Although he lived to be the oldest judge of his time, he never received a knighthood, nor, apparently, any other honour.[113] Elizabeth I, another woman caught in the toils of a man's world and fighting for her life,[114] was a feminist who must have been horrified when she heard that this sentence had been carried out, for religion, on a woman who was possibly pregnant. Later the execution of Margaret Ward was reported to have "offended the Queen's womanly and tender heart" for she had "recently pardoned two women who shewed outstanding constancy at their trial".[115] It was actually at the Queen's command that Mrs Wiseman was reprieved in 1598; she "rebuked the justices for cruelty and said she should not die".[116] So Jane Wiseman missed the crown of martyrdom, and Margaret Clitherow alone of the English and Welsh Martyrs was pressed to death.

Margaret Clitherow died, she said, "to God's glory and the advancement of his Catholic Church". Four hundred years later we can look back upon the history of the Church in England since her death, and see, if we will, a large area of it as directly resulting, not merely from the inspiration of her life[117] and death, but from the intercession of the Martyrs for their enemies and their descendants.

In 1626 Lord Eure, grandson of the Vice-President who allowed Margaret to die, is said to have been a "Convict Popish Recusant";[118] and his son Ralph Eure also died a recusant in 1640.[119]

[113] *D.N.B.*

[114] "I know no creature that breatheth whose life standeth hourly in more peril for it [i.e., religion] than mine own . . ." Queen Elizabeth I addressing Parliament, 29th March 1585. (Neale, "Parliaments, 1584-1601", 100.)

[115] Fr L. E. Whatmore, "Blessed Margaret Ward", 15, translating from a Latin letter from Fr Henry Garnet, s.J., to Aquaviva, 29th Oct. 1588.

[116] "John Gerard", 232.

[117] The memory of Margaret's apostolic activities among the women of York may well have influenced Fr Mush years later when he was confessor and friend of Mary Ward, the first person to succeed in founding a truly active order for women. Anglican nuns in active orders may be considered part of the same complex tradition.

[118] "The Parliamentary . . . history of England", vii (1751), 287-8.

[119] G.E.C., "The Complete peerage" (new revised edn., 1910-59), heading Eure.

This is interesting, but the history of the descendants of Francis Rodes is startling. In 1626 his granddaughter Lennox Rodes married Marmaduke Langdale, who in 1658 became the first Baron Langdale of Holme on Spalding Moor. (Her mother, Frances, daughter of Marmaduke Constable of Wassand in the parish of Sigglesthorne, the third wife of Sir John Rodes, had previously, in 1585 at the church of St Michael le Belfrey, York, married that same Henry Cheke, who as Secretary to the Council of the North took part in Margaret's "trial". On his death she married the son of his friend Francis Rodes.)[120]

The first Baron Langdale is thought to have become a Catholic; his son certainly did, and through him the Catholic descendants of Francis Rodes may be traced, men and women who for generations founded and endowed missions, built and maintained chapels, paid double Land Tax, accepted their inability to hold public office or to sit in the House of Lords, sent their children abroad for their education and produced innumerable priests and nuns. To say that today they are as the sands of the sea would be an exaggeration, but their contribution towards "the advancement of the Catholic Church" in this country has been incalculable. They included the saintly layman, Charles Langdale, who fought in the Victorian Parliament for Catholic rights lost in the Elizabethan, and they include today the Duke of Norfolk.

Fr Mush, towards the end of his "True Report", asks Margaret's "murderers", "Can your own blood or your posterity's wash away the reproach of this same turpitude?"[121] We cannot keep Heaven's balance-sheet, but looking back from this distance of time, for ourselves we may judge that the rancour of the martyrdoms has been washed out, leaving only the joy. As Gregory Martin wrote in his preface to the Rheims New Testament: "We repine not in tribulation but ever love them that hate us, pitying their case and rejoicing in our own. For neither we see during this life how much good they do us, nor know how many of them shall be (as we heartily desire they all may be) saved: Our Lord and Saviour having paid the same price by His death for them and for us. Love all, therefore, pray for all".

[120] Burke, "Extinct and dormant baronetcies", 449; J. Foster, "Pedigrees of the county families of Yorkshire", iii, North and East Riding (1874), Pedigree of Constable of Flambrough, etc.

G.E.C., "Complete peerage", heading Langdale, gives the mother of Lennox Rodes not as Frances but Catherine, confusing her, apparently, with her own mother, Catherine, daughter of John Holme of Paull Holme, who married (1) Marmaduke Constable, (2) John Moore of York. (In the registers of St Michael le Belfrey, Frances Constable appears as "daughter to Mr More, lawyer", i.e. step-daughter.)

[121] MS. A, f. 84r (unpublished).

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K.M.L.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BECKET DISPUTE IN THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

AN EIGHTH CENTENARY COMMEMORATION—1170-1970

by

CHARLES DUGGAN, B.A., PH.D., F.R.HIST.S.

The fourth day after Christmas this year will mark an octocentenary of the murder of an Archbishop of Canterbury in his own cathedral, victim of a contemptible quarrel (as some judge) or of reasons of state (as others judge). In life Becket had appeared, as his biographer Herbert of Bosham tells us, above all magnificent, "great of heart, great of physique, great of personal presence"; and in death he appeared no less great as an immediately acclaimed martyr, whose shortfall in sanctity over his lifetime had been abundantly redressed in his last hour. The focus is so often upon this man, commanding of attention as he always is, that we tend to overlook the wider issue, the institutional struggle which was not merely the backcloth but the very marrow of the Becket Dispute. The struggle was itself a piece in the larger process of the emergence of a papally centred Church from national involvements to international predominance. And this process, undergone during the years from 1050 to 1300, was possibly the most crucial in the development of the life of the Church of Rome. Without Becket, it would not have been quite as it is.

Dr Duggan here presents the wider issues with unusual clarity, showing how far England was for a while the principal arena of this important development in the Church's life. He is probably better qualified to do this than any other historian today, as his footnotes indicate. His main work has been concentrated on this period and his special contribution comes from his examination of twelfth century decretal collections. He is a Reader in History, University of London King's College, and Warden of King's College Hall. This paper was read as "The Christmas Lecture" to the Canterbury Archaeological Society on 10th January.

THE Becket Dispute conjures up many diverse images in the minds of those who use or hear that phrase, and most of these images have their validity, but all are not of equal significance in the history of the English Church. The violent death of the archbishop in his own cathedral shocked the astonished senses of Christian Europe, in an age not unacquainted with acts of violence. If the miracles which multiplied around the martyr's tomb and relics are the subject of understandable scepticism in modern times, the cult of the martyr is an historical phenomenon of major importance. Within three years of his death the archbishop's name was inscribed in the catalogue of saints, his canonization having been formally announced in Alexander III's letter *Redolet Anglia*.[1] The mosaic at Monreale in Sicily,

[1] Copies of this letter were issued by Alexander III at Segni on 12th and 13th March 1173; cf. *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, edd., J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, 7 vols, Rolls Series 67, London (1875-85): VII, pp. 547-48.

the wall paintings at Tarrasa in the Spanish peninsula, the stained-glass window at Chartres, the counter-seals of Archbishops Hubert Walter and Stephen Langton in England, the proliferation of hagiographical literature, the dedication of numerous chapels to St Thomas of Canterbury—all these and many other indications marked merely the beginnings of a remarkable devotion which continued without abatement to the end of the middle ages, while the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury rivalled even Rome and Santiago di Compostella as a point of recourse for pilgrims.[2] It was perhaps inevitable that the dramatic aspects of the famous quarrel between Henry II and Becket—their early friendship and its dissolution, Thomas's exile and tragic murder, and Henry's resulting humiliation—should capture the imagination both of their contemporaries and of later ages.[3] Even today this interest remains vital, though necessarily to some extent diminished.

No historian dare neglect the impact of human tragedy and drama in shaping the historical framework in which they are themselves enacted, or in moulding significantly the thoughts and actions of men in later times. It requires no rejection of a moderate historicist view of the forward movement of human affairs to recognize at the same time the decisive influences brought to bear on this movement by individuals. The foundation of papal power in the Western Church was not due to Gregory I at the close of the sixth century, nor was the fundamental shift in the balance of Church-State relations in the so-called Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century due simply to the efforts of Gregory VII, but each of these popes by his transcendent spirit and dynamic personality ensured that the pattern of evolution was different from what it would have been without him. And it is in this sense that the problem of their characters and personalities is of central importance in the contest between Henry II and Becket. But the very natural concern with these spectacular considerations attracts disproportionately the attention of many modern observers, so that deep currents of conflict between secular and ecclesiastical ideologies and jurisdictions, between contending interests both within the Church itself and in society as a whole, and in the intellectual developments of the period are imperfectly distinguished.[4] Historians, novelists, dramatists,

[2] Many examples are discussed and finely illustrated in T. Borenius, *St Thomas Becket in Art*, London (1932). Among more recent studies, cf. R. Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, Princeton (1968), p. 58, for evidence of the early Becket cult in Italy; in a commemorative address delivered in Andernach in June 1970, Dom Maurus Münch spoke of "over 150 places of devotion to our saint" in Germany, Austria, Alsace-Lorraine, Denmark, Sweden and Norway; and similar evidence survives for every part of Western Christendom. Cf. also D. J. Hall, *English Mediaeval Pilgrimage*, London (1965), pp. 130-65.

[3] A new biography is now available in R. Winston, *Thomas Becket*, London (1967), reviewed in the Summer 1968 JOURNAL p. 257f; and a biography by Dom David Knowles will be published shortly in the Leaders of Religion series. The *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, No. 65, published in July 1970 (The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 8 The Precincts, Canterbury, 6/-), contains a series of commemorative essays to mark the eighth centenary of Becket's death: the first, by Dom David Knowles, is entitled "Archbishop Thomas Becket—the Saint".

[4] Cf. C. Duggan, "From the Conquest to the Death of John", in *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed., C. H. Lawrence, London (1965), pp. 63-115, esp. pp. 87-93.

poets and the like have focused attention legitimately but too exclusively on the two human personalities. According to a given writer's standpoint or sympathies, the obstinacy or character failings of Henry II or Becket, or of both, explain the tragedy. The theory that Becket was merely a character actor, playing a part or rather a series of parts, exploiting to the full the role in which he found himself at the several stages of his career, has been advanced among eminent historians by H. W. C. Davis, Zachary Brooke and many others, and among the dramatists by T. S. Eliot.[5] But this is a wholly inadequate explanation, and could not possibly account for the symbolic greatness almost universally attributed to Becket soon after his death, as well as in later centuries, throughout the Western Church. This is not the place to consider those outlandish theories gaining recent literary currency, falsely imputing to Becket weaknesses in personal morality or attaching to his stand against the king a regional or national partisan flavour. Historical truth is certainly not discovered through such inventions.[6]

The Becket Dispute was not merely in its essential aspect a clash of personalities, but a particular quarrel symptomatic of deep-seated conflicts over the nature of authority and its practical applications in Christian society. It echoes and prefigures numerous similar crises in the history of the Christian Church. It has its immediate and contextual interest, but it serves also as a temporary expression of a tension of universal and lasting significance. No approach to the Becket controversy will be satisfactory which does not penetrate the surface crust of local and simply individual interests or arguments. It must be remembered that the English Church was an integral part of the wider Western Church at that time, its evolution and thought processes intermingled with those of Latin Christendom more creatively and more intimately perhaps than at any other phase of its history. Mgr Jedin has aptly observed that the turning point in European history marked by the Gregorian and canonical reforms of the late-eleventh century is in reality more significant from the Church's viewpoint than the more familiar and conventional classifications of periods of European history.[7] Indeed, from that time a dynamic and even aggressive policy was pursued by the Church under papal guidance throughout the length and breadth of Western Christendom, resulting in a

[5] H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, London (1945 edn), pp. 210-11; Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John*, Cambridge (1931), pp. 192-96; T. S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral*. Numerous other instances could be cited. Cf. the perceptive essay by Knowles, "Archbishop Thomas Becket. A Character Study", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXV (1949), pp. 177-205, and the immensely scholarly study by R. Foreville, *L'Eglise et la Royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet, 1154-89*, Paris (1943).

[6] The imputation of unchastity to Becket in his early career is entirely without substance, and must be judged untrue. The suggestion that Becket was of Saxon lineage has often been discussed but is nowhere seriously considered by scholars today; cf. L. B. Radford, *Thomas of London before his Consecration*, Cambridge (1894), pp. 4-12.

[7] K. Baus, *From the Apostolic Community to Constantine*, in *Handbook of Church History*, edd., H. Jedin and J. Dolan, Freiburg/London, I (1965), pp. 6-7.

series of politico-ecclesiastical crises in the relations of the Church with secular rulers. In practical terms the papacy strove for the liberty of the Church and its jurisdictional autonomy, while in the realm of ideas it asserted with increasing confidence its superiority over lay power. The long-waged contest between the popes and emperors, stretching from the deposition of Henry IV in the late-eleventh century to that of Frederick II in the mid-thirteenth century, was the principal front in a wide-ranging general battle. It is sufficient to refer briefly to the Investiture Contest of the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, formally concluded between pope and emperor by the Concordat of Worms in 1122, noting its introduction into England in the reign of Henry I, while Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury.[8] In a similar way, the Becket Dispute records a high point of crisis within a particular kingdom: it was joined in 1163-64, and concluded in stages in the years 1170-76, within the limits of a critical phase in papal-imperial relations, since the schism inaugurated by Frederick I in 1159 was not settled until the agreement between Frederick and Alexander III at Venice in 1177.[9] Meanwhile, difficult problems arose simultaneously, or nearly simultaneously, in many other parts of the Western Church—in Hungary, for example, and in Scandinavia. It is not without significance that Alexander III linked Becket with Archbishop Lucas of Gran, in naming them the twin buttresses of the Church's liberties.

It was inevitable and understandable that secular rulers would resent these revolutionary changes in the actuality of power in Christian society. They were already accustomed through centuries of usage to a position of dominance in their realms, even in matters of an ecclesiastical nature—in ecclesiastical appointments, in the disposition of Church property and in numerous other ways. The concepts of the *Landeskirchen* and the *Eigenkirchen*, that is to say of regional and proprietary churches, are of central importance here, with the consequent interlocking of secular and ecclesiastical offices, resources and interests, often with manifestly mutual advantages. This delicate balance and the familiar prerogatives were now clearly endangered by the emergent hierocratic principles in the Church, powerfully supported by the new canon law, the most effective weapon in the papal armoury. But, in addition to this, the twelfth century was a vitally important period of development in the conscious realization and practical application of royal power and of secular law. Over the whole front the period was one of evolution and maturity in government and administration, both in practical details and in the conscious ideologies on which they were based. To put the matter more precisely, the reign of Henry II occupies a formative and distinguished place in the history of English law independently of the problems of jurisdictional disharmony

[8] For diverse approaches to this problem, cf. N. F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England, 1089-1135*, Princeton (1958) and R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, Cambridge (1963).

[9] For an account of the papal-imperial struggle, cf. P. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: a Study in Medieval Politics*, London (1969) and M. Pacaut, *Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. A. J. Pomerans, London (1970).

between the secular and ecclesiastical courts and legal systems—it was not only with the bishops that Henry II joined issue over his jurisdictional rights. But at that very moment the canon law, the common law of the Western Church, was being consolidated and given a coherent, scientific and juristically mature expression. No one would question the sincerity of Henry II's expressed concern with order and law in his kingdom, still less the extent of his achievements in that field. Equally, one must recognize the interior logic and conviction of the papal ecclesiastics and canon lawyers, based on what they conceived to be transcendent principles which should govern a truly Christian society.

Henry II asserted that the schedule of regulations, the so-called Constitutions drawn up at Clarendon in 1164, represented the customs which had governed relations between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in England in the days of his grandfather, Henry I. These were the *avitae consuetudines*, which broadly reflected the "barrier" policy successfully devised by William the Conqueror to control the two-way traffic between England and the Roman curia, and which also regulated in the royal interest various matters where the jurisdictions of Church and monarchy might overlap—a policy which had substantially broken down during the troubled reign of Stephen. Among other problems, the Constitutions dealt with the vexed question of appeals to the papal curia, episcopal elections, the excommunication of tenants in chief, the punishment of criminous clerks, disputes over advowsons or presentations to ecclesiastical benefices, the movement of clerks out of the kingdom, tenures in free alms, the profits of vacant bishoprics, and so forth.[10] On most points of actual detail there is general agreement that Henry II's claims were accurate, and in this sense the significance of the dispute from the royal viewpoint can be seen as an attempt to put back the clock, to recover the accustomed rights which had slipped away during a period of weakened secular rule. There was therefore a valid appeal to custom in these claims. It can also be argued to the persuasion of many that most of Henry's statements reflected problems of natural concern to a ruler anxious to establish the integrity of his judicial authority and with it the good order of his realm, and that certainly they deal with matters which an ambitious and self-reliant monarch would hope to manage, or at least substantially control. The judicial aspect of the dispute is clearly disclosed in the words of the Constitutions of 1164. If one were to accept the view, not infrequently propounded, that the strictly legal arguments in the controversy are simply of academic interest, or that they are somewhat empty formulations to give deceptive expression to personal or material ambitions, then it would be necessary to disregard this careful and detailed policy statement by Henry II, and to ignore the king's proposals at their face value. The fact is that they represent a most important and coherent delineation of Henry's conception of his judicial rights *vis-à-vis* the ascendent canon law. Had they been implemented, Henry's regulations would certainly have brought the English Church within his jurisdictional

[10] The disputed points are fully analysed in Foreville, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-61.

tutelage—a most relevant reflection when assessing the extent of compromise in the aftermath of Becket's death.

But the Church of the mid-twelfth century was no longer the unfreed Church of the previous century, and the appeal to custom or to royal or regional interests could not be effective in resolving a clash of principles, though that is not to say that such an appeal would necessarily be disregarded. Nor should it be forgotten that prudent clerks might acquiesce in much of what they disapproved, provided that they were not required formally to compromise their consciences. Observers were not lacking at the time, nor are they among historians today, who saw the fatal weakness in Henry's calculations in that he forced to a public and most solemn debate issues which for the most part he might have been able to control through diplomatic and tactful compromise.[11] But on the basic principles, for Becket, custom could not contradict justice, and this was the essence of his hostility to the royal policies. The failure of Becket's colleagues to support him *in extremis* should not obscure the fact that, within the framework of the Church's doctrines, Becket's objectives were canonically well supported. Indeed, there is ample evidence that on canonical grounds alone their views were identical with his.[12] It is well known that Alexander III, at a moment of anxious crisis in his relations with Frederick I, condemned nevertheless all the English king's proposals, though he was willing to tolerate a few. Of course, not all of the Constitutions were of equal importance, and almost certainly the most crucial issue was Henry's attempt to subject to his *fiat* the transmission of appeals to the Roman curia. That he did not in practice effectively prohibit appeals in the course of the controversy—except perhaps by the very harsh measures of 1169—does not diminish the significance of his proposal. The question of criminous clerks is among the most familiar individual problems—not only was it the particular question around which the dispute was most bitterly waged, but it provides in miniature an insight into the overall problem. Most historians agree that it was perfectly proper, whatever the legal precedents, that Henry should seek to bring under constraint outrageous clerks, and the majority (though not all) consider that Henry on this point of English practice had a fair case in appealing to custom. But, contrary to the traditional interpretation by historians in modern times, Becket was emphatically supported by canon law in his opposition to the king's suggested procedure, and his opposition was not an exorbitant invention

[11] The most striking comment on the unwisdom of Henry's action in committing the Constitutions to writing was by his mother, the Empress Matilda: cf. *Becket Materials*, V, pp. 144-51, a letter of Nicholas of Mont St Jacques to Becket at Christmas 1164.

[12] The views and actions of the English bishops in the course of the controversy are most clearly treated in Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, Cambridge (1951). Important studies on individual bishops include A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, Cambridge (1937) and *idem* and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, Cambridge (1965).

based on his own unreasoning obstinacy.[13] A careful search into the sources of Becket's thought and arguments reveals their faithful reflection of texts devised originally in the ninth-century collection of canon law known as the *Pseudo-Isidore*, or more popularly as the "Forged Decretals", and accepted into the mainstream of canonical collections in the period of Gregorian Reform. To cite just one example, the key texts on which the principle of clerical immunity was debated, though taken in all probability from Gratian's *Decretum* (completed in its vulgate form about the year 1140), were used in the previous century by Gregory VII; some find their ultimate origins in the ninth-century *Pseudo-Isidore*, while the ancestry of others can be retraced into the earliest records of ecclesiastical legislation and of canon law.[14] It can easily be shown that Becket's interpretation of these texts was historically more valid than that of his opponents.

These very specific points of canon law having been argued at Clarendon in early 1164, the political significance of the conflict was made clear at Northampton later in the same year, when Henry mounted a direct and personal attack on Becket on charges and in circumstances involving feudal and financial implications.[15] The course of action chosen by the two protagonists was then, and will remain, a subject of controversial assessment as to their wisdom or lack of statescraft. But it is obvious that an acute crisis of authority had emerged, which could not be explained by the personal failings of the two adversaries—a crisis above all for the leading clergy in a Christian society in which, through a long and gradual process of historical evolution, it was no longer easy to distinguish sharply their duties and their loyalties to their spiritual and their secular superiors. The problem was not confined to England, nor to the period of the Becket controversy. There is no doubt that the nature of the episcopal office was essentially spiritual, but it is a matter of fact that bishops had also become important officials and administrators in the feudal structure of the kingdom. The rival claims of ecclesiastical and secular spheres of interest had their roots far back in Christian history, but this was one moment of high crisis in the long story of that possibly still unresolved dilemma. And it is important therefore to seek an understanding of both sides of the question, as well as of the standpoint of those who preferred to hold aloof as far as they were able from a dangerous commitment.

There is no need here to review in detail the course of the famous quarrel—the archbishop's exile, the many protracted and abortive attempts to secure a solution, the perplexing interplay of numerous incidental conflicts of interest, the final brief reconciliation, and the archbishop's

[13] The brilliant essay on this subject by F. W. Maitland, in *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, London (1898), pp. 132-47, is still an indispensable starting point, but Maitland's conclusions cannot be reconciled with later research; cf. Duggan, "The Becket Dispute and the Criminous Clerks", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXV (1962), pp. 1-28; *idem*, "The Reception of Canon Law in England in the Later Twelfth Century", *Monumenta Iuris Canonici*, Series C: Subsidia I (Vatican City 1965), esp. pp. 359-65; "The Becket Dispute: William of Canterbury and Clerical Privilege", and pp. 378-82.

[14] Duggan, *Criminous Clerks*, pp. 6-18.

[15] Cf. Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues*, pp. 66-90.

return and murder in his cathedral on 29th December 1170. A settlement was hammered out gradually through several years following Becket's death, in which the Compromise of Avranches in 1172 and the negotiations with the papal legate, Pierleoni, in 1175-76 were the most important stages.[16] It is in the aftermath of the dispute that its significance for the English Church can be most clearly estimated, yet it is in this very context that historical judgments are apparently the most divergent. Among earlier historians of distinction, F. W. Maitland and Zachary Brooke argued that the years after 1170 disclose a remarkable posthumous victory for Becket, in which the barriers between the English and the Roman Churches, having been temporarily (as it was thought) re-erected, were entirely demolished, with a resulting and dominating inrush of papal jurisdiction and the consolidation in England of the most advanced theories and practices of the rising canon law.[17] The insights provided by Maitland and Brooke have placed later historians much in their debt, nevertheless some aspects of this theory can no longer be accepted. Among more recent historians of the highest rank, Professor Christopher Cheney has suggested that the Compromise of Avranches settled little in reality, and that the years following Becket's death were a period of effective compromise, with give and take between the rival jurisdictions.[18] Meanwhile, Dom Adrian Morey expressed the conclusion that the quarrel and its settlement ensured that the English Church would not be seriously cut off from continental developments, but would go forward sharing in the advances of the Church as a whole.[19] Dr Henry Mayr-Harting has very recently concluded that the gains were substantially secured by the king, since it is difficult to see (in his evaluation) what Henry II lost in the event, since he was able to secure his objectives by less formal means.[20] The conclusion preferred in this present essay is that a compromise was indeed worked out, but that, for reasons quite different from those advanced by Maitland and Brooke, the Church nevertheless achieved a considerable success, and that therefore in this precise sense it is possible to speak of a defeat for Henry II's policies.

The picture is in fact exceedingly complex, and each of these contrasting or complementary views can be sustained by selected evidence. Historians tend to exaggerate in their controversies the extent of their disagreements, while legitimately underlining the validity of their particular insights into the total problem. The area of agreement is much greater than might appear at first sight. No historian would now seriously challenge the judgment that neither the Church nor the State secured a

[16] Duggan, *From the Conquest to the Death of John*, pp. 90-93; *idem*, "Richard of Ilchester: Royal Servant and Bishop", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, XVI (1966), esp. pp. 9-14; "The Becket Conflict and its Aftermath".

[17] Maitland, *Roman Canon Law*, pp. 122-24; Z. N. Brooke, "The Effect of Becket's Murder on Papal Authority in England", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, II (1928), pp. 213-28; *idem*, *English Church and the Papacy*, pp. 211-14.

[18] The best survey of the decades following Becket's death is C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, Manchester (1956); on the Avranches settlement, cf. *ibid.*, p. 108.

[19] Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, pp. 75-78.

[20] H. Mayr-Harting, "Henry II and the Papacy, 1170-1189", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XVI (1965), pp. 39-53.

total victory as a result of the Becket Dispute, or exacted an unconditional surrender. Each side gained some points but lost others. It should be recognized that Henry's concession at Avranches that appeals could go freely to the Roman curia, unless they were detrimental to his own interests, marked a major gain in principle for the Church in a solemn declaration on one of the most crucial points for which Becket had fought. It does not cancel the importance of this concession to say that Henry had not interfered with the process of appeals in the course of the controversy, or that after Avranches he was able to bring pressure to bear effectively in particular cases where his own interests were involved. In contrast, the king was completely successful in gaining his point on other issues, as instanced most obviously by the history of advowsons which were retained within the sphere of secular law;[21] and it is perfectly clear that Henry was able to control the selection of bishops.[22] The question of criminous clerks produced a most interesting compromise in that the king formally conceded the principle of clerical immunity from secular jurisdiction, while the papal legate agreed that clerks would not enjoy this immunity for transgressions of the forest law, a limitation of much material interest to the king.[23]

Nevertheless, through the decades following Becket's death the English Church, and the Roman Church in equal measure, achieved notable advances in influence and in the routine application of its jurisdiction; and this conviction is not weakened by the parallel recognition that Henry II was able to maintain a powerful grip on the Church in England to the end of his reign. If the royal policy adumbrated at Clarendon in 1164 had been literally implemented—that is to say, if Henry II's words are taken at their face value—his constraint of the Church would have been far greater than in fact it grew to be. An analogy in this respect might be seen in the German Church under Frederick I, Henry's contemporary, who was able to sustain a series of anti-popes against the legitimate Alexander. Many royal interests, which Henry's Constitutions sought to protect, he was able in practice to preserve undiminished, notably in the control of episcopal elections and in specific jurisdictional areas involving property rights or with financial implications for the crown. But it is not possible to question that the closing years of the twelfth century reveal the English Church fully participating in the life and organization of the universal Church. Indeed this comment is a considerable understatement. In the vital areas of canon law and papal jurisdiction English bishops and canonists played a part second to none in interest and importance for the Western Church as a whole. The work of English judges delegate—exercising by direct delegation the pope's jurisdictional authority in specific cases—is already very familiar, especially in the careers of distinguished bishops like Bartholomew of Exeter and Roger of Worcester;

[21] Cf. J. W. Gray, "The *ius praesentandi* in England from the Constitutions of Clarendon to Bracton", *English Historical Review*, LXVII (1952), pp. 481-509.

[22] For examples of royal control, cf. Duggan, *Richard of Ilchester*, pp. 13-14.

[23] The agreement is recorded in a letter of Henry II to Alexander III, preserved by Ralph de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed., W. Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, London (1876): I, p. 410; cf. Duggan, *Criminous Clerks*, p. 22, n. 1.

and increasingly the role of English canonists in codifying decretal law, as expressed in numerous papal letters dealing with general or particular legal problems, and in writing commentaries on the canon law is being disclosed in many manuscripts until recently unexploited.[24] This was the period when English canonists made their most original and distinctive contributions to the history of canon law, their collections and commentaries being of such a nature that they left a permanent imprint on the corpus of law for the whole of the Western Church. It is possible to speculate that these developments would have taken place even without the great legal battle which preceded them, but it is more reasonable to suggest at least a measure of interdependence.

Certainly a quieter period dawned in the history of the rival jurisdictions, in which compromise and harmony contrasted with the former bitter quarrels. Professor Cheney, with particular reference to Archbishop Hubert Walter, has made the interesting suggestion that prelates at the close of the century, by their ability to co-ordinate the interests of both Church and State in their own careers and activities, proved that a compromise was workable, implying that the extreme positions adopted at the earlier time of crisis were unnecessary and therefore regrettable.[25] This is a most salutary reflection. But it is no less arguable that the balance and moderation which were then achieved would not have been realized in that way if the battle had not been fought, and that the victory would have gone too decisively for the secular power. Moreover, the days of Innocent III, King John and Stephen Langton were also dawning, in which an Archbishop of Canterbury would be selected by the pope against the king's determined opposition, in which the king would be constrained and brought into subjection by ecclesiastical censures, in which the kingdom of England would be submitted to the pope in feudal subjection, and in which among the most decisive personalities during a royal minority in England would be the papal legates. In later days a very different story would be told, but these were not negligible signs of the growth of papal power for the meanwhile.

This brief survey suggests only in broadest outlines the essential nature of the Becket Dispute from the Church's viewpoint. The dispute disclosed in its course many other issues of high political and ecclesiastical importance in addition to those discussed above, and all must be duly assessed in any fully satisfactory account of the controversy. Among these other problems, of outstanding interest is the crisis of authority and primacy within the English Church, symbolized by the re-emergence of conflict between York and Canterbury, and by the preferment of the

[24] I have discussed these developments in several publications: *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and their Importance in English History*, Athlone Press (1963), esp. pp. 1-12 and 118-51; "Primitive Decretal Collections in the British Museum", *Studies in Church History*, I (1964), pp. 132-44; "English Decretals in Continental Primitive Collections: with Special Reference to the Primitive Collection of Alcobaça", *Studia Gratiana*, XIV (1967): *Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*, IV, pp. 51-72; and other articles mentioned in preceding foot-notes.

[25] Cheney, *From Becket to Langton;* cf. now *idem*, *Hubert Walter*, London (1967).

metropolitical claims of the see of London by Gilbert Foliot.[26] If all the relevant problems were to be analysed for their significance in the history of the English State or monarchy, the emphasis in interpretation would be necessarily very different from that advanced in this discussion. But that was not the task envisaged for the present paper. The meaning of the Becket Dispute for the Church lies in its witness to the strivings of the Church, in one phase of its evolution, for its freedom from secular constraint and for its own spiritual integrity, in its forthright assertion of the hallowed and therefore privileged place of the priestly element in Christian society and of the primacy of the papacy in the universal Church. Much of this is obvious enough, yet it tends to be forgotten in more recent times, when many principles for which Becket fought seem unreasonable, out of date or unrealistic. But it was still not forgotten in the reign of Henry VIII, when the issue was rejoined with vastly different consequences, when the shrine of the martyr was desecrated and his hated name erased from the manuscripts wherever it was encountered, when it was resolved by the king that "from hense forth the sayde Thomas Becket shall not be estemed, named, reputed, nor called a sayncte", and when Archbishop Warham, a successor of Becket in the see of Canterbury, protested in reply to a charge that he had violated the statute of Praemunire:[27]

> I intended nothing against the king's highness, but I intend to do only that I am bound to do by the laws of God and Holy Church and by mine order and by mine oath that I made at the time of my profession . . . It were indeed as good to have no spirituality as to have it at the prince's pleasure . . . And if in my case, my lords, you think to draw your swords and hew me in small pieces . . . I think it more better for me to suffer the same than against my conscience to confess this article to be *praemunire*, for which St Thomas died.

[26] Morey and Brooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-62.

[27] Citation from F. R. H. Du Boulay, "The Fifteenth Century", *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, pp. 241-42.

THE FIELD IS WON

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ST THOMAS MORE

A Review Article

by

the Abbe Germain Marc'hadour

The title is taken from the book written by Ernest Edwin Reynolds, President of the *Amici Thomae Mori*, an international society devoted to the study of More's life and work under the able secretaryship of Fr Marc'hadour. The book was published in November 1968 (Burns & Oates xv + 396 p 50/-); it takes on a new relevance in the year of the canonisation of those who followed More to the block or the gallows, a representative forty of them. More, after all, was the proto-martyr of all those laymen who were to give their lives as recusants in the penal times, as Fisher was the proto-martyr of the clergy. His trial and death set a standard of witness which it would have been hard to exceed.

Ordained in June 1944, Fr Marc'hadour received his Sorbonne Doctorat ès Lettres for a double thesis on More and the Bible, and on More as seen by Erasmus. He teaches at the Catholic University of Angers, where he also edits *Moreana* (29 Rue Volney, 49 Angers, France). He is a contributor to the Yale critical edition of More's works.

The title of Mr Reynolds' latest, biggest, and probably finest book will puzzle only those who have never read a life of Thomas More. Studies of the martyred humanist and statesman have so multiplied in recent decades that biographers feel called upon to define their approach—as well as to catch the public's ear—by picking up some allusive title. Schoolmaster Whittinton provided Robert Bolt with a phrase that has become a creative pattern in the English language, at least in journalese or TVese: headlines or publicity offer us, not only saints or heroes, but even pubs and inns "for all seasons" and "for all reasons". *Omnium horarum homo*, beyond Whittinton, goes back to Erasmus, who used it of More as early as 1509. Fr Basset's "Born for Friendship" is also Erasmian: it translates *ad amicitiam natus* in the famous letter to Hutten of 1519. E.E.R. borrows his title from More himself, as quoted by his son-in-law: "Son Roper, I thank our Lord, the field is won." The scene containing this phrase occurs on p. 299, when we come to the last quarter of the book, and "The Field is Won" is also used as title for the thirty-fifth and last chapter: thus the death of St Thomas More receives as much emphasis as his life; it is seen as a consummation and a climax. Nothing in his life has greater beauty than his leaving of it; his blood provides the rubrics, as it were, for the whole liturgy of an existence centred upon God.

The image of a field of battle stresses the militant side of the gentle humanist. More was the *miles christianus:* he wore the spiritual panoply Erasmus had described in the *Enchirldion*, he demonstrated what his friend had advocated. He signs all his prison letters "Thomas More Knight": the title bestowed on him by the "Defender of the Faith" had assumed full significance before he was committed to the Tower. He saw himself wrestling with the powers of darkness. At the close of an earlier "round" More felt, and told Roper, that he had "given the devil a foul fall" (pp. 290-291) by going so far with the commissioners that he could never retreat without shame: the knight had put his honour on the scale, a higher stake than life itself, and the sense of that victory filled him with irrepressible glee. It was on 13th April 1534, however, that he finally won his spurs, when, before leaving his house to encounter the profferers of the oath, he gave himself and Heaven the proof that no human bond—and those hardest to break were of God's own binding: the triple bond of flesh, mind and soul that bound him to his family—could hold him back from standing the final test prepared for him by the Father after whom all fatherhood takes its name. Four days later he went to prison wearing his chain of gold, the badge of knighthood, knowing full well it would be confiscated: "If I were taken in the field by mine enemies, I would they should somewhat fare the better by me". (p. 305.)

It is not the shift of emphasis which makes this a new biography, nor the additional material the author has been carefully gathering and sifting in the fifteen years since he gave us his "Saint Thomas More". Reynolds gives us another book, much as Holbein painted several portraits of Erasmus without repeating himself. The 1953 life may still continue to appear, especially in paperback; the 1968 volume is not an expanded version of it. A fresh look at the hero, from a slightly different angle, has resulted in a new likeness, differently true, more totally true. The author has dug out new elements while studying not only More but his two best friends, Erasmus and John Fisher, both commemorated this year, the five-hundredth anniversary of their birth. As compiler of a spiritual anthology which, in accordance with the collection in which it appeared, is entitled "The Heart of Thomas More", he had to go through More's writings with a fine tooth comb, and not for the first time either. As editor of three early lives of More—by William Roper, Nicholas Harpsfield, and Thomas Stapleton—he re-examined very closely the bulk and the best of our biographical material. In composing his "Margaret Roper", he learned to see More through the eyes of his "own good daughter". His short chapter on "The Trial" summarizes a thorough book on the subject, which he published only five years ago. All this research and writing, while keeping Reynolds in constant and critical contact with the documents relating to his model, and stocking him with more and better-ascertained facts, has the further advantage of immersing him so fully in the period that he becomes attuned to its Zeitgeist: when it comes to re-creating an atmosphere, this impregnation counts more than the correct mustering of events in their chronological sequence. Besides the crop of "Tudor" books —seven or eight—that have graced his autumn, the septuagenarian President of the *Amici Thomae Mori* has contributed articles or notes to practically every issue of their organ, *Moreana*, and *The Field* frequently draws on other contributions to that Quarterly. A foretaste of freshness is given the reader on p. xii, where one-third of the "chief references to sources" are books published in the nineteen sixties, including the first-fruits of the St Thomas More Project at Yale University.

The relative length of the first chapter is justified by the ignorance that prevails about "the period", during which England emerged, still

"merry" somehow, from the Wars of the Roses, to enter a new age: this has been called the Gutenberg era on account of the imprint left on man's mind by typography; the thrilling awareness of a New World to the West balanced, as it were, the growing menace of the Turks from the East. It was "an age of extreme contrasts" (p. 12), even on the limited scale of London, a city of spires and of filth. Most readers will be grateful to the author for stopping to explain such terms as *sewers*, or *book*—often a mere statement of the case (p. 204 n. 1), or *sergeant*, where it means constable. One of the most fascinating illustrations, between pp. 64 and 65, shows the opening of the 1523 Parliament, with the back of Speaker More, standing at the bar that separates the nether from the higher House Although he has first-hand acquaintance with English politics and common-law, Reynolds knows it is "hazardous for a layman to write on legal matters" (p. 233), so he appeals to Lord Russell of Kilowen, a Chancery judge, for an assessment of More's stature as Lord Chancellor. He handles with particular skill and clarity the "riot of oaths" which marked the Parliamentary sessions of 1533 to 1535; draws out the many implications of the Acts of Heresy and of Treasons; analyses the delicate psychological situations created by the Coronation of Ann Boleyn and the revelations of the Nun of Kent. Here begins the "death" of Thomas More, which "is always at hand", his "passage out of this world" which the martyr himself links in his meditation with "the passion of Christ". One of More's last prayers, and his last letter, are reproduced in full (pp. 355-357 and 273-375) as privileged indices of his mind and soul. Interpretation is reduced to a minimum, and there are warnings against conjectures that have become quasi-traditional; for instance, the close linking of More's resignation with the 15th May 1532 submission of the clergy (p. 253).

Since many readers of this JOURNAL already possess a copy, and since the book is sure to go through many editions, especially now that it has also appeared in America, I submit here a list of misprints or other oversights:

p. 22: The portrait of Morton should read thus: "lacking no wise ways to win favour . . . Thus living many days . . . (he) ended them so godly that his death, with God's mercy, changed his life."

p. 29: "Gratulatur, quod eam repererit incolumen."

p. 79, n. 1: 1964 (the Yale "Richard III")

p. 103: The Latin pun could be retained by translating: "I send you my *Nowhere*, nowhere well written."

p. 174: If the "child" sent by Erasmus to Margaret at Christmas 1523 may have been the book, it was even more the Child Jesus, whose infancy was the sole theme of the book.

p. 188: The "picture" of the More family given by Holbein to Erasmus can hardly have been that incomplete sketch, bearing indications in two hands, and representing "a report of work in progress" (192).

p. 295, line 6: "if the land of mine".

p. 345: Tottel's edition of the "Dialogue of Comfort" must have been done from another copy than Rastell's, or else the editor of the "English Works" would have explained why he was, so shortly after, using a considerably different text.

p. 351: "The History of the Passion" was never really "completed", since it ends on the threshold of Christ's Passion.

p. 355: Half of the book's misprints have gathered on this prayer:

> Lytle & litle vttrely to caste of the world
> And ridde my mynd of all the bysynes thereof
> Not to long to here of eny worldely thyngis

These warts can easily be removed from a beautiful face. Listing the beauties would take much longer. Reynolds quotes felicitous aphorisms from More's writings (p. 221) and devotes a whole chapter to his style. Culling flowers from such a rich garden seems to have increased his own capacity for growing flowers of his own that his successors will be tempted to pick up:

"When, on 9th October, Wolsey went in full state to Westminster as Chancellor he found himself deserted; all the rats had left" (p. 226).

"There is no record of a broken friendship in More's life; there is no record of an unbroken friendship in Henry's life" (p. 260).

Usually, however, one is not arrested by stylistic flashes; one is rather caught by the story, as it unfolds soberly even when grippingly. The restraint of an author who knows so much is striking. Instead of taking his reader through the maze of Catherine's maternal frustrations, he writes: "A succession of miscarriages, still-births and infant deaths destroyed Henry's hope of an heir" (p. 196), so we have a global fact with its bearing on the situation. Equally economic is the following summary (p. 364): "We can see More's case as a protest against the increasing powers assumed by the King and Parliament to regulate men's inmost beliefs." Some conclusions are not new: Seebohm himself, a hundred years ago, felt that "after Oxford, Erasmus became a scholar with a mission" (p. 37). But all the way from Stapleton to Marie Delcourt the fact that the bond between More and Erasmus was "a friendship without a shadow of disagreement" (p. 40) had become obscured, because it looked incredible. The special affinities between our times and theirs make this twinship of extremely different personalities appear again plausible and almost normal.

Does "The Field" belong to hagiography? A full portrait of a saint necessarily owes something to that genre. Yet edification is not sought directly. Though he will not, like J. A. Froude, swallow John Foxe's stories "hook, line and sinker" (p. 269), Reynolds does draw on "The Book of Martyrs". He also makes extensive use of Hall, the Protestant contemporary who described as "good, wholesome and godly statutes" the 1533-1534 Acts which were the undoing of Thomas More and the death-knell of the Catholic faith in England.

Reynolds never attempts to gloss over "the shameful state of the papacy" (p. 309) in More's days, or to "shirk the problem of the personal morality of the pope" (p. 312). He does not exploit them for any shock-value they might still have, but as part of the overall picture. Without a fairly clear idea of the ground, of the "field" on which the combat is waged, More's story, rich already in riddles and paradoxes, would become one long puzzle. The book breathes the same confident honesty which induced Roper to welcome reports of his bout of Lutheran fever, and which prompted Margaret to preserve documents that do not show her in the best of lights: for instance, the "lamentable letter" which was a "grievous" blow to her father (Rogers 202) and the dialogue where she plays the part of Eve the temptress (Rogers 206).

Indexing is one of Mr Reynolds' hobbies, and the ten-column index of this book seems to have netted every important item in the thirty-five chapters and three appendices. Despite his endeavour to avoid crushing erudition, he has called upon the stage many a person whose name will ring no bell even to a specialist: George Ardeson, Margaret Barrow, William Derring, Johannes Kip, Christopher Plummer, Miles Willen, James Yarford. They play a part and then are heard no more; and yet delete them from the cast and you may well mar the play. Reynolds' long experience of biography, and of the Tudor scene especially, combining with a love of Thomas More which never comes near infatuation, have enabled him to write a "Life and Death" with such completeness, accuracy and balance that the book is bound to impose itself as standard for a good many years to come.

MORE OPTIONS, MORE EXACTITUDE

The more one knows about any particular job, the harder it gets, because one has more choice; one becomes much more selective; one needs to be much more accurate. At the beginning one just tries very hard: an artist putting all the colours he can think of on the canvas. Then one becomes more methodical, using colours one wants to use—everything becomes a lot easier, and at the same time more difficult. One feels more controlled, perhaps.

PAUL SCOFIELD

ST. ALBAN ROE, O.S.B.

1583—1642

MONK OF ST LAWRENCE'S COMMUNITY

by

JAMES FORBES, O.S.B.

AMONG the forty newly beatified clergy, religious, laymen and women of the penal times —the first of them the prior of the London Charterhouse (Tyburn, 4th May 1535), the last of them a Welsh Jesuit (Usk, 27th August 1679)—there are numbered three Benedictines. Two of them were of the Community of St Gregory's, then at Douai and now at Downside; one of them was from the Community of St Lawrence's, then at Dieulouard and now at Ampleforth.

What follows is a record of the life and last hours of Ampleforth's martyr-saint. This short life owes almost everything to the work of Dom Bede Camm (his life of Blessed Alban in *Nine Martyr Monks*, Burns Oates and Washbourne 1931) and of Dom Timothy Horner (his life of Blessed Alban in *Ampleforth and its Origins*, Burns Oates and Washbourne 1952). They in their turn have relied largely on Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*. Dom Bede also discovered a contemporary witness's description of the trial and martyrdom (*Histoire de la Persécution Présente des Catholiques en Angleterre*, Livre III, par le Sieure de Marsys. Paris 1646) and his transcription of this has been used by Dom Timothy. This account follows them. The main body of this present article was written for the office of the Vice-Postulation who printed it as a pamphlet six years ago.

ALBAN ROE was a martyr of the missionary days, of the second period of the persecution of English Catholics. The early martyrs of the first period, in the sixteenth century, needed clear sight and strong faith. They had to stand their ground when everyone else—nice men, quite good Catholics, even their own families—seemed either against them, or at least unable to see what the fuss was about. They were essentially lonely. They had to take their stand upon a mere ground of principle, and without assurance that posterity would understand, let alone applaud, their protest. The martyrs of the seventeenth century also needed faith—but in a different way. By their time there was more understanding of the point at issue. But the perils and privations were not the worst they had to bear. Much worse was the feeling that they were fighting a losing battle, the faith losing hold, persecution gaining its object. Alban Roe's life must be seen in this setting. For all his high hope and courage he lived against a background of apparently unending failure.

Bartholomew Roe—in religion, Father Alban Roe—was born in Suffolk in 1583. He seems to have come from a gentle family. He was probably educated at the local grammar school and certainly went up to Cambridge. We do not know to which College he belonged. But while he was an undergraduate came the incident which led to his conversion. Bishop Challoner tells the story: he says that Bartholomew Roe "going to visit some friends at St Albans, as Providence would have it, was there told of one David, an inhabitant of that town, lately converted and cast into prison for a popish

recusant, and was desirous to go and talk with the prisoner, making no question but that he could convince him of the errors and absurdities of the Romish tenets: for he had a sharp and ready wit and a tongue well hung, and withal was full of conceit of his own religion and with false ideas of the Catholic doctrine." But this David "though a mechanic, yet was not ill read in controversy, so that he was able to maintain his case against all the oppositions of our young university man, and even pushed him so hard upon several articles that Mr Roe soon perceived that he had taken a tartar, and knew not which way to turn himself. In conclusion, he who came to the attack with so much confidence of victory, left the field with confusion, beginning now to stagger and diffide in the cause."

It was his first failure. Bartholomew Roe went back to Cambridge "uneasy in mind upon the score of religion," and started a course of "reading and conferring with Catholic priests." How long it took him to decide to become a Catholic is not known. But it ended not only with his conversion but with a decision to go abroad to study for the priesthood. On 13th November 1607 he asked for admission to the English College at Douai in Flanders. At first there was no room for him in the College so he took lodgings in the town. There is a hint in Challoner that he may have lodged with Edward Barlow (the future Blessed Ambrose Barlow) who was also to become a Benedictine and to be martyred five months before him. He too, at least, was also waiting for a place in the English College. They were both matriculated at the University on the same day, 21st February 1608. Bartholomew Roe was admitted to the English College on the day after his matriculation. A third Benedictine martyr, Blessed Thomas Tunstall,[1] was already there. In December Edward Barlow was admitted too, and all three future Benedictines and martyrs found themselves together.

Bartholomew Roe's stay in the English College was neither long nor happy. The College had been founded by Cardinal Allen in 1568 to train Englishmen as priests for the English Mission. But under his successors the spirit and fortunes of the College had declined. The President of the College in 1608 was Dr Thomas Worthington. This would not be the proper place to discuss the troubles and difficulties which vexed the College under his Presidency. Two things combined to produce an explosion. There was a spirit of friction and unhappiness in the College which must have been a disappointment to a young man fresh from his conversion. Moreover it is very probable that he had already begun to think of becoming a Benedictine—and that thought, perhaps rather indiscreetly advanced by one who from the first appears a leader amongst his contemporaries, did not recommend him to the College authorities. The Benedictine revival was gathering impetus, and the thoughts of many young seminarists in Spain and at Douai were turning in that direction. It was only natural that the Superiors of the English Seminaries in exile should view this with alarm. Dr Worthington had openly tried to prevent the establishment of St Gregory's in Douai and the papal decree confirming permission for that foundation had come at the end of 1608, in Bartholomew Roe's first year in the College. By the end of 1610 charges of insubordination were brought

[1] Ordained 1609, died by H.D.Q. Norwich 13th July 1616.

against him. These two charges were not of a very serious nature. Both were concerned with his criticism of the way in which minor breaches of discipline had been dealt with by the superior. The upshot was that Dr Worthington dismissed him in January 1611 "for a time, until he became more suited to the College." It was an unhappy episode, and Bartholomew Roe was obviously shocked and aggrieved. He armed himself with a private testimonial from his fellow students, which makes it plain that the authorities admitted that there was nothing in his conduct or character to prevent him being a suitable candidate for the priesthood. So he left the English College, still determined to be a priest and to return to the English Mission.

Bartholomew Roe left the English College at Douai early in 1611. Early in 1613 he arrived at Dieulouard to try his vocation there as a Benedictine monk. It is not known how he spent the two intervening years. He certainly spent some time in Paris, perhaps visited England, and certainly made a return visit to Douai, probably to get the help and advice of Father Augustine Bradshaw at St Gregory's whom he must have met while waiting for admission to the English College.[2] It is not known why he went to Dieulouard rather than to the English Benedictines in Flanders. It may be that Douai had unhappy memories for him and that he thought it prudent to go elsewhere. Here at Dieulouard he found his true vocation and, having made his noviciate, was professed as a Benedictine monk.

The small community of St Lawrence's, Dieulouard, which Bartholomew joined in 1613, five years after its foundation, was still struggling and poor. He took the name of Brother Alban in religion, probably in memory of that visit of St Albans which had been the start of the long journey to his vows. In the same year Father Edward Maihew arrived at Dieulouard, and was almost at once made Prior, a post he held till 1621. In October of the following year 1614 Brother Alban was professed with three other novices. His ordination was hurried on—he had his Cambridge degree and the ecclesiastical studies made at Douai behind him—and he was made a priest in 1615. No sooner was he ordained than he was sent to Paris to help to found another English Benedictine house—St Edmund's, now at Woolhampton.[3] He was now thirty-two years old and it speaks well for the trust which his superiors had in him. His old friend and adviser from Douai days, Father Augustine Bradshaw, was appointed President of this new Paris house, and that was probably another reason why he was sent.

At Dieulouard and in Paris the rule of life in these new Benedictine houses was strict. The customs of the house in Paris—and no doubt these were much the same at Dieulouard—laid down that Matins and Lauds should be recited at 4.0 am. Conventual Mass was at 11.0 am followed by

[2] Fr Augustine Bradshaw (1576-1618) was the first English student from Spain to join the Benedictine Order. He was vicar-general of the Spanish Benedictines in England during 1602-12, during which time he was instrumental in the founding of both Douai and Dieulouard.

[3] Confusingly, this is called Douai Abbey, near Reading. "Douai" means, then, a secular seminary in Flanders; Downside's first home; and the Community of St Edmund's last home. Cf. Rt Rev Brian Foley. "Douai: Seed-Bed of English Martyrs", JOURNAL, Spring 1969, 19-26.

dinner and recreation. Vespers was at 2.0 pm followed by a period of meditation till 3.0 pm. Supper was at 6.0 pm. Breakfast was allowed only during recreation weeks and on feast days. Otherwise special permission had to be asked for breakfast which was not given without real reason. Twice a month the monks went for an expedition "into the fields" and on their return they were allowed beer, or a little wine, and some bread. They "were never to be allowed to spend above half an hour in this eating and drinking part." It must be remembered that the whole atmosphere and nature of these English monastic communities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very different from their present pattern. The houses had been founded and the Congregation revived expressly to train men for the English Mission far away from their monastic homes. Each young monk took it for granted that almost as soon as he was ordained he would be sent to England, and the whole of their monastic training was geared to this. There would be a superior, very often himself a young man, and perhaps one or two monks who were old or sick. The rest were novices and young men awaiting ordination. The whole emphasis was on work in the Missionary field, and though later small schools for lay boys were to develop they were, at any rate at Dieulouard, to be principally if not entirely for a few boys who aspired to the monastic life. From ordination onwards the monastic family, almost to a man, was to be found working on the English Mission, and the principal officials and leaders of the Congregation were there too. The Prior of the house was a comparatively unimportant official. Nowadays things are different. Although Blessed Alban's brethren in modern times are still called on to be ready to make the same sacrifice of the exterior helps and consolations of community life, the life of the community and its centre is nowadays to be found in the monastery, and the work of its priests is almost equally divided between the monastery and its school and the Missions (or parishes) which are the heritage of those penal days. But in Blessed Alban's time the houses were small, young, austere—more a Noviciate or Juniorate than a fully grown monastery.

It was not long, then, before Roe left community life behind him and was sent to the English Mission. The exact date of his arrival in England is uncertain, but he had been caught and was in prison by 1618. The persecution of Catholics had languished in the last days of Elizabeth. The loyalty of Catholics at the time of the Armada in 1588 had made a real impression. When James I succeeded the old Queen in 1603, hopes amongst the Catholics were high. They remembered his splendid Catholic christening by Cardinal Beaton, and his mother's loyalty to the Faith. These hopes were not, for the most part, fulfilled. The Gunpowder Plot in 1605, a deplorable move of a small faction, almost certainly pushed into their folly by an *agent provocateur* and adroitly used by Cecil and the government, did nothing but harm to the Catholic cause.[4] Even so things were better than in the last reign. The king was not unreasonable and did much to lift persecution. Yet in spite of happier times Catholics lived in an atmosphere of insecurity. The most they could hope for was the uncertain favour

[4] Francis Edwards, S.J., at the Office of the Vice-Postulation, this year published a careful study of the Gunpowder Plot.

of the sovereign. Popular opinion mirrored in Parliament was bitterly hostile. But Parliament met rarely and the king's wishes still controlled policy and decided whether the law should or should not be enforced. The Stuarts could not remove the Penal Laws from the Statute Book, but they could reduce their pressure and exercise the power of pardon.

That was the situation when Alban Roe arrived to begin his work on the English Mission. Challoner says that "here he took great pains in preaching, conferring with Protestants, etc., and gained many souls to Christ and His Church, his zeal and charity making him proof against all personal dangers, where he thought he could be serviceable to the soul of his neighbour." These disputations with Protestants were not uncommon at the time. Father Augustine Baker argued and corresponded with John Selden, the jurist; and when the floor collapsed under the weight of a large congregation in Blackfriars in 1623, assembled to hear a famous Jesuit preacher,[5] a Protestant minister was reported among the casualties. But Father Alban was not long to carry on his work at liberty. By 1618 he was taken by the pursuivants and committed to the New Prison in Maiden Lane. He remained in prison for about five years until a turn in the political situation rescued him.

A great change in the fortunes of Catholics came in 1612 when Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, died. In the following year there arrived in England, as Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Count Gondamar. He was convinced that he could persuade James to relax the Penal Laws. He hoped that Catholics would then show their strength, elect a predominantly Catholic Parliament, and that the king would return to the faith of his baptism. He was, of course, absurdly hopeful, but he had one strong weapon. James was bent on a marriage for his son, Prince Charles, to a daughter of Philip III of Spain. The terms were first submitted to James in 1615, and by 1617 an ambassador extraordinary had been appointed to arrange the match. The king had already been persuaded to show his good intentions by halting the persecution of his Catholic subjects. In 1618 we find Gondamar so indignant at the execution of the seminary priest, Fr William Southerne that James promised to release all priests who were then held by the government. This must have been just before Fr Alban was captured and put into prison, for he did not benefit. But by 1623 James, tired of delays and anxious to hurry on the plans for a Spanish match, made another show of toleration. In order to convince Gondamar again of his sincerity he ordered another general release of all Catholics in prison, and this time Fr Alban was amongst those who were set free. He was of course banished and threatened with what would happen if he dared to return to England. But he was free.

Bishop Challoner tells that Fr Alban, after having been banished, spent a short time with his Benedictine brethren at St Gregory's, Douai. Whether this stay was a matter of four months, as he records, or only a matter of weeks as the annals of St Edmund's maintain, it was not long before he was back again in England. His spell of liberty was once again

[5] Fr Robert Drury, S.J. (not the martyr of 26th February 1607, who was a seminary priest and possibly a Benedictine oblate). The total death roll was ninety-four.

to be short. After another two years of work he was caught again and committed "a close prisoner to a filthy gaol in St Albans, the very place where he had received the first favourable impressions of the Catholic faith." This time, then, he was a close prisoner—and to be a close prisoner was a very different matter from being committed to an ordinary prison. It took a strong constitution to survive the rigours of a close prison for any length of time. Challoner is probably not exaggerating when he says that "his confinement here was so strict, and his want even of necessities so very great, that he verily believed that he must have perished through cold and hunger, if a special providence had not interposed." This "special providence" was a group of friends who managed to secure his removal to London where he was lodged in the Fleet prison and no longer a close prisoner.

Then began the long years, fourteen or fifteen, when Fr Alban carried on the work to which he had been called, now as a prisoner. It is clear that he was much in demand as a spiritual director and many went to him to be instructed in prayer. Fr Alban must have known well that great master of prayer and of the spiritual life, Fr Augustine Baker,[9] an English Benedictine and one of the earliest members of the Westminster community revived and perpetuated by Fr Sigebert Buckley. Fr Augustine Baker had worked in London from 1608 till 1620 and, as members of the same small community, the two priests must have been much drawn to each other. It cannot be doubted that the older monk must have paid many visits to the younger when he first arrived in England, during his years as a prisoner in Maiden Lane, and later during the years when they were in London together. Fr Augustine Baker was living either in Holborn or in Bedfordshire from 1638 until his death in London on 9th August 1641 only a few months before Fr Alban's martyrdom.

Priests like Fr Alban who had been put into the ordinary gaols like the Fleet were allowed considerable freedom. Living as they did on the alms of the lay Catholics they were free to receive visitors and even, provided they were present again at night, allowed out into the city. And so he had the opportunity "of going abroad upon his parole, and attending the calls of his ministry." Supported by his friends he spent the years serving them in their spiritual needs. Challoner mentions amongst his priestly work his never-failing encouragement to "such as applied to him for the practice of mental prayer, instructing them in this holy exercise both by word of mouth, and by several pious tracts which he translated out of other languages into English, some of which he caused to be published in print, others he left behind in manuscript." It has not yet been discovered that any of these, either in print or manuscript, survive.

During these years in prison Fr Alban showed, besides a strong spirit of prayer and a reputation as a teacher of prayer, a cheerfulness which was afterwards to colour all that we know of his death. Challoner mentions

[9] (1575-1641), an Oxford lawyer student, Recorder of Abergavenny, he received the habit at Padua in 1605. He served on the English mission and as chaplain to the nuns of Cambrai. His mystical writings are gathered into a synthesis in *Sancta Sophia*.

that he "suffered much from frequent illnesses, and violent fits of the stone (for which he was cut more than once), all of which he endured with invincible patience and courage; being remarkably cheerful and facetious even in the midst of his sufferings." Nor was illness his only trial, for there is a curious reference to him in the Westminster Archives. He had his enemies, ill natured Catholics who listed those who aroused their resentment either because they favoured the oath of allegiance or because their cheerfulness was assumed to be evidence of laxity. Fr Alban was not the only martyr nor the only monk to appear in their list. Apart from providing evidence of the unhappy quarrels among the frustrated Catholics of the day it has no significance save as another indication of his reputation for invincible good temper.

While Fr Alban remained in prison year after year, he could at any moment have been brought to trial and condemned to death for being a priest. But although events were slowly moving towards civil war, the protection of the Crown still held and there was a long lull in the execution of priests. From 1628, when the Jesuit Blessed Edmund Arrowsmith was martyred at Lancaster, there were no more executions for eleven years. It is not an accident that this more or less exactly coincides with the years during which Charles I ruled without Parliament—the eleven years of "arbitrary government". It was Parliament, and the pressure which Parliament put upon the government, which was the enemy. And while the king ruled without Parliament the priests in prison were safe. But by 1637 Charles's own security was beginning to topple. He had fallen foul of the Scots, and the Covenanters were beginning to collect men and arms. The king was forced to do the same, and he took the strange step of allowing the Queen to make an open appeal to Catholics to assist their sovereign with money. On the recommendation of their religious superiors the Catholics raised £14,000—a large sum under the circumstances, even though it was a drop in the ocean of Charles's needs. In the end the king was forced to summon Parliament. And when the long Parliament met in November 1640 he was at its mercy. Immediately the prosecution of priests began again, and now Charles was powerless to save them. In the five years between 1641 and 1646 twenty priests were executed, among them Fr Alban Roe.

The situation did not escape the notice of the priests in prison. "At the beginning of the long persecuting Parliament," writes Challoner, "being in conversation with one of his brethren, he told him that war was at hand and that it was time to prepare for the conflict." That moment was not long delayed. Before the end of 1641 Fr Alban was transferred from the Fleet to Newgate, and on 19th January 1642 he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey. The story of his trial and martyrdom can be pieced together very fully from the account written by a member of the French Embassy in London, and from other accounts preserved at Monte Cassino and the English Convent at Nymphenburg in Bavaria.

When he was brought before the court Fr Alban pleaded "not guilty", but he was at first unwilling to be tried "by his country" lest he should involve an ignorant jury in the guilt of his condemnation. When he was

threatened with the alternative, the *peine forte et dure* (to be crushed to death as Blessed Margaret Clitherow had been) he replied "My Saviour has suffered far more for me than all that, and I am willing to suffer the worst of torments for His sake." The judge sent him back to Newgate to be given the chance to think again. Having taken the advice of other priests he agreed next day to be tried "by his country". The jury quickly found him guilty of High Treason on account of his proved priestly character and functions. He heard the sentence "with a serene and cheerful countenance; and then, making a low reverence, he thanked the judge for the favour of his sentence which he esteemed very great." Making now no secret of his priesthood he was sent back to gaol to await his execution.

When he arrived back at Newgate his friends gathered for the last time to offer him comfort and to hear his parting words. "Accepting persecution with joy," he said, "as coming from God. It is usually a mark of his favour, for at least it serves to increase our glory if we endure it with patient resignation." The next day, Friday 21st January, he was able to say Mass and the same privilege was allowed to Blessed Thomas Reynolds, a secular priest over eighty years old who was to be his companion in martyrdom. After his Mass Fr Alban blessed the Catholics who assisted. "When you see our arms stretched out and nailed to the city gates," he said, "imagine that we are giving you the same blessing as now." Then about nine o'clock he walked down the prison steps to meet the sheriff and his officers, and went to the hurdle where Fr Reynolds was already lying. Fr Alban greeted him cheerfully and jokingly felt his pulse, asking him how he felt. "In very good heart," replied the old priest, "blessed be God for it, and glad that I have for my companion in death a person of your undaunted courage." Making the sign of the Cross he said to the carter, "Come on, let us be going"; and that "they more esteemed it to be drawn up Holborn on a sledge for this cause than if they were riding in the best coach the king had."

There were three others, common criminals, to be executed with them. When they arrived at Tyburn Fr Alban ministered to one of them whom he had reconciled to the Church in prison the day before, while Fr Reynolds addressed the crowd. Fr Alban then spoke to them in his turn. Looking about him he said "Here's a jolly company" and repeated what he had said in court—that to be put to death for being a priest was an unjust law. The sheriff told him to change his subject, so he said to him, "Pray, sir, if I will conform to your religion and go to church, will you secure me my life?" "That I will," said the sheriff, "upon my word, my life for yours if you will but do that." "See then," he replied, turning to the crowd, "what the crime is for which I am to die, and whether my religion be not my only treason." He then turned to prayer: "Forgive me, my God, my countless offences as I forgive my persecutors; accept my sufferings and death as satisfaction for my sins. I wish I had a thousand lives; then would I sacrifice them all for so worthy a cause." The contemporary accounts describe the great impression which the courage and words of the martyr made on the onlookers, Protestant as well as Catholic.

The cart was then put underneath the gallows. The martyrs climbed up into it, and as the ropes were adjusted round their necks they kissed them as priests kiss their stole when vesting for Mass. Even at this last moment Fr Alban's cheerfulness was invincible. Seeing one of the warders from the Fleet prison in the crowd he said to him: "Thou hast often told me that I should be hanged, and truly my unworthiness was such that I could not believe it. But I see thou art a prophet." The hangman came to fasten the rope and Fr Alban gave him something for a drink and told him laughingly to serve God, not to get drunk, and to do his office well. He had no handkerchief to cover his eyes for he had given it away already to a bystander. But he said that he did not need one, because "the cause for which I die is so good that I am neither afraid nor ashamed to look on death, nor to be seen by those standing by". The two priests then gave one another Absolution, and while they invoked the Holy Name of Jesus the cart was driven away leaving them to hang. They hung in their clothes until they were fully dead, and afterwards they were cut down and quartered.

The end of the story comes from another eye-witness, Fr John Hiccocks, a Carmelite, who, writing to a friend in Toledo, finished his account of the martyrdom by saying: "their quarters and heads were kept in the prison to be put in boiling water before placing them on the gates of the city at the top of very high poles. The gaolers gained not a little by allowing the faithful to visit the relics there during these four or five days when the faithful, for the satisfying of their devotion, by giving money, obtained some parts of those holy members . . . Thus the dismembered quarters were placed over the gates of the city last Tuesday during the night".

So he died. With eight other Benedictines he was beatified on 15th December 1929. Now on 25th October 1970 he has been canonized amongst the Forty Martyrs. Our faith is the fruit of their labours. There is a directness about our debt to them. If Saint Augustine had not brought the faith to England it is moderately certain that someone else would have done so. But if these men had not kept the faith for us, it is not easy to see where we would have been today. Very likely England would have been like Scandinavia, a few thousand scattered Catholics with a few priests doing their best. Though freedom and tolerance has come for us in England we must not think that there is nothing more to do. Persecution may be over for the moment, but the work is not. Alban Roe did not die for the restoration of the Hierarchy. He died for the conversion of England, the *raison d'être* of the restored English Benedictines. And England is not converted. It is arguable that there is less belief in God, there are fewer men conscious of the duty of prayer in our days than in his. He did not give his life so that we could lay down our burdens, but so that we (especially we his brethren) could take up his.

TWO OTHER NEW BENEDICTINE SAINTS

by

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MARTYRDOM, it has been unkindly said, is the luckiest fate that can befall some people. Alas, today we live in an England in which, however much we may have set our hearts on being martyrs, the State has set its heart on disappointing us. But if we should ever be called to martyrdom, we may take comfort from knowing that Saints John Roberts, Alban Roe and Ambrose Barlow had a generous measure of human failings. Let us not forget the other Benedictine martyrs: BB Mark Barkworth (d. 1601), George Gervase (1608), Maurus Scott (1612), Thomas Tunstall (1616), Philip Powel (1646) and Thomas Pickering (1679).[1] A possible tenth candidate is Robert Drury (d. 1607), though the evidence that he was a Benedictine oblate is slight.[2]

John Roberts, the first of the three among the Forty to be martyred, was a man of spirit. Among several, there are two incidents worthy of special mention, because they illustrate not only the martyr's quarrelsome nature, not only his admirable strength of purpose, but also the action of grace finally triumphant in his soul. In 1599 when he was a student at the seminary of the English secular clergy at Valladolid, only a handful of Englishmen, mainly in Italy, had become Benedictines since the time when Elizabeth had suppressed Mary Tudor's re-foundation of Westminster Abbey. English Catholicism, partly exiled abroad, partly harried at home by the highly efficient police apparatus of the Tudor state, had seen just over twenty years of heroic missionary enterprise under Cardinal Allen and the Jesuits. But with the death of Allen a most bitter and destructive quarrel arose between the Jesuits and a small group of secular priests, whose dislike of the Society communicated itself to the seminaries in Rome, Spain and Douai. The vocations of the

[1] See Dom Bede Camm, "Nine Martyr Monks", London, 1931. Camm needs correcting in places. Gregory Sayer was clothed, not professed, in 1588 (p. 11). In 1603 only 15, not 18, students became Benedictines from St Alban's (p. 59). Clement VIII's decree allowing the English Benedictine Mission was on 5th December 1602 (p. 70). On pp. 72-73 Camm follows Weldon's muddle over the origins of St Gregory's. Incorrigible romantic, he has Gervase's hands bound and on the same page (94) flung out like the wings of a bird to sing his profession *Suscipe*. Scott's letter on pp. 213-214 was not the last he wrote. The Downside copy of the *Life* of Tunstall quoted on p. 246 has "Smanes" clearly, not "Simones". Somerset House was not the London residence of the English Benedictines, but St James's Palace, until 1671. Nor can Pickering's profession as a laybrother be put as accurately as 1660, for there is a gap in the *Liber Graduum* of St Gregory's from 1650 to 1668 (p. 344).

[2] M. Lunn, "English Benedictines and the Oath of Allegiance, 1606-1647", *Recusant History* 10 (1969) 149, n. 23.

first English Benedictines must, therefore, be seen against this backcloth, though it is fruitless for the most part to speculate about their motives.

At St Alban's College, Valladolid, John Roberts conceived a vocation to the Benedictine life, and he asked the College's Jesuit authorities to recommend him to the Prior of the monastery of San Benito in the same city. However, when Roberts and the Jesuits reached the monastery, Roberts may have been a little surprised when, instead of praising him, they so loaded him with accusations, that the Prior was unwilling to accept him. Fortunately Roberts had the presence of mind to persuade the Prior privately to put his character to a simple test. If the Jesuits expelled him from the College forthwith, it would show that he was as bad as they said he was; but if they kept him in the College, it would be a sign that their accusations were prompted only by the fear of losing him and others to the Benedictines. The plan worked, and John Roberts was accordingly received, professed and in 1602 sent to England as one of the first three missioner monks from Spain.

Hardly had he reached England when he put new life into his quarrel with the Jesuits in general and Fr Robert Persons in particular. The exact circumstances of this disagreement need not concern us here,[4] except to say that it began with a spy's story about a Benedictine, an ex-Jesuit and a secular priest. In this story the important point is that it shows the Benedictine (John Roberts) rushing bald-headed at the problems of the English Catholics, to the extent of associating openly with these two, who were not only enemies of the Jesuits but also in touch with the Bishop of London, an *ex officio* persecutor of the Catholics.[5] Roberts was therefore himself accused of being in contact with the Bishop of London, but for this calumny Persons was said to have got "a good wigging" from one of the English Benedictines in the presence of the General S.J., Claudio Aquaviva, in Rome.[6] Shortly after this, in September 1604, Persons had to leave Rome, partly on account of a genuine ague, and partly because the Jesuits in general were out of favour with the reigning pontiff, Clement VIII. But it would not have been true to have said that Persons had been disgraced by an actual sentence of exile, and when a malicious rumour started circulating to this effect, Roberts was accused of having started it. Happily, Persons was also rehabilitated, for his friends squashed the rumour; Pope Clement died in March 1605; Persons was able to return in the following month; and each of the two combatants left the arena without so much as

[3] For much of what follows see M. Lunn, "The Origins and early Development of the revived English Benedictine Congregation, 1588-1647", Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1970 (= Thesis).

[4] Public Records Office, State Papers Domestic, James I, 1, 7. For the ex-Jesuit, Thomas Wright, see T. A. Stroud, "Father Thomas Wright, a Test Case for Toleration", *Biographical Studies* 1 (1951-52) 205; and for the secular priest, Thomas Bluet, see J. Bossy, "Henri IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits", *Recusant History* 8 (1965) 94. The Bishop of London was Richard Vaughan, 1550?-1607.

[5] S. Marron, ed. [T. Preston] to —, June 1605, *Douai Magazine* 2 (1923) 229-30; L. Jones, *Responsio pro Monachis Anglis*, ed. R. H. Connolly, *Downside Review* 27 (1928) 151.

a bruise upon his character.[6] In the case of John Roberts his actions were prompted by the same bravado that made him not only disguise himself as a laughing cavalier but also minister to the victims of the plague in London when most able-bodied persons had fled to safety.

The most high-spirited of the three new saints however was Edward Ambrose Barlow. In the Archives of the Archbishopric of Westminster there are two reports—apparently unnoticed by historians hitherto—on a lengthy case, written in a rather crabbed example of the later English court hand, which at the best of times is not easy to decipher, since it itself is a debased form of Gothic. One of the reports has been covered by a zealous Archivist with a thin layer of transparent paper, now brown with age, in order to preserve the pages from decay—a circumstance which causes the emotions of admiration and rage to battle within the breast of the beholder. The game, however, turns out to be worth the candle, for the case is an interesting one.[7]

It concerned a dispute between a secular priest called James Gaunt *alias* Sands and our martyr, the precise circumstances of which are now lost, except that they were about the will of Alice Smalley and whether Ambrose Barlow was right to have admitted Cissie to Holy Communion. To Gaunt's letter of protest about these matters Barlow replied sometime in 1624 that they could be settled out of court through the friendly arbitration of a Benedictine named by himself and a secular priest called John Melling *alias* Maxfield. But friendliness did not mean appeasement, and Barlow told Gaunt, who was presumably a Lancastrian, that he himself, as a man of that county, "durst looke you betwixt the browes" and say exactly what he thought. Our martyr therefore went on to challenge Gaunt's right to submit him, a regular, to the judgment of a secular priest such as Melling, however high the latter's rank might be. "Hath Jupiter begotten a newe sonne", he asked, "and furnished him with such store of thunderboultes to kill at his pleasure . . . ? But this planet when it rayneth, if it bee conjoyned with mars is by him hindered of all execution which may be applyed to your autorities in theese tymes of persecution".

This argument cut both ways. The regulars used it to maintain that, while England was in a state of emergency for the Catholics, no settled system of jurisdiction, such as was employed in Catholic countries, should be set up, on account of the added danger in which it would place the Catholics. The secular clergy on the other hand argued that it was

[6] Vatican Archives, Borghese III 124G2/51: Persons to Aldobrandino, 17th July 1604; Stonyhurst, Collectanea P/458: Persons to Creswell, 12th September 1604; Ibid., Anglia III, no. 54: Persons to T. Owen, 16 and 23 April 1605; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (= ARSI), Anglia 31/286: Anthony Copley, testimonial for Persons, 2nd March 1605; English College, Valladolid, Ser. II, L.2: Persons to Philip III, 16th May 1605.

[7] Archives of the Archbishopric of Westminster, Series B, vol. XLVII/29: J. Melling, report of letters and conversations, 1624-May 1625; Ibid., Series A, vol. XXII/229: Melling to R. Smith, 5th/15th April 1628. I have left the original spelling, except to substitute "j" for "i", "u" for "v" and vice versa, where appropriate. James Gaunt *alias* Sands (1580-1658) was ordained at Rome in 1607; John Melling (?-1633) at Douai in 1612. Melling does not seem to have been archdeacon in Lancs during this period, so the nature of his authority is obscure, if indeed it was his authority that was in question. I am grateful to Fr Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., for this information.

precisely this unsettled state which caused so many abuses among the regulars, who, they claimed, were not properly supervised. So it is not surprising to hear next that Melling had insisted on settling the case on authority, and not in the forum of conscience. Three letters of protest from Barlow to Melling have survived, all undated, but belonging roughly to the autumn of 1624. The reason for the strained relationship between the two men lay partly in the fact that, according to Barlow, Melling had once entertained the thought of being a monk, though there is no certain invincible good temper.

Barlow then announced his intention of escalating the affair by taking it not only to his immediate superior, the Northern Provincial (Bede Helme), but also to his brother Rudesind Barlow, the President of the English Benedictine Congregation, and even to Thomas Preston. Mention of the last name shows to what lengths he was prepared to go, for Preston was notorious for his published views in favour of the condemned Oath of Allegiance, although he had made a form of recantation, which many held to be insincere.[8] The martyr prophesied correctly that his own action would even raise the question of bishops' authority and that of the popes, and thus a quarrel might be started which would nobble all England and not to be soon appeased. On 14th October Old Style 1624 the two men met, and when Melling accused Barlow of factiously allying himself even with the Jesuits, Barlow answered that he did not do this on his own initiative but that—ominously—he was "an instrument used by some of his brethren in this busines and proceeding and was urged by them to doe what he had done". By 18th/28th April 1625 the situation had become rather hopeless, for though, Melling reported, "Mr Barlowe produced a testimonie under 2 laymans hands to prove that Maxfield had faigned and invented reportes to Mr Barlowe his disgraces, Maxfield . . . hath proved that Mr Barlowe first writt that testimonie and the lay man is verie sorie he consented to Mr Barlowe to wryte it afterwardes".

There for the moment the matter rested, because both contestants seem to have been in gaol for part of this period, and because the larger conflict between Bishop Smith and the regulars then occupied all minds. In this war the minor skirmish is of interest in that it places the origins of friction between monks and seculars earlier than the date traditionally assigned to it. To be brief, the main controversy exploded in 1627, the monks taking the leading part in a lively battle of tracts, the Jesuits thankfully standing aside and letting their fellow-regulars receive the brunt of that *odium theologicum* normally reserved exclusively for themselves. The monks reached the height of their rather dusty glory in the spring of 1628

[8] Slight clues only are available. Melling was at Douai in 1604, a time when many of the students were leaving to be Benedictines. In February 1608 he left temporarily for England on account of his health in the company of Fr Richard Huddleston, who was later to become a Benedictine. See E. H. Burton and T. L. Williams, edd. "The Doway College Diaries, Third, Fourth and Fifth, 1598-1654", Catholic Record Society 10, pp. 62, 88, 99; and H. N. Birt, "Obit Book of the English Benedictines from 1600 to 1912", reprinted with an introduction by M. Lunn, Farnborough, 1970, p. 36. The latter is not to be confused with his more famous nephew, Dom John Denis Huddleston.

[9] M. Lunn, art. cit., esp. pp. 150-57.

when Rudesind Barlow produced the first, but by no means the last, published work in the dispute. But during the rest of that year the seculars launched a furious counter-attack, aiming quite definitely below the belt at the orthodoxy of his opinions and the morals of the missioner monks. President Barlow was sensitive on both these points, and therefore when, by 1629, Rome had ordered the suppression of the book, the monks virtually retired from the fight.[10]

Already, however, on 3rd/13th April 1628 Melling and Barlow had patched up a friendly agreement out of court with the help of the new Northern Provincial, Robert Haddock, who seems to have been nicer and quieter than his predecessor, and another monk, who was Melling's special friend. Melling told these two monks that he had nothing to say against Barlow's spiritual work, but that he was ready to prove any of the injuries done against his person and property if the matter came to trial. Barlow was then brought into the room. He denied everything, but, according to Melling, he put his case for the defence badly. Melling, however, was persuaded to drop most of his charges. But on one score he would not give way, for "as for the fetherbed and other things deteyned from mee these 3 yeares by Mr Barlowe, the superioure sayd I should have them delivered". Readers may draw their own conclusions, but it rather looks as though Ambrose Barlow was unable to deny the charge to his superior's satisfaction. Somehow, though, one cannot quite see him creeping into Melling's bedchamber and running off with a floppy feather mattress. No doubt a portion of the will of Alice Smalley had something to do with it.

There with the grace of God go we. On 28th August in the same year Edmund Arrowsmith was martyred at Lancaster, and that night, knowing nothing of what had happened,[11] Ambrose Barlow received a vision of the martyr in his sleep telling him that he too would one day be martyred. From that moment the young man who loved a quarrel and a soft bed became the subject of the *Apostolicall Life*,[12] wore a hat "that I would not have given two groats for" and "a scurvy pair of slip shoes", and was yet "so mild, witty and cheerful in his conversation that of all men that I ever knew he seemed to me the most lively to represent the spirit of Sir Thomas More". Furthermore, although it was a common custom for priests to wear swords, Ambrose Barlow would not do so, jestingly giving as his reason "Indeed I dare not weare a sword, because I am of a chollerick nature". From this self-knowledge came "a great talent in composing of differences, and reconciling such as were at variance". For the Cross had become his sign of reconciliation and the hurdle his bed of feathers.

[10] Thesis, pp. 312-314.

[11] There seems to be a discrepancy here. Richard Challenor ("Memoirs of Missionary Priests", ed. J. H. Pollen, London, 1924, p. 396) quotes this statement, which comes from a letter from Ambrose to his brother Rudesind on 17th May 1641. But he also says that Ambrose Barlow gave the sacraments to Edmund Arrowsmith in prison. Perhaps the explanation is that he was caught doing this, and removed elsewhere before Arrowsmith's death, for he was said to be in prison in 1628 (Mount Street. London, Trappes-Lomax index of priests, s.v.).

[12] R. H. Connolly, ed. "The Apostolical Life of Ambrose Barlow, O.S.B.", *Downside Review* 25 (1926) 235 ff.

L'EGLISE FACE AU TEMPS

by

His Eminence Cardinal Leon Josef Suenens,
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The Cardinal of Belgium last came before JOURNAL readers in the Summer of 1969 when Bishop Gordon Wheeler of Leeds wrote a review article of his important book, "Coresponsibility in the Church" (p. 212-6). The book signalled a point in Church development where the teaching of the Second Vatican Council at last came to be put into practice at all levels of ecclesial life, and where the more courageous in the Church began to move beyond Vatican Council waters into fresh and uncharted seas, into the truly post-conciliar Church. The Cardinal himself led the voyage by his famous interview with Jean de Broucker, the then editor of *Informations Catholiques Internationales* (15th May 1969), translated in the *Tablet* two days later.

Here he does not seek to reach out to the limits of controversy or to reconnoitre new waters. This essay is a reflection on the state of the Church rooted in the past, burgeoning in the present, its eyes cast ever on the future. It is a pastoral meditation delivered, fittingly, on Pentecost of this year; and its message is about the value of tradition and the power of hope.

Josef Léon (as he was baptised) was born in Brussels in 1904. His father, who kept a small restaurant, died when he was four. Brought up by his mother, he was singled out for his abilities by Cardinal Mercier when he was seventeen and sent to Rome for training. After teaching philosophy at a seminary, he became Vice-Rector of Louvain University during the War years, becoming Suffragan Bishop of Malines in 1945 at the age of 41. He was appointed Archbishop of Malines in 1961 and made a Cardinal the following year by Pope John. Before the Council he was a member of the preparatory commissions, during it a member of the secretariat for special affairs and of the co-ordinating commission; and in the last two sessions he was a moderator. His speech of 4th December 1962 was judged to have set the direction and the structure of the conciliar thinking. It was he who brought the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* officially to the United Nations. When Pope Paul was elected, he singled out Cardinal Suenens to have at his side for his first benediction of the crowds in St. Peter's Square. Recently the Cardinal has been the presiding spirit at the Brussels Theological Congress sponsored by the *Concilium* group of theologians: there he advocated a second Council of Jerusalem in his opening address, and in a press conference he criticised present methods of electing the Pope, the cardinals and bishops. Essentially an ecclesiologist, his mind never rests from seeking new ways of countering institutionalisation with the movement of life.

I. THE CHURCH IN HISTORY

At present the Church is living through difficult times. These are troubled because of the many issues raised, but at the same time they are rich in hope for the future. The crisis is obvious, but opinions differ as to its diagnosis. From where does it come, what is its nature, and where is it leading to? The correct analysis of the symptoms of a disease must come before any cure; this is unavoidable. And in order to orientate oneself at sea, one must use a compass, know where one set out from, and discern the currents and cross-currents that carry the boat along or hold it back.

At the present time the Church is like a ship, exposed to all the winds, knocked about in some gulf of Gascony. This situation is the result, on one side, of an exterior factor: the state of the sea. The Church

exists in and for the world; she is, largely, the source of unprecedented changes which are spreading across the world. History, in this second half of the twentieth century, is accelerating at a breath-taking pace; we change centuries every five or ten years; it is a perpetual challenge to be taken up.

There is also an inner factor, inherent in the ship itself, which since the Council, has undertaken important re-adjustments, not in dry dock but in the open sea. The Church herself appears to be a dockyard in full operation; crew and passengers, each day, experience the extent to which their fate is identified, and how much life on board concerns them all.

And this is a new phenomenon too. The sense of co-responsibility of Christians has been awakened: there remains, yet, some distance to travel before disentangling all the consequences. But the opening has been made; it can only grow. This is the moment to recall the words of Victor Hugo: "there is nothing more powerful than an idea whose hour has come." For good or ill a new way of life is emerging in the Church.

We are coming out of a long period, too long, in which for many Christians to live in the Church meant the same as passivity and immobility, unthinking Christianity more sociological than personalised. Instead of accusing Vatican II, as some do, of provoking a flood after the thaw, it would be better to ask what caused the previous frozen state, which provoked the inevitable reaction, and how to prevent ice packs from forming in the future. The difficulties of our epoch are diverse and manifold. One of them is due to the fact that the renewal is spreading simultaneously throughout all areas of the Church's life.

All areas are inter-related

Everything holds together: if, for example, one wishes to see the collegial aspect of supreme authority stressed in the Church, logic demands that the position of the bishop at the centre of the local Church, and of the priest at the heart of the community, be also re-examined from the same perspective. The priesthood of the faithful cannot be re-evaluated without casting a glance over again at the ministerial priesthood, always irreplaceable, but capable of different expressions. The creation of permanent deacons and the giving of certain new powers to laymen obliges us to redefine our classical treatises and introduce a pluralism into ecclesial functions. Everything conditions everything else; everyone has to take up new positions in relation to his neighbour. All this is not accomplished at the wave of a hand.

The essential and the secondary

This presupposes, too, the ability to discern wisely what remains essential and what is secondary or peripheral in the heritage of the past. Our Christians, accustomed to receiving as a lump sum or sometimes mixed up together the pure gold of the gospels and the contributions of men, have not been prepared for this discernment. It is not easy to scrape down a Gothic cathedral, cluttered with baroque or modern stucco work, to lay bare the original arches. One does not leap at the title of restorer of cathedrals in the manner of Viollet le Duc, without some previous knowledge.

In a text on ecumenism (the wealth of which has not yet been fully exploited) the Council used the happy phrase "the hierarchy of truths". All that is revealed is true, but not all is equally central. Precious bait for any ecumenical dialogue. So, too, is it for us all an invitation to distinguish what is at the very heart of Christianity from what is peripheral. *A fortiori* it concerns all that theologians, moralists, preachers through the ages have added, of their own beliefs, to the deposit of revelation, stepping too gaily across the threshold of mysteries. A tree benefits from being periodically pruned: by lopping off superfluous growth, one causes the sap to flow into the main branches. But one needs a sure hand not to cut into the quick, and a sturdy optimism before a tangle of dead branches, to maintain faith in the coming spring.

The Radicalism of the Renewal

The present renewal, so delicate to carry out and so exciting to live through, is still encountering a major difficulty: the very depth of the "conversion" which is asked of us. Being faithful to the gospel with all its demands, and at the same time being just towards the expectations of the world cannot be achieved without suffering and contradictions. Life is made up of tensions seeking a balance: the discomfort of the move is the price to pay for discovering new horizons. The very depth of this work of the Holy Spirit demands time and patience.

The Church in History

But while we wait for the soldering together of generations and for the Holy Spirit to triumph over the sin which puts an obstacle in His way in each one of us, it seems to me that we would render a service to the present day Christian, en route for the twenty-first century, by showing him that the Church is a reality planted in history. The moment in which we live is clarified if one links it to yesterday, waiting too to link it up with tomorrow—just as, in order to plot the position of a ship, one must measure the latitude and longitude on the map. Understanding the Church in relation to time in general helps towards understanding it in relation to our own time. There is everything to gain by seeing it thus, inserted into the heart of history and not as an abstract reality, immutable and outside time.

Too long have we laboured under a static vision of the Church, defined in terms of a juridically "perfect" society. Thank God now we no longer see the Church through juridical categories but as a living reality which Christ animates with His presence and His life, and which pursues its way from the first Easter until the coming of the Lord, on a pilgrim journey through time and history, and advancing from stage to stage along an unfinished road.

The story of the Exodus shows us that God does not like giving stocks of provisions to his people, but instead is ever on the watch to assure them their manna for each day. We have grown accustomed to

accumulating many cumbersome acquisitions and to building for ourselves houses of stone and cement, instead of being content with folding portable tents and of keeping ourselves ever ready for the march.

A Church put back into history is more capable of urging her people to a greater readiness and suppleness and of teaching them to be faithful, both to the past, to the present and to the future. This three-fold fidelity is the glory and the purest crown of the Church.

II. THE CHURCH AND THE PAST

Tradition and traditions

The whole being of the Church is rooted in the past. She is faithful to her origin, she is continuity and tradition; otherwise she denies her very nature. The Church is nourished by that fundamental continuity which ties her to her origin, as a tree lives from its roots, but one must beware of confusing her with the growths which spring up at the foot of the tree in the course of time. Certainly, it is not easy to distinguish what stems out of authentic dogma and theology, from what is the result of the varying sociological and cultural situations. True theologians know this better than anyone and they are afraid of exceeding their limits.

What makes "conservatism" so sure of itself and so closed to dialogue is the extraordinary ignorance of history found among its supporters. They venture to dogmatise beyond the realm of dogma, and to canonise opinions which bear the mark and the wear and tear of their time, because they lack an historical perspective. Not only is history "mistress of life"; it is also a guide in research, simply because it places in context, makes relative where necessary, makes us modest and circumspect, balances one thing against another and places rails along the route, showing at the same time, the pot-holes to be avoided. It teaches the art of working in relief and of keeping proportion; how many controversies would emerge from the morass, if on both sides, people were willing to take stock of the past, to go back to the sources, to search together for the complementary truths and the pre-suppositions that went unnoticed! If I really want to understand the direction and meaning of a past council, I must get to know the situation with which the Council had to deal, its *Sitz im Leben*, its fears, worries, even its lack of knowledge. History is indispensable in helping the Church to remain truly faithful to her origins.

It even further enriches us; over and above all this it teaches a lesson of humility and of confidence. Of humility, for it brings home to us in what very fragile vessels we carry our treasures. Of confidence too, for it shows us to what extent God is at work in the Church, through the weakness of man. It makes us put a finger on the dilemma, which Gamaliel long ago offered for the consideration of the court that wanted to condemn the Apostles: either the preaching of these men is of human invention, in which case its end is near, do not worry about it, or it is of God and in that case do not set yourselves in opposition to him. That sort of apologetic is always of value.

Living tradition

To maintain continuity with the past is always for the Church a primary duty. From it, as we have said, she draws her sap, her source of life. The Church finds her earliest origin in the history of Israel; with the people of the Old Covenant, she travels back down the centuries. She has never allowed herself to be detached from this Jewish past, and she condemned Marcionism as a heresy, that advocated this split. If the Fathers of Vatican II were anxious to make a declaration favourable to the Jews, this was not only as a matter of justice, it was the expression of the Church's fidelity to herself.

If her distant origin then is to be found with them her more immediate source is in the events of the last twenty centuries, events that are, at the same time and indissolubly, both history and mystery. The event and mystery of Christmas, of Easter and of Pentecost.

The Church does not confuse history and historicism. She knows that her full reality cannot be measured, solely, by the methods of the historian. The very wealth of the objective reality we start from overflows all our departmentalising: one can only approach such a reality in the light both of history and of faith. But the Church opposes and will always oppose any attempt at separation of the two. Never will she admit the distinction which some modern liberal exegetes—before, with and after R. Bultmann—strive to introduce between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith.

The decisive factor in the birth of Christianity is the historical Jesus of our Gospels and not the paschal faith of his disciples, even if these Gospels themselves do come down to us from the post-paschal Christian community. By making Easter a purely interior event, effected in the hearts of the disciples by some force whose unleashing no one has been able to explain successfully, is to misjudge the very foundation of faith. One can only rejoice to see the present growth of reaction against this interiorising of the paschal mystery—a reaction ever among the disciples of R. Bultmann, such as W. Pannenberg and the theologians of hope, about whom we will speak later. Christianity will never be reduced to a projection of the subconscious, collective or otherwise, to an ideology or to a dialectic. It is first and foremost an event, a person: Jesus Christ, acknowledged as Lord. The Christian is not a philosopher who has opted for an explanation of the universe, but a man who has experienced in his life Jesus of Nazareth, crucified one Good Friday and returned alive out of the tomb. The cry of Claudel: "Look, now you are someone, all of a sudden" is the cry of faith for all generations past and present.

However, if the Christian is a man who lives from the past, from a unique event of days gone by, he does not make contact with this past across a gap of twenty centuries; this past comes to him because it is living for ever in the Church. When he said to his followers "Behold, I am with you, even to the end of all days" the Master meant to assure them of his presence in the Church and to wipe out between himself and

us all the distance and remoteness with which the past is normally surrounded. In Christ the past has been overcome, surmounted. Because of him and in him the Church comes to us as the inheritor of a past that is vividly present. The Christian of today goes toward his Lord, not merely with his own personal faith, isolated and hesitant, but with the faith of the whole Church—of yesterday and of today.

He believes, as the inheritor of the believers of yesterday. At the moment of the breaking of bread the Church puts on our lips that magnificent prayer "Lord, look not on our sins, but on the faith of your Church". And it is with this ecclesial faith that I go to meet the Son of God. I believe with the faith of the Patriarchs, of the Prophets, with the faith of Mary and of the Apostles, of the martyrs, the doctors, the confessors, the mystics and the saints. The strength of poor, weak Christians—which we all are—is to know ourselves to be in continuity as a link in an immense chain, joined with the Master by those who have gone before us in the way.

It is always, for me, a great moment when, during an ordination, the litany of the saints is sung. It is good to feel united to those ancestors in the faith, whose mediation we are imploring for the sake of the ordinand. This communion, across the centuries, with the Church in glory is a fresh gust of wind, a tonic. It is like a pause on a mountain plateau: one breathes better there, because of the extended horizon.

The Apostolic Tradition

In this chain uniting us to the past, there is a special, major link which governs our faith. "I believe," we say in the Credo, "in the Apostolic Church." That is to say that our faith is given life by the privileged position of the Apostles, the witnesses. Built on the rock of Peter and on the Twelve as foundation-stones, it is here that the faith in anchored, from here everything is transmitted and to here is everything faithfully referred back. The tradition which dominates everything, like a mountain peak commanding the countryside and dividing its rivers, is that which takes as its base the Word of God, lived and transmitted through the ministry of the apostolic college. What Paul wrote to Timothy, who is taking up his job, remains valuable for all time—"Keep before you an outline of the sound teaching which you heard from me, living by the faith and love which are ours in Christ Jesus. Guard the treasure put into our charge, with the help of the Holy Spirit dwelling within us" (2 Tim 1, 13-14). These words are imperative for any Christian who is essentially one of the faithful.

It is when the ship is blown about, that we must offer to God and His Church a purer and stronger faith. Purer because resting on God himself and no longer on the sociological props of a Christian way of life that has passed; this reliance can be seen as personal, more committed more apostolic. Stronger, too, because one must know how to recognise, beyond and through the weaknesses of the Church, her true face.

In spite of the lines appearing on the face of his mother, an adult knows how to read in her expression, the eternal youth of a love that does not age. As children we believed that our mother had an answer to everything; as adults, we have discovered her limitations. But that has not diminished our life, it has strengthened it. As Christians, become adult, we know that we are indebted to the Church for the best of ourselves: that is enough for her to remain for us all, in spite of "her wrinkles", Holy Mother Church.

III. THE CHURCH AND THE PRESENT

The present reality of redemption

One would have a very truncated image of the Church if one saw her as only directed towards the past. She is pre-eminently a present reality. If the salvation of the world is a fact, accomplished once and for all on Calvary, redemption continues to be applied every day. Past and present interpenetrate: the past is made present before our eyes. "Christ is in agony through the centuries," Pascal said, "we must not sleep during this time." The mystery of salvation spans the centuries; it is visible before our eyes. When I give the Host to a member of the faithful saying to him "This is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world", I remind him that the Easter mystery is always at work.

The present reality of the message

The same is true of the immediacy of the Gospel message. If the Church lives from the past, she is also entirely open to the present, to the *Kairos*. She offers God's message as good news which is equally fresh and new for each generation.

Lacordaire once defined the Christian in these marvellous words: "The Christian is a man to whom Jesus Christ has confided other men." These men, confided to us, are not men of yesterday, but of here and now; our neighbours in the street, our companions at work, our young people.

The study of and respect for the past does not imply immobility, nor archaeologism. The Church must always draw out of her treasure-trove the new with the old. She owes it to herself to be modern, incarnate, present in the width and breadth of human life, under all its aspects. The Council reminded us vividly of the need to read and interpret the signs of the times. *Vox temporum, vox Dei.* The saying is always of value. God still speaks today through events: but the living God needs to be put in constant contact with men of flesh and bone.

Someone once asked Karl Barth, "What do you do in the way of preparation for your Sunday sermons?" Here is his reply: "I take the Bible in one hand and the morning paper in the other". Relating God and events is a mission of mediation which the Church is daily called upon to do. It is not an easy task: every day new problems present themselves. The Gospel is not a book of ready-made solutions: it offers the "words of life" that are relevant to the fundamental questions of man. It also offers a spring of living water, forever gushing forth: that is why the continual reading of the sacred pages, in Church, remains a daily duty.

No primitivism

The Church must avoid canonising the past, she must keep clear of any primitivism, which would consist in wanting to keep alive some past century as an ideal or a norm. There is no golden age to return to; we should not even hanker after the primitive Church.

We must not be mistaken about it either: the picture presented of these first Christian Churches had nothing idyllic about it and varies a lot depending on whether the background is Jewish or Hellenistic. A reading of Acts shows just how much the Apostles felt free in regard to the "ways and means" to adopt to fulfil their mission. We must not copy, nor retrace, nor go backwards. It might be thought that, for the sake of ecumenism, a return of this sort should be undertaken: a return to the eleventh century before the Eastern schism, or to the sixteenth century before the schism of the Reformation, so as to resume the dialogue broken since then. No, the Holy Spirit has never ceased to be at work in the Church and it is from today and from the pooling of the wealth of grace of all different bodies that we must promote the visible union of the Christian Churches in a re-discovered communion of faith. We have not to undertake a work of restoration, rigidly transporting or projecting the past into the future. True development in the Church demands a growth in maturity.

As I grow up, my past always remains mine, but as it goes further away, I see it with new eys; I am, now, something more than layers of the past, superimposed upon one another. Authentic tradition as opposed to pseudo-tradition is not the domination or hold of the past over the present, but is rather a living assimilation of the past in the present. In the Church's present the past is contained and at the same time transcended.

I find myself, at times, wondering, in imagination, what I would have been and what believed as a Christian, if instead of living in 1970, I had lived in 1870, in 1770, in 1670 and so on. This invariably ends in heartfelt gratitude to the Lord for the present time in which he has chosen I should live.

No "presentism"

But if one must not yield to the temptation of pastism or primitivism, neither must one succumb to the mirage of "presentism" which is a sort of canonisation and at the same time an abuse of the present. It is the temptation that awaits anyone who, in order to stress the duty of the Church to be present to the world, forgets or minimises whatever is, and is always, simply an irreducible part of Christianity, independent of any age.

When in "Gaudium et Spes" the Council asks us to read the "signs of the times", it is not asking for the Church to be made worldly, adapted to whatever is of current interest or fashion. Nor was it simply an invitation to re-cast the eternal message into language accessible to all. It was an appeal to re-read the Gospel with faith, in the light of the

Holy Spirit, and with the men of our time in mind. A re-reading aiming to hear again the Word of God that is always living and contemporary. A readiness to grasp today "what the Spirit says to the Churches". Only is the Church faithful to herself if she remains always open to the surprises of the Holy Spirit, to the unexpected things of God.

We desire to see Jesus

What men, thinking or otherwise, desire above all, is that the Church that they have before them should reveal the Gospel to them. Our contemporaries desire to encounter the living Christ today. They long to see him with their own eyes, to touch with their own hands. Like those men of Palestine, who approached the Apostle Philip to say to him: "We want to see Jesus", our contemporaries desire a meeting with Him, in close contact. Unhappily for the sort of Christians we are, they ask to see Christ in each one of us: they desire us to let Christ be seen through us, or as the sun through a window.

All that is opaque and grey in us disfigures the face of Christ in the Church. What the unbeliever reproaches us for is not that we are Christian, but that we are not Christian enough: therein lies the drama. Gandhi was very struck when reading the Gospel: indeed he nearly became a Christian, until the spectacle of Christians deterred him and caused him to recoil. There, alas, is our heaviest responsibility.

IV. THE CHURCH AND THE FUTURE

This would not be complete without showing the whole Church as being in tension and expectation towards the future.

Modern man and the future

This orientation towards the future coincides, in an astonishing manner, with the concern of modern man—a concern so deep that he has created the sciences of prediction and of the future, to penetrate the years ahead that so fascinate him. Formerly, man sought to discover the secret of the future by studying the stars. Today it is no longer a question of forcing an entrance into what is impenetrable, of guessing the future, but of creating it, of bringing it to birth, of inventing techniques that condition the march of progress. In the heart of the man of today, however anguished and uncertain, there is an immense hope seeking to find a way out. If modern man lives by a Messianic hope in time, the Church lives by a God-centred hope. She offers man a hope that "surpasses all that the eyes of man have seen, all that his ears have heard, which is none else but what God has prepared for those whom he loves."

A meeting point

Between modern man and the Church, there is a meeting-point: their common concern for the future. Ernst Bloch, that influential Marxist philosopher, author of "Das Prinzip Hoffnung" wrote these words: "wherever there is hope, there is religion". The formula is ambiguous but has one valuable meaning to it. It is not astonishing that this same Ernst

Bloch has enriched the thought of those theologians who have so strongly reaffirmed the eschatological aspect of the Church, the aspect of "the Church on a journey towards". It is of capital importance that the false opposition between the Church and the future be destroyed. We cannot let it be proved true that "the Church lives on memories, the world on hope". It is essential that the Gospel be presented to the world as hope.

This concern of the world is not new: Kant some time ago posed the three questions, fundamental for man: what can I know, what ought I to do, what can I hope? His "Critique of Pure Reason", his "Critique of Practical Reason" and his "Transcendental Aesthetic" aimed at replying to this three-fold question. The third "what can I hope?" is to be found again at the heart of modern philosophy with a new pointedness.

In this way the Church re-discovers a dimension too neglected by Christianity, which is a journey, a pilgrimage leading to the Parousia, to the final meeting with the Lord. By stressing an openness to the future, the Church will recapture the ear of the young, turned as they are towards this world to be made, this tomorrow that each one glimpses, astonishing and ambiguous.

The world is henceforward in the hands of man—or almost: nature no longer imposes itself on man as a sort of fatality, like some resistant building material, but as a supple matter that he can manipulate at his will and which he includes in his plans.

Modern man is fascinated by this world to be made and no longer by the ready-made world which he had to respect—at times in fear—and which only yesterday dictated its laws or was even hostile to him.

Far are we from the time of Philip II, King of Spain, who wishing to make the River Tagus navigable, submitted his plan to a commission that rejected it, giving as a reason: "If God had wanted this river to be navigable, He would have made it so with a single word" and concluding that from henceforth "it would be a temerarious trespass on the rights of God if human hands were to attempt to improve a work which God left unfinished for His own inscrutable reasons". Our world is at the opposite extreme from such a way of thinking. We Christians have, somehow, to make a connection between the transcendance of God and the future of the world without confusing God with some imminent worldly future as if he were at the term of a cosmic evolution, however complex. Everything that shows the Church en route towards her final destiny, towards the "God all in all" in the glorified Christ, carries a message of especial attraction for our time. We have to return more and more to the God of the Bible, to the God of Isaac and Jacob, not to the God of the philosophers. We must detach ourselves from a philosophy inherited from Greece in which the universe was a world enclosed in itself, given over to a cyclic vortex with no vital impulse toward the future.

We have to rediscover the personal God of the Bible who is first of all, not a God who wants to reveal propositions and theological theses, but the God of promises made for the future and who reveals Himself to us as a love that is personal, gratuitous, first and last. In this perspective, the

Church becomes better placed between the "already" of Easter and the "not yet" of the Parousia. In it too the past remains present and the future is already present; in it tradition is a perpetual renewal, evolution a continuity. In it lives the Christ of yesterday, today and forever.

The credibility of the Gospel

The Gospel will be an unparalleled force of life for the world to come, if we can show it under this aspect. "A message becomes credible to the extent that it shows itself capable of opening up to hope and to the future." These words of Jaspers go far. There lies the credibility of the Gospel, and the Church will be accepted and listened to, to the extent to which she can talk this language to men and translate their hope into joy. For joy remains the sign of the Christian: it is the certain test of the hope that is his, of that hope of which St Peter said every Christian should be able at all times to give an account.

The world hopes for a gust of fresh air, a promised, liberating shout of Alleluia. Harvey Cox, when he published recently "The Feast of the Fools", made himself the spokesman for a powerful current of ideas and aspirations that is running at present. This book also is a sign of the times. It claims again a new place for joy, humour, fantasy, in a world replete with technique. Better than anyone, the Christian can answer this appeal. It is his job to reveal to men that joy is a flower that can only open and last in the nourishing soil of hope, which is born of God and finds fulfilment in Him.

Translation by Matthew Burns, O.S.B. Translation approved by the author.

BRONZINO—SOPRA UNA PITTURA D'UNA VENERE

Poichè'n terra odio, e'n cielo invidia, et ira
Scorse Venere bella, al santo figlio
Rivolto il vago, e luminoso ciglio
Disse qual donna, che d'amor sospira:

Ergiti al cielo omai, ch'odioso gira
Senza il tuo foco, e'l livido, e'l vermiglio
Lume asserena; io della terra piglio
Cura, che senza noi piange, e s'adira.

Obbedì il Nato alla pietosa, e saggia,
Onde'l ciel tosto d'amorosa face
S'accese, che senti gli orati strali.

D'amor la terra, e di tranquilla pace
S'empiè, fugato il reo di tutti i mali,
Scoprendo rose, e fior per ogni piaggia.

See article following, "The Venus of Renunciation".

THE VENUS OF RENUNCIATION

by

GEOFFREY WEBB

One of the strongest inspirations of all art—whether literary, visual or aural—has long been the interplay, ever unresolved, between love and beauty. Beauty looks up to truth and out to love; love looks out upon beauty and down upon carnality. There is ever present a dialectical tension between the two, between the mystical and the passionate, the sacred and the profane, the adorable and the pleasurable. One is to be contemplated in awe, worshipped, served; the other enjoyed, lived, possessed; and yet they are inseparable, distinguishable only by those who find themselves sadly outside their intoxication.

"Bronzino", the Florentine painter Angelo Allori (1503-72), a late master of the Renaissance, has taken this central inspiration for his subject, "an Allegory of Love", in which he wonderfully gathers together all the forces bearing upon love and beauty. Fr Webb here completes his Renaissance triptych for the JOURNAL by unravelling Bronzino's allegory. A photograph of the painting is reproduced elsewhere in these pages. This article was first given as a talk on the B.B.C. Third Programme.

VASARI called Bronzino's "Venus and Cupid" a picture of outstanding beauty—*singolare bellezza*. One can hardly disagree with him, and yet it's not uncommon to find that most people find something repellent about it.

It certainly holds its own in the National Gallery, alongside the Michelangelo Entombment, Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks, and Raphael's Ansidei Madonna. Far from being put in the shade by artists greater than himself, Bronzino dazzles us, even from a distance, with these white bodies against a blue ground. There is such a joyful, exuberant quality about it all. But at the same time—and perhaps it's the very coolness of the blue and white colour scheme—one can see why people find it *coldly* sensual, or even coldly intellectual. Berenson even accusses Bronzino of producing "the nude without material or spiritual significance . . . the nude, simply because it was the nude".

When you look at it carefully, you see that it's a picture that you can't take just at its face value. It's full of mysterious details which make us ask questions. Cupid is embracing Venus. But why doesn't Venus respond? Why is she leaning slightly away from him? Why is she holding an arrow in one hand, and her golden apple in the other? She holds them rather ostentatiously, obviously demonstrating something. You notice how she has the arrow poised at the back of Cupid's head, and the apple held well away from him.

This is probably a good point to start from in sorting out the meaning of the allegory. It happens to be an easy one, because we know what lies behind it. A cartoon of Michelangelo, now lost, was copied by Pontormo (who was Bronzino's master) and by another painter, possibly Vasari. The subject is Venus, with Cupid at her shoulder. He's trying to kiss her, but she turns away from him, and pushes his arrows away with her hand. And there's another treatment of the subject, a much prettier one by Palma Vecchio in the Fitzwillian Museum, that shows Venus taking Cupid's arrow away from him.

This group had a great appeal for Bronzino. He painted it twice—there is a rather simpler version of our Allegory in Budapest—and he wrote a charming sonnet about it. I mention it here because I don't think it's been connected with his painting before.

In the sonnet, which begins *Poichè'n terra odio*, Venus and Cupid are visualised in some sort of intermediate zone between earth and heaven. They can't be together for long, it seems, without stirring up trouble. On earth they find hatred, and in heaven, envy and anger. Venus tells Cupid that he'll have to go back where he belongs—in heaven, because he is its light. She will look after the earth, which is in tears without her. And so Cupid obeys. The sky lights up "like the face of someone in love", and the earth breaks into springtime, because it's so relieved to see him go.

In other words, it's Cupid's farewell. The idea is that love and beauty must separate. Each is already too powerful on its own. Their conjunction is disastrous. In Bronzino's painting, when Venus lifts Cupid's arrow out of his quiver, and brandishes it over his head, she's obviously demonstrating the cause of the trouble. You get exactly the same feeling in the other pictures I mentioned—the Pontormo, the Vasari and the Palma Vecchio. Venus looks sad and reproachful as she pushes the arrow away, or takes it from Cupid. And Cupid is pouting, with eyes downcast, rather ashamed of himself.

When we look into the background of Bronzino's picture, we see the side-effects, the awful results of love. The contrast is striking, between the white bodies in relief in the foreground, and these ugly, lurking phantasies at the back. They are being brought into the light of day by old Father Time. He at least is quite easy to identify, by the hour-glass balanced neatly on his shoulder. Jealousy, the grey old woman on the left, tearing at her snaky black hair, is not too difficult to guess at either. Perceptive people immediately conclude that this is what Jealousy would look like.

But Deceit is a more complex figure to unravel—an allegory in herself. She turns away from us, half hidden by the little boy who comes running in from the right, grinning so delightfully, and about to throw a handful of roses. Deceit peers round at us, looking over her back. She is a harpy, with the hindquarters of a lion, and a long green scaly tail which ends in a pointed sting. She holds the sting in her right hand. With the left, she's offering Venus a honeycomb. The expression on her face is more subtly malevolent than that of Jealousy, and she has a greenish light about her—the kind of lighting effect that we associate with the demon king in pantomime.

In fact she is a sort of pantomime character, and a Renaissance viewer would have found her quite easy to identify because she would turn up in pageants and edifying tableaux in which vices are overcome by virtues. In the emblem books of the time, we find all her attributes and their explanations.

We are told that "Deceit is a woman with two faces, one young and one old. She has feet like eagle's talons, and a tail like a scorpion. Normally she holds two hearts in her right hand, and a mask in her left. The two faces denote Fraud and Deceit, ever pretending well. The two hearts are two appearances. The mask means that Deceit makes things appear otherwise than they really are. The scorpion and the eagle—these mean base designs and the discord they foment, like birds of prey, to rob men of their goods or honour".

Bronzino, you notice, has tightened this somewhat rambling conception into a more dramatic entity. He puts the significant masks by the feet of Deceit, so as to leave her hands free for even more telling emblems, the honeycomb and the sting.

Now the honeycomb is almost central to the composition, a very meaningful object since it's offered to Venus in the left hand—the sinister or bad hand. In the emblem books, a honeycomb is the attribute of Joviality, and in itself it's a symbol of long life. So if Deceit is offering such an excellent thing in her bad hand, it means that the whole thing is a trick: not sweet in fact, but bitter, and not long-lived at all, but transitory. And the moral we are meant to draw from it is, of course, that what seem to be the lasting pleasures of love are in fact short lived. And for anyone who is taken in by the fraud, there's a sting in the tail.

The question of love, the false and the true, is a very important one in the philosophy of Bronzino's age. It isn't a new thing of course, but an old Christian preoccupation. The right ordering of love—*ordo charitatis*—was richly developed in medieval theology by authors like St Bernard of Clairvaux. It involved the lifting up of fallen nature, fallen love, from the earth and the flesh, to God and the spiritual plane.

But a new interest was added to the problem at the Renaissance by a new voice—or rather, new found words from an old voice. Plato's dialogue, "The Symposium", was something the middle ages didn't have. But now, as Marsilio Ficino the translator says, Plato has flown from Byzantium, and here he is, in translation and commentary, for the benefit of the Florentine Academy. As Ficino saw it, the Holy Spirit inspired the priestess Diotima, who passed on her wisdom to Socrates, and thus to Plato. But this was not something added to the Christian revelation, so much as something parallel to it, belonging to the same stream of thought about man's relationship to the divine.

Plato's discussion of the two Venuses, an earthly and a heavenly one, was the subject of a Platonic banquet held at the Medici villa at Careggi. Ficino had the happy idea of celebrating the feast of St Plato on the ninth of November, the date on which tradition asserted that Plato was born and on which he died. On this particular ninth of November, the guest of honour was the Bishop of Fiesole. Ficino expounded the two Venuses as follows . . .

"Heavenly Venus is in the angelic mind, contemplating the beauty of God. Earthly Venus brings down the divine beauty into the material world. And this is to say that the soul has two powers—one that knows and

contemplates, the other that begets. Both are good. But whoever puts the beauty of the body before the beauty of the soul, is not making good use of the dignity of love".

I think this allegory of the two Venuses offers some guidance in our understanding of Bronzino, because the thinking is about psychological realities, not just abstract mythology. The issue is so practical. It concerns the soul, the body and the mind.

Venus dismisses Cupid, the god of love, sending him back to heaven where he belongs. Love is meant, then, to be in heaven, that is to say contemplation. The love enjoyed in heaven—or in the pursuits of the human spirit—is unhampered by the flesh. It's pure and bright, and has no enemies. But carnal love is bound to have the side-effects of jealousy and deceit. It will be short-lived. And it will be shown up for what it is by old Father Time, dragging away the curtain. Bronzino's picture is a sort of morality play, an edifying piece, telling us an improving tale about love, and about its embivalence—its capacity to raise the soul to heaven, or damn it to hell.

But in the allegory, whether in terms of art or philosophy, notice how essentially innocent a character Venus has become. The blame is put, not on her, but on jealousy and deceit—not on love itself, but the disordered passions of love. In the sonnet I've already mentioned, Bronzino obviously thinks of his Venus as a suffering victim. Besides being beautiful and loving, she is pious and wise. She's making a heart-breaking decision. And we get an interesting confirmation of this in the picture, at a level which only the X-ray photograph can reveal.

Bronzino changed his mind a number of times while he was painting this picture. He experimented twice with the position of Venus' right hand, and the original position seems at first very strange. She was holding the hand of Father Time. And this gives such a different emphasis to the composition that you wonder exactly what he had in mind.

I think there's no doubt that the Michelangelo cartoon pictures were his model from the beginning, but in those paintings there was no figure overhead, no Father Time. When we look for another source, in which the operative figure will be Time, we find it in the groups of emblems that show the relationship of Time with his daughter, Truth.

Erasmus explains the relationship in his *Adagia*, where he says that "the ancient poets called Truth the daughter of Time because, although truth is sometimes hidden, in the course of time she comes out into the light". And the emblem shows us Time, as an old man in a cloud, reaching down to lift a naked woman out of a pit. At the edge of the pit sits a harpy with a long tail, striking at the woman with a handful of snakes. Exactly the same group, in fact, that we have in the Bronzino if you put Venus' hand in the hand of old Father Time. They correspond completely. Time, Venus, Deceit, equals Time, Truth and Falsehood. The figure of naked Truth, attacked by Falsehood and rescued by Time, is the perfect model for a victimised Venus attacked by Deceit. One can quite easily see how this group gradually merged into the Michelangelo setting of the

disarming of Cupid, to help concentrate on the idea of an essentially innocent Venus.

For the Venus of the Platonists is a world removed from the Venus of the middle ages. In Christian terms, she had been synonymous with *Luxuria*—sensuality. Every other goddess in the mythological pantheon had been allegorised in one way or another to prefigure the Virgin Mary. Diana, Europa, Pomona, they all had something good about them. Only Venus had been quite beyond the pale, and her three graces had been seen as avarice, carnality, and infidelity!

And we can think even further back, to the old and very influential Christian poem of Prudentius, the *Psychomachia*, since it may have an interesting reference to our Bronzino. In this poem, the battle for the soul of man, Faith, Hope and Charity come out to attack Venus and her retinue. All the vices are put to flight, among them Pleasure, whose delicate feet are torn to pieces on the battlefield. In the Bronzino allegory, Pleasure is the little boy on the right, throwing roses, with bells jingling at his ankles. But if you look carefully, you will see that his right foot is pierced with thorns.

Our twentieth century reactions to the picture are probably very well conveyed by Iris Murdoch in her novel "The Nice and the Good". One of the characters stands in front of it and thinks how intellectual, and at the same time how sensual it all is—like the man whom she's expecting to meet her there, in the National Gallery. She knows that if she marries him, she will have to accept his infidelities. The picture reflects her situation, she feels. It's a conflict between love and the inevitability of some crashing disappointment in love, somewhere along the line.

But I suspect our Renaissance forbears, admiring it in Florence or perhaps at Fontainebleau (it belonged to François Ier) would have had a calmer and deeper appraisal. Being so much more familiar than we are with allegory as a living and significant thing in daily life, its meaning was not so hard for them to find.

They would certainly have seen old Father Time, for instance, as a reference to God the Father, sweeping away all pretence, vindicating all truth, at the judgment. The sting and the arrow held in the right hand, the thorns going through the foot, could all be interpreted as the necessary element of mortification for overcoming the vices of the flesh. Certainly for a Florentine, it would mean a great deal that Venus' body curves, and her knees collapse, in a way that imitates the falling body of Christ in Michelangelo's last Pietà. There are overtones here of a *Mater Dolorosa* saying goodbye to the "holy son", as Bronzino calls Cupid in the sonnet. And the careful gesture of holding the golden apple well out of Cupid's reach would identify her as a virtuous Eve, renouncing the original sin.

Bronzino's poem is printed at the end of the preceding article.

BEETHOVEN AND THE MASS

by

ALEC ROBERTSON

BERNARD MCELLIGOTT, O.S.B.

Since long before his earthly spirit flickered and died in 1827, Beethoven had come to be considered the composer who could most fully bring to the ears of mankind the divinity of music. His power lay beyond his technical brilliance, in his capacity to be swiftly recognised for his grandeur of mind by hearers far removed from trained judgment; and in his immediate and increasing rapport with his listeners at a level barely touched by others, whether artists or preachers or lovers. He penetrated through his works to the very marrow of humanity—the search for exaltation in all humility, the pursuit of perfection in all tolerance, the embracing of suffering with all joy, and the acceptance of experience as an inexorable road to growth of spirit. He expressed in sound the cry of the soul for the Absolute, and that expression has not been discounted by the weathering of time. He is to sound what Michelangelo is to sight and Dante to poetry, the finger of God in creation.

It is natural then that in his last and sublimest years as a composer Beethoven should have turned to the Mass, the most awesome of divine-human actions. It is equally natural that over the centuries the Mass, Solemn or Requiem, should have been the constant focus for the maturest works of first rank composers. The combination of great event and great exponent necessarily gives to man in the music of the Mass his highest forms of aural experience, the beauty of divinity in sound. It is as a darkened mirror, yes, but it touches furthest reality; and sometimes it need not fall too far short of ecstasy.

What follows is a collection of writings on these themes. Fr Alec Robertson, who has long been a music critic and broadcaster, reviews Martin Cooper's "Beethoven". Fr Bernard McElligott, who has long been an authority on the music of the liturgy, reviews Fr Robertson's "Requiem"; and lastly we print a broadcast on the Beethoven *Missa Solemnis* given by Fr Bernard on 13th October 1943, of which Sir George Barnes (the Director of Talks, B.B.C.) afterwards wrote: "I thought it was one of the best talks of its kind that I have ever heard". In reading it now, it should be remembered that the liturgy has somewhat changed, and that the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* are no longer separated by the words of consecration.

Of Fr Alec Robertson, Gerald Moore has said in a tribute prefacing a small book by Fr Alec ("In the Little Things: an Act of Worship for Radio", Stanbrook Abbey Press, 1969): "It is given to few men in the world of serious music to command so large a public as he does. True, there are other teachers, talkers and writers on the subject with as much erudition, conscientiousness and sincerity, but nobody since Sir Walford Davies can measure up to him for the immediacy with which he touches the heart of his listeners. There is such a power in Alec for doing good, such a deep love for music in all his words, written or spoken, that one is soon made aware of the spirituality which informs all his work. When he speaks so felicitously of Bach or Beethoven or Schubert, we sense his humble gratitude to the Almighty for His priceless gift of music."

Martin Cooper BEETHOVEN: THE LAST DECADE 1817-1827 OUP 1970 483 p 90/-.

The April, 1927, number of *Music and Letters* commemorated the centenary of Beethoven's death in a series of articles on various aspects of the man and the composer, one of which, by John Ireland, bore the unexpected title of "A speech for the opposition". Ireland did not question Beethoven's greatness but considered that "his endless repetitions in form, his inexorable insistence on cadential points, his long development sections and codas often seemed to detract from the effect of even his greatest

works". He doubted whether Beethoven's music would continue to command the unquestioning idolatry that had been for so long accorded to it.

Twenty-two years later Martin Cooper, in an article entitled "Modern Music and the Listener"—contributed to a now defunct journal—found that audiences at that date enjoyed wholeheartedly the immense tonic of great music written from great faith, finding spiritual food in the spectacle of a faith it could no longer share, and enjoying "the keen excitement of a fight to the death, and the death is always that of the villain".

No dissentient voice is raised today, Ireland is apparently proved wrong: but Martin Cooper, in his youth, rejected the symphonies and an unimaginative selection of the piano sonatas he was expected to admire, indeed the composer *in toto*, and turned to "the new spell of French and Russian music, the newly appreciated Mozart and the rediscovered Verdi".

In the preface to his book, from which I have been quoting, he recalls, with shame, that the *Adagio* of the Ninth Symphony simply portrayed to him a wet English Sunday afternoon. His book, therefore, is in the nature of an *amende honorable*, and a very fine and generous one it is, but he gives the reader no idea as to what he now thinks of the music Beethoven composed before the years of the last decade of his life.

It is one of the author's chief aims to investigate in some detail the contradiction between the composer's life and works, a matter which he considers has been neglected. Beethoven, himself, has provided the answer to that: "Everything I do apart from music is badly done and stupid", and the author has no difficulty in showing how true, in general, this was.

On his death-bed Beethoven said to a close friend, "There are papers here and there, gather them together and make the best use of them, but the strict truth in everything. I make you both responsible for that". The other friend, A. F. Schindler, who wrote his first official biography, felt unable however to reveal all he knew of Beethoven personally. He realised all too well how far removed in daily life were his hero's "professions of idealism and philanthropy, of tenderness and nobility, religious devotion and human forbearance, so perfectly reflected in his music". It was Schindler who destroyed 264 of the 400 conversation books by means of which the deaf Beethoven conversed with his friends and visitors.

Cooper quotes a report by Baron de Trémont on his visit to the composer which highlights the contrast between the man and his music: "The great man's room was extremely dirty and disordered, there were pools of water on the floor, unwashed dishes on the chairs and underneath the grand piano an unemptied chamber-pot." Cooper sees this last as a symbol of something so absolutely unacceptable to the nineteenth century that its presence simply had to be denied.

It should be said here that the author has confined himself, in the picture he paints of Beethoven, as nearly as possible to original sources, ignoring, for the most part, other men's theories and ideas. For this one critic of his book called him "insular and constricted". I wholly disagree. Beethoven comes more vividly alive to us in page after page of the biographical sections of this rich book.

It is a critic's duty to tell the reader the way in which an author has planned his book. In the Introduction to Part 1 Cooper outlines

Beethoven's position in the years from 1816 to 1827—interrupting the sequence only to deal with the famous lawsuit over his nephew Karl (1816-20). There follow chapters on the composer's social and political attitudes, general culture, his religious attitudes and beliefs. Part 2, which also has an introduction, analyses in detail the compositions ranging from the two Violoncello Sonatas of op. 102, the Piano Sonatas from op. 101 to 111, the *Diabelli Variations* and the two sets of *Bagatelles*. The *Missa Solemnis*, Ninth Symphony and the String Quartets, op. 127 to 135 complete this section. The book ends with a chapter on the characteristics of the late style and a scarifying appendix on Beethoven's medical history by Dr Eduard Larkin which awakens deep compassion for the suffering, due to abdominal troubles, Beethoven had to endure for practically the whole of his life, and which he must have felt as a humiliation scarcely less tolerable than his deafness. This is a most valuable and authoritative account.

There is a wealth of interesting detail in Cooper's analytical comments, one feels he has really lived close to the works covered, but to get the value out of this section the reader will need to "know his notes"—there are numerous musical illustrations—and ideally to have the scores, some of them at least, by him. The matter is not made easier when the clefless illustrations from Beethoven's notebooks are left in that state and sometimes leave one guessing what he intended.

It was only possible in the space of this review to take one subject for detailed comment and for that I unhesitatingly selected Cooper's most original contribution to Beethoven literature, his chapters on the composer's religious attitudes and beliefs and the *Missa Solemnis*. I make bold to say that, other things being equal, only a Catholic author could have written so penetratingly about this subject. Other biographers cannot help looking at it from the outside and often come to wrong conclusions.

Among the books Beethoven left at his death were three directly Christian, devotional works by Johan Michael Sailer, a Bavarian shoemaker who became Bishop of Regensburg in 1829 and occupied a unique position in the German Catholic revival. It is easy to understand how his personal, subjective approach to religious truth must have appealed to Beethoven. "A man conscious of his human dignity can only accept as real and true that part of the traditional body of belief that he has made his own, either by his own personal intelligence or by the sincerest, most interior feeling".

Cooper also quotes a most interesting passage from "Views on Religion and Church Membership" (1805) by Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, a one time Capuchin friar who became a distinguished Lutheran minister. He advised those whose disillusionment with the Church caused them to cut themselves off from Church membership rather to try and bring institutional religion into better ways and arouse it to stronger life, ". . . he will support his church loyally, honestly, and gratefully, honouring and revering it and supporting it by bearing his share of responsibility".

These two quotations may well symbolise Beethoven's progress from a wholly subjective to a more objective belief in the great central truths of the Catholic faith. Cooper bids us remember how once Beethoven

expressed a wish to end his days as a church musician attached to a small court chapel "for which I could write and perform music in honour of the Almighty, the Eternal and Unending; so may my last years pass", and to remember also that he planned to compose another setting of the Mass and one of *Tantum ergo*. It would be foolish to try and present Beethoven as an orthodox Catholic. Very few creative artists have been orthodox in the usual sense of that restrictive word, but Beethoven had a profound belief in God from his early days which, at length, brought him to bear his sufferings not with stoicism—as in the Heiligenstadt Testament of 1800—but with truly Christian endurance and resignation: "It is by this," he wrote ten years later, "that we can be gainers even in deepest misery and make ourselves worthy of God's forgiveness".

I differ from the author's view that Beethoven "seems to have had little use for any specifically Christian doctrine" and indeed he appears to contradict himself in declaring "there is no evidence at any time of his life to suggest that he believed in the divinity of Christ". He speaks of Beethoven, in the setting of the second petition of the *Kyrie* as seeing Christ as man's friend and helper which, alone, would not prove the point, nor perhaps would the *qui tollis*, nor even perhaps the *qui sedes ad dexteram patris* of the *Gloria*, but is it only a man Beethoven acclaims in the chorus's great cry *Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe*, only a man born of a Virgin in "the awe-inspiring and improbable message", as the author puts it, of *Et incarnatus est*?

It had long been customary to follow the *Sanctus* with an instrumental piece. Congregations then, as now, dislike a "sacred silence" during the consecration and after a short *Benedictus*, but Beethoven's solemn and sublime prelude is no occasional piece, it is a profound realisation of a miracle. He was perhaps too carried away to remember that the words of consecration would be uttered by the celebrant immediately after the *Sanctus* and so he illustrates, *post factum*, the Real Presence of Christ in the exquisite descent of the solo violin from the heights. Cooper makes a severe criticism of the long-drawn out *Benedictus*, on the grounds that the combination of solo violin and orchestra had acquired "theatrical, and for the most part, voluptuous associations". He concludes "it would hardly be more unsuitable to introduce a ballerina into the sanctuary". I cannot at all accept this verdict but would agree that this movement and the *Agnus Dei* do move on a less exalted level than the rest of the great work. This apart the chapter is extremely illuminating. The D Major Mass remains a highly subjective work and therefore an unliturgical one but, unlike the earlier Viennese Masses, it is far from being a sacred work with liturgical accompaniment. Beethoven, as the author says, "found new meaning in the central Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Redemption" and on his death bed he agreed "with the greatest readiness" to receive the Last Sacraments. If we are to believe his brother Johann's wife, Theresa, he said to the administering priest, "I thank you, reverend sir, you have brought me comfort".

Some biographers, anxious to prove Beethoven a rationalist, tell us that after the priest left the dying man quoted the Latin tag *plaudite amici, commedia finita est* ("Applaud, friends, the play is over"). The truth is that he uttered this tag after the doctor had paid his last visit.

I cannot too highly recommend this fine, profound and thought-provoking book, the product of a wide-ranging mind rare amongst music critics of our time. There are occasions for disagreement here and there, there are some unfortunate misprints in the text and musical illustrations of the analytical sections, but these are of small account compared with the riches that the book contains. One rises from reading it with a deeper knowledge of a very great man, a more sympathetic understanding of his human failings, and a profound compassion for the trials he had to bear.

ALEC ROBERTSON.

Alec Robertson REQUIEM: MUSIC OF MOURNING AND CONSOLATION Cassell 1967 300 p 63/-.

In its first half this book, so far surely unique, brings vividly before us in their most notable musical settings the public prayers of Christendom for the dead, as the Christian tradition enshrines them in the Latin Requiem Mass; from the burial rites in the first century Roman Catacombs, through Plainsong and the polyphonists to Duruflé and Pizzetti in our own time.

In the second half the theme of "Mourning and Consolation" is extended to Holy Week music of the Passion, Bach and Lutheran Funeral Music, Purcell and Anglican Funeral Music, Memorial Music and Laments including *lieder* by Schubert, Wolf and Brahms; and finally Modern Elegiac Works, with a full treatment of Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius" and Britten's "War Requiem".

Based on the Christian doctrine of Purgatory as a state of perfecting and purification necessary for entry into the joy of heaven, the text of the Latin Requiem Mass is almost entirely concerned with confident prayer for the good estate of the dead, and not with the sorrowing feelings of those who are praying for them. The two key words in the text are Rest (*requies*) and Light (*lux*), and these two ideas consequently "inform" the music.

As Fr Robertson says, speaking of the plainsong setting: " 'Rest' and 'light' are at once proclaimed as the leading themes of the Mass. 'Rest' in the sense of St Augustine's words 'Our souls are restless till they rest in Thee', a rest that is now eternal, a light that is all enlightening. The simple melody breathes peace".

This emphasis, and parts of the plainsong melodies, were seminal for the great polyphonists—Anerio, Palestrina, Victoria. But "The first Missal containing the *Dies Irae* in the Mass of All Souls' Day was printed in Venice in 1493". This fine poem, used as a Sequence in the Requiem Mass, concentrates more on the fears and feelings of the living than on rest and light for the dead. It says in effect "What will the Day of Judgment be like for *me*?" Fr Robertson shows with many examples how its introduction, together with the development of musical resources, encouraged a greater atmosphere of mourning and a more dramatic treatment of the text, as in the Requiem Masses of Michael Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini, Berlioz and Verdi. These and other great choral and orchestral works,

together with the beautiful and deeply religious Requiem of Fauré, and including the enormities (in one sense) of Berlioz are deeply probed and illumined by the author's insight. In considerable detail he brings to light passages in the scores where by orchestration or the disposition of voices the creative imagination of the composer reveals the religious meaning or poetic image that lies behind the words of the text.

These points of interpretation are shown in musical examples; there are just over two hundred of these in clearly-printed music type. One instance may be quoted from the discussion of a section of the *Dies Irae* in Verdi's Requiem. " . . . but I must point out Verdi's treatment of *Nil inultum remanebit*, just before he brings the chorus in with a partial repeat of *Dies Irae*. The passage for the mezzo-soprano is similar to the solo bass's *Mors* (*stupebit*), but here it is utter desolation, not amazement, that the words describe, with the strings alone accompanying the voice. Notice the quick notes on the first two syllables of *remanebit*, the darkening tonality and the horror expressed—at least if sung by a singer who is an artist—on the final *Nil*. NOTHING will remain hidden [musical example 3]. The accompaniment to the mezzo-soprano's *Quid sum miser tunc dicturus*?—in which she is later joined by tenor and bass—is another imaginative piece of scoring. There is no warmth in the clarinet's thirds, and a sense of utter misery in the bassoon figure with its first notes marked *staccato*. That can go for nothing in the hands of a less than front-rank player" (p. 105).

Fr Robertson wears his large mantle of scholarship easily and most attractively. Significant dates, historical and biographical research and reasoning (as in the sections on Victoria, Bach and Mozart), apposite stories, interpretative analysis and personal comment are blended in fluent and lively English; there is not a dull page.

The highlights of the latter part of the work will be, for many, the sections on six of Bach's Cantatas on death and heaven, the twelve pages on Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius" and the twenty pages on Britten's "War Requiem". All these as well as works by Bliss, Hindemith, Stravinsky and others are discussed with a loving human and spiritual understanding that is also, of course, professionally musical; a sympathetic insight that is extended to the personalities and works of composers like Delius and Wolf and Brahms, whose beliefs or absences of belief do not chime with the author's convictions.

Gramophone records are available for many of the works discussed by Fr Robertson; the plainsong Requiem, the Requiem Masses of Anerio, Mozart, Verdi, Cherubini, Berlioz, Fauré and Duruflé; the Bach Cantatas, the "Dream of Gerontius", the "War Requiem", the Schubert and Brahms *lieder*, and perhaps others. For the listener to these on record or radio this book would be an ideal "companion". There is a good and copious Index.

One serious misprint must be noted, since it makes the author say the reverse of what he intended. On page 279, in the "War Requiem" section, there appears: "What then has become of God's promise? . . . It is the words 'to pass from life to death'. THAT is what God promised". The words in quotation marks should read 'to pass from death to life'.

As one thinks over the book, what comes to mind as much as anything is the moving first chapter about the prayers for and to the dead and inscriptions on the underground galleries of the Roman catacombs. This one was written on the walls there "by a mediæval pilgrim"; it may perhaps stand both for the Christian attitude to the dead and the spirit in which Fr Robertson has written this book: "There is light in this darkness, there is music in these tombs".

BERNARD MCELLIGOTT, O.S.B.

THE PROBLEMS OF SETTING THE MASS TO MUSIC. A B.B.C. Interval Talk during a performance of the *Missa Solemnis*, 13th October 1943, by Bernard McElligott, O.S.B.

There's one question which probably most of us have in our minds as we listen to the *Missa Solemnis*: What KIND of a work did Beethoven mean it to be? Did he intend it as music for direct worship? Is it designed to fit the requirements of an actual sung Mass?

I want to talk to you about some of the problems involved in setting the words of the Mass to music for use in church; and in the light of that to make a suggestion about the character of the Mass in D.

First of all the problem is not a purely musical one. In the Catholic belief the Mass is an act of a particularly sacred character, in which the people join as active participants, and not as spectators or audience. This being so, aesthetic experience for its own sake has no place in it. The music can't be sovereign in its own right, as it is in the concert room. Its function in the Mass is threefold: to minister to the liturgical action and its words; to foster the dispositions of adoration and self-offering; and to enable the people as far as possible to take their full part in the corporate Sacrifice.

At the same time there's the other important principle, of offering to God not just something that's harmless in a negative sort of way, but whatever is the best of its kind and the best we can do. So we don't want music that's shoddy or insipid, or music that distorts the text, or conveys the wrong associations, or is so elaborate that what is done at the altar becomes almost an appendage to it. In other words what is wanted is music, in itself good and if possible excellent, that creates the right conditions for corporate sacrificial worship.

Well, that's roughly the problem—not an easy one for the composer to solve. It was hardly solved by the Viennese composers. But Beethoven seems to have recognised that the spirit and the purely vocal style of sixteenth century polyphony reflected a stronger and more sensitive liturgical tradition. Here is an example of music for the Mass as Palestrina conceived it. It's the last part of the *Kyrie Eleison* from his Mass for six voices "Assumpta Est Maria". [40 secs. music.]

Nowadays, thanks to the Benedictines of Solesmes, we are re-discovering the beauty of plainsong. No other music seems to have quite the same impersonal, or rather supra-personal, strength and spiritual serenity. And its comparative simplicity and faithful declamation of the words do enable the people to play their full part in the music of the liturgy. I'm not suggesting that it's the only music that can or ought to be used. But

plainsong, I think, gives us the ideal solution of the problem of setting to music the people's part of the Mass.

Beethoven must have heard in Bonn and Vienna the chants for the Proper of the Mass, though unfortunately he could only have heard them in the mutilated form of the old Medicean edition. He became very interested in the "Church modes": for instance he used the modal style for his setting of the *Et Incarnatus Est* in the *Credo* of this Mass. And Rene Aigran, in his book "Religious Music", quotes Beethoven as having written this note: "To write true religious music, consult the chants of the monks; study the ancient psalms and the Catholic chants in their true prosody". Now Beethoven's great Mass, as I see it, is not music for worship in that sense.

It's true that when he started it in 1818 he did intend to write a Mass for the enthronement of the Archduke Rudolf as Archbishop of Olmütz. But what happened? A year and a half went by, and the enthronement with it, and the Mass was not ready. Three more years passed before it was finished. In those years, as Beethoven pondered over the text, the musical conceptions that formed themselves in his mind had time to grow and ramify according to their own inner laws. In the end, with the statement and development and return of themes in the symphonic manner, the whole work had been elaborated far beyond the requirements of the liturgy.

What I suggest has happened is that though the Mass in D was begun as music for worship, in the process of creation it became something else: a great poetic, dramatic, and profoundly personal religious work, in which Beethoven plumbs the depths of his own spirit—and perhaps the soul of humanity as well—and finds himself face to face with God and the ultimate realities. In the result, I think, the *Missa Solemnis* is a great artist's affirmation, in music, of the Christian faith.

Two points may help to make the work more approachable. The first is this: the unity of Beethoven's musical design for each piece doesn't mean that he uses the words as mere pegs on which to hang his music. On the contrary, he takes the greatest care to give individual words and phrases their full religious significance. You probably noticed that right through the *Gloria* and *Credo*; for instance in the different musical treatment given to the two ideas of glorifying and adoring God—*glorificamus Te* and *adoramus Te*; or the change to a human tenderness in the music when the Son of God is invoked after the Father.

The second point is this: these pieces, *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and so on, are not separate and unrelated texts. They are successive parts of an unfolding action. In that way they are dramatic—they take their meaning wholly from what is being done at the altar. I'll try to illustrate this.

The *Gloria* and the *Sanctus* are both songs of praise. The *Gloria* announces some of the names and attributes of God—"Lord God", "Heavenly King", "Almighty Father". By the time the *Sanctus* is reached, all the intervening action and prayer—Petition, Instruction, Profession of Faith, self-offering—all THAT has been built into the *Sanctus*, so to speak. So that the praise of the *Sanctus* has the deeper and more inward quality of adoration.

It's the same with the *Kyrie* and the *Agnus Dei*. Both are cries for mercy. But at the *Agnus Dei*, in the Catholic belief, Christ is now present and is about to communicate himself to priest and people. So the prayer for mercy in the *Agnus Dei*, and for peace, becomes a prayer for the peace that only Christ can give.

Now Beethoven's music to the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei*—which you are going to hear in a moment—shows that this was in his mind, that he built his music sensitively round the progressive action of the Mass itself.

At the opening of the *Sanctus*, for instance, Beethoven realises the sense of inward adoration I mentioned just now by giving it to the solo voices singing softly at a low pitch, and accompanied by the lower strings without the violins. And the whole mood of the *Benedictus* takes its character from the Consecration which has just taken place. It is a welcome to Christ now sacramentally present—preceded by a lovely prelude for orchestra intended to cover the moment of Consecration when all voices are silent.

The *Kyrie* is begun by the lyrical tenor voice: the opening solo of the *Agnus Dei* is given to the darker voice of the bass. The change is significant. For the *Agnus Dei* is perhaps the climax of the whole work: a cry, like the *Kyrie*, for mercy, but now, because of the presence of Christ, for mercy and peace; and more poignant and urgent because Beethoven seems to pour into it his own personal struggle and his deep sympathy for the suffering and effort of humanity. Over the words *Dona nobis Pacem* he wrote these words: "A prayer for inward and outward peace". The source of this peace is indicated when the chorus breaks into a fugue whose subject appears to be a direct quotation from Handel's "Messiah". Here it is in "The Messiah":

[Part of the Halleluja Chorus, 10 secs.]

And this is how Beethoven uses it in the *Agnus Dei:*

[*Agnus Dei qui tollis*, 80 secs. after opening, 10 secs.]

The association of ideas seems clear—the peace Beethoven prays for is the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ over all men.

There follows a restless Presto of 60 bars for the orchestra alone—evidence enough, by the way, that the work has, insensibly perhaps, altered in character. The passage has disturbed some critics; but surely Beethoven is painting, in subdued colours, a picture of the drums and tramplings, the hatreds and oppressions and sins which destroy our inward and outward peace.

He is pointing a powerful contrast between the "strife" in the orchestra, and, as Walter Riezler says, "the passionate cries of the chorus for the last hope of mankind—the Lamb of God".

The prisoners in "Fidelio" came back to the sunlight as free men; the sinister figure that stalked over the world in the Scherzo of the Fifth Symphony disappeared before the trumpets of the Finale; and in the last pages of this Mass Beethoven uncovers the depths of humanity's need and the Christian springs of his own hope.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Augustine's Theology; the Meaning of Revelation; the English Reformation Church; General; the Second World War.

I. AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY

Eugene TeSelle AUGUSTINE THE THEOLOGIAN Burns & Oates 1970 381 p 80/-

Anyone who claims to have read everything that Augustine wrote, as Isidore of Seville thought, must be a liar. Mr TeSelle is not foolhardy enough to make the claim; but his book provides testimony to the range of his reading, not only in Augustine's own writings, but also, extensively, in the vast modern literature that has grown up around Augustine. To survey so large a field is a task of daunting magnitude. To move about it with ease and without losing one's bearings would constitute a remarkable achievement, even for a scholar mature in years; to have succeeded in weaving the varied and complex strands of Augustine's theological thought into a coherent and illuminating exposition would have been little short of a miracle. Mr TeSelle has not worked the miracle. With considerable daring, however, he has produced a book which is a notable contribution to the literature of historical theology. It traces Augustine's theological development on a broad canvas, taking in the philosophical equipment Augustine utilised, seeking to trace all the major themes in that great body of thought, and to trace them through the vicissitudes of their development over more than forty years of Augustine's working life.

Mr TeSelle is well aware of the problems. He draws attention to "the complexity of Augustine's theological activity, his ability to think concurrently along a number of different lines . . . and to resist the temptation (if he was even tempted) to achieve consistency prematurely" (p. 332). The scholar attempting to follow Augustine's thought is required to keep as many balls in the air as Augustine himself, it seems, managed to keep. In expounding one theme, say, that of Augustine's theory of man, the human soul and its body—the scholar is inevitably drawn into adjacent fields, just as was Augustine himself: before he knows where he is he will find himself discussing questions about human action, about sin, grace and freedom, or about the divine trinity. And when one adds that in each of these fields, and all the others one could single out, Augustine's thought is continually evolving, even the task of division and arrangement is a formidable one. The interpreter is forced to take up theme after theme according to their intrinsic relationships in Augustine's thought, to leave them at some point in their development, to return to them again to pursue them in the next phase, and throughout it all to keep alive the sense of being concerned with a living body of thought in its growth. That some areas (notably the Church, sacraments, history, eschatology, society) of Augustine's interests receive somewhat perfunctory attention is scarcely surprising; nor is the fact that Mr. TeSelle occasionally fails to bring out the deep continuities, both diachronic and diathematic, in Augustine's mind. The interpreter must select and emphasize, and he must divide the seemless web; and both selection and division inevitably distort.

The organisation of the book, under five chronological sections each subdivided for the main themes as treated in the given period—though it leaves much in the shadows—is on the whole felicitous. The one major infelicity is the last chapter, entitled "Meditation (419-30)". The account of Augustine's theology given in this chapter in fact bears no relation to the heading; rather, it represents the final stage of his reflections on grace, the Fall and salvation—interestingly—as an "unstable combination" of two lines of thought "very poorly put together in his writings" (p. 325). This, however, is the only point in the book where the slightly artificial character of the interpretative scheme obtrudes. Generally, what is lacking here is not so much fidelity to the contours of the Augustinian theological landscape; it is rather a certain sharpness of focus, almost a "hunch" of "what it is all about". Of course such a hunch would risk distorting its subject matter. In its absence, however, as complex a body of thought as Augustine's is apt to dissolve into its constituents. In the right hands, a unifying direction, even if to some extent forced upon the material, could help to give it shape. Mr TeSelle comes nearest to riding such a hunch in his treatment of the themes of sin, freedom, grace and the allied areas of Augustine's theology. His remarks on the development of Augustine's mind on these topics (notably the perceptive analysis of the interplay of ideas Augustine got from his reading of Saint Paul, of the Ambrosiaster and of Tyconius, as well as the shrewd critique of Augustine's subsequent development of his reflections in the course of the Pelagian controversy) entitle us to hope that Mr TeSelle will find it possible to give us another book, even better than this one, devoted to this central strand of Augustinian theology.

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R. A. Markus SAECULUM: HISTORY AND SOCIETY IN THE THEOLOGY OF ST AUGUSTINE Cambridge University Press 1970 75/-

The study of an historical figure will always be influenced by the special preoccupations of the age in which the historian lives; and if he does not allow these preoccupations to distort his vision of the past, such an influence will be all to the good. Dr Markus's book, the outcome of many years' study of Augustine, is a frank—and notably successful—instance of this pattern. He is fully responsible as an historian (there are, indeed, many detailed discussions which constitute the chief value of the book); but he also sets the major Church Father of the West in dialogue with the issues of later times, and especially of our own time.

He is aware of the proposals for a "secular Christianity" formulated in recent years by Barth and Bonhoeffer, Moltmann and Cox, and he is convinced (as the reviewer also is) that they have hold of the only proper and workable strategy for the Church in our day, or in any day: to keep social and political life "desacralized", concerned strictly with the problem of bringing justice into our human interactions in the public sphere—for this is a large enough task—so that its policy is neutral, or rather pluralistic, toward all religious and ethnic and cultural groups, and no occasion is given us to expect our ultimate fulfilment to be achieved in the political sphere, or the ultimately decisive conflicts in human life to be played out there. Dr Markus finds in Augustine a steady movement toward such a position and an exploration of its rationale, not in so many words, but at least to the extent of furnishing many "signposts" pointing in that direction; indeed, he sees Augustine as the major Christian spokesman for that strategy, standing in contrast to most Christian thinkers of his own age or of subsequent ages. Hence his choice of the term *saeculum* as the theme tying together the entire presentation.

The author is aware that Augustine's career as a Christian intellectual began in the heyday of the Theodosian "establishment" of Christianity and that he always felt a basic loyalty to the Empire, to the heritage of classical culture which supplied its political theory and its aura of grandeur, and to the empire-wide Catholic Church. He takes note of Augustine's enthusiastic support for the Theodosian policy of destroying pagan temples and idols, a policy enforced vigorously in Africa after 399 or 400 and viewed by Augustine as the fulfilment of long-deferred prophecies. But he places even more stress upon the cooling of that enthusiasm, even the reversal of attitude, in the years following the sack of Rome in 410, indicated by the near-silence about the greatness of the "Christian era" and the harsh evaluation of political life in the earlier books of *The City of God*, written between 412 and 415. Although Augustine mellowed somewhat by the time he reached book XIX of that work, about 421 (and this is the book to which we usually turn for a connected presentation of Augustine's political views), the same reserve toward the state, the same restricted conception of its possibilities, is still present.

Why the change? How did Augustine, almost alone in his age, come to detach himself from the imperial ideology? One of the chief merits of this study is in plotting out these changes and seeking their explanation (I might add that I wish these careful discriminations had been before me while I was writing my own

book on Augustine's development!). In part, of course, it is the sobering impact of the events of 410 and the intense debates surrounding it between pagans and Christians. But Dr Markus is not satisfied with this explanation alone, and he explores some other possibilities, more closely related to the inner development of Augustine's thought. He notes, for example, the steady working of the Pauline epistles upon Augustine's mind from 395 on, making him aware of the lasting effects of sin and the impossibility of earthly perfection or fulfilment. Even more to the point, he argues in one of his more intriguing chapters that Tyconius, an African thinker disillusioned by both the Donatists and the Catholics, showed him how all of human history could be seen as an unfolding of the two "cities" of God and of the devil, yet without the fanaticism that supposes that these rival cities can be delineated "sociologically", in terms of visible communities of men, a pure Church and a diabolical world. Tyconius' solution was to admit that the Church can be a "mixed body" and to defer any definitive separation to the last judgment; thus the opposition between the two cities is "transposed into an eschatological key" (p. 123), and it becomes possible to view both Church and civil society in penultimate terms, as spheres of interaction shared by the righteous and the unrighteous. This is, I think, a crucial and convincing argument. And finally he makes the interesting suggestion (Chapter 1 and Appendix A) that during these years (certainly by 412-414) Augustine arrived at a new understanding of Scripture. The argument cannot easily be condensed, but its import is that Augustine came to view Scripture as the one divinely authorized interpretation of human history, outside which the theologian has no right to interpret the meaning of any event, including, of course, the Roman Empire in its Christian years.

This brings me to the one point at which I feel some degree of dissent, or at least puzzlement, toward Dr Markus's terminology (and this, it will be noted, is a difficulty with his theological reflections, not with his historical investigations). He suggests repeatedly that the historical epoch we call the time of the Church is "secular" rather than "sacred". What he means by this assertion is spelled out clearly enough, and it is unexceptionable: that salvation history (in the sense of bringing into effect the full power of salvation) is completed before the rise of the Church, and that the only authoritative interpretation of history is the one contained in the canon of Scripture. He also indicates clearly enough that he is thinking of a quite definite species of secularity when he applies the term to the Church: in a pertinent elaboration of his own earlier studies of Augustine's theory of signs, he stresses that the Church, like Israel before it, is a sign, an earthly reality which refers not to itself alone but to the invisible gifts of grace and the hoped-for fulfilment of the City of God.

My difficulty is with his expectations for the Church and with his theology of the "Christian era", for at this point he seems to take a rather thoroughgoing "minimalist" position, one that I have trouble recognizing as Augustinian and which seems rather to come straight out of the Karl Barth of the Romans commentary:

> The fulfilment promised to man is revealed as a unique possibility given in Christ and only achieved in His kingdom. No historical conditions can provide so much as a shadow of this fulfilment, no historical process can lead either towards or away from it (p. 166).

This is mitigated by other statements, a few pages later, from the later Barth and from Jürgen Moltmann; but the impression remains that his guidelines are primarily negative ones. The reason may very well be that his work is concerned with the broad course of history and society, and excludes any explicit concern with ecclesiology; hence it is quite natural that he would pick up Augustine's reservations concerning any broad-scale Christianization of the historical process. But there is still a place for an ecclesiology, and Augustine's own supplies something of a corrective, for although it is true that the decisive events effecting salvation have already occurred, their outworking is still taking place, building up the edifice whose foundations were laid earlier and filling it with more massive content, though always, of course, through the power of the original salvation events.

What the Christian strategy toward political life should be is a notoriously difficult problem, one that we could hardly say was resolved in an admirable way

in earlier ages, and to us has been left the task of investigating what went wrong and trying to elaborate a better approach. But I can only agree with Dr Markus's diagnosis of the errors of Christendom—he has some brief but highly illuminating remarks about the middle ages and their progressive misinterpretation of Augustine's political theory—and I gladly second his judgment that Augustine has supplied us with a most impressive "charter for a critique of all sacral conceptions of society" (p. 167).

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II. THE MEANING OF REVELATION

Henri de Lubac, S.J. THE SOURCES OF REVELATION. Herder & Herder 1968 xii + 244 p 60/-

The Western Church has largely forgotten the tradition of biblical theology that lasted a thousand years, from Paul to Abelard: a tradition that not only started theology from Scripture, but one which had the deepest insight into the relation of the New Testament to the Old. For a Christian the OT is only the word of God in so far as it speaks to him of Christ, in its spirit not in its letter. And yet do we not tend to treat the letter as God's word to us just as it stands? The New is wholly new, and yet continuous with the Old from which its historical meaning must be read; the Old survives, but transposed into a new key. Only Christ makes the two Testaments one.

It is this world of thought, with its delicate interrelationships, that Fr de Lubac recreated for us in his four-volume work of prodigious scholarship, "Exégèse Médiévale" (1959). One would not have thought that the way to convey the essence of this learning to the ordinary reader was to produce selected chapters of this earlier work —footnotes and all (there are 459 of them in one chapter of our book)—as a new book. But this is what Fr de Lubac did in 1966 under the title "L'Ecriture dans la Tradition", now available in English as "The Sources of Revelation" (how could they use that title after Vatican II!).

It is hard to know whether the reader will get the essential message, or only feel that he is lost in elusive nuances. But the message was never more essential to our renewed liturgy and theology. "This is the word of God", we say, at the end of an OT lesson. But *is* it—just like that?

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Norbert Lohfink THE CHRISTIAN MEANING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT Burns & Oates 1969 169 p 35/-

This recent and expensive translation of Professor Lohfink's book contains several valuable and interesting ideas, but is surprisingly unconvincing as a whole because of its multi-dimensional character. It is not a work of biblical theology, though it does discuss fundamentalist and more radical approaches to the Old Testament, steering a safe passage between the possible reefs: to an Anglican this section is strangely dated. It is not a work of biblical criticism, though it does describe at a fairly simple level the growth of the Old Testament canon. Nor can it be described in terms of apologetics despite its interest in the meaning and importance of the Old Testament in the present day.

As none of these topics is studied in any real depth, and as the intended intellectual level of the readership is doubtful, the value of this book is essentially limited. To those whose study of the Old Testament is at an early stage the section on attitudes to history (chapter 7) will be particularly useful. Chapter 8, "Man face to face with death", is of pastoral value.

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Vincent Taylor NEW TESTAMENT ESSAYS Epworth Press 1970 146 p. 32/-

From the publication of his first book in 1920 until his death in 1968 Vincent Taylor was one of the most distinguished of English New Testament scholars, largely responsible for the diffusion of the knowledge of Form Criticism in England, and the author of the standard international commentary on the Gospel of Mark. A Methodist, he combined critical scholarship with deep piety, and a preference for traditional positions with realistic openness.

The essays assembled in this volume are mostly short and non-technical, stemming for the most part from addresses and popular articles. To me the three most interesting are "The creative element in the thought of Jesus", in which he shows that, however much we may relate Jesus' teaching to ideas current in his day, in five crucial areas Jesus transformed the concepts that were handed on to him; "The origin of the Markan Passion Sayings" (his influential address as President of the Society for New Testament Studies in 1955), where he argues that the later disuse of the theology of the Suffering Servant shows that these sayings must stem from Jesus (but it is still possible that they in fact originate in the reflection on scripture by the earliest preachers); and the "Son of Man" sayings relating to the Parousia, a valuable and little-known article first published in the Expository Times in which he argues that these sayings came early in Jesus' ministry, before his understanding of the title "Son of Man" developed its connotations of suffering.

The author reveals himself as a warm and human personality whose firm knowledge never runs away with itself but remains always at the service of his ministry.

HENRY WANSBROUGH, O.S.B.

ed. Wolfhart Pannenberg REVELATION AS HISTORY Sheed & Ward 1969 x + 206 p. 40/-

The German original of this book appeared in 1960 and this translation is made from the third revised edition of 1965. The school of "younger" theologians associated with Pannenberg has attracted considerable attention during the last decade. They have had the temerity to challenge the dominant (Barth/Bultmann) view that the Word of God is the key-category in biblical interpretation. They hold that revelation through historical events is a more adequate category and represents the way in which the Bible understands itself. A valuable essay by Rolf Rendtorff successfully demonstrates that this is true with respect to the Old Testament: God made himself known through his actions in history. This conclusion may seem unoriginal to British readers, because a long line of British theologians (W. Temple, J. Baillie, etc.) has stressed the truth that revelation is the result of the prophetic understanding of certain historical events (the Exodus, the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the resurrection of Christ). However, the dominance of existentialist theology during the last thirty years in Germany has led to a widespread neglect and even a denigration of the Old Testament and its theology amongst German theologians; the Pannenberg group is now supplying a healthy corrective.

The contribution of Ulrich Wilckens on the understanding of revelation within primitive Christianity interestingly distinguishes between the two types of Jewish belief which were prevalent in the New Testament period, the rabbinic and the apocalyptic. There is a strong revival of interest in apocalyptic amongst German scholars today, though they would not all agree with the extreme view of E. Käsemann that "apocalyptic is the mother of Christian theology". (Does that make the Old Testament and Iranian mythology the respective grandmothers of Christian theology?) Wilckens is still very much under the influence of the Bultmann school; nevertheless he is led to conclude his essay with a modified thanksgiving for St Luke and his conception of "salvation-history".

An essay by Pannenberg himself sums up the position of his school in six theses. They may be summed up in the words of his postscript to the second edition to the effect that the "words of God" in the biblical literature "point to a reality going beyond mere words . . . to history", though the history has "overtaken the words through which certain events were announced" in the sense that they were often not realized in the way in which they had originally been intended. There is also an essay by Trutz Rendtorff on "The Problem of Revelation in the Concept of the Church", but this is so heavily Germanic as to be somewhat opaque to English readers.

While we cordially welcome the new approach of the Pannenberg group with its stress on history, we might wish that the group had more acquaintance with the critical philosophy of history as practised by philosophers in English-speaking countries. The naive assumption that historical "facts" may be ascertained by "scientific" methods while "interpretations" remain problematical is still too prevalent. The in-fighting which goes on constantly amongst members of the Bultmann school over almost every verse of the New Testament must surely be about matters of fact and not merely of "subjective" interpretation. The polemics in the lengthy footnotes of this book would themselves be sufficient to demonstrate that facts and interpretations are indivisible. The German title of the volume is "Offenbarung als Geschichte". What is not clear is the relation of "Offenbarung" to "Historie". ALAN RICHARDSON.

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York.

III. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION CHURCH

Stanford E. Lehmberg THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT 1529-36 Cambridge University Press 1970 282 p 70/-

The Reformation Parliament, first so called in 1859, has been the subject of intensive research in this century, but no one has attempted to collate and synthesize these findings until now. Professor Lehmberg really has little to add to the researches of Pollard, Elton, Scarisbrick and Kelly, but he has industriously and most lucidly co-ordinated their results with his own careful re-reading of the meagre sources.

There is no proof that the Commons in 1529 was "packed" to any greater degree than in previous parliaments; for one thing there was no manager to organize this considerable operation—Wolsey was in disgrace and Cromwell not yet in power; there are indeed signs that Cromwell did take a close interest in the by-elections in 1532-36, but by then the pass had been sold and the composition of the Commons could hardly be radically changed. Even if the Commons could have been "packed" effectively, it was an exercise involving hazardous assumptions and predictions about individuals; courtiers could not necessarily be relied upon to be subservient to Crown policies, as the careers of Sir George Throckmorton and Sir John Brydges show; nor was membership of a "circle" a reliable guide to attitudes, for the Protestant Rastell could be linked with More's connexion. Perhaps the strongest evidence that this Commons House was no more "royalist" than previous ones had been is in the opposition which it manifested not just to taxation (which was to be expected), but to the Annates Bill, obstruction to which induced the king to order a division (then a novel procedure) in order the more clearly to identify and intimidate opponents. Cromwell's concern about the by-elections in the later sessions reflects creditably on elections in 1529. The opposition in the Commons, however, needs careful appraisal, as that to the Appeals Bill was motivated in some notable instances by fear of economic reprisal rather than by any religious scruple.

The Commons, of course, was not the only nor the principal element of an early Tudor parliament: the Lords were long to exercise a waning, but substantial, influence in the legislature. But here there were no signs of the king, in 1529 or later, creating new peers in order to weight the debates in his favour; indeed, Sir John Hussey, whom he rewarded with a barony in 1529, for long and notable service, drifted into opposition along with Darcy, Lumley, Latimer, Montague and La Ware. The temporal lords had a slight majority over their spiritual peers, but it was insignificant to the extent that not all the bishops and abbots were conservatives or independent, and several of those who could so be called were too advanced in age to attend regularly or, when they did, to engage successfully in the emotional and physical exertions of controversy. The case of the conservatives was undermined by their more radical confrères and the king's policy was particularly assisted by the high (natural) mortality among the conservatives, for by 1535 deaths had quite changed the character of the spiritual peers: Warham, West, Blythe and Nix had

gone; Cranmer, Fox, Shaxton and Latimer had arrived. That the conservatives were not altogether impotent is clear enough from Cromwell's "encouragement" of some of them (as of the lay peers) to stay away from sessions and to "nominate" proxies (suggested to them). Indeed, one wonders how the king would have accomplished his divorce had Warham lived longer. This primate, who lived so much of his life in the considerable shadow of Wolsey, emerged in this parliament as a man of some character and principle who might, without Wolsey, have exerted over the English Church the kind of reforming influence that his friends Erasmus and Colet would have applauded; he has already been the subject of a fine thesis, he deserves a fine book. Fisher's opposition, by contrast, has suffered no neglect and there is confirmation and amplification of it here.

The prelates were members of Canterbury Convocation as well as of Parliament, and in Convocation, where their opposition might have been more effectively organized, they were at their weakest. Among other things, the radical religious were more numerous in Convocation, but More put his finger on its greatest weakness: for centuries it had met only on summons from the king, though such royal convening was not essential; it had contented itself largely with royal business, matters of subsidy, and a few urgent heresy cases; not since 1342, and before that 1281, had it undertaken a full-scale review and reform of ecclesiastical abuses and deficiencies. When, therefore, extensive reform legislation was undertaken in 1532 it was far too late to command respect and by that time Parliament was eager to fill the legislative vacuum and to ensure that Englishmen were bound by the enactments of no other assembly than itself, especially not of one which had hitherto needed no royal assent to its acts. This story of Convocation which emerges from More and Lehmberg is perhaps too simple, but it is an interpretation which is more likely to gain in subtlety than to change in essence.

There is much more worthy of note in Professor Lehmberg's book, but he does not really sustain his claim—except by asserting other people's conclusions—to show how equally revolutionary was the copious legislation on non-religious matters (which ranged from the Poor Law, the Statute of Uses and enclosure acts to successive—but unsuccessful—measures to "peg" prices, provision for paving the Strand, protection of East Anglian fishermen against excessive tolls at Hull, and the defence of crops against crows). His treatment of this neglected and important aspect lacks proportion as his treatment of the whole Parliament lacks perspective. He sees the Reformation Parliament from an Elizabethan vantage-point, but a more historical and revealing approach would be made from the later Middle Ages: the representatives of the boroughs call for more comment and analysis than he seems to realize, and some of the paternalistic legislation is less novel than he believes. It may be a cause for regret, too, that a scholar of his maturity and experience should shun to write a more ambitious book about one of the most dramatic and significant assemblies in the history of England: his picture is accurate, but the tone is wrong; there is light but no shade, action but no drama, indecision without anguish. One will seek elsewhere (in Scarisbrick's "Henry VIII" particularly) for that expansive and penetrating analysis of human characters and dilemmas which makes historical writing educative as well as informative; what Professor Lehmberg has provided is a clear and up-to-date narrative which will long remain a valuable introduction and work of reference.

The University,
Hull.

PETER HEATH.

Ronald A. Marchant THE CHURCH UNDER THE LAW: JUSTICE, ADMINISTRATION AND DISCIPLINE IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK 1560-1640 C.U.P. 1969 272 p 75/-

This is a technical book, and Dr. Marchant makes few concessions to the reader. His purpose is to show exactly how the ecclesiastical courts of the diocese of York functioned between 1560 and 1640.

Apart from the important exception of the Court of High Commission (not considered in detail in this monograph since it is the subject of a forthcoming book by another historian), the diocese of York inherited its system of ecclesiastical courts direct from the medieval church, and adapted it surprisingly little. At the diocesan

level the archbishop's Chancery Court both administered the diocese and acted as a disciplinary court; the Consistory Court chiefly, though not exclusively, heard suits between parties and the Exchequer Court dealt with testamentary matters. Within the diocese at large, the archdeacons gradually took over the visitational duties of rural deans and by the end of Elizabeth's reign regularly constituted archdeacon's courts had emerged.

Dr Marchant has approached his subject very much from the statistical angle; he has drawn up some thirty-five tables which he uses to demonstrate, among other things, the increasing business of all these courts which reached a peak during the Laudian ascendancy. Litigants willingly brought cases to ecclesiastical courts and he makes the valid point that in some matters, such as testamentary cases, ecclesiastical courts provided better justice than the common law courts.

Yet Dr Marchant does not accord diocesan courts unqualified praise. The only penalty these courts could impose upon a man who refused to attend court or obey its decisions was excommunication. He more than substantiates the contemporary Puritan charge that ecclesiastical courts imposed this weighty penalty for the most trivial offences, calculating that at any one time some five per cent of the population must have been excommunicate. Less than half those summoned before ecclesiastical courts usually appeared and by the seventeenth century moral offenders could be more effectively punished in secular courts.

It is unfair to blame an historian for not writing a different book. Dr Marchant has deliberately chosen to concentrate upon the implementation of ecclesiastical justice and upon administration. Very occasionally he affords the reader glimpses of northern church life: the parish clerk of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York, appears briefly in 1636 leading the congregation in the singing of subversive metrical psalms; in the same decade a status conscious burgess set up an absurdly ostentatious pew in Leeds parish church. Perhaps in another book Dr Marchant will describe church life in the diocese of York between 1560 and 1640 as revealed by the legal cases he has studied in such detail.

The book has been most beautifully produced by the Cambridge University Press.

Department of History,
University of York.

CLAIRE CROSS.

IV. GENERAL

Victor Steininger DIVORCE (Translated by Edward Quinn) Sheed & Ward 1969 174 p 35/-

One of the unfortunate side effects of *Humanae Vitae* has been that it deflected seriously the work that has to be done on the reappraisal of our understanding of Christian marriage. The urgency of this task can no longer be ignored for several reasons. The laws regulating marriage and its validity no longer reflect the reality of this sacrament. Secular society has taken an uncompromising stand in favour of widespread divorce which needs to be compensated by a truly Christian rejuvenation. And finally, because Christians in general, and Catholics in particular, are being denied the chance of a second union in the name of Christ, then truly the prohibitions reflect much more human limitations than the truth of the gospel.

In these circumstances, which are only too familiar in many aspects of the life of the Church in a period of transition, there are two ways of responding. The first is to attack, criticize, ridicule and provoke the Church into action. The second, which is less spectacular but in the long term more rewarding, is the slow hard work of reassessment and advance in the light of truth.

The present piece of work is a slim study which falls into the second category. It exposes carefully and respectfully some of the grave limitations of the present canon law. These contradictions are now so well known in expert circles that there is no longer any doubt about the need for remedy. The question is much more fundamental, namely the necessity for a new theology which will do justice to our deepening understanding of marriage.

The author pays special attention to the Petrine privilege and demonstrates through authentic examples that "Measured by the state of opinion even less than half a century ago, the development of the Church's law in regard to dissolution of marriage must be described as sensational".

It is claimed for the Petrine as for the Pauline privilege that the dissolution of the bond of marriage is in favour of the faith. This formula has been a trap for the Church which has failed to see that the real problem is the breakdown of the existing relationship which has led one of the partners to seek another union with a Catholic partner. Thus, what appears to be a move towards the faith has been preceded by the failure of the previous relationship and it is at this point that theology has to shift its attention, to define more accurately when is a marriage a marriage.

The author does not examine this point and, like others, seeks to extend the Church's ability to dissolve marriages on the basis of human finiteness tending towards the practice of the East.

In my view any move in this direction will impoverish the theology of the Church which must seek to define in increasing depth when a marriage is a marriage and proclaim its indissolubility when its criteria have been met. These characteristics will need to take account of the knowledge acquired from the new sciences of psychology and sociology. Such precise clarification is also needed for the urgent task of prevention and reconciliation of marital breakdown which in the end must be the primary aim of the Church.

J. DOMINIAN.

Copthorne Road,
Rickmansworth.

John Bowker PROBLEMS OF SUFFERING IN RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD Cambridge University Press 1970 318 p 70/-

This is a carefully worked out and rewarding study. Mr Bowker not only deals with the problem of suffering as it appears in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism, he also gives a brief but informative account of the distinctive message of each of these religions, with some additional discussion on Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Jainism. Taking little note of the historical order in which these religions appeared on the world-scene (which is rather a pity), the author divides his theme into "the foundations" and "the development", making effective use of source material. Understandably perhaps, Mr Bowker considers the Semitic religions before dealing with Hinduism and its derivative, Buddhism; but it is curious to find a chapter on Marxism, with emphasis on its Chinese variant, used as a bridge between the Eastern and Western religious traditions. These are the liveliest pages in the book and of value for their own sake; though some readers might have preferred to see the author discuss the movement of Chinese Buddhism into Korea and Japan, where, though modified, it is still very much alive. Many of the Zen masters—Dogen, for example—could have illuminated Mr Bowker's theme more effectively than Mao Tse-tung.

In Judaism, the problem of suffering concerns not the fact of its existence, but its distribution: "Why do the wicked prosper?" Nor does Christianity ask the question: Why should suffering exist? Rather, Jesus is shown as continually engaged with it, and finally the conqueror of suffering. For Hinduism, man's sorrow arises—and here there is an attempt at explanation—only for those who cannot penetrate beyond the dualism between appearance and reality. "Suffering is only a problem for those who cannot see it in the perspective of Brahman." In Buddhism suffering is relieved by the elimination of craving and aversion, and man's becoming aware that his "ego" is an illusion. "Suffering as such exists, but no sufferer is found; the deeds are, but no doer is found." This paradox Mr Bowker expounds lucidly and with sympathy. His theme is further illustrated by poignant modern instances of suffering: the Jews in Poland, the Buddhists in Viet Nam. The book may be warmly recommended.

AELRED GRAHAM, O.S.B.

Lilian Gunton ROME'S HISTORIC CHURCHES Allen & Unwin 1969 191 p 50/-

It was St. Gregory who regulated the Stations at Rome, i.e. the churches which the Pope visited daily in Lent. This custom, known as "making the Stations" has been revived since the time of John XXIII. This book is about the Stational churches.

Miss Gunton gives an account of each one, packed with information about historical events, architecture, sculpture, iconography, illustrated by 39 well chosen photographs and 29 exceptionally interesting ground plans. She traces the origins and development of these churches, showing how some have suffered the ravages of time, fire, water, earthquake, plunderings and reconstruction; but through their associations with saints and martyrs have, like Peter's barque, weathered the storms and remained witnesses to the Faith—for example St Maria in Trastevere or St Marco.

In the excellent introduction, the use of the ancient titulus is explained—Titulus Vestinae. Particularly interesting are the references to many first beginnings—from the private house—dominicum or Lord's House (see glossary). Clement's house 40 feet below the 12th century Basilica of St Clemente "contained rooms adapted for communal worship". This complex church is well described, though the statement that "There was more than one Clement to whom the first century tenement . . . could have belonged", is confusing. Puden's house, within St Pudenziana, takes the reader back to Peter's ministry and in the churches of SS John and Paul, St Cecelia and St Crysogono to sites of martyrdom.

Amongst the major basilicas, SS Peter and Paul are the most important in the book. The summary of events leading to the present day findings and the four ground plans give a clear picture of St Peter's from Constantine's church. It is interesting to notice that the two niches of SS Peter and Paul are referred to as *Trophies* by the priest Giaus in 200 A.D. "'I can show you,' wrote Giaus, 'the trophies of the apostles. For if you go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, there you will find the trophies of those who founded the Church'" (EUS. HE 2.6.7). Despite two reconstructions, the basilicas perpetuate the founders' partnership. On St Paul's grave is cut "PAULO APOSTOLO MART" (photograph page 137). Recently discovered in a niche in the Red Wall below St Peter's is the inscription "PETR ENI". It is worth comparing the feats of engineering in the construction of these basilicas, including St Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

All forms of art are very well included, although possibly the descriptions of mosaics are too analytical, lacking in atmosphere, and emphasising the detail rather than their message. Byzantine mosaics as in the chapel of St Zena in St Prassede, or on the apse of SS Cosmas and Damian (a mystical vision of Christ of the Second Coming), cannot be examined piecemeal.

Many anecdotes give a touch of lightness to the book, but it is a pity that the story of St Francis' meeting with St Dominic at St Sabena is omitted and Italy's Patron Saint only casually mentioned in two works of art.

The variety and wealth of information contained in this book cannot fail to give the reader a deeper appreciation of these Roman churches and for those fortunate enough to "make the Lenten Stations" it is the ideal book to take with them.

ROSAMUND FLETCHER.

305 Woodstock Road,
Oxford.

John N. Molony THE ROMAN MOULD OF THE AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH Melbourne University Press 1969 209 and xiv $6.60.

The popular idea of the Catholic Church in Australia is that it is largely Irish (look at the commonest names among the clergy and leading laymen), but its policy depends on its bishops who are almost all trained at the College of Propaganda in Rome. The Church is still under the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda (from which England was withdrawn in 1908) and its bishops have some privileges being in a missionary country and some limitations placed on a Church which is not as yet regarded as fully adult. Despite the titles of the sees which Australian bishops bear, they are really Vicars-Apostolic. They were given the privilege of using the names of their sees in order not to appear inferior to Anglican

bishops last century. Still they may receive direct orders from Rome about their work or to extend their missions. In this state of affairs, parish priests, whatever their seniority, do not enjoy any stability in their pastorates. (Compare Canons 2162 and 2163.) They may be moved at the bishop's will.

The nineteenth century in the papacy was the age of Pius IX and the loss of the Pope's temporal power. Protestant and secular press in Australia hailed every humiliation of the Pope at the hands of the Italian movement for unity as one more step in human progress, while Catholics groaned and uttered prayers for the Holy Father in his afflictions, collecting their pence for his support. Catholics became more strongly papal in the face of opposition.

The first Archbishop of Sydney was English and Benedictine but almost every other bishop was Irish and trained in Rome. All bishops without exception went out of their way to declare their complete and unswerving loyalty to the Pope's person. So the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 was hailed with joy, the Syllabus of Errors as important as the creeds, and Papal Infallibility in 1870 as what they had always believed. None of the Australian bishops at Vatican I spoke in the Council but all faithfully returned to proclaim the decrees with enthusiasm. In 1967 the same attitude was adopted to *Humanae Vitae* which bishops welcomed not because of its content and the stimulus it would give to thinking out the purposes of life, but simply because the Pope had spoken.

About the time of Vatican I the Australian bishops had, in accordance with Roman teaching, taken a stand to maintain separate Catholic schools and educate their children outside the secular state system. Today this policy is still upheld and Catholics have grown up mostly apart from the rest of the community in a country where Catholics are only a minority, albeit a substantial one—at least 20 per cent.

Irish bishops without *Romanita* have been rare (although they too were vocal in their loyalty to all parts of papal policies). The elite of Australian seminarists are still trained in Rome at the Propaganda, and one test of a priest to become an Australian bishop is unquestioning obedience to the Holy See. This is true for all Catholic bishops but not all speak in quite the same tones as a common training has given some. Australia is still a young nation, and in its physical and mental isolation in the south, it is deprived of other examples with which to compare itself. In secular accomplishments—cricket, or soldiering or business efficiency, Australians tend to be triumphalist and self-satisfied, and resentful of criticism. The Catholic Church is in danger of coming to share this spirit because it lacks the stimulus of seeing the Church in other countries where it meets much stronger challenges to the faith, even persecution. It ever needs to adapt its approach to the community and set forth the gospel in terms of human need, instead of only repeating authoritative definitions. One feels the duty of the Australian Church to essay the difficult task of combining loyalty to authority with honesty of thinking and charity towards critics.

This book is written by an Australian, himself trained at the Propaganda, ordained and later secularised, so that he can as a lecturer in history at the University of Canberra "bear witness to Catholic truth as well as teach". (Introduction by Professor C. Manning Clark.)

GILBERT WHITFELD, O.S.B.

Leslie Dewart: THE FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF Burns & Oates 1969 526 p 70/-

Leslie Dewart gave a course of lectures in the autumn of 1968 in the University of Toronto and decided to let a wider public have the benefit thereof. Thus we handle a massive volume concerned with the problem of how Christianity should evolve into something new to become relevant to contemporary, and more still to future, needs of mankind. He thinks that a big transformation is required, as is clear from the following remarks made, in a late stage of his argument, about God. "It is not only true, as I suggested above, that God must be a reality which transcends man's transcendence: it is also true, in a way, that God has no reality outside human experience. It is not only that he does not 'exist', but also that his reality is not like that of a reality which comes to man from without himself." On reading this one is tempted to doubt the sanity of the author, or oneself, or even to feel with Malcolm Muggeridge that perhaps mankind is really going mad. For Dewart at any

rate it is changing in kind, "to be sure, the most likely supposition we can make today is that, if only human germ plasm lasts long enough, man will in time evolve to the point that he must be considered specifically different from that which we today call man". So if man is evolving and God is not real outside human experience (as he has just said) then evidently God must be evolving too. Which presumably brings us back to Hegel, more or less. In fact it is arguable that we still exist, so far as philosophy is concerned, in the Hegelian dispensation, where the real and the rational coincide. And for Dewart it is the conception of truth that fundamentally must be altered. "Truth is not the adequacy of a representation, but the adequacy of self-existence, the adequacy of the presence of oneself to being, or of oneself to another, or of oneself to oneself." This desire to have a new concept of truth is the basis of his position and the need for it is argued at great length with an elaborate enquiry into the course of European philosophy and in particular into the Thomist metaphysics and epistemology. Dewart makes no claims to finality or completeness and expressly declares that the task of renewing the intellectual foundations of belief is too great to be accomplished by one man. He would be content to have raised "some of the questions that Christian philosophy should ask" at the present time. It is only fair to attempt to judge his work on the basis on which it is put forward, but there seems to be a real ambiguity about exactly what this is. He speaks of "Christian philosophy" and one wonders what he means. Is it theology or philosophy? In his Preface he says his enquiry falls within the scope of Fundamental Theology yet he would prefer to label it Theological Philosophy. This might appear to be merely a matter of nomenclature, but something much deeper may be involved. It is of primary consequence whether the enquiry is to proceed from the standpoint of theology or philosophy, based on faith, or reason; assuming, or demonstrating, the fact of revelation. It is not clear which it is and it may be that the author is not happy about having to settle one way or the other—he includes among the introductory quotations to the book the dictum of Karl Rahner, "Dogmatic Theology today has to be theological anthropology". Is this progress or a fresh *trahison des clercs*? Still the idea makes for discussion and it is certainly a contemporary misgiving to be bothered about the idea of God, even if this proves to be more ineradicable as time goes on than it seemed at first sight. Nevertheless it will probably be only after some time that the disappearance of God, or at any rate of "God", will be seen to have left man enslaved now to himself. Dewart's new concept of truth would seem to guarantee such an outcome and it is surprising that he should not anticipate this. What alternative has man for his choice but God or himself? This would seem to be a matter recognised by say the Hindu thinkers as well as the Christian, the Islamic and the Jewish. We may need to revise the ideas through which we express this primary insight and to keep revising them. For Dewart this is insufficiently radical but it is hard to see that his proposal is anything but a cancellation of belief in God.

PHILIP HOLDSWORTH, O.S.B.

V. THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Edward P. Von der Porten THE GERMAN NAVY IN WORLD WAR II Arthur Barker 1970 274 p 42/-

I had much looked forward to reading this book in order to learn more about the theories behind the build up of the German Navy between the wars and about the strategy behind its operations in the Second World War. But the result was disappointing. Nothing much new emerges, and there are mistakes of fact and distortion of priorities. Too little space is devoted to important issues and too much to comparatively minor events. The main reason for this failure is that the author has attempted far too much. He tackles too many subjects, strategical, tactical, administrative and political and the inevitable compression distorts the final picture.

But there is another fault which irritates the British reader. The author is a second generation American of German origin, and he often gives the impression that his aim is more to "whitewash" the German Navy than to write objectively about its successes and its failures.

I have a very high regard for the German Navy in the second World War. The bravery and endurance of the submarine crews was beyond all praise, and with two exceptions, officers and men followed the current customs of war at sea with scrupulous chivalry. The Navy generally avoided Nazification—it retained Chaplains and religious services, for instance—and its behaviour was better than the other services, as the Nuremberg trials showed.

But this book gives the impression that German Naval conduct on every plane between 1919 and 1945 was untarnished, and that its failures were due only to Hitler and Goering and never to its own leaders. Admiral Raeder is depicted as a high-charactered professional, living in a political ivory tower, and unaware of Hitler's real ambitions before the war and of his crimes against humanity during it. The author ignores too many awkward facts. He also contradicts himself when he says, on the one hand, that Raeder did not realise that Hitler was planning for war with England until only days before the outbreak in September 1939, yet later in the book he mentions the famous meeting on 5th November 1937 (the Hossbach Memorandum) when, with Raeder present, Hitler outlined his plans for conquest in the most unmistakable manner.

The author also apparently approves, or at least condones, the deliberate breaches of the Treaty of Versailles which started in 1920 and continued until the Anglo-German naval treaty of 1935, when the world was confronted with a new, small, German Fleet, complete with submarines and aircraft, and manned by many more officers and men than legally allowed. Surely, if peace is to be maintained and war avoided, a scrupulous regard for treaties must be essential.

Perhaps I have been over critical. There are good features of the book, which certainly covers much ground. The fatal lack of co-operation between the German Navy and Goering's Air Force is well depicted. The material failures, particularly of the torpedoes, which were such a surprising feature of the German performance and which saved the Allies so many ships, are not glossed over. And while the submarine war in the Atlantic gets comparatively little attention, the tables of tonnage sunk at the back of the book show dramatically how the struggle swung from near victory to defeat in a few weeks in the spring of 1943.

University College,
Oxford.

P. W. GRETTON,
Vice Admiral.

A quarter-centenary article by the reviewer, "The Atlantic Battle Won", appeared in the JOURNAL, *Autumn* 1968, *p.* 400-404.

W. G. F. Jackson THE BATTLE FOR ROME Batsford 1970 218 p 45/-

While one is personally engaged in a battle it is only possible to see the particular trees within one's view, and if the fog of war is thick the number of trees visible is small. In order to get an idea of the shape of the wood it is necessary to wait until someone like General Jackson does the necessary research, which he has now done with all the expertise and clarity that comes from a Staff College training.

As we fought our way forward towards Rome there were many things which we did not understand, and this book will be a revelation to all who were involved or who are interested in the history of that time.

For instance there was all the talk about the "Second Front". If the Russian front was the first and the invasion of Normandy the second, then what the heck had we been doing while we were conquering North Africa, Sicily and half Italy? Again, when the invasion of Normandy was imminent, we were wont, with typical British meiosis, to refer to ourselves as "D-Day Dodgers". While bashing on with our own operations we were curious to know just how much we were actually dodging. In providing the answers to these questions General Jackson makes three distinct points :— (a) the part the Italian campaign played in the success of the Normandy invasion by holding down twenty-three German divisions, leaving only twenty with which they could oppose the landings, (b) the interplay of the various temperaments of the allied forces in Italy and (c) the genius for command shown by Field Marshal Alexander in driving such a difficult team. Another point of great interest to a military historian are the comparisons he makes of the casualty rate in Italy with

that of the Somme battle in 1916, and the relative German and Allied casualties. Much as we hoped that we were inflicting a good deal of harm on the enemy, it is extremely gratifying to find that, though the country was ideal for defence, we did nearly twice as much damage to him as he did to us.

Reading the list of those engaged in the battle for Rome calls to mind the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, etc., of Pentecost, for on our side we had Americans, French, Poles, Canadians, Indians, South Africans and Rhodesians (and how glad we were to have them in our team then, but gratitude is ever the most ephemeral of virtues !), New Zealanders and Brazilians, to say nothing of the Basutos, Cypriots and Italians employed in making roads or as muleteers. As General Jackson says, only a military genius of the highest order could control such a mixture of nationalities, at the same time making each feel that his own part was the most important contribution to victory. The book must be read in order to appreciate the full extent of the problem, but one might take as an example the achievements of the French. Burning for *la revanche* even more after 1940 than after 1870, their part in the battle did not get the attention it deserved at the time, partly because most of the war correspondents had departed to follow the fortunes of the Normandy invasion. Like the Poles, but with more hope of success, they were fighting to return to their homeland and free it from occupation by the enemy. The British and Commonwealth forces had no such compelling motive, as their respective countries were not under physical occupation by the enemy, nor had they any political axe to grind. They were simply getting on with the job to the best of their ability, and it seems a bit harsh for General Juin, flushed with victory as he was and proud of the restored reputation of French arms, to criticise the Eighth Army for slowness, for we were fighting the cream of the German army in their own chosen and heavily fortified positions.

From the tactical point of view the key point of the battle was, and had been since the first Anzio landing, the town of Valmontone on Route Six. That is the way it was spelt on all our maps, and is still so spelt in the *Times* "Atlas of the World", so it is rather irritating to find it spelt Valmonte over and over again in the book, for Valmontone was written on our hearts, like Calais on Mary Tudor's :— "If only the Anzio boys were there, all this lot (the German XIVth Army) would be in the bag !" So it was a bitter disappointment for us that the Germans were able to hold the door open here until the day before Rome fell. From Sandhurst days it had been impressed on us that the primary object of all military operations was the destruction of the enemy's forces in the field, not the occupation of a city, however important politically. General Clark's action in changing direction will, as General Jackson says, be matter for discussion for many years, but to the military historian the comparison with the change of direction by von Kluck in 1914, when he thought that he could ignore the contemptible little army of Britain and be first into Paris, and that of Clark's move to ensure that he was first into Rome cannot but be a striking one. It is not to be wondered at that General Truscott could not believe his ears when he received the order.

General Leese, whom the book criticises for having 6th British Armoured Division too far forward, must have been expecting daily or even hourly to hear that the Americans were in Valmontone, as they were meant to be in the battle plan, and had his Armour ready for the pursuit role which we, together with 6th South African Armoured on the parallel centre line, immediately took up, to hold the lead for the next three months over three hundred miles of country. That tale we look forward to hearing from General Jackson in his next book.

There is much more in the book under review which is of absorbing interest; with regard to the production, the illustrations and the very modest price it is sufficient to say that this is a Batsford Book. Looking through it again, the most striking, indeed enthralling, part is the appreciation of the brilliance of Field Marshal Alexander and his planning staff.

GEORGE FORBES, O.S.B.

The author of this book is at present GOC-in-C Northern Command, York. He is currently engaged on a biography of Field Marshal Lord Alexander.

CORRESPONDENCE

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

28*th August* 1970.

SIR,

My letter in your summer number on recent liturgical changes called forth a reply by the author who had first provoked my remarks. Two of his points invite further attention.

First, he claims that to be sceptical of the authorship of the anaphora attributed to Hippolytus "is to fly in the face of all serious scholars on the subject", and a list of these, culminating with Dom Bernard Botte (1946) is added. This matter, like the authorship of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, could be said to be of little religious moment, but since there is considerable uneasiness that our liturgical reform is being conducted on a basis of inadequate scholarship, I feel that it cannot be allowed to rest at that. A great deal has happened since Fr Botte wrote in 1946, and no one, it seems to me, can talk with confidence of Hippolytan authorship who has failed to counter the arguments against such an attribution put forward by J. M. Hanssens in the *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (1959, No. 155) or by J. Mange in *Ostkirchliche Studien* (1965, 14, 35).

Secondly, he expresses his conviction of the unlikelihood that facing eastward entered into people's thinking in very early domestic eucharists. It is unwise to be dogmatic over any details of eucharistic celebrations in early times, but two lines of evidence converge to suggest a considerably different emphasis than that animating the present reform. One line of evidence is provided by Patristic allusions to the practice of facing east to pray, continuous from Tertullian. The second line concerns the veiling of the sanctuary, the significance of which has been recently explored by Fr J. Crehan, S.J., in his article stimulated by discoveries at the Roman Christian villa at Lullingstone (*Clergy Review* 1969, 54, 492), and which has remained the practice in several oriental rites till today.

Yours faithfully,

11 Barton Close,
Cambridge.

(Dr) R. H. RICHENS,
Chairman, Association for Latin Liturgy.

GOREMIRE DAY

29*th September* 1970.
Michaelmas

DEAR SIR,

I am writing to draw attention to an omission in the Blue Book for this Autumn Term, 1970. I refer to Goremire Day.

Last term it was omitted, so we understood, owing to the pressure of events in the summer term and the difficulty of finding an appropriate day. We hoped it was to be transferred to this term.

It has been argued that Goremire Day is no longer a suitable or congenial holiday for the 1970s and that the organisation necessary now that numbers have increased is so huge that the holiday should be discontinued. When the weather is wet, it is extremely difficult to put the operation into reverse and provide a meal in the House refectories.

On the other hand many will argue that Goremire Day is an old tradition which we should not easily give up. How old it is nobody seems to know. The school magazine for 1854 (*The Student*) contains an article on this very topic and complains that those likely to remember its origin are no longer alive. The Prior in those days was Fr Wilfrid Cooper who was in the School in the 1830s; his immediate predecessor Fr Ambrose Prest was Prior from 1846-1850 and came to the School in 1813. If these men could not remember the origin of Goremire Day this pushes back the original Day beyond 1813 to a date within ten years of the arrival of the community at Ampleforth Lodge.

It has been suggested that the boys with a bonfire seen by Dorothy Wordsworth on her journey from Kirbymoorside to Thirsk via Helmsley, Rievaulx and Sutton Bank might have been members of the School on an early Goremire Day. This cannot be accepted. It is clear that the bonfire was in Thirsk market place and the journey took place in October 1802, two months before the first Laurentians took up residence.

The earliest reference to "Gormire" Day seems to be in the school magazine (*Union*) for 1849. At that time although it was a long sleep morning, the School assembled for departure at 7 o'clock in the yard. In those days the boys went by wagon, but by 1859/60 it was evidently the custom for all to walk. Even at this time lunch took place at the old farm and the barn doors were taken off their hinges and used as a table. By 1893 the farmhouse had fallen into such a state of ruin that it could no longer be used on wet days for lunch. It was also in 1893 that tea was started for the first time and "a rather serious accident befell a party of religious. When driving home in the phaeton the carriage suddenly parted in two. The occupants of the back seat were thrown into the road, while the driver was dragged some distance with the horse. Fortunately no serious damage was done . . "

Yet sheer longevity does not automatically justify a tradition. However, long survival should suggest caution before abandoning a tradition and perhaps lead one to try to discover whether it does not enshrine something of value. Surely Goremire Day does precisely this. The accounts of the last century bear clear testimony to the happy and relaxed relations between the School and monks, and today Goremire Day provides a unique opportunity for the School and staff monastic, lay and procuratorial to mix informally. In the busy world of the 1970s is it not all the more necessary to maintain the tradition?

Perhaps we must concede something if Goremire Day is to survive. Should it be on an optional basis and on one of the other summer term holidays such as Ascension Day? Goremire Day survived the war and wartime rationing, and even the Terry lunch cartons (1936-39), and I for one look forward to seeing it in the Blue Book for Summer Term 1971 and hope it will survive the 1970s and beyond.

Yours faithfully,

EDMUND HATTON, O.S.B.

Ampleforth Abbey,
York.

COMMUNITY NOTES

ORDINATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

On Sunday 5th July, Bishop Gerard McClean ordained the following monks to the priesthood: Fr Ralph Wright, Fr Alberic Stacpoole, Fr Andrew Beck, Fr Edgar Miller and Fr Gilbert Whitfeld. He also ordained deacon Br Jeremy Nixey, Br Jonathan Cotton and Br Felix Stephens. Br Matthew Burns and Br Timothy Wright were ordained sub-deacon on the previous day and Br David Morland on 24th August at Middlesbrough. Br Richard ffield made his Solemn Profession on 8th October.

The following changes have been made on our parishes this autumn. Fr Bernard Boyan has been appointed parish priest of St. Mary's, Cardiff, and his place at the York University Chaplaincy has been taken by Fr Fabian Cowper. Fr Kevin Mason has joined Fr Bernard at Cardiff as assistant and Fr Kenneth Brennan has taken over his post as parish priest of St. Alban's, Warrington. Fr Osmund Jackson has been appointed to Kirbymoorside as parish priest and his place at St. Mary's, Warrington, has been taken by Fr Herbert O'Brien.

Fr Nicholas Walford has returned to the Abbey after nine years at St Louis Priory. Fr Ralph Wright has gone to join the Community in St Louis and Fr Finbarr Dowling is due to join him there after Christmas.

Sadly we must record the death of Fr Peter's brother, Jim Utley, who died as suddenly as Fr Peter and coincidentally within days of his retirement from his lifework. Where Fr Peter spent the whole of his monastic life at Ampleforth, his elder brother Jim (who reached seventy this summer) spent his in Rome, apart from the War years. After the War, he went to the Legation to the Holy See as what has been described as "a kind of Oriental secretary", who knew everybody and everything that was to be known in the Eternal City, who continued where other men came and went. He became a Papal Chamberlain and a Knight of Malta, and *inter alia* a certain source of procurement of papal audiences for Amplefordians.

A MOVE TO EXTEND AMPLEFORTH'S CONFRATERS

The confrater idea was prevalent in the Middle Ages, when many layfolk wanted to share as intimately as they might the benefits of the monks' prayers for the living and the dead. Founders and benefactors had always had a special bond of relationship with the monasteries, and as early as 810 (the St Gall Confraternity Book) we hear of such relationships being formalised in the confrater system. Edmund Bishop has two papers in his posthumous book "Liturgica Historica" on the matter. Confraters had their names inscribed in the abbey's book (in England known as the "Liber Vitae") and these were read out at the appropriate moment at the conventual Mass, the book being then laid on the altar during the Canon. At their death, confraters were further prayed for by the Community, as

though they were full members of it. Provision was even made for women, and often whole families of a benefactor were enrolled together, being received in a ceremony carried out in the chapter house. This custom continued from before the Conquest in English houses until the Dissolution, and it has been revived in Benedictine houses in the last century in modified forms. (Also cf. H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Unions & Confraternity with Cluny", *JEH* XVI.2, 152-62.)

The custom has now been extended to the parishes in the care of the monks of Ampleforth. It was felt that the relationship between the Abbot and Community of the Abbey and the fathers with their flocks on parishes was rather remote: that there ought to be a strong spiritual bond between them. It was decided, therefore, that any member of the parish who had given twenty-five years of voluntary service to the Church, or who had represented the Church on public bodies, should be enrolled as a confrater and be granted "a share in the fruits of all the holy Masses offered by our brethren, both now and in time to come, of the daily performance of the Divine Office . . . ". The confraters are made aware of the needs of the Abbot and Community. On a visit to Ampleforth on 5th September of this year Father Abbot offered Mass for the Brownedge confraters and commissioned them to pray for vocations, especially for vocations for the monastic life at Ampleforth. As Father Abbot said to them, "no vocations and this Community will die: no vocations and there will be no flow of monks to serve your parish."

There is a simple ceremony when Father Abbot presents the new confrater with a "Letter of Confraternity", a scapular and a Benedictine Medal to be worn on solemn occasions.

LEYLAND: FIFTEEN YEARS OF BUILDING

Fr Edmund FitzSimmons, the eighteenth parish priest of Leyland since 1845, went there in 1952; and three years later buildings began to appear in a programme which has not ceased in the last fifteen years. Over two-thirds of a million pounds have been spent on them in that time, and the parishioners have thought fit to stop for a moment to take their breath. This they have done by producing a fine illustrated booklet, "St Mary's Leyland Old & New", from which four pages of plates have been taken for the Journal (as a gift from Leyland). The booklet shows photographs of all stages of development, old Victorian school-houses, new primary and secondary schools and of course the now famous circular church, from which the Journal illustrations all come.

It is fitting, then, to tabulate here the Leyland parish building projects over the period 1955-1970. All of them are for the children of the parish, the adults leaving their parish hall to the last:

1955	Classroom Block: Golden Hill	£20,000
1956	Nursery School: First Phase	£6,000
1957	Secondary School: Royal Avenue	£155,000
1961	Infants School: Haig Avenue	£63,000
1962	Science Wing: Royal Avenue	£20,000

1964	New Church and Priory	£200,000
1967	St Anne's Primary School	£87,000
1969	First Phase: Comprehensive School	£40,000
1970	Parish Hall	£50,000

THE LATIN LITURGY

THE Association for the Latin Liturgy (see Summer JOURNAL, p. 286) invited Fr Bernard McElligott to address them at Campion Hall, Oxford, on 16th June. He spoke, as has been his wont in recent times, on "Active Participation": copies of the full text are being distributed by the Association. Many of his ideas have been reported in these pages before—the need for interior participation, the danger of "activism" and of posturing, the danger of preoccupation with mere ritual and rubrics, the need always to recall that Christ is the focus and the actor while we are but co-participants, the danger of allowing the delicate balance between individual and social participation to become unhinged. But there are others in the Oxford address which are new to the JOURNAL, and deserve an account here.

But first we must stress the meaning and importance of Fr Bernard's title, which comes from the phrase used in encyclicals and Church documents, *participatio actuosa*. It has been discussed before in these pages, in the Autumn 1969 JOURNAL, p. 443-4, entitled "Interior Activity", and in the Spring JOURNAL in an article entitled "Increasingly Active Participation" esp. p. 46, 49. The use of the word *actuosa* signifies not so much bodily activity as interior involvement, not so much the externals of worship as the personal deliberate adherence of heart and mind. We live in a time of increasing externalism where activity is becoming even so much as an abnormality of our age, "activism".† We are losing the values of insight and wisdom summed up in Our Lady. We have tipped the balance away from *participatio actuosa* towards *participatio activa* and must now struggle to return to the still centre—the movement not of body or lips but of heart to God. As Pius XII said in *Mediator Dei*, "most important in divine worship is the internal element", the acceptance of God in ourselves. External acts, necessary enough—God knows—in our incarnate state, are but instruments of this much higher end. It is Christ the Offerer who is offered, for us co-offerers who can but join the redemptive work *actuose* by going out of our selves into Christ, and with Christ to the Father.

Fr Bernard asks: "is there not a connection between our realisation of the need for interior worship, and our desire to retain the Latin Mass and its music as well as the vernacular, i.e. for good religious, not just historical reasons?" He holds that the universal Church has need of a universal

† "The problem of activism—a lack of balance between action and contemplation—is said to be characteristic of our time. The man of restless energy, the hustler and go-getter, is a figure familiar to the popular imagination; one associates this kind of life with "organisation men", "managerial" and "executive types". The very fact that many terms are coined and freely bandied about is proof that a problem is genuine." Karl Stern, "The Flight from Woman" (Allen & Unwin, 1966).

verbal and musical language, against the danger of national balkanisation and of desacralisation brought about by the misuse of the vernacular—of which evidence has been forthcoming. He holds that the modern search for perfect intellectual understanding misses the point that we should join ourselves personally to the prayer of the liturgy in spirit and in faith, knowing it to be the prayer of the whole Church and not merely of one's own mind. He holds that the element of mystery is being denied by an over-rationalist, over-materialist age: as St Augustine has said, "it is not what is seen but what is believed which nourishes". The union between God and ourselves through the renewal of Christ's sacrifice can be spiritually known only through an effective faith in the mystery, not through immersion in contemporary trends; and loss of mystery will lead to loss of faith.

An element of mystery and a powerful support for our faith is a sense of awe, which wells up from our experience of what is beyond our full understanding. The mystery can be described but not understood in depth. We can enter into it with love and trust, knowing it to be beyond understanding, but giving ourselves deliberately to it as a loving union with Our Lord in his redeeming activity for us. Or we can "do appropriate things", failing to participate in our interior selves, and so gradually lose vital contact with the redeeming reality. We can allow ourselves to feel that what does not reveal itself to us does not fulfil us or even concern us; so we attend a formal ritual, fashioning it to what we want, feeling that it is we who are at the centre of the action; and then the Mass has become desacralised, for we have put God at the same level as ourselves.

Our own language can unintentionally dispel awe. Through their familiarity, and even more through their association, words come to lose their effectiveness. Compare *adoro* and "adore": you can adore Lawrence Olivier or black poodles, for the word "adore" has now acquired very trivial associations from which *adoro/adorare* is quite free. As to music, the Church needs a universal musical language, which up to now has been marvellously filled by plainsong, a mode of music that has a unique religious quality recognised by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Plainsong needs the Latin as it does not fit the rhythm and accentuation of English words correctly. We should think of our church music more in terms of song—the *Kyrie* as a song of penitence, the *Gloria* as a song of praise, the *Credo* as a song of proclamation, the *Sanctus* as the song of the angels, the *Agnus Dei* as a song of confident petition.

This is not to say that English does not have its place, for it does. It has great value in the Liturgy of the Word, the instruction part of the Mass; in Collects and Bidding Prayers; and in general presentations of the Mass, especially to the young. But we must recognise the dangers, the impoverishment of meaning induced by contemporary association and the impoverishment of awe in over-rationalisation. Latin has the advantages of serenity, dignity, reverence, universality, a certain depth of sacred association, a power to communicate an involvement in the holy mystery; and moreover, the religious beauty of our heritage of plainsong and polyphony can be retained only in the language to which that music was moulded.

"THE CRISIS OF BELIEF": R.C.C. CONFERENCE

In the Summer JOURNAL, p. 284f, it was promised that some account would be given of the papers delivered at the Annual Conference of the Ryedale Christian Council held at Ampleforth on 11th April. Three papers were given, the third being a chapter of Fr Aelred Graham's forthcoming book.

The Dean of York here provides an abstract version of his lecture in a statement at once lucid and brilliantly illustrative of the main case against all martyrdom. It is an exposition of the climate of thought which led to State persecution on religious grounds, and of the climate of modern ecumenical thought which, rooted in the Bible itself, is inimical to persecution as a policy.

The Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, in an extract from his charming talk, discusses the problem of doubt and unbelief, referring to the search for authentic—as against imposed—faith.

The Idea of Orthodoxy

"Orthodoxy" is a Greek word for a Greek idea. It has no equivalent in Hebrew. The Jews had no creeds comparable to the Church's Apostles' Creed or Nicene Creed. They were not united by means of an "orthodox" confessional agreement, yet the different sects within Judaism in Our Lord's day all worshipped together in the Temple. They held markedly different theological beliefs: Sadducees disagreed with Pharisees, and both these major parties disagreed with Essenes and Zealots. Yet they did not excommunicate one another. There was, indeed, a profession which every male Jew recited every morning (and which every religious Jew still recites today): "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and strength" (Deut. 6.4). This profession differs from the Christian Creeds not only in being shorter but also in taking the form of a command. Its emphasis is upon obedience rather than upon correct doctrine, i.e. orthodoxy. The only Jew whom it excommunicates is the disobedient Jew. A faithful Jew might belong to his chosen "party" or "denomination" without embarrassment. Thus, St Paul told the court in Acts 26.5 that after the strictest sect (*hairesis*) of the Jewish religion he had lived a Pharisee; and in Acts 28.22 he refers to the Christian "heresy" and remarks that it is everywhere spoken against. In a Jewish environment St Paul readily accepted the co-existence of sects or "heresies".

But on Gentile soil the case is different. At Corinth we find him deploring the existence of schisms and heresies (I Cor. 11.18f.; cf. 1.10; 12.25). The Greek Christians were quarrelling and breaking up the unity of the one body of Christ into antagonistic parties—a Paul party, a Cephas party, an Apollos party and even a Christ party! To Paul the existence of more than one Christian denomination in a place was intolerable, for Christ is not divided. But the Greek mind had a passion for precise intellectual definition and a temper which was always ready to excommunicate those who would not toe the party-line. And so, as the Church grew and spread throughout the Graeco-Roman world, it became

St. Mary's, Leyland: Organ and Blessed Sacrament Chapel

St. Mary's, Leyland: Organ and Blessed Sacrament Chapel

1

2

3

St. Mary's, Leyland: main interior

1. The cross suspended above the central altar, depicting Christ the High Priest done by Adam Kossowski.

2. The ambulatory, flanked by panels of richly coloured glass done by Patrick Reyntiens (E 43).

3. The eleventh Station of the Cross, the nailing done in bronze by Arthur Dooley.

The St. Mary's, Leyland pre-Reformation chalice

This is one of the earliest English chalices to have come down to us, well known to all who are interested in pre-Reformation plate, a rival of the Jurby chalice in the Isle of Man. Its date is determined by the three hallmarks on the foot of it: the Lombardic capital A which was the London date letter for 1517-18, the leopard's head crowned, two links of a chain (these last are the maker's mark and occur also on the Jurby chalice and the Great Waltham paten, both of four years later).

Its history before the Benedictine mission opened in 1845 is unknown. In that year Fr Henry Greenhalgh of Weld Bank sent it to the first monk parish priest; for it has inscribed on it, the chief vessel of the altar at Mass, words so full of meaning: "*Restore mee to layland in Lankeshire*".

increasingly necessary to define the Christian faith in intellectual terms, because there were so many parties or heresies which loved to choose an opinion of their own and to break fellowship with all who did not agree. We may lament this state of affairs, but given the temper of the times the drawing up of creeds and definitions was inevitable. There arose so many false "isms" amongst the half-converted and highly argumentative pagans. Thus, the great Catholic Creeds and Definitions came into existence as a touchstone of orthodoxy.

The conversion of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, brought with it sinister consequences for the later development of the idea of orthodoxy. Constantine resolved to put an end to the controversy between the Catholics and the heretical Arians; he therefore summoned the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325. This Council produced the first draft of our Nicene Creed. Thereafter Constantine began to use the power of the State to suppress the heretics, who dissented from the decision of the Council. Unfortunately no one foresaw the disastrous consequences of State-enforced orthodoxy; but these duly became apparent when an Arian successor of Constantine began to persecute the Catholics and drove Athanasius into exile. It was the Emperor Theodosius (371-395) who perfected the system of State patronage of orthodoxy which was to last for over a thousand years. Theodosius regarded himself as the divinely appointed defender of the faith, and he defended it—as did so many rulers after him—with the sword and the executioner's axe. No serious challenge to this condition of affairs was made until the eighteenth century. The Reformation in no way modified the Theodosian system. Catholics and Protestants burnt or beheaded one another in the belief that they were doing the will of God. Everywhere in Europe the ruler assumed the right to dictate the religion of his subjects, and the individual conscience had no court of appeal on the earth.

The period of the Enlightenment witnessed a powerful reaction against the idea and practice of an enforced orthodoxy, even if it was left to "free-thinkers" to make the most vigorous of the protests. Today it is probably true to say that in all churches it is acknowledged that no man may freely enjoy his personal persuasion unless it is open to him to turn and follow another. But in the great totalitarian empire behind the iron curtain the Theodosian model still holds sway and no one has the right to believe anything which the State disapproves. With shame Christians have to confess that the Marxist system is only an extension beyond the eighteenth century of the Theodosian principle.

With the fading away of the idea of a rigidly prescribed and enforced orthodoxy in the churches of today we are confronted by the difficult problem of setting up standards of orthodoxy which shall at the same time safeguard the essentials of the historic Christian faith and also allow liberty to different groups within the wider whole (the *ecumene*) to express their own insights and to preserve their own distinctive traditions. Perhaps we have something to learn from the Old Testament and Judaism. Perhaps we need a creed which is expressed in the imperative mood ("Thou shalt love . . . ") rather than in the indicative ("I believe . . . ").

Finally, the abandonment of the idea of State-enforced orthodoxy leaves wide open the question of the Christian's duty towards the State. The theology of subservience towards the State (strongly expressed in traditional Lutheranism as well as in other churches which have been accustomed to dependence on the State) is giving way in many parts of the world today to a theology of revolution. It seems that a formulation of Christian obedience today will have to contain some kind of theology of politics and social action, because such a formulation must embrace the whole duty of man and not merely some "religious" area of his obedience. The attempt to express the whole faith and obedience of the Christian in the ecumenical Church and in the contemporary world will doubtless occupy the best minds of Christendom for a long time to come.

ALAN RICHARDSON.

The Problem of Unbelief [an extract]

Concerning unbelief, I would take my start with that famous phrase of the Frenchman Hasard in "The Crisis of European Conscience"; he interprets the way in which in France people began the seventeenth century by believing the Christian faith with Bossuet and ended by doubting it with Voltaire. But the eighteenth century unbelief, like eighteenth century belief, was on the whole buoyant and optimistic. We come to the real poignancy of it, I think, with Victorian England. The Christian world then was buffeted by great teeming welters of new ideas: Christian apologetic in so many ages has been like the French Army which was always getting ready for the last war. And so you have in the nineteenth century not only the crisis of belief but the crisis of half-belief of the people who kept Christian morality and all sorts of reminiscences of Christian orthodoxy. A great number of people took their theology from Carlyle, Ruskin and the poets rather than from the theologians. If you want to find a dismal side of this you'd better buy the gramophone record of Sybil Thorndike reading Tennyson's "In Memoriam"; a more miserable experience you can't have . . . the sort of muted trumpets "I think that my Redeemer liveth" . . . and the sort of crisis even within families, of people being pushed in one direction, either to a return to orthodoxy or else to the verge of scepticism. Take the two brothers Harlow Froude on the one hand, the immensely dynamic and in some ways poignant and pathetic figure in the Oxford Movement and then his brother the great historian, writing the novel "Nemesis of Faith". Take John Henry Newman and his own brother Francis, with Francis's movement towards scepticism, unitarianism and all the forms of half-belief of that age. Recently I have come across a rather living example of this—not in a grown up or elderly person. Those of you who know your hymn books and look at the bottom of the hymn—"Tr. C. Winkworth"—will I hope have some admiration for that rather splendid Victorian lady, Catherine Winkworth. In the 1820's and 30's, middle-class young ladies were more in advance of some teenagers today in what they could take on. Catherine Winkworth could read "Paradise Lost" at the age of four and at the age of six was discovered

reading the Bible to her two little brothers and saying, "Well, of course, I'm choosing such portions of scripture as are suited to their capacity." Here are one or two extracts from her diary in 1839:—

On Sunday:

> "Query—Is it right to class flowers on Sunday? For example, if a person picks up a flower and says 'What class is this?' and you say, 'Well, how many stamens and pistils has it?' . . . 'Five stamens and one pistil' . . . 'Well, then it's pentandrium onegenia', it can't surely be wrong to look at them on Sunday in order to give glory to their maker."

Catherine Winkworth in her evangelical home feeling the pressure, you see . . . and then the next bit . . .

24th September:

> "In the evening I had a talk with 'X' upon the evidences of religion. I hope he has no inclination to atheism; I have not yet —oh yes I have . . . "

and then

4th October:

> "It seems as though I were changing. I haven't had the same feeling in religion I used to have. Infidelity has rather attacked me lately . . . "—well, like lumbago, you see—"and for some time I have had fears of sudden death . . . "

17th October:

> "I think lately I have been passing through the Valley of the Shadow, but like Christiana I have had light. I am in the second part—the place of gins and snares—for I have many wicked, wicked doubts. Oh how I hate them. Sometimes I love Jesus and I have confidence in him, but then those feelings go away soon and naughty doubts come in again . . . "

She didn't go to school. She lived in a very sheltered middle-class evangelical household, but she wrote this when she was twelve years old (this is the point) and you can see there the sort of impact and infiltration in her life at such an age. Here we see, not on the Christian intellectual level, but as one of the recurrent problems for the Church, young people growing and their reaction against these kind of family and social pressures; having to think through their doubts under the law rather than under the gospel, feeling that one's somehow been loaded in the way in which one's going to come out at the end of the tunnel. We are now living in a world where these pressures have accumulated until people are almost conditioned against being able to hear the very language of faith. I had a bible class in Manchester of middle-aged to elderly people who one evening rather frankly confessed that they spent most of their adolescent years in that Methodist Chapel trying not to be converted, determined just not to give way to the kind of stuff that was being poured at them all the time and their own lives incomplete at many points because they were hardened against these things. This conditioning of a whole generation against Christian words and things encourages teenagers to grow up to

take cannabis, so to find the kind of emotional satisfaction that Saint Bernard says only the love of Jesus can give. This is part of the problem of belief in *our* age.

[a long passage is here excised]

When I was on a delegation in Eastern Germany some years ago, we were of course in a rather splendid tract of human history, one that recalled this crisis of European conscience we spoke of as occurring in the eighteenth century, the rather optimistic belief and unbelief with which it started. It was rather splendid to go within three days from the font where John Sebastian Bach was baptised to the house where George Frederick Handel was born, to the room in which Goethe died and the house where Schiller wrote his poems, to see where Napoleon won the battle of Jena, while a mile or two away, Hegel was lecturing in the university. This sort of eighteenth century man in his unbelief and in his belief; and then within an hour to go to Buchenwald to the problems of belief in the twentieth century, like a horrible ugly ink blot on a lovely manuscript. There's a little Lutheran church on the same hill as Buchenwald now. When the War ended these Lutherans had to save themselves as Christians and Germans—"What dare we build on this place in this situation?"—and they built a very ugly sanctuary as they knew it had to be. They got lots of bits of wire and steel which they picked off the floor of machines in factories: out of it they built a kind of wire fence like the wire fence of a concentration camp and so this stretches right round the front of the sanctuary. But in the middle someone has cut a way through; in the middle of the altar under the Cross there is a way of escape made for mankind. And of the wire that was taken from that they have made the crown of thorns that Our Lord wore, who made the way through and the way of liberation and the way of forgiveness and the way of reconciliation. I think we should do those wrong if we thought that they go there Sunday by Sunday just remembering what a few people did twenty years ago for crimes committed twenty-five years ago. I think that they believe that this is our world, a world where God's Son himself has made a way through. So I would say faith is not merely our holding onto God, it is the knowledge that God has held on to us and committed himself to us without limit and without end.

GORDON RUPP.

MARGARET CLITHEROW EXHIBITION

AN exhibition of archives and books relating to the life and martyrdom of Saint Margaret Clitherow will be on view in the City Library, Museum Street, York, from 2nd November to 14th November 1970. (Mon.-Fri. 9 a.m.-5.30 p.m., Sat. 9 a.m.-5 p.m. Closed Sunday.)

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OA News communications to the Secretary, The Ampleforth Society: Rev J. F. Stephens, O.S.B., B.A.

School Notes to the Editor, or the School Sub-Editor: E. G. H. Moreton, B.A.

Photographs to the Photo Editor: Rev C. G. Lynch, O.S.B., M.A.

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died:—H. Kallaway on 10th April; L. Bullock-Webster (1893) on 21st June; R. G. Thornley-Walker (E 65) on 15th July; Major M. Y. Dobson (C 33) on 9th August; D. V. Morrin (C 47) on 17th August; F. G. Sturrup on 29th August; P. C. R. L. Penno (E 67) on 27th September.

We must record with special sorrow, for the sake of the family he leaves and the suddenness of his death, that D. V. Morrin died after a coronary thrombosis on 17th August in Canada. He leaves a wife, Sheila, and six very young children, to whom we offer our sympathy. The Morrin family will be remembered by many Amplefordians for the days when they lived immediately behind Harrods in Walton Street and kept an open home. Patricia married Colonel George Ramsay, Scots Guards, and their boys have been through Ampleforth.

THE AMPLEFORTH SUNDAY

6TH DECEMBER 1970

THIS will take place at Netherhall House, Nutley Terrace, N.W.3. Father Abbot will celebrate Mass and after a Discourse from Father T. Corbishley, S.J., questions will be answered by Father Abbot and a Panel of four Guest Speakers. Father Abbot will give the final Discourse. A notice and application form are enclosed with this issue.

EASTER RETREAT AND WEEK-END 1971

THURSDAY 8TH APRIL—MONDAY 12TH APRIL

THE Discourses will be given by Fr DOMINIC MILROY. Please contact Fr Denis Waddilove *as early in the new year as possible* and not later than 5th April.

THE VANHEEMS MEMORIAL FUND

THE Fund is now officially closed. Any late contributions will be most gratefully received by the Procurator for the administrators, the Ampleforth Abbey Trustees. The money collected so far is largely in covenanted or promissary form. It will be invested by the Trustees and a Bursary in memory of Fr Oswald administered at their discretion. By the same token a small part of the realizable collection will be set aside towards the cost of providing the new bookcases requested as a visible memorial to Fr Oswald in the Housemaster's room. Any acknowledgment of this tribute to Fr Oswald would be incomplete without a special word of thanks to John Reid, the Fund organiser.

MARRIAGES

Oswald ffield (H 64) to Mary King at St Peter's Church, Gloucester, on 9th May.

Philip Martin Hamilton Ryan (B 61) to Patricia Anne Dobson at the Church of Our Lady and All Saints, Parbold, on 22nd May.

Adrian White (E 62) to Helen Frances Cox at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, on 25th June.

Richard Batho (E 60) to Ann Chadwick at the Church of Our Lady and St Michael, Abergavenny, on 20th June.

Adrian Brunner (H 63) to Christine Ann Hughes, on 20th June.

Anthony Bowring (A 59) to Felicity Whitting at Brompton Oratory, on 17th July.

Dr Francis Burke (A 60) to Linda Margaret Poole at St Peter's Church, R.A.F. Cranwell, on 18th July.

Simon Scrope (C 53) to Jane Parkinson at the Guards Chapel, on 23rd July.

Brian O'Regan (O 54) to Jasmine Campbell-Davys at St James, Spanish Place, on 30th July.

Francs Ellenbroek (B 61) to Pauline Vivienne Hay at St Charles Church, Gosforth, on 8th August.

Michael Maxwell Stuart (B 50) to Kirsty Salveson at St Peter's, Falcon Avenue, Edinburgh, on 8th August.

Richard Honeywill (O 62) to Lynda Upton at the Church of St Thomas More, Patcham, Brighton, on 5th September.

Dr Jonathan Davey (E 60) to Sandra Rogers.

Willian Gilbey (T 62) to Caroline Ball.

ENGAGEMENTS

Richard Davey (E 66) to Pamela Hayes.

C. D. Jardine (E 63) to Pamela Jenkins.

Captain Richard Murphy (C 59) to Mary Anne Riddell.

Piers McCausland (O 59) to Elizabeth Duff.

Major Frederick David Scotson (A 56) to Franziska Haering

Captain Ivan Scott Lewis (O 57) to Mary Menzies Weaver (sister of A. Weaver (D 59)).

David Thunder (E 60) to Adrienne Edwards.

BIRTHS

Frances and Hugh Fattorini, a son, Timothy.

Pat and Bernard Scotson, a son.

Lydia and Jeremy Wilcocks, a daughter, Louise.

AFTER the General Election in June the following accepted invitations to serve in the Government:

MINISTER Lord Windlesham (E 50), Minister of State, Home Office.

JUNIOR MINISTER Marquess of Lothian (O 40), Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

H.M. HOUSEHOLD Lord Mowbray and Stourton (O 41), Lord in Waiting (serving at the Ministry of Public Building and Works as Minister responsible in the House of Lords).

The following were elected to the House of Commons:—

Hon. H. Fraser (O 35), Stafford (C).

C. S. Tugendhat (E 55), Cities of London and Westminster (C).

It may be of interest to add, though it does not strictly relate to O.A.s, that Fr Piers' father, Sir Robert Grant-Ferris, has been made the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons.

PAUL BURNS (W 51) AND "SCRIPT"

Society for the Christian Religion in Publication and Transmission

FOLLOWING the death of Burns & Oates, Paul Burns has become Chairman of this new Society. The Committee writes:—

"Script" is a new organisation for all Christians in the communications business. It aims to look fearlessly and openly at the society we live in, and see in what ways Christians can help it and where they're missing out. We're inviting some of the best minds of the day to talk to us and answer our questions, including those who are critical of contemporary Christianity. We shall also ask leaders of other religions. We're sure that what is said will often make the next day's news. Later we shall think about publishing our proceedings. Our meetings will be relaxed occasions, giving an opportunity for people from many walks of life to meet and talk over drinks. We certainly hope to influence society along Christian lines, but platitudes and comfortable words will be avoided at all costs.

Secondly we intend to seek out the young and unknown who have something worth-while to say about Christianity in the modern world and have no opportunity to say it, and put them in touch with the mass media.

All whose job it is to tell people about Christianity in print or broadcasting are invited to join. We're beginning with four meetings a year in the music room of St Bride's Church, Fleet Street, at 6.00 p.m. for 6.30 p.m. You get to the music room through the church. It'll cost £2 a year to join—just enough to cover expenses; guests are welcome, too at 5s. each.

Please contact Paul Burns at Billing & Sons Ltd., 1-2 Henrietta Street, W.C.2 OI.836.0711.

Fr Columba writes from Nairobi:

"May ended with a splash—we had the Goodall baby baptised in the seminary church, by me of course, *coram* the whole seminary and staff. The child arrived pat when we wanted it as I had just finished teaching the theologians the tract on Baptism, and the Liturgy class the same. I had been fascinated by the matter as I don't believe that I ever did it in 'theology' myself: we went about it biblically, then historically, tracing the development through Hippolytus, Cyprian, Augustine, Aquinas and onwards.

And there we had at the end of it all an unregenerate baby! We had the new rite and decided to set it in the Sunday Mass, taking an hour over it (which included singing and a sermon or two from yours truly). We had a silver soup tureen on a table at the edge of the sanctuary. The beauty of the ceremony in the new rite is that it explains the sacrament as it goes along, no longer concentrating on the Devil and all his wiles but rather on the new life, the laver of salvation, the coming of the Holy Spirit.

David Goodall being high up in the High Commission, a number of distinguished guests arrived including the High Commissioner himself in a great black Daimler, flying the Union Jack. This threw the seminarians into consternation, who began to wonder whether this was not another British take-over bid. However he was regaled with drums and swinging music, all supposed to be very African . . . I wonder.'

Whether we are to congratulate or commiserate with William Honeywill (H 60) on falling off a boat into the headlines, it is hard to say. The *Sunday Mirror* carried a headline, "Liner Man: I was pushed", while the *Daily Telegraph* wrote: "Cruise Man swam while unconscious". The man himself admitted to be suffering from amnesia after his experience, which began a little before dawn. "It was a beautiful sunny day when dawn broke," he said afterwards, a remark fit to compare with Genesis I.

Captain Alan Freer of the S.A. Vaal (30,000 tons), discovering that one of his passengers was missing, took the other ninety-nine and retraced his revolutions to pick up the unconscious swimmer 140 miles away—a feat of seamanship without compare.

William Honeywill, who is now a research chemist working in South Africa, was returning to England to be best man at the wedding of his brother Richard (O 62), who was married near Brighton in the presence of William and Fr Dominic Milroy on 5th September.

P. S. Reid (A 41) formerly Vice-President of Golightly International Management Consultants, has joined an associated company, Diehl-Golightly, who undertake in addition Market Research. He is working in London.

R. A. Chamberlain (A 60) is Deputy Financial Director of Trust House Forte Ltd. (International).

A. C. W. Ryan (A 51) has been appointed U.K. Consul and Assistant European Consul for Clark Equipment A.G. of Brussels. He has also been appointed Fellow of the Salzburg seminar for the study of U.S. Law.

P. J. Liddell (C 39) in addition to all his other appointments (*see Summer* Journal 1970) has been appointed Chairman of the International Advisory Group to both the American and British salmon research trusts.

I. Zaluski (E 57) His first Symphony is being recorded on L.P.

Thomas Pakenham (E 51) is working on a History of the Boer War 1899-1902.

Mark Burns (W 53) who starred in "The Charge of the Light Brigade" has recently completed "The Virgin and the Gypsy" and "A Room in Paris".

Brigadier W. S. Armour (E 37) has been appointed Colonel of the Prince of Wales Own Regiment of Yorkshire (XIV/XV Foot); he has been posted to Westbury as a Vice-President of the Regular Commissions Board.

Lt. Col. E. M. P. Hardy (A 45) has been appointed General Staff Officer (Training) at R.M.A., Sandhurst.

J. M. McCann (E 39) has retired from the R.A.F. and owns a small "Guest House", named Waterloo House, on the outskirts of St. Mawes, Cornwall.

A. T. G. Rogerson (H 66) was awarded B.A. in Medical History and Archaeology at Liverpool University in June.

R. J. Haworth (W 62) has been called to the Bar at the Inner Temple.

Wing Commander J. M. B. Edwards (O 45) has been appointed to command the University of London Air Squadron.

J. Poloniecki (H 63) has been awarded a Master of Science (Statistics) degree after *one* year at Sussex University, following a course at Brunel where he had gained a B.Tech. (Maths).

O.A.C.C. REPORT, 1970

Lack of space prevents a very detailed account of the Club's activities this season and so the following is more a commentary on the Club's present state of health than an analysis of the matches.

It is always a pleasure to report good news and I can say once again that the Club distinguished itself in the Cricketer Cup Competition. We won our way through to the quarter final for the second year running but came dreadfully unstuck against the Old Tonbridgians, who dismissed us for a meagre 71 on one of those terrible Ampleforth days—cold, wet and miserable. It was little comfort to us that Tonbridge went on to the final in which they were defeated by Winchester. Our performance was a big let down after our victories over last year's winners, Brighton, and St Edward's, Oxford. While the Club's performance on the field during Cup matches has usually been of a high standard our batting let us down badly. For some reason the resilience which we showed last year, both in the Cricketer Cup and in our other matches during the

season, has disappeared and it has become brittle and, on occasions, merely lackadaisical. Against both St Edward's and Tonbridge we showed that we had not really grasped what is required in limited over games. The quick single rather than the occasional four is the essential element backed up by the courage needed to take every half chance as it presents itself. Neither has been evident. Against St Edward's only three of the nine batsmen who had an innings showed what was necessary. Scoring a mere 40 off the first 20 overs as we did is not the approach which is going to win matches. Against the tight bowling and fielding of Tonbridge we were totally unable to cope and in trying to hit ourselves into a better position we ended up by getting ourselves out. Next year we will face the Radley Rangers in the first round and if successful will meet either Tonbridge or Dulwich. Success will depend very much on a new approach to batting and a general tightening of the game in the field.

In connection with the Cup mention must be made of the great contribution which Tim Perry, the Captain, has made to our successes this year. He more than anybody, through his tactics on the field, contributed to the victories we had, especially that against Brighton.

There is an excellent spirit and enthusiasm in the Club at the moment, resulting mainly from our participation in the Cricketer Cup, although some of our performances during the season have lacked the kind of approach which we have towards the Cup matches. However, the worst performances, like those against the Sussex Martlets, the first game against the Cryptics, the Bluemantles and the Old Rossallians, were balanced by some good performances against the Privateers, the Cryptics on the second day, Middleton and Hurlingham Club. Some notable batting performances were seen, especially those of Anthony Sparling (120) against Wargrave, John Morton (134) against the Grannies and Tony King's innings of 115 against the Hurlingham Club and his 81 against the Cryptics. Bill Reichwald, on his first tour, made an excellent 65 against the Privateers and another 66 against the Cryptics as well as taking four wickets in two matches. We had a very good game against the Haileybury Hermits in the first fixture between the two clubs which was drawn in our favour, and a tense match against the Downside Wanderers which they won by two wickets in the last over. We wound up the season with a convincing win over the Hurlingham Club on the last ball of the day.

As far as the tour was concerned losing the toss six times in a row and having to field first in the blazing sun had a bad effect on morale and we often faced high totals: 278 against the Cryptics, 238 against the Bluemantles and 263 against the Privateers. The fielding suffered from the sort of fatalistic approach which a side cannot afford if it is to give itself a chance. We made up for a terrible display of "instant" batting against the Old Rossallians by defeating Middleton again, this time by seven wickets.

It is a pleasure to announce that the Club's membership has increased by four with the election of four members from last term's School First XI. We shall benefit greatly from the inclusion of David Callighan, Bill Reichwald, James Rapp and Justin Wadham and we look forward to a further increase in membership from the School and Old Boys during next year. In passing I would like to point out that the Club also benefitted from three other members of the School who played after the end of term. Charles Berry played against the Downside Wanderers and Alistair Campbell and Francis Fitzherbert played once or twice on tour.

There has been tremendous support for the Club during the season. Some thirty members played on tour which made the organisation much easier, but it did mean that people were coming for only one or two games rather than a half or the whole of the week. It was not possible, therefore, to engender a tour spirit which so often benefits our performance. While not wishing to discourage in any way people coming for an odd day I think we suffered this year—and it was reflected in our performance—from the lack of a nucleus of seven or eight members staying on tour, around whom the teams could be built. This comment apart, the tour was the usual fun and we all enjoyed ourselves.

Finally the Club's thanks must go to Tim Perry for all his hard work in connection with the Cricketer Cup. To Martin Crossley and Adrian Brennan for their unceasing labours in the administrative and financial departments. To Basil Stafford for being such an excellent Chairman and saying all the right things at the right times. To match managers for their efforts in raising and organising the matches. Lastly to all those who supported us during the season, especially the wives, who have to put up with so much and always turn up trumps. To Lady Stafford for a most memorable day down at Salt Winds during the tour, to Judy Dick for an equally superb weekend at Send and Fiona Gray for her usual excellent hospitality when the Club was at Ampleforth. Last but not least to the Abbot and Headmaster and Fr Denis for putting up with us three times during the season and not complaining!

The following played on tour:

C. Andrews, A. Brennan, R. Carey, E. Corbould, D. Callighan, M. Crossley, A. King, T. A. Huskinson, R. Jackson, A. Lodge, J. Morton, D. Evans, J. Rapp, W. Reichwald, P. Spencer, P. Savill, A. Sparling, S. Trafford, S. Tyrrell, A. Walsh, M. Wright, W. Wynne, J. Wadham, C. Madden, Lord Stafford, J. Dick, M. Grabowski, A. Campbell, Hon. F. Fitzherbert, J. Sayers.

N.B.—Cricketer Cup, First Round, 1971

Old Amplefordian Cricket Club versus Radley Rangers at Ampleforth *Sunday 30th May* 1971.

M. F. M. Wright,
Hon. Sec.

RESULTS, 1970

P 21 W 8 L 7 D 6

v. Ampleforth College—see School Report.

v. All Comers. O.A.C.C. 178 for 9. All Comers 122. Won.

v. Yorkshire Gents. O.A.C.C. 210 for 6 (King 73, Reichwald 36, Wright 35, Wynne 41). Y.G.s 233 for 8. Drawn.

v. Periwinkles. O.A.C.C. 137. Periwinkles 167 for 9. Lost.

v. Old Georgians. O.A.C.C. 191 for 9 (Sparling 55, Wright 48*). Old Georgians 190. Won.

v. Send. O.A.C.C. 160 (Dalglish 56). Send 112 (Morton 4-19). Won.

v. Haileybury Hermits. O.A.C.C. 169. Haileybury H.s 141 for 9. Drawn.

v. Downside Wanderers. O.A.C.C. 140 (Wright 30). Downside W.s 141 for 8 (Sparling 4 for 45). Lost.

v. Privateers. O.A.C.C. 224 for 9 (Reichwald 65, Trafford 37). Privateers 263 for 9 (Reichwald 4 for 92). Drawn.

v. Emeriti. O.A.C.C. 223 for 9 (Morton 61, King 41, Trafford 33). Emeriti 219 (Reichwald 4-51). Won.

v. Sussex Martlets. O.A.C.C. 101 for 9 (Wright 42). Sussex Martlets 143 (Wadham 4-42). Drawn.

v. Bluemantles. O.A.C.C. 160 (Walsh 55, Trafford 40). Bluemantles 238 for 2. Lost.

v. Cryptics. O.A.C.C. 123 (Wright 37). Cryptics 278 for 7. Lost.

v. Cryptics. O.A.C.C. 220 for 8 (King 81, Reichwald 66). Cryptics 177 for 7. Drawn.

v. Old Rossallians. O.A.C.C. 72. O.R.s 73 for 1. Lost.

v. Middleton. O.A.C.C. 111 for 3 (Andrews 38, Reichwald 32*). Middleton 110. Won.

v. Grannies. O.A.C.C. 245 for 8 (Morton 134). Grannies 217 for 6. Drawn.

v. Hurlingham Club. O.A.C.C. 241 for 7 (King 115). Hurlingham 179 (Huskinson 4-57, Sparling 4-41). Won.

O.A.C.C. *v.* OLD BRIGHTONIANS

O.A.C.C. won by 5 wickets

OLD BRIGHTONIANS		OLD AMPLEFORDIANS	
A. B. D. Parsons, c Spencer b Morton	33	M. Gretton, b Harland	0
R. N. P. Smyth, b Sparling	4	A. King, c I. Lock b Rowland	0
D. J. Pickering, b Sparling	0	P. Spencer, b Lush	20
J. A. Lush, b Morton	31	W. Sparling, c Sabey b Smyth	60
W. N. F. Sabey, b Morton	7	J. Brennan, c Lewis b Smyth	0
I. Lock, c Gretton b Brennan	9	T. Perry, not out	24
D. Lock, c Gretton b Savill	11	O. Wynne, not out	17
J. Lewis, c Perry b Savill	15	J. Morton, P. Savill, A. Huskinson, C. Madden	did not bat
D. M. Rowland, b Madden	8	Extras	4
A. R. Harland, c Gretton b Savill	0		
A. H. Farrar, not out	3		
Extras	2		
Total	123	Total (for 5 wkts)	125

FALL OF WICKETS: 6, 6, 59, 74, 77, 91, 110, 113, 113, 123.

FALL OF WICKETS: 0, 2, 71, 72, 89.

BOWLING

Sparling 4.1.13.2; Savill 11.4.29.3; Morton 12.3.39.3; Brennan 12.5.12.1; Huskinson 4.0.14.0; Madden 3·5.0.14.1.

BOWLING

Harland 5.1.21.1; Rowland 10·5.2.32.1; Farrar 5.1.13.1; Lush 7.0.20.1; Smyth 8.1.35.2.

O.A.C.C. *v.* OLD EDWARD'S MARTYRS

O.A.C.C. won by 99 runs

OLD AMPLEFORDIANS		OLD EDWARD'S MARTYRS	
J. F. Stephens, c Hudson b Tonkinson	20	G. Hudson, c Butcher b Huskinson	39
A. King, c Hudson b Sykes	28	T. Brett, c Morton b Savill	21
P. Spencer, c Hudson b White	11	M. Hudson, c Huskinson b Savill	1
A. Sparling, b Thackeray	33	P. Thackeray, lbw b Savill	0
J. Brennan, lbw b White	2	A. Maclachlan, lbw b Huskinson	5
T. Perry, c Hudson b Tonkinson	37	C. Schnadhorst, c Perry b Huskinson	16
M. Wright, c Maclachlan b Tonkinson	19	G. Bell, c and b Huskinson	3
J. Morton, not out	28	A. Sykes, b Stephens	1
N. Butcher, not out	14	N. Tonkinson, lbw b Stephens	1
P. Savill, A. Huskinson	did not bat	J. Easter, not out	8
		R. White, b Stephens	3
Extras	9	Extras	4
Total (for 7 wkts)	201	Total	102

FALL OF WICKETS: 36, 54, 65, 71, 127, 151, 154.

FALL OF WICKETS: 37, 41, 41, 73, 83, 87, 88, 88, 94, 102.

BOWLING

Easter 12.3.39.0; Sykes 12.1.49.1; Tonkinson 12.6.25.3; White 10.1.30.2; Thackeray 9.1.49.1.

BOWLING

Savill 12.4.23.3; Sparling 6.2.26.0; Huskinson 10.1.38.4; Stephens 5·5.2.11.3.

O.A.C.C. *v.* OLD TONBRIDGIANS

Old Tonbridgians won by 6 wickets

OLD AMPLEFORDIANS		OLD TONBRIDGIANS	
J. F. Stephens, b Musson	13	C. M. Smith, b Sparling	14
A. King, b Musson	3	R. M. K. Gracey, lbw b Savill	7
P. Spencer, c and b Heroys	19	M. G. M. Smith, b Sparling	5
A. Sparling, c Toft b Heroys	0	N. de Abrew, b Huskinson	28
J. Brennan, c C. Smith b Gracey	13	D. H. C. Fuente, not out	26
T. Perry, c C. Smith b Heroys	0	P. D. Rylands, not out	0
M. Wright, c and b Gracey	5	A. H. Monteuuis, N. Heroys, A. P. Toft, S. J. B. Langdale, R. G. Musson	did not bat
J. Morton, c Heroys b Gracey	3		
N. Butcher, not out	11		
P. Savill, b Heroys	11		
A. Huskinson, b Toft	2		
Extras	7	Extras	7
Total	87	Total (for 4 wkts)	88

FALL OF WICKETS: 6, 23, 26, 44, 44, 49, 55, 61, 75, 87.

FALL OF WICKETS: 13, 26, 31, 86.

BOWLING

Musson 12.5.15.2; Langdale 11.2.21.0; Heroys 12.4.19.4; Gracey 12.7.18.3; Toft 4·3.2.8.1.

BOWLING

Savill 12.5.17.1; Sparling 7.0.22.2; Brennan 6.1.13.0; Morton 3.0.8.0; Stephens 4·2.2.8.0; Huskinson 3.0.13.1.

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS were:

Head Monitor	J. C. Gaynor
School Monitors	J. P. Rochford, D. B. Dees, D. S. C. Lovegrove, W. J. E. Charles, A. N. Kennedy, J. C. Rapp, T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, J. C. H. Berry, J. Sherley-Dale, J. C. Dawson, Hon. J. E. M. Vaughan, W. M. Reichwald, D. J. Casserly, M. A. Q. Shuldham, P. J. Russell, P. P. Nunn, S. G. H. Jefferson, M. A. Henderson.
Captain of Cricket	W. M. Reichwald
Captain of Athletics	R. J. Hughes
Captain of Swimming	D. B. Dees
Captain of Shooting	J. H. Leeming
Master of Hounds	T. M. Fitzalan-Howard
Captain of Tennis	R. D. W. Murphy
Captain of Golf	C. R. Lochrane
Captain of Hockey	C. V. Harries
Captain of Squash	D. T. H. Davies
Office Men	J. C. Dawson, M. A. Q. Shuldham, P. J. Russell, J. H. Leeming, J. F. A. Heagney, S. W. Ryan, R. K. Milne, H. L. Lukas, S. G. H. Jefferson, R. G. P. Plowden, C. A. Campbell, R. S. Willbourn.
Librarians	R. S. G. Watson, P. St J. L. Baxter, C. M. Blackden, P. Grace, G. R. Gretton, S. G. Callaghan, A. M. J. S. Reid, P. P. Keohane, E. P. P. Clarence Smith, N. B. Herdon, R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, A. M. Ryan, J. N. P. Higgins, A. J. Purves, J. C. H. Rigby, H. M. Duckworth, L. J. Dowley, J. V. S. Smyth.
Bookroom	T. A. Doyle, D. A. McKibbin, J. A. Durkin, R. G. Killingbeck, C. M. Durkin, M. A. Campbell.
Bookshop	C. N. F. Kinsky, M. S. Callow, M. H. Armour, R. P. Burdell, T. J. Berner, T. P. Macfarlane, R. A. Hunter-Gordon, C. V. Barker-Benfield.

THE following boys left the school in July:

St Aidan's: P. C. Coghlan, C. B. C. Dalglish, R. P. Honan, J. P. Knowles, E. A. Lewis, J. C. Rapp, P. Redmond, C. C. G. Trevor, J. J. W. Wadham, A. M. Wagstaff.

St Bede's: D. J. Casserly, N. D. Conrath, A. S. Gibbs, B. A. McGrath, C. G. M. Meares, M. Rowland, J. Sherley-Dale.

St Cuthbert's: N. D. Blane, J. Fermor-Hesketh, T. P. Gadd, J. H. Leeming, R. K. Milne, R. M. C. Monteith, C. J. J. O'Reilly, J. P. Rochford, S. W. Ryan, M. A. Q. Shuldham, J. H. A. Tyrrell.

St Dunstan's: S. P. Barton, D. B. Dees, D. T. H. Davies, C. M. Harrison, R. M. C. Heape, H. L. Lukas, P. J. Muir, C. B. Murphy, T. G. Turnbull.

St Edward's: A. F. Hanson, J. F. A. Heagney, M. A. C. Henderson, A. N. Kennedy, J. L. MacEwen, L. D. B. Pratt.

St Hugh's: G. R. Belfield, M. C. Blackden, W. J. E. Charles, T. J. Comyn, J. C. Dawson, J. S. Davey, W. R. D. Eyre, S. E. S. Fenwick, E. W. Kentish, D. P. McKenna, R. F. C. Magill, E. S. Poyser, E. J. Thomas, N. M. Watts.

St John's: A. C. W. Bussy, G. B. Hoghton, R. J. Hughes, D. S. C. Lovegrove, A. D. Lucey, J. W. McDonald, P. Moroney, R. D. W. Murphy, P. P. Nunn, T. S. Robinson, P. J. Walmesley-Cotham.

St Oswald's: P. G. de L. A. Aylwin, J. P. Fuller, W. F. Macauley, P. J. Rosenvinge, A. B. G. Simpkin, P. C. S. M. Seilern-Aspang.

St Thomas's: I. D. Bowie, R. J. S. Edwards, R. Kirby, W. M. Reichwald.

St Wilfrid's: G. E. A. Bankoff, R. J. Fraser, D. J. R. Haughton, C. G. Leonard, E. W. S. Stourton, J. E. M. Vaughan.

ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS 1970

MAJOR

W. D. B. Porter—Moulton Hall	£300
A. B. Rose—Avisford	£300
H. C. F. Scott—Holmewood House and Ampleforth	£300
S. H. Davey—Avisford (Randolph)	£250
N. M. Baker—Moulton Hall (Elizabeth Wansbrough)	£200
P. M. F. Langdale—St Anthony's and Ampleforth	£200
A. J. Craig—Junior House, Ampleforth	£200

MINOR

N. J. McDonnell—Junior House, Ampleforth	£100
J. Mellon—Carlekemp	£100
Hon. D. A. G. Asquith—Farleigh House	£40
S. B. W. Hastings—Davenies School	£40
N. D. P. Plummer—Holmewood House	£40

WE were sorry to say goodbye to two masters in July. With the retirement of Philip Dore, Ampleforth has lost one of its most colourful figures. He had been Director of Music since September 1958, and during that time produced a host of excellent musicians, as a glance through the programmes of the many concerts during the last twelve years will testify. It was during this period, too, that music began to be taken seriously as an academic subject at "O" and "A" level, and it is noteworthy that no boy coached by Mr Dore ever failed to pass. A number of his pupils have gone on to study music either at the university or at one of the academies, and during the last year or so one boy was awarded a scholarship to the Royal Academy, another has entered the Guildhall School of Music, and another elected an Associate of the Royal College of Organists. Mr Dore's abiding love was, of course, the organ, and we are especially grateful for the opportunity we

have had of discovering so much of the organ repertoire, first on the little Lewis organ in the old temporary church, and then, after the opening of the Abbey Church in 1961, on the fine Walker instrument there.

It will seem strange not to see Mr Dore trudging up to the Music School in all weathers, or stalking, hooded and gowned, up to the organ loft on a Sunday. He will be much missed, but our very best wishes go with him for a long and happy retirement.

Peter Anwyl has also left us after nine years to take up the post of Senior English Master at Ratcliffe College. His many contributions to the life of Ampleforth will be very greatly missed. First and foremost he brought to the classroom a high standard of learning and scholarship—reflected in the excellent examination results of his pupils. He also took on a heavy burden of extra-curricular commitments. The many triumphs of the Athletics Team are ample evidence of his enthusiasm and coaching in that demanding activity. It is pleasant to record that the team made a special presentation to Mr Anwyl at the end of term. He also coached successful Colts Rugger sides. It was Mr Anwyl, too, who was responsible for the Commonweal; it was a very flourishing society and he took immense time and trouble to secure outside speakers of distinction. In addition when he first came here Peter Anwyl organised the sending of those sick people who went to Lourdes under the auspices of the Ampleforth Pilgrimage. More recently he had been assisting with the financial aspects of this work. In recent years, too, he had been responsible for the School Notes section of the JOURNAL. His wife Carol was a valuable member of the "make-up" team in the Green Room, and she also organised the teas which were provided by Masters' wives for the annual Cheshire Homes' outings. Both Mr and Mrs Anwyl frequently entertained members of the School at their home in Ampleforth. We wish them both, and their children, every success and happiness at Ratcliffe.

ON 8th May the Theatre was very full to hear a recital by the distinguished harpsichordist, George Malcolm. Playing on the York University harpsichord, the intricacies of which Mr Malcolm explained during the evening, he played an attractive variety of pieces by classical composers with impeccable technique and interesting changes of tonal registration. Mr Malcolm's playing of Bach's Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue was particularly impressive, and of Mozart's Andante for a mechanical organ extremely effective.

ABOUT 40 boys went on 21st May to hear a concert given by the Ryedale Orchestra, under the auspices of the Ryedale Festival Society, in the splendid hall of Ryedale School. This new orchestra has distinct College connections, since it was founded 18 months ago by Mr Moreton and the conductor is Lady Read, who has had three sons in the School. Thirty-five players, including several Monks and Masters, gave an enjoyable concert of works by Glinka, Mozart and Cimarosa. Our retiring Director of Music, Philip Dore, was the soloist on this occasion, playing Bach's D minor concerto on our own Ampleforth harpsichord.

THE last week of May saw the second issue of *The Grid*. This is a new literary venture at Ampleforth (the first issue was highly praised in *The Tablet* of 2nd May) and a welcome one, as it is a magazine based upon a rather novel formula. For there are contributions by Parents such as Jenifer Dawson and Rosemary Haughton and by recent Old Boys (a splendid article on Oxford by Nicholas Rodger in this issue), as well as by boys and Masters. Some recent Prize Essays have been published, as well as discussions of educational issues at Ampleforth and elsewhere. The editors are Mr Dammann and Fr Placid.

THE Cheshire Homes Day on 28th May was again a very successful event. Over a hundred residents of these Homes in Yorkshire arrived and were very well looked after by the Rovers and members of the Sixth Form. A variety of entertainments was provided and it was heartening to see the evident pleasure of our visitors. The tea was again provided by Masters' wives and the Matrons.

THE Yorkshire Schools Brass Band under its conductor Dennis Carr gave an interesting programme in the Theatre on 6th June. This Band is drawn entirely from the schools, some players having to travel long distances to the rehearsals. The standard of their performance here was outstandingly good and the general musicianship of these young players extremely impressive.

ON the evening of the third Saturday in June a recital of Church music in the Abbey by the choir of Holy Trinity Church, Southport, gave much pleasure. Their conductor was David Bowman, and the soloists were Eric Forshaw and Leslie Threlfall. The admirable organ accompaniment was by David Houlder. The choir sang Vaughan-Williams' Five Mystical Songs and finished with a finely controlled performance of Fauré's Requiem.

THE MEMBER FOR THIRSK & MALTON

WHATEVER our political persuasion, it would be churlish of us at Ampleforth not to notice with respect that at very short notice and for reasons that are unfortunate the Rt Hon Robert Hugh Turton, P.C., M.C., M.P., allowed himself to be put forward as Conservative candidate and is again our local Parliamentary representative. He had hoped to retire already the "Father of the House" for some years.

He would be the first to admit that he was one of "yesterday's men"—Eton and Balliol, Inner Temple barrister and War-decorated infantryman (in the Green Howards), Crown Minister and country land owner, he has lived a life very different from the more "modern" one unfolding for his opponent. Jonathan Bradshaw, the Labour candidate, lives not at Upsall Castle but in a passing abode in York. Very much one of "tomorrow's men", he is a York University lecturer undertaking research into the social needs of the elderly. Son of a Norfolk clergyman and of a school teacher, he got a First in Social Studies at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1962 he worked with refugees in Tanzania, and two years later he travelled out to work with the Tibetan refugees in India. He has fought in York municipal elections and is on the executive of the York Community Council—all this by the time he is 26. To cap this record, his wife is a social worker in Leeds. These two records, both of them very fine, are in their ways admirably illustrative of the trend of life in social-governmental England.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE FILM SOCIETY

The term was not so successful as previous ones have been. This was partly inevitable because during the summer it is difficult to arrange convenient times for showing to suit everybody. Also, I feel that the dissatisfaction some members had for the number of films should be mentioned. But our films would cost a cinema-goer from 7s. to £1 to see elsewhere. In this Society they worked out at 2s. each. In the Easter and Christmas Terms, when we have up to 10 films, the average price is 1s! Compared with normal cinema prices, these are not to be grumbled at. Here lies the advantage of the Film Society. What is more, the films are carefully chosen so as to provide variety. This term's programme ranged from Renoir to Hitchcock. The first film was Renoir's "La Grande Illusion", an anti-war film. It was interesting to compare this with more recent anti-war extravaganzas which tend to be rather more sardonic. However, the brilliant acting from the now legendary Eric von Stroheim and Pierre Fresnay dominated the film, and this rare pleasure of seeing great acting lessened the anti-climax of the ending. Next we had "Bicycle Thieves", directed by Vittorio de Sica. This film was deeply pessimistic; the ending was inevitable. "Hugo and Josephin" was directed by Kjell Grede, and took us into the world of children. "The Knack" was our next film—enjoyed by all for its comedy, but the strangeness of some of the later scenes was slightly bewildering. Finally we chose to enjoy ourselves with the help of Hitchcock and his famous "Psycho". There were indeed some very good scenes, such as the murder in the showers, but, talking afterwards to some who had not seen it before, I found that on the whole the film was regarded as an anti-climax. These people had been told of the wonders of "Psycho" and had now met with disappointment. All in all, an excellent programme of films has been shown during the last two terms, and by far the majority of them have been 35 mm. For all this we thank Fr Stephen and the projectionists who have put in so much extra time. The committee consisted of Hon J. E. Vaughan and J. MacEwen.

N. Blane, *Secretary.*

(*President:* Fr Stephen)

THE CHESS CLUB

The Chess Club flourished unusually well this term, since in previous years it has not operated in the Summer Term. However there was a good attendance and the School Chess Competition, which R. P. Honan had organised, was held; Jennings emerged the winner after running a gauntlet of talented players.

We had one school match this term again Ripon Grammar School which we won 4—2.

We would like to thank the President, Mr Nelson, for his interest and encouragement to the Club. This year has seen a complete revival of the one-time flagging interest in Chess in the School.

S. L. Cassidy.

(*President:* Mr Nelson)

Mr Nelson writes: The Club is greatly indebted to R. P. Honan, who led the side last year and has left for Sheffield University. He set a high standard of play on the board, captaining the side with exemplary zeal, thoroughness and tact.

THE ROVERS

We have expanded our activities this year. We now try to stay overnight at Alne Hall instead of just making afternoon visits. This enables us to be of more practical assistance—at least, so we hope! We now also visit elderly people in Helmsley each week. Unfortunately it would appear at least on the surface as though this expansion of activities has coincided with something of a slackening in enthusiasm. The year has not, therefore, been without its moments of stress. Why do we join the Rovers? Because it looks good, feels good or does you good—or to help other people?

However, in spite of our slight troubles, we have kept all our commitments and achieved much. Chris Harrison ran the Monday Activity for the Rovers, which sent members to families in Helmsley. Contact with Wetherby Borstal was maintained, culminating in the summer camp. Saturday activities continued—visits to Alne and Claypenny were continued, especially with a new success at Claypenny, where we found more of constructive good to do with the children there. Alne presented a problem: that of finding people to stay overnight at the weekend. Admittedly this hadn't been done before this year, but to judge by the excuses people found for not going, the blame can hardly fall upon Fr Kieran or Fr Andrew. York Hospital met with similar misfortunes, which was also hardly excusable. The Poor Clares were regularly visited. At this point it would be best to mention the concerts we gave with the help of the Bar Convent and other people. Apart from the Lourdes Concerts, described elsewhere, we gave a successful concert at York Hospital and another at Alne.

William Charles continued to give his valuable assistance to the Junior House Scouts together with a few others, and Paul Rosenvinge with others continued to referee football in the village. We held another Sherry Party at Redcar over Exhibition in order to raise money for the Handicapped Children's Camp. The Cheshire Homes Day was again successful. There seemed to be more laid on this time than ever before—a gym display, the band, tea and the Junior House Play in the marquee followed by David Lovegrove and a Bar Convent Group entertaining. Fortunately the rain did not fall until we were all in the marquee. The entertainment was excellent; everybody enjoyed it. On the Field Day the Rovers went to work on two major enterprises. The first was the arrangement of a Tea Party for Chris Harrison's Helmsley Families at Shack. A large group of members of a Secondary School in Middlesbrough visited the School.

Taken as a whole, the year was good for the Rovers, but the big problem is still there; the attitude of those who join must be examined. It is senseless to join just for the glamour of it on the UCCA form or for the Binge. The Rovers are not for us, but for others whom we can help—the work to be done is hard and requires a good temperament and much unselfishness. Until more people realise this, it would be better to have about 15 thoroughly dedicated people rather than 60 less interested, thoughtless ones.

The Committee this year consisted of: A. Campbell, T. Berner, R. Willbourn, N. Blane and C. Harrison, with M. Shuldham as the Secretary.

THE AMPLEFORTH-WETHERBY BORSTAL CAMP

THE camp this year really began with the visit of the eight borstal lads and their officer, Pete Boulding, on the Sunday of the Shelter Walk. The initial wariness and self-consciousness of the two groups rapidly melted away under the influence of the sweltering sun and the sheer physical effort of the walk which itself broke down all initial barriers. We finished exhausted and with the impression that we now knew far more about them, and they about us, than could ever have been achieved by a sight-seeing trip around Shack.

This hopeful start was followed by a rather less open, but nonetheless, stimulating and interesting visit to Wetherby itself. It gave us a vital, though depressing, insight into the life at Wetherby. This impression was probably due to the fact that a Borstal is necessarily far more restrictive than a public school, but unnecessarily, it is to an infinite degree more tedious and monotonous.

The camp itself began on Friday, 10th July after much hectic preparation and a round of sandwiches in the Fairfax. On our side we were all apprehensive about many aspects of a week's camp with eight Borstal boys. This apprehension stretched to both Br Richard ffield, a first-timer who was helping Fr Kieran, an old hand at these camps, and also to Pete Boulding, the Borstal Officer.

The first evening went in a frenziedly organised round of football, swimming in the lake, table-tennis, whist and chess. The following day we left in convoy for Escrick Park, with one of our number riding "shotgun" in the "flying-dustbin", to do the side-shows for the annual Garden Fête in aid of Alne Hall. For our part, the side-shows were obviously a success. In the absence of the famous crockery-smashing stall the most popular of the stalls was the Waterfall, which entailed attempting to dislodge a precariously balanced bucket with five balls per shilling and so drench some poor sucker sitting underneath it. Four suckers took their turn during the afternoon, finishing in varying states of hypothermia, until two girls from Lady Margaret's School, in whose grounds the Fête was held, were inveigled into doing their bit as an attraction in the closing stages.

Sunday was intended to be a day of rest spent in sailing, swimming, football, and the ever-popular whist and chess; Pete Boulding proved to be a real glutton for punishment in the last of these. A comparison between the group Mass said by Fr Kieran in the morning, and the one we attended at Wetherby, also said by Fr Kieran, indicated that the emotional tension and subsequent mental tiredness experienced in last year's camp by Robert Minio and others, had been well and truly replaced by a far greater communication and mutual respect between the two groups.

Monday was spent working in two groups, one at Alne Hall and the other at Redcar Farm itself; the situation being reversed on the Tuesday. The work at Alne consisted of clearing out a room and preparing it for plastering by knocking down two low walls (which was done with gusto) and clearing the remaining four of any old plaster. There was also a certain amount of tree-felling and lopping to be done. These activities were punctuated by displays of tree-climbing and knot-tying by the more than agile husband of the matron and his nylon twine with a breaking strain of 500 lb.

Meanwhile back at Redcar the lopping and winching out of a number of old larches and apple trees were being carried out with an almost dangerous enthusiasm. As one of our number observed, it was the first time he had actually seen being performed the famous trick of a person (unnamed) sitting on a branch he was sawing off—on a tree that was also being winched out at the same time.

Wednesday, the last full day, was taken up by a trip to Aysgarth Falls, via coffee in the Monastery Calefactory. Not quite as sunny as it might have been, the day was nonetheless a very pleasant relaxation. The relaxation continued until about four o'clock when we attempted to scale Great Whernside en masse. Some of us did not make it. All of us were exhausted when we eventually returned.

Was the camp a success? Certainly the boys from Shack on the camp all felt that they had gained something of value from it. Did we really get to know any of the boys? This can only be properly answered individually, but I believe that some of us did achieve it. Yet friendship takes time, and perhaps the most that such a camp can hope to achieve is to create a desire, as well as an opportunity, to continue contact.

CUPID, VENUS, FOLLY AND TIME: AN ALLEGORY

This, the best known of Bronzino's paintings, is now in the National Gallery. Its meaning is discussed in "The Venus of Renunciation".

Fr Geoffrey Webb writes of Bronzino, "after a Michelangelo you must have your good academics to hold onto reality after the earthquake, as it were".








THE HANDICAPPED CHILDREN'S HOLIDAY

This year eighteen handicapped children with eleven helpers were able once again, thanks to Fr Cyril, to enjoy a change of scene and company in the Junior House. The work involved made us helpers realize how much the parents of these children must need a rest from time to time. But we enjoyed it immensely; after the grind of "A" level preparation this was a holiday for us as much as for the handicapped.

There were nearly twice as many handicapped children here as last year, and since the number of helpers did not increase proportionately, some of us could have had more on our plates than we could cope with. But by seeing ahead where help was needed, this danger was largely sidestepped.

Apart from the facilities for holiday-making at Shack, which we used to the full (the swimming pool, gym, lakes, cinema, table-tennis, billiards, and all the other things that make Shack so much more like a holiday-camp than a school) we also went off in a bus to Filey, where we ate fish and chips on the sea-front and played clock-golf between rain-storms; and to Flamingo Park Zoo to see the Killer Whale.

Special thanks to Miss Mackay, the only qualified nurse and general supervisor, and to Audrie Milestone, our cook-extraordinary.

The helpers were: Gerry and Judy Spence, Catherine McDonnell, Tim Berner, Bobby Blane, Mark Shuldham, Nick Haughton, Alistair Campbell, Mark Rowland, James Rapp, Chris Harrison, Charles Berry and Duncan Spence.

Next year? Basically the same dose again, let's hope. But we have to decide whether it is best to have children from seven to seventeen, or to confine it to a smaller age range. There are virtues and vices in both.

THE EXHIBITION

THIS year's Exhibition was held over the weekend beginning 29th May. Almost a thousand of our parents and friends attended the various activities. Only the weather—distinctly cool—marred an otherwise very successful weekend. For very many, to judge by the press of people in the marquee, the Headmaster's speech was a key event. Next year we must have a bigger tent.

HEADMASTER'S SPEECH

The Headmaster began his speech by emphasising that in every type of education from Primary to University financial problems were acute. He quoted from Stuart Maclure's pamphlet "Learning beyond our means", in which he asks what is the crucial issue in educational development: "It isn't comprehensive schools, or curriculum reform, or polytechnics or positive discrimination. It is summed up quite simply in one word 'money'." The independent schools were not exempt from this factor.

He spoke briefly of the completion by Arup Associates of the Feasibility Study which provided the framework for the much needed development of the school's facilities. The keynote of our plans was to avoid a development which was static in concept. All decisions would aim at achieving the greatest possible flexibility so that we should be open to any one of a number of conceivable future developments.

The Headmaster then went on to comment on the recently published Donnison Report on the Direct Grant and Independent Day Schools. Once again he emphasised the close link between the Direct Grant and Independent Schools and our concern about future Direct Grant developments.

On the subject of academic aims he noted that the competition for University places had not slackened and was likely during the next ten years to increase; there were obvious implications for those working for A levels.

There had been much controversy during the year on the subject of curriculum development. Various proposals had been made, the current one under discussion being the Schools Council's scheme of a Qualifying Examination in five subjects at the end of the first year in the Sixth Form and a Further Examination in three subjects at the end of the second year. This has united opposition from all quarters. Some changes would undoubtedly come. It was to be hoped that they would be such as to maintain academic standards while leaving liberty within the general framework to plan for individual needs. Examinations had their place and value. It was important that objective standards of excellence should not be lost sight of in the schemes for examination reform.

After mentioning a wide variety of activities which had prospered during the year and calling attention to some of the items on Exhibition the Headmaster spoke of the deeper aims of education and some of the problems which both parents and schools were faced in attempting to help the young.

It was not surprising that the young were prone to "existential wobble" when they were faced with or involved in the problems of contemporary life: the scandal of war, the tensions of race and the contrasts of wealth and poverty, the eternal inner struggle between selfishness and service—apathy and involvement, the ferment in the Church and the problems of development in its structure and doctrine. It was not surprising that such problems provoked a reaction and it would be idle to pretend that they do not exist, or that we can proceed in the educational world as though they did not exist. It was equally ineffective merely to identify with the problems of the young. Understanding was called for and the ability to supply the needs which underlie the external symptoms. The most notable of these needs were: the need of the young to see their own lives in a significant context, the need to belong and to be valued, the need to find objective standards and values, and the need to find an aim and motive for action which would stand the test of time.

The Headmaster ended with a reference to the value of the parents' meetings which he, Fr Denis and various Housemasters had attended in the South. These had been greatly appreciated by both sides in the discussions, and they had perhaps derived much of their value from the fact that they had constantly come back to the deeper issues of education which lie beneath the more obvious day-to-day problems.

PRIZEWINNERS 1970

ALPHA

Cape N. R.	Investigations of two Ancient Monuments
Clarence Smith E. P. P.	The Heraldic Shields in the Middle Library
Clarke T. N.	Hadrian's Wall
Coghlan N. I.	Monumental Brasses
Coghlan R. W. H.	*Carpentry*—A Pantechnicon of Carpentry
Ford P. J.	Wuthering Heights—A critical appreciation
Leslie M.	*Art*
Lister M.	The Closed Lid (a One Act Play)
Lucey A. D.	A comparative study of two species of Sea Urchin
McKenna D. P.	*Carpentry*—Inlaid Chess Table in Oak with sliding tops and carved legs
Muir P. J.	*Art*
O'Connor J. M. T.	The History of the Rocket
Plowden R. G. P.	Background and the Battle for Egypt
Ratcliffe C. M. B.	Rocket Motor
Rothwell M. R. G. P.	The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913
Smyth J. V.	The Parallel Postulate
Trowbridge S. J.	Naval Struggle for Guadalcanal Island
Wadham J. J. W.	*Art*
Walker M. E.	Birds of the Bouches du Rhone
Weaver M. C.	The Irish Home Rule Problem

BETA 1

Baker N. G.	The Evolution and Principle of the Tape Recorder
Blackden M. C.	A Sociological Survey of seven Yorkshire Villages
Blane N. D.	Everyman Reviewed (A Play)
Codrington R.	Senior Service in the Seventies
Cramer P. J.	The Scientific Career of Leonardo da Vinci
Dowley L. J.	Operation Overlord

Edmonds C. G.	The cycles of Love Poems in les Fleurs du Mal
Fitzalan Howard R. A.	History of Carlton Towers and its Owners
Fitzalan Howard T. M.	*Carpentry*—Display Cabinets for Medals in Oak
Guthrie R. D. C.	*Carpentry*—Large Table in Oak with triform legs
Guthrie R. D. C.	The Evolution of the Universe
Harrison M. J.	An Essay on Cymatics, the study of vibrating plates
Hatfield W. E.	*Carpentry*—Garden Bench in African Walnut
Haughton M. T. C.	*Art*
Hornyold-Strickland R. F.	Heraldry Project
Kirby R.	*Art*
Low M. R. T.	Hovercraft
McDonnell J. G.	Early Glass-making and the Rosedale Glass House
Oppe C.	The Village of Chelsea
Reilly D. G. J.	Westminster Abbey
Rowland M.	The Attack on Petersburg, 1864
Ruck Keene J. G.	A Dismembering of Ted Hughes
Ryan J. M.	Penicillin—it nearly wasn't
Smyth J. V.	Chaucer
Townsend J. P.	The Flora and Fauna of Skye
Treherne P. J.	*Carpentry*—Extending Dining Table in African Walnut, and a Punt
Tweedy M. H.	The Philosopher's Stone and Transmutation
Ward J. B. (H)	William Caslon
Watson R. S. G.	Nicholas II—The Last Czar
Westmacott P. G.	The Factors which affect the growth of Human Population

BETA II

Ashbrooke A. F. B.	The Fall of Constantinople
Badenoch C. K.	The Church of England in the reign of James II
Blackden M. C.	Martin Luther
Blake M. J.	Turf in Ireland
Compton J. A.	Peter the Great
Elwes G.	*Art*
Flynn F. O. A.	Introduction to Ethiopia, with special reference to Cattle
Garbutt P. D. W.	*Carpentry*—Plant Stand in Sycamore
Graham R. G.	Ulcerative Dernal Necrosis—The Scourge of the Salmon
Hamilton-Dalrymple H. R.	The Bass Rock
Hampton F.	The Battle of Britain
Hatfield H. F.	The development and design of Mediaeval Castles
Hope A. J.	Education 16-19 (A Solution)
Hughes J. D.	Chichester Harbour
Kerr A.	Mediaeval and Renaissance Brasses
Nosworthy L. F.	*Carpentry*—Octagonal Coffee Table in Oak
Petit M. J. M.	Four Pretenders
Powell T. M.	Lee and Grant: who was the better General?
Ritchie M. T.	*Art*
Rochford J. P.	Marco Polo
Ryder S. C.	*Metalwork*—Beaten Copper Bowl
Simpson C. J.	The Catholic Missions in Uganda
Solly P. C. C.	On the Lord of the Rings
Sommer P. J.	*Carpentry*—Fish Platter in Sycamore, inlaid with Mahogany, African Walnut and Blackwood
Spence D. W. R.	Practical Application of Gold Leaf in the art of Lettering
Spence D. W. R.	Bubonic Plague in England, 1348-1666
Tamworth Visct.	Norwich Geographical Survey
Viner M. A. G.	Disposal of Waste Matter and the problem of Water Pollution

"HAMLET"—THE COLLAGE

by

CHARLES MAROWITZ

AFTER last year's main Exhibition production, the rollicking, colourful and thoroughly entertaining "Oliver", the audience took their coffee in the Big Passage with conversational confidence. The contrasting nature of this year's main production was reflected in the atmosphere in that same Passage after the dazzle and puzzle of the Marowitz "Hamlet". Most people seemed stunned and even those who could usually be relied upon to let us all know what the whole thing was really about were daunted and refrained from hazarding an opinion.

Vague words like "intriguing", "fascinating" or "impressively produced" were eventually forthcoming to echo my own confused thoughts; I was certainly impressed by the sparkle and confident skill of the production but felt somewhat cheated by Marowitz, who had spent one and a quarter hours dangling successive morsels of subjective "Hamlet" brain before me, only to snatch each away just as I was beginning to see an angle I could catch hold of. All this was very perplexing to an unprimed audience, but plausible if one had the chance to do a bit of homework.

By carving up and redistributing the stuff of the play Marowitz is asking us to abandon the restriction of the mould shaped by centuries of "Hamlet" productions and to see Hamlet as an aristocrat-playboy unequal to the task of avenging his father and of looking after the interests of his state. He is presented to us through a fast-moving series of interlocking tableaux as someone desperately trying to escape the responsibilities and exonerate himself by feigning insanity and by play-acting. We are allowed to look out on his dilemma and mocking entourage from inside his irresolute, panicky brain. In a strangely Proustian way our illusion of the ready-made, fully-known "Hamlet" is replaced by an incomplete synthesis suggesting the ignoble and the pathetic.

The difficulties involved in mounting this collage effectively, so that it has a life and continuity of its own must be considerable; it was a great feat on the part of the stage managers and technicians as well as the actors and producer to be able to overcome these difficulties so successfully and so imaginatively, providing us with a fine performance of a play which will not allow anyone to claim that the College Theatre puts on the same old stuff year after year.

Of the montage of Play photographs, the top quartet are from this production.

P.A.H.

THE CAST

HAMLET	Peter Seilern
FORTINBRAS	Tim Berner
GHOST	Sean McCarthy
QUEEN	Peter Willis
KING	Mark Clough
CLOWN/POLONIUS	Nicholas Blane
OPHELIA	Mark Newton
LAERTES	Julian Dawson
ROSENCRANTZ	Ned Clarence Smith
GUILDENSTERN	Philip Marsden
CAPTAIN	Nick Hall
DOCTOR	David McCarthy
COURTIERS	Stephen Doyle Benedict Lister Mark Fitzgeorge-Parker Luke Jennings Christopher Slawinski

Stage Manager: John Dowling

Assistant Stage Managers: Charles Anderson, Mark Lister, John Stilliard, Tom Eckhoff

Chief Electrician: Bill Hatfield

Assistant Electricians: Harry Hatfield, Francis Lukas

Sets designed and executed by Peter Muir and Teddy Eyre

Costumes by Rosemary Haughton

AMPLEFORTH GROUP THEATRE

A VERSION of Sophocles' "King Oedipus" was produced over Exhibition on the west side of the Ball Place. The dialogue and speeches were taken from the version of Kenneth McLeish and the choruses, apart from one by W. B. Yeats, from Ted Hughes' translation of Seneca. These last had been recorded and were played over loud-speakers, so that the chorus on the stage did not speak, but were involved in the changing moods of the play by mime and symbolical actions. This arrangement avoided the embarrassing antics often provided by the chorus in amateur productions. It also meant that there was no leader of the chorus to take part in the action, but this difficulty was neatly solved by transferring the part to the priest.

The play moved smoothly and held the attention of the audience throughout. Above all the actors spoke with admirable clarity; the natural acoustics no doubt helped, but to prevail over the military cacophonies further down the valley was a considerable achievement. Clarity is essential for the complicated unravelling of the plot in the middle of the play and for this all the actors deserve great praise. Special mention must however be made of Simon Clayton's performance as Oedipus—an exacting part in length and in the range of emotions required. These were well portrayed, from his initial confidence and assurance to the humiliation of his final exit.

This last effect was much helped by the conditions of the production. The Ball Place made a fine setting and the timing of the performance was admirably contrived: it began in daylight; dusk fell as the details of Oedipus' parentage and marriage were gradually revealed; the light had almost completely gone when the self-blinded Oedipus was led away by an attendant with a torch.

I saw the play on the first night and much enjoyed it, but I understand that the second performance was appreciably better; in that case it must have been very good. This was an enterprising venture for which all concerned deserve our praise and thanks.

Of the montage of Play photographs, the bottom quartet are from this production.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

OEDIPUS	Simon Clayton
PRIEST	Cyril Kinsky
CREON	Antony Bird
TIRESIAS	Robin Schlee
BOY	Alan Danvers
JOCASTA	Ian Campbell
MESSENGER	Nicholas Herdon
SHEPHERD	Mark Henderson
SERVANT	Michael Walker

Chorus: Rudolf von Vollmar, Nigel Spence, Antony Baillieu, Paul de Zulueta, Samuel Thomason, Henry Schlee, Martin Heath, Peter Burnett, Matthew Burnett, James Stourton

Recorded Voices: Martin Solly, Charles Eyston, Matthew Burnett, Peter Burnett, Martin Heath, Paul Collard

Flute Sonata by Fr Anselm *played by* David Nelson

Introductory Music:

Costumes designed and made by Mrs. Pickin

Altar by Julian Dawson; *Panel by* Justin Wadham; *Urn by* Fr Gregory

Wardrobe: Gillian Nelson

Sound Effects and Lighting: directed by Terence McAuley, *assisted by* Charles Eyston

Co-Producers: Paul Collard, Cyril Kinsky, Terence McAuley

THE CONCERT

THE Concert this year was well attended and reached considerable heights of achievement. The outstanding items in an enjoyable evening were the performances of the Chopin Concerto and the Brahms Sonata. Howard displayed considerable technical ability and no little interpretative feeling, while Newsom is clearly a very good 'cellist indeed. He was also beautifully accompanied by Howard.

Beethoven

Overture: Coriolanus

Chopin

Allegro maestoso from Concerto in E minor for Piano and Orchestra

The Hon W. J. Howard

Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F — *Bach*
Mr Kershaw, *Trumpet* J. W. McDonald, *Flute* The Hon W. J. Howard, *Oboe*
Mr Mortimer, *Violin* M. J. McDonald, *Harpsichord* P. B. Newsom, *Continuo*

Sonata for Flute and Piano — *Poulenc*
J. W. McDonald and M. J. McDonald

Sonata for 'Cello and Piano No. 2 in F — *Brahms*
P. B. Newsom and The Hon W. J. Howard

Minuet from Music for the Royal Fireworks — *Handel*

Leader of the Orchestra: Mr Mortimer
Conductor: Mr Dore

BIOLOGY CONVERSAZIONE 1970

A Biology Conversazione was held in the Science Laboratories on the Sunday morning of the Exhibition weekend. Rather than give a very general display, it was decided to concentrate on three major topics. The year 1970 was officially International Conservation Year, and the first of these topics chosen was Nature Conservation and Pollution. Special prominence was given to our nearest National Park with many large photographs kindly lent to us. For the second major topic the theme of Evolution and Genetics was chosen; charts, models, and specimens were collected to demonstrate our knowledge of this theme, showing both the evidence for evolution and the mechanism by which we believe it took place. The third topic was devoted to the teaching of the subject of biology; notebooks, textbooks, dissections, microscopical preparations, some simple experiments, and film loops were shown. In addition there was a demonstration of the museum material from the Department Collections, and a laboratory devoted to various living animals. All the demonstrators worked hard to lay out the display, but special reference must be made to the team under Br Jeremy who so successfully put over a coherent picture of Evolution and Genetics; also to Rigby, Boursot, and Williams for their demonstrations of pollution.

Below is a list of the actual demonstrations.

Acknowledgments: We would like to thank Dr H. B. D. Kettlewell (Oxford) for the loan of photographs of Industrial Melanism; and Dr C. J. Rees (York) for models and sample of DNA.

Lab 1	Nature Conservation	R. J. von Vollmar
	National Reserves and Parks	J. E. Lightburn
	Books on Identification	
Lab 2	Slides of Animals and Plants	I. A. Campbell and H. J. Plowden
Lab 3	Teaching of Biology—	
	Books	F. A. Cape
	Dissections	R. J. Murphy
	Microscopes	M. A. Henderson
	Film Loops	A. D. Lucey and J. G. Heathcote

Lab 4	Teaching Slides	H. J. Thomas
	Microprojector	A. Purves
Lab 5	Food Calorimeter	A. Haughton and T. Dowling
	Photosynthesis	J. F. Spencer and B. P. Rambaut
	Potometer and Transpiration	J. N. Wakely and A. S. Brodrick
	Requirement of Salts in Plants	N. A. Johnston
	Smoke Pollution	J. C. H. Rigby and G. R. P. Boursot
	Oil Pollution of beach and stream	C. P. R. Williams and S. Thomasson
Lab 10	Living Animals—	
	Beehive	A. P. Danvers and M. J. Macauley
	Tropical Fish	J. M. Ryan
	Marine System	J. J. Hornyold Strickland
	Amphibia	R. A. Carrington and C. M. Blackden
	Fresh Water Invertebrates	S. A. Stainton and J. E. Tomkins
	Cockroaches and Locusts	B. M. S. Allen
	Reptiles	C. M. Blackden
	Mice and Rats	N. J. Leeming
	Wormery	S. M. Radwanski
Lab 6	Evolution and Genetics—	
	Evolution Evidence	P. P. Keohane
	Mendel's unrecognised Answer	S. O'Mahony
	Chromosomes	S. M. Sharrard
	Darwinism and Lamarckism	M. M. Forsythe and S. L. Cassidy
	Darwin's unsolved problem	B. C. Osborne
Lab 7	Evolution and Genetics—	
	Mendelism and Darwinism	F. O. A. Flynn and P. D. Hiscocks
	Genes—DNA	J. F. Bourke and J. Pickin
	Evolution Today	E. J. Thomas
Lab 8	Museum—	
	Birds' Eggs and Birds	R. Craig and W. J. Dawson
	Lepidoptera and other Arthropoda	
	Mollusca	
	Corals	
	Invertebrates	
	Pisces	
	Amphibia	
	Reptiles	
	Mammals	

The Biology Faculty would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr Sellers and his Staff for all the work they did to make this Conversazione possible.

CARPENTRY

I came away with the feeling that perhaps this year's exhibition of carpentry was not quite as excellent as in 1969. Maybe this was partly the result of the absence of some of this year's more spectacular pieces, but in any case the standard was as usual very high and both the exhibitors and the staff are to be congratulated.

The pieces that did not appeal faulted themselves in my eyes on the score of design rather than in quality of workmanship. The use of oak, for

instance, for C. M. Durkin's chair; I would have preferred some other hardwood for that style of design. R. Guthrie's desk, excellently produced —and probably designed for a particular room or space—but possibly a little small, to my mind, for practical use. The excellent table, also by R. Guthrie, I felt needed heavier feet, whereas the wheels on R. Coghlan's drinks trolley could have been made smaller to balance the size of the actual container. P. Sommer's fish platter was rather too heavy, although very well made, and it was a pity that the customer for his admirable lectern had specified such a small top.

Having said all this one can but praise so much first-class work, some of it truly professional in finish. R. W. Coghlan's many pieces deserve merit not only for their sheer quantity but also for their very high standard of finish. I particularly liked his bowl with lid and matching dish in variegated woods. R. Guthrie's large oak table was a remarkable work and the quality of the finish was very even throughout. D. McKenna's chess table showed originality and a very high standard of competence. The sliding lids over the flanking drawers were a very useful touch, although they might have run more smoothly if the grooves had been lined with some hard material. W. E. Hatfield's garden bench was a most accurate piece of work and looked even more professional than its models which are scattered around the outside of the Junior House. There were also two very good octagonal tables by L. Nosworthy and T. Symes.

Perhaps the thing that strikes one about this year's carpentry exhibition is the development of novel designs in greater numbers than before. What one should beware of though is thinking that novel and original design is necessarily good design. But this is perhaps purely a subjective notion anyway.

CRICKET

THE FIRST ELEVEN

Played 16 Won 9 Lost 3 Drawn 4

School Matches Played 11 Won 7 Lost 1 Drawn 3

THE record of this XI speaks for itself. Few XI's have won 9 matches, none has won 7 school matches. In all 4 drawn matches the opposition was struggling for its life and the XI were defeated only in their last match at Uppingham by the better side on the day. Five school sides made less than 100 (7 less than 113) and no boy made even 60 against the XI. If it is thought that the opposition was weak, it is worth recording that Durham's record of 9 wins and 2 draws in 11 matches was taken away, the unbeaten St Peter's XI was defeated for only the third time since the war, Sedbergh had their best side in years, Denstone had won 8 matches and of the many club batsmen who have made runs over the years on the college ground, only one in a term of hard wickets and heat-waves could score more than 60 against the XI. The batting averages do not reveal anything startling and the school has had many more talented and more consistent batsmen but it is to the credit of this XI that they quickly discovered that there is more to the game than individual success.

Three factors made for this success and two others prevented the side being one of the finest of school teams. First, this was a highly competitive XI and a generous one—and the two do not always go together. Secondly, the two fast bowlers supported by Reichwald's left arm spin were a class above the normal schoolboy standard. Finally, the fielding and catching were quite outstanding. It was W. M. Reichwald who led the team in these three departments and whose captaincy ensured their success. It is a measure of his achievement that a side with two weaknesses—remaining inexperienced to the end (their average age in May was 17.0), and whose batting when chasing anything from 58 to 113 looked either frail or somewhat incompetent and certainly full of nerves—should give such pleasure to all who saw them play and reap the rewards their efforts deserved. The XI jokingly maintained that it was the declared policy to have No. 11 making the winning run and this they did their best to achieve. It was a team serving each other, tolerant, and handled with considerable tactical acumen.

W. M. Reichwald's 48 wickets and 432 runs stands out as the main contribution and he could have done even better. Only twice did he bowl as well as he can. Against the O.A.C.C. his flight, control and line were impeccable but after some lazy fast bowling in the nets, his length and direction often wandered and he was to pay dearly for this in the representative matches for Yorkshire and the Rest of England schools. His relaxed approach to batting also had its drawbacks. On occasions he played with ease, placing the singles and persuading the ball for 4. In the week he made 108 and 65 he looked a complete batsman but he was prone to carelessness with his head in the air.

W. A. Moore always looked the best batsman and he came good at the end with a convincing 100. Strong off his legs with a good pull—but only when he has got the pace of the wicket—he is also not afraid to hit high into the open spaces. The lack of an effective off and cover drive does not mean that he can do without them. T. E. Lintin, A. D. Wenham and F. M. Fitzherbert batted well on occasions and all have much to contribute next year, Lintin good off the back foot, plucky and determined, Wenham careless, exciting and with immense potential, Fitzherbert with an air of unconcern yet considerable self-confidence and much ability. D. A. Callighan was a vastly improved player but needed more responsibility thrust upon him as did T. G. Marshall whose level-headedness helped to win the match at Durham. J. J. W. Wadham insisted on revealing his sweep to all oppositions but he batted to his considerable potential on one occasion and F. B. Skehan, surviving several nerve-racking experiences, was dismissed only once. And so to the opening batsmen: the truth is that the XI never had a consistently good start. J. C. Rapp got going on occasions only to get out when set and never overcame his inability to move a front foot and R. J. Twohig missed 6 innings. Like Rapp, his footwork can be limited but his natural cricket sense

and good eye, his admirable concentration and patience brought him to a good first 100 for the XI. He should make more next year. M. Stapleton, taller and more powerful than Twohig, but alike in skill and temperament, deputised with success on the tour.

If the batting lacked consistency, the bowling did not. Only once—at Uppingham—did Wadham and Callighan fail to make the breakthrough. At their best, as against St Peter's, they were a formidable pair, Wadham the more hostile, Callighan the more accurate and he had a particularly successful year. Fitzherbert backed them up skilfully though tending to pitch short when he above all needs to bowl a full length. Marshall bowled 26 good overs *v.* Bootham and needed plenty of bowling which he could not always be given; he seemed to lack confidence. He will be much in demand next year and should by now see that leg-spin is a priceless commodity in school cricket. Stapleton's off-spin shows promise and if Moore can find form, the spin attack should cause few problems.

Of the fielding, suffice to say that by the end, the whole XI was fielding to its potential and this was a pretty athletic XI. A quarter of all the overs bowled produced maidens, a tribute as much to the outcricket as to the bowling. Reichwald, Moore and Rapp excelled by their speed and accuracy but Wenham and Skehan must share much of the credit. At first Wenham whose girth and catching gifts suggest he be a permanent slip fielder was a trifle lazy and Lintin took over with success. On tour, however, no one chased with greater determination or caught with more success whether close or deep than Wenham. A lesser person than Skehan could well have felt out of place in such a side but driven by a competitive urge and quiet determination his wicket-keeping improved out of all recognition and no award was more popular with the XI than that of Skehan as the most improved player.

On the surface the future is rosy. Eight of the XI return together with 10 of the successful 2nd XI and a victorious Colts XI. The glut of good batsmen is an encouraging problem. But the major problem will be to bowl out the opposition without the aid of a bowler of real pace. Murray-Brown and Kinsky could join Fitzherbert but those who want to be bowlers are going to have to work very hard. The success of next year's side will depend on three factors: the ability to score runs twice as fast—and some consistently better running between the wickets for a change, a fielding standard as high as this year—with more consistency in the accuracy of the throw, and teamwork such as was apparent from this hard-working, happy and successful XI. If these are achieved, the new captain has a chance of carrying on the high standards set by Reichwald.

Colours were awarded to the 1st XI for their success as a team.

Half-colours were awarded to M. Stapleton.

Best cricketer: W. M. Reichwald.

Best batsman: W. A. Moore.

Best bowler: J. J. W. Wadham, D. A. Callighan (shared).

Bats awarded for 100: W. M. Reichwald, R. J. Twohig, W. A. Moore.

Fielding prize: The 1st XI—the bat was accepted on behalf of the team by J. C. Rapp—the vice-captain.

Most improved player: F. B. Skehan.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* WORKSOP

Played at Worksop on Saturday, 9th May.

Ampleforth won by 24 runs.

Good, for Worksop, threatened to tear the heart out of the Ampleforth batting after the School had won the toss. He bowled 22 overs, was always very fast and very accurate and finished with 6.34. That the School managed to defeat Worksop was the result of courageous batting by Rapp, Twohig and Moore, and excellent bowling by Wadham. Good eventually broke through to take 4 wickets in two overs including that of Lintin whose right thumb was broken as he tried to fend off a rising delivery. Unaccountably Good was taken off and the remaining batsmen were able to add 40 valuable runs at their leisure. Wadham, without looking in the same class as Good, who is an exceptionally fine bowler, bowled with intelligence and accuracy to take 6.24, uprooting the off-stump on three occasions. The ground fielding looked good in parts, good catches were held but several missed.

AMPLEFORTH	
J. Rapp, c Jackson b Good	23
R. Twohig, b Good	10
W. Moore, b Good	19
T. Lintin, c Jackson b Good	4
W. M. Reichwald, lbw b Good	5
A. Wenham, lbw b Good	0
F. Fitzherbert, c Sampson b Dyer	19
J. Wadham, lbw b Jackson	1
T. Marshall, st Johnson N. b Dyer	8
B. Skehan, not out	10
D. Callighan, c Cheer b Sampson	3
Extras	8
Total	110

WORKSOP	
A. Robson, b Wadham	3
C. Johnson, c Fitzherbert b Wadham	5
C. Sampson, b Callighan	24
N. Johnson, b Wadham	5
C. Dyer, run out	8
J. Jackson, c Marshall b Wadham	2
P. Willison, c Wenham b Reichwald	21
A. Mortan, c and b Wadham	9
W. Cheer, not out	3
A. Good, b Wadham	0
A. Basnett, c sub. b Fitzherbert	3
Extras	3
Total	86

BOWLING	
Good 21.9.36.6; Jackson 16.4.24.1; Sampson 8·4.4.7.1; Willison 5.1.10.0; Dyer 5.0.11.2; Cheer 6.1.18.0.	Wadham 17.5.28.6; Fitzherbert 13·2.1.30.1; Callighan 7.0.20.1; Marshall 1.0.3.0; Reichwald 3.1.2.1.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* DURHAM

Played at Durham on Wednesday, 13th May.

Ampleforth won by 1 wicket.

Of their last 11 school matches Durham had won 9 and drawn 2. A good early season performance was, in the last hour, filled with tension as Wenham, batting most sensibly, and Marshall took the score from 58—7 to 101. Wenham hit one 6 but for the most part the pair judged the short single to perfection. But the XI dropped 7 catches. The bowling was good after the Durham opening pair had raced to 40. Callighan especially bowling well and Wadham in his second spell had only to bowl straight which he did. The Durham fielding looked good but defensive; that of the XI was not up to standard but looked aggressive and prevented short singles being risked. The middle order batting was timid but the tail-enders are used to the crisis and have come to learn how to succeed.

DURHAM	
Simpson, c Moore b Reichwald	22
Croasdell, b Callighan	41
Newton, b Callighan	0
Mather, c Skehan b Reichwald	1
Watson T., b Wadham	16
Armstrong, b Callighan	1
Dobson, b Callighan	0
Hay, c Callighan b Wadham	27
Watson D., not out	2
Pinkney, lbw b Wadham	0
Buffey, b Wadham	0
Extras	3
Total	113

AMPLEFORTH	
J. Rapp, lbw b Hay	11
R. Twohig, c Armstrong b Pinkney	10
W. Moore, c and b Pinkney	11
W. M. Reichwald, c Croasdell b Dobson	3
F. Fitzherbert, lbw b Pinkney	15
A. Wenham, not out	37
C. Berry, st Croasdell b Pinkney	1
J. Wadham, b Pinkney	0
T. Marshall, lbw b Watson	15
B. Skehan, c Newton b Watson	8
D. Callighan, not out	0
Extras	3
Total (for 9 wkts)	114

BOWLING	
Wadham 7·5.0.23.4; Fitzherbert 7.0.20.0; Callighan 14.5.23.4; Reichwald 14.3.44.2.	Watson 11.4.17.2; Hay 14.2.37.1; Pinkney 17·5.5.31.5; Dobson 7.0.26.1.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* BOOTHAM

Played at Ampleforth on Wednesday, 20th May.

Match drawn.

Batting such as Twohig and Reichwald produced in this match has not been seen at Ampleforth for almost a decade. Many, including the XI, so used to crises over the past year, were inclining to the view that the days of 100's and totals of near 250 were over.

Neither had made 100 before, Twohig not even 50. He announced his intentions with quiet deflections past cover's left hand and the suggestion of 100 came with 3 successive front-foot cuts beautifully timed and placed. After lunch he drove firmly and reserved a classic straight drive for the 90's which were nerveless. He has an admirable temperament. Reichwald, fresh from the fifth longest long jump in the School's history in a match the previous day, was set for a large score at once. His driving, too, was confident and convincing, but the memory of this partnership lay in its innate cricket sense. Singles were taken at will and with the field closing in, both batsmen chose the gaps for their fours, each building upon a solid foundation. For the record, the partnership of 213 was the highest ever against a school; on only two previous occasions, 1933 and 1934, have two batsmen made 100 in the same innings, and no boy had scored a 100 in a school match since 1959.

Reichwald delayed his declaration by about 10 minutes but it would have made little difference. Bootham, whose bowling never disintegrated, though their fielding suffered from the short singles, never wished to make a game of it. Marshall bowled well but the wicket was perfect, the batting straight. Reichwald bowled quite beautifully—he had a great match and revealed his talent for all to see.

Ampleforth batted 3 hours leaving Bootham 2¼—90 an hour. But Ampleforth bowled 7 more overs than Bootham (26 an hour as against 19 an hour) and scored their runs twice as fast—4 per over as against 2.

There were three lessons from this game: 100's can be scored and 7 of this side could make them; it is difficult to bowl a side out after a large score has been made, and finally, if ever Ampleforth were to be set a difficult task the XI know that they must attack and attack for victory.

AMPLEFORTH		BOOTHAM	
J. Rapp, c Langstaff b Tait	0	Hutchinson, st Skehan b Reichwald	17
R. Twohig, not out	117	Wright, c Murray-Brown b Reichwald	51
W. Moore, b Tait	5	Maufe, lbw b Callighan	9
W. M. Reichwald, b Walker	108	Walker, lbw b Marshall	29
F. Fitzherbert	did not bat	Langstaff, b Reichwald	0
A. Wenham		Bibby, b Reichwald	5
C. Murray-Brown		Tait, c Rapp b Reichwald	6
T. Marshall		Malcolm, c Callighan b Marshall	2
J. Wadham		Waller, not out	5
D. Callighan		Belcher, not out	0
B. Skehan			
Extras	5	Extras	3
Total (for 3 wkts dec.)	235	Total (for 8 wkts)	127

BOWLING	BOWLING
Walker 15.3.67.1; Tait 19.5.64.2; Langstaff 14.0.55.0; Wright 6.0.31.0; Bibby 3.1.13.0.	Wadham 3.1.2.0; Fitzherbert 4.1.8.0; Marshall 25.11.60.2; Moore 6.3.10.0; Reichwald 22.13.30.5; Callighan 5.3.14.1.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* O.A.C.C.

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 23rd May.

Ampleforth won by 20 runs.

Both sides contributed to an exciting match. Perry asked the boys to bat and both Rapp with his solidity, and Fitzherbert, well organised and confident, batted well. But it was Reichwald who took control, running with skill and placing the ball at will. One cover drive was simply persuaded through the ring of 5.

Wright and Spencer threatened to make nonsense of 100 an hour but an aggressive start when chasing runs can be dangerous and so it proved. Wright played a shocking stroke, Spencer had a swing and Sparling mesmerised by the fast rate of scoring and wanting a part in it connected twice and was then caught. Perry brought order to the proceedings but Reichwald, never ceasing to attack and to leave gaps in the field, had the last word.

A brief word on Reichwald: he has had a great week and his bowling today was of the highest class. He has all the gifts to be a fine bowler and under his captaincy the XI are showing their quality. It was the best victory for many years and this against a strong O.A.C.C. side.

AMPLEFORTH		O.A.C.C.	
J. Rapp, c Whitehead b Morton	30	M. Wright, b Reichwald	36
R. Twohig, c Whitehead b Savill	0	M. Whitehead, b Wadham	0
W. Moore, c Sparling b Huskinson	26	P. Spencer, c Rapp b Marshall	51
T. Lintin, b Huskinson	14	C. Andrews, c Callighan b Reichwald	0
W. M. Reichwald, c Spencer b Morton	65	W. Sparling, c Moore b Reichwald	8
A. Wenham, st Whitehead b Huskinson	8	J. Morton, c and b Reichwald	8
F. Fitzherbert, c Huskinson b Morton	26	T. Perry, c Callighan b Reichwald	29
D. A. Callighan, b Savill	4	A. Brennan, lbw b Reichwald	26
J. J. Wadham, c Jackson b Morton	1	P. Savill, c Wenham b Reichwald	1
T. Marshall, not out	2	R. Jackson, c Lintin b Reichwald	7
F. Skehan, not out	3	T. Huskinson, not out	0
Extras	20	Extras	3
Total (for 9 wkts dec.)	199	Total	179

BOWLING	BOWLING
Savill 25.9.42.2; Sparling 13.4.30.0; Morton 14.4.42.4; Jackson 6.3.18.0; Huskinson 15.3.46.3.	Wadham 7.1.36.1; Fitzherbert 3.0.19.0; Marshall 8.1.32.1; Reichwald 16.3.66.8; Callighan 4.0.23.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* M.C.C.

Played at Ampleforth on Wednesday, 27th May.

Lost by 6 wickets.

Platt of Yorkshire and Heath of Hampshire could well have thought they were bowling on a green lifting wicket at Middlesbrough, so perfect were the conditions for seam bowling. They and their League colleagues did much as they pleased and to their credit the XI stuck to the task of coping in conditions foreign to them. Reichwald got a nasty lifting ball and Rapp playing to the newly placed leg trap got one which pitched on leg and hit the off.

133 was hardly enough to test League players but Callighan bowled well and Reichwald removed the dangerous Watson who had a recent 150 behind him. He caused errors of judgment to come from all except Vallance to whom he bowled too straight. The only chance for the XI was a simple catch to Rapp from Vallance early on. In other respects the fielding is looking good and Wadham held two good catches. An encouraging performance against a side of Yorkshiremen who play it tight and hard and who had much the best of the conditions.

AMPLEFORTH		M.C.C.	
J. Rapp, b Hay	20	J. S. Ker, c Wadham b Callighan	27
R. Twohig, lbw b Temple	0	D. Dolman, c Skehan b Callighan	0
W. Moore, st Brennan b Hay	21	J. Watson, c Wadham b Reichwald	26
T. Lintin, c and b Vallance	20	J. Vallance, c Wenham b Reichwald	60
W. M. Reichwald, c Dolman b Platt	3	J. Conroy, not out	11
W. Wenham, c Dolman b Platt	19	D. Bailey, not out	8

F. Fitzherbert, c Brennan b Heath	8	A. Temple	did not bat
D. A. Callighan, c Bailey b Heath	24	D. Hay	
T. Marshall, run out	8	R. Platt	
J. J. Wadham, b Vallance	4	M. Heath	
F. Skehan, not out	0	D. Brennan	
Extras	6	Extras	2
Total	133	Total (for 4 wkts)	134

BOWLING

Heath 13.5.15.2; Temple 17.6.45.1; Hay 8.2.20.2; Platt 10.1.23.2; Vallance 11.4.0.23.2.

BOWLING

Wadham 5.0.17.0; Callighan 9.3.28.2; Reichwald 14.1.50.2; Fitzherbert 8.0.37.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* FREE FORESTERS

Played at Ampleforth on 30th and 31st May.

Free Foresters won by 6 wickets.

Two cool days came between weeks of brilliant sunshine and the quality of the cricket suffered in consequence. A somewhat dreamy XI was dismissed on the first day by an attack which was adequate if not always penetrating, and the Foresters declared at their overnight total after battling against some good bowling and occasionally very lively fielding. On the second day a good start was again the one thing which is missing from the XI and while Lintin, Fitzherbert, Callighan and Reichwald played splendid little innings, the fact was that a chance of a large total and a difficult declaration was missed. There is however no doubt whatever of the potential of this batting side when it comes into form. The Foresters, left 205 in 155 minutes, won with nearly 15 minutes to spare. This was not one of the stronger Forester XI's but in cricket one or two can swing a match and chances offered must be taken. Wadham and Callighan bowled extremely well early on but in the end were asked to do too much on a wicket which was breaking up and turning.

AMPLEFORTH

1st innings		*2nd innings*	
J. Rapp, lbw b Fennell	11	J. Rapp, c Campbell b Fennell	7
P. Spacek, c Campbell b Fennell	6	P. Spacek, c Medd b Robertson	2
W. Moore, c J. Townsend b Robertson	5	W. Moore, lbw b Townsend	27
T. Lintin, b Fennell	31	T. Lintin, run out	21
W. M. Reichwald, b Weston	11	W. Reichwald, c Campbell b Fennell	58
A. Wenham, st Campbell b Weston	41	A. Wenham, c Sale b Sunley	1
F. Fitzherbert, lbw b Sunley	14	F. Fitzherbert, c Sale b Stephens	34
D. A. Callighan, b Fennell	6	D. Callighan, c Sale b Robertson	30
T. Marshall, b Weston	12	T. Marshall, b Stephens	4
J. J. Wadham, c and b Robertson	16	J. Wadham, c Campbell b Townsend	2
F. Skehan, not out	11	F. Skehan, not out	3
Extras	9	Extras	12
Total	173	Total	201

BOWLING

Robertson 12.1.32.2; Fennell 17.4.46.4; Weston 19.2.45.3; Stephens 5.1.15.0; Sunley 9.1.26.1.

BOWLING

Fennell 16.6.35.2; Robertson 10.1.52.2; Townsend 4.1.0.36.2; Weston 13.1.54.0; Sunley 9.1.19.1; Stephens 3.1.5.2.

CRICKET

Standing left to right: R. J. Twohig, A. D. Wenham, F. B. Skehan, T. G. Marshall, Hon F. M. Fitzherbert, T. E. Lintin.
Seated left to right: J. J. Wadham, J. C. Rapp, W. M. Reichwald, D. A. Callighan, W. A. Moore.

ATHLETICS

Standing left to right: R. Plowden, C. Hardy, J. Prendiville, P. Rochford, M. Shuldham, J. Dowling, D. McKenna, A. Lucey, D. Haughton, J. Ruck Keene.
Seated left to right: R. F. Mathews, I. D. Bowie, J. P. Knowles, R. J. Hughes, M. A. Henderson, M. M. Forsythe, A. N. Kennedy.

Presentation of the Chief Scout's Award to four Junior House Scouts. 16th June 1970.

Junior House Scouts on Striding Edge, Helvellyn. 14th July 1970.

FREE FORESTERS

1st innings		*2nd innings*	
M. P. Weston, c and b Callighan	9	J. F. Stephens, not out	121
J. C. Townsend, b Callighan	58	J. C. Townsend, b Wadham	7
J. F. Stephens, lbw b Wadham	25	M. P. Weston, c and b Marshall	20
A. Sunley, c Reichwald b Callighan	28	A. Sunley, c Marshall b Wadham	32
N. Brown, c Callighan b Reichwald	7	A. Fennell, c Reichwald b Fitzherbert	13
R. Medd, not out	24	R. Campbell, not out	4
D. Sale, lbw b Callighan	6	R. Medd	
A. Fennell, not out	10	N. Brown	
R. A. Campbell		D. C. H. Townsend	did not bat
D. C. H. Townsend	did not bat	G. A. Robertson	
G. A. Robertson		D. Sale	
Extras	4	Extras	10
Total (for 6 wkts)	171	Total (for 4 wkts)	207

BOWLING

Wadham 14.1.47.1; Callighan 14.5.47.4; Reichwald 9.2.36.1; Moore 7.0.35.0.

BOWLING

Wadham 13.1.60.2; Callighan 16.4.59.0; Marshall 7.1.26.1; Fitzherbert 8·2.2.40.1; Reichwald 2.0.12.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* SEDBERGH

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 6th June.

Match drawn.

As in the match against Bootham the XI were unable to bowl their opponents out. It is unlikely that an earlier declaration would have made much difference for with 50 minutes left Sedbergh were 90—6. The fact is that the Ampleforth bowlers did not have a good day.

Nevertheless this was a good performance against a strong Sedbergh side with a good record behind them. In the middle of an unusually early heat-wave the XI batted excellently. Rapp and Twohig made a steady start taking the score to 76 before both were dismissed. Lintin and Reichwald added 60 for the 5th wicket against some good bowling and tight field-placing and Wenham played a delightful and all too brief innings with one crashing off-drive proof of his potential.

After a quick start Sedbergh got into trouble and a quick-thinking run out by Wadham was the first of several pieces of excellent fielding culminating in one of the best catches seen here for many years, a full length dive by Marshall at mid-wicket to catch a low drive from Smyth, the best player in a strong batting side.

Sedbergh's later batsmen played sensibly. It is not easy to bowl out a technically correct batting side on these wickets but the XI did not bowl as well as they have done. As always, the game was played hard on the field and in the friendliest of spirits.

AMPLEFORTH		SEDBERGH	
J. Rapp, b Dunn	40	J. Purser, run out	16
R. Twohig, c Walford b Smyth	27	T. Sugden, b Callighan	9
W. Moore, lbw b Smyth	13	R. Smyth, c Marshall b Reichwald	36
T. Lintin, c Warnock b Dunn	28	P. Dunn, b Moore	0
W. M. Reichwald, c Purser b Dunn	38	A. Warnock, lbw b Reichwald	41
A. Wenham, c Dunn b Coupland	22	H. Weston, c Moore b Reichwald	3
D. A. Callighan, c Purser b Dunn	3	M. Webb, b Reichwald	0
F. Fitzherbert, not out	10	P. Walsh, not out	30
J. J. Wadham, lbw b Dunn	1	P. Walford, not out	10
T. Marshall, not out	11	S. Rae	did not bat
B. Skehan did not bat		M. Coupland	
Extras	23	Extras	10
Total (for 8 wkts dec.)	216	Total (for 7 wkts)	155

BOWLING

Webb 9.2.16.0; Coupland 12.2.46.1; Walsh 5.1.13.0; Smyth 10.1.37.2; Dunn 15.1.39.5; Rae 12.2.31.0; Walford 6.0.16.0.

BOWLING

Wadham 5.1.16.0; Callighan 7.1.24.1; Reichwald 26.9.48.4; Moore 11.6.21.1; Marshall 5.0.34.0; Fitzherbert 4.2.3.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* ST PETER'S, YORK

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 13th June.

Ampleforth won by 5 wickets.

A week before this match the XI had decided to risk all for victory. Reichwald having won the toss threw the initiative to St Peter's, whose strength lay in their batting, who were unbeaten in any match so far, and on a wicket likely to turn and become difficult as the day wore on.

Lintin's catch at slip in the first over set the tone for a superbly disciplined performance. Tension, aggression and concentration were tuned to a peak which few schools can maintain for long, and here it lasted for 45 minutes by which time the score was 15—5. Wadham and Callighan had bowled with accuracy and penetration, moving the ball and getting life from a wicket which the later St Peter's batsmen showed was not difficult given a firm front foot on the forward stroke. In the second half of the innings runs came more easily but wickets were always likely to fall. It is difficult to withstand such early shocks. The catching of the XI was first class with Skehan outstanding. Five days ago he was about to be dropped after a disappointing game *v.* Sedbergh. Responding to the team's insistence on his retention he had won through to win his half colours after much practice and determination.

A side looks foolish if it cannot make 77 and that was uppermost in the minds of the XI when they batted. Rapp was out in the 10 minutes before lunch and Lintin found the tension too great. It was left to Fitzherbert to make the final blows and give the XI their first win for 9 years over a good St Peter's XI who, to their credit, made a real fight of it.

ST PETER'S		AMPLEFORTH	
I. Robinson, c Wadham b Callighan	4	J. C. Rapp, c Coverdale b Houseman	1
M. Hepworth, c Lintin b Callighan	0	R. Twohig, c Coverdale b Houseman	22
S. Coverdale, lbw b Wadham	8	W. Moore, c Coverdale b Bowie	17
P. Hall, c Skehan b Wadham	1	T. Lintin, b Bowie	0
D. B-Williams, b Reichwald	11	W. M. Reichwald, c Coverdale b Bowie	15
P. Holmes, c Skehan b Wadham	0	A. Wenham, not out	4
E. Walmesley, lbw b Fitzherbert	11	F. Fitzherbert, not out	16
M. Bainbridge, c Skehan b Callighan	20	D. A. Callighan, T. Marshall, J. J. Wadham, F. Skehan	did not bat
M. Jones, lbw b Fitzherbert	3		
H. Houseman, c Marshall b Callighan	11		
A. Bowie, not out	6		
Extras	2	Extras	3
Total	77	Total (for 5 wkts)	78

BOWLING

Wadham 12.8.18.3; Callighan 11·4.6.20.4; Reichwald, 6.1.24.1; Fitzherbert 6.2.13.2.

BOWLING

Houseman 10·2.3.28.2; Jones 11.3.18.0; Bowie 9.1.29.3.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* YORKSHIRE GENTLEMEN

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 4th July.

Ampleforth won by 4 wickets.

After three weeks away from cricket the XI revealed at once their major strengths and qualities in a fine win over the Yorkshire Gentlemen—the first for 7 years.

Their success stemmed from their admirable team-work and excellent fielding which was not far short of the high standard achieved against St Peter's. The Yorkshire Gentlemen did not bat well, apart from a fine innings from Martin Whitehead, but

they were visibly shaken by the aggressive approach of the XI who put them under pressure from the start. From 32—6 the Y.G.'s struggled with determination to 105 but the XI never lost the initiative. Rapp and Moore made certain of victory, batting carefully and with considerable concentration.

At the beginning of a long series of matches it was inevitable that there would be flaws: the bowling was occasionally rusty, the running between the wickets bad, the batting lacked authority and the XI themselves commented on the little tension they were able to create on the field and while waiting to bat, and they still do not like a small total to go for, but it will take a very good side to maintain the initiative against them.

YORKSHIRE GENTLEMEN		AMPLEFORTH	
J. Coad, lbw b Wadham	5	J. Rapp, lbw b Jeff	46
N. MacAndrew, b Callighan	2	R. Twohig, c Terry b C. MacAndrew	5
M. Hinchcliffe, c Skehan b Fitzherbert	16	W. Moore, c Whitehead b Jeff	36
P. Terry, b Fitzherbert	2	A. Wenham, b Jeff	3
D. Millbank, c Moore b Reichwald	4	W. M. Reichwald, b Jeff	3
M. Whitehead, not out	48	F. Fitzherbert, run out	3
G. Oswald, lbw b Fitzherbert	0	T. Lintin, not out	0
R. Preston, c Skehan b Reichwald	1	D. A. Callighan, not out	5
C. MacAndrew, b Callighan	14	T. Marshall, J. J. Wadham, F. Skehan	did not bat
J. Jeff, b Reichwald	0		
A. Fennell, lbw b Reichwald	0		
Extras	13	Extras	11
Total	105	Total (for 6 wkts)	109

BOWLING

Wadham 16.4.31.1; Callighan 16.5.34.2; Reichwald 9.6.8.4; Fitzherbert 10.4.10.3; Marshall 2.0.9.0.

BOWLING

MacAndrew 12.5.12.1; Fennell 10.4.20.0; Terry 4.1.22.0; Jeff 10·2.5.16.4; Millbank 5.1.27.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* I. ZINGARI

Played at Ampleforth on Sunday, 5th July.

Match Drawn.

That unusually successful No. 11 Tony Huskinson asked to face 4 balls to deny the XI a victory they richly deserved survived two close lbw appeals at the end of a match in which the XI, put in to bat, seized the initiative in taking the score to 130—1, lost it at 135—5 but thereafter once again revealed their talent.

Moore who played the best innings of the season so far and Twohig added 84 for the second wicket. Twohig can look awkward in style but has a good eye and superb concentration in contrast to Moore who has always looked good without revealing his best form. Today he played Huskinson better than many an experienced batsman twice his age. The middle order fell apart, Lintin and Reichwald falling early, Fitzherbert and Wenham, the one foolishly the other unluckily run out before Marshall played some handsome strokes enabling Reichwald to set the I Zingari 80 an hour.

Callighan has never bowled better and together with Wadham tore through the I Zingari batting, an off-cutter from Callighan to the talented Kerr proving unplayable. Geoffrey Jackson, helped by the dropping of a difficult chance by Wenham on the boundary, batted well to deny victory to the XI, whose fielding continues to approach brilliance, and for whom Skehan behind the wicket held a low edged drive from Brennan as he dived to his left. It was a catch of which any County stumper would have been rightly proud.

AMPLEFORTH		I ZINGARI	
J. Rapp, b Jackson	18	R. Kerr, b Callighan	22
R. Twohig, c Tanner b Jackson	62	M. Courage, b Wadham	11
W. Moore, b Lupton	46	C. Tanner, b Wadham	5
T. Lintin, b Lupton	0	G. Jackson, not out	46
W. M. Reichwald, b Jackson	3	A. Brennan, c Skehan b Callighan	4
A. Wenham, run out	15	Lord Stafford, lbw b Callighan	0
F. Fitzherbert, run out	10	K. Gray, c Skehan b Reichwald	24
D. A. Callighan, b Huskinson	8	C. Lupton, b Reichwald	0
T. Marshall, st Brennan b Huskinson	18	R. Jackson, lbw b Reichwald	9
J. J. Wadham, not out	11	J. Dick, b Wadham	2
F. Skehan, not out	0	A. Huskinson, not out	0
Extras	10	Extras	6
Total (for 9 wkts dec.)	201	Total (for 9 wkts)	129
BOWLING		BOWLING	
Courage 7·4.1.15.0; Gray 11.1.40.0; Lupton 13.5.15.2; Jackson 17.4.36.3; Kerr 4.0.24.0; Huskinson 13.0.63.2.		Wadham 8.2.25.3; Callighan 12.4.37.3; Reichwald, 15.8.24.3; Moore 6.1.20.0; Fitzherbert 4.1.17.0.	

AMPLEFORTH *v.* COMBINED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Played at Ampleforth on Tuesday, 7th July.

Match Drawn.

For the fourth time the XI were unable to bowl out their opponents. Sir William Worsley, present as usual as President of the C.G.S., maintained that the declaration was "just perfect" but apart from Arnold Sunley none of the C.G.S. batsmen was prepared to strike for victory and it takes two teams to make a match. But there were other reasons: Reichwald and Moore, two quality batsmen and the main spinners, were in the exam. room and well though Rapp handled the reserve bowlers the sheer quality of Reichwald's captaincy was missed.

The best cricket came during the Ampleforth innings. Rapp played his best innings in taking the 1st wicket score to 46 in 40 minutes. Thereafter some excellent spin bowling together with some loose batting brought a collapse and the XI were 85—5. Stapleton in his first match batted sensibly—he has considerable talent. Fitzherbert as usual led the fight back but the initiative was seized by Wadham who together with Berry added 60 in one of the best 9th wicket partnerships at Ampleforth. Berry, in the second of his only two games of the season, played quietly, pushing singles, using his feet and looking most solid while Wadham, full of confidence, played some beautiful drives and proved to himself—what coaches could not prove to him—that playing straight pays. He could be a fine batsman. Sir William, who arrived to see the last three make the recovery said he had not seen such good Ampleforth batting for years—high praise to Nos. 6, 9, 10 in the order.

AMPLEFORTH		COMBINED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS	
J. Rapp, lbw b Cares	34	G. Blanchard, b Berry	45
R. Twohig, b Backhouse	11	J. Kirkbride, b Callighan	5
M. Stapleton, c and b Sunley	21	A. Brass, b Marshall	1
T. Lintin, b Sunley	3	T. Smith, b Marshall	1
A. Wenham, run out	4	A. Sunley, b Fitzherbert	26
F. Fitzherbert, c Poskitt b Backhouse	39	A. Backhouse, b Stapleton	43
T. Marshall, c Sunley b Cares	6	P. Whitehead, b Wadham	5
D. A. Callighan, c Kirkbride b Sunley	8	M. Dobson, not out	4
C. Berry, not out	26	D. Hartley, lbw b Wadham	0
J. J. Wadham, not out	39	R. Cares, not out	1
F. Skehan did not bat		R. Poskitt did not bat	
Extras	9	Extras	4
Total (for 8 wkts dec.)	200	Total (for 8 wkts)	135

BOWLING	BOWLING
Hartley, 7.1.16.0; Poskitt 9.0.40.0; Cares 15.2.33.2; Backhouse 26.10.57.2; Sunley 24.5.52.3.	Wadham 10.4.11.2; Callighan 12.4.41.1; Marshall 8.3.26.2; Fitzherbert 7.2.17.1; Berry 4.0.23.1; Stapleton 5.2.13.1.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* STONYHURST

Played at Stonyhurst on Wednesday, 8th July.

Won by one wicket.

It was asking too much of the XI to produce cricket of high quality in all their final 8 matches. In their fourth match in five days they looked thoroughly jaded at the end of a hard term and examinations. After this performance they came to realise that the major enemy in the next week will be lack of sleep.

The bowling was not of high class and the batting of the young Stonyhurst side very weak. King, who carried his bat, was dropped early on; otherwise the score might have been 25. To their credit Stonyhurst played their hearts out and it must have been disappointing for them not to register their first victory. Reichwald steered the side home and the XI can consider themselves lucky to have played so badly and won.

STONYHURST		AMPLEFORTH	
R. King, not out	23	J. Rapp, b O'Driscoll	0
B. Messfut, c Reichwald b Callighan	3	R. Twohig, b O'Driscoll	19
R. Cauldwell, lbw b Callighan	1	C. Murray-Brown, c Cauldwell b O'Driscoll	0
P. O'Flynn, b Callighan	4	T. Lintin, run out	1
J. Matthey, c Reichwald b Fitzherbert	1	W. M. Reichwald, not out	19
S. Hornsby, c Wenham b Fitzherbert	2	A. Wenham, b O'Driscoll	0
T. Holt, lbw b Reichwald	2	F. Fitzherbert, b McDonaugh	11
J. O'Driscoll, lbw b Reichwald	0	D. A. Callighan, c Cauldwell b O'Driscoll	5
S. McDonaugh, c Wadham b Fitzherbert	8	T. Marshall, c Cauldwell b McDonaugh	0
P. Anderson, c Wadham b Reichwald	11	J. J. Wadham, b McDonaugh	0
P. Graves, b Fitzherbert	0	F. Skehan, not out	1
Extras	3	Extras	3
Total	58	Total (for 9 wkts)	59
BOWLING		BOWLING	
Wadham 4.2.3.0; Callighan 7.1.12.3; Fitzherbert 11·2.2.28.4; Reichwald 8.4.11.3.		McDonaugh 8·5.1.20.3; O'Driscoll 15.9.22.5; Holt 7.2.14.0.	

AMPLEFORTH *v.* DENSTONE

Played at Denstone on Saturday, 11th July.

Ampleforth won by 4 wickets.

Only a painstaking 41 by the 14 year old Hignell kept Callighan at bay as he ran through the Denstone XI in his best performance for the XI. Wadham collected the final 3 wickets in two overs after lunch, helped by a splendidly professional catch by Reichwald in the gully. Wenham too caught a beauty at slip and the fielding was outstanding.

The XI actually took longer than Denstone to make their runs in a weak display of loose concentration with heads in the air. It was not so much a matter of not liking to go for a small score, or of tiredness, but of simple laziness—they missed at least 30 singles—as though bored by bowling sides out so easily.

DENSTONE		AMPLEFORTH	
M. Morgan, b Callighan	3	J. Rapp, c S. de Belder b Ollier	12
S. de Belder, c Stapleton b Callighan	12	M. Stapleton, b S. de Belder	10
N. Bradfield, b Callighan	15	W. Moore, c Ollier b Bailey	18
A. Hignell, not out	41	T. Lintin, c S. de Belder b Carter	16
J. Bailey, c Moore b Reichwald	9	W. M. Reichwald, c Partridge b S. de Belder	23
W. Huxham, b Moore	9	A. Wenham, c Bailey b S. de Belder	11
K. Partridge, c Wenham b Callighan	5	F. Fitzherbert, not out	0
A. Parker, b Callighan	0	D. A. Callighan, not out	6
G. de Belder, c Reichwald b Wadham	1	T. Marshall, J. J. Wadham, B. Skehan } did not bat	
I. Carter, lbw b Wadham	1		
B. Ollier, c Callighan b Wadham	0		
Extras	3	Extras	4
Total	99	Total (for 6 wkts)	100

BOWLING	BOWLING
Wadham 17·4.6.35.3; Callighan 12.2.27.5; Reichwald 15.4.34.1; Moore 3.3.0.1; Marshall 1.1.0.0.	Carter 18.3.43.1; Ollier 10.5.12.1; S. de Belder 16·5.4.29.3; Bailey 6.2.12.1.

FESTIVAL AT UPPINGHAM

AMPLEFORTH *v.* OUNDLE

On Monday, 13th July.

Ampleforth won by 72 runs.

What their coach had failed to get across, Leicestershire and Glamorgan succeeded in doing in a Sunday league game which the XI watched on their way from Denstone: namely, how to bat with authority. The result was a marvellously convincing display from everyone but notably Moore and Wenham. For Moore it was the end of a long dark tunnel in which he had struggled to produce the results he had achieved at prep. school. Now he cut, pulled, hit over the top with superb timing, looking all over a class player. It must be the first Ampleforth 100 without a convincing off or cover drive but he showed that there can be quality without these. Wenham drove with great power as the XI added 130 in the hour after lunch.

Reichwald's generous declaration left Oundle 3¼ hours and though they batted with consistency, the result was never in doubt. Again the fielding was excellent and again Wenham produced a fine catch at slip. That the declaration was a risk was proven 48 hours later when the Oundle opener, Lawrence, hit 120 before lunch in the final match of the festival.

AMPLEFORTH		OUNDLE	
J. Rapp, b Newport	29	R. Wood, b Reichwald	34
M. Stapleton, run out	19	A. Lawrence, b Callighan	17
W. Moore, c Morley b Lawrence	100	A. Marrian, lbw b Reichwald	11
T. Lintin, b Newport	10	R. Harrison, c Marshall b Wadham	17
W. M. Reichwald, c Dickins b Newport	38	I. Gilthorpe, c Reichwald, b Marshall	25
A. Wenham, not out	29	J. Hinde, c Wenham b Reichwald	32
F. Fitzherbert, b Turner	20	G. Turner, c Skehan b Fitzherbert	4
D. A. Callighan, not out	6	R. Morley, lbw b Reichwald	30
T. Marshall, J. J. W. Wadham, B. Skehan } did not bat		J. Dickins, b Wadham	1
		R. Newport, not out	15
		P. Peck, b Callighan	4
Extras	17	Extras	6
Total (for 6 wkts)	268	Total	196

BOWLING	BOWLING
Peck 12.3.39.0; Morley 11.4.20.0; Newport 28.9.96.3; Dickins 3.0.22.0; Turner 7.0.40.1; Lawrence 4.0.34.1.	Wadham 11.0.45.2; Callighan 15·4.6.36.2; Reichwald 13.2.40.4; Fitzherbert 7.3.13.1; Marshall 9.4.21.1; Moore 6.0.35.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* BLUNDELL'S

On Tuesday, 12th July.

Ampleforth won by 6 wickets.

The young Blundell's XI were no match for an XI whose bowling and fielding reached a peak of excellence which is astonishing in schoolboy cricket. Fitzherbert bowled with intelligence and Reichwald, whose spin and variety of flight have bemused both men and boys throughout the year, might have had 5 for 1 in 9 overs had he not bowled an over-dose of full tosses—the one chink in his armour. As for the fielding, no team in any class could have been as lively, as dominant, and as accurate as were the XI today. The many hours of hard practice have borne a rich fruit. A wonderful example has been set by Reichwald, the whole team have been given the award for the best fielder, and if Wenham is singled out, it is because the least athletic of the side has become the safest catcher and hardest worker.

From a peak of excellence, the XI courted near disaster once again. 0—3 and 12—4, with Moore, following 100 with 0, and Reichwald in the pavilion, and the 2nd XI Stapleton—deputising for Twohig who has missed the whole tour through illness—left to fight it out. Wenham, however, now full of confidence was soon driving to all parts of the ground and the XI lost no further wicket. Unaccountably the Blundell's leading wicket-taker, who had bowled the XI out in 1969, removed himself from the firing line because he was tired.

After the match the Captain awarded the team, including the absent Twohig, their full colours, and M. Stapleton half-colours. Moore was awarded the bat for the best batsman and Skehan was nominated the most improved player.

BLUNDELL'S		AMPLEFORTH	
C. Colquhoun, b Wadham	7	J. Rapp, c Atkinson b Grounds	0
P. Swaffield, c Stapleton b Reichwald	14	M. Stapleton, not out	18
H. Seymour, c Moore b Fitzherbert	9	W. Moore, b Harding	0
V. Marks, b Reichwald	0	T. Lintin, lbw b Harding	0
J. Lloyds, lbw b Reichwald	0	W. M. Reichwald, c Lloyds b Grounds	5
W. Atkinson, c Wenham b Fitzherbert	16	A. Wenham, not out	31
J. C. Harding, c Stapleton b Reichwald	5	F. Fitzherbert, D. A. Callighan, T. Marshall, J. J. W. Wadham, B. Skehan } did not bat	
S. Barton, run out	0		
T. Philipsons, c Wenham b Reichwald	2		
C. Grounds, c Rapp b Fitzherbert	0		
A. Evans, not out	0		
Extras	4	Extras	4
Total	57	Total (for 4 wkts)	58

BOWLING	BOWLING
Wadham 10.5.15.1; Callighan 8.4.10.0; Fitzherbert 10.6.11.3; Reichwald 9.5.15.5.	Grounds 5.2.13.2; Harding 6.1.13.2; Colquhoun 5.3.15.0; Barton 3·2.1.13.0.

AMPLEFORTH *v.* UPPINGHAM

On Wednesday, 15th July.

Lost by 5 wickets.

Lest it be thought that there was mis-placed confidence in the XI's camp before the final match, it is worth commenting on the amount of pleasure this XI has given to all who have seen them play. They have been a real team, and a successful one, and they fully deserved their colours as a team.

It was however always on the cards that the XI would not make enough runs on one occasion and the weakness was cruelly exposed in their final match. On the day there was no doubt Uppingham were the better side, a team who had drawn almost all their school matches until the run in and who played with confidence. They had luck and the luck of the XI had run dry, but Uppingham played with maturity and one became aware once again that the Ampleforth XI is a young and inexperienced side with an average age of exactly 17.0. Their achievement against teams that have enjoyed considerable success is all the more remarkable.

Batting first at 10.30 in the morning—possibly a mistake—the XI were held together for a time by Moore and Reichwald but the XI never took control and Uppingham were left 137 to win. The fielding was no higher than good, the bowling no more than accurate, the batting quiet and patient. Suddenly the chance came and was missed. Had Dickson been caught when he was 20 and the score 37—3, the XI would have won. As it was, Dickson continued his own game, Setchell thumped Reichwald's full tosses and Uppingham moved smoothly to victory.

A major reason for the success of the XI has been the personal qualities of the players and these were never shown to better effect as they congratulated their opponents and conceded victory with grace and dignity after playing as hard as they could. Dr G. A. Wheatley, for his part, admitted that on another day it could have been different, but it was not to be, and immediately after the game, the teams dispersed with the memory of a second excellent festival, grateful to Dr Wheatley and all at Uppingham for their kindness, and with 8 of the Ampleforth XI looking forward to acting as hosts in 1971.

AMPLEFORTH		UPPINGHAM	
J. C. Rapp, b Watson	3	T. Dickson, st Skehan b Reichwald	59
M. Stapleton, b Johnson	2	P. Alder, lbw b Fitzherbert	15
W. A. Moore, b Boyd	29	J. Rogers, c Wadham b Reichwald	0
T. E. Lintin, b Watson	8	B. P. Setchell, b Reichwald	21
W. M. Reichwald, st Harding b Boyd	35	J. Arthur, c Wenham b Reichwald	14
A. D. Wenham, st Harding b Boyd	9	A. Marlow, not out	14
F. M. Fitzherbert, lbw b Setchell	17	H. Johnson, not out	1
D. A. Callighan, b Watson	1	P. Andrew, V. Watson, C. Harding, J. Boyd — did not bat	
T. G. Marshall, b Boyd	4		
J. J. W. Wadham, b Watson	18		
F. B. Skehan, not out	0		
Extras	10	Extras	14
Total	136	Total (for 5 wkts)	138

BOWLING	BOWLING
Johnson 7.1.18.1; Watson 15.5.32.3; Andrew 10.4.15.0; Boyd 20.6.50.4; Alder 3.1.5.0; Setchell 3.1.6.1.	Wadham 5.3.12.0; Callighan 9.3.20.0; Reichwald 17.4.54.4; Fitzherbert 12·4.5.33.1; Marshall 1.0.5.0.

FIRST ELEVEN AVERAGES

BATTING

	No. of Innings	*Not Out*	*Runs*	*Highest Score*	*Average*
F. B. Skehan	8	7	36	11 n.o.	36·00
W. M. Reichwald	16	1	432	108	28·80
R. J. Twohig	11	1	283	117 n.o.	28·30
W. A. Moore	15	0	363	100	24·20
F. M. Fitzherbert	14	2	239	39	19·90
A. Wenham	16	4	234	41	19·50
M. Stapleton	5	1	70	21	17·50
J. C. Rapp	17	0	285	46	16·76
T. E. Lintin	15	1	156	31	11·14
D. A. Callighan	14	4	109	30	10·90
J. J. W. Wadham	11	2	93	39 n.o.	10·33
T. G. Marshall	11	2	88	18	9·77

Also batted:—P. Spacek 6, 2; C. Murray-Brown 0; C. Berry 1, 26 n.o.

BOWLING

	Overs	*Maidens*	*Runs*	*Wickets*	*Average*
W. M. Reichwald	197	66	500	48	10·41
D. A. Callighan	179·2	56	475	33	14·39
J. J. W. Wadham	165·3	44	424	29	14·62
F. M. Fitzherbert	115·4	31	308	17	18·11
T. G. Marshall	67	21	216	7	30·85
W. A. Moore	39	13	122	2	61·00

Also bowled:—C. Berry 4.0.23.1; M. Stapleton 5.2.13.1.

THE SECOND ELEVEN

This year's side, under the able captaincy of A. Campbell, achieved the best results at the 2nd XI level for many seasons. The squad of 16 boys made full use of the fine weather for hard practice, and each boy contributed in his way to the spirit of the team. It was never easy to decide the omissions when choosing the team to represent the School. The first match—a very cold day on a lively wicket at Coatham—and the last match, meek surrender at St Peter's, will be readily forgotten in the light of the other four matches. In brilliant sunshine the side scored 521 runs for the loss of only 17 wickets, giving three clear victories and a very favourable draw. The rate of scoring was regrettably low, thus highlighting the main weakness of the side: the inability to loosen a tight attack by taking many sharp singles. Callaghan, Murray-Brown, Stapleton and Hooke all looked capable of more attacking cricket, yet it was the prodding of Spacek which accounted for much of the scoring. In the field the side was quite unpredictable, setting a high standard early on, and having none at all at St Peter's. It is to the great credit of the main bowlers, Zuntz, Lorigan and Murray-Brown, that they never despaired of success, and Ripon alone of their opponents managed to reach three figures. Colours were awarded to Spacek, Garston-Zuntz, Callaghan and Murray-Brown.

RESULTS

v. Coatham. Match drawn.
Coatham 87 for 6 dec. Ampleforth 57 for 4.

v. Durham. Won by 78 runs.
Ampleforth 154 for 8 dec. (Callaghan 47, Spacek 29). Durham 76 (Zuntz 4 for 19, Lorigan 3 for 29).

v. Ripon. Match drawn.
Ripon 1st XI 120 for 9 dec. (Berry 3 for 22). Ampleforth 84 for 1 (Spacek 49 n.o., M-Brown 30 n.o.).

v. Bootham. Won by 157 runs.
Ampleforth 205 for 6 dec. (Spacek 55, Hooke 47, Berry 30 n.o.). Bootham 48 (Zuntz 3 for 12).

v. St Michael's 1st XI. Won by 8 wkts.
St Michael's 64 (Murray-Brown 5 for 1). Ampleforth 68 for 2 (Campbell 24 n.o.).

v. St Peter's. Lost by 5 wkts.
Ampleforth 93 (Callaghan 30). St Peter's 96 for 5.

THE THIRD ELEVEN

The Third XI (or the Second Set Cricket Club, SSCC, to use the unofficial title adopted by the players) had a not unsuccessful season. It was successful not merely because the team was unbeaten but by reason of the spirit which prevailed throughout the term, not only in the matches but also in the day to day games. Even those who did not get into the team enjoyed their cricket and everyone's standard of play improved as the season wore on. It seems unfair to mention individuals, for as the set's alternative title

suggests, the cricket was played very much by twenty-two players rather than by a handful of talented performers. Nevertheless several members of the set shone in their particular fields—M. Comyn as a good slow left arm bowler, C. Trevor as an efficient if sometimes erratic pace bowler, S. Stainton as a stylish opening bat, J. Davey as a powerful striker of agricultural shots and R. Heape as a distinguished close fielder.

The team was more than lucky to pull off a draw against Scarborough College 2nd XI, averting defeat by only two runs: we must admit that it was Scarborough's game. M. Tweedy's half-century and B. Caulfield's superb fielding warmed Ampleforth's hearts.

The second match against a team of Liverpool's chartered accountants was won by 28 runs. The 3rd XI innings was held together by Trevor's 32, but even so the total of 108 looked inadequate until a fine spell of bowling by Trevor, the man of the match with 8 for 32, and some all-round sharp fielding especially from D. Lloyd in excellent form at forward short leg, made sure of the match.

In the final game against Hovingham D. Lees-Millais' 67 and Comyn's 39 saw the Ampleforth team home with three wickets to spare. This was a great season enjoyed by all; our thanks are due to Fr Alberic who ensured our enjoyment and success.

The following played for the team: S. Cassidy, B. Caulfield, M. Comyn, J. Davey, M. Faulkner, N. Hall (Capt.), R. Heape, D. Lees-Millais, D. Lloyd, G. Pinkney, J. Ryan, S. Stainton (wkt. kpr.), C. Trevor, M. Tweedy.

THE UNDER 16 COLTS

In marked contrast to last season the fine weather enabled the side to get plenty of practice and play all its matches. It was unbeaten, winning four matches, drawing one and tying one. It was a confident and talented side well captained by T. M. Powell. The batting was a little disappointing; there was ability all the way down the order and yet on the hard wickets only once did the side top 150. M. W. Faulkner, C. H. Ainscough and M. C. Liddell were the most consistent scorers and each has real ability, but each like the rest must learn that concentration is the essence of run making. The bowling too had depth. There was a lack of real penetration among the seam bowlers, but Bidie, Kinsky, Liddell, Ainscough and Newton will all take plenty of wickets in years to come. Powell provided an accurate piece of off-spin, but the side lacked a leg spinner. Perhaps the real strength of the side lay in the fielding and here the wicket-keeping of J. A. Potez was outstanding. It was a joy to see the catches in the slips being held.

The opening match against Ashville was played in a cold damp fog and the quality of the cricket almost matched it. M. Cooper's innings provided the one ray of light; he hit the ball extraordinarily hard and won the match for us. We won the match against Durham very easily and the game against Barnard Castle needs little comment. We met Sedbergh as usual at Aysgarth on a warm day with the conditions ideal for a high scoring match; an excellent wicket, a short boundary and a very fast outfield. In the circumstances our total of 165 was disappointing and only Faulkner, Ainscough and Kinsky batted well. Sedbergh after a whirlwind start succumbed to some accurate bowling, good fielding and wicket-keeping of the highest standard by Potez. At St Peter's the side played well. The opposition were tied down by some accurate bowling and took a long time to score 93, leaving us an hour and a quarter to score the runs. Our batting for the first time looked confident and there was never any doubt that the total would be reached. In the last match against Newcastle we looked a different side. 96 on a good wicket should have been an easy total to reach, but at least five Ampleforth batsmen were out hitting across the line and only Ainscough played a sensible innings. He was out, ironically, hitting across the line when the scores were level.

The following were awarded their Colts colours: T. M. Powell, M. W. B. Faulkner, J. A. Potez, M. C. Liddell, C. H. Ainscough, T. C. Bidie and C. N. F. Kinsky. The following also played regularly: S. C. G. Murphy, M. R. Cooper, H. P. Cooper, S. L. Newton and P. King.

Results

v. Ashville College. Won by 28 runs.
Ampleforth 112 (M. Cooper 58). Ashville 84 (Newton 6 for 27).

v. Durham. Won by 96 runs.
Ampleforth 148 (Liddell 46, Faulkner 30). Durham 52 (Powell 6 for 6).

v. Barnard Castle. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 158 (Potez 35, Powell 31, Faulkner 29). Barnard Castle 96 for 5.

v. Sedbergh. Won by 31 runs.
Ampleforth 165 (Ainscough 30, M. Cooper 28, Faulkner 25). Sedbergh 134 (Ainscough 3 for 6).

v. St Peter's. Won by 6 wickets.
St Peter's 93 (Liddell 3 for 9, Bidie 2 for 9). Ampleforth 94 for 4 (Liddell 25, Ainscough 22 n.o.).

v. Newcastle R.G.S. Tied.
Newcastle 96 (Kinsky 4 for 32, Powell 3 for 19). Ampleforth 96 (Ainscough 41).

THE UNDER 15 COLTS

Last year's side, which was handicapped by bad weather and little practice, was described in the Journal as having "developed an excellent team spirit and a will to win". The same cannot be said for their successors, although they had many weeks of hard wickets and unbroken sunshine. It was apparent from the beginning that the batting was limited, but, after an encouraging start against Ashville, no-one could have supposed that there would be so little improvement or that there could have been such abject performances as those against Bootham, Scarborough and St Peter's.

At a first glance it would appear that the side made a lot of runs, but in fact over half of these were scored by two players—Mangeot, the captain, and Satterthwaite, each of whom scored about 200 runs at an average of over 30. Mangeot batted with great power and concentration, Satterthwaite with a rather dreamy elegance. Murray-Brown also showed promise, but the others far too often revealed little technique or determination, or even common sense.

The bowling did improve during the season and was mostly accurate. Yates bowled his off-cutters thoughtfully and de Zulueta was effective when he remembered to keep the ball up to the bat. Moorhouse and Mangeot also bowled steadily at medium pace, but there was no competent spinner to provide variety.

The fielding can easily be described: it was bad. Mangeot set an excellent example, but this was lost on many of his colleagues. Catches were dropped in large numbers, boundaries were given away with reckless generosity and the throwing was often slovenly and inaccurate. There was in fact a basic lack of concentration and hostility about this side as a whole which undermined some good individual performances and accounts for the gloomy tone of this report.

Colours were awarded to Satterthwaite.

Results

v. Ashville. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 148 (Satterthwaite 45, Dowley 32). Ashville 117 for 8 (de Zulueta 5 for 26, Yates 3 for 40).

v. Durham. Won by 103 runs.
Ampleforth 144 (Mangeot 56, Satterthwaite 34). Durham 41 (Moorhouse 3 for 1, Fitzherbert 3 for 10).

v. Bootham. Lost by 80 runs.
Bootham 119 for 8 dec. (de Zulueta 3 for 13, Yates 3 for 35). Ampleforth 39.

v. St Michael's College. Won by 49 runs.
Ampleforth 156 for 5 dec. (Satterthwaite 61 not out, Murray-Brown 38 not out).
St Michael's 107 (Mangeot 5 for 9).

v. Scarborough College. Match drawn.
Scarborough 103 (de Zulueta 3 for 32, Mangeot 3 for 40). Ampleforth 102 for 9 (Mangeot 45, Spencer 23).

v. St Peter's. Lost by 16 runs.
St Peter's 88 (Yates 7 for 28). Ampleforth 72 (Mangeot 42).

v. Pocklington. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 165 for 8 dec. (Mangeot 52, Satterthwaite 39). Pocklington 116 for 4.

THE HOUSE MATCHES

In the opening round St Dunstan's had little difficulty in disposing of St John's, and St Edward's found their match with St Oswald's equally easy once they had got rid of the captain, C. Berry. M. Henderson completed a remarkable hat trick for St Edward's in a fine bowling display by himself and T. Bidie.

St Edward's did not last long. Against St Hugh's in the next round they found the bowling of D. Callighan (7 for 38) too much for them and when the same player, with the help of J. Potez, made a partnership of 75 the match was dead in spite of D. Judd's admirably brave 27 for his side. St Aidan's, undoubted favourites as they were, had no difficulty with St Bede's for whom C. Murray-Brown did the hat trick, but T. Lintin and A. Wenham powered their way to 114 while St Bede's could muster only 24 against the hostile bowling of J. Wadham (7 for 12). St Cuthbert's meanwhile were putting St Wilfrid's out for 22 on the adjoining pitch and St Thomas's demonstrated their high talents by beating St Dunstan's by 122 runs, R. Fane-Hervey scoring a fine 45 and W. Reichwald and M. Lorigan taking 4 and 6 wickets respectively.

The surprise of the semi-final round was the defeat of the powerful St Aidan's side in a most exciting match. D. Callighan made most of the meagre 78 that St Hugh's totalled against admirably controlled bowling by P. Redmond (6 wickets) and J. Wadham (4 wickets). But 78 was hardly sufficient particularly as St Aidan's made a confident start. The loss of J. Rapp however started a landslide and only a fighting innings by P. Spacek aided by J. Wadham kept St Aidan's in the hunt. But D. Callighan had smelt victory and with his side behind him to a man, he and S. Garsten Zuntz bowled St Hugh's to victory by 4 runs.

In the other semi-final, St Cuthbert's, thanks to D. Lees-Millais, C. Ainscough and some fortuitous byes set St Thomas's the impressive target of 160. W. Reichwald's team seemed to be equal to the occasion as they were soon 100 for 2 (Reichwald 49). St Cuthbert's however were fielding admirably and when F. Fitzherbert at last broke through, St Thomas's collapsed completely and were all out for 112.

The final was too one-sided to cause much excitement. R. Twohig, M. Stapleton, who has rarely batted better, and M. Liddell had surprisingly little trouble in dealing with Garsten Zuntz and D. Callighan, who again bowled his heart out but this time with little reward. Twohig and Stapleton completed their fifties and St Cuthbert's were able to declare at 196 for 6. The failure of Callighan put St Hugh's on the rack and they succumbed to Fitzherbert (6 wickets for 3 runs) and to J. Rochford, for the meagre total of 37.

The Junior final was won by St Bede's, who defeated St Wilfrid's. St Wilfrid's won the toss and were able to declare for 138 due to a good innings by A. Berendt, but St Bede's in the persons of the unknown and admirable M. Lloyd and S. Willis soon knocked off the necessary runs with fifteen minutes and seven wickets to spare.

ATHLETICS

For the third successive year the Athletics Team completed the season with only one defeat—in the triangular match with Uppingham and Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Wakefield. This was in the second fixture of the term but it seems to have had no lasting ill effects, as the following week we beat a strong Leeds G.S. side which had already beaten Q.E.G.S. Such is athletic form! The Leeds fixture was the highlight of the term and was only won by determined competition after it had appeared all over by the halfway stage. Even so the match was evenly poised throughout and was only decided on the sprint relay. It was heartening to see that on this occasion the Field Events competitors won the match for us; too often in the past our success has depended on the track strength. No better evidence of the general improvement in Field standards need be asked for than the two new School Records established during the term: R. J. Hughes improved the Triple Jump by nearly 2 feet to 43 ft 6 ins and Bowie edged up the Discus to a more respectable 137 ft 10 ins. In addition the Javelin standard set by Kennedy was one of the highest in recent years and Robinson's Junior Shot performance of over 41 ft bodes well for the future. In the middle of the season we travelled to the Midland Public Schools' Relays at Denstone and the rather long journey was more than justified by our winning the 4 × 880 Yds (in a new record time) and the 4 × 120 Yds Hurdles. In addition we were only once lower than second place out of the 13 competing schools.

The Senior Team was numerically small and this meant that certain athletes were very active. One of the busiest was the captain, R. J. Hughes, who competed in the Shot, Long Jump, Triple Jump and Relay. His personal contribution to the team's points total was in excess of 100—the first time to my knowledge that this has been achieved. His disappointment at his inability to recapture last year's form in the Shot was shared by those who hoped that he would beat the record in this event, but it must have been some consolation to him that he captured the record for the Triple Jump as well as jumping consistently well in the Long. Kennedy was equally as busy—competing in Javelin, Discus, Shot and Relay. He came within 8 ft of the School Record in the Javelin with a personal best of 173 ft and in the Shot he finally achieved 43 ft 1 in, only one inch behind Hughes who was back to something like his old form. Bowie's Discus throwing was of a high standard (although somewhat unreliable) but by the end of the season his most effective contribution to the team's success was in the sprints where he never admitted defeat and came through on the line on more than one occasion to snatch victory. Knowles completed a hard-working quartet: he started the season impressively in 100, 440 and Hurdles but towards the end he lost his edge and did not achieve the standard that one thought was within his reach. Nevertheless his two seasons in the team have been most valuable and the readiness with which he accepted a hard programme of events was a great credit to him.

This year the Middle Distance athletes were not quite so dominant as in former years—this is not to say that they were bad but that they met others who were even better. Forsythe, Mathews and Prendiville were always there at the finish and the first two recorded some impressive wins. Forsythe did exceptionally well to come 2nd in the Yorkshire A.A.A. Junior championships. As always their success was founded on a rigorous training programme in which notable support was given by Dowling and Shuldham (not to mention others who trained hard without ever making the team). In some ways Shuldham could be termed the most improved athlete; he started the term as second string to Forsythe in the 880 Yds and to Knowles in the 440. Although never able to beat Forsythe in the 880, he showed impressive form in the shorter event to win the final three matches and his score of 32 points for the team is one of the highest individual contributions. The hurdling was again in the capable care of Henderson who lacked the few yards of extra speed required to make him a really class performer. In the High Jump McKenna and Lucey were very close rivals and although neither of them was consistent one or other could usually be relied upon to win. Both of them had other events—Lucey the Long Jump and McKenna the Triple Jump in which he reached a praiseworthy 40 ft. The undoubted "find" of the season was

Reichwald, better known as the captain of Cricket. Drafted into the Long Jump at Wakefield whilst attending as a spectator he proceeded to clear 19 ft 8 in and in a later match improved this to 20 ft 11½ in. One wonders whether there is not a lesson to be learnt here. The team was completed by Haughton who was an excellent second string Javelin thrower, Plowden (Mile), Rochford (Steeplechase) and Hardy (Hurdles).

This year the size of the Under 17/16 group was extended, more time was given to their coaching and full scale fixtures against other schools were started. This policy has already shown results: some outstanding Juniors have emerged who should have a considerable impact on the school athletics scene in the next few years. Those who particularly took the eye were Robinson (winner of Discus, Triple and Shot at Pocklington), C. Bowie (880 and Javelin), Gaynor (Mile), Gallwey (Triple Jump), White (Hurdles and High Jump), and de Guingand (Sprints). Once again we were fortunate to have the services and friendship of Mr Wilf Paish, A.A.A. National Coach, and I would like to thank all those, masters and boys, who by their willing help and enthusiasm made this yet another memorable season.

The following boys represented the School:

Seniors: R. J. Hughes (captain), J. P. Knowles, A. N. Kennedy, M. A. Henderson, I. D. Bowie, M. M. Forsythe, R. F. Mathews, M. A. Q. Shuldham, D. P. McKenna, A. D. Lucey, J. Prendiville, D. Haughton, J. Ruck-Keene, W. Reichwald, J. Dowling, C. Hardy.

Under 17/16: T. Robinson, C. Bowie, B. de Guingand, P. Gaynor, S. Finlow, J. Coghlan, W. Docherty, T. White, A. Fitzgerald, L. McCreanor, M. Gallwey, N. Woodhead, P. Garbutt, C. Sandeman, A Hamilton, J. Hornyold-Strickland, R. Hornyold-Strickland, G. Vincenti, D. Unwin, N. Fresson, S. Clayton, M. Atsopartis, R. Magill, S. McCarthy, R. Fergusson, S. Murphy, T. Park.

Colours: the captain awarded colours to—Kennedy, Forsythe, Mathews, Bowie, Shuldham, McKenna and Lucey.

Match Results

Seniors:

v. Worksop. Won, 73—41.
v. Q.E.G.S./Uppingham. Lost, 101 (U)—95 (Q)—89.
v. Leeds G.S. Won, 59—55.
v. Stonyhurst. Won, 86—72.
v. Pocklington. Won, 87—51.
v. Ratcliffe/Downside. Won, 123—86 (R)—61 (D).
v. Denstone. Won, 78—59.
v. Sedbergh. Won, 100—48.

Juniors:

v. Worksop. Won, 66—48. } Under 16
v. Leeds G.S. Lost, 35—79. }
v. Stonyhurst. Won, 81—61. }
v. Pocklington. Won, 78—60. } Under 17
v. Denstone. Lost, 67—70. }
v. Sedbergh. Won, 74—64. }

TENNIS

We have not been as successful this year as in previous seasons. However this is balanced by the fact that many younger players have been given valuable experience at First Team level and this should stand us in good stead for future sensons.

The First Six won three matches, drew two and lost four. After various experimental combinations had been tried the team of Davies and Daly, Murphy and Moroney and Fane-Hervey and Chapman played most of the matches. The first pair were rather too erratic to be relied upon; their best tennis was played against the strongest opposition and their worst against weaker opponents. The second pair could also be devastating, as in the match against Stonyhurst when the best tennis of the season was played but they too could not be relied upon to dispose convincingly of

weaker opposition. Fortunately the third pair were strong enough to win all but one of their first round matches and averaged two points per match throughout the season.

Many boys played for the Second Six during a most successful season at this level. Six matches were won, one drawn and two lost. Lovegrove and Nunn provided the backbone of the team, the other key players being N. Moroney, Flynn, Bird, Anderson and Westmacott. The highlight of the season was a very creditable draw against St Peter's 1st VI.

After the end of term ten players went on a tennis tour of Cambridge; five matches were played and three were won, two lost. The standard of tennis never reached the heights of last year but improved steadily throughout the week; each boy played at least three times for the First Team and several players gained their first experience at this level. Then on to Wimbledon, for the Youll Cup and Thomas Bowl, where we had high hopes of success. New pairings were tried for the Youll Cup, occasioned by lack of form of key players and the fact that the most reliable pair, Chapman and Fane-Hervey, were entered in the Thomas Bowl (for boys under 16), where they were thought to have a better chance of success. Davies and Murphy, Bird and Daly played their first round match against Hampton G.S. and crashed to a dismal 2—0 defeat, neither pair producing anything like the form of which they were capable. In the Thomas Bowl the first pair were desperately unlucky in meeting an excellent pair, that subsequently reached the final round of the Competition, and lost in three sets. However in the Plate Competition they reached the semi-finals after a series of impressive wins. The second pair, Cramer and N. Moroney, also lost in the first round and did not play in the Plate.

During the season the captain of Tennis, R. Murphy, awarded colours to D. Davies, R. Fane-Hervey and R. Chapman.

The House Tennis Cup was won by St Thomas's after an exciting final against St John's who were unfortunate in losing two of their best players before the match.

The tournaments again proved very popular and several promising players came to light. The most popular tournament was the new Handicap tournament open to monks, laymasters and full-time players. Several exciting new players emerged and the semi-finals involved one laymaster and three monks, the boys disappearing from the Competition under the strain of severe handicapping.

Results

First Six

v. Coatham. Lost, 3½—5½.
v. Roundhay. Won, 9—0.
v. Bootham. Lost, 2½—6½.
v. Leeds G.S. Won, 5½—3½.
v. York University. Lost, ½—8½.
v. Pocklington. Drew, 4½—4½.
v. Sedbergh. Drew, 4½—4½.
v. Newcastle R.G.S. Won, 6—3.
v. Stonyhurst. Lost, 2½—6½.

Second Six

v. Coatham. Lost, 2½—6½.
v. Roundhay. Won, 5—4.
v. Bootham. Won, 8½—½.
v. Leeds G.S. Won, 7—2.
v. Pocklington. Won, 5½—3½.
v. Sedbergh. Won, 5½—3½.
v. Scarborough 1st VI. Lost, 3½—5½.
v. St Peter's 1st VI. Drew, 4½—4½.
v. Newcastle R.G.S. Won, 8½—½.

Cambridge Tour

v. Perse. Won, 6—3.
v. Cambridge G.S. Won, 6—3.
v. Cambridgeshire H.S. Won, 6—3.
v. R.G.S. High Wycombe. Lost, 2—7.
v. Felsted. Lost, 2½—6½.

Youll Cup

v. Hampton G.S. Lost, 2—0.

Clark Trophy (Plate)

v. Radley. Lost, 2—0.

Thomas Bowl (Under 16)

1st Pair *v.* Haileybury. Lost, 6—3, 3—6, 3—6.
2nd Pair *v.* Repton. Lost, 6—3, 6—4.

SHOOTING

The Bisley-Ashburton Meeting was more successful than for several years and there were two main reasons. In the first place there was the warm hospitality of Colonel Ghyka who most generously entertained the team throughout the meeting and to whom we are most grateful. Then there was much accurate shooting by both the boys and the Old Boys.

On the Wednesday morning the boys competed in their first match, The Marling, and came fourth with a score of 273 points. This was followed up in the afternoon by The Public Schools Snap Shooting in which the team failed by two points to win the coveted prize which went to Oakham with a score of 321. In the individual *Sunday Times* Snap R. G. Plowden dropped two points in fifty, qualified for the shoot-off, and was placed fourth. These achievements put the team well in the running for The Public Schools Aggregate and again they finished fourth.

The team was obviously in excellent heart for the Ashburton on Thursday. At 200 yards the members averaged 31 out of 35 points which was satisfactory but no more. Had this been maintained at 500 yards they would have finished 20th in the 86 entries. Instead the average dropped one point and the final position was 44th. Once more R. G. Plowden shot well and won a Schools Hundred Badge with a score of 65/70.

The meeting concluded with the Spencer Mellish and R. A. Fitzalan Howard who had earlier scored 34/35 at 500 yards represented Ampleforth. He shot extremely well and won the third prize with 48/50.

AMPLEFORTH VETERANS

For the fourth year running Adrian White got together a strong gathering both in quality and quantity for the several Veteran competitions. Four teams (five per team) entered and their respective final placings were eighth, second, and third. Their total scores placed them third in the Veterans' Aggregate.

The winner of the Utley-Ainscough Cup for the top score was M. D. Pitel, who has most kindly offered to take over the organisation of the Old Boys from Adrian White. We must not conclude without offering Adrian our most sincere thanks for many strenuous and rewarding efforts over the past years and also to M. D. Pitel for his generosity in taking over an arduous task. May he reap the same successes. This is only possible with the continued co-operation of the Old Boys. We, at Ampleforth, are grateful to all.

After the meeting a large gathering dined in The Angel, Guildford, where we were honoured by the presence of Prince and Princess Ghyka. It was a memorable evening after a no less memorable and successful Bisley.

INTER-HOUSE SHOOTING

In the Inter-House competition St Wilfrid's repeated their win of the previous year by beating St Cuthbert's with a score of 175/200. St Thomas' took third place.

The Anderson Cup for the highest score was won for the second year running by R. A. Fitzalan Howard with 53/55.

CUPS

Stourton Cup for the highest score at Bisley was won by R. G. Plowden.

Cup for the highest score at Bisley by a boy under sixteen was won by J. G. Hutchinson.

HOCKEY

The Hockey XI had its most successful season since hockey has been revived as a summer sport. The win against Bootham (2—1) was an important event, because our previous success was in the 1920's, when school matches were last played.

The Masters' XI was comfortably beaten 3—0, but Scarborough College won 3—1. For the first time there is a good nucleus from last season, so hopes are high for 1971.

THE BEAGLES

A warm, sunny day, after a cold wet spell, made conditions ideal for the Puppy Show, held at the Kennels on Saturday, 2nd May, and there was a very good attendance of friends and supporters of the Hunt, including a number from neighbouring packs, both Beagles and Fox Hounds. The Master, in his speech, made all most welcome and expressed sincere appreciation and gratitude for all the support and kind hospitality we enjoy. This was a notable occasion, too, in that both judges were recent Old Boys, joint-masters respectively of the Christ Church and New College and the Trinity Foot Packs, Mark Savage and Mathew Festing. Their awards were as follows:—

Dogs

1. Demon. Walked by Mr Wood of White Sykes, Rudland.
2. Voter. Walked by Mr Richardson, Pasture House, Nawton.
3. Danger. Walked by Mr A. Smith, Boon Woods, Nawton.

Bitches

1. Duchess. Walked by R. J. A. Richmond, North Grimston.
2. Velvet. Walked by Mr J. Davies, Plantation Farm, and Mr O. Hare, Grimston.
3. Virtue. Walked by Mr J. Mackley, Saltersgate.

Couples

1. Vagabond and Valiant. Walked by Mr G. Mackley, Saltersgate.
2. Dragon and Dazzle. Walked by Mr J. Jackson, Kirbymoorside.
3. Dreamer and Duster. Walked by Mrs Blenkinsopp, Sheriff Hutton Hall.

To conclude a pleasant afternoon there was, as usual, Tea in the Pavilion, kindly lent for the occasion by Fr William.

The early end to the summer term means that both the Great Yorkshire and Peterborough shows come in the holidays, this year on 14th and 23rd July respectively. A second prize in the couples class with Able and Demon was our only success at Harrogate where Captain C. G. E. Barclay, M.F.H., and Charlie Littleworth were judging. At Peterborough the standard was high and entries numerous and we were fairly beaten in all classes except that for two couple of dogs. Admiral and three of his sons, Able, Arab and Demon, won this class convincingly and the handsome trophy that goes with it.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

THE first event out of the normal weekly routine of training this term was the Nulli Secundus competition. It was conducted this year by the GII Training (Cadets) at HQ Northern Command, Major D. Monckton, M.C., T.D., assisted by Major D. Cowell. The competition for the Nulli Secundus Cup was close and U/O J. C. Rapp just managed to beat U/O P. St. J. L. Baxter, who had the consolation of winning the Fusilier Cup. U/O J. H. Leeming was not far behind and won the Eden Cup. The judges commented on the high standard of all the contestants and the difficulty of picking the best of a good lot. We thank Majors Monckton and Cowell, and congratulate those who took part.

Another unusual event was the attempt to get the hovercraft built by U/O J. C. Dawson off the ground at the Exhibition. It was a rush with the whole R.E.M.E. Section and others helping him to finish the job, working late into the night most of the week before the Exhibition. Lift-off was achieved, but to everyone's disappointment the engine giving horizontal thrust would not work and the triumphant demonstration could not be given. In spite of this there is no doubt that Dawson's achievement is a magnificent one and he has left copious notes from which others will be able to benefit from his experience and complete the project.

There were several innovations this year at the Inspection which was carried out by Group Captain G. A. Crabb, O.B.E., C.ENG., A.F.R.A.E.S., M.I.PROD.E., M.B.I.M., R.A.F. In place of the morning guard of honour, the Inspecting Officer visited the R.A.F. Section gliding at Sutton Bank, and then went on to see the Rock Climbing Course in action at Peak Scar. In the afternoon he saw the training first and the ceremonial parade came at the end. The training programme was as follows:

Signal Course—Setting up a Signal HQ

Basic Section—River Crossing

Army and Basic Sections—Orienteering

Royal Navy Section—Sailing, Jackstay Transfer

Army Section—Patrol Scheme

R.A.F. Section—Primary Glider

Basic Section—Assault Course, Map Modelling

R.E.M.E. Section—Hovercraft and Landrovers

R.A.F. Section—Communications

Joint Services—Camp Preparations for Scotland

The Ceremonial Parade took place in the Bounds, which provides a much better arena for spectators than the Rugger Field. This year we were privileged to have the Combined Cadet Force Banner and a sort of modified Trooping the Colour was carried out. It was rather ambitious, especially in the confined space of the Bounds. U/O J. H. Leeming carried the Banner and the parade was commanded by U/O J. C. Rapp. The R.A.F. Section provided the Escort to the Banner.

ARMY SECTION

CAMP IN GERMANY

A PARTY of 23 cadets led by Fr Simon and Fr Edward was attached to 13th/18th Royal Hussars (Q.M.O.) who were stationed near Fallingbostel north-east of Hanover. The journey took 30 hours: train to Harwich via London, then by sea to Bremerhaven, and train to Hanover where we were met by Major Tony Blount.

This was the first time the contingent has been attached to cavalry since the famous wartime attachments to the R.A.C. at Barnard Castle. The 13th/18th Royal Hussars are equipped with Chieftain tanks and were at the Holme Ranges to carry out their annual firing programme. It probably was not the most convenient moment to find a party of cadets descend on them, but they made our short stay as interesting and valuable as possible. Major Blount was in charge of our training and had the ability to change the programme, lay on transport or organise anything we wanted without batting an eyelid and at the very shortest notice. His own squadron (HQ Squadron) was deprived of his presence for most of the time we were with the regiment. For our benefit he arranged for the cadets to drive Chieftains, Ferret Scout Cars and Landrovers; to fire S.M.G.s and throw grenades under the watchful eye of the Regimental Sergeant-Major. We had many opportunities of seeing the Chieftains firing and one day on our way to the ranges saw an Honest John ground-to-ground missile being fired. We visited an enormous R.E.M.E. workshop and a helicopter base. One of the highlights of the visit was a night map-and-compass scheme of the escape and evasion type against the Recce Troop; most cadets were captured and subjected to a realistic (but not horrific!) questioning of prisoners.

There were opportunities to see something of Germany and we visited Hanover, Seile, Goslar, and, not far from the barracks, the memorial at the once notorious Belsen camp. Altogether the week was an interesting and enjoyable experience for which we are most grateful to Lt-Col John Howard and his regiment and of course especially to Major Blount and those others who were directly concerned with looking after us.

CULTYBRAGGAN CAMP

TWENTY-TWO cadets, drawn from all sections of the contingent, under Fr Rupert, with Fr Stephen and Br Timothy, assisted by Fr Henry and Mr Smith, took part in a training scheme in the Highlands of Scotland based on Cultybraggan Camp. The party was self-supporting and lived out on the Hill for almost all the camp, crossing much fine rugged country from Callander to the Cairngorms. The highlight of the training was the use of helicopters in the scheme, for which we were indebted to Captain P. R. Loyn, Royal Scots Greys (O 60). Living conditions were very exacting throughout the exercise with much heavy rain and strong cold winds, and much of the success of the camp lay in the cheerful and determined mastery of the environment. This was a less conventional Annual Camp than in the past, but no less valuable, and our thanks are due to Lt-Col E. G. Haines and his Staff at Cultybraggan Camp along with so many others who helped to make the venture possible.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

TRAINING continued throughout the term with the usual invaluable assistance from our parent establishment at Church Fenton. We were very pleased that the Nulli Secundus competition was won, as expected, by U/O J. C. Rapp. He has been a most loyal and enthusiastic member of the section and ran it extremely well. We wish him much success at Britannia Royal Naval College and in his subsequent career in the Service.

During the course of the term a small party spent five days in H.M.S. Northumbria during her long weekend cruise to Esbjerg in Denmark. Despite a Force 8 gale on the way across the North Sea a most interesting and valuable time was enjoyed and much benefit, in many ways, obtained. We are most grateful to Lt-Cdr R. Allison, R.D., R.N.R. (B. 1953), Commanding Officer H.M.S. Northumbria, whose guests we were and to Fr Patrick for allowing us to go. We hope to visit Amsterdam in the course of the present term in H.M.S. Northumbria.

The annual training during the summer holiday was very varied. Fr Cyril and Fr Thomas took a small party sailing from the Humber to Whitby in a 16½-foot boat and two Wineglasses. Independent witnesses paid tribute to the seamanship, ability and good sense of the party in this adventurous undertaking. We in the section are much indebted to Fr Thomas for the vast amount of work and organisation he put into this venture and the fortitude he displayed on it. We hope it is the first of many such expeditions.

Another party enjoyed a week's cruising in the Clyde area in a motor fishing vessel whilst another party spent a week at Dartmouth learning how to sail and drive power boats on the River Dart. During the course of the year over 60 boys (out of a total strength of 85) attended some form of training camp and many members of the section have now attended three varied forms of training. As the annual training is a valuable, as well as an interesting and enjoyable, activity this is most encouraging. It is also encouraging to see the number of senior boys who opt to stay in the section and help with the training of the younger boys. We are indebted to them.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

The Annual Inspection dominated this term's training. Many of the section were involved in the ceremonial which was considerably more ambitious than previous parades. To spectators the intricacy of the movements and the undoubted challenge of such a show far outweighed the roughness of the execution. The Primary glider was operating throughout the term under W.O. Purves, although on the day it obstinately refused to take the air, because of dead weather conditions. W.O. Fenwick, R.A.F., of the R.A.F. Regiment depot, Catterick, became a tower of strength in helping us, firstly to find a propeller for the Hovercraft, and secondly in assisting with our R.E.M.E. organisation. He was also at hand to provide us with an R.A.F. driver for the camp at Cultybraggan. We are much indebted to him. The R.A.F. signals functioned under Sgt Bidie with efficiency, help coming from R.A.F. Topcliffe. Finally Flt-Sgt Collins, our Liaison N.C.O., was continually at hand with advice and expertise.

A camp was organised for seven members of the section with the Yorkshire Gliding Camp at Sutton Bank. This was enjoyed by all, and valuable experience was gained. J. Heathcote became the first member of the school to achieve solo standard at Sutton Bank—a considerable achievement given the high demands which the club makes before such launches are made.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

We had a good Summer Term. It seems that constant fine, warm weather bestows such a blessing that a school must bloom in sympathy with the roses. Speaking at Exhibition, Fr Cyril summed up the term by quoting those happy words of the weather forecaster: "mainly dry with sunny intervals."

The general academic picture was encouraging. An enthusiastic teaching staff (over 40 strong) and well supervised preps achieved much. At the top end of the scale A. J. Craig (£200) and N. J. McDonnell (£100) won two of the twelve open awards into the Upper School and ten more boys gained coveted "double removes" into the Middle Fifth where they are now engaged in their O-level studies. At the other end of the scale reports showed that much more hard work was done by the House at large than last year. That missing factor, a good library, is almost within our grasp. As space becomes increasingly available with the arrival of more and more double bunks we will have a large well-furnished library room ready by next January; and we will soon have space for painting and music-making as well. The effect of a library ought to be considerable for it will allow boys to study on their own in congenial surroundings. We hope that individual prize projects, for example, will multiply.

The Exhibition at the end of May was a pleasant occasion. On the Sunday Fr Abbot presented the prizes in the school theatre, Fr Patrick gave us his bird's eye impressions and Fr Cyril reported on the state of the House. The play was good. Baring's "The Rehearsal" went with a bang as it had done earlier in the week when it had been presented in the marquee for the school's Cheshire Home guests. On the Saturday a parental cricket team played against the 1st XI and we enjoyed the company of a large number of parents over the weekend. The House presented an interesting selection of exhibits in the cinema room including some excellent carpentry and the essays and projects which had earned prizes. Amongst the handwriting displayed was the work of R. J. G. Raynar who won 3rd prize in the Platignum National Handwriting Competition 1970, a prize which got him £15 worth of camping equipment.

The most striking feature of the carpentry exhibition this year was the large number of table lamps which showed many variations on a simple theme. This was an excellent idea. The best were by M. J. Brennan and J. S. Burnford. The prize for perseverance should go to M. A. Hespe who produced a very creditable inlaid chess board after several terms' effort at a job which is by no means easy. The best single item was probably a small octagonal oak table by A. J. Hampson, and there were a number of other good pieces of work; but in general too little attention had been given to the finish of articles and people had forgotten that polish or varnish never hides imperfections in planing or sand-papering. There was, perhaps, a tendency to attempt more complex articles before the basic techniques had been mastered, but this only proves the enthusiasm of all concerned.

It was good to see fifteen members of the House receive the sacrament of Confirmation towards the end of the term and a delight to have Fr Andrew celebrating his first Mass a little later in our chapel. We have taken, like ducks to water, to the new liturgical practices of the Church. We are still short of printed prayer books but we have our own duplicated ones compiled by Fr Alban.

It was pleasant, as always, to have Fr Patrick for lunch three times during the term and in July we were able to welcome Fr Abbot for the first time. Our visitors for the House punch at the end of term were: Fr Prior, Fr Patrick, Mr Compton, Mr McBean, Mr Criddle, Fr Gervase, Mr Blakstad, Fr Charles, Fr Andrew, Mr Forsythe and Andrew Bussy. They have all done so much for the House and we were pleased to see them at our party.

We saw four films during the term and we were able to go to three concerts: a harpsichord recital by George Malcolm, an orchestral concert at Ryedale and a brass band concert by West Riding boys and girls.

SCOUTS

A VIGOROUS term's scouting, which included lots of camping and all the other things that scouts usually do in the summer, must be summed up by reference to three specially significant events.

FOR the first time the scouts this year made their mark at Exhibition. A collection of photographs in the cinema room showed the wide range of scout activities and a taste of the real thing was available on the bounds where a model camp site was set up together with a 25 ft. observation tower and a 100 yards long aerial runway. The last especially provided lots of fun for the boys (scouts and others) and at least one parent was brave enough to try it out.

THE second outstanding event was the presentation of the Chief Scout's Award to four members of the troop. This is the highest training award that scouts under sixteen years of age can gain. It was earned this year by the Senior Patrol Leader, Peter Macfarlane, and three of his fellow Patrol Leaders: Andrew Hampson, Michael-John Lawrence, and Brendan Corkery. The County Scout Commissioner for the North Riding, Lt-Col M. J. B. Burnett, DSO, DL, JP, was kind enough to present the badges and certificates on the 16th June in the Junior House garden.

TWENTY-NINE scouts enjoyed an eight-days camp in July on the banks of Ullswater. The weather was not very kind but was not allowed to spoil the camp. An ambitious programme of mountain walking included the ascents of High Street via Long Stile, Helvellyn via Striding Edge and a mammoth final trek up Great Gable from Borrowdale by the South Traverse and Great Hell Gate, then on to Scafell Pike by the Corridor route. There were three major canoe expeditions during the camp, each including a night's camp some miles further up the lake, and on two days there were sailing lessons by arrangement with the Howtown Outdoor Activities Centre. The competition for the highest standard of camping was won by the Saluki Patrol under the leadership of Michael Lawrence, ably assisted by Gervase Scott. We were grateful to have Br Nicholas in camp with us again and to welcome our District Commissioner, Fr Benedict, to camp with us for the first time.

THE following scouts are to be congratulated on being awarded the Advanced Scout Standard: Jeremy Nicholson, Nicholas Peers, Rupert Raynar, Mark Ainscough, Christopher Graves, Thomas Fawcett, Roger Kevill, Ian Millar, Robert Bishop and Robin Millen. Sincere thanks are due to all who have helped in any way to make this year's scouting a success, particularly to Br Paul who goes now to Oxford, and to those of our instructors from the sixth form who now have to leave us.

SPORT

THE cricket XI got off to a difficult start. They were well beaten by a good Bramcote XI, again by the Fathers, and for a third time by Barnard Castle. After that matches were more even. We only had three wins though one of them—the return match against Pocklington—was the first time our opponents had been beaten by any school for four years. The strongest element in the side was the bowling of S. N. Lintin and J. P. Pearce who on several occasions bowled unchanged throughout an innings. The batting was poor. M. Ainscough was the nearest to being a batsman and he at least had the virtue of watching the ball carefully. Great keenness was shown by all cricketers, not only by the better ones on the top ground but also by those on a lower level who played under Mr Rohan's guidance. Ainscough, Lintin and Pearce were awarded colours during the term.

TENNIS flourished during the term on the 17 hard courts in the valley. Over 40 boys entered the championship with M. Ainscough, R. J. G. Raynar, L. M. J. Ciechanowski and D. P. M. Pearce contesting the semi-finals. Raynar beat Pearce in an excellent final on the top courts.

HOCKEY was a regular feature of summer sport. There were usually two hockey games arranged on each games day and we thank Mr Nicholas Smith for his enthusiastic coaching.

GOLF addicts emerged as soon as Tony Jacklin won the American Open. Our own grounds produced a miniature course and we held our championship meeting in July. C. E. Lees-Millais won it with some ease.

THE athletics season was short and we only had time for a meeting of three events. The Red team scored 899 points, the Blues got 844 and the Whites 576. J. D. Ryan got the best athlete prize but P. D. Macfarlane was not far behind him.

SWIMMING was extremely well organised by Fr Anselm and Fr Alban. Regular coaching sessions in the indoor bath and a weekly visit by the better swimmers to the Helmsley outdoor pool produced an effective Junior House team which competed, for the first time ever, in a school match. The team won in the Helmsley pool but lost when it was part of an Upper School team at St Peter's, York. C. B. Moore was our best swimmer.

FACTS AND FIGURES

FR ABBOT presented prizes at Exhibition to the following: D. P. M. Pearce and P. D. Marfarlane (Lower IV), P. H. Daly and C. M. Conrath (Upper III a i), K. E. O'Connor and S. G. T. Ashworth (Upper III a ii), J. A. Dundas and I. D. Macfarlane (Upper III b), M. J. Brennan and C. H. W. Soden-Bird (Upper III c), P. J. Lees-Millais and S. B. Harrison (Lower III). Project prizes: R. J. Bishop, A. J. Hampson, R. M. Bishop and B. L. Bunting (all Alpha prizes); P. D. Macfarlane, I. S. Millar, J. N. Gilbey, M. A. Heape, M. S. Thompson, C. A. Vaughan and M. R. F. Griffiths (Beta 1 prizes); J. F. Anderson and M. J. Pierce (Beta 2 prizes). Music prizes: J. V. R. Gosling (piano), A. J. Craig (violin) and C. G. E. Heath (clarinet). Art prizes: R. J. G. Raynar (2nd year) and S. D. Peers (1st year). Handwriting prizes: J. V. R. Gosling and N. T. Peers.

THE following took part in our Exhibition play: G. C. Rooney (1st witch), A. J. Hampson (2nd witch), R. A. Duncan (3rd witch), N. T. Peers (stage manager), C. B. Moore (producer), P. H. Daly (Banquo), J. V. R. Gosling (Lady Macbeth and Mr Hughes), J. D. Harrison (gentlewoman), K. E. O'Connor (doctor), D. P. M. Pearce (Shakespeare), R. J. Bishop (Mr Thomas and Burbage), R. M. Bishop (MacDuff).

THE following were confirmed on 4th July: S. G. T. Ashworth, N. A. J. Benies, R. G. Burdell, J. S. Burnford, N. E. Cruice Goodall, T. A. J. Carroll, M. J. Dwyer, A. J. Hampson, M. J. Lawrence, L. A. Lindsay, J. H. D. Misick, R. W. Newton, J. P. Pearce, C. J. Poyser and G. M. J. C. Scott.

CARPENTRY prizes were presented at the House punch to: E. W. Fitzalan Howard and M. A. Heape (2nd year), R. T. St. A. Harney and M. J. Brennan (1st year). The work of A. J. Hampson and M. J. Lawrence was highly commended.

THE regular members of the 1st XI were: M. Ainscough (Capt.), N. T. Peers, S. N. Lintin, J. P. Pearce, B. R. J. P. Corkery, N. S. Forster, C. E. Lees-Millais, C. A. Graves, G. M. J. C. Scott, F. J. C. Trench and W. T. H. Wadsworth. The prize for the best batsman was awarded to M. Ainscough, for the best bowler to J. P. Pearce and for the best fielder to R. J. Bishop.

	P	W	L	D
1st XI ...	10	3	4	3
1st year XI ...	3	1	1	1

THE House swimming team was made up of: C. B. Moore and R. T. St. A. Harney (freestyle), J. V. R. Gosling, A. P. Sandeman and D. A. J. McKechnie (breaststroke), M. A. Heape, R. T. J. Kevill and P. A. Graham (backstroke), W. T. H. Wadsworth and K. E. O'Connor (butterfly).

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE officials for the term were as follows:
Head Captain: B. Hooke.
Captain of Cricket: S. P. S. Reid.
Captains: M. J. Craston, R. S. Duckworth, S. N. Ainscough, J. M. D. Murray, M. J. Morgan, D. S. C. Dobson.
Secretaries: D. J. Barton, N. J. P. L. Young, E. C. Glaister.
Sacristans: P. D. M. Tate, C. M. Dunbar, M. C. F. Bailey, J. N. Norman, S. P. Treherne.
Librarians: M. N. Cardwell, J. Dick, C. A. Palairet, N. J. P. L. Young.
Ante-Room: D. J. K. Moir, N. G. Sutherland.
Bookroom: N. J. Gaynor, S. J. Connolly, B. P. Doherty, M. F. W. Baxter, S. P. Finlow.
Chapel Books: P. R. Moore, C. W. J. Hattrell, R. D. Grant, P. A. J. Ritchie, T. J. F. Fincher.
Dispensary: P. D. Sandeman, P. C. Wraith.
Office Men: B. P. Doherty, P. D. M. Tate.
Art Room: J. B. Horsley, E. A. Dowling, M. P. Peters, E. A. Beck, M. G. R. May.
Woodwork: N. W. O'Carroll FitzPatrick, T. L. Judd.

IDYLLIC weather helped to make this one of the most enjoyable and active summer terms on record. Seldom have the playing fields been put to such continuous use and it says much for the expert care given by Tommy Welford and Trevor Robinson that they stood the test of such hard wear as well as that of a prolonged drought.

For many the highlight of the summer is the outing to Sleightholmedale—again made possible through the kindness of Mrs Gordon Foster. Hearts sank when the chosen day broke with leaden skies and heavy rain. Buoyed up by an optimistic weather forecast we set out and by lunch-time the sun had broken through the clouds and a wonderful time was had by all. For this as also for so many other occasions in the summer term we are indeed grateful to the Matron, Mrs Blacksden, and the cooks for providing the festal fare—grateful also to Jack Leng who excelled himself in producing an early and quite delicious crop of strawberries.

MR ARTHUR HILL joined the teaching staff for the term and gave much valuable help in and out of the classroom. We wish him well in his career at Oxford.

ON 4th July in the Abbey Church, His Lordship the Bishop of Middlesbrough confirmed the following: T. D. Beck, M. J. Blenkinsopp, D. C. Bradley, A. C. Burt, E. T. B. Charlton, C. F. H. Clayton, P. K. Corkery, D. McN. Craig, A. de Larrinaga, S. J. Dick, L. R. Dowling, C. M. Dunbar, A. E. Duncan, S. G. Durkin, B. J. M. Edwards, D. R. Ellingworth, A. R. Goodson, P. J. A. Hall, S. R. F. Hardy, M. S. Harrison, C. C. Howard, T. B. P. Hubbard, J. F. Lennon, T. M. May, P. B. Myers, A. J. Nicoll, J. F. Nowill, M. C. M. Pickthall, A. C. A. Quirke, M. F. Russell, A. P. Ryan, C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley, M. D. Sillars, J. C. B. Tate, M. P. Trowbridge, M. J. Velarde, C. P. Watters and I. C. S. Watts.

THE Cinema has again been very successfully run by the boys this year, showing entertainment films during the winter terms, and teaching films in all three terms. M. Morgan has ably filled the post of chief projectionist, and S. Reid, P. Moore and A. Beck have loyally supported him. Our thanks are due to Fr Geoffrey, who spent so much time and thought in arranging our programmes so well this year.

THE observation hive made its appearance in the Ante-Room in late May, thanks to the generosity of Mr Leng, and provided a constant topic of conversation during the remainder of the term, as the new queen made her appearance, dealt summarily with her rivals, and then set about the business of producing the next generation of bees. There must be very few boys in the school who cannot distinguish the worker from the drone, and be inspired to imitate the former after hearing what happens to the latter when autumn comes.

A NOTABLE event in the musical life of the North-East was the Concert in the Town Hall at Middlesbrough on 21st May, celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Northumbria Studios of Music. Mr Capes very kindly arranged

for four musicians and a master to attend, and it was a great thrill to discover that he was the chief performer, opening the programme with Bach's Prelude and Fugue in D major, and later playing works by Chopin, J. Marx and Liszt. A prophet is not without honour . . . but we would like to record our thanks for a very enjoyable evening, and also join our congratulations to those of the distinguished visiting musicians who spoke so highly of his performance.

THE BRITISH RED CROSS CENTENARY

AT the end of the summer holidays a unique event took place at Gilling: from Friday 28th August to Monday 31st August the North Riding Branch of the British Red Cross Society held at Gilling, by permission of Fr Abbot, a celebration of the centenary of the foundation of their society. The four days of the celebration were blessed with fine weather and more than 3,000 people came to see the show which was very well organised.

Inside the Castle a finely displayed Festival of Flowers was mounted and outside there was a marquee for refreshments. There were various side-shows, including demonstrations of Life Saving procedures and apparatus, and an exhibition of paintings for a competition organised by the Red Cross in the Junior Section of which we noted with pleasure that M. N. Cardwell had won a prize. Outstanding among the attractions were the Gilling Gardens themselves, which all this summer have given us a magnificent display of colour to the great credit of Mr Leng and his assistants, to whom our thanks are due.

SPEECH DAY AND PRIZE GIVING

THE annual Speech Day and Prize Giving, the chief Gilling event of the year, took place on Thursday 9th July, and again this year the number of visitors present was larger than ever. As Fr Abbot put it in his speech, each year his chair in the Gallery seemed to advance westwards ever nearer to the Fairfax dormitory. Unfortunately, the weather, for once in this glorious summer, did not quite come up to scratch and it was thought more prudent to have tea indoors. The company was divided into two—one party going to the Great Chamber and the other to the Gym: an arrangement which seemed to work well.

The Prize Giving itself was enlivened with the usual musical entertainment, reference to which is made elsewhere, but we would like to say that we thought that the orchestra made a more spirited and enterprising contribution this year and that the guitars were as tuneful and popular as ever.

Fr William gave his report on the school year, about which, he said, he felt justified for once in applying the old tag, *Mens sana in corpore sano*. In support, he instanced an outstandingly successful Rugger season, the beginnings of a new School Library and the summer examination results which were above average; for these happenings he thanked respectively the Games Coaches, Mr Capes the chief creator of the new Library, and the Staff in general—also in particular the boys at the top of the school, who had proved good pacemakers in class and out.

This last point seemed to be borne out when Fr Patrick came to disclose the information, which for a large part of those present was the most important part of the proceedings, namely the results of the Junior House Entrance Examinations. On these results Fr Patrick awarded three scholarships: a scholarship of £30 to M. N. Cardwell, whose performance he referred to as outstanding, and two of £15 to S. P. S. Reid and M. J. Craston. We congratulate all three on their well deserved success.

Fr Abbot closed the proceedings with some well directed remarks to the younger section of his audience but not leaving out those whose presence at this annual gathering we greatly appreciate and whom we hope to see in ever larger numbers next summer—our parents.

THE speech day Concert this year was of a high standard, and particularly impressive was the warm tone and clean intonation of the strings—few in number, but encouragingly musical in ensemble. There were no outstanding individual virtuosi, as there have occasionally been in previous years, but as soloists A. Goodson on the violin and B. Hooke at the piano were both clearly promising musicians, and should do very well in the Upper School. The guitarists, too, played with obvious feeling and no little talent, but it was a pity that it was so difficult to hear them at the back of the hall. Mr Lorigan's Gilling Singers were again

in good form, full of verve and enthusiasm in two well known songs of Schubert which they sang splendidly.

ART

Second Form

DURING the term it was good to see so many boys in the Second Form doing such excellent work in the art room, and at the same time thoroughly enjoying themselves. The prize for the best artist in the Second Form was won by T. Beck, who spends much of his free time drawing with a pencil, which is one of the reasons why he is good at art. Nicoll and Trowbridge are both very good at drawing what they can see. M. Pickthall is good at drawing from his imagination. T. May is a clever artist who should do well if he keeps it up. Hardy is another gifted artist who had two excellent portraits in the art exhibition. Nowill, J. Tate, Sillars, Charlton and Russell are boys who have a natural kind of feeling for attractive shapes and colours.

First Form

WHEREAS the Second Form often prefer drawing to painting, the First Form are usually happier handling the paint brush rather than the pencil. Therefore the First Form did not have very many drawings in the art exhibition, but most of them had at least one painting. The art prize went to Ogden, who is certainly the most mature artist in the First Form. Millar is another boy with real ability. Excellent pictures were produced by F. Howard, Dundas, Adams, Graves, Weld-Bludell, Elwes, Waterton, D. Rodzianko and Dowse.

DRAMA

AFTER lunch on Confirmation Day Blenkinsopp, Burtt, Howard, Nowill, Sillars, Lennon, Clayton, Velarde, Watts, Charlton and Russell put on their costumes in order to perform in a play entitled "What a Holiday" which was attended by the school and a few parents. The play was about the experiences of a married couple called Harold (Blenkinsopp) and Alice (Burtt) who were having a holiday. Having been only given half a cabin for their cruise round the world, Harold and Alice wake up one morning to find themselves shipwrecked on a desert island. The play ended with all the actors having a happy breakfast party under a paper palm tree which was made by Sillars. So as to keep the play short, all the words were learnt off by heart from a script composed by Russell and adapted by Fr Piers. The play had been very thoroughly rehearsed, which was the main reason why it was so well acted. Burtt, C. Howard, and Blenkinsopp were the boys who achieved the best voice production.

AEROMODELLING AND GLIDING

WE all feel very grateful to Mr David Collins for teaching no less than 29 boys in the school how to make and fly model aeroplanes. Mr. Collins has the patient quiet kindness of a real craftsman; no wonder the boys who have been taught by him have done so well. On 27th June nine of the aeromodellers assembled on the cricket pitches to compete in a Gliding Competition. The winner was C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley with his Top Teen model. The longest individual flight was achieved by T. May, his Swann model was gliding through the air for 45.9 seconds after leaving the towline. At the end of term Mr Collins invited the aeromodellers to a kind of celebration party. Fr Piers was able to use this occasion to thank Mr Collins on behalf of the boys for all that he had done to help them. For Prize Giving Day Mr Collins arranged an exhibition of finished and unfinished model aeroplanes; here could be seen his own Conquest model which he presented to Secondé for winning the Gliding Competition, and also another model called the Hover King in the early stages of construction, with a wingspan of 72in. The timber for making this model was a present from the boys to Mr Collins to thank him for looking after them so well during the term.

SWIMMING

THIS term the boys for the first time competed in a swimming match against another school. The match was at home against St Olave's. Every boy in the school had the opportunity of being chosen for the team because there were three different age groups from each school. Hooke did very well in the under eleven four lengths crawl in which he tied for first place with a boy from St Olave's. In the under eleven four lengths breast stroke, Reid distinguished himself by winning the race in an excellent time

of 44 seconds, which was three seconds faster than the Gilling record. Although Craston came third in the back crawl, his time was only one second slower than the St Olave's boy who won the race. Fincher narrowly missed winning the two lengths butterfly and Craig was only one-fifth of a second behind the winner in the under ten two lengths breast stroke. J. Tate did very well in the under ten two lengths crawl in which he came first. At the end of the individual events the St Olave's team were well ahead on points, but the Gilling team did so well in the relays, that it really looked as though they might win the match. Unfortunately there was a fault in one of the takeovers in the under eleven medley relay which the Gilling team looked like winning; the Gilling team had to be disqualified, and St Olave's won the match by 17 points instead of 3 points. It was therefore a very close swimming match which was thoroughly enjoyed by both swimming teams.

Colours were awarded to Craston, Reid, Hooke, Fincher and Dobson. Swimming badges were given to J. Tate, Craig, Hardy and T. May.

Fr Anselm very kindly came over to judge the different events in the Swimming Competition which was held on 2nd June. Reid did very well to win the front crawl, with Craston and D. Ellingworth tying for second place. Moore won the diving prize and came second to Fincher in the butterfly. Craston and Reid tied for first place in the back crawl, the second place was tied by Dobson and D. Ellingworth. In the breast stroke Reid and Fincher tied for first place with Nicoll second and Craig third. Moore was awarded his swimming colours, and swimming badges were given to Grant, D. Ellingworth, Nicoll, Durkin, Edwards and Secondé. After the judging Fr Anselm introduced the school to five Gilling old boys who are now members of the Upper School swimming team. They gave us an interesting display on how to swim with effortless speed through the water. Afterwards followed the traditional T.A.R.S. relay which was won by the Romans.

THE First Form this year reached a standard of swimming comparable to that of 1968. From the top to the bottom, they made astonishing progress, and this speaks well for the prospects of future school teams both here and on the other side of the valley. P. Millar is the most outstanding swimmer, as will be realised from the above account of the Swimming Championships; but among other names worthy of mention are J. Beale, D. Ogden, T. Herdon, M. Sutherland, R. Glaister and S. Bright. W. Rohan also deserves special mention as a complete beginner who successfully made the greatest effort.

THE Swimming Championships were held near the end of the term on 5th July. Fr Julian very kindly came over from the Upper School to judge the sub-aqua event in which the six competitors wore face masks, snorkels and flippers. This event was won by Durkin, and Pickthall came second. Fr Julian said that all the boys in this event swam very well indeed. The most outstanding swimmers in the Championships were Hooke who won the four lengths front crawl missing the school record by only 1⅗ seconds; Millar who broke the record in the two lengths front crawl, and was hotly pursued by Herdon who also broke the old record; Reid in the four lengths breast stroke in which he broke his own record that he set up in the swimming match against St Olave's; and Fincher who did exceptionally well by winning the butterfly, the back crawl, and the medley. Another very good swimmer was Craston who came second in five events. The survival event was won by Sandeman, and the weaving dolphin event, which had never been held before, by Edwards with Quirke less than half a second behind him. Hooke just managed to lead his Roman team to victory again in the relay. Swimming badges were awarded to Hubbard, Watters, Quirke, M. Pickthall, Harrison and de Larrinaga.

CRICKET

GLORIOUS weather and plenty of talent combined to make this a most memorable cricket season. Early in May we had a good win against Glenhow, followed by a loss to Bramcote. Two more losses followed, to St Olave's and to Malsis, but then came three wins, against the Gryphons, Glenhow and St Olave's. The season ended with another loss, away at Bramcote, but our score of 76 for 7 declared compared well with other scores

we have made there in recent years.

The team was well led by S. P. S. Reid, the captain, whose bowling contributed much to the strength of the team, and to the standard of the set games. It was a great loss when a bad strain caused him to miss the last three matches. M. J. Craston also had a good season. His fielding was always good, he scored a 37 and two 21s, and he deputised as captain most competently in the last three matches. P. R. Moore was possibly the best batsman. His scores included a 65 and a 26, and he also kept wicket well for the team. P. A. J. Ritchie was a good bowler and fieldsman, and S. N. Ainscough developed well as a batsman as the term progressed. B. Hooke scored 46 not out in the first match, but had only limited success subsequently. J. Dick came into the side late in the term, but batted well, his best achievement being a 29 not out. B. P. Doherty was a useful bowler and good in the field, J. M. D. Murray fielded well, had some useful innings, and did some good bowling, and of the younger players P. K. Corkery had a good season with the bat, and D. R. Ellingworth was a promising all-rounder.

Colours were awarded to S. P. S. Reid, P. R. Moore, M. J. Craston, P. A. J. Ritchie and S. N. Ainscough. P. K. Corkery, J. Dick, B. P. Doherty, D. R. Ellingworth, B. Hooke and J. M. D. Murray were also regular members of the First XI, and Fincher, Hardy, Horsley, Hubbard, N. Sutherland and J. Tate also played in matches.

The Junior XI played three matches, losing twice to St Olave's, and winning against Malsis. The captain of the Junior XI was either B. P. Doherty or Hubbard, and the following also played in the matches: M. Bailey, M. Caulfield, A. de Larrinaga, S. J. Dick, D. Dundas, S. Hardy, T. May, P. Myers, A. Nicoll, M. Pickthall, A. Quirke, J. Tate, M. Trowbridge, and G. Weld-Blundell.

The term ended with a T.A.R.S. tournament which produced some very exciting matches. In the senior matches the combination of Craston and Moore for the Trojans proved to be as invincible at cricket as it had been previously at soccer, though the Romans, with S. Ainscough, J. Dick, Hooke and D. Ellingworth, gave them some anxious moments and came a close second.