

Augustin Cardinal Bea : Spiritual Profile

Edited by Stjepan Schmidt,
with a foreword by Cardinal Willebrands

Cardinal Bea was instrumental in giving the Roman Catholic Church a greater openness to other Christian Churches, particularly through his work for the Secretariat for Christian Unity.

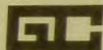
When he died, Cardinal Bea left a diary which takes the form of spiritual notes, made during his annual eight-day retreat and his monthly recollections.

The reflections published here cover the years during which the author was a cardinal and they give a rare insight into his life.

This can, in its way, be compared to Pope John's *Journal of a Soul*, and Fr. Schmidt, who was close to Cardinal Bea for many years, has edited and introduced the book in a way that makes it appeal to a wide variety of readers.

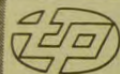
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Part I

EDITORIAL: ON STABILITY

To speak of this characteristic so totally alien to our century is to speak of the first and surely the least noticed of the cenobitic vows, a virtue which is in fact the linch pin of the cenobitic life. We do not vow ourselves to poverty: frugality and communal dependence are what we implicitly profess—as in the Apostolic Church, "distribution was made to every man according as he had need" (Acts 4.35). We do not vow ourselves to chastity (meaning, of course, celibacy, for no man is exempt from the call of chastity): our state of monastic and clerical celibacy—the two are not quite synonymous—is covered by another vow, that untranslatable *conversio morum* which some refer to as a perpetual endeavour to change one's life towards God's ways from the ways of man. Our monastic *peregrinatio* (to use a favourite medieval expression found first in Augustine and the Irish Celts) is a journey without marriage, a community life without physical offspring, where monks' heirs spring from their example. The third of the customarily cited vows, obedience, we do take; and we take it third among our vows as almost a foregone conclusion if the first two are to have any substance: we take it not merely to our father in Christ, the Abbot (RB 2, 5 and 64), but to the community as a whole (RB 71) and to the various obedientiaries given office and responsibility (RB 21, 31, 65). It is called, in a phrase later contradicted in favour of the fear of God, *primus gradus humilitatis*—but then, it is done "in the swiftness of the fear of the Lord", so the contradiction is partially resolved.

St Benedict never specifically wrote a chapter on Stability, but his opening chapter is in fact upon this subject: he describes "the strong race of cenobites" as "those who live in monasteries, serving under a rule and an abbot" (notice the order: stability, conformity, obedience). And then, he does place it first among the profession vows (RB 58), and he does speak of priests coming to dwell in monasteries and pilgrim monks coming to settle as "binding themselves to stability" (RB 60, 61). Then also, when he lists the tools of his workshop in a long and wide-ranging instruction, he defines his workshop as monastic enclosure and *stabilitas in congregatione* (RB 4).

In St Benedict's mind, when he places stability first—as St Francis was to place poverty first, and later St Ignatius obedience—are the twin thoughts: permanence and perseverance. The author of the Rule meant his monk to "make firm his stability" (*firmare stabilitatem suam*, RB 61) in a single community, that is the community which had received him, trained him, tested him and heard him testify by his profession vows that he would live always among them. He meant also that a monk should see stability, not as a tomb which walled him up, but as a continuous vibrant



striving, a perpetual perseverance towards perfection (Prol, RB 58 twice, *de stabilitatis suae perseverantia*), a school of service and patient participation in Christ's sufferings (Prol). This means adherence to initial undertakings, loyalty to first loves, filial attachment to the family chosen at the outset. It involves constancy of mind in adversity as in prosperity, tendency of heart towards incorporation into community life. It involves, in the words of Abbot E. C. Butler, "a certain centripetal tendency that makes a monk habitually gravitate to his monastery as the centre of his life".

We should expect to find that, although the missionary history, the geographical exigencies and the modern way of life of the English Benedictine Congregation (hereafter EBC) do strain their stability as no other part of the Benedictine life—unless it be contemplation, which needs stability as a ground of growth—English monks are essentially well suited by their traditions to absorb this strain, and that not merely because they are an insular race given to trading and colonising. There are in the recent history of mankind three great institutions which have stood the test of a millennium or more without diminution: in regard to the State there is the British constitution, which rests on two essential principles, the jury of twelve which is rooted in Anglo-Saxon law, and parliamentary government which can be traced back now even so far as 1236 under that title and further into Anglo-Saxon political life under other forms of consultation; in regard to the Church there is the papacy, which claims a continuous succession from Peter and emerged as we see it now in the fifth century reigns of Innocent I and Leo the Great; in regard to the religious orders there is the Monastic Order, which could boast of "the six Benedictine centuries" before any other came to stand beside it. Of these three long-standing institutions, all of them paragons of stability, only one body of men directly partakes in every one—the English Catholic Benedictines.

We should expect then that English Benedictine monks should cherish stability for what it is, the jewel of the monastic crown; that they should be fondly aware, even in their exiles and activities, of its place and importance. And this is so. Archbishop Ullathorne wrote of it: "St Benedict's great reform is expressed by the single word Stability", speaking of "irrevocable life in community" as the ideal. In his turn, Cardinal Gasquet wrote: "Stability may be regarded as the note of St Benedict's legislation for the monastic order; it is the key to the spirit of monasticism as interpreted by his Rule". Bishop Hedley wrote in this JOURNAL three-quarters of a century ago these words: "Every Benedictine monastery is, and ought to be, a home. Whatever the external work to which a monk may find himself called, the normal thing must always be, to live in his own monastery. It would be a mistake to encourage anyone to profess himself a Benedictine unless he could look forward with pleasure to live, 'for better, for worse' till death itself, in the house of his profession, under the Rule and in the daily work of the choir". In writing his monumental and still unreplaced *Benedictine Monachism* (1919), Abbot Cuthbert Butler agreed with other monastic scholars that "the introduction of (the vow of stability) was St Benedict's most important and characteristic contribution to the course of Western monachism". In our own time, Abbot Justin

McCann has written: "Stability and Obedience represent St Benedict's criticism of contemporary monachism . . . they are to be characteristic of his cenobitical institute, to form the *differentia* distinguishing it from other forms of monachism and from degradations of monachism". And Dom David Knowles has judged that "the key points of the Rule were: the monarchical abbot . . . the general gathering of all the brethren to council . . . and the vow of stability binding the monk to life-long residence in the monastery of his profession".

The Benedictine idea of stability relates not simply to place or corporate body, but also to the whole horarium of life. There is in it a perfect balance of human experience, both as to human needs and to human duties. The life marvellously answers the two commandments of Christ, to love God with all our heart and to love our neighbour as ourselves; and that in careful proportion. What has sometimes been called the "vertical" and the "horizontal" dimensions of Christian life, God and our brother, are knit closely together in the nature of the monastic life. There are three prime activities, each taking due account of those two dimensions, all six aspects of the life being balanced into an equilibrium that does justice to the stability sought by Benedictines. The first is prayer to God as creator and final end, as example and upholder; and this is done both singly in daily meditations and Masses and communally in the great monastic prayer of the *opus Dei*, the liturgy and in the conventual Mass: the single soul before his Maker, and the Community acting as the Church. The second is *lectio divina*, that meditative reading which is designed in the first instance to feed the monk's prayer life and in the second to feed those who are to come to his door for instruction or consolation: the single soul reads to feed himself unto God, and to feed others unto God also. The third is work, and this is done both so that by the sweat of his brow the monk may share the toil and the condition of other men without becoming a burden to them in asking for his upkeep, and so that he may turn his toil to the benefit of his brethren in and out of the monastery under the name of charity or apostolic labour (bringing light or love to those who need it). Emotionally speaking, to speak at no higher level than that of the psychiatrist, man needs prayer for his spirit, he needs study for his mind, he needs toil for his self-respect and he needs to give to his fellow men. The stability of the monastic life as it is daily practised provides for all these needs, and in so doing provides also (and here more's the point) for all man's duties. In that life a monk has every hope of loving his God with all his might and his brother as though his very self.

If stability runs through the core of the monastic horarium, it follows then that one of its signs and flowers will be a certain common tradition of culture, which will tend to be the same in every monastic institution and in every age. St Benedict gave his monks some four hours' reading in their day, as against six hours (not much more) of work to sustain the monastery; and that presumed in a monk, whatever his learning at the outset, a very considerable degree of learning at the end of a lifetime of *lectio divina* if he was true to the admonition of the Rule. Moreover it presumed monastic libraries, even in the dark years of the collapse of

Rome, which would allow every monk in the house to take out a spiritual classic as his lenten reading (RB 48) without the shelves or cupboards of the library being exhausted. He advised his monks to read, besides Scripture, the works of Cassian and Basil and the Lives of the Fathers, these being indisputably the cream of monastic writings at that time and still to this day (especially the works of Cassian, the half-neglected Doctor of Monks). Following this custom begun in the Rule, monks of all ages have shared their richest spiritual literature across the Order and down the years, so that it is no surprise to find Abbot Cuthbert Butler in our time editing the "Lausiac History" of Palladius, Bishop Hedley editing in his own fashion the *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, Fr Gerard Sitwell editing the Life of St Odo of Cluny or Abbot Justin McCann providing an edition of William of St Thierry's "Golden Epistle" to the Carthusians and then translating Ruinart's Life of Mabillon, the great Maurist. (A note on the Rule and the *Regula Magistri* in Community Notes amplifies this point). In the very nature of its rooted stability, then, no monastery should expect to be without its long-standing library (and it is in many cases through these alone that the classics of antiquity have survived to us), or without its steady daily readers and usually its own scholars (or at least writers with a single study on the boil, as Abbot Thomas Symons has continuously boiled the *Regularis Concordia* since his abbot gave him that task in 1919). Further, no monastery will be without its *pretiosa*, its vessels of the altar, copes and vestments, its special treasures for high and solemn days, illuminated lectionaries, elaborate monstrances, rich candelabra (one remembers the gleaming silver pix of Durham) or its stainglass windows to catch the morning sun: and this, if anything, is cultural evidence of stability. Then there is the chant, whose antiphons are the same today as they were in the days of high medieval monasticism; and the roods and icons, polished by the devotion of successive generations; and the very stones of church and cloister. . .

Still the picture is not complete; for Benedictine stability is more yet than relationship of place or body or culture or perfect balance of daily activity. It will always include, as a gift after the vow, a stability in relationship to persons, individuals and groups of individuals; and of course in relation to the Abbot, who in his time will have been a novice, a junior and probably an obedientary of the house, and so who can share with his brethren the relationship of stability at another level than only as superior of that house. The essence of human trust, which is the initial aspect of love, is absence of fear; and this is best brought about by a fruitful familiarity. Human beings trust one another when they know each other beyond the point where their actions are unpredictable. Some degree of constancy must be present; and with constancy, which breeds mutual predictability, a sense of mutual respect will grow. This develops only when the threats of coercion, competition or challenge have been assuaged. When men know that others are not going to "use" them (as pawns in a game) or to mould them to their plans, or to supplant them or denigrate them; when men know that they can burgeon in their own separate contributive individuality in due freedom and with due appreciation; when

men know that their past which so enormously accounts for their present persona is understood and accepted and that they are taken for what they are, bringing the gifts that they have and asking the concessions that they need, then they begin to put down deep roots of love. They want to share their visions, and their spiritual and emotional selves: they want to fall into a certain mature dependence, with its counter-flow of empathy and sympathy for others about them, acknowledging a cross-weave of mutual dependences at many levels. Then the separateness of individuals begins to dissolve and the desire to judge and criticise recedes, as a web is woven strand by strand, as bridges of friendship are put across and thereafter reinforced, as communality of fondness increases, resting as it does upon the permanent basis of guaranteed stability, which casts out all fear. Thereafter forgiveness is quick, forgiveness of self as much as of others; and reparation of thought or act is swift to follow. Stability brings acceptance, and acceptance response, and response love; and love of brethren is the law of Christ and the beginning of the love of God.

There is a caveat to lodge, and that can best be done by recalling some words of St Augustine of Hippo on the subject of action flowing forth from contemplation. He wrote: "Holy leisure is longed for by love of truth; but it is the necessity of love to undertake requisite business. If no one imposes this burden upon us, we are free to sift and contemplate truth. But if it is laid upon us, we are obliged for the sake of love to undertake it. And yet not even in this case are we obliged to relinquish the sweets of contemplation; for were these to be withdrawn, the burden might prove more than we could bear." (*Civ Dei* XIX.19.) This perfectly illustrates the missionary call, which alone breaks through the stability of monasticism. It is a call which was answered in the earliest tradition of community life; and is one from which England above all, and then from England Germany, have benefited. St Augustine of Canterbury who brought forty monks from Rome to found a monastery in Kent, St Boniface of Crediton who founded Fulda Abbey in the heart of Germany, St Willibrord of Northumbria who founded a missionary monastery in Luxemburg, or St Willibald of Waltham who with his sister founded a double house in Württemberg are names enough to establish the authenticity of the missionary tradition among monks. This, of course, is at the heart of a missionary Church, whose Founder said: "Go forth, make all nations my disciples", spreading the gospel in the name of the Trinity. At first monks went out to found new monasteries, and then to found new sees and missions: they went usually as communities and always in groups. Then their work widened to take in schools and seminaries, hospitals and hospices, leper colonies and orphanages. They went out singly or in pairs and handfuls, till the idea of Benedictine stability is becoming attenuated. But that is what the Church today is asking of the Order.

Regrettably, because of the Postal Strike, the Spring issue has not been able to appear before the crocuses.

ST ANTONY AND BIBLICAL PRECEDENTS FOR THE MONASTIC VOCATION

by

DEREK BAKER

St Antony is usually taken as the *terminus a quo* for the long journey of monastic development; and it is right to begin with him here, with a study which searches back beyond Antony to his roots in Christ's teaching and in the prophetic tradition before that.

This paper was read at the Fourth International Congress on New Testament Studies at Oxford in September 1969. The author is Warden of Holland House in the University of Edinburgh and is a University lecturer in history; his main field of expertise has been the Fountains Abbey foundation documents.

Writing, probably, within a year of the death of St Antony, St Athanasius (c. 296-373) had remarked *ad peregrinos fratres* that

for monks the life of Antony is an ideal pattern of the ascetic life,¹ and almost ninety years later² Theodoret of Cyrillus (c. 393-458) testified to St Antony's continuing fame:

There are men in Egypt who have left the noise and tumult of cities in order to model their lives on those of the angels. They live in barren desert solitudes, and by their virtue produce fruit most pleasing to God. The most famous of all the many leaders in this way of life was Antony, the distinguished arbiter of monastic assemblies.³ The rapid translation of St Athanasius' biography may be taken as an index of St Antony's standing amongst his contemporaries, and its widespread and continued dissemination as evidence of his enduring reputation. It was translated into Coptic, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopian and Georgian besides Latin, and even before Evagrius had produced his enormously-successful Latin version, little more than twenty years after St Athanasius had written, a less "literary" Latin translation had been in circulation.⁴ For Athanasius and Evagrius, for Luther and for modern historians St Antony was *primus monachus et fundator monachismi*,⁵

¹ St Athanasius, [*The Life of St Antony*], trans R. T. Meyer, *Ancient Christian Writers X* (Westminster, Maryland/London, 1952), Prologue, p. 17.

² Athanasius' biography was probably composed in 357; Theodoret was probably writing in the period 443-448.

³ Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, ed T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1854), IV, 21, pp. 348-349.

⁴ Cf. C. Mohrmann, *Note sur la version latine la plus ancienne de la vie de Saint Antoine par Saint Athanase*, [*Studia A[n]selmiana*] XXXVIII, ed. B. Steidle (Rome, 1956) pp. 35-44 and the references there given.

⁵ SA XXXVIII, p. vii.

but it is not St Antony's catalytic influence in the creation of monasticism that I wish to discuss here. Rather, I wish to consider the man himself a little more closely, and to examine briefly the precepts and principles which determined his way of life and shaped the monastic ideal which he came to personify.

Antony was born into a Christian family in Egypt in c 251. The family was prosperous and of good stock, and like others of his class he should have received a sound education. In fact, however, he did not take to schooling and would have nothing to do with other children.⁶ This early lack of formal education was never rectified in later life. He neither spoke nor wrote Greek. In conversation he spoke "in the Egyptian tongue",⁷ and used interpreters to converse with Greeks.⁸ He had, indeed, as some of Athanasius' anecdotes indicate, little respect for Greek subtlety, and was himself renowned for his practical wisdom—

the wonder was that although he was without formal schooling, he was yet a man of ready wit and understanding.⁹

He was not, however, entirely untutored. Once he had decided, in c 269-271, on the ascetic life he learnt much by example, seeking out other ascetics and striving to emulate and surpass them, but from his earliest years he had gained instruction from the Scriptures. He had no antipathy to church attendance as a child, and he paid careful attention to the lessons that were read in church. This study must have been entirely aural, for Athanasius remarks of him at a later stage in his life, that

he was so attentive at the reading of the Scripture that nothing escaped him: he retained everything, and so his memory served him in place of books.¹⁰

It is small wonder, then, that he should remark to his monks that

the Scriptures are entirely sufficient for our instruction¹¹ and that his own conversion to the ascetic life should have been occasioned by passages read from St Matthew's Gospel as he entered church¹²—

if thou wouldest be perfect, go sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me!¹³ . . . take no thought for the morrow¹⁴.

These texts in themselves summarize St Antony's life—voluntary poverty, disregard for the temporal tomorrow, the quest for perfection, and the promise of heavenly rewards: here is the quintessence of the ascetic life. It is not only at the decisive moment of conversion, however, that the Scriptures dominate St Antony's actions. At every stage in his career he

⁶ *Antony I*, p. 18.

⁷ *ibid.*, XVI, p. 33.

⁸ *ibid.*, LXXIV, p. 81.

⁹ *ibid.*, LXXII, p. 80.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, III, p. 21.

¹¹ *ibid.*, XVI, p. 33.

¹² *ibid.*, II, III, pp. 19, 20. *Matthew XIX, 21; VI, 34.*

¹³ *Antony II*, p. 19.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, III, p. 20.

found encouragement and discovered confirmation in the New Testament. Even before he had decided on the ascetic life for himself he had reflected on the voluntary renunciation of the Apostles,¹⁶ and the resignation of private property for the common good by the first converts to Christianity.¹⁶ He found his justification for manual labour in Paul's reminder to the Thessalonians—"if any will not work, neither let him eat"¹⁷—and

He prayed constantly, having learnt that we must pray in private without cease.¹⁸

In the conflicts with demons that Athanasius recounts his only assistance came from the Scriptures. He received no advice or support from any other ascetic, nor was divine aid proffered, very much the reverse in fact, for when, on one occasion, St Antony did receive somewhat tardy heavenly relief, and asked the vision where it had been earlier, he was told

I was here all the time, but I waited to see you in action. Now, because you endured, and did not surrender, I will ever be your helper.¹⁹

In the long discourse to his monks²⁰ which is the core of the *Vita* every injunction is justified by reference to Scripture. Monks should look to a heavenly future—

for I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed to us-ward²¹.—

and live as though daily about to die,²² aware that they were unprofitable servants who had only made a beginning,²³ and that having put their hand to the plough they could not turn back.²⁴ St Antony's monks might well have claimed, like the reforming monks of St Mary's, York eight centuries later, that in their rule was embodied the whole Gospel of Christ.²⁵

Yet for all its scriptural basis the way of life advocated by St Antony emerges, on closer examination as essentially self-orientated, self-concerned, perhaps even, judged by the principles which St Antony himself states, un-Christian. St Antony and those who followed him peopled the deserts and eschewed men, and at that time, as St Athanasius remarks, "no monk

¹⁶ *ibid.*, II, p. 19. *Matthew* IV, 20; XIX, 27.

¹⁶ *Antony* II, p. 19. *Acts* IV, 32-37.

¹⁷ *Antony* III, p. 21. 2 *Thessalonians* III, 10.

¹⁸ *Antony* III, p. 21. *Luke* XVIII, 1; XXI, 36. 1 *Thessalonians* V, 17.

¹⁹ *Antony* V-X, pp. 22-29.

²⁰ *ibid.*, XVI-XLIII, pp. 23-57.

²¹ *ibid.*, XVII, p. 34. *Romans* VIII, 18.

²² *Antony* XIX, p. 36. 1 *Corinthians* XV, 31.

²³ *Antony* XX, p. 37. *Philippians* III, 13.

²⁴ *Antony* XX, p. 37. *Luke* IX, 62.

²⁵ *Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii*, ed. J. R. Walbran, *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, Surtees Society, Vol. XLII for 1862 (Durham 1863) p. 12—*Semel quippe voto et cotidie debito profitentur se beati patris Benedicti regulam observare, sed alienis consuetudinibus decenti, magis ex occasione quam ex veritate sanctam regulam sepius lubenter audire. Et quidem in ea voluntaria paupertas, mundi contemptus, summa humilitas, immo totius sancti Evangelii perfectio praedicatur, quod totum a negligentibus non utiliter sed poenialiter auscultatur.*

even knew of the faraway desert".²⁶ St Antony, indeed, was a most reluctant *pater monachorum*. He was concerned, above all, with his own perfection, and with the heavenly rewards promised as compensation for his earthly denials. "The promise of eternal life", St Antony assured his monks, "is bought for very little",²⁷ and this is a point which he stresses again and again.

Whoever wished to concern himself with his own destiny practised asceticism by himself not far from his own village²⁸ wrote St Athanasius towards the beginning of his biography, and towards its end he wrote of St Antony himself

[he] had only to do with prayer and the practice of asceticism, for the sake of which he lived his mountain life, happy in the contemplation of the divine, and grieving that many disturbed him and forced him to the Outer Mountain.²⁹

This avoidance of the world is, of course, present in St Antony's life right from the very beginning. With him there is no dramatic conversion or change of life, no abandonment of a successful secular career. The inclination to withdrawal had been there since his earliest days, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Scriptural texts merely served to confirm a basic pre-disposition present since childhood, and that St Antony took from them only what he wanted to justify him in his decision. The text from St Matthew's Gospel³⁰ which, St Athanasius claimed, decided him on an ascetic vocation, makes the point succinctly. If, as St Athanasius stated, St Antony paid such close attention to the reading of the Scriptures, he can hardly have been unaware that Christ's injunction to the young rich man came at the end of His reiteration of the Commandments, that the passage emphasized man's duty to his neighbour, and that it concluded with the command "follow me". The saint who refused to come out of his retreat to the importunate sick and afflicted³¹ can scarcely be said to have followed the Christ who raised Lazarus and ministered to the sick. Admirable as St Antony's type of asceticism is as one type of Christian vocation, it did not wholly mirror the life of Christ, and, lacking the active commitment that Christ preached and demonstrated cannot be said to comprise "the whole Gospel".

Yet contemporaries saw in St Antony the "man of God"³² par excellence, and accepted the ascetic ideal of withdrawal and denial, whether in its eremitical or its monastic form, without question. In part, of course, these attitudes were formed by the circumstances of the time. In the face of persecution and martyrdom, against the background of contemporary religious decay and social decadence, and with an awareness of imminent Armageddon, Christians were inclined to dismiss the world

²⁶ *Antony* III, p. 20.

²⁷ *ibid.*, XVI, p. 34.

²⁸ *ibid.*, III, p. 20.

²⁹ *ibid.*, LXXXIV, p. 90.

³⁰ *Matthew* XIX, 21.

³¹ *Antony* XLVII-XLVIII, pp. 60-61.

³² Cf. SA XXXVIII, pp. 148-200, [B.] Steidle, ["Homo Dei Antonius". Zum Bild des "Mannes Gottes" im alten Mönchtum.]

in which they lived and concentrate on the heavenly future they had been promised.³³ Contemporary gnosticism too, whether in its Christian or non-Christian forms, stressed the subjection of the material world to the powers of darkness,³⁴ and saw life as a constant individual battle against demonic forces. Even in the field of missionary activity, as Professor Molland has recently pointed out, the Church at this period was inward-looking and inactive—

The Church of the first five centuries possessed no missionary society, had very few professional missionaries, and organised no missionary campaigns . . . Her preaching was hardly directed to the non-converted at all, and Her preachers scarcely referred in their sermons to the obligation to spread the Gospel.³⁵

It is not only, however, in a Christian context that the asceticism of the desert fathers must be viewed. Though the word *ἀσκησις* appears but once in the whole of the New Testament,³⁶ Stoics and Cynics had long since developed a system of self-disciplinary practices designed to inhibit vice and promote virtue, and used the term *ἀσκησις* to describe them, while Pythagoreanism³⁷ had pursued a parallel line of development to that of later Christian monasticism, and presented it with many practical comparisons and examples. Points of contact have yet to be definitely proved between Pythagoreanism and Christian asceticism, but Pythagorean developments cannot have passed unnoticed, and Steidle is certain that St Athanasius had access to a *Vita Pythagorae* while composing his life of St Antony.³⁸ Yet for all this he concludes that

at the beginning of monachism stands not the divine man of Hellenism, not the Hellenistic "philosopher", but the God-man. His counsel, His example, His divine power and His Holy Spirit.³⁹

There is, of course, nothing new in emphasizing the ascetic ideal, and its practice, was widely known, whether in a pagan or Christian context, in the world of late Antiquity, and to stress that the early Church, in the circumstances of the time, was more inclined to withdraw from the world than to participate in it.⁴⁰ Such emphasis does, however, put St Antony's career, and in particular his conversion, into better perspective.

³³ "In the fourth century the social outlook drew from the Gospel that element which seemed so accurately to fit its spiritual needs—the demand to reject the world". [Owen] Chadwick, [John Cassian, *A Study in Primitive Monasticism*] (Cambridge 1950) p. 3.

³⁴ St Antony's conflicts with demons should be seen against this background.

³⁵ E. Molland, "L'antiquité chrétienne a-t-elle eu un programme et des méthodes missionnaires?" *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, III, ed Derek Baker (Louvain 1970) pp. 53-61.

³⁶ *I Corinthians IX, 25*, in the sense of "to strive".

³⁷ [P.] Jordan, [*Pythagoras and Monachism*], *Traditio XVII* (New York 1961), pp. 432-441, and the references there given.

³⁸ cf. Jordan p. 441.

³⁹ SA XXXVIII, Steidle p. 182, trans. Jordan p. 441.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Chadwick p. 14.

New Testament texts cannot, I maintain, be said to have exercised a decisive influence on St Antony at the age of eighteen—nor afterwards—and nor can it be alleged, as Steidle does, that "at the beginning of monachism stands the example . . . of Christ's Apostles".⁴¹ St Antony had the Scriptures constantly in mind, and stressed the over-riding necessity in the ascetic life of loyalty to Christ,⁴² yet his own career, when closely regarded, is curiously pre-Christian. There is more of the Baptist about him than the Apostle, more of the Old Testament prophet with his disciples, his desert withdrawals and occasional forays into the world—and this, he himself realized and acknowledged—

he used to say that the life led by the great Elijah should serve the ascetic as a mirror in which always to study his own life.⁴³

For a study of the Church's missionary endeavour and its radical inadequacy in the first millennium, see the author's essay, "The Shadow of the Christian Symbol" in ed. G. J. Cuming, "The Mission of the Church and the propagation of the faith", CUP, 1970, 17-28.

⁴¹ SA XXXVIII, Steidle, pp. 182-183, trans. Jordan p. 441, see below n. 43.

⁴² Antony XXX, p. 46.

⁴³ Antony VII, p. 26. Steidle (SA XXXVIII pp. 182-183) makes this comparison in the course of the longer passage already referred to—Am Anfang des Mönchtums stand das Vorbild der alttestamentlichen "Gottesmänner", der Propheten . . .

THE FIRST CENTURY OF CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND

by

JAMES CAMPBELL

In the church built in ancient times in honour of St Martin the monks first began to meet to chant the psalms, to pray, to say Mass, to preach and to baptise; until, when the king had been converted to the faith, they received greater liberty to preach everywhere and to build or restore churches.
Venerable Bede, HE L26

If it is true that, after the Bible, the *Regula Benedicti* was the most influential document in the medieval world, it is the more true that, after the Bible, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has since 731 been the most studied document in British history. Unremittently it has been discussed and dissected down the centuries. Boniface at Fulda and Lul at Mainz both had copies, as did King Offa in Mercia. Alfred had it translated with Pope Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, and the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers used it. Copies were in the Carolingian Palace School and later in the papal library at Avignon and many European monasteries, not least Monte Cassino. In sixteenth century England Foxe praised it and the recusant scholar Thomas Stapleton (Professor of Divinity and Scripture at Douai and Louvain respectively) made a memorable translation which he dedicated to Elizabeth, hoping that it might return the Queen to the old faith. In our own day it has been brilliantly edited by Charles Plummer (1896), published in the Old English version by the Early English Text Society (reprinted 1959) and reproduced in translation in "English Historical Documents" I (1955), the "Penguin Classics" (revised 1968) and the "Oxford Medieval Texts" (Latin/English 1970, definitive). Mr Peter Hunter Blair has edited an eighth century text in "The Moore Bede", "Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile" IX (1959); the Leningrad text, which was unknown to Plummer, having been edited in an earlier volume.

For all this, there have been few studies made on Bede himself, and those that there are date from the twelfth century of his death in 735. It is for this reason that a new work is so welcome, Mr Peter Hunter Blair's "The World of Bede", Secker & Warburg, 1970, 340 p., £4; the author is Vice-Master at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This work has proved a catalyst to the writing of the following article.

Bede's account is not history "as it really was" so much as history written with particular purposes in mind; he selected and emphasised to suit those ends. He wanted, like the evangelists, to use historical material for a purpose ultimately beyond history. So he did not stress matters unifying or not to his purpose—for example the wealth of prelates and the part played by Gaul as against Rome. This is here examined by Mr James Campbell, a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, who has lectured during the past five years on Bede and who in 1965 contributed the final chapter on Bede to "Latin Historians", ed. T. A. Dorey, the following year introducing selected readings on Bede in the "Great Histories" series.

THE achievements of the Church in England by the time of Bede (d. 735) are often, and justly, marvelled at. It is a matter for surprise that until last year no scholar had written a book about Bede and his environment. Mr Hunter Blair's recent book has filled that gap, providing a learned and judicious assessment of most aspects of Bede's life and work, apart from his theology.¹ It depends to a very great extent on Bede's own writings. This has to be so, for Bede's works, above all the *Historia*

¹ P. Hunter Blair, "The World of Bede" (1970).



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

THE ASSUMPTION AND CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

from the Benedictional of Ethelwold, 971-84

(formerly in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; since 1957, British Museum Additional MS 49598).



THE CANONISATION OF THE FORTY MARTYRS

"The Holy Father gave a swift audience . . . to some of the martyrs' collateral descendants."

Viscount and Viscountess Southwell, of the same family as the Norfolk Jesuit poet St Robert Southwell (martyred at Tyburn in 1535 aged 33), being presented to the Pope at the *Piùtù* chapel

Ecclesiastica, are far and away our best source. But it may be that necessary dependence on Bede for information and justifiable respect for Bede's virtues have led to a tendency among some historians to see the first century of Christianity in England too much as Bede saw it, or rather, as he thought it best that readers of the *Ecclesiastical History* should see it. The merits of Bede's work as a historian are beyond question. He had, nevertheless, to work under great limitations and his purposes differed from those of modern historians. On some subjects he lacked information which, we may fairly assume, he would have liked to include. On others he fails to provide information which he had, but did not feel to be appropriate to the genre in which he was writing. He was concerned to edify, and thought it his duty to say much of the good and little of the bad. Bede did not simply present a straight narrative of events as he knew them, he selected, omitted, and emphasised for reasons some of which can be known, others only guessed at. To say this is, of course, simply to say that he was a historian writing in his own terms for his own world.

RICH BISHOPS AND SPACIOUS MONASTERIES

Bede's purposes in writing his history led him to under-emphasise, for different reasons, two important aspects of the English Church as it was in his own lifetime. One is the power and wealth of the Church; the other the number of its monasteries. Of some kinds of ecclesiastical power Bede much approved, and he tells us of them, indicating the remarkable extent to which Theodore was able to unite the English Church and to establish some degree of independence of the power of kings. An aspect of episcopal power which Bede has much less to say about is the wealth of at least some bishops. He was fully aware of the connection between episcopacy and money; but disliked it and so says little of it. His reticence has been imitated by most later historians. Bede seems to have regarded avarice as high among the besetting temptations and sins of bishops. In his letter to Egbert he says that although there were remote villages which had not so much as seen a bishop for years nevertheless not a single one of these places was immune from rendering *tributa* to its neglectful pastor.² *Tributum* is referred to in Theodore's *Penitential* where it is indicated that the term was a general one and included tithe and it is stated that it is to be levied according to the custom of the province and is not to be such as to burden the poor, which inclines one to think it was burdening the poor.³ It is not possible to be positive that any particular clause in the *Penitential* refers to English conditions. The same objection does not apply to clause 61 of Ine's laws

"Church-scot is to be paid from the haulm and hearth where one resides at midwinter."⁴

² "Opera Historica", ed. C. Plummer, i, 410.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils", iii, 203; cf. G. Constable "Monastic Tithes" (1964), 25.

⁴ "Eng. Hist. Docs." i (ed. D. Whitelock), 371. For the literature on church-scot see F. Barlow, "English Church 1000-1066", 160-2.

Not only had the Church in England established something like a right to tax, but it seems to have been concerned to get its share of what may have been the most important part of any successful king's income: the spoils of war. The *Penitential* of Theodore says that a third part of the *pecunia* taken from a conquered king shall be given to the Church or the poor.⁵ Again, one cannot be quite certain that this refers to England. But probably it does and a famous letter from archbishop Brihtwold to the bishop of Sherborne attempting to regain a noble Kentish girl who was being held in captivity by the abbot of Glastonbury would fit easily into a context in which ecclesiastics were indeed getting their share of the booty.⁶ The worldly greatness of a successful bishop is made sufficiently plain by Eddius. His story of Wilfrid's division of his treasure not long before he died is a revealing one. He had it brought before him at Ripon, "gold and silver with precious stones" and had it divided into four parts. Of these one went to his abbots at Ripon and Hexham "so that they might secure the friendship of kings and of bishops with gifts." Another was to go to those followers who had served him long in exile and to whom he had not given land.⁷ Here Wilfrid appears very much like a great secular lord with his treasure and his *comitatus*. The reference to buying the favour of bishops is an indication of their power and of how some of them used it. Wini had found it worth his while to buy the see of London as early as c. 666.⁸ Small wonder that when Bede described Cuthbert's attitude towards the prospect of a bishopric he says that it was the perils of the love of money of which the saint was most afraid.⁹

In the *Ecclesiastical History* Bede does not draw episcopal wealth to the attention of his readers. He was very well aware of, and alarmed by it. He chose to avoid drawing attention to it but to lay great stress on the good example set by *poor* bishops in the past.

No such concern to avoid scandal and to emphasise the edifying can account for Bede's failure to give much weight to another important aspect of the English Church in his day, the very large number of monasteries (though he did mistrust some monasteries or pseudo-monasteries). He indicates that monasteries became numerous during the second half of the seventh century, describes the foundation of some, and mentions a considerable number of others. But monasteries are not his main concern; that is with bishops, the foundation of sees and the conversion of kingdoms, and with certain kinds of miracle story. In so far as he had a model it was that of Eusebius, who could have nothing to say about monasteries. It is clearly not part of Bede's design to record the foundation of monasteries, except in special cases or incidentally. The number of passing references to monasteries in his text indicates that they were numerous;¹⁰ other sources

suggest that they were very numerous. Many English monasteries of Bede's day are known only from a stray reference or so. For example, we should not know that there was a monastery of some note at Nursling, were it not mentioned in Willibald's life of Boniface.¹¹ The only incontrovertible early reference to the house at Much Wenlock comes from a letter of Boniface's.¹² The existence of the double monastery at Wimborne is known only from Rudolph of Fulda's life of Leofgyth.¹³ There are many other such cases. When many monasteries are known only from isolated references in scanty sources it is a fair deduction that there were many others to which our sources do not refer at all. There must have been scores of monasteries by the time Bede died; possibly there were hundreds. It is an important possibility that Bede's not being concerned to record the foundation of monasteries except in special circumstances may give an inadequate impression of the importance of Irish foundations other than those made directly or indirectly from Iona. He mentions only two such: Fursey's at Burgh Castle¹⁴ and Dicuil's at Bosham.¹⁵ There is a fairly strong *a priori* case for supposing there to have been other such houses unmentioned by Bede, granted that so many Irishmen went abroad as missionaries and hermits in this period. It is strengthened by there certainly having been one Irish monastery which he does not mention as such. This is Malmesbury, founded by Maidubh, probably by about the middle of the seventh century, possibly before 640.¹⁶ To judge from the rank and attainments of its most eminent son, Aldhelm, it was a house of some note and some learning. It is hard to believe that it did not play a part in the conversion of Wessex; and Bede's saying nothing of it in that context is a warning that there may have been important elements in the conversion of England as a whole of which he does not tell. Indeed we have only to reflect upon how little he tells us of his own monastery; all the detailed information he gives us about it comes from his *Lives of the Abbots*—it is from there alone that we can surmise the relative magnificence of the monastic buildings of Jarrow.

Of course "monastery" at this period is a comprehensive term, denoting institutions of rather various kinds. Some no doubt were small and by later standards anomalous institutions. Others were establishments of some considerable grandeur. Monkwearmouth/Jarrow was not only a very numerous community, some six hundred strong, but was also very well housed. Bede describes Benedict Biscop's building activities; and the important excavations which Miss Cramp has been carrying out demonstrate that the monks of these monasteries were indeed housed *more Romanorum*, in large regularly built buildings, plastered inside and out, the inside walls being painted, the floors made up of an imitation of *opus*

⁵ Haddan and Stubbs, iii, 182.

⁶ "Eng. Hist. Doc.", i, no. 166.

⁷ Ed. B. Colgrave, 136.

⁸ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 141.

⁹ "Two Lives of St Cuthbert", ed. B. Colgrave (1940), 184, cf. 236.

¹⁰ D. P. Kirby, "Bede's Native Sources", "Bull. John Rylands Library", xlviii (1965-6), 356.

¹¹ Ed. Levison, "M.G.H. Script. Rer. Germ. in usum Schol", 9.

¹² Ed. Tangl, "M.G.H. Epistolae Selectae", i, 8.

¹³ Ed. Waltz, "M.G.H. Scriptores", xv, 123.

¹⁴ "Op. Hist.", i, 163f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 231.

¹⁶ A. Watkin in "VCH Wilts", iii (1956), 210-3.

signinum, and the windows filled with clear and coloured glass.¹⁷ Bede was living in physical surroundings very different indeed from the rustic simplicity of Aidan's accommodation a couple of generations earlier. Other monasteries had noble buildings; Wilfrid's foundations of Ripon and Hexham are obvious examples. More impressive still is the great church at Brixworth, belonging to a monastery which, if we had only written sources to go by, we should not think likely to have been of more than minor importance. There were other monasteries of which our sources tell us little but which had buildings of some splendour. Aldhelm's poem on the abbess Bugge's church (possibly at Withington, Gloucs.) refers to its glass windows. He also lays some stress on the beauty of a golden chalice inlaid with gems which adorned this monastery and on its other treasures.¹⁸ This is a reminder that the Church of his day was rich not only in buildings but in gold and silver. Great ecclesiastics like great laymen expected to be surrounded by rich and splendid objects. Ethelbert II's idea of a present to send to Boniface was a silver cup lined with gold and weighing three and a half pounds.¹⁹ If the gold and garnet pectoral cross and the silver-covered travelling altar found in Cuthbert's tomb were actually his, as it seems reasonable to suppose, then even that ascetic saint had magnificent possessions.²⁰ There is evidence to suggest that rich objects were manufactured in English monasteries; for example Miss Cramp's discovery of an unused stick of millefiori enamel at Jarrow.²¹ There was much wealth and much grandeur in the English Church in Bede's day. He is not concerned to draw such things to the attention of readers of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

ENGLAND AND GAUL

It is probable that the relationships between England and Gaul were of much more importance in determining the progress of the Church in England in the seventh century than emerges directly from Bede's text. Our evidence on the closeness of those relationships before 597 is inconclusive.²² The marriage of Ethelbert of Kent to the daughter of the Merovingian king Charibert (before 590) may have been part of a more extensive connection. Certainly the Frankish kings Theudebert (534-48) and Childeric (561-84) at least liked to be thought to have had overlordship beyond

the Charnel and may have had it.²³ Although a recent argument that the Frankish objects found in southern England indicate that the fifth century invasions south of the Thames were largely Frankish has not met with general support the archaeological evidence does suggest some Frankish settlement in Kent.²⁴ Bede says that among the peoples from whom the Anglo-Saxons were derived were the *Boructuari*; this people is generally counted as Frankish.²⁵ All told there is a fair case for supposing there to have been Franks in England. Furthermore it is more or less certain that there were considerable Saxon settlements in north Gaul: round Boulougne (by the shortest crossing from Kent); in the neighbourhood of Bayeux, where a body of Saxons was recognised as a distinct entity in the sixth century; and near the mouth of the Loire.²⁶ In some ways Franks and Saxons probably merged into a kind of *continuum*. Consider the lands which Augustine would have passed through on his way to England; we do not know his exact route but it probably ran up the Rhone valley, to Autun and then to Quentovic for the crossing. He would have gone through first lands which were still in important ways part of the Roman world, where the descendants of the senatorial aristocracy survived and provided the bishops and where some sort of urban life was maintained; and then lands where the institutional Church survived but where Roman survival was less marked and Frankish settlement thicker; and then lands still within the sphere of influence of the Merovingian kings but where the population was not only largely German but pagan, and where bishoprics had not survived; and then a part of that area in which the German inhabitants included Anglo-Saxons; and finally, across the Channel to Kent where there may have been Frankish settlers and which some Frankish kings at least chose to regard as under their power. The Channel was not necessarily the most important of the boundaries he crossed; so far as religion and culture went the crucial divide was further south.

Deficiency of information leaves a wide area for doubt in assessing the closeness of the relationship between the Franks and the Saxons. For example insufficient is known of the Frankish language in this period for us to tell whether it would have been fairly intelligible to Saxons. Bede's reference to Augustine's use of Frankish *interpretes* suggests that it would

¹⁷ R. Cramp, "Early Northumbrian Sculpture" (1965), 3; "Medieval Archaeology", vi-vii, 315; viii, 232.

¹⁸ Ed. Ewald, "M.G.H. Auct. Antiquiss.", xv, 17, 18. I owe this reference to the to the kindness of Dr Henry Mayr-Harting. Cf. M. Bateson, "Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries", *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, new ser., xiii, 178.

¹⁹ Ed. Tangl "M.G.H. Epistolae Selectae", i, 230.

²⁰ Ed. C. F. Battiscombe, "The Relics of St Cuthbert" (1956).

²¹ R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, "The Reception by the Anglo-Saxons of Mediterranean Art", *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano Sull' Alto Medioevo*, xiv (1957), 818.

²² Dr J. M. Wallace Hadrill, from whom one hesitates to differ, in "Rome and the English Church: some questions of transmission", *Settimane vii* (1960), 326-8, regards it as being under a misapprehension to hold that "Frankish-Kentish contacts had been established on a wide front" before 597, but it is hard to see how the evidence can justify so firm a conclusion.

²³ F. M. Stenton, "Anglo-Saxon England" (2nd edn., 1947), 4, 7, 14; A. R. Burn, "Procopius and the Isle of Ghosts", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lxx (1955), 258-61.

²⁴ V. Evison, "The Fifth Century Invasions South of the Thames" (1965); C. F. C. Hawkes in "Dark Age Britain", ed. D. B. Harden (1956), 91-111.

²⁵ "Op. Hist.", i, 296. This passage is generally regarded (as Mr Hunter Blair regards it, "World of Bede", 23-4) as giving a list of peoples living in Germany. But the sense of the Latin is that these are the peoples from whom the Anglo-Saxons living in Britain were derived. I hope to discuss this passage at more length elsewhere.

²⁶ For the literature on these settlements see W. Levison, "England and the Continent in the Eighth Century" (1947), 4; D. A. White, "Litus Saxonicum" (1961), 56-72 and note. It is of some interest that the first Saxons known to have become Christians anywhere were living in the diocese of Nantes, c. 560 (Levison, "England and the Continent", 4 and n.) and that there is archaeological evidence to suggest direct contact between this area and Kent at the time (most recently H. Vierck in K. Hancke, "Goldbrakteaten aus Sievern" (1970), 390-3—I owe this reference to Mrs. S. C. Hawkes).

have been.²⁷ Our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon society in the period of conversion is not sufficient to enable us to estimate how similar Saxon kings were to Frankish kings. A curious parallel between a story of Bede's and a text probably describing the Merovingian court suggests more similarity than one might guess. The story is one of Oswald. He was, Bede says, sitting down to dinner one Easter Day. Before him was set a silver dish, laden with good things. Then in came his thegn, whose task it was to relieve the poor, and said that many poor men were asking for alms from the king. Oswald not only gave them his food but ordered the silver dish to be broken up and given to them in little pieces, *minutatim*.²⁸ The Merovingian text describes officials called *consules* whose function it is to make the king's gifts. The *consul*, it says, sprinkles little pieces of silver on the ground which the poor scramble for as best they can, while the happy king looks on, smiling.²⁹ It may be that the coincidence is a chance one; but the appearance in both sources of an officer whose function it is to make gifts and of the business of scattering little pieces of silver to the poor does seem more likely than not to be by more than chance and does something to justify entertaining the supposition that the Northumbrian court was not unlike that of a Merovingian king. There are further indications in the early seventh century of fairly close relationships between England and Gaul. After Edwin of Northumbria's death his son and grandson were sent to Gaul to be brought up by their relation Dagobert.³⁰ Sigbert of East Anglia went into exile in Gaul. Ethelbert's son Eadbald, himself half-Frankish, seems to have married a Frankish princess.³¹ Men described as Saxons were sometimes prominent in Gaul; though here there is the difficulty that we cannot tell whether, for example, the Saxon *dux* who went with Dagobert's army to Gascony in 635 or the Saxon servant of St. Eloi were English or Continental Saxons.³²

ENGLAND AND THE GALLIC CHURCH

The secular connections between England and Gaul were reinforced by and help to explain the relationships between the English and Gallic Churches. Bede has quite a lot to tell us about these relationships. Three bishops of English sees came from Gaul: Felix (of East Anglia c 630-?647) and Agilbert and his nephew Leutherius (both of Wessex 650-660 and 670-676).³³ Winl, bishop of Wessex (662-666) and later of London (666-666 x 675) was consecrated in Gaul.³⁴ Wilfrid spent three years in the service

²⁷ "Op. Hist.", i, 45; and *interpres* here means 'emissary'. This could however mean that they were Franks who knew the language spoken in Kent.

²⁸ "Op. Hist.", i, 138.

²⁹ J. M. Wallace Hadrill, "The Long Haired Kings" (1962), 217-8. Various explanations of the coincidence other than that mentioned above are, of course, possible; e.g., that Bede's story derives in outline from some lost piece of Continental hagiography.

³⁰ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 126.

³¹ *Ibid.*, i, 116; F. M. Stenton, "Anglo-Saxon England" (2nd edn., 1947), 60.

³² Ed. J. M. Wallace Hadrill, "Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar" (1960), 65; W. Levison, "England and the Continent in the Eighth Century", 9 and n.

³³ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 116, 140, 141.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 140.

of archbishop Annemundus of Lyons (655-8) and had other close relationships with Gaul.³⁵ The connection with Lyons may have been of particular significance in view of its importance as a centre of learning in the period. Brihtwold, archbishop of Canterbury, was consecrated there in 693.³⁶ Englishmen going to Italy usually went via the Rhone valley and Benedict Biscop is unlikely to have been the only Englishman to have taken the opportunity to acquire books there. In the time of Earconberht, king of Kent (640-64) there were, according to a famous and very important passage in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, few monasteries in England and those seeking the monastic life went to houses in Gaul, especially to Chelles, Faremoutiers en Brie and Andelys. Among those who went to these monasteries were Earcongota (daughter of Earconberht of Kent), Saethyrth and Aethelburh (daughter and step-daughter of Anna of East Anglia), who went to Faremoutiers, the last two becoming abbesses, and Hereswith, who went to Chelles, where her sister Hilda, later abbess of Whitby, at one time intended to follow her.³⁷

It is possible to add details from other sources to what Bede tells us of the relations between the Church in England and the Church in Gaul. The weight to be attached to some of these is uncertain; they do no more than raise possibilities. For example, we know that Justus, bishop of Rochester, and Peter, abbot of St Peter's Canterbury, attended the great council at Paris in 614.³⁸ Many explanations of their presence are possible, from chance to their having been summoned as an indication of Clothar II's having some kind of overlordship in Kent. But some of the additional information which we have, put together with what Bede tells us is of more definite import. It draws our attention to the great importance in relation to the history of the Church in England of the monastic movement led by Columbanus and his disciples in Gaul.

Columbanus came to Gaul from Ireland in about 590. He first went to Burgundy where he founded the monasteries of Luxeuil and Annegray. He was expelled from Burgundy by Theuderich II in 610 and, shortly afterwards, went to Lombardy (612). He there founded the great monastery of Bobbio before his death in 615. He seems to have had a great impact on the Frankish courts and nobility. His monasteries, above all Luxeuil, flourished and there were many daughter houses. He, his disciples, and his monasteries seem to have been largely responsible for the great changes which came over the Church in northern Gaul in the seventh century. At the time of Columbanus's arrival from Ireland the Church in much of northern and eastern Gaul was in a poor way. Little had been done to convert the pagans of Flanders and Picardy and paganism was probably still strong in other northern areas. In the north and north east of Gaul the Gallo-Roman ruling class had not survived to provide a means for the

³⁵ Eddius, "Life of Wilfrid", ed. Colgrave (1927), Caps. vi, xii, xxviii.

³⁶ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 295.

³⁷ P. Hunter Blair, "World of Bede", 144-5.

³⁸ Ed. Maassen, "M.G.H. Legum Sectio III Concilia", i, 192.

survival of something of the Roman world as they had in the south and centre. Monasteries were very few and in large areas there were, so far as we know, none. What Pierre Riché calls the *zone barbare*, an area including lands to the north of the lower Loire, much of Normandy, Picardy, Flanders; and a good deal of north eastern Gaul was probably in many ways more like England than it was like southern Gaul.³⁹

In the seventh century all this changed very much. Missionaries such as St Amand and St Ouen laboured in the north east and sees were established or re-established there.⁴⁰ A very large number of monasteries were founded; the seventh century foundations of northern Gaul provide a long list of famous names: Corbie, Chelles, Jumièges, St Bertin, St Riquier, Fontenelle, to name only a few. It seems that among the impulses which started these movements the influence of Columbanus and his followers was the most important. It is true that much of what happened can be known only through hagiographical sources which can often only be checked by the crude process of making assumptions about plausibility, which in the nature of the case, we do not have adequate means of making. Nevertheless it seems certain that many of the active bishops and monastery founders of the period had come directly or indirectly under the influence of Columbanus; and that most of the new monasteries were either daughter houses of one of his foundations, above all Luxeuil, or were at least founded by or under the influence of men and women associated with him or with his immediate disciples. The Churches of Ireland and Gaul became involved in a fairly close relationship. A considerable number of Irish came to Gaul and a considerable number of Franks went to Ireland to study.

It is clear that many of the English relationships with Gaul were with the, so to speak, Columbanian connection. This is certainly true of two of the three monasteries to which Bede says the English went. Faremoutiers was a daughter house of Luxeuil itself.⁴¹ Jonas, Columbanus's biographer, spent some time there c 644 and mentions an English nun there to add to the list of those of whom we otherwise know.⁴² Chelles was refounded by Balthildis, who was by origin an English slave, had married Clovis II and was for some years after his death in 657 regent of Neustria. She brought the first nuns for it from Jouarre, which had been founded by Adon, apparently under the influence of Columbanus.⁴³ Chelles, Jouarre and Faremoutiers are fairly close together in an area somewhat eastwards of Paris. Jouarre is less than 20 miles from Chelles and less than 15 from

³⁹ P. Riché, "Les foyers de culture en Gaule Franque du VI^e au IX^e siècle", *Settimane*, xi (1964), 298-301; P. Riché, "Education et culture dans l'occident barbare" (2nd edn., 1962), 220-26.

⁴⁰ For summary accounts E. de Moreau, "Histoire de l'Église en Belgique", i (2nd edn., 1945), and G. Tessier, "La conversion de Clovis et la christianisation des Francs", *Settimane*, xiv (1967), 171-89.

⁴¹ "Diet. d'Hist. et de Géog. Ecclesiast.", xvi, under "Fare" and "Faremoutiers".

⁴² Jonas, ed. Krusch, "M.G.H. Script. Ser. Merov.", iv, 136-7.

⁴³ W. Levison, "England and the Continent in the Eighth Century", 9-10; "Vita Bertilae", ed. Levison, "M.G.H. Script. Ser. Merov.", vi, 104-5.

Faremoutiers. The connection between Chelles and Jouarre is an important one in relation to English history. Agilbert, bishop of Wessex, seems to have been related to Adon, founder of Jouarre, and to Telchildis its first abbess and the sarcophagus in which he was buried in the crypt there is still to be seen.⁴⁴ Agilbert's having spent some time in Ireland strengthens the other evidence for his connection with the heirs of Columbanus.⁴⁵ Bede indicates the importance of Agilbert and that of Chelles, but he does not indicate that there was a connection between the two. The number of people who came to England from Gaulish milieus under Irish influence was probably considerable. The *Vita* of Bertila, first abbess of Chelles (probably written a hundred years after the events it describes) says that she sent holy men and women and books to England in response to request from Saxon kings for aid in founding monasteries.⁴⁶ The *Testament of Mildburg*, a source which inspires reserve infused with mistrust, says that the first abbess of Much Wenlock was called Liöbysnde, apparently a Frankish name; and she could have been one of the women Bertila sent, perhaps.⁴⁷ In any case the similarities between the double monasteries of England and their Gaulish counterparts are sufficiently great to make the *Vita Bertilae's* story plausible. Ronan, the Irishman whom Bede mentions at the council of Whitby and who was in *Galliae vel Italiae regulam ecclesiasticae veritatis edoctus* sounds very much as if he came from a Columbanian context; and Bede tells us there were others in England who came *de Gallis*.⁴⁸ St Riquier, according to his *Vita* went to England for a period to preach and to redeem captives.⁴⁹ St Amand is said to have wanted to go to preach in England.⁵⁰ Both had connections with the Irish. It is possible that there was Columbanian influence on the conversion of East Anglia. Sigbert was converted in Gaul c 630 at a time when the influence of Columbanus's followers was strong and his bishop Felix came from Burgundy.⁵¹ Even in the case of the mysterious Birinus, first bishop of Wessex, it is fair to say that a plausible context for a missionary coming from northern Italy at this period is a Columbanian one.⁵² There are scraps of evidence to show that there were English members of monastic

⁴⁴ For the early history of Jouarre, see J. Guerout in Y. Chaussy, et al., "L'Abbaye Royale Notre Dame de Jouarre" (2 vols. 1961), i, 1-67. It was founded c. 635 by Adon, St Ouen's brother. But the family which provided the first abbesses and whose property Jouarre probably became was that of Adon's step-mother. Agilbert was almost certainly Telchildis's brother. He probably built the crypt in which he and the early abbesses were buried and one tradition actually regarded him as the founder of the monastery.

⁴⁵ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 140.

⁴⁶ Hunter Blair, "World of Bede", 145, 153.

⁴⁷ H. P. R. Finberg, "The Early Charters of the West Midlands" (1961), 208-9.

⁴⁸ "Op. Hist.", i, 181.

⁴⁹ Ed. Krusch, "M.G.H. Script. Ser. Merov.", vii, 448. This is the first *Vita*, which, although in Krusch's judgment unreliable and not as nearly contemporary with its subject as it claims to be, cannot be of later than eighth century date. If the story is true the saint would have gone to England sometime before c. 640.

⁵⁰ "Vita Amundi", "M.G.H., Script. Ser. Merov.", v, 446.

⁵¹ J. M. Wallace Hadrill, *art cit.*, 530.

⁵² Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 139-40. The Revd H. E. J. Cowdrey pointed this possibility out to me.

communities in Gaul other than those which Bede mentions.⁵³ The career of St Fursey provides further evidence of the interconnections between England, northern Gaul and Ireland in this period. Having come to East Anglia from Ireland, apparently in the 630's and established a monastery at Burgh Castle, he left, probably early in the next decade, for Gaul. There he settled at Lagny on the Marne (between Chelles and Jouarre). He seems to have been in the favour of Earconwald, mayor of the palace in Neustria, who founded the monastery at Péronne to which Fursey's body (he died in 649 or 50) was moved and which became the head of an important family of monasteries which included Gertrude's at Nivelles. A generation later Aldhelm was in direct communication with Péronne.⁵⁴ It is true that some of the evidence for the relations between the Churches of England and of Gaul in the early and middle seventh century is of a particularly difficult kind. That a very late life of an English saint says he went to Chelles, or an earlier but still not contemporary life of a Frankish saint says he went to preach in England is susceptible of explanations other than that we are being told the truth. But granted how much fairly solid information our sources do provide, and granted that much of the Gaulish (and Irish) influence would have found expression in the foundation of monasteries and the arrival of missionaries who did not become bishops, things which Bede's scheme did not enable him to devote very much attention to, then it is reasonable to suppose that Gaul and particularly the milieu in Gaul under Irish influence had a very great deal to do with the progress of the Church in England.

It is likely that the development of the Churches in England and in northern Gaul in the seventh century took place upon the same lines and for the same reasons, and that the interconnections between them were sufficient to mean that we ought to think of the transformations through which the Church went in England not as insular, but as the English part of changes which were taking place over a much wider area.

MISSIONARY AND MONASTIC DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND AND GAUL

The most important developments in the history of the English Church in the seventh century seem to have been as follows. First, the conversion of most of the royal houses in the generation from c 635. The Italian mission to Kent appears to have been relatively unsuccessful after its first few years and the leading role in conversion from the 630's seems to have been taken by the Irish mission which had come to Lindisfarne from Iona. Second, the acceptance of the authority of Rome and of Canterbury; here the crucial event is the arrival of Theodore in 669. But the way had been prepared for Theodore by developments in the 650's and 660's, by the turning towards Rome of such men as Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop and by the defeat of the proponents of the Celtic Easter. In this development

Canterbury seems to have played little part. It was men who had been brought up in Northumbria, where the influence of Iona was strongest, and the Frankish bishop Agilbert who were largely responsible. Third, the foundation of very large numbers of monasteries in the second half of the century whereas in the first half there had been very few. Fourth, the development of learning in the last generation of the seventh century. Before the coming of Theodore we know of no book composed nor of any manuscript written in England. The age of Bede was very different. Fifth, the great increase in the power and wealth of the church by the end of the seventh century. The rich bishops of Bede's day with their apparently well-established powers must have been very unlike the foreign missionaries of the early days of Christianity in England and the well-built monasteries with their rich treasures unlike the simple accommodation of such as Aidan.

The same changes can be seen taking place in Gaul. In both England and Gaul Irish missionaries can be seen to have had astonishing power. They really do seem to have changed the way of life of many members of formidable barbarian aristocracies. Those whom Columbanus affected were Christians already, but his impact seems little less striking than that of Aidan and his followers. The *modus operandi* of the Irish in England and in Gaul seems to have been much the same and what happened in one country throws light on the other. In the case of Columbanus much seems to have been accomplished by force of character expressing itself in defiance of the *convenances* of noble life. In a famous incident he refused to bless the bastard sons of Theuderich, delivering instead, before striding out, the remark that they would never become kings, having been born in adultery. As he crossed the threshold there was a great clap of thunder. Theuderich reflected that it was unwise to provoke the Almighty by offending his servant and, like a true barbarian king, concluded that the occasion called for a timely and generous proffer. So he sent Columbanus rich gifts. All his *ministri* got from the saint for their pains was the information that *munera impiorum reprobat Altissimus* and they were *pavifacti* while the rich vessels tumbled on the ground. Columbanus was *ferox*; he was *audax et animo vigens*. He was also frightening in his power of prophecy, successfully foretelling the doom of kings.⁵⁵ Refusal to conform to the ways of the world, and a demeanour towards the great which was aggressive to the point of menace seem to have been, not the only elements, but certainly important elements in his approach. Bede's story of Cedd's treatment of Sigbert, king of Essex, is in the same genre. Cedd met the king coming away from dinner with a *comes* whom he had excommunicated. Sigbert dismounted and fell trembling at the saint's feet. Cedd, *iratus*, touched him with his staff and told him that because he would not avoid the house of a man who was damned "in this same house shall you meet death". So Sigbert did.⁵⁶ Notes of anger and defiance are recurrently struck in our accounts of the Irish. Aidan, the most successful of the Irish missionaries

⁵³ E. John, "The Social and Political Problems of the Early English Church", *Agricultural History Review* XVIII (1970), Supplement, 58f.

⁵⁴ J. P. Kenney, "Sources for the Early History of Ireland" (reprint, 1966), 500-508.

⁵⁵ Ed. Krusch, 87-8, 106.

⁵⁶ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 173-74.

in England, was a man of milder spirit. But his conduct seems to have been in essential ways the same. He too acted contrary to the ways of the world. He rarely dined with the king; when he received gifts he gave them to the poor and he did not give gifts to nobles who visited him. Such a line of conduct may have seemed almost shocking to a society accustomed to gift exchange. He too was the master of the stern word and the frightening prophecy.⁵⁷ Of course such incidents occur in the hagiography of many different times and places. The general similarity to, for example, some incidents in Sulpicius' life of St Martin is clear. For all that they probably do tell us something about how Irish missionaries gained success partly by adopting the role of Old Testament prophets.⁵⁸ That Jonas, who was nearer at the time he wrote to Columbanus than Bede was to Aidan and Cedd, tells the same kind of story about Irish missionaries as does Bede strengthens the case for there being a considerable degree of realism in what Bede tells us.

In both England and Gaul, especially northern and eastern Gaul, the successes of missionaries were followed by the establishment of very numerous monasteries. It has been calculated that forty monasteries were founded in the dioceses of Théroüanne, Cambrai, Tournai, and Liège between 625 and 700, that is to say in an area which was largely pagan until the seventh century.⁵⁹ Elsewhere in Gaul there were many new foundations. In both England and Gaul nunneries were prominent among the new foundations, and the women who entered them were often of very high birth. Such nunneries were in both countries, often "double", that is to say they had an attached community of monks under the rule of the abbess. This peculiar institution was characteristic both of England and of Gaul and seems to have spread from Gaul to England. It was not Irish in origin, nor, so far as is known, was it Italian. Its origins must probably be sought in Gaul itself, or perhaps in Spain.⁶⁰ Why monasteries should have become so numerous in both England and Gaul and why nunneries should have been so important in both is not clear. But it is clear that the social circumstances in both countries were very favourable to monasticism and that English monasticism owed very much to that of Gaul.

In both England and in Gaul noble monks and nuns seem often to have expected to be nobly housed and surrounded by rich objects, however severe their personal mode of life may have been. The same contrast which can be drawn between the physical surroundings in which Aidan lived and those of English ecclesiastics a couple of generations later can be drawn between Columbanus, who lived in simple huts, and the greater grandeur in which monasteries founded somewhat later under his influence were housed. Most of the building associated with the monastic movement in northern Gaul has been lost. Such basilicas as that which Wandrille

⁵⁷ Bede, "Op. Hist.", i, 136, 156.

⁵⁸ Cf. A. Mingeler, "Mutations of Western Christianity" (trans. Quinn, 1964), 67.

⁵⁹ E. de Moreau, "Hist. de l'Eglise en Belgique", i, 131.

⁶⁰ S. Hilpisch, "Die Doppelklöster" (1928); M. Bateson, "Origin and History of Double Monasteries", art. cit.; P. Hunter Blair, "World of Bede", 135-36.

built of squared stone at Fontenelle do not survive. But it is clear from descriptions and from such surviving monuments as the crypt and tombs at Jouarre that, as in England, the new monasteries were not infrequently provided with buildings of some splendour. That there are similarities between some English and some Merovingian architecture of the period is unsurprising; Benedict Biscop got his masons from Gaul. It is likely that further work will strengthen the evidence for the connection. For example excavations at Deux Jumeaux and at Evrecy (dépt Calvados) have uncovered remains of monasteries of the seventh and eighth centuries bearing considerable resemblances to Monkwearmouth/Jarrow at the same period. Sculpture (sometimes painted) was used as architectural decoration in the same way as at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow and, as is the case there, the motifs used are both those of Mediterranean origin and barbaric beasts such as are found on the metalwork of the period. A more precise parallel is the use at Evrecy of incised baluster shafts very similar to those used at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow.⁶¹ The Gaulish monasteries, like the English ones, were provided with rich treasures. For example we have a seventeenth century engraving of a wonderful chalice from Chelles. Of gold, a foot high, inlaid, probably with garnets, in a cloisonné style similar to that of some of the Sutton Hoo jewellery; it must have been such a chalice as Aldhelm praises in his poem on Bugge's monastery.⁶²

MONASTIC LEARNING IN ENGLAND AND GAUL

The remarkable developments in learning and in the production of manuscripts in England in the age of Bede should probably, as Riché has argued, be seen as part of a much wider movement.⁶³ The parallel between what happened in England and what happened in northern and north eastern Gaul is again close.

So far as is known no manuscripts were written in England until the late seventh century. Similarly in northern Gaul; there is nothing until the second half of the seventh century. In that period Luxeuil becomes "the first great writing centre of Merovingian Gaul".⁶⁴ Of the two major foundations of Balthildis Corbie became a very important centre of manuscript production, certainly in the eighth century and probably in the seventh and Chelles was probably also the source of an important series of manuscripts.⁶⁵ If we include Chelles these three were easily the most important sources of manuscripts known of in Gaul. Previously Lyons and

⁶¹ I have not seen L. Musset's "Deux Jumeaux. Résultats des fouilles sur le site de l'ancien prieuré" (Caen, 1963) and know of these sites only from his articles in *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie*, liii (1955-6), 116-68, 405-19; liv (1957-8), 571-82; and in *Art de Basse Normandie* No. 23 (1961). It is believed that the finds at Deux Jumeaux date from the seventh or eighth centuries while those at Evrecy seem somewhat later, but no clear evidence of date seems to have been found.

⁶² A. de Saussay, "Panoplia Sacerdotalis" (Paris, 1681), 198-200.

⁶³ P. Riché, "Education et culture", *op. cit.*, 410-19.

⁶⁴ E. A. Lowe, "Codices Latini Antiquiores", vi, pp. xv-xvii.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xxvi.

Autun had been the main centres of manuscript production.⁶⁶ But by 700 new monasteries in the north were taking the lead from old Gallo-Roman episcopal centres further south, and their scriptoria are the counterpart of the new monastic scriptoria in England. It does not appear that books were composed in England until about the beginning of the eighth century. We then have a considerable number, not only the works of Bede and Aldhelm but a number of lesser works, particularly saints' lives, from various centres. Similarly in northern Gaul where in the last generation of the seventh century books start to be composed in areas where they had not been composed before. We have saints' lives from Rebais, Remiremont, Fontenelle, Nivelles and Laon from between c 670 and 710 and the poems of Theodfrid, first abbot of Corbie.⁶⁷ This is not, it is true, a very impressive body of literature, but it is not unlike what England provided if we exclude the quite extraordinary achievement of Bede.

One is looking at the same kind of development taking place in the same kind of new monastery in England and Gaul. Compare, for example, Whitby and Chelles. Whitby was founded in 657 by Hilda, who had been intending to go to Chelles which was refounded at about the same time. Both monasteries were double. The most striking thing about Whitby, particularly by comparison with the nunneries of later centuries, is the intellectual activity there. Six bishops, Bede says, were educated at Whitby. The first life of Gregory the Great, one of the first books to have been composed in England, was written there.⁶⁸ The number of styluses etc. found in the excavations at Whitby is an indication of how much writing went on.⁶⁹ The evidence for comparable activity at Chelles is not absolutely watertight. One is dependent on suppositions, though they are the suppositions of Lowe and Bischoff.⁷⁰ If they are right Chelles was the source of a series of manuscripts of the late seventh and the eighth centuries, including the earliest manuscript of the Gelasian sacramentary and a group of manuscripts written for Hildebald archbishop of Cologne (785-819) by nuns who wrote their names at the end of their work. It looks as if the monastery Hilda founded was of much the same kind as the one she nearly joined and as if both were of an unusual kind.

ROME AND IRELAND BY NO MEANS ALWAYS OPPOSED

An important part in the development of learning in northern Gaul, as in England, was played by direct contacts with Italy. St Gertrude, St Ouen and St Amand looked to Italy for books in the same way as did Benedict Biscop.⁷¹ That contact with Italy was important for milieux in

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xiii-xv.

⁶⁷ Riché, "Education et culture", *op. cit.*, 412.

⁶⁸ "Op. Hist.", i, 254-5.

⁶⁹ C. Peers and C. A. Ralegh Radford, "The Saxon Monastery at Whitby", *Archaeologia*, lxxix (1943), 64-5.

⁷⁰ B. Bischoff, "Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles", *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (1957), 395-411; E. A. Lowe, "Codices", vi, pp. xxi-xxii.

⁷¹ P. Riché, "Education et culture", *op. cit.*, 382, 399.

the Gaulish Church which were also under strong Irish influence is a reminder that we should not be led by Bede's concentration on the influences of Iona and of Canterbury and by his great concern with the Easter controversy to regard the contrasts between the "Roman" and "Celtic" churches as being generally sharp or invariably present. "Italian" and "Irish" influences were not mutually exclusive. England came under Irish influences not only directly, but indirectly, via Gaul. It came under Italian influence not only directly, but indirectly via the Irish. As Mr John has recently emphasised some of the things which have been frequently discussed as if they were characteristic of the "Roman" as opposed to the "Celtic" church were, in fact, particularly associated with the Irish.⁷² The Irish were as often the friends as the enemies of papal authority. Columbanus's fracas with Gregory the Great arose through his trying to induce the Pope to impose the Irish Easter on the bishops of Gaul. It seems to have been the Irish who were responsible for the diffusion of the cult of St Peter in Gaul and it seems virtually certain that it was largely through monasteries under the influence of Columbanus that knowledge of the Benedictine rule was diffused in Gaul in the seventh century.⁷³ Columbanus's foundation of Bobbio (for which a papal exemption from the authority of the diocesan bishop was early obtained) helped to give his successors a continuing and close connection with Italy. The conflict over the calculation of the date of Easter did indeed set some Irishmen and their disciples at odds with the rest of western Christendom, and this conflict was by no means a trivial one. But very many Irishmen both at home and abroad did not stick to their traditional reckonings; the dispute was quite as much one between Irish and Irish as between Irish and non-Irish. The majority of the Irish had probably abandoned the Celtic Easter by 650. In the seventh century the Churches of England, Gaul and Ireland formed in some ways one interconnected world and one in which the influence of Italy and of Rome was strong and growing stronger. In such a world there is nothing surprising in the demand for the adoption of the Roman Easter in Northumbria having come from a man such as Wilfrid, who had been a member of the community at Lindisfarne, or from Agilbert, a Frank educated partly in Ireland. "Italian" and "Irish" influences remained almost inextricably entwined together in the age of Bede. Theodore's *Penitential* was largely based on Irish models and Wilfrid's combination of episcopal power with that over a scattered family of monasteries looks as if it was derived from Irish example.⁷⁴

⁷² E. John, "The Social and Political Problems of the Early English Church", *art. cit.*, 56.

⁷³ P. Riché, "Education et culture", *op. cit.*, 382-3.

⁷⁴ E. John, "Social and Political Problems. . .", *art. cit.*, 59-61; Mr John compares Wilfrid's position with that of Columbanus; that of the bishops of Armagh may present a closer parallel, K. Hughes, "The Church in Early Irish Society" (1966), 69, 86.

BEDE'S ACCOUNT INCOMPLETE

In general when English historians have discussed the development of the English Church in the seventh century they have explained it largely in terms of Italian and Irish influences, with those from Gaul regarded as noteworthy, but secondary; and when they have looked over the Channel they have been inclined not to focus their gaze until it reaches somewhere about Lyons.⁷⁵ There is a good case for giving more weight to the relationships and similarities between England and northern Gaul, and for regarding many of the developments which took place in England as being part of wider movements which were also affecting Gaul, and were such as to establish numerous connections between England, Gaul and Ireland. Bede's interests and emphases have in some degree obscured the extent to which this was so. His concern with Canterbury and Iona and the importance which he attached to the Easter controversy have not infrequently led to the differences between the Irish and other churches being overstressed. Because he looked so earnestly to Italy and to Rome historians have tended to follow him, not always giving due weight to the extent to which this impulse to turn towards Rome was something which had come to England from Gaul and Ireland. In so far as it was not part of Bede's intention in the *Ecclesiastical History* to seek to give anything like a full account of the foundation of monasteries he does not bring home to its readers how large the number of monasteries founded in later seventh and early eighth century England was. This wave of monastery-founding corresponds to and is clearly connected with a similar wave in northern Gaul. Quite what the social forces were which led to the establishment of so many monasteries in England and in Gaul in this period is not at all clear, but it is a reasonable assumption that these forces were the same on both sides of the Channel. Bede's reticence on aspects of the life of the Church in his own day obscures the extent to which its bishops and abbots were like those of Merovingian Gaul. It would be absurd to maintain that the English Church was exactly like the Church in Gaul. To take only the most obvious differences: the Church in Gaul did not produce a Bede and did not have a Theodore. All kinds of influences, some of them from very distant places, helped to mould the Church in England. But amongst them that of Gaul was of primary, not secondary, importance.

* * *

The establishment and burgeoning of the Church in seventh century England can be seen as part of a wider movement in which lands on the northern and eastern fringes of Gaul regained some of the Roman civilisation which they had lost in the barbarian invasions. In that movement the influence of Gaul must have been very important. After their conquests of the late fifth and early sixth centuries the Merovingian kings were the

⁷⁵ This is not, of course, true of the important articles by Dr Wallace Hadrill and Mr John already cited; and cf. M. Dennesly, "Early English and Gallic Ministers", *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser. xxiii (1941), 25-70.

only rulers north of the Alps and Pyrenees who ruled states in which much of Rome survived. To the peoples on the borders of Gaul the Merovingian régime must, whatever it appears like to modern readers of Gregory of Tours, have been the most impressive and the most Roman they knew. The influence of Frankish Gaul was wide. Theudebert was gaining power over much of western Germany at the same time as his ambassadors were trying to demonstrate at Byzantium his authority over Britain. At just the same time there is evidence for Gaulish influence in Wales while pottery apparently of Frankish origin, evidence it may be for trade, is found round the northern shores of the Irish Sea.⁷⁶ While Frankish objects of luxury were in demand in sixth century England warriors in Norway seem to have been changing their weapon kit in accordance with Frankish practice.⁷⁷ At the time in the seventh century when Frankish ecclesiastics were venturing in England in search of souls or of preferment a Frankish adventurer, Samo, was establishing some kind of authority in Bohemia. How like some of the kings of England were to Merovingian kings at the beginning of the seventh century is an open question: what is certain is that they were far more like Merovingian kings by the end of that century. They were Christians, they had bishops, some of them had written law-codes,⁷⁸ some of them were issuing coins modelled on Merovingian coins. An English king such as Aldfrith was literate, and could receive a treatise from such a scholar as Aldhelm, advising him on the art of metrical composition.⁷⁹ Like some Frankish or Visigothic rulers he could have, or be deemed to have, a taste for literary amusements derived from those of Rome. There is even evidence to suggest that the great of England in the seventh century came to dress themselves in the styles of late antiquity.⁸⁰ The English kingdoms were becoming as it were sub-Roman states at second remove. It is hard to believe that the models they imitated were not, for the most part, those of Gaul.

⁷⁶ V. E. Nash Williams, "Early Christian Monuments of Wales" (1950), e.g. p. 104; C. Thomas, "Imported Pottery in Dark Age Western Britain", *Medieval Archaeology*, iii (1959), 89-111.

⁷⁷ H. Shetelig and H. Falk, "Scandinavian Archaeology" (1937), 262-3.

⁷⁸ For important remarks on the law codes, J. M. Wallace Hadrill in *Settimane*, vii, 528, 539.

⁷⁹ Ed. Ewald, "Opera", 61-204.

⁸⁰ E. Crowfoot and S. C. Hawkes, "Early Anglo-Saxon Gold Braids", *Medieval Archaeology*, xi (1967), 64, quoting Aldhelm "De Virginitate". It is possible that Aldhelm derived this description of female dress from a continental source but the authors mention archaeological evidence also.

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16-19TH DECEMBER 1970

Unlike the Continent, which in general terms enjoyed a steady development of monastic tradition without catastrophic interruption, England experienced two very separate phases of early monastic development. The first was what has been called "the golden age of English monasticism", the age of Bede and Benet Biscop in the north, of Aldhelm in the west, of Theodore and Hadrian in the south; the age of the Celt-Rome confrontation and of abbots who had in their charge even so many as four or five bishops going out from their monasteries. That was almost totally wiped out by the Viking invasions of the bleak ninth century, which reduced England to a prolonged marauding battlefield. Alfred had to recreate a national life from his corner of Wessex, and the next generation had to rebuild the monastic tradition so important to the spiritual and cultural welfare of any Christian country, at that time at least. Alfred died in 899 and was buried at Winchester: it was from there that the new impulse was to gather and go forth half a century later.

The central act of that new impulse was a document put together at the Winchester Council in 970, just a thousand years ago. This document, and the movement it epitomises, has recently been commemorated by English scholars and monks, and their commemoration is here shortly reported. In reporting the conference, care has been taken not to pre-empt the collection of papers that is to be printed, it is hoped by the Leicester University Press, from the lectures delivered; so the lectures have been discussed in only very general outline and only very shortly; what footnotes there are here are subsequently worked out and are independent from the conference. The same is so of the Appendix provided by Mr D. H. Farmer of Reading University, who attended the conference but did not lecture. This then might better be called a reflection following the conference than a report on it.

ENGLAND a thousand years ago was still recovering from the depredations of the Danes. The deep rooted monastic tradition chronicled and symbolised by Bede of Monkwearmouth had been wiped out by Norse settlers who overran, for instance, York in 866; and a century after that the new monasticism was being brought in from continental and Wessex sources to replant the soil of England with houses which would watch unto God.¹ Somewhere between 965 when Queen Aelfthryth became King Edgar's wife, and 975 when the King died after a long and fruitful reign, when a number of new foundations were well in hand and the leaders thought it ripe that the movement should be pulled together, a momentous Council was summoned at the then capital of the English people, Winchester. There, on a date which we can only tentatively take

¹ The date from which the revival is taken to begin is 940, when it seems clear that Dunstan was made Abbot of Glastonbury. A millennium later, to the very year, Dom David Knowles published his great book, "The Monastic Order"; but ironically he dated it as from 943. Only later did scholars agree upon the earlier dating. Cf. Dom Thomas Symons, *Downside Review*, April 1942, 221f.

to be 970,² the three leading figures, Abbot Dunstan of Glastonbury (by then Archbishop of Canterbury), Abbot Ethelwold of Abingdon (by then Bishop of Winchester) and Abbot Oswald of Ramsey (by then Bishop of Worcester) met to draw up a monastic code which should standardise their separate movements: it was to be a settlement of differences (*concordia*) made in accordance with the Rule (*regularis*), an event of national importance in a newly united England (*Anglicae nationis*).

The Proem of the document finally drawn up (edited in 1953 by Dom Thomas Symons of Worth Abbey³ for the Nelson Medieval Classics) tells us of the nature of the decisions taken. Two houses of the Cluny tradition (Fleury, reformed from Cluny in 930 by Abbot St Odo) and of the Gorze tradition (St Peter's, Ghent, reformed by Gerard de Brogne in 937) were to provide monks to teach their own customs "such as will tend to uprightness of life and sweetness of regular observance". Monks were not to frequent the nunneries. Customs were not to be added to. The elections of abbots and abbesses were to be carried out with the consent and advice of the King and according to the teaching of the Rule. Monasteries were forbidden to acknowledge the overlordship of secular persons (*saecularium prioratus*),⁴ but should rather appeal to the King and Queen for protection when they felt threatened. Monks on journeys were to avoid worldly pursuits or feast, to find themselves in company with wise men and not to go off alone with the children of the cloister. The rules of the Rule were to be stringently maintained.

This event, central to the history of monasticism in England, was marked a thousand years later by a conference of scholars and religious, who met for three intensive days at the University of Leicester under

² This is arbitrary: the event most probably fell between 970-73. The monks of the English Benedictine Congregation are hoping to hold their millennial conference in the spring of 1972 or 1973. Abbot Symons, in discussing the date of the Council of Winchester, reaches this conclusion: "on the evidence of the Concordia, it would seem that the Council of Winchester, and with it our document itself, should be assigned to a date not earlier than the year 970: I would myself suggest 972 or 973". *Downside Review*, April 1962, 153-6.

³ Dom Symons has since been made titular Abbot of Glastonbury, most fittingly. Since publishing this edition, which resumed the work of his articles in the *Downside Review* in the 1920s and 1940s, he has published the following further articles in the same place: "Looking Back on the Regularis Concordia" (1960), "Some Notes on English Monastic Origins" (1962), "The Regularis Concordia and the Council of Winchester" (1962), "Notes on the Life and Work of St Dunstan" (1962). The edition was reviewed in the *Downside Review* in 1954 (p. 332-5) by Eric John: its full title in English is given as "The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation".

⁴ Cf. Eric John, "Saecularium Prioratus and the Rule of St Benedict", *Revue Benedictine* LXXV (1965), 212-39. Mr John has collected his writing on the theme of this conference into a single volume, "Orbis Britanniae", Leicester Univ Press (1966). The article above and the following are not in that volume: "The Division of the Mensa in Early English Monasteries", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* VI (1955), 143-55; "The Sources of the English Monastic Reform—a Comment", *Revue Benedictine* LXX (1960), 197-203; "The Church of Winchester and the Tenth Century Reformation", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* XLVII.2 (1965), 404-29.

the auspices of the Department of Adult Education.⁵ Their intention was to discuss the current state of knowledge by means of specialist lectures on a wide range of topics, placing the *Regularis Concordia* in its total context involving political and Church history, art and archaeology, literature and drama.

The conference opened with a wide ranging lecture by Professor H. R. Loyn⁶ on "Church and State in England in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries". He at once apologised for such an anachronistic title, preferring Religion and Monarchy to Church and State at a time when such institutions had not properly emerged. He contrasted the institutionalism which had come from Pope Gregory the Great's Rome—landownership, almsgiving, formal teaching, social discipline, governance in its many forms—with the monastic forces focused on penitence. On the Continent these forces had worked well together under Charlemagne, whose *capitula* were full of legislation at once religious and social; but later, as the tendencies of *eigenkloster* and *eigenkirche* (essentially the same as the *saecularium prioratus* of the *Regularis Concordia*, sec 10) had given an increasingly secular society a progressive stranglehold over the affairs of religion, it was the monks and monk-bishops who generated the ideals and the will which erupted in the Gregorian Reform movement. In England this never happened, and it is a signal point that only here do we ever find cathedral priories, the living evidence of the bond between Church and State and Monastery.

The evidence points not to conflict but to harmony between bishop and baron. Anglo-Saxon law is often set out as Carolingian *capitula* had been, divided between regulations of religion and of society: bishops ruled in shire courts, taking their place in both provincial and royal synods to deliberate on ecclesiastical and secular law together; tithes were willingly paid by seasonal ritual as "support for God's acres"; the feasts and festivals, the sacramental rhythm, the prayers to avert or remove plagues or other acts of God were all part of the very fabric of annual social life. The whole tendency was towards the maintenance of the Church as an institution, the stress being placed upon a single faith and a single anointed king; upon the bond between monastery and episcopacy; upon the single code of morality for priests, monks and laymen; upon the royal protection afforded to the Church's endeavours towards moral reform. A terrible warning was given to "men who dealt with churches as with mills"; and, to prevent such abuse, no minister was to be expelled without the consent of his bishop.

⁵ The Conference Director was Mr David Parsons of the Extramural Department, to whose initiative we are indebted.

⁶ of the University of Wales, author of "The Imperial Style of the Tenth Century Anglo-Saxon Kings", *History* 1955; "Gestits and Thengs in Anglo-Saxon England", *EHR* 1955; "The King and the Structure of Society in Late Anglo-Saxon England", *History* 1957; "Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest" (1962); "The Norman Conquest" (1965).

A perfect model to illustrate such a harmony would be Oswald, but Professor Loyn chose rather to take Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023), adviser to both Ethelred and Cnut, the main legal force of his period. He was a man of the Carolingian mould, given to systematising the legal rulings of an institutionalised Church according to state methods; and the consequence of this was that the Church in England grew more efficient at defining its legal positions than the secular authority itself. Far from there being in England a Church in the clutches of the State, the State was if anything priest-ridden. But it would be going too far to say that; for indeed the harmony of the two hierarchies, episcopal and secular, was exemplary at that stage of social development. Wulfstan's own writings bring this out wonderfully.⁷ In his prose-poetry he was ever endeavouring to establish an ideal under such a rubric as "it is correct that . . ."—that there should be a hierarchy under the heavenly king, first under whom should be an earthly king and pastor with the prime task of protecting and comforting God's Church on earth. Following Alfred and Aelfric his was that famous division of society into *oratores*, *laboratores*, *bellatores*.⁸ He it was who delineated the precedences of royal counsellors, bishops, reeves and so on down to "all Christian folk". For him a bishop was a man for spiritual and secular seasons, who was to do right, be patient and wise and to preside over shire courts; to be humble and to preside over weights and measures; to see to his prayers and to book work; to wash the feet of the needy and to give alms; to oversee craftsmanship and to prevent idleness: in short, the bishop was for him a moral force in the land (never a physical force), given to instruction rather than to government. And he was accepted as such in his time.

But one has to ask what real impact this "idealist" movement emanating from monastic rather than pastoral bishops was making at parish level. Both the Northumbrian Laws and Wulfstan's own writing, notably his working collection of canonical materials,⁹ show that married priests were not only common, especially in the York area, but were honourably treated as such—suggesting that, as in Europe at the time, the marriage of clergy was held to be a respectable custom. Where the

⁷ A recitation of the articles published by Professor Dorothy Whitelock (who, but for illness, was to have been at the conference) suffices to make the point: "A Note on the Career of Wulfstan the Homilist", *EHR* 1937; crit ed of *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, Methuen 1939, 3 ed 1963; "Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum", *EHR* 1941; "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman", *TRHS* 1942, reprinted in the *TRHS Centenary volume* ed R. W. Southern, "Essays in Medieval History", 1968; "Two Notes on Aelfric and Wulfstan", *MLR* 1943; "Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut", *EHR* 1948; "Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws", *EHR* 1955; "Wulfstan at York", *Medieval and Linguistic Studies* 1965. Wulfstan has been found to have been the author of the codes of law II, V, IX Ethelred and I, II Cnut, and it is likely that he was concerned in the "Law of the Northumbrian Priests".

⁸ *EHD* 1846 and 853; ed K. Jost, *Wulfstan's Institutes of Policy*, p. 55f. For a short up-to-date study of Wulfstan's career and mind, cf. Janet M. Cooper, "The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York", *Borthwick Paper* No. 38 (1970).

⁹ *BM Cotton Nero A1*, currently being edited by Professor Loyn. Cf. Mary Bateson, "A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections", *EHR* 1895.

monastic revival did not penetrate, there such customs blossomed. And one has to ask also whether Europe had not led the way in the collaboration of royal rule, Roman monasticism and episcopal systematisation: Pope Leo the Pious (d. 855) and all the great continental bishops were making their collections and catalogues during 800-950 at a time when England was suffering the depredations of the Danes and (Bishop Asser rather surprisingly tells us) the private pursuit of riches. The historian has to take care to ask how far the idealist writings of a period, which have survived for his examination, penetrated into the lives of that society.

* * *

It might be well to speak of Professor D. A. Bullough's¹⁰ paper next: it was entitled "The Tenth Century Reform: The Continental Background". He took for his text the *Regularis Concordia* Sec 3, that Edgar the King "saw to it wisely that his Queen, Aelfthryth, should be the protectress and fearless guardian of the communities of nuns; so that he himself helping the men and his consort helping the women there should be no cause for any breath of scandal"; and with this text he took also the account of Bishop Kenwald of Worcester's visit to St Gall Abbey in 925, where we are told that he was enrolled on the confraternity list of the monastery, and with him not only King Athelstan but other clerics and laymen. The picture built up in this lecture was one of mutual development, where monastic and ecclesiastical writers exalted the importance of unity under the one anointed God-blessed *stirps regia*, the one legitimate line of rule; and castigated all other political action as *fastus arrogantiae, injustitia, superbia*: while the noble families in their turn saw to the material prosperity of the religious houses in their care. As the Carolingian dynasty fragmented, so was born the higher and vaguer imperial idea; and in the Church emerged the notion of *respublica christiana*. The co-operative element is epitomised in Benedict of Aniane, an abbot of bureaucratic rather than spiritual temper, who under the wing of Aachen effected a process of standardisation (with his *codex regularum* of twenty-six different rules from Gaul, Egypt, Spain, Syria, Cappadocia, and so forth) which was to stand as model for the later English reformers. In the exemplar Rule procured from Montecassino, in the *Capitula* emanating from Aachen, in Abbot Smaragdus's Commentary and other commentaries following it,¹¹ is seen a legalistic standardising tendency which took little account of human interest or characteristics, and which—for all its worthy intention—set fair to smother benedictine culture or at least so constrict it that much of it would never flower.

¹⁰ of Nottingham University, author of "The Age of Charlemagne" (1965); "Anglo-Saxon and Early English Society", *Annali della Fondazione Italiana per la storia amministrativa*, Milan 2 (1965); "Early Medieval Social Grouping: the Terminology of Kinship", *Past and Present* 45 (November 1969); "Europae Pater: Charlemagne and his Achievement in the Light of Recent Scholarship", *EHR* 1970. He was lecturing in place of Mr Eric John, who was detained in the United States.

¹¹ See M. A. Schroll, o.s.b., "Benedictine Monasticism as reflected in the *Warnfried-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule*" (1941).

Had Reichenau or St Gall or Fulda been subjected to Aachen's uniformist policy, the tale of those houses would have been far different.

As it was, the fate of the German houses, for example the two houses of the chronicler Regino of Prüm, suggests that local nobility regarded their adjacent monasteries as investments, to be built up and endowed in good times so that in bad times they might be judiciously plundered. The temper of secular barons seems strongly to have affected the prosperity of monastic communities on earth—but then, the same might well be said inversely of the communities in their effect upon baronial prosperity vis-à-vis heaven! The tacit contract benefited both parties; and because it worked, the co-called Gorze movement, which pervaded Germany as the Cluniac pervaded France, always remained in close ties with the landowning aristocracy. Admitted Gerard de Brogne used his own patrimony to found Gorze, becoming a monk in his own house; nevertheless his policy, as his movement spread, was to accept lands by suffrage and gifts from landowners in return for spiritual services rendered.¹²

So when the English royal family began to marry into the Ottonians and the house of Burgundy, they married into the dual tradition of the Saxon imperial idea and the Gorze monastic movement. The concept of *consors regni* and *consors imperii* was then emerging; and it is significant that in 936, immediately after the coronation of Otto I, his Anglo-Saxon queen founded the abbey of Quedlinburg which prospered under her care and after her the care of the *consors imperii*. This signally illustrates the emergence of wives of rulers to play a formal constitutional part which flowered particularly in the patronage of nunneries. It stands as an evident influence upon Edgar in introducing his queen to her task in the Tenth Century Monastic Reform.

But it may be objected that England if anything led the way in this process, so that by the tenth century one wonders if English queens in fact had anywhere to go but down. The pages of Bede's *Historia* are full of royal wives and daughters making foundations, the most memorable of them the double house at Ely founded by the daughter of Anna King of the East Angles, St Etheldreda,¹³ who after a dozen years as the wife

¹² Cluny was founded for very different reasons. It was because his power in lower Burgundy was so weak that Count William wanted to put Cluny under specifically spiritual sanctions, rather than his ineffective lay control. One wonders why those sanctions were sufficient to allow the monastery to grow to its massive strength. One reason was the force of the intercessory function of monasteries in those days, and this was much reinforced by the advent of the *liber memorialis* and the Cluny confraternity system. Cf. H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Unions and Confraternities with Cluny", *JEH* XLVI, 152-62. Moreover the status of the first two abbots, Berno and Odo, may have been an important factor: they were accepted by the local nobility as able men with much to contribute and not much to lose. For the differences between the Cluny and Gorze movements, see Dom Hubert Dauphin, "Monastic Reforms from the Tenth Century to the Twelfth", *Downside Review*, Winter 1951-2, 62-74.

¹³ She is interesting in that she is one of four daughters all of whom went into monasteries, three of them becoming abbesses; that Bede devotes a chapter (*HE* IV.20) to a hymn in her honour; and that Ethelwold had such a veneration for her that he refounded Ely in 970 and had her included in his *Benedictional* (Wormald, Plate 6). The hymn of Bede was cited in the refoundation charter.

of the King of Northumbria retired to be an abbess for the rest of her life. One remembers that a century later Offa had coins struck carrying the head of his queen, Cynethryth. She and Offa had together received a papal bull granting them joint control of monasteries' and nunneries' properties under Mercian control, the Queen being made an honorary abbess. Then one remembers Queen Emma, wife of Ethelred and then of Cnut.¹⁴ Had the Continent so much to teach the Anglo-Saxons in this matter?

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What may be called the central paper was delivered on the second afternoon by Abbot Thomas Symons of Worth (titular Abbot of Glastonbury): he entitled it "The *Regularis Concordia*: History and Derivation". He began by giving a long and careful account of the Reform Movement, drawing on the introduction to his edition of that document and on his various articles on the subject. He recalled the sources, notably the two lives of St Dunstan, the two lives of St Ethelwold, the anonymous life of St Oswald and the Old English account of the Reform attributed to St Ethelwold, all of these written between 995-1010. We saw the principal characters moving into position, Edgar to the throne in 959, Dunstan to Canterbury in 960, Oswald to Worcester in 961 and Ethelwold to Winchester in 963. Dunstan brought with him the tradition of St Peter's, Ghent, Oswald the Fleury tradition and Ethelwold imported monks from Corbey. Dunstan seems to have been the presiding genius, the mind and guide, the archbishop of the whole nation (as he was called by a chronicler), who enlisted "the sedulous co-operation" of Ethelwold and Oswald. Such was their success that in 970, a millennium ago, some thirty monasteries had either been restored or were projected, these inclusive of nunneries. These inevitably embraced a mass of different customs, many of them imported, many of them developed in a competitive spirit. A close reading of the evidence suggests that it was Dunstan who conceived the remedy and took the necessary steps for its application.

Curiously enough the all important Synod of Winchester, which gave birth to the *Regularis Concordia* and gave final institutional structure to the movement, is hardly referred to in any of the documents and least of all in the two lives of Dunstan. Only in Aelfric's Letter to the monks of Eynsham do we find any account of the Synod, and that simply prefaces a résumé of the document it fathered. Nevertheless in his time two centuries later St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, regarded that document as Dunstan's, even if the final compilation came from the pen of Ethelwold and the revisions of a synod. Oswald, one notices, seems to have played only a small part at the Synod, and that is reflected in the Lorraine rather than Cluniac influences at work in the resultant document.

Abbot Symons proceeded to deal with the derivation of the *Regularis Concordia*, showing by a hand-out script the parallels between it and

¹⁴ ed A. Campbell, *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (1949).

earlier continental documents, largely from Fleury, Trèves, Einsiedeln and Verdun. He reminded us that monastic contemporaries appear to have had a working knowledge of all customs of their time, and of the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Bede and Isidore of Seville. The native elements appear to have been these: instructions on the pealing of bells (a usage confined to this country even to today), prayers for the monarch and his queen and for benefactors, the consultation of both royal advice and benedictine procedure in episcopal and abbatial elections, the extension of the policy from Winchester and Worcester of establishing monastic cathedral sees, the recommendation of the custom of daily Holy Communion¹⁵ and the introduction of the Mass of the Holy Cross on Fridays and of the Blessed Virgin on Saturdays. The customs imported from the Continent can be divided into those prior to the reforms of Benedict of Aniane, those instigated by him in 815 and 816, and the widespread innovations of the tenth century (for example, the *trina oratio* and the liturgical practices taken from current service books). An analysis of the derivations show us how carefully the *Regularis Concordia* was put together and how much more it tended to follow the Lorraine customs than the Cluniac. Its main source for the latter was Fleury, the extant customs of which appear to date from the thirteenth century, for they contain references to the late O antiphons and to Philip II. However, a discovery has recently been made of what appears to be the Fleury customs of the tenth century written by Theoderic (or Thierry) of Fleury c. 990, soon to be printed by Dom Kassius Hallinger;¹⁶ if these are what is claimed for them, then they may well throw new light on the *Regularis Concordia* in that we shall be able to discern with some accuracy for the first time the different contributive strands of tradition: Cluniac, Fleury, Lorraine and Rhineland.

* * *

Professor P. H. Sawyer¹⁷ spoke on "Charters of the Reform Period", with one eye on the work of Eric John, who was not in the event able to be present to defend his interpretations. The period 940-1000 has yielded some 550 extant charters purporting to be issued in that period (though this is always notoriously hard to prove in a field full of forgeries). All are in ecclesiastical archives affected by the Reform: over half of them come from Abingdon (100), Winchester (97) or Worcester (86), and post-Conquest Burton Abbey had 31 documents from the reign of Ethelred and before it. Some are "original", i.e. contemporary copies in medieval cartularies, some are sixteenth century transcripts of now lost

¹⁵ citing St Ambrose *de Sacramentis* and Bede's Letter to Archbishop Egbert (EHD 1.743).

¹⁶ in the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, of which he is general editor. This edition, with new commentary on the continental sources of the *Regularis Concordia*, will replace the NMT edition of Dom Thomas Symons, whose emphasis was on early English Sources.

¹⁷ of Leeds University, author of "The Age of the Vikings" (1962); "Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography", *Royal Historical Society* (1968). His current research is now on the subject of his lecture.

documents. They show us various things, privileges granted to monasteries, estate endowments and benefactions, and—often the most revealing—signatures of witnesses among communities and local laity.¹⁸

The study of the charters is complicated by the contemporary practice of sending royal writs directing houses to draw up their own *privilegium* or land charter. Where, for instance, land was granted in England to a French house such as S. Denis, the charter would be drawn up in French phraseology. This drafting of charters by beneficiaries inevitably resulted in a mass of different styles of language and formula. Very often charters were written up afterwards, sometimes long afterwards. At other times parchments were used at a ceremony, the endorsement being written up and the contents put in later on.

A study of the scribes' hands suggests that the King made much use of the Winchester chancery, using ecclesiastical scribes for royal business. This is not surprising in a time when Winchester was the capital of the country; indeed Glastonbury was also used as a charter producing centre for the whole country, as was Abingdon later on, and Worcester and Crediton later still. The Winchester chancery developed its own characteristics in the mid tenth century, notably elaborate witness lists, dating clauses and the invocation.

Most of the royal charters of which we have copies from the Reform period are in fact forgeries which a later period, containing genuine elements from the period they purport to come from. An example (despite the interpretations of Eric John) is the massive land grant to the see of Worcester: had Edgar issued such a grant, it would certainly be recorded in one of the three surviving Worcester cartularies, in which all other known privileges are recorded. Professor Sawyer provided a technical argument from witness lists to refute Mr John's conclusions about a sudden change of personnel at Worcester in the mid 960s, showing that the evidence of witness lists across the period 963-77 must lead us to the conclusion that there were no dramatic changes, only the steady change-over of a living community moving from monk to clerk¹⁹ to deacon to priest and on to death. The Oswaldslow land grant *Altitonantis* (CS 1135) does not fit into the pattern.

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¹⁸ The British Academy is sponsoring the publication of Anglo-Saxon charters by houses, each house being taken by a single scholar; for example, Dr Pierre Chaplais is to do Exeter, Professor Whitelock is to do Ely.

¹⁹ In the discussion following the lecture, a debate developed as to the difference between *monachus* and *clericus*, a difference which seems to have been of some importance at the time. The *Regularis Concordia* sec 2 records that Edgar "drove out the negligent clerks with their abominations, placing in their stead the service of God throughout the length and breadth of his dominions not only monks but also nuns . . ." (and cf. intro. xxii). But in the charters witnesses often signed themselves alternately as monks or clerks. Wulfstan, in speaking of the seven orders of the Church hierarchy, does not use the term *clericus* at all; it is generic and covers the inferior orders. A monk was usually also a cleric, as he is today.

Professor P. A. M. Clemoes²⁰ gave a distinguished paper on "The Vernacular Literature of the Reform Period", quoting Anglo-Saxon at length as though it were his native tongue. He spoke of the warrior poetry first, reciting a long section of the *Battle of Maldon* as it was written. Of religious poetry he said that what we experience today is a small selection from late tenth century taste, preserved in random books of anthology. The task of the Reform period had been to build upon Aelfric's initial diffusion of single great works, by a diffusion through homilies, etc. of assured religious orthodoxy and general culture. The reformers made use of saints' lives, extracts from historical texts (Bede foremost among them) and government formulae. The Old Testament was translated into Old English prose (we have an illustrated copy of the first six books), and the New Testament likewise—indeed the West Saxon Gospel was the only one of its kind till Wyclif. The master of literature in the period was Aelfric the Grammarian (c. 955-c. 1020), disciple of Ethelwold at Winchester and later founder Abbot of Eynsham, who was able to quote by memory from the Alfredian translations of Bede, "the wise teacher of his people", and from Alcuin, "a distinguished teacher". His was an age of intellectual breadth and clarity, and of fine critical sense. Aelfric himself was very concerned for the dissemination of his own works uncorrupted, and he had a proper critical attitude towards the status and contents of his sources.

The main sources open to the age were the *Vitae Patrum* and the *Patristics* (mainly Basil, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory); the Carolingian penitentials, capitulars, sermons and treatises; the writings of Priscian Isidore of Seville and Abbo of Fleury on grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy and so forth; the Celtic Irish sources on cardinal sins; and Paul the Deacon's "Homiliary", which had been used as a model for the Carolingian Empire and was simplified by Aelfric and re-expressed in Anglo-Saxon for the English people.

The writings of this period all tend to look up towards the ordered harmony of eternity ahead. Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*²¹ is imbued with a sense of sin and corruption, of man's essential downward drift, of the evident deterioration of society since Edgar died, of the grievous injuries done through the injuries of sin. Aelfric's "Lives of the Saints"²² evokes a decidedly spiritual dimension. His own homilies were written for his self-use when at Cerne Abbas in Dorset, between his Winchester and Eynsham stages. They show that he expected young men to be trained in English, the better ones going on to Latin. His "Colloquy" shows

²⁰ Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, having succeeded Professor Whitelock. In 1939 he edited "Anglo-Saxon England", Essays Presented to Bruce Dickins. In 1960 he wrote a Reconsideration: "The Old English Benedictine Office, CCCX ms 190, and the Relations between Aelfric and Wulfstan", *Anglia* 265-83.

²¹ EHD I No. 240. Wulfstan had good cause for his gloom: the three letters of his which Mary Bateson printed (EHR 1895) ask prayers for three individuals guilty respectively of killing a father, a child and a brother.

²² EHD I No. 239, and ed G. I. Needham (Methuen). The "Colloquy" is ed G. N. Garmonsway (Methuen 1939, 2 ed 1947).

that he was always anxious about teaching techniques. He admitted that his own Latin had been learned initially from a priest who only half knew it, till he reached Winchester and mastered it. But the main communication with the laity was not Latin, it was the Old English which he equally mastered.

Aelfric had been the principal school master of Winchester in his time, called upon by all of the bishops within reach of him. Curiously, once he went to Cerne Abbas in c. 990 he never returned to Winchester, and it is not Winchester but the Canterbury scriptorium which is the largest source for the dissemination of his Homilies; there are few Worcester manuscripts and none from Winchester. This is surprising, for the Winchester school, established by Ethelwold, who had himself been a considerable scholar and master, affected so much of English literature for so long. It left its mark on the style of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in such phrases as this—

"Shameful it is to say, though shameful he thought it not to do . . ."

For all that, one wonders how so many Englishmen could read and how it was that vernacular literature could have had such a widespread effect. Very few Old English manuscripts have come down to us, among all the writs and legal documents. One suspects that elderly Reeves toiled at their letters simply in order to read writs so that they would not lose their jobs. There were other ways to learn to read besides the current literature: ironwork and crosses carried often extensive inscriptions, and there were the secular archives. Surviving wills suggest a regular use of Old English for business purposes. Four anthologies do survive, which suggest that hymns and poetry were used as a method of teaching reading, prose and poetry being intermixed.

* * *

Mr Martin Biddle and his wife have been excavating the minsters of Winchester during 1962-69, writing up their reports in *The Archaeological Journal*, *The Antiquaries Journal* and the *Winchester Cathedral Record* season by season for the last nine years.²³ Mr Biddle spoke on "Winchester and its Tenth Century Minsters". His excavation has been the first modern investigation of a major Anglo-Saxon church. It is at present the only Anglo-Saxon cathedral of first rank about which anything substantial is known; the others are still buried.

Winchester's first church was erected by King Cenwalh in 684. Bede tells us that this *ecclesia pulcherrima* was dedicated to SS Peter and Paul; around it gathered a small community till about 900, and the Anglo-Saxon kings seem to have held court there as a temporary meeting place. Egbert was buried in the Old Minster church. The old Roman defences were refurbished soon before the Burghal Hidage—reality and estimate marvellously agreeing upon a figure of 3300 yards of defence wall. But

²³ *Winchester Cathedral Record* 39 (1970), 49 lists all of these reports. It gives an account of "The Excavations of the Old Minster, 1962-69", 49-63.

little was put up inside the defences, so that the street plans were easily changeable until after 900.

During the tenth century, the south east corner of Winchester became the centre of the realm until it was transferred to Westminster. In that time a king's palace was built, and with it a bishop's palace and three great minsters—the cathedral church, the Roman burial church and the pilgrimage church of St Swithin's.²⁴ Of the last, Aelfric tells us that it was hung about from wall to wall with the stools and crutches of the faithful who had been healed there by the saint.

In 902 the population had sufficiently increased for the Old Minster to be enlarged, but instead the New Minster was built as a burgh church, the bodies of Alfred and his wife being buried there. In 914 a house for women, the Nunnaminster, was completed as a royal foundation. In 963 monks from Abingdon, under the abbacy of Aethelgar (d. 988) founded a monastery at New Minster (which was to remove to Hyde in 1110); their conventual buildings, lying immediately to the north of the present cathedral, include an oval chapel which is far older. In 970 Ethelwold resided in *obsequio regis* in the royal palace, which was in the area in front of the west end of the present cathedral. During the next three years, the relics of St Swithin were translated to a new church, lateral-apsed, built in face of the west end of the Old Minster, and further building continued on that church up to 994, when the bishop and community separated. So it stood till 1093, when under Norman impulse the present cathedral was begun to the south east. Here, during the Reform period, was the heart of England.

* * *

Dr H. M. Taylor²⁵ spoke on "Tenth Century Building in England and on the Continent". He began by selecting three continental church-complexes as a comparison with building done in England. The first was St Cyriacus, Gernrode in East Germany, dedicated in 960, designed for noble women not in vows, who might watch an elaborate liturgy below them from two galleries along the length of the church, each gallery composed of twelve arches for twelve noble ladies. It is said that the Empress Theophano gave funds to complete the church. The second was the famous Centula or St Requier, dedicated in 799 to St Richard, built by Angilbert (the "Homer" of Aachen court) for the son of Charlemagne's daughter, Abbot Nithard. The third was the Corvey church built in association with Corbie during 822-44 and modified in 870 with an enlarged crossing. That had a westwork able to hold three choirs of monks and a so-called "angel choir" for boys.

²⁴ or Swithun, Bishop of Winchester 30th Oct 852-2nd Jul 862. Aelfric wrote a Life of St Swithin (cf. EHD I.849).

²⁵ who with his late wife has recently published the definitive study of surviving Anglo-Saxon buildings, "Anglo-Saxon Architecture". Cf. his paper, "Some Little Known Aspects of English Pre-Conquest Churches", P. Clemoes op cit 1959.

Of these three, Centula was the most awe-inspiring. It was a monastic complex of 500 yards of covered way, taking in the great church and two smaller ones dedicated to the Mother of God and to St Benedict. At intervals the precinct walls became two storeyed, rather as the galleries at Aachen palace.²⁶ The main church could contain three choirs of a hundred monks each and with them an "angel choir" of a hundred boys. There were, in the westwork, chapels on two levels, the upper chapel of St Saviour being able to hold literally hundreds of people; and there were a further five chapels for the laity. This magnificent multi-liturgical edifice has now disappeared without trace,²⁷ but the westwork theme, a tower-like west block with an entrance and vestibule and a chapel above this, underwent a long development from there.

Beside such constructions, the Anglo-Saxon churches were the work of novices. St Augustine's, Canterbury, was a series of four churches pulled together by a rotunda, the monks persisting in their precarious life there during the disorders of the ninth and tenth centuries. Christ Church, Canterbury, until Lanfranc began the great church after the fire of 1067, was a simple affair without transepts at all, and possibly without a tower chapel. Glastonbury was a wattle church turned into a wooden one, to which Dunstan added to the length and added aisles. It was simply laid out, a series of small chapels, with an underground burial chamber beneath the tower. In 1184 it was entirely destroyed by fire. Deerhurst on the Severne was, by contrast, in use until 1540 when it became a parish church and is that to this day. It was built before the Reform period and adapted by the monks of that time: it had had a *congregatio* in vows attached to it since 804. St Alphege had been a monk of Deerhurst before going to Bath as Abbot and on to be Bishop of Winchester in 984. Deerhurst was revived in 970 by Oswald.

All of these English churches had entrances under galleries, with higher galleries above that. In some of them, as at Centula, there were *passio* crucifixes over chancels or west doors. But in the main, the Anglo-Saxons failed to respond to Romanesque development in church architecture: their methods were ever ancient, venerated and unambitious.

* * *

Professor G. W. G. Wickham²⁸ spoke on "The Romanesque Style in Medieval Drama". He began by establishing a distinction between the commemorative ceremonial re-enactment which we call liturgy and which he described as essentially Romanesque; and the game or recreational play involving order and pretence which he described as essentially Gothic. The latter, the *ludus*, a release of body and spirit together, usually provided

²⁶ Cf. Jean Hubert, "St Requier and Monasticism in Gaul", where he suggests a whole monastic complex.

²⁷ Kenneth J. Conant has made a restoration study of it as in 800, Plate Ia in "Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200" (Pelican Z 13, 1959). Gernrode is also illustrated, exterior and interior; so also the Corvey interior, i.e. west end and gallery.

²⁸ Professor of Drama, University of Bristol. Author of "Early English Stages" (1959/1962).

a training for a reality beyond itself (as jousts trained knights for war). It required a place of play and an audience, participating at one remove, sitting in some hierarchic order and paying a fee for their entertainment.

There are clearly real similarities between liturgy and play: the sanctuary is the "place of play", the celebrants are the actors and the congregation is the audience. Yet the intention of liturgy is not relaxation but emotional reawakening as an aid to worship involving the use of artifice for symbolic purposes—emblematic or figurative means for worship. The character of such ceremony is *ordo*, *officium*, *representatio*. Where ritual is extended to entertainment, liturgy has moved to *ludus*, with all the attendant unexpectedness.

In the *Regularis Concordia* sec 51, an Easter play is prescribed as part of the liturgy.²⁹ "Four of the brethren shall vest, one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose, shall enter and go stealthily to the place of the 'sepulchre' and sit there quietly, holding a palm in his hand. Then the other three, vested in copes and holding thuribles, shall enter in their turn and go to the place of the 'sepulchre', step by step, as though searching. Now these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus. When therefore he that is seated shall see these three draw near, wandering, seeking, he shall begin to sing softly and sweetly, *quem quaeritis?* . . ." And so the dialogue follows in antiphon form. When the three have been shown the tomb void, "they shall lay down their thuribles in that same 'sepulchre' and taking the linen (from it), shall hold it up before the clergy; and as though showing that the Lord was risen and was no longer wrapped in it, they shall sing *surrexit Dominus de sepulchro* and shall lay the linen on the altar". This is the oldest of a series of Easter dramas. It is not *ludus* but *ordo*, culminating in the *Te Deum* with bells pealing. It is a formal, artificial re-enactment in copes and with antiphons.

In such liturgical action all emotions are preset, and no room is left for actors to interpret: the emotions are restrained and reverent, represented by such actions as genuflections—reminiscent of Byzantine court protocol. Where emotion does encroach, it is a signal of pagan impropriety or lack of restraint, as with Herod at the Epiphany or Pilate in the Passion. Gradually the one action grew into the other, liturgy into *ludus*, much as plainsong gave place to the elaborations of polyphonic music and the visual aids of the altar became more of a dramatic set. The several prophets and apostles began to be separately identifiable in virtue of the acting. The idea of delight, absurdity, surprise, entertainment invaded the formal action: it was a long journey from the *ordo prophetarum* to the *ludus Danielis*.

²⁹ Cf. K. Young, "The Drama of the Medieval Church" (1933), I.239ff. This liturgical drama was enacted widely elsewhere, but only at Fleury did it end as this does, with the linen being taken from the "sepulchre" to the altar.

Nevertheless, in spite of the frank recognition of the recreational element permeating worship and instruction, the liturgical ambience was retained as far as possible, processions being used, for instance, as a way of bringing characters onto the stage. Cribs and sepulchres stood half way between the two. It is interesting that as this development occurred, sanctuaries were enlarged and raised, with side spaces from which the brethren could come "on stage": this was what happened when Ethelwold rebuilt the church at Winchester.

The *ludus Danielis*,³⁰ written in 1140 by the students of the cathedral school of Beauvais at the same time that the wandering scholar Hilarius wrote his spectacular dramatisation of the Daniel story, is still in touch with liturgy and has not developed so far as to be called a mystery play or biblical play. It closely follows the scriptural words and actions, dramatising by techniques of poetic and musical repetition rather than by fabrication. It does introduce a strong messianic interpretation into the words spoken of Daniel, who is a type of Christ: indeed it ends with the words *natus est Christus, dominator orbis, in Bethlehem Iude, sic enim propheta dixerat ante, and then with the Te Deum.*

C. E. Hohler³¹ spoke on "Some Church Service Books of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church". Very few service books have survived from the Reform period, and the continental tradition does little to illuminate the gap: our earliest manuscript from Rheims, for instance, is from the thirteenth century (and, added the lecturer, we must not be led by this to conclude that for a thousand years Rheims services were conducted by dumb show!). Until the Reform period there were no Propers for the English saints; so Commons were used with suitable adaptations.

Liturgical books were copied by scribes at the famous scriptoria for places often far removed from the milieu of the text being copied. For instance, English books were sent to Norway, full of English saints' feasts; or to Brittany containing the feast of St Cuthbert—described as a martyr—and the English coronation service. Edgar's tenth century coronation service was used by the King of France in the twelfth. Similarly the English books, for example the Wells service books, were full of material from Besançon or Salzburg.

Most remarkable of its kind and time is the Leofric missal, written in a continental hand before 979, possibly in about 900. It lacks a Proper for English saints. Additions to it in the making suggest the following phases of liturgical fertility: Glastonbury to Wells, Wells to Winchester.

All surviving service books of Worcester came from Winchester; and this is borne out by the anomaly of six collects allotted to St Swithin for one feast and four for another, while little or nothing is provided for

³⁰ The musical score and Latin text of this, and of the *Ludus Paschalis* by Valois, ed Amara Greenberg OUP 12/5, Record of performance, Brunswick AXTL 1086. The American editor of this text was Dom Rembert Weakland.

³¹ of the Courtauld Institute.

SS Kenelm and Oswald. Most of the Worcester books are in Old English, which suggests that Latin was not Worcester's speciality. What Latin there was in the country seems to have been the fruit of relentless pressure from kings. We know of an occasion when Archbishop Wulfstan of York asked Abbot Aelfric for a set of prayers, which he duly sent off in their Latin form: the Archbishop then sent them back for translation into Old English, and we are left to ask whether it was because he could not find a soul in his archdiocese whom he could trust to translate them for him, or whether he particularly wanted to call on Aelfric's literary gifts.

The production of service books was a chance affair. If scribes did not simply take down from their shelves a local working copy of a book asked for by a bishop or abbot of another region, then an old book would have been brought in from that region for annotation and up-dating, after which it was taken home for recopying in its revised form: clearly Worcester went through that procedure with its books, journeying to Winchester with them. Winchester seems to have been an unofficial touchstone of liturgical orthodoxy, spreading its influence widely, using its own books as precedents for others to follow: but there is no direct evidence of approved models being circulated for copying. Its influence spread even into France, whose later service books have much to say about earlier English liturgy, where no other sources are available to tell us. The current of transmission seems to have been Rome/Italy to England, England to France, the English adding blessings as their contribution to the development of liturgy. (Mr Taylor observed that architecturally the same flow is evident).

Plainsong in the Anglo-Saxon Church is still to be properly investigated. Musical annotation appeared in missals from 980 onwards, often only the cues being put in.

Dr J. J. G. Alexander³² gave a slide lecture (using two sets of slides together) on "Illuminated Manuscripts of the Reform Period": visually it was powerfully effective. He began by quoting Godeman the scribe from the beginning of the great Benedictional, the finest surviving monument to the illumination of the Reform period. "A bishop, the great Ethelwold, whom the Lord had made patron of Winchester, ordered a certain monk subject to him to write the present book . . . He commanded also to be made in this book many frames well adorned and filled with various figures decorated with numerous beautiful colours and with gold. This book the Boanerges aforesaid caused to be indited for himself in order that he might be able to sanctify the people of the Saviour by means of it and pour forth holy prayers to God for the flock committed to him, and that he may lose no lambkins of the fold . . ." This Benedictional must be a fragment of what once existed.

³² of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. He has just edited for the Phaidon Press "The Master of Mary of Burgundy" (Bodl ms Flemish, 1480-90). He has also published work on the Mont S. Michel mss. He was lecturing in place of Dr Francis Wormald, who was sick.

We have from an earlier period seven manuscripts from three sources, the insular tradition (filled capitals, etc.), the Mediterranean and Eastern, and the Fulda and Carolingian traditions. Between these and the rich Ethelwold/Winchester school of illumination, there were a series of line drawings now attributed to Dunstan and his disciples. Of these, the best known is the Bodleian drawing of Dunstan at the feet of Christ, Wisdom of God, holding the rod of Jesse (c. 950). The model is a late classical or Carolingian ivory, and the drawing may be from Dunstan's own hand. The same line drawings are found in the Leofric Missal, drawings *de morte* and *de vita* in a shivering punctured line which is distinctive.³³

The Benedictional³⁴ must be dated between 971-84, and is the most illuminated we have of its kind (49 decorated pages, 28 of them with large scale illuminations). In places its derivation is clear: the twelve miniatures at the beginning are derived from the Athelstan psalter, the baptism scene is taken from an ivory casket of Metz (c. 900), the presentation in the Temple is from a Metz ivory and another illumination is not unlike an Apocalypse scene brought to England by St Benet Biscop.

Three other illuminated manuscripts clearly done in the same scriptorium at the same time, if not precisely by the hand of Godeman, have survived. They are the Benedictional in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a fragment of a gospel lectionary now in the College of Arms in London, and the Pontifical (sometimes called "Benedictional") of Archbishop Robert of Jumiègue, now in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Rouen.³⁵ All share the same Carolingian minuscule, which is found on the sumptuous copy of Edgar's 966 charter of foundation to New Minster.³⁶ The Benedictional and the Pontifical illustrations are closely similar on occasions, for instance in the Coronation of the Virgin, and in the tongues of flame descending from the Holy Spirit into the mouths of the Apostles in the Pentecostal scene.³⁷ But where the Athelstan psalter and the New Minster charter have a static style in the illuminations, the Benedictional has swirling movement and overwhelming richness of colour. It consciously emulated Carolingian illumination, avoiding leaf and other standard designs from the East, setting out its initials in plain gold, being in a way quite unlike the Insular tradition. The artists of Winchester, we know, had a Metz sacramentary to go by, and possibly a gospel book from the Ada Group (Court School of Charlemagne) of about 890; but for their iconography they tended to go to ivories. They turned rather to con-

temporary continental models than to English work of a generation earlier, developing their own style in the frame ornamentation (notably what has been called "Winchester acanthus").

During questions, Mr R. Deshman, engaged on a doctoral dissertation on the Benedictional, remarked upon the very marked emphasis in its pages upon royalty, at a time when Anglo-Saxon royal power was approaching its zenith. It is a theme which was not taken up later. It is the first manuscript to portray the Coronation of the Virgin (and that is significant): in the illustrations Christ is shown crowned, as are the Magi, and there are crowns and sceptres at the Baptism; moreover St Benedict is shown wearing a gold diadem and holding a crown, and in the choir of confessors there are seven crowned saints. Stress is laid upon royal anointing, as in the Baptism scene where two vials of chrism are depicted (the same appearing in French manuscripts which stress royal anointing). The Ottonian imperial attributes were brought into use in Christ iconography. Of this trend, Mr Deshman believes, the Benedictional provided a key model.

There are indications that a contemporary illustrated copy of the *Regularis Concordia* was made; it seems to have been an influence on the Durham school.

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Mr D. M. Wilson³⁸ spoke on "Metalwork of the Tenth Century". St Dunstan, of course, has been the patron of jewellers and silversmiths since the Middle Ages. Sadly it seems that the secular metalwork was inferior to the ecclesiastical and it is that which has survived. This secular art was much affected, even in the south, by the Vikings. Much of the tenth century ornamentation of swords in Sweden and in England is very alike, and it not easy to see which way the traffic of trade and influence of art was flowing.

Very little is new in this field. Suffice it to make a summary statement: Anglo-Saxon metal ornamentation had a lively style, shown best in strap ends (the most exotic of which has been discovered by Martin Biddle only last season at Winchester); the techniques were competent and of a steady continuity through the centuries which excelled that of other media; Anglo-Saxon and continental work were much the same; and lastly, Scandinavian art must be seen in the whole context of the tenth-eleventh centuries, not merely as an adjunct of Cnut's reign.

* * *

Miss Rosemary Cramp³⁹ spoke on "Sculpture of the Reform Period". She asked whether there had been a court school of carvers, or whether sculptors had been regarded merely as mason-craftsmen. There appears not to have been much room for "schools", for the diversity of carving

³³ these and the Sherborne Pontifical (c. 992-5) drawings are illustrated in Margaret Rickert, "Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages" (Pelican Z 5, 1954) plates 22-4, 29-30.

³⁴ Francis Wormald, "The Benedictional of St Ethelwold", the Faber Library of Illuminated Manuscripts (1959), 8 plates in colour, D. Talbot Rice, "English Art 871-1100" (1952) has 5 further plates in monochrome, Pl. 49-51.

³⁵ respectively BN fonds lat 987, Arundel ms XXII, f. 84-5, B Mun Rouen ms 369 (Y.7).

³⁶ Rickert, plate 25.

³⁷ Rickert, plates 27 and 29b (not in Wormald); Talbot Rice, plate 52a.

³⁸ of the British Museum, author of "The Viking Achievement" (1969).

³⁹ Senior Lecturer in Antiquities, Durham University. Author of "Anglian and Viking York", Borthwick Paper 33 (1968).

in both north and south (where twice as much evidence survives) was immense. It would seem that highly competent craftsmen could turn their hands to a versatile range of metal, stone, ivory or parchment materials.⁴⁰

There is no way to date sculpture by testing the materials used. The only way is by the methods of the art historian—classing stylistic motifs like interlacings. Alas, this does lead to date controversies where experts will argue dates as diverse as the eighth to the eleventh centuries. But it is agreed that the three angels of Deerhurst, Bradford on Avon and Stinsford in Dorset all come from the Reform period. During the same period there suddenly appear large scale roods in the south and small scale roods in the north and midlands, which suggests a shift of devotion towards the Passion.

Stones do not stray as service books do, and we find—as we would expect—many new iconographical forms, many intricate plant forms, appearing on the Winchester stones of the late tenth century: from here the acanthus ornamentation spreads by recordable degrees. The north remained “beleguered”, tending to revert to wood carving, showing little capacity to absorb new art forms. In the south figure carving progressed, the Anglo-Saxons preferring stone carvings in their churches, firmly set in stone frames.

* * *

Professor Frank Barlow⁴¹ summed up the conference, whose ninety minute lectures have for the time being been given such unworthy record here. He remarked on how little we still know about the immediate ambience of the *Regularis Concordia*: we neither know its exact sources, nor its antecedence, nor its composer, nor do we know much at all about the seminal monastery in the Movement, Glastonbury. Dunstan's biographers are all interested more in Canterbury than Glastonbury. We know, too, so little of Wulfstan's amazing style, beyond the fact that he had been a stable mate of Aelfric under Ethelwold at Winchester; and from that we can only observe what extraordinarily different pupils Ethelwold had under him.

Dr Barlow remarked upon the irregularity of much of the Reform Movement. For example, Oswald's ecclesiastical empire really makes no sound sense. He ran Ramsey Abbey as his own personal property and lived there, outside his diocese, for most of his time. He might have added that Dunstan never gave up the abbacy of Glastonbury when he went to Canterbury, so that the later chroniclers had to fudge the abbatial succession lists to hide the fact (for it was clean contrary to the Rule and

⁴⁰ Cf. Elizabeth Okasha, “Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon Non-runic Inscriptions”, CUP 1971; R. I. Page, “Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Runic Inscriptions” is forthcoming.

⁴¹ of Exeter University. Author of “The Feudal Kingdom of England” (1961); “The English Church, 1000-1066: a Constitutional History” (1963, reprinted 1966) and “Edward the Confessor” (1970); and editor/translator of “The Life of King Edward the Confessor” (NMT 1962).

the sort of thing that was later held against a prince-bishop like Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester). He said that the leading monks never exemplified their own ideals, never finding themselves in their own cloisters: for example, Wulfstan of Worcester was given to rambling through local churches at night. He might have added that the King who was the inspiration of the Movement no more lived up to those ideals; for he, the sources show sufficiently enough, was an inveterate womaniser who did not stop at pursuing a woman into her nunnery if he wanted her. And then we should ask, where were these new monasteries founded—in the heart of Edgar's domain, or on the peripheries, where his authority needed bolstering by a system akin to that of *eigenkloster* on a royal scale? If we were to ask what were the outer reaches of Edgar's kingdom, we might trace them from south sea to east sea along this line: Abbotsbury – Cerne – Sherborne – Muchelney – Athelney – Glastonbury – Bath – Malmesbury – Gloucester – Winchcombe – Evesham – Pershore – Worcester – Coventry – St Neots – Ramsey – Peterborough – Thorney – Ely – Bury – St Benet of Hulme. The Abingdon-Eynsham houses a little to the south fill the gap between the Worcester group in the west and the Ramsey group in the east. Winchester, being the capital of Edgar's realm, necessarily contained two houses. Only St Albans and Chertsey, and Tavistock in the heart of Devon cannot satisfactorily be fitted into this strategic pattern: all of the others fit to uncanny perfection.

So it is that, as in all affairs of men, in the Tenth Century Monastic Reform Movement the highest ideals marched in close harness with the commonest interest.

ALBERIC STACPOOLE O.S.E.

6th January 71

APPENDIX I: THE *REGULA BENEDICTI* DURING THE REVIVAL

The products of the tenth century revival have been much studied, so has the customary which was both a guide and a product, the *Regularis Concordia*. Yet little work has been done on a document even more fundamental to the revival, the Rule of St Benedict as known to and copied by the members of this revival. If it has been mentioned at all, it has been labelled simply as an example of *textus receptus* of no particular interest to the textual critics.

Nevertheless, further study of the surviving manuscripts of the Rule produced in England by the revival could well yield some interesting results. It could tell us whether or not there was a single “official” text of the Rule throughout the revival or whether more than one recension was extant. It could tell us more about the standard of Latinity in the monasteries of the revival. It could also tell us, as several of the manuscripts are bilingual, whether or not the Old English version is very faithful to the original. Ethelwold's biographer says that his disciple Osgar

brought back from Fleury a manuscript of the Rule: it might be possible to identify in this the exemplar of the series.

A series of manuscripts there certainly is. In England there are no fewer than ten manuscripts of the Rule (two of them fragments) which belong to the tenth and early eleventh centuries.⁴² These must be products of the Dunstan-Ethelwold Movement. No fewer than six of them are bilingual, some of them being made for nuns with somewhat hesitant and inconsistent alterations of gender in the text. None of them (in my opinion, based on collation) was copied from the oldest surviving manuscript of the Rule (Bodleian Library, Hatton 48).

A study of these manuscripts seems a desirable consequence of the millenary conference on the *Regularis Concordia*. To be effective, it should be the result of collaboration between Latin and Old English scholars. It would also fit well into other studies of the text of the Rule now being undertaken by scholars in England and on the Continent.

It has long been realised that the St Gall MS 914 must be regarded as the most faithful text of the Rule of St Benedict. It has been printed in critical and more popular editions several times. But the full history of the transmission of the text of the Rule has yet to be written. Similarly the definitive edition of the Rule has yet to appear. The magnitude of the task is appalling. Plenkens died before completing it; Hanslik's attempt at its accomplishment has not satisfied scholars either.⁴³ It is now realised that what is needed before we can have a complete edition of the Rule is a series of studies of families of manuscripts coming from different individual countries. The English manuscripts of the Dunstan revival seem to form just such a group: a study of their exemplar(s), their mutual relationship and their descendants (if any) would certainly add to our knowledge both of the Rule of St Benedict and of the Tenth Century Reform Movement.

Recently the present writer suggested to Dom David Knowles that his proposed edition of the Rule for the *Oxford Medieval Texts* should be based on the two most important post-Conquest English manuscripts of

⁴² I have listed them in "The Rule of St Benedict" (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile), vol. xv (1968), 27.

They are from provenances as follows:

- Canterbury: St Augustine's, mid-late 10C (Trin Coll Cambr 0.2.30);
St Augustine's, 10C (BM Harley 5431);
Christ Church, mid 11C bilingual with illustr. (BM Cotton Tib A iii).
- Bury St Edmunds: 10C bilingual (CCC Ox 197).
- Worcester: 10C bilingual (CCC Cambr 178).
- Abingdon: 11C bilingual (CCC Cambr 57).
- Durham: 11C, used for Chapter readings (Durham Cathedr Libr B.IV.24).
- Unknown provenance: 10-11C (CCC Cambr 368).
- 11C bilingual (BM Cotton Titus A iv).
- 11C bilingual (Wells Cathedr ms fragment).

⁴³ Rudolphus Hanslik, *Benedicti Regula*, CSEL LXXV (Vienna 1960); reviewed by Paul Meyvaert in *Downside Review* 258 (January 1962), 85-7 and *Scriptorium* XVII.1 (1963), 83-110; and by Anscar Mundo, "La Nouvelle Edition Critique de la Règle de Saint Benoît", *Revue Bénédictine* LXXI.3-4 (1961), 381-99. [Ed.]

the Rule. Another text, based on the manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, would not be superfluous, but complementary to this edition.

APPENDIX II: THE HAGIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

The *Regularis Concordia* of c 970 was not an end but a beginning. It was a sign and a symbol of the unity of ideal among the monastic houses of different origin, but the actual extent of the practice and subsequent influence of the movement which gave rise to it required more attention from the conference than it actually received. There was for example no treatment of the general but diminishing influence of the monastic reform on the Church in England between 970 and 1066, no mention of the large number of bishops it supplied, no mention of its missionary work in Scandinavia, no mention of the monastic movement in the Severn valley which ultimately bore fruit in the revival of the northern houses and especially Whitby, Durham and St Mary's, York. Yet these were all significant developments of the monasticism which had its roots in the revival accomplished by Dunstan and Ethelwold.⁴⁴

In addition to these topics, some further work on the sources is desirable. Among these, hagiography is not to be despised.⁴⁵ William of Malmesbury's *Life of Wulfstan* is now well known as one of the most informative and dependable Lives of the early twelfth century. Much less known, in fact almost ignored by English scholars although it has been in print for nearly sixty years, is Goscelin's *Life of Wulfhilda*, abbess of Barking.⁴⁶ Yet this informative biography, based on the memories of Wulfhilda herself which she recounted to a nun Wulfruna who passed them on to Goscelin, is full of information, some of it unexpected and even scandalous, about many of the important figures of the revival.

Biographies of nuns are precious for their rarity in the Middle Ages. Long ago Sir Frank Stenton suggested that the nuns rather than the monks of tenth century England might have had a claim to continuity with earlier monastic life:⁴⁷ near the beginning of the Life we are given an excellent example of hereditary succession to an abbacy. Later we see King Edgar in a rather disreputable light, then emerges a picture of enclosure and poverty being poorly observed; pluralism is practised and the so-called protection of nuns by the queen results in factions and a deposition. Royal protection often in fact resulted in evils very similar to those of the *secularium prioratus*, that recurrent evil in monastic history so insistently rejected by these reformers. At this distance it

⁴⁴ In contrast with this, the contributions of the reform to vernacular literature and art were well covered.

⁴⁵ Dr Christine Fell of Leeds University is one of the scholars at present working on Latin and vernacular lives of the eleventh century.

⁴⁶ M. Esposito "La Vie de Sainte Wulfhilde par Goscelin de Cantorbéry", *Bollandiana* XXXII (1913), 10-26.

⁴⁷ "Anglo-Saxon England", 439.

seems naïve of the reformers not to have realised this and to have placed so much trust in so unreliable a character as King Edgar. The only explanation seems to have been the widespread belief in the divine, semi-sacerdotal character of kingship, an idea which was largely dead by the twelfth century.⁴⁸ Edgar's part in this story makes all the more comprehensible Cnut's remark about Edith of Wilton that no child of Edgar's should be considered a saint.⁴⁹ The Glastonbury cultus of Edgar himself owed not a little to the alleged incorruption of his body when the grave was opened in 1052.⁵⁰

Goscelin had been a chaplain at both Wilton and Barking and was in a good position to record the tradition of both houses concerning Wulfhilda.⁵¹ After a legendary account of her ancestors which can here be ignored, the story gets under way with Wulfhilda as a novice or young nun at Wilton, where King Edgar met her and fell in love with her. Wulfhilda for her part wished to remain a nun. Then her aunt Wenfleda, abbess of Wherwell, invited her to come and see her and inherit her abbey when she died. However, when Wulfhilda arrived, she found her aunt in excellent health (instead of being ill as she had been led to believe), "royally dressed" and seated at table with Edgar himself. Wulfhilda on being greeted was told to take off her habit and wear "royal clothes" instead and to join them at table. There Edgar vigorously pursued his quest, while she sat silent, simulating illness, eating nothing and considering flight. This was not easy, as there were chaperones inside the nunnery and guards outside, but she escaped through the drains, spent the night with a poor woman at Wherwell and the next day returned to Wilton, evading a search party on the way.

Edgar followed her there, entered the cloister and seized her. Wulfhilda fled to the church and took refuge among the relics, leaving the sleeve of her tunic in his hands. After this episode Edgar realised that his plans were of no avail and promised to be Wulfhilda's protector instead. But she emerged from her sanctuary only after Edgar had left Wilton. He, however, kept his promise by giving her the abbey of Barking, re-endowing it with Horton (Dorset)⁵² and churches in Shaftesbury, Wareham, Wilton and Southampton.

Edgar, according to Goscelin, then married her cousin Wulftrudis (Wulfthryth), also a nun, or at least a novice at Wilton, who after giving birth to a daughter Edith, left Edgar and returned to Wilton as abbess.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. W. Southern, "The Church and Society in the Early Middle Ages" (1970).

⁴⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (RS 1870), 190.

⁵⁰ In the *Gesta Regum* (RS 1887), I, 173-81. William records this story after references to supposed scandals in Edgar's early life. He mentions Wulftrudis here but not Wulfhilda.

⁵¹ The most recent account of Goscelin's life and works is by F. Barlow, "The First Life of Edward the Confessor" (NMT 1962) Appendix 1.

⁵² In Goscelin's story Horton is a small house of nuns. By 1050, if not before, it was inhabited by monks. Its income in Domesday Book is only £12-5-5, whereas Barking was the second richest nunnery in the country with an income of £162-19-8. See D. Knowles, "The Monastic Order in England" (2nd edition 1963), 702-3, 721.

where Edith was brought up from infancy and was later venerated as a saint. Whether, as some writers maintain, Wulfthryth was a concubine or whether she was married and later divorced, the whole episode reflects little credit on Edgar. He married again in 964-5 Ælfthryth, daughter of Ordgar of Devonshire—which suggests that the above events took place in the early 960s.

Wulfhilda's reign at Barking was neither peaceful nor uneventful. On the one hand, it was claimed, she once miraculously multiplied the mead when King Edgar, Bishop Ethelwold and numerous followers arrived thirsty from Sandwich, where they had been seeing to the King's ships. On the other hand, her saintly qualities did not bring her the united support of her community. Some of her nuns intrigued to such effect with Edgar's wife Ælfthryth that Wulfhilda was expelled and another abbess intruded in her place. She retired to Horton, but prophesied that she would return after twenty years. This duly happened in c 975, after Ælfthryth had been afflicted with illness, widowhood, loss of property and minatory dreams. Wulfhilda ruled her old community for another seven years, dying in 1000 on the vigil of the translation of her old friend Ethelwold. Miracles were reported at Barking and at Horton. Her translation at Barking (with the relics of Hildelith and Ethelburga) took place in 1030.

This vivid account, probably written sometime between 1050 and 1066, throws considerable light on the early life of Edgar and seems to lend some credence to the suggestion that his coronation was delayed until 970 for moral reasons. Edwy's misdemeanours on his coronation day, condemned by the monastic biographers of Dunstan, seem comparatively slight in comparison with those of his younger brother who replaced him and earned the praise of the same writers. Only by a judicious suppression of his misdemeanours, so similar to those of Ethelbald of Mercia strongly condemned by St Boniface, did Edgar acquire the status of sanctity claimed by Glastonbury and the aura of reverence propagated by monastic writers of the twelfth century.

Whether or not Goscelin's Life is entirely reliable, it certainly deserves more serious discussion than it has yet received: it is hoped that this note will draw the attention of scholars to it. It certainly throws considerable light on the lives of some important characters in the monastic revival and reveals that sometimes nuns had to fight hard for their religious vocations in the tenth century and that abbesses' tenure of office was not always secure. Although for style and fullness of information it is far inferior to the twelfth century Life of Christina of Markyate,⁵³ it constitutes a vivid personal record of a less well-documented age of monastic history.

D.H.F.

⁵³ ed. C. H. Talbot, "The Life of Christina of Markyate: a Twelfth Century Recluse" (1959).

"AUTHENTIC CHARISMS"

A REVIEW ARTICLE

by

DOM DAVID KNOWLES

The greater part of Professor Knowles' writings have been on the black monks, especially the English monks of the period between 940 and 1540, six rich Benedictine centuries. However he has constantly found himself drawn towards the white monks and the Carthusians, whose severe idealism at its best far exceeded that of the much busier black monks. It gave them the time and the conditions conducive to mystical prayer and a full contemplative life as Cassian and St Benedict had envisaged it.

In this review, Fr David Knowles comes again to those well-springs of monasticism, this time through the works of modern white monk scholars (which include Dom Jean Leclercq, as St Bernard's editor surely a white monk by proxy). Here then is the Cistercian spirit of today, which unhesitatingly feeds upon the spirit of the Eleventh Century Monastic Renewal.

Ed Basil Pennington, O.C.S.O. THE CISTERCIAN SPIRIT: A SYMPOSIUM
Cistercian Studies Series; no 3 Cistercian Publications, Spencer, Massachusetts, 1970 xv + 284 p \$7.95

It must be said, by way of introduction, that this symposium, taken as a whole, is a document for monastic renewal of quite exceptional value. Criticism will be made of some details which seemed to the reviewer to mar the picture, but they are no more than details. The book in its totality, as a declaration of monastic purpose, is admirable. Besides this, by way of bonus, it provides an extremely valuable historical commentary on primitive Cistercian history, making use of the work of Belgian, French and English scholars.

A collection of papers such as this is rarely satisfying, and when the writers are concerned with monastic rejuvenation the reader's apprehensions are too often justified. After a series of demolitions there is a programme of cloudy plitudes expressed in the fashionable jargon. Here, however, we have a group of studies which are at once scholarly and positive. For this there are two clear reasons. The first is, that the Cistercian order in both its branches, and in both Europe and America, has given birth within the past twenty years or so to numerous theologians and historians, technically expert and sober in judgment, who have devoted themselves to a study of Cistercian origins and personalities. The second reason is that Cîteaux is the perfect example in history of a successful exercise in renewal, accomplished by a group of men and their successors who combined spiritual fervour with mental vitality, and brought these qualities to bear upon the very questions that occupy our attention today.

The Vatican Council gave as a programme to religious orders that they should study the rule and traditions of their order, and the spirit and special intentions of their founder, when making any changes that might seem necessary in their statutes or constitutions.¹ Paul VI gave

¹ *Lumen Gentium* No. 3. *Perfectae Caritatis* No. 2.

further precision by directing religious "to keep intact those norms of the religious family that were set up by its founder and lawgiver".² These directions of Council and Pope were clearly addressed primarily to the fully organized and "active" religious orders which have increased continually in number and scope since the sixteenth century, and never more prolifically than in the past hundred years. With them, the ever-changing conditions of the secular culture and the shifting currents of religious sentiment have led to modifications great and small, some liberating, others constrictive, which demand an *aggiornamento* though, needless to say, agreement on its extent and character has not been easy to attain. The older orders, such as the friars and the monks, and among the latter particularly the traditional Benedictine family, were in a more awkward position. These last, with their congregations, range over the whole spectrum of monastic involvement, from the near Trappist austerity of Pierre-qui-Vire, through the purely liturgical, such as Solesmes, to the educational, pastoral and missionary activities among the monks of England, America and Germany. Added to this, the only rule to which their attention can be directed is that of St Benedict. No one would wish to deny the superlative excellence of that document, but Benedictines for more than a thousand years have been in disagreement as to the nature and quantity of *aggiornamento* desirable, whilst in recent years, at a most inopportune moment, the Rule as an historical document has been vanishing like the Cheshire cat to disclose a background made up, at first by the Master, himself a misty figure, and later by early monachism in general.³ Consequently, renovation has taken the form either of heaving overboard some of the most detailed and traditional features of the Rule, such as the language, and content of the *Opus Dei*, or in discussing at great length and without significant results such questions as "What is the monastic life?" to which one might suppose that an answer, if discoverable, must long ago have been found. The Cistercians, on the other hand, have had a clearer basis on which to work. They have, and still propose, to take the Rule of St Benedict, *tel quel*, as a datum, and the origins and early tradition of their order are set out in a number of documents which in the past thirty years have been subjected to intensive study and criticism. There is consequently about this book a relatively sparing use of jargon, though one wishes (with some of the participants) that a self-denying ordinance had been passed to exclude such words as "authentic" and "charism" which have lost their original simplicity of meaning and are used commonly as shorthand for "genuine", and "spiritual attraction", the counterpart in the realm of grace to natural charm in ordinary human relations.⁴

² Address to all religious, 23rd May 1964.

³ Despite this it may be truly said that the Rule as it left the hands of St Benedict can stand on its own feet as a monastic directory, irrespective of its antecedents. As such it has proved its worth for 1500 years.

⁴ "Authentic", used frequently by Heidegger and Bultmann, has become a word of jargon for something that is meaningful or genuine to the individual; it has tended to lose its original sense of objective genuineness or authoritative declaration.

The book opens with an essay by the editor on the spirit and aims of the founders of the order. By the founders he understands "the members of the General Chapter of 1123 (which ratified the *Carta Caritatis*), and this includes St Bernard". As its spirit and aim he proposes "seeking God, the experience of God through perfect love", or, more precisely, "an authentic living of the Rule professed, in simplicity and poverty, in solitude and effective separation from the ways of the world".⁵ This definition of the founders of the order seems both ambiguous and questionable. Its validity would imply that an order does not exist until it is a body of some size, organised after the prescriptions of a written constitution. Assuming (though not granting) that this is the meaning of order understood by recent papal and other documents, we may still hold that the *spirit* of Cîteaux was fully expressed by the acts and writings of the first fathers in the years before and shortly after 1098, and that it existed and was seen to exist before the arrival of St Bernard. That his contribution to the evolution of the Cistercian spirit was very great, if not perhaps always (to use that terrible word) authentic, may be allowed; as a young man, he probably overemphasized the material austerity, and assuredly "produced" the everyday concept of the love of God by injecting a strong dose of mystical theology into the monastic programme. Whether he damaged the simplicity of the Cistercian outlook by his writings, his preaching and his intense extra-mural activity, is another matter. In any case, the essence of the Cistercian vocation is surely that defined by Fr Pennington, and this was in existence before the arrival of St Bernard.

In the second essay Fr Louis Lekai investigates the motives and ideals of the monastic revival of the eleventh century, and finds them in poverty, flight from the world (eremitism) and community of life and possessions, all of which formed part of the programme of the founding fathers of Cîteaux, who were mostly themselves ex-hermits and who referred to the New Monastery as a hermitage (*heremus*). Lekai questions the opinion that a primary motive was to "get back to the sources", but at the end of his essay he claims that the growing level of education led to a study of primitive Christianity, with a consequent desire to imitate the life seen therein. This would seem little different from returning to the sources.

The next contribution is by Père Armand Veilleux from Canada, who is concerned with the interpretation of a monastic rule. Much of what he says of the relation of tradition to the precepts of the Rule, and that of the "dynamic" spiritual activity of the individual to the "static" law is very true. But he goes on to instance monastic poverty as a field where our "sociological context" is so "completely different" from that of St Benedict that the Rule cannot teach us how we should practice poverty today. It is true that monasteries and nunneries nowadays may derive some of their income from equities, or from the fabrication

⁵ *The Cistercian Spirit* (henceforward CS), p. 26.

of tonic wine, perfumes and toothpicks,⁶ and that, in a much controverted passage,⁷ Abbot Butler held that a typewriter had displaced a *graphium* as a monk's *vade mecum*, but the Rule itself allows the monastery to own real property and to sell its surplus produce and products. The difference between then and now is accidental, not essential; it is for the abbot and community of today to decide whether the sources and use of their income are fitting. Similarly, all that the individual monk has for his use must be consonant with the spirit of the Rule. The basic principles of monastic poverty are the same now as ever—genuine simplicity of life; absolute community of all that can be shared or interchanged; a minimum of personal articles; and the explicit permission of the abbot. If a monastery of today observed these with absolute fidelity, there would be no individual heart-searching about poverty. As to corporate property, the Rule says nothing save to warn the abbot not to make it his first care. We must suppose that in central Italy, and within Benedict's experience, the possibility of considerable monastic wealth was not a practical issue. The Cistercians intended and hoped to regulate this crucial matter by receiving no money, possessions, dues, etc., and by confining themselves to the produce of their own lands, exploited by their own labour. When, however, one reads the *monuments primitifs* some fatal gaps appear. Nothing is said of the money needed to pay their hired labour (they can scarcely have been exclusively paid in kind), or to buy some of the necessities of the house, such as altar vessels, wine (in some regions), metal tools of all kinds, and the unavoidable expenses of building. Where did this come from? No doubt from the source allowed by the Rule, the sale of surplus produce and domestic manufacture. Yet here was the Achilles heel that was their ruin. They accepted more land than was necessary, with the consequent profit from the sale of grain and above all of wool. If a monastery of today wishes to make its poverty, or even its simplicity of life, real, it must in one way or another set a statutory limit on its income, a deadline beyond which all goes in charity. The Grande Chartreuse is understood to effect this by supporting a hospital on the liqueur made by the brethren.

Père Veilleux ends with some wise sentences: "The reinterpretation of the Rule . . . cannot be the work of theorists [nor, we may add, of a teach-in or a majority vote] . . . what we need above all is persons of spiritual greatness, charismatic [“spiritually attractive”] men and women who know how to breathe a new dynamism [= energy, spirit] into the monastic orders . . . [without whom] a juridical reform [or a wholesale modernization] remains fruitless, unless it receives its life-breath from the Holy Spirit."⁸

⁶ Between the Wars, the dining cars of the Cie Internationale des Wagon-Lits et des Grands Express Européens provided packets of toothpicks bearing the legend "fabriqués par les RR.PP. bénédictins de . . ."

⁷ E. C. Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (1919), p. 151 n1.

⁸ CS 65.

The piece that follows, with the rebarbative title *The developmental dynamics* (why not just "the motives and aims"?) of the Cistercian Reform, is slightly marred by recurrent catchwords—dynamism, authenticity, charisms, pluralities and the rest—producing statements such as "authenticity is the correspondence of structures to charisms".⁹ The findings are sensible, if not very original: reaction from the centralization of Cluny; desire to follow the Rule perfectly; then, in the second generation, an emphasis on the spiritual life of the individual and on the simplicity of the life, for both of which the young Bernard was largely responsible.

After this comes a contribution by Dom Jean Leclercq, who must have attended more conferences than any other human being, professors of bio-chemistry not excepted. With no signs of fatigue, he comes up with a piece which is weighty in both its historical and its religious content. He sees the Cistercian purpose taking its origin in a resolve to keep the Rule "more strictly and perfectly" than before, in a solitary place, a desert (*heremus*) and in poverty. Dom Jean suggests that monks of today must treat all "usages" of the past, including those of Cîteaux, as the Cistercians treated the usages of Cluny. So far all will agree. He goes on to say that monks of today "must know how to choose . . . from among the prescriptions of the Rule only those which are still truly useful . . . and if finally there remain but a few of the observances fixed by the Rule that are still viable we should not be frightened . . . Why should we not have the right—indeed, more—the duty to re-cast in a century so profoundly different from that of St Benedict, what he had fashioned for his day?"¹⁰ Such an outlook is not in harmony with the tendency of the rest of the volume, nor indeed with the rest of Dom Jean's historically admirable article. There were, in fact, as many of the contributors to this symposium assert, two aims of the first fathers, the one regarding the end, the other the means, of their design. The end was a way of life wholly consonant with the perfect imitation of Christ and with that obedience to his commands and counsels which they had promised. The means of attaining this was to observe the Rule in all its purity which, as Dom Jean truly remarks, was to be a spiritual, not a pharisaical purity. He continues: "They were conditioned by a Rule considered as sacred and inspired, and consequently, in a certain sense, unchangeable."¹¹ This, surely, was not the case. The Cistercians, in the matter of observances, made several epoch-making departures from the Rule. They abandoned, of set purpose, the practice of infant oblation and the primary education of young boys, thus making the monastic vocation a deliberate choice of an adult; they introduced a wholly new class of quasi-monks, thus dividing the whole community by a horizontal line; and, while restoring the *Opus Dei* partially to the level of the Rule, they admitted the daily conventual Mass and the private Masses of all the priests. A more sweeping *aggiornamento* in the external fabric of the life of the Rule could scarcely be imagined. But the "authenticity" of these changes was indisputable. They ensured the personal vocation of

⁹ CS 68.¹⁰ CS 130-2.¹¹ CS 132.

the monk, they increased his solitude, and they accepted the universal development of the liturgy by weaving into the daily life the central religious action of the Christian community. In other words, they increased rather than diminished adherence to the spiritual demands of the Rule, and the life remained essentially that of the Rule, "Benedictine". The monasticism of today has in fact already made very great changes. It has done away with the class of lay-brothers (which was largely a loan from the Cistercians), and has made at least a beginning of accepting those who wish to become monks without proceeding later to Holy Orders. It has accepted widely (whether wisely or no is irrelevant) all the liturgical changes which were devised primarily to serve pastoral needs of lay people and non-European cultures. Almost all Benedictine monks have for centuries tacitly dropped many observances such as corporal punishment, domestic imprisonment, frequent excommunication, long fasts, etc. None of these changes, taken individually, need imply spiritual relaxation. What must not be altered in the least, what monks by their vows have undertaken, is the spiritual austerity of the Rule. The monastic life must always have in it a strong ascetic element, for such an element must always exist in a dedicated Christian life; it must have an element of real solitude, primarily (in point of importance) spiritual solitude, but also a real physical severance from "the world"; it must have an element of poverty, both personal and communal; and it must always have a large element of prayer, both communal and individual. If a better directory than the Rule of St Benedict for all these objects exists, let us be told where it is. If any of these objects has ceased to be "authentic" let us be told about it. When Dom Jean asks "why should we not have the right to re-cast what he [St Benedict] fashioned for his day?" we must know what is to be re-cast. But who are we to have such rights? No true reform was ever the work of a free-for-all discussion. It has always in essence been a positive return to a spiritual and pure observance of a rule. Perhaps a principal reason for the comparative failure of any monastic order to implement the directives of the Council has been that instead of spiritual reform and the re-establishment of tradition according to the Rule, the door has been thrown open to a flood of critical proposals from the shop-floor, so to say, directed at the essential features of monastic life, in the spirit of Old Omar:

"O Love! could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the heart's desire?"

And one of the principal reasons urged for the demolition was a relativist, existentialist attitude towards changing cultures. Such an attitude is alien to the Cistercian spirit, whether primitive or modern.¹²

¹² It may be thought that the Congregation of Religious was ill-advised in proceeding to a spiritual restoration by way of long and searching questionnaires followed by debates by large bodies within the orders. Like the celebrated *cahiers de doléances* presented to the French Estates in 1789 they helped to change a spirit of renewal into one of revolution. They also drew attention to superficial abuses rather than to interior spiritual decline.

Dom Jean Leclercq is double-barrelled. In a second paper he makes a sociological approach to the Cistercians. Here, as he freely acknowledges, he is following a Professor of the Social Sciences at the Gregorian University, and is only marginally concerned with the Cistercians. Sociology can help to interpret or to illustrate an historical process; it tells us how men usually act in different social groups and contexts. It does not tell us how an individual or a group should act. In the context of a religious order, it is of interest as having drawn attention to the phenomenon of the "three founders" of many orders. The first is the original founder, Francis, Dominic, Ignatius, Alberic/Robert. The "second" is the companion or successor of the first who amplifies and applies the founder's teaching—Haymo of Faversham, Jordan of Saxony, Lainez, Stephen Harding. (These names are the reviewer's suggestion, not the author's). The "third", working upon an existing order, gives it either a new viability or more exact directions. He exploits, though he may also limit, the potentialities of his order. Here St Bonaventure, St Thomas Aquinas (in part only), Acquaviva, and St Bernard come to mind.

The three essays that follow, on the witness of the early English Cistercians, by Fr Paul Diemer of Mount St Bernard Abbey, and on Aelred of Rievaulx, by Fr Columban Heaney of Mount Mellerey (both excellent) and the specialist article on the early Cistercian chant by Fr Chrysogonus Waddell of Gethsemani, Kentucky, are only peripherally concerned with the origins of the order.

The two last articles, on the other hand, are very relevant. The first, on the witness of William of St Thierry, by Br Patrick Ryan, of Genesee Abbey, New York, amplifies the work of Dom J.-M. Déchanet and Dom Odo Brooke and others, who have rightly seen in William a spiritual theologian of great significance, the only figure to stand alongside Bernard in Cistercian mystical literature, and one who, it would seem, considerably influenced his master's message. In the history of western mystical theology he was the earliest to pick up the traditional doctrine drawn from the Greek Fathers, present (though rarely recognized) in Cassian, and continued later through Thomas of Verceil who (among others) stands behind the Rhineland, English and Spanish mystics. In early Cistercian spirituality William saw in Bernard, as in the Carthusians of Mont Dieu, the authentic mystical theory and practice, and by his writings made it traditional in the order.

The last article, by Fr E. McCorkell of Holy Cross Abbey, Virginia, sums up the mind of the conference with skill and clarity, isolating the essentials and silently dropping the questionable or irrelevant suggestions that turned up here and there. These pages are extremely valuable; they might serve as guide-lines for any monastic renewal. Others besides Cistercians may profit by their warning: "It is important to ask ourselves whether we are more concerned about change and external renewal than we are about interior renewal. Certainly we have to be careful".¹³ A few quotations will show the wisdom of this piece:

¹³ CS 257.

"Fundamental for us is the desire to taste and see how good God is. *Vacate et videte*, or in other words, be free to engage in contemplation of God, to have this experience of God . . . quiet, simple and integrated into daily life. An orientation towards such experience is part of the heritage we receive from our Cistercian Fathers."¹⁴

And on the place of the Rule:

"The fourth element . . . and it is very important for the Cistercian monk, is the Rule of St. Benedict . . . when we speak of their [so the Cistercian founders'] fidelity to the Rule, it must be understood that they were faithful to the Rule as a practical interpretation of the Gospel. [This is contrasted with the rigid, over-literal interpretation of the reform of La Trappe.] All the observance to which the early Cistercians were so faithful, manual labour, solitude, vigils, fasting, were centred in Christ. We should continue to be faithful to these for the same reason."¹⁵

And he picks out a sentence from Br Patrick Ryan's article which was finally taken up by the whole conference:

"The way of life of the Cistercian was one of poverty, simplicity and austerity in a atmosphere of silence and solitude conducive to reading, prayer and contemplation . . . to diffuse the spirit of prayer and openness to God throughout the totality of the monk's life experience."¹⁶

More than one contributor to this volume remarks that all schemes for monastic revival need for their execution a God-given leader. This is most true. A group led by one gifted humanly and spiritually is the classical recipe for a monastic revival. Without this, reforms that proceed by schemes, constitutions or chapters have little chance of success, and hitherto, at least among the Benedictines, no such leader has appeared. This symposium was held under the shadow of a great and unexpected loss, that of the living voice of Thomas Merton, who would surely have been at the centre of its inspiration. That despite his absence the gathering gave such a clear and faithful message is very encouraging, for many of its members must surely be destined for positions of influence in the order in the near future. Thomas Merton was assuredly a "charismatic" figure. His achievement, its extent and its limitations, have yet to be carefully assessed. Though still in his prime, he had lived long enough to see the waters receding from the mark of the flood-tide which had been due in part to his compelling call. He was not precisely a leader, nor would he have wished to be one. Rather, he was a prophet, and one unwilling to proclaim peace where there was no peace. He was above all a monk of great sincerity, and this book records two of his last utterances, valid in their degree for all monks of today. In his penultimate talk in Calcutta he spoke about "our irrelevance, that we monks should not attempt to be relevant". And during his meeting in the Himalayas with the Dalai Lama, when the latter asked him (what follows are Merton's own words) "what kind of attainment the [western] monk's life achieved and if there were possibilities of a deep mystical life in our monasteries. I told him: 'Well, that is what they are supposed to be for, but many monks seem to be interested in something else'".¹⁷

¹⁴ CS 258. ¹⁵ CS 259. ¹⁶ CS 261; cf. 226. ¹⁷ CS 257.

"FORCED ACTS"

A STUDY OF DOM AUGUSTINE BAKER'S DOCTRINE OF PRAYER

by

FRANCES MEREDITH

In the accepted canon of the English mystical tradition, Augustine Baker's name usually stands last as the most recent, the end of the prophets. Born in Monmouthshire in 1575, he died a prophet's death sixty-five years later unhonoured in his own country. A bilingual Welshman, a professional lawyer, a convert Catholic, an ordained monk, he underwent three attempts to answer the call of the mystical life in 1603 (aet 27), in 1608 (aet 32) and in 1620 (aet 44), the last being of a permanent nature. In 1624 he became spiritual adviser to the English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai, where Dame Gertrude More was undergoing her novitiate. She it was who, under the direction of Fr Baker, achieved such a reputation for sanctity among her community that they were for electing her abbess in 1629 at the age of twenty-three: she died four years later. When she died, he joined the monastic community of St Gregory's, Douai, and that brought him to the English missions and his death.

In our own time the prophet has received some of the honour due to him. In the spring of 1876 his neglected spiritual classic *Sancta Sophia* was re-edited by Dom Norbert Sweeney, and that October Bishop Cuthbert Hedley wrote a long review article upon it in the *Dublin Review*, entitled "Prayer & Contemplation" (reprinted in his essay collection, "Evolution & Faith", 1931), whose seriousness and eloquence attracted the attention of Catholic England. The EBC novitiate at Belmont at once took it on as the ground of its spiritual training, the book being read regularly for public spiritual reading. Among those who thereafter became "ardent Bakerites" was Dom Cuthbert Butler, who wrote in 1891: "to this day I regard my early acquaintance with and admiration for *Sancta Sophia* as one of the chief graces of my life. It gave me a definite theory of the spiritual and monastic lives, and a high ideal to aim at . . . from (ii) I got a firm grip of the great and fundamental principle that the Benedictine Order is contemplative". He read it for Lent for very many years thereafter. When he became Abbot of Downside, he took successive generations of his novices through its pages, so that perhaps their most vivid memory of their novitiate and certainly of their Abbot was his voice, tinged with emotion, as he read *Sancta Sophia* to them. The last Benedictine scholar to examine Baker was from Ampleforth, and it is hoped, the seed being already sown, that the next will be also.

Frances Meredith of Holme Hall has long been interested in Dom Augustine Baker and in Dame Gertrude More, writing on the lives and the thought of both of them.

EXILED from St Gregory's College at Douai, where he had lived for five years, Fr Augustine Baker returned to London where he died of a fever thought to be the plague in August 1641. Since he had aroused the suspicion of some of his brethren during his last years at Douai they made his dangerous stay in England more dangerous still by advising the Benedictines there to withhold all assistance from this ageing and ailing man; thereby ensuring that, if it were not for the illness which ended his life, he would have suffered imprisonment, torture and possibly death at the hands of the public hangman. It is surprising, therefore, to know that *Sancta Sophia* ("Holy Wisdom"), a collection made from his manuscripts on prayer, especially those containing the teaching given to the English Benedictine Nuns newly established at Cambrai, was published in the

year 1657 at the cost of St Gregory's College, Douai. This book, which established Fr Baker as the mystical theologian of his Congregation, was edited by Fr Serenus Cressy at the bidding of the Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation. It would have been hard to find a man more suited to the difficult task, for Cressy was a scholar and one-time fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and, although he was thirty years younger than Baker and had never met him, he had been deeply influenced by the latter's writing and by a fellow monk, Fr Cuthbert Fursden, who had been helped by Baker to discover his vocation.

Written in a style more suited to the legal documents with which Baker, as a one-time expert in municipal law, was familiar than to a treatise on the spiritual life, "Holy Wisdom" sets out to guide the persevering reader in the way of interior prayer from the meditations of the beginner, through the first stages of contemplation to the prayer of union which is not always attained on earth. Lacking the poetic fire of St John of the Cross or the rich humour of the English Mystics, "Holy Wisdom" is nevertheless a book that has been largely responsible for the spiritual formation of past generations of English Benedictine monks and nuns who have passed on its teaching to many of the laity. To those who would like to dabble in the esoteric it has little or nothing to offer. Making no attempt to win the interest of the novelty seekers of his day, Fr Baker firmly established his teaching on the twin rocks of the Scriptures and the Rule. As a boarder at Christ's Hospital School he had learned from boyhood to delight in the English Bible, especially the psalms. This joy in the Scriptures was to remain with him throughout his life. It is true that he makes little mention of the Divine Office in his writings but he made it clear that those who recite it with devotion may, through this practice, come to contemplation. As a novice at Padua and throughout his religious life, Baker would have studied St Benedict's Rule until it became his own, not only as a code of laws to obey, but as a textbook of spirituality by which his interior life was to be re-formed. Whether he was writing about his most hotly contested doctrine, the necessity of listening to the Holy Spirit's guidance, or describing the care with which a spiritual director should study the personalities of those for whom he was responsible in order to guide them in the ways best suited to them, Baker referred to the precepts of the Rule given to his monks by St Benedict. Clearly he believed that the spiritual director should display the same charity and understanding of the wise and the foolish, the devout and the lax, the weak and the strong that St Benedict expected of his abbots. Baker showed himself faithful to the spirit as well as the letter of the Rule, loving moderation, prudent in regard to outward austerities, firm in regard to silence and solitude, traditional on humility and obedience. He was careful to point out that his teaching accorded with that of St Benedict; when he wished to establish the fact that St Benedict expected his monks to practise interior prayer he turned to the Rule to show that ample provision was made for them to do so. He wrote of the progressive monks of his Order as "the new interpreters of the Holy Rule" who placed too much emphasis on exterior

observances and in so doing neglected the interior life and "pandered to the tepid spirit of this age".

Baker was well versed in the writings of the early Fathers as well as those of St Teresa, St John of the Cross (in those days not yet canonised), and the German and English Mystics. He made special reference to Walter Hilton's Ladder of Perfection and to the Cloud of Unknowing which he recommended the nuns at Cambrai to read every year. It seems possible that he had read or heard read St Augustine, St Gregory and St Bernard during his noviciate at Padua but it was only when he made his third and final attempt to practise interior prayer that he sought and discovered the works of the other mystics. Considering that he did not know the names of any of the books he wanted, and was not even sure that they existed, and that he was living in London at a time when their sale would have been prohibited, the search must have been difficult.

Though "Holy Wisdom" contains little that is new, its teaching seemed extremely novel to Baker's contemporaries. Many regarded at least some of it as dangerous innovations, regarding it with gravest suspicion. They were rightly horrified by the pseudo-mysticism taught by some of the stranger sects such as the Ranters; and by the doctrines and practice of the Quietists who thought it wrong to seek virtue; and by the popular idea that sins committed by the converted were no sins at all. Contemporary spiritual directors were shocked by the liberty of spirit allowed by Baker to his disciples and by his reverence for the guidance of the Inner Light. They tended to demand subservient obedience from their subjects and to overwhelm them with elaborate devotions and increase their natural scrupulosity by insisting on frequent self-examinations and confessions. Worse still, perhaps, they advocated elaborate and formal systems of discursive meditations which they regarded as the highest form of prayer to which all but a few enclosed religious might aspire. Contemplation was, in their opinion, the reward that might be given by God for years of relentless mortification: for ordinary people to aspire to it smacked of pride. Small wonder that when Baker opened the way of interior prayer to all including zealous laymen and women, seminary students and active religious, as well as those enclosed, his popularity amongst his followers was equalled only by the fear and even dislike aroused amongst those who thought that he would lure to their destruction the rank and file of the faithful.

Baker preached no easy doctrine. He made it clear from the beginning that, without mortification and the painful re-education of self-love, interior prayer would be impossible of attainment. If he stressed the need of interior and exterior mortification, if like St Benedict he regarded the practice of humility and obedience as essential accompaniments of the spiritual life, he nevertheless showed his understanding of human psychology by his habit of leading his disciples slowly, letting them learn by experience whenever that was possible; and in the insight that showed him that those exterior acts of mortification which men admire are so

much less painful and so much less beneficial than those hidden griefs known only to ourselves and to God.

In common with other mystical theologians Fr Baker regarded discursive prayer or meditation as the first step of the ladder of interior prayer; but unlike his contemporaries, he was ready to lead the man who was called upon to take it to move onwards as soon as he was ready to do so. That moment would vary with the individual and, although he did not say so in so many words, there would always be some who, lacking the gift of visual imagery and finding no attraction in the use of reason as an aid to prayer, would never acquire the art of meditation. Those who tend towards intuitive judgments and the use of empathy in their everyday affairs are more likely to reach out by the same means to God who is vaguely apprehended in darkness. They will not expect to comprehend the Incomprehensible nor attain directly to the Unobtainable. To all who would attempt the ascent of Mt Carmel, to all who are prepared to accept with the best will they can summon, the crosses that are laid upon them, Baker points the way to the foothills of the holy mountain, presents a way of prayer in which they may find fulfilment until, in this world or the next, they attain the heights of contemplation. He commits them to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, given to them at baptism and encountered in the depths of their being through interior prayer. Dom Michael Hanbury, who comes of Quaker stock, has pointed out "the predominant place that Baker gives to the work of the Holy Spirit" and believes that he "prized the inner Light as much as any Quaker" though for him it was safeguarded by the voice of the external Church. So carefully was it safeguarded that, far from causing alarm in modern Catholic circles, it is more likely that the teaching would fail to satisfy our modern progressives. Today, too, when spiritual direction, at least for the laity, is hard to come by, Baker's teaching on the need to stand on one's own feet, except where beginners are concerned, may seem irrelevant. Believing that the Holy Spirit himself would guide those who had learned to listen to his voice, Baker believed that occasions might arise when the advice of some experienced counsellor must be sought. The man who is ordinarily guided by the Holy Spirit will have no difficulty in recognising when that time has come. Fr Baker did not encourage mental laziness in his followers but made it clear that when a decision could be reached by the light of reason the person concerned should take the trouble to use the natural reason with which he was endowed for it was by so doing that God's will for him would be revealed.

Living by the guidance of the Spirit in prayer and seeking when necessary the advice of a wise spiritual director the man who followed the instructions of Fr Baker would avoid two pitfalls. He would never willingly allow his time of interior prayer to become a debating ground for the merits and demerits of some particular course of action, neither would he yield to the subtle temptation of seeking to bend God's will to his by pleading for angelic intervention or any other form of miraculous

aid. True at times he might wonder if it were not lack of faith that made him act in this manner but he would not let this doubt deflect him from his course. Fr Baker's disciple would never accept as guidance any interior voice that spoke in opposition to the traditional teaching of the Church nor would a religious allow such false inspiration to set aside the commands of a Superior. He would follow at all times the safe road of obedience even though the inspiration he was forced to set aside was in itself more perfect than the order he was given. Fr Baker's man of interior prayer would learn to distinguish the light shining forth from the Light of the world from those will-o'-the-wisps which lure men to lose themselves in the land of unlikeness. Tranquillity of mind that is so essential if the still small voice of the Spirit is to be heard, can be attained only through the mortification of passions and desires. This was the teaching to which Baker devoted many words, but we know from his guidance of Dame Gertrude More that he did not imagine that the inner Voice could not be heard until perfect tranquillity had been attained. He knew that progress might be very slow, that often it might consist of one step forward and two steps back but, once the will was set and interior prayer was faithfully carried out, a deep and hidden tranquillity could exist beneath the storms of passion and desire with which at times the mind was filled. St Benedict himself, as Fr Baker points out, together with all the hermits and anchorites of old, had no other instructor but the Holy Spirit at the beginning of their journey and we know that the many and violent temptations which they encountered on the way failed to turn them from their prayer. It was by the strength and encouragement imparted to them by the Paraclete that they endured in times of exterior and interior suffering; it was by the inner refreshment given to them by Him in moments of deep interior tranquillity as they sought unity with the Blessed Trinity in the silence and solitude of the desert that they gained the courage to battle on. Throughout Baker's further teaching on prayer it became even more clear that he regarded the will as, under God, the prime mover of interior prayer. It was by the will, fortified in prayer that such prayer could be maintained. It was through the will that interior prayer endured amidst the aridities and desolations that must be met with on the way. It was by the will that the habit of mortification was established and, when God was most deeply hidden by the Cloud of Unknowing, when the mind failed completely to entertain any notion of him, when prayer was merely a constant turning from distractions and seemed to be no prayer at all, it was then indeed the will that prayed. Writing at the beginning of this century Abbot Chapman of Downside further clarified Baker's teaching on this subject in his *Spiritual Letters* in which he encouraged his correspondents to brush away the distractions that troubled them and pray with the will in the dark obscurity of hidden faith.

Responding to the Holy Spirit's call, abandoned to His guidance, the man or woman called to interior prayer would come sooner or later to the time when discursive prayer, that is to say meditation, would no

longer serve him as prayer. To some the call to abandon meditation for another form of prayer would come quickly; others would be given a longer stay in that house of prayer, but in either case when the time came to move on further the question would arise: what was the next step to be? "Forced acts" was Baker's reply—acts of resignation, of contrition, adoration and love which must be forced by the will because as yet the one who made them was unready for the spontaneous flow of the spirit in love and adoration to the hidden God. These acts, which might be found in books or composed and written down at those moments when they came easily to mind were acts of the praying will and were regarded by Baker as a further step on the road to contemplation. In the course of time, but again whether sooner or later was an individual matter, forced acts were to be followed by aspirations. These were of the same content as the forced acts but, flowing freely and without effort, they were movements of the Spirit touched by the hand of God. This prayer is regarded by Baker as "active contemplation", a term which may have been his own. Truly there were times when such prayer could become formless, an imageless resting upon God and at its height a union of wills; the will of a man with the will of his Creator. In common with other exponents of mystical theology Baker believed that no man can dwell for long on the heights of passive contemplation. Sooner or later a return must be made to the usual ways of prayer and, united in will to the will of God, and asking for nothing save that that will be worked within him, the man of prayer would await in peace the perfect union of eternity. Raptures, visions, and all other manifestations of what today we know as extra-sensory perception were regarded by Baker, as by St John of the Cross, as possible occasional accompaniments of mystical prayer which were never to be confused with the prayer itself, never to be sought for or regarded with delight. Fr Baker had undergone strange experiences at times himself. Whether they were as odd as they sound to modern ears, or whether he lacked the power to refer to them in words, they were unimportant and neither prove nor disprove his empirical knowledge of mysticism.

Readers of "Holy Wisdom" may gain the impression that those who follow Baker's way of prayer will progress from step to step on a well mapped course. True, the time spent on each step may vary but it may seem that forced acts must follow inevitably on meditation and persist till they in turn give way to aspirations and, finally, to some "showing" (to use a term beloved by Julian of Norwich). Some interior or exterior voice will set the seal of the spirit upon their prayer and serve as encouragement in the ensuing darkness that may surround the union of nothingness with Nothing. The truth may be very different: insofar as this awareness of the touch of God is due to sensible consolation or heightened feeling brought about through physical or emotional causes the man of prayer is unlikely to find such experiences repeated when he has learnt to pray with the will alone. As for those seconds of pure contemplation which Baker warns us may last for a very brief space,

they too, will come and go at will, at God's will and not at ours. Much the same might be said about the nights of St John of the Cross: they do not necessarily follow one another in an unvaried chain of spiritual experiences. Described by a saint who was also a poet they are events in the spiritual life which will be surely encountered in one form or another on the road of contemplation.

Compared with Carmelite writings or with the gay, vital works of the English mystics, Fr Baker's book may seem pedestrian. It is here however that its peculiar value lies for modern man. Shorn of its archaism, put into modern English, it could be entitled "The Plain Man's Guide to Interior Prayer". It is a way of prayer well suited to the twentieth century Christian who must survive in a mental climate similar in many respects to that in which Baker's followers suffered and endured. It is a way that can be followed, as he pointed out, by the laity whose daily lives must be spent in the turmoil of everyday living. It can be followed by those who are painfully aware of the warring factions and strident voices of men who seek to serve God by wordy argument or angry discussion. To his modern readers as to his contemporary disciples, Baker shows that tranquillity may exist within the depths of being even when the Church, the world and individual men are torn by conflict.

Finally we may ask for empirical proof of the rightness of Fr Baker's way of prayer. Looking at the man himself we find that this Welsh Benedictine monk was successful in bringing many others into the Church, not by argument but by teaching them his way of prayer. We know that of all his converts there was not one but remained faithful, and that at a time when to be a Catholic in Great Britain was to ensure material loss, to court exile and to risk torture, imprisonment and a most painful death. We have abundant evidence of his popularity with the young and the influence for good that he exerted on them. So much we know of him reminds us of the description of contemplatives given by Blossius: "they are kind and gentle in daily life and show an affable and sociable manner to all so long as no sin is involved". Probably the greatest empirical proof, not only of the rightness of his teaching, but of the fact that he practised what he preached, is to be found in his behaviour when he was exiled from St Gregory's at Douai. Wounded in the house of his friends, enduring the bitter desolation of which he had written, he made little effort to defend himself but bore with tranquillity the petty persecution of his brethren and proceeded in calmness to whatever fate awaited him in England. Had he chosen to do so there is little doubt that he could have led the young Welsh Benedictine monks in a rebellion that could have had an even more disastrous effect than the racial quarrels in the English College at Rome. Far from that being the case however, the Welsh members of the Order remained faithful to it and some amongst their number rose to positions of responsibility in the English Benedictine Congregation.

Fr Baker's apparent denigration of human nature may detract to some extent from the value of the book, at least for those who read it

without discrimination. It should be remembered however that life in the seventeenth century was harsh if not painful for many, and Baker must have seen and heard much that would confirm him in the belief, almost certainly taught him in boyhood, that the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. All that we know of his friendships, his love of sweet-scented flowers and even his pleasure in playing with a cat suggests that in this instance his conduct was far less stern than his written words. Some would complain that "Holy Wisdom" lacks the appeal of overt devotion to Our Lord and to His Blessed Mother. But Baker had been too well trained in English legalism to allow his personal feelings to be displayed; and apart from that, he knew the dangers of sentimentality or sensible devotion too well to appear to encourage them. His love was none the less true because it was largely a love of the will alone.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

- 1575 David Baker born 9th December in Abergavenny. Attended grammar school.
- 1587 Sent to school at Christ's Hospital, London.
- 1590 Matriculated at Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford.
- 1592 Legal studies at Abergavenny: at Clifford's Inn four years later.
- 1598 Death of elder brother, summoned home, appointed Recorder of Abergavenny.
- 1600 Religious conversion after escape from drowning.
- 1603 Conversion to Catholicism.
- 1605 Received into the Benedictine Order at St Giustina Abbey, Padua.
- 1606 Returned England. Death of his father. Buckley affair.
- 1608 Cook's Hill, Worcester: second attempt at mystical prayer, discouraged.
- 1613 Ordained priest at Rheims (date uncertain, possibly 1610).
- 1620 Devonshire: final successful conversion to contemplative life.
- 1622 To Gray's Inn: wrote *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*.
- 1624 Spiritual adviser to the Benedictine nuns of Cambrai: wrote many treatises on prayer for them.
- 1633 Joined the monastic community at St Gregory's, Douai.
- 1638 To the English Mission, London: hunted by pursuivants.
- 1641 Fr Augustine Baker died 9th August in London. Buried St Andrew's, Holborn.
- 1657 Posthumous publication of *Sancta Sophia* at Douai.

WITHOUT HELP OF REED, STYLUS OR PEN

A HISTORY OF THE STANBROOK ABBEY PRESS

A REVIEW ARTICLE
by
PATRICK BARRY, O.S.B.

The Cambrai nuns, founded in 1624 with Fr Augustine Baker as their chaplain and spiritual adviser, were driven out of France by the French Revolution, settling at Woolton, then at Abbots Salford and finally at Stanbrook in Worcestershire. There the Community lives an enclosed contemplative life, mindful of the words of St Benedict, *nilil operi Dei praeponatur*.

However the nuns have their living to earn, and have wisely turned to the habits of the pre-Reformation monasteries, to literary craftsmanship, to the sublime craft of the production of books (or at least exquisitely printed pages). Where the monks and nuns of medieval Worcestershire turned their hands to careful copies laboured out one at a time from their scriptoria, the Stanbrook nuns print from their hand presses on, for instance, delicate vellum imported from the Far East, several hundred copies at a time. The book under review comprises 50 specially numbered copies bound in full leather with a supplementary volume of printing specimens, and 450 further copies bound in cloth.

The SAP lurched into existence almost a century ago with a Columbian press, and has nearly expired more than once since. But under the present "Lady Printer" it has climbed by degrees since 1956 into what appears to be world class among hand presses. It is fitting, then, that the instigator of printing at Ampleforth, who is judged by professionals to be virtually a professional, should review the work of Dame Hildelith Cumming.

In 1876 the first printing press was installed at Stanbrook and the nuns have now published an account of the beginnings, development, decline and recent flowering of printing at Stanbrook. It is a story of very special fascination. Dame Hildelith Cumming in giving a careful account of how presses were acquired, techniques learnt and typefaces chosen for the work of the Stanbrook Press over the years has revealed much more than such a catalogue might suggest. The real secret of the Press and the key to its success and very high reputation was the genius of the nuns in finding those many friends in the world of typography and printing who advised them and guided from outside their development.

Shut away in the cloister they could so easily have made mistakes. There were so many who would willingly have given them bad advice. How was it that they chose their friends so unerringly? One might also ask how those friends—most of whom did not share their faith and were unfamiliar with their way of life—knew what demands could be made. In 1907 Sir Sydney Cockerell wrote to Dame Laurentia: "I feel strongly what I said—that whereas women like Miss Kingsford and Miss

Lesser . . . and Miss Adams, whose lives are fretted with all sorts of distracting pleasures and duties . . . may be excused for occasional shortcomings, the nuns of Stanbrook are bound by their position to do work without flaw." In 1957 Jan Van Krimpen paid his only visit to Stanbrook. He was quite critical of work shown to him. Then finding an example without flaw he said: "That's better. Until you can print as well as this you can't begin to enjoy yourself. You have to aim at a perfect page of print. It's quite interesting you know."

That seems to have been the secret. The nuns made friends of men who were outstanding in the world of typography and printing. These friends did not treat the nuns' interest in printing lightly but understood that only the best was good enough. The nuns themselves were able to achieve the immensely high standards set them, so that exhibitions of their work have been shown not only throughout England but also in America and Germany.

It all really began with Fr Laurence Shepherd, a monk of the Ampleforth Community who was appointed chaplain in 1863. He had studied liturgy and church music in Parma. He was a friend of Abbot Guéranger and was the translator of his *Liturgical Year*. He taught the nuns Latin as well as music and liturgy, read them poetry and played his violin for them. It was he who founded the Press at Stanbrook in 1876. He bought a printing press from a local friend who was a printer. The press has the imposing name of Improved Crown Columbian Press and it is given a charming full-page line illustration in this book. In printing technique it represents no significant advance on Gutenberg's press, and any of Gutenberg's men would have been at home with it; but that was true of many printing presses in constant use at that time.

The printers at Stanbrook had an immediate market. The press was not a plaything and the nuns began at once to work on the production of books and other printed matter for the English Benedictine Congregation. They started on a copy of *The Rule* in 1876 and the *Rituale* followed in 1877. From the beginning it was a working press and from the beginning the highest standards were demanded. "Fr Shepherd used to visit the Printing House every afternoon at 2 p.m. to superintend the work. As he would have nothing short of perfection, the printers rather dreaded his visits in spite of their appreciation of his help and kindness."

With such a good start the nuns built up the Press rapidly. New equipment was acquired and the volume of work increased. Then the nuns' association with Sydney Cockerell began. In 1907 the *Oscott Psalter* was on loan to Stanbrook and Sydney Cockerell with Dyson Perrins called at the Abbey to see it. He formed at once a friendship with Dame Laurentia McLachlan which lasted until his death. They immediately found an identity of interest in medieval manuscripts, fine books and fine printing. Sydney Cockerell, as many can testify, was the most generous of friends and already three months after his first visit he was writing to Dame Laurentia: "You are going to let me have your conclusions

respecting the Epistolar, are you not? I believe you enjoy these investigations and I am going to take all the advantage I can of your readiness to place your learning at my disposal. In return I will joyfully give any help I can in matters that are more or less within my province. Let us take this position for granted and let there be no more thanks between us . . . Any book I have is yours to borrow *mihi et amicis*. I trust you implicitly not to put it into the hands of anyone who does not know how to turn over the pages or that paint and gilding must not be touched. Ladies of the world are terrible defaulters in these respects—and the monks (I say nothing of the nuns) of old days were little better—but at Stanbrook I think the right spirit prevails. I was astonished that the printing was so good."

It was not a question of a scholar patronising some pious ladies. Sydney Cockerell found at Stanbrook a high standard of scholarship and an impressive standard of printing. The latter was within somewhat narrow limits, and he gave a new impetus and introduced the Stanbrook printers to the new perspectives in printing which were then opening out in England. His influence was certainly formative and did much to change the character of the Press.

It was the early days of the Private Press and the influence of the Private Presses on typography and book production was just beginning. The Stanbrook Press might have continued as a competent small press of no great significance. It was Sydney Cockerell who initially set them on the road which led to the distinction they ultimately achieved. "I have written to my friend Emery Walker who is part owner of the Doves Press, which does the finest printing done anywhere these days, to ask him to let me have a leaf or two of his printing for the walls of your printing room, and when I get back to Richmond I will try to find some specimens of the Kelmescott Press. I wonder whether the work of these presses is known to you or whether you are cut off from knowing what progress is being made in the crafts by the outside world."

Thus began a new period in the development of the Press in which the printers learnt more and more about typography and fine printing and mastered with the ready help of Sydney Cockerell's friends many of the more difficult technical problems.

The story, however, is not one of steady advance towards the superb productions of today. The Press was a working press and it seems that gradually quantity came to be regarded as more important than quality. During and after the second world war the standard dropped so low that some Stanbrook productions were not better than those of any jobbing printer. "The old craftsman's attitude, so characteristic of the Press, now gave way to a sort of holy commercialism . . . All this time the composing room was working with badly worn type on an edition of *Benedictines of Today*, which eventually came out in 1946. A lengthy work of 533 pages, it is badly printed and has all the limitations of the war-economy restrictions without the enlightened mastery of them shown in

some commercial books of the period. It can be said to be Stanbrook's work at its lowest ebb."

Things appear to have been very bad in the early fifties, but in 1956 Dame Hildelith was appointed printer. During the previous year as Cellarer she had advocated the sale of all the printing equipment. Now in the hot seat she changed her mind and decided that the Press must buy new type.

The genius of Stanbrook was not dead. Clearly advice was needed and Dame Hildelith obtained an introduction to Robert Gibbings. His advice and interest laid the foundations of the new era in Stanbrook printing. He advised them to buy Perpetua for the Press and encouraged them in the pursuit of fine standards once more. He introduced them to John Dreyfus of the Cambridge Press who in his turn introduced them to the typefaces of Van Krimpen. In due course over the following years founts of Van Krimpen's Cancellaresca, Romulus, Romanée and finally Spectrum were acquired by Stanbrook, and it is the nuns' marvellously sensitive use of these typefaces which has made the Press so widely known in the years since Dame Hildelith took over.

The careful account of the equipment acquired since 1956 make it quite clear that the Press is now fully modernised. It even uses a Monotype keyboard—relying for casting on a neighbouring typesetter. There is no question of the Press degenerating into a mere luxury for the production of fine pieces. The limited works, which are so much sought after, are the special productions of a working press which is also turning out practical work to satisfy current needs. It is safe to say that the standards of the Press are now impeccable.

The decline of the Press in the forties and late fifties was a sad episode and one can hope that after the last fourteen years of advance there is no danger of a similar decline in future. This hope is greatly encouraged by the last chapter *The Press of Tomorrow* in which the printers briefly look forward towards future developments. It is clear that they are not fascinated into rigidity by their own great success with Van Krimpen typefaces. The installation of the Monotype keyboard opens up the possibility of wide experimentation with other types. The clear grasp of principles and lucid consistency in their application which the modern printers of Stanbrook have shown must encourage one to feel that whatever they do will continue to achieve the highest standards of beauty and technical perfection.

There is only a limited edition of the volume of specimens which goes with this history of Stanbrook Press. I was fortunate enough to see one of the Stanbrook exhibitions of work done at the Press, but a reader who has not will not fully appreciate the achievement of the printers. No doubt the book will lead to a greater demand for the exhibitions which have already travelled far.

The age of the Private Press books appears to be over. If I am not mistaken Stanbrook alone remains at least with any significant standing.

Perhaps it may preserve the tradition to a new flowering at some future date when the economic atmosphere is favourable to such enterprises.

The *Catholicon* which is usually attributed to Gutenberg has a colophon which begins like this: "With the help of the Most High at whose will the tongues of infants become eloquent and who often reveals to the lowly what he hides from the wise, this noble book has been printed and accomplished without the help of reed, stylus or pen but by the wondrous agreement, proportion and harmony of punches and types . . ." It might well stand as a colophon to the work of the printers of Stanbrook. The piety, judgment and skill they have brought to their work is indeed impressive. Their achievement has the highest value, one suspects, not only as an objective contribution to the art of printing but also as a community exercise. Throughout this account one senses the importance of this aspect of the work. The achievement was truly a community achievement and as such perhaps it will inspire others.

* * *

Obviously the matter to be printed is of primary importance. To be more concerned with the technics and the aesthetics of printing than with the content of the text is to be putting the cart before the horse; yet the text constitutes a prime difficulty for the majority of private printers. Filled with a desire to print, where are they to find their material? The common solution to the problem is to print once again what has been printed before, or for the printer to compile a text for himself, and here a community has the great advantage of a variety of talents at its disposal. If there are no good original writers among its members there may be good editors or good translators; also a wide circle of friends may be able to provide whatever is lacking within the community itself. From these varied sources the Stanbrook Press has at different times drawn material, but the ideal is to find a text that needs to be printed. From the beginning the Press has enjoyed the inestimable advantage of being able to fulfil existing needs. The very first production, The Holy Rule, was not just another reprint of an already printed text undertaken from devotion alone, it was a book needed every day by the community. Likewise the Rituale that followed was needed for monastic ceremonies, and down the years there has always been this steady background of necessity behind the work of the Press.

From Part IV, Chapter I, "The Press Today".

MULTIPLURALISM

BENEDICTINE LIFE IN THE CHURCH TODAY

by

JEAN LECLERCQ, O.S.B.

The author is a monk of Clervaux in Luxembourg: that is where he keeps his cowl. But his letters to this editor and his articles seemingly to every monastic journal or conference symposium come from every part of the world this side of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. He is the first to smile at himself as the ultimate *gyrovague* far beyond the darkest dreams of St Benedict: in a recent "Luxair" postcard he wrote from South America, "In Boeing and Caravelle, from enclosure to enclosure, preaching stability and talking about silence, enjoying the company of real monks . . . my postal stability remains where I made my vows". On his one fleeting visit to Ampleforth a few years ago, he arrived for Goremire Day and was astonished to find himself sitting out on Sutton Bank with the School and Community mingling about him, drinking the best that W. A. Gilbey could provide: he was disturbed—he is used to being edified in monasteries and mollified in aeroplanes by turns, but does not like to have the rhythm reversed. He has compared modern European monasticism with medieval monasticism in most countries west of the Iron Curtain, has discussed contemplation with Bhuddist monks in Asia and with Muslims in Africa, and Christian monasticism in relation to zen or yoga in Latin America; meanwhile taking in lectures, conferences or retreats on each side of the United States, both in cloister and on campus, both for monks of the world and hidden contemplatives, all inside a single summer.

Jean Leclercq is the current editor of the critical edition of the works of St Bernard (with different collaborators for each volume); if he has written more on one subject than another, it is upon St Bernard, no mean traveller and controversialist himself. The book that monks most cherish from his pen is "The Love of Learning and the Desire for God", a study of the monastic culture of the Middle Ages published first in French and then in English in 1962. By 1960, his bibliography of publications numbered more than 250 items, and his pace of writing, as his pace of travelling, has accelerated since. This paper constituted the opening address at a monastic meeting in Korea earlier this year.

Here Dom Jean asks first what is the essence of living under the Rule, then what the Church asks of Benedictines, and finally what the monastic idea looks like in Asia where it is not tied to the past.

The word Benedictine is of relatively recent origin. It appeared for the first time in the sixteenth century, and was then only rarely found. In the seventeenth century it was used to denote all those who live according to the Rule of St Benedict: monks following the Benedictine, Cistercian and Camaldule observance, as well as many others. From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, the word was reserved for the confederate or non-confederate congregations of the Order of St Benedict. This led to the distinction and separation between the Benedictines, the Cistercians and so forth. There even arose a state of affairs where "contamination" was feared, and monks of different orders were prevented from meeting each other: they became "separated brothers", sometimes even, almost "brother enemies". Today, there is a movement in favour of reconciliation and encounter, a tendency to restore the traditional situation.

The Benedictine idea has served as the focus of a good many "theories" during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. These

different "theories" were sometimes founded on basic ideas which were mutually opposed, and fostered by influential and strong-minded people such as Wimmer, Butler, Delatte, Herwegen, Schuster, Van Caloen and the inventors of "missionary monasticism", each of whom claimed to be inspired by history and, in fact, each one did select from the historical past those elements which confirmed his particular view of a limited section of the Order of St Benedict. In this way, the Benedictine "idea" gave rise to a number of "ideologies" all containing certain valid elements. The only common denominator seems to be the important stress laid on liturgical office on the grounds that the Rule says that nothing is to be "preferred to the Work of God"—a text which, if replaced in its context, will be seen to be nothing like a statement of general policy. The present day progress in historical and philological studies has had two fortunate results: we now relativise our theories and, so to speak, "demythologise" Benedictinism, and it is better realised that divine office is only one of the observances of monastic prayer, and that there are many others, with the consequence that the traditional *lectio* is being restored to its place of honour.

What does it mean to live according to the Rule of St Benedict?

This is a question which many people are wondering about today. It has arisen because some of the observances once considered as characteristic of the Rule, have been let drop: the structure of the office, for example, is considerably modified, there is a growing tendency not to elect abbots for a life tenure of office, chapter has a decisive word to say in monastic government, and decisions are no longer left entirely to the abbot as chapters two and three of the Rule suggest they should. The general idea is that to make profession and to live according to the Rule simply means "to make profession to live as monks". The inspiration of this life is a certain harmony of spiritual values as set forth in the Rule (one witness among many others to monastic tradition), yet without being under strict obligation to practise any of the observances which it prescribes. The important thing is not "to keep the Rule", but to follow it as a guide-line, a general theme of monastic living.

This means that we today are just as free with regard to the Rule as St Benedict himself was with regard to monastic rules existing before him. The humorous way in which he deals with the question of the amount of wine to be served, his moderation, his refusal to go into details on certain matters, makes him appear as an iconoclast with regard to some other traditional observances. Likewise, St Bernard, though thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of the Rule, was entirely free in connection with mere observances. What is to be retained from the Rule is the essential, that is to say the lasting gospel values which it hands on to us, and not the institutional and psychological structures which reflect life in sixth century Italy. Of course, it is not every monk or every abbot who is capable of sifting things out in this way, but it is up to communities and groups of communities which are the trustees of the monastic charisma to see to it.

We may say that on the whole, the doctrine contained in the Rule corresponds to that found in *Perfectae Caritatis*, n.9, where specific mention is made of the institution of monastic life: a life in common, entirely focused on divine worship, that is to say on the service, the diacony of prayer. Allowance is made for some "apostolate or works of christian charity" to be carried out "within the monastery confines". The "Benedictine life" is just one of the forms of monastic life in the West and it is proper to those institutions which follow the Rule of St Benedict.

* * *

What does the Church expect of Benedictine Monks? Paul VI spoke the mind of the Church in this matter when he addressed the Benedictine Abbots at the Vatican on 30th September 1966. Furthermore many bishops, priests and lay people have been consulted on this question and their opinions are now well known. They continue to be corroborated by testimonies being brought forward in all parts of the world. It is obvious that, on the whole, the Church hierarchy and faithful are very certain as to what is specifically monastic in the Church—and therefore characteristic of monks—and what can be done by other members of the Church, the non-monks. It is noticed that it is expected that a monastery should be a centre of spiritual life, a place of prayer which Paul VI has frequently qualified as a "source of radiance" manifesting itself under many different forms.¹

Benedictines themselves are sometimes less at ease and less clear-sighted in their judgments as to what is monastic and what is not, because they are often tangled up with the historical form of the Benedictine monastic life as it is lived in the particular institution to which they belong, in which they have received their formation, for which they are responsible and which they are sometimes obliged to defend at all costs.

That was how they came to invent during the round table talks which prepared the last Congress of Abbots, the notion of "pluralism", but not without some contestation. I recall how one member protested saying ironically, "Recurrimus ad sic dictum pluralismum". In fact "pluralism" has now been acknowledged and it has even an offspring called "multi-pluralism". The *Statement on the Benedictine Life*, accepted at the last Congress of Abbots, is a document which does its best to approve every historical form actually existing of the Benedictine life, from "missionaries" to "contemplatives". This very general text has not satisfied everyone, with the result that certain congregations within the Order have drawn up other statements.

It would seem that the term "pluralism" and the idea it expresses may be approved under two conditions: first, it must remain monastic, or, if the word is preferred, Benedictine. That is to say that it must conform to a certain conception of the religious life as expressed by

¹ In *Cistercian Studies* 2, 1967, p. 189-204, and in *Aspects of Monasticism Yesterday and Today*, forthcoming in Dublin University Press, I have cited these witnesses.

tradition, which is not to be identified with certain facts of the historic past, but considered as a norm allowing us to discern the constants and the common elements in every successive realisation which has taken place in the course of history; and by the mind of the Church today when she states what monasticism should be and do within her in the present age. Pluralism must not open the way to dispersion: it presupposes a oneness of the monastic idea which assures the presence of common factors in the different realisations. It must be given an axis, focused on certain fundamental principles. If Benedictines have exactly the same activities and lead exactly the same sort of common (or uncommon) life as do religious of every other congregation of regulars, they lose any specific identity on which to build their pluralism. The juridical title of "monk" or "Benedictine" is not sufficient for the establishment of this identity: it must be founded on definite forms of existence and activity. As one monk said, I entered the monastery to be a monk, not a Reverend Benedictine Father.

Secondly, it should be possible to realise this pluralism within each monastic institution. Pluralism supposes a diversity of ends and structures between monastic orders and congregations, Benedictine and others. This diversity distinguishes them among themselves and even sometimes opposes them—but it generally has the result of confirming each institute in its own character as this has been determined by historical origins.

There is however more and more frequently the demand for pluralism within each institution. This means that pluralism will exist not only within each order or congregation, but even inside a single monastery where it should be made possible to realise different and complementary vocations, as long as they all remain "monastic". Such a state of affairs would allow for the fulfilment of personal vocations either by individuals or groups of individuals there, where several have received the same call. It is thus that the Congregation of St Otilien for example has accepted and recognised by "Particular Statutes" added to their own Constitutions, the Priory of Hanga in Tanzania. This allows the African monks who wish to be, not "missionary" monks, but as the Prior puts it, "prayer monks", a right to exist.² In the same manner, the presence of some Benedictines of the United States of the monastery of the Holy Mother of God, in North Carolina, has sometimes been interpreted in the same sense.

The pluralist principle is then an evolutive principle. There can be no question of a static pluralism, one which would reinforce and consecrate the differences inherited from the past; but rather there must be a pluralism which fosters and develops unity, one which tends to unity, aiming at valorising more and more those "monastic" elements which are the common heritage of all monastic institutions. This form of pluralism will certainly strengthen and enrich particular institutes with elements received from others. Pluralism must not become rigid, obnubi-

² G. Mwangini in *Vivante Afrique*, May-June 1968, n. 256, p. 15-17. Cf. C. Cary-Elwes, O.S.B., in *American Benedictine Review*, 20 (1969) 580; and the *JOURNAL*, Spring 1970, 69ff.

lated by a distant or near past, tied up in history. It must be faithful to permanent monastic values, and oriented towards a future which we are preparing and already constructing. It will be a creative and free pluralism animated by the Holy Spirit, in harmony with the grace of Christ which, as St Paul says, is multiform, and under the guidance of the Spirit of God in his manifold manifestations.

This capacity for renewal of monasticism is one of the evidences of its historical pluralism, of its growth and development entailing a differentiation in keeping with the different circumstances and facts of Church life in the past. Let us now cite just a few of the many examples of this vitality.

ASIAN MONASTICISM

We have seen that the "monastic" or "Benedictine" idea is not bound up with the past: its present day forms are not lastingly determined by any of the facts or circumstances of any other period, be it the middle ages, the period of the post-tridentine reform, the Baroque period, the epoch of Swiss or Bavarian expansion in nineteenth century America, the monastic revivals, more or less romantic, neo- or pseudo-mediaeval, of the nineteenth century. Present day monasticism is absolutely free with regard to any forms of monastic life inherited from the past: it now has to prove that it is able to put into effect the mind of the Church today. An admirable example of this monastic youthfulness is provided by the report published by the American Benedictine Cassinese Congregation in 1969 under the title of *Renew and Create*. After a humble, clear-sighted and courageous appraisal of the Benedictine life as it has been so far in the United States, the text, based solely on the Rule, goes on to elaborate a project of what this life should and could become. Doubtless this is nothing more than a programme, and the authors are well aware that the task will be long and difficult. It is, however, very encouraging to see that an important Benedictine Congregation has the vigour and youthful energy to make a critical judgment of its past and to look both the present and the future squarely in the face.

In the past, any realisation of the monastic idea has depended upon the circumstances, and when these changed, monasticism also changed: the same holds good today: new circumstances require a renewed monasticism.

Is the Benedictine idea tied to the West? That is the fundamental question which must be asked in connection with any monastic renewal in Asia today, as is the case of Africa too. It must not be forgotten that the Rule is an Italian document dating from the sixth century, and that it bears the stamp of the times and the type of civilisation in which it first appeared. Nor must it be forgotten that St Benedict has been named patron of Europe alone. There are perhaps certain lawful extensions of this continent as history in the two Americas proves. But is it right to export the Rule to those parts of the world which have their own specific civilisations, far older than any European civilisation, certainly very different, and sometimes more highly refined than this is? Since the

first Congress of African monks held at Bouaké in 1964, it has often been repeated that the monasticism in Africa is only Benedictine for the time being. In the same way we must not fear to ask outright whether it is still possible and legitimate to be "Benedictine" or "Cistercian" in Asia today. We must go on, taking into consideration all the facts in hand concerning the actual evolution of these different Asian countries, to ask ourselves two more questions.

The first concerns Westernisation of Asia. The chief problem here is to discern whether Asian countries are undergoing a process of total westernisation, or whether, backed up by their cultural and religious traditions they are going to retain their identity. The answer will be determined for each country in particular in keeping with its actual stage of evolution and according to the different foreign influences which are at work. Japan, for example, is said to be modernising itself without being westernised. And it is true that technical progress there is certainly advanced, yet it cannot be claimed that its technology is solely western: it is universal, world-wide and asiatic in the sense that it has developed in Japan just as much as in the United States, and more than in any European country.

As regards Korea, nothing can be said until we have the results of the religious sociological enquiry which is under way at the present time. One of the major factors indeed is to know exactly the percentage of the Catholic minority, and the evaluation of its influence in the present and its possibility of survival for the future. For, whereas an increase in the number of christians is registered for those Asian countries where western influence in politics and economics is considerable, it must also be observed that in the countries which have either remained independent or become so again as a result of decolonisation, there is a regression in christianity, and many christians have resorted back to the traditional religions of their country.³

Whatever may be the actual position, it will not do simply to have recourse to the past, or to be content with justifying the present. We must prospect, look to the future. In this connection there comes to my mind the article on *Asia* by Vincent F. Kearney in *America*,⁴ where the author discusses what we can foresee of the coming "new pacific age", the "new Asia", and what the Church might be able to do and to be there.

Apart from the social and the historical problem, there is also a theological one. This is suggested by the title of a missiological work dealing with Africa but which applies equally well to Asia: "Is God Western?"⁵ The answer we give to this question will have many consequences for the different forms of presence of the Church, the People of God, including the monastic presence.

Secondly, may monasticism remain western? When we speak of adapting the Benedictine life to Asia, it is supposed that we start off

³ This fact has been established in "Histoire de l'Humanité", published by UNESCO, VI, 2, p. 875, chapter on the *Situation in Buddhism*.

⁴ 10th January 1970, p. 14-16.

⁵ *Dieu, est-il occidental?* by H. Vailliez (Paris, 1969).

with a definite and given fact—monasticism in its historical and western form—which we think of modifying in keeping with another existing fact, the psychological, social, cultural and religious context of Asian countries. But these countries have a monasticism of their own. So the question should be put the other way round: can we adapt the monasticism of Asian countries in its different forms to the christian reality, without starting by westernising Asian monasticism in order to christianise it? It is in this sense that we can say that the introduction of the Benedictine life in Asia will have been only a temporary state of affairs. We must now go a step further and "debenedictinise" Christian monasticism so that it may become Asian. That is the opinion of those observers who, being as it were outsiders to the historical forms of western monasticism and its institutions, have an unbiased judgment.

Let us take a few examples. Fr Gomane S.J., explaining why he went to make his annual retreat in a Buddhist monastery writes, "There is the question of setting up christian monasticism in Thailand; this is something much desired by the Church in a country where the local religion has an essentially monastic community aspect. So we are waiting for the first monks to come and settle here, or rather to graft themselves on to the old trunk of the monastic life, adapting themselves if they wish to survive and bear fruit".⁶

The All India Seminar on the Church in India Today, held at Bangalore in May 1969, began by remarking that "the contemplative ideal" is the fact which most impresses any observer of the traditional religious life in India. What, however, has been the legacy of history? It has been an image of an Imperialist Church; and of a *foreign Church*. Then it is asked: "Does not Christianity in India chiefly appear as a 'work of works'? Is the Church at large under the action of the Spirit, 'turned towards God to adore and to love'?" (Lumen gentium 12): "Do we not need to establish a better harmony and a deeper unity between action-involvement and interiority-contemplation in our lives?" (p. 17). Two answers are suggested: a general one for the whole Church which may be summarised by the word "indianization" which comes up constantly throughout the six volumes of the proceedings of the Seminar. There is also a particular reply which concerns monasticism: "It would be a great help to have more ashram houses as centres of dialogue, closely integrated in their respective milieux" . . . In the Indian context, anything good in the Indian monastic and religious tradition should be incorporated into Christian categories. It will be noticed that there is no mention of adapting Christian monasticism to India, but on the contrary, of adapting Indian monasticism to Christianity. The Kurisumala Ashram is cited in example, and reference is made to my article concerning it under the title *An experiment in Indianizing the Church*.⁷

⁶ *Amitiés catholiques internationales*, 54 (1969), p. 15.

⁷ *All India Seminar. Workshop Handbook*, Part I (New Delhi, 1969), p. 10-11.

⁸ *The Examiner*, Bombay, 6th April 1968. (I have assembled these texts in an article "The Church in India and the 'Contemplative Ideal'" to appear in the Bulletin AIM).

It would be a good thing if Christians in every country meditated on the information which appeared in the international press in November 1969: "Mr Gujral, Indian Minister of Information stated at the Fortieth All India Christian Conference that the government would welcome missionaries coming from Asia and Africa. Such missionaries, he stated, have certain affinities with the cultural and historical traditions of India. In the course of the last few months a certain number of foreign missionaries have been expelled from several Indian states."

CONCLUSION

An example: the Sylvestrines in Ceylon.

The preceding pages have set more questions than they have given answers. It seemed to me that the aim of U.M.A. in Korea is not to give way to "Benedictine triumphalism" and justify at all costs the existing situation. Nor has it to accuse those who have gone before and reproach them for having imported Benedictine monasticism as a colonial produce foreign to Asia and destined to be eliminated as each country gets the chance to do so. It is our job to ask humbly and sincerely as becomes those who "seek God and have nothing dearer than Christ", we who are certain that everywhere it is the same Lord whom we serve, what we must do today to be useful to the Church and faithful to what she expects us to be, especially in Asia, and thus to prepare the future of the Church and monasticism in Asia.

I shall now cite some extracts from an admirable examination of conscience, written by the Very Reverend Father D. Dunstan Barsenbach, o.s.b., Vicar General of the Sylvestrine Benedictines in Ceylon. He concludes with a constructive project for the future. It is the first step. Before the appearance of an Asian monasticism in each country, we must first pave the way by presenting forms of the Benedictine life which are really monastic. But this witness merits being put forward as an example.⁹

Here, to start with are extracts from the examination of conscience concerning the present time in the light of history:

"In Ceylon the Sylvestrines have done quite a lot of wonderful work for the Church by way of building churches and running parishes. In fact I would say that they have neglected all these hundred odd years the development of their own monastic life, whatever the reasons may have been for this. For how long more could the Sylvestrines afford to neglect this aspect of their apostolate? I would really like to refer to the development of the monastic life in Ceylon as an apostolate. So far the Sylvestrines have done good missionary work. But very little contact has been made between monastery and people so much so that people in Ceylon hardly know what Benedictine life or monasticism is.

⁹ It appeared under the title "Harnessing Benedictine Monachism for Ceylon", in *St Sylvester: Seventh Century Souvenir, 1267-1967*, Ceylon 1967, p. 82-86.

Here I pose an important question. How legitimate and how much in keeping with monastic life is it for Benedictines to live permanently out of their monastery and out of the conditions of community life and normal Benedictine observance for the sake of serving parishes? St Gregory sent monks to convert England but he would not allow them to act as parochial clergy . . . Traditionally monks, as a rule, were not in charge of parish churches as pastors. This practice, it is agreed, is of modern times . . . However, I think that the ideal of St Benedict is that a monk should remain doing the work of God, whatever it be, from within the Monastery—*usque ad mortem in monasterio perseverantes*.

And now a few extracts concerning the constructive project. There is no need to reproduce it entirely here, for it will need adapting to the conditions of each country. But the suggestions it makes will be found useful everywhere.

What specifically would be the type of work suitable to us Sylvestrines in Ceylon in the future? We must know this in order that our coming monks may be trained to fit into their new tasks. Firstly, I would say there is the development of the liturgical life and the education of the people to love and appreciate the liturgy of the Church.

Then there are other works that could be undertaken by the monks—such as translating Catholic works into Sinhala, special studies on Buddhism and the culture of the people.

The school work should hold only the same place in the monk's life as did St Benedict's manual labour and he should have the same proportion of time for the Divine Office and for religious exercises and also the same leisure for private reading, religious or other.

A Benedictine monastery in Ceylon undertaking agriculture will be doing a great national service.

The future monastery must become a centre of Faith where priests may come to find rest, happiness, solace to their souls, comfort from the faith and devotion of the monks. It must be a source of refreshment, religious and intellectual; wherein they could take part in the liturgical services for a few days and exchange ideas with some of the monks. There must be a few monks well trained in the spiritual life who could give them this food and even conduct retreats and missions. The real use of a monastic house is not so much in its activities and usefulness as in its being a reservoir of religion. The good works will follow. Bishop Hedley, o.s.b., said: "Perhaps, the less a monk thinks of converting the world and the more he thinks of converting himself the more will it be that the world will be converted".¹⁰

¹⁰ In Preface to Abbot Tosti's "Life of St Benedict".

THE CANONISATION

St John Houghton (1535)
 St Augustine Webster (1535)
 St Robert Lawrence (1535)
 St Richard Reynolds (1535)
 St John Stone (1539)
 St Cuthbert Mayne (1577)
 St Edmund Campion (1581)
 St Ralph Sherwin (1581)
 St Alexander Briant (1581)
 St John Paine (1582)
 St Luke Kirby (1582)
 St Richard Gwyn (1584)
 St Margaret Clitherow (1586)
 St Margaret Ward (1588)
 St Edmund Gennings (1591)
 St Swithun Wells (1591)
 St Eustace White (1591)
 St Polydore Plasden (1591)
 St John Boste (1594)
 St Robert Southwell (1595)
 St Henry Walpole (1595)
 St Philip Howard (1595)
 St John Jones (1598)
 St John Rigby (1600)
 St Anne Line (1601)
 St Nicholas Owen (1606)
 St Thomas Garnet (1608)
 St John Roberts (1610)
 St John Almond (1612)
 St Edmund Arrowsmith (1628)
 St Ambrose Barlow (1641)
 St Alban Roe (1642)
 St Henry Morse (1645)
 St John Southworth (1654)
 St John Plessington (1679)
 St Philip Evans (1679)
 St John Lloyd (1679)
 St John Wall (1679)
 St John Kemble (1679)
 St David Lewis (1679)



From "The Spectator", 14th November, p. 507; by courtesy of the Chairmen.

The following are the stages of the Cause leading to the canonisation of the Forty English and Welsh Martyrs on 25th October 1970.

- 1642 Dec.: canonisation process initiated in the same year that Fr Alban Roe was martyred.
 1850 Catholic hierarchy of England and Wales reconstituted.
 1886 9th Dec.: Cause of 254 martyrs introduced; 29th Dec.: cult of 54 martyrs confirmed by special decree.
 1895 13th May: cult of 9 martyrs (including the Benedictine abbots of Reading, Glastonbury and Colchester) confirmed by special decree.
 1929 15th Dec.: Pius XI beatifies 136 recusant martyrs (Apostolic Letter *Atrocissima tormenta*).
 1935 19th May: Cardinal John Fisher and Chancellor Sir Thomas More canonised.
 1960 1st Dec.: President of the College of Postulators (Fr Paolo Molinari, S.J.) presented the list of 40 martyrs to the Holy See.
 1961 24th May: John XXIII re-opened the Cause (*Decree Sanctorum Insula*), entailing the historical re-examination of 11 of the 40 martyrs selected, their lives and martyrdoms.
 1968 Official Presentation of Documents on Martyrdom and Cult: *Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis*, xlv + 375 p.
 1968 Medical Council of S. Congregation for Causes of Saints confirmed a miracle and on 30th June the Congregation issued the special Decree for a papal signature, confirming preternatural character of the cure.
 1970 4th May: Paul VI signed the special Decree *Declaratio Martyrum*.
 18th May: Paul VI's Allocution to the College of Cardinals at the Consistory for the Canonisation of the Forty Martyrs.
 25th Oct.: Canonisation Day, a week before All Saints' Day.

SOLENNE CANONIZZAZIONE DEI BEATI QUARANTA MARTIRI, Patriarcale Basilica Vaticana

Domenica 25 Ottobre 1970.

The morning of the Canonisation was a warm October Day. St Peter's became for a while an enormous English parish church, flooded with pilgrims led by their bishops in great diocesan droves; or smaller parties led by priest-teachers from schools; or private parties of families connected with the martyrs; or confraternities like the Knights of Malta and the committee which had worked on the Cause over the years. Of the Benedictines, Downside brought the greatest number, nine monks and many of the boys from Roberts and Barlow Houses. Abbot Rudesind Brookes from Downside was already in Rome as Congregational Procurator in Curia. The Abbot President came; and there came also the Abbot of Ealing and the Prior of Douai. Fr Bernard Orchard of Ealing was already in Rome as the new General Secretary of the World Catholic Federation for the Biblical Apostolate, and he came to the Canonisation. Ampleforth was directly represented by Fr Abbot, Fr Prior, the Procurator and the JOURNAL Editor, who had travelled together in the same plane as the Cardinal (diverted to Pisa for a while by storms) and who stayed all of them at S. Anselmo's on the Aventine Hill. Other Laurentians were there too with other groups—Frs Gerard, Kenneth and Mark with the Middlesbrough diocesan pilgrimage, Fr James as Chaplain to the

Knights of Malta, and Frs Sigebert D'Arcy, Aidan Cunningham, Aelred Perring, Bernard Boyan, Vincent Wace and Joseph Carbery under other arrangements; while Fr Cyril brought a party of Junior House boys and Fr Piers a party of Gilling boys, among these descendants of the martyrs. Fr Piers also brought out from the Tyburn convent, the house of perpetual adoration near where the London martyrs were butchered, the hosts to be used at the Holy Father's Mass. Br David was already at S. Anselmo as a student, and for his good fortune had to take on the tasks of an ADC. In all, there were present an estimated ten thousand English and Welsh pilgrims including four hundred collateral descendants of what the Vatican Prefecture called the *Quaranta Martiri dell'Inghilterra e del Galles*. Another ten thousand came from the environs of Rome to double the congregation of pilgrims.

St Peter's began to fill up a full hour before the scheduled beginning *alle ore* 9.30. In the great square enfolded by Bernini's colonnade priests gathered in soutanes and cottas, abbots in their rochets, bishops in their episcopal purple which was later to contrast so colourfully with the scarlet silks of cardinals of the Curia. Nuns were there too in greys and blues and the more traditional black, composing blocks of colour set off by the brighter clothes of the laity. The diplomatic corps and other dignitaries were making their way to their tribunes in white ties or dark uniforms braided with gold and silver; and at one point a large party of beautifully arrayed women were gathered around two cars, dressed from head to foot in total black—it was the Fitzalan Howard family who had been bidden to meet the Holy Father after the ceremony. The Swiss Guards were still there at the gates in their orange and blue, and in the basilica the *sedilia* porters in their deep wine suits, but there was no longer any sign of Palatine and Noble Guards (disbanded in the last few months).

Inside St Peter's, there was a low hum of subdued conversation, interrupted by the voice of the director of music practising us all in the entrance hymn and other hymns. These had been chosen carefully for this occasion, a balanced mixture of the common (sweet in the ears of Englishmen in the Pope's basilica) and the rare: for the Westminster Cathedral Choir had made its selection from the works of Tudor Catholic composers, among them the renowned William Byrd (1543-1623) who had lived a devout Catholic life through the reigns of Edward, Mary, Elizabeth and James Stuart and been able to bring something of the sufferings of recusant persecution into his spiritual music. Parts of Byrd's "Mass for Five Voices" were sung at the Canonisation and his *Iustorum Animae* at the Offertory Procession. Listening to his *Kyrie, Gloria and Agnus Dei* it was not difficult to realise why, though he was several times summoned before the Archidiaconal Court and even once "excommunicated", he was never incarcerated: he enjoyed an immunity of genius, for he was reckoned among the greatest composers of his period—a period in which twenty-five of the Forty Martyrs died.

After a sudden flooding of the basilica with arc lamps and then a false start, when the Holy Father went to the vesting chapel at the *pietà*, the

solemn procession set off as the hymn "All People that on Earth do Dwell" (from William Kethe's Anglican *Day Psalter* of 1560) was taken up and sung at first meekly and then less timidly, but never very lustily. It was a long procession of Church dignitaries which included the last two Apostolic Delegates to Britain (Archbishop Iginio Cardinale and Domenico Enrico), ending with the Pope in mitre and vestments of the colour of the martyrs. He was accompanied and assisted by Cardinal Jan Willebrands, Prefect of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, whose presence at the Pope's side underscored the mood of reconciliation adopted throughout the ceremony. When the congregation had satisfied themselves that they had seen the Holy Father, they turned to their singing—

We are his folk, he doth us feed,

And for his sheep he doth us take.

Then a thin gentle voice of an old man, a voice without emotion save that of patience and humility, began the Mass in a strong Italian accent—

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti . . .

Pax vobis.

Above him, dwarfing him and all those around him, towered the great bronze baldachino of Bernini; and above that the Michelangelo dome, so perfect in its proportions as to disguise its size. Before the Liturgy of the Word, the Canonisation was performed in a ceremony of such simplicity and brevity that it was possible for everyone present to give it their total attention (this in place of the former ceremony, which could last five hours for a single saint). The Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Cause of Saints, Cardinal Paolo Bertoli, accompanied by the Jesuit Father Paolo Molinari, the Postulator of the Cause, made the formal request—

Most Holy Father, Holy Mother Church asks that
Your Holiness inscribe in the catalogue of Saints
the Forty Blessed Martyrs of England and Wales,
so that all Christ's faithful may proclaim them as Saints.

On behalf of the Pope, Bishop Daniel Mullins, Auxiliary of Cardiff, gave a survey, a little of it in Welsh, before asking us to invoke the divine assistance on the canonisation. He reminded us that there were saints here for all seasons, from every social and cultural level, from every environment and degree of learning, examples to us "in our day, we (who) are passing through a time of suffering from the human and religious point of view in many ways very similar to the experience of" those about to be canonised. "Further, the cold blast of materialism is tending to wither the ideal of a life warmed and enlightened by revelation and spent in the service of God and man". The whole accent was upon the future, not the past; upon building up the edifice of Christ, drawing scar tissues over the wounds of the persecution years. That Sunday was to reach towards the whole of humanity. The Church in England was to ignore the tragic mistakes of the past, while making sure that they are never again repeated: the task is to build up love and peace—eschewing all dangerous compromise.

We knelt, and intoning the Litany of the Saints called to our minds the great figures of the Church of Christ across the centuries, those whom these forty Englishmen and Welshmen were about to join in the sanctoral calendar—among them the martyrs Peter and Paul, Stephen and Lawrence, Perpetua and Felicity; the monks Basil, Martin and Benedict; the friars Dominic and Francis; the Jesuit Francis Xavier; the priest of priests John Mary Vianney; the new doctors Teresa and Catherine; and then the English saints Alban, Becket, Fisher, More and the Welsh David; and finally the English monastic saints Bede, Cuthbert, Etheldreda and Winifred. As it always does, the living Church was gathering its present act into its total perspective and proportion. That done, we rose to hear the voice of the Holy Father making the solemn pronouncement, at just ten minutes past—

Ad honorem Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis,
ad exaltationem fidei catholicae et vitae christianae incrementum,
auctoritate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi,
beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Nostra,
matura deliberatione praehabita
et divina ope saepius implorata,
Beatos Quadraginta Martyres Angliae et Cambriae
Sanctos esse decernimus et definimus, videlicet
Beatos Cuthbert Mayne . . .

Here followed the now often reiterated list of thirteen seminary priests and ten Jesuits (five of each trained at Rome), three Benedictines, three Carthusian priors, a Bridgettine from Syon Abbey, an Austin friar, two Franciscans, four laymen and three laywomen. Of these, three came from the old white monk college, St John's College at Oxford (the Douai priest Mayne, the Jesuit Campion and the Benedictine Roberts—a very representative trio); while two came from St John's College Cambridge (both laymen, Gwynn and the Earl of Arundel); the most, some fourteen, had been at Cardinal Allen's college of Douai. A third of them, incidentally, had the name John and Nicholas Owen was called 'little John'.

Gradually as the Song of the Suffering Servant was read by a student of the English College in Rome; and after it the Letter to the Hebrews on the endurance of the Old Law martyrs (Heb. 11:33ff) ". . . and others, looking forward to a better resurrection still, would not purchase their freedom on the rack . . . imprisoned, stoned, cut in pieces, tortured and put to the sword . . . men whom the world was unworthy to contain, living a hunted life in deserts and on mountainsides . . ."; and as the prayer of Jesus, the Priest, to the Father was sung as the Gospel in Latin by Cardinal Willebrands and then in Greek by a deacon, as is the Apostolic custom; and as the Holy Father gave his homily, it dawned on those present that this was an occasion absolutely unique in the history of canonisation. The norm is for one or two saints to be raised to that state at one time, and those usually very many years after their deaths: the last English Saint to be canonised before Fisher and

More was St John of Bridlington (d. 1397), and before him Thomas of Hereford (d. 1282). It is normal that if a larger number are so canonised (as with the twenty-two Uganda martyrs of 1885-87), they come from a close series of events and stand as a corporate group. It is normal that they represent and attract the loyalty of a single parish or religious order or local movement. But on this occasion all England and Wales were involved, and many families were present in virtue of very direct connections with the new Saints, whether of blood or of confraternity: throughout the length of Great Britain, in a way that was not possible in 1935 when Fisher and More were canonised, local historical interest and long standing local devotion, born of knowledge and habit, were invoked and inflamed to make this an occasion which deeply and very personally involved the whole extent of Catholic England. There must be scarcely a single parish left untouched by this event. Cardinal Heenan was moved to say: "It is the simple truth that there has never been an occasion like this in St Peter's in all its long history". It was as if a nation was raising its heroes and heroines to the altar in conjunction with Peter: *securus judicat orbis terrarum*.†

When the Pope, speaking in English and Italian, mentioning some half dozen names, spoke of *il Santo Philip Howard conte di Arundel*, who said, "I am sorry I have only one life for this noble cause", there was a stir of joy from the Howards, Fitzalan Howards, Davidsons, and Phillips families and others, all present together (including A. B. M. Phillips from St Edward's House) sitting in a tribune close to the Pope. When the Holy Father went on to speak of *la Santa Margaret Clitherow con una commovente semplicita*, girls from Margaret Clitherow School in York fluttered a little and others who had recently written about her were moved at the sound of her name in St Peter's. When John Rigby was canonised J. C. H. Rigby (St John's House) and his family were there to witness it. When the York martyred Jesuit, Henry Walpole was canonised, Lord and Lady Walpole (albeit both Anglicans) were in the same tribune as the Howards close to the Pope to hear his words. When the name of Edmund Arrowsmith was spoken, D. J. Barton (Junior House) and his mother, who is an Arrowsmith, were there to hear it. When the name of Alban Roe was spoken, not once but twice, the descendants of Dieulouard and of St Edmund's recognised one of their own community: and when this name was coupled the second time with that of Thomas Garnet, not only did the Garnet descendants have double cause for rejoicing (as being Amplefordian and descendants of the Jesuit

† In an article entitled "Roman Holiday: For All the (English) Saints", Auberon Waugh wrote as follows: "Somewhere far beneath the nation's awareness, a mass movement had taken root among Britain's five million Catholics. A pamphlet by Margaret Waugh editing the brief lives of the forty martyrs sold half a million copies. Martyrs' Rallies, completely unreported in the secular press, were held at Stonor Park, Henley-on-Thames, and Launceston, Cornwall, in South Wales, on Chelmsford football ground and at Bellevue, Manchester (famous for its boxing matches), attracting 3,000, 4,500, 20,000, 50,000 and finally 80,000 pilgrims. It became apparent that, if the postulation of the forty martyrs had been dropped for ecumenical reasons, the reaction among English and Welsh Catholics would be one of profound disgust with the entire ecumenical movement". (*Spectator*, 14th November, p. 396.)

martyr) but the monks were glad of their shared mission over several centuries with the Society of Jesus. Roe, we cannot help thinking, would have been slow to recognise his own last words spoken in pontifical Italian: *perdona, o mio Dio, le mie innumerevoli offese, come io perdono i miei persecutori.*

The Pope used the occasion as one of reconciliation with the Anglican Church, welcoming the presence of the head of the Anglican centre in Rome and officials representing the British Government. "May the blood of these martyrs be able to heal the great wound inflicted upon God's Church caused by the separation of the Anglican from the Catholic Church." In this context, those haunting words of Tertullian were recalled: *semen est sanguis christianorum.* This was not a time to break but a time to mend.

There followed the traditional presentation of gifts at the beginning of the Offertory, the Postulators of the Cause (notably the Jesuit Fathers Paolo Molinari, Philip Caraman, James Walsh and Clement Tigar) presenting the bread and the wine for the Mass; and with that cages of doves and other birds, loaves of bread, flasks of wine and six large candles. The flowers were brought up by two women, Mrs Downs and Miss Critchley-Salmonson. We might add that Jamie Ogilvie-Forbes (W65), who has been working for the last year at the Office of the Vice-Postulation, brought up one of the flasks. During the procession of presentation, Newman's "Praise to the Holiest" was being sung. The Roman Canon was used in recognition of the fact that it was the Tridentine Canon that the martyr priests had used during their hunted life. At the elevation, the Holy Father raised the sacred species above head height and pivoted in a circle lasting for some twenty seconds on both occasions. During the Communion, the basilica was filled with English hymns sung by English voices. Some hundred selected people, including five Jesuit laybrothers (in honour of St Nicholas Owen, the hiding hole maker) and Br David, were given Communion at the Pope's hand, the remainder being given the host by numerous priests who came with full ciboria to side chapels around the basilica. At the end, as the Pope was preparing to go, the hymn selected was of Anglican origin, "For All the Saints", and this one did rise to the roof . . . until it was drowned by the cheering, the flag and scarf waving and the laughter of joy which accompanied the Pope's slow benedictional exit on his *sedes gestatoria*.

At the vesting area in front of Michelangelo's *Pietà*, near the doors of the basilica, the Holy Father gave a swift audience to those who had worked on the Cause, to the ten year old Teresa who had been cured of a fatal illness through the martyrs' intercession, to her mother Mrs Hynes, and to some of the martyrs' descendants in family groups (including Dom Julian Stonor's mother, Lady Camoys): he then went up onto the balcony where he is accustomed to give his benediction, where on this Sunday the great shield of the martyrs (the same as the lapel badges, both of them designed by Jamie Ogilvie-Forbes) hung down several feet of white with rose and leek upon it. Then the square of St Peter's

began to fill with all England and Wales, most of whom seemed to know each other in some way. Cuthbert Mayne (1921) was inevitably present, as were the parents of Hon R. A. P. Southwell (St Aidan's House). General Michael Fitzalan Howard (B35) and Mark (O52) were there, and with them Duncan Davidson (T59). Colonel Peter Sutton (O36) was there with his wife, as was Tony Sutton (O40) and his wife: "Give my regards to George; I always call him that, we were in the same serum together at Shack". Peter Blackledge (C32) must have been there too, as he is now out in Rome at the Legation, having taken on Jim Utley's job. The Armstrong parents were asking after the Abbot, who had been housemaster to their two boys. Douglas Brown (A32) was there with his wife, and gave dinner to Fr Robert at their hotel. D. A. H. Maunsell (O46) came over from his work at the Vatican Library.

And there were many other friends of Ampleforth there, from Mgr Alfred Gilbey of Cambridge Fisher House to David Rogers of the Oxford Bodleian, wearing his Old Gregorian tie with some tenacity. Sir Robert Grant-Ferris was in attendance on the British Minister to the Holy See, leaving Fr Piers to his Gilling boys. Numerous priests and nuns who know the monks at another level of our life came up to greet us, some of them from Yorkshire: "We met last week, Father, at the Newman Conference on the Priesthood at York University". Catholics in England always have many threads of their lives in common—it is what outsiders enviously describe as the Catholic conspiracy (in truth a cultural conspiracy grounded in our shared faith in a country not Catholic).

The St Laurence's brethren went off together to a lunch party just outside the Bernini colonnade on the via Aurelia, the Taverna Giardinaccio (the "Garden Pub", presumably), which had a couple of potted palms and goodish menu. By this time Fr Mark had taken to his bed from bad hotel water (which caused the Middlesbrough party to move hotels in some discomfort), and Rev Patrick Rowley, the incumbent of Ampleforth Anglican parish who had come to Rome with the diocesan pilgrimage, followed Fr Mark's example by retiring from the lunch table. Rev Gordon Thompson of Kirby Moorside said some few words on behalf of the guests, telling us how moving an experience it had been for an Anglican to be present at the Canonisation, to see the Pope and the great basilica of St Peter's and to witness such a ceremony: his few words were made doubly moving by our momentary forgetfulness of his being blind.



There was time after lunch for a short visit to the tomb of Pope John XXIII in the crypt of St Peter's, before the Laurentians set off for St Laurence's for their Mass of thanksgiving. Strolling through the greatest basilica in the world on a warm Sunday afternoon lit by the sun, one is drawn to marvel first at its massive size, and then at its exuberant overflowing beauty. It stands from an age which never knew engineers as we know them—men like Nervi or Ove Arup who straddle the constructional and architectural crafts with their inter-woven teams of technicians. It is a monument to a world which mixed the crafts of building with the supreme arts of sculpture and painting. It is essentially the work of two of the most prolific and irrepressible geniuses of all time, born together at the very moment when the Renaissance Popes were possessed of the desire and the means to create in stone and marble beyond the dreams of most men. Those who harbour in their hearts pride or envy at the accomplishments of normal men (and do we not all do that?), should walk through the piazza and basilica of St Peter's and see for themselves what gifts God may give gratuitously to men, and how inexorably the creativity of God exudes from every pore of such elected men far beyond their own unaided endeavours. To look at the strivings of Michelangelo and Bernini should turn our hearts to the very embers of humility; for beside them we can do nothing to the glory of God. They, in their joint enterprise, surpass anything that ever appeared in England.

The day ended for us at the basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, the church of St Laurence's damaged in 1943 by allied bombing. Of all the stational basilicas of Rome it is in some ways the most prayerful—twilit in sunlight, small and unpretentious, possessed of a dim little cloister, covered with ancient wall paintings that yield up their message only after long scrutiny. Its history goes back to Constantine. By a coincidence which will not be lost upon the monks of Ampleforth, the inlaid marble at S. Lorenzo and in the old Westminster of the Confessor are judged to be the work of the same hand. Here the Laurentians gathered at five o'clock to concelebrate the Mass of the Forty new martyr saints, and especially Saint Alban Roe (as we called him then in the liturgy for the first time). Fr Abbot was the chief celebrant, providing impromptu oratio, secret and post-communion with unhesitating feeling. Fr Sigebert brought along his brother, Fr Kenneth brought Gordon Thompson, Fr James a taxi load of the brethren, and Fr Mark failed to bring Patrick Rowley as they were both now in the same sad state (sympatico?). In all, there were twelve Laurentians on the high altar together, repeating the Canonisation Mass *ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus*. Some pilgrims, mostly nuns wearing the shield of the Forty Martyrs, joined the concelebration and listened again to the Song of the Suffering Servant and to the Priestly Prayer of Christ. When we came to pray for Paul our Pope, we did not need to add "and our Bishop" for we realised that we were in the territory of the Bishop of Rome. When we came to the prayer for the dead, we might well (had we but known it) have prayed for the soul of Abbot Robert Richardson of Belmont, who died four hours from that moment, all too young at the

age of forty-six and after an unpleasant illness. When we came to the *Pax*, we remembered our brethren at home, who at the last resting place of the monks of Dieulouard were celebrating the new dignity of Alban Roe. The Abbot, in his short homily after the Gospel, said for all of us who are in any way Amplefordians that in this moment we should especially commend to our new saint's intercession the whole wide community of Ampleforth, the brethren of the monastery, the Headmaster and school (including Gilling and Junior House), the parents and the remainder of their families, the Old Boys and their families, the lay staff past and present (both teachers and plumbers); the St Louis brethren and their equivalent network of relationships belonging to their community; the parish luthers and all their parishioners, both those who are in our cure and those who have moved to other parishes; those who come under our influence or care in universities and other study centres; and all who are friends of Ampleforth and solicitous for our welfare. St Alban must have felt quite a weight of intercessory duty descending upon him at that moment!

Our celebration and concelebration completed, we most of us returned to our hotels to despatch Roman postcards to those who had not come. The Fathers concelebrating sent a joint card to Abbot Herbert from St Laurence's basilica, and another to the community at St Louis. This pen wrote first to Katharine Longley at the Minster Library to tell her that Margarita Ebor, the pearl of York, was now a saint; and then to Houghton Tower in Lancashire to say that Prior John Houghton of the London Charterhouse, first of the Forty who with his fellow Carthusian priors had been the bravest, the spearhead of the recusant tradition (watched by More from his cell), was now a saint also; then to Douai who have some share in the cult of Alban Roe in that he had been one of their Community's founders the year he was ordained (1615). One card elicited this reply: "Where were you in St Peter's, then? We had wonderful seats in the Tribune Veronica very near the altar and the Pope!"

The day that we returned home, Fr Barnabas, the monastic librarian, and another monk went down to the codices room to look up some recusant literature we have at Ampleforth. Among them were two short tracts printed in 1641. We had long despaired of finding anything more of worth about our martyr, but there in Caroline print was "a true and perfect Relation of the Apprehension, Examination, conviction, condemnation and confession of Andrew Roe and Thomas Reynolds, two Popifh Priests, who for feducing his Majesties liege People, were drawne, hang'd and quartered at Tyburne, on Friday, the 21 of January, 1641". Roe died with Reynolds, a Douai priest aged eighty (ordained in 1592 half a century earlier), at Tyburn on 21 January 1642, the feast day of the early martyr St Agnes: the date "1641" is explainable by the then custom of dating, the new year beginning at the end of March. The other error is the scribe's. He gives this account, apparently only a day or two later, of their last hours—

Both exprest themselves very willing to dye, saying they could not spend their blood in a more honourable cause, as for their Religion they were firmly resolved to live and dye in it, being assured they should not lose

their reward, but have their names canonized for Saints among Catholics, and inrolled by Angels in Heaven; whereupon the Recorder proceeded to give sentence of judgement upon them, which was, that they must be carried from thence back againe to the place from whence they came, and from thence on Friday following be drawne on a Sledg to Tyburn, there to hang while their bodies were almost dead, then to be cut downe, dismembred, have their hearts and bowels burned, and after be divided in quarters, and their limbs left to the disposall of his Majesty, which sentence was executed upon them Jan-21 diverse being there to heare some confession, but there was nothing at all spoke by them to any purpose, for after they had sung a Psalm in Latine the hangman gave them a fiving, and after proceeded to the rest with much Dexterity, their quarters were brought back to Newgate in Baskets about noone the same day, and are to be set up upon 4 Gates of the City.

The Names of the Prisoners condemn'd this last Sessions.

Andrew Roe, a Popish Priest, who upon his examination exprest himselfe very willing to dye, confessed he had bin a Priest 30 yeares.

Thomas Reynolds, another Popish Priest, condemn'd 12 yeares ago in Surry for a Priest . . .

What overall impression remains from this last October Sunday in 1970? Two impressions come to mind. The first is of the universality of the Catholic Church in time and in place: we recalled in prayer, besides the great memorial action of the Sacrifice of the Mass subsuming the ultimate martyr act of Calvary, the earthly lives of Stephen the proto-martyr and with him the deacon Laurence and a host of saints down the ages and across the face of the Christian world, men and women alive to us today in their glory as sons of a living God; and with them forty new saints and 274 other blessed and venerable recusant martyrs besides those who died in prison or on gallows, known (as the 43 *dilati*, whose Cause has been postponed for fuller evidence) or unrecorded; and with them the brethren and families descended corporately or by blood from the *sancti, beati, venerabiles, et dilati*, who are living out their lives still in the pilgrim Church and who were some of them—and all by proxy—present to witness this unique canonisation. In St Peter's, the whole of Christ's Church was present rejoicing.

The second impression is of hope, the hope that was brought to ecumenism by the generous, forgiving and forward looking words of the Holy Father. They were the most significant proposals for the unity of Christians that he or any Pope since the Reformation has ever made. He foresaw the day when the Churches of Canterbury and Rome would be reunited without any loss of dignity or tradition for the Anglicans. He outlined for the first time in public the kind of reunion he has in mind, a form of unity-in-diversity like that which allows many Greek, Assyrian, Coptic and other rite Churches to be part of the Catholic Communion. "There will be no seeking to lessen the legitimate prestige and the worthy patrimony of piety and usage proper to the Anglican Church when the Roman Catholic Church—this humble servant of the servants of God—

is able to embrace her ever loved sister in the one authentic communion of the family of Christ". It is for this, and not for division, that the martyrs died.

A last thought will surely be forgiven. It is that in St Alban Roe and the other two Benedictine saints are reposed the two great traditions of the Church in England, the monastic and the martyr. Roman monks brought organised Christianity to Britain in 597 and for a millennium black monk monasticism provided the lay and clerical rule, the culture, the welfare system and the prayer life of most of England, cathedrals, courts, counting houses and cloisters of study. As abruptly as it ceased, it gave way to that other tradition which was being canonised on this Sunday, a tradition of a hundred and fifty years, whose impetus is still felt today. Both of these were present in the persons of the monk-martyrs.

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There were some memorable experiences for those members of the Community who were able to stay on in Rome after the Canonisation. On the Monday Frs Aidan Cunningham and Gerard Sitwell were fortunate enough to be invited to concelebrate in the Benedictine basilica of St Paul's with three cardinals, twenty-eight bishops and about a hundred priests, Cardinal Heenan being the principal celebrant. It was an English occasion on which the English pilgrims, perhaps ten thousand of them present in the nave, joined with almost the whole of the hierarchy and a representative number of priests in honouring the Forty Martyrs. It was no random choice that brought the English pilgrims to this greatest of the basilicas after St Peter's; for until the Reformation the Kings of England, including Henry VIII, were honorary members of the monastic chapter with a stall reserved in choir, and the Abbot of St Paul's, S. Paulo fuori le mura, was a prelate of the Order of the Garter—hence the insignia of the Garter incorporated in the arms of the church. It was this church incidentally, at the monastery near the tomb of the Apostle of the Gentiles, that Pope John had selected to announce the convocation of the Council. In almost any church but one of the great Roman basilicas the number of concelebrants and the size of the congregation, if they could have been accommodated at all, would have precluded a dignified and stately ceremony; but not in St Paul's, where the considerable space behind the altar made the number of the concelebrants seem appropriate but far from excessive, while the congregation nowhere near filled the admittedly chairless nave.

Frs Gerard, Kenneth (until recently parish priest of Kirby Moorside) and Mark went with the Middlesbrough diocesan party, and on Thursday the priests of the pilgrimage (without alas the Bishop, who was unable to be present through illness) concelebrated in the presence of the rest of the pilgrimage in the church of St Alphonsus before the original picture of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Patron of the Diocese. It was a charming gesture of the Vicar General (Mgr O'Sullivan) to ask the Ampleforth monks to take the leading parts, and Fr Gerard was the principal celebrant, assisted by Frs Kenneth and Mark. Fr Kenneth preached with the felicity and ease which come so naturally to him. The whole occasion was like

a breath of England, nostalgic and stimulating even in the midst of a Roman holiday.

No doubt all of us will have their particular memories, a visit to the catacombs, with perhaps Mass there; Mass at the English College of which ten of the martyrs had been members, and sight of its famous picture of the Trinity, St Thomas Becket, and St Edmund (King and martyr), before which the students were wont to sing the *Te Deum* when a former student was reported as having achieved martyrdom; a visit to Castel Gandolfo and the Alban hills with a glass of wine at Frascati. It was remarkable how quickly the North Country pilgrims at least found their way about Rome and discovered for themselves some of its innumerable and fascinating treasures—all this in what might have been in England beautiful early September weather. These were days for our lasting memory.

A TABLE OF EVENTS DURING THE YEARS OF THE FORTY MARTYRS

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| 1531 | Henry VIII demanded that he should be acknowledged Supreme Head of the Church "as far as the law of Christ allows" (Fisher's saving phrase). |
| 1532 | Conditional discontinuance of payment of "first fruits" of bishoprics to the Pope. |
| 1533 | Royal statute forbade all appeals to Rome. |
| 1534 | Ecclesiastical Appointments Act forbidding presentation of names to the Pope for appointment. Former papal dispensations to be granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry VIII claimed absolute Headship of the Church and demanded the submission of the clergy. The Act of Supremacy claimed for him full power over heresies, abuses, offences reformable by spiritual authority. By the Treason Act, he who denied in words the dignity or title of the king, or who called him heretic, schismatic or tyrant was liable to death. By the Annates Act, all "first fruits" were to be paid to the king alone. |
| 1535 | A layman appointed Vicar General over the Church in England, Henry claiming for himself the cure of souls (reiterated in 1536). <i>Ten martyred, including Fisher and More and four of the Forty.</i> |
| 1536 | The lesser monasteries dissolved. Pilgrimage of Grace, after which several hundred executed (not included among the martyrs). |
| 1537 | <i>Four martyred and nine Carthusians of the London Charterhouse starved to death.</i> |
| 1538 | Pope Paul III excommunicated Henry VIII. <i>Three Franciscans burned or starved to death.</i> |
| 1539 | The greater monasteries dissolved. <i>Twelve martyred, including seven Benedictines and one of the Forty.</i> |
| 1540-7 | Bishops appointed by Letters Patent. <i>Twelve martyred, including the Countess of Salisbury (mother of Cardinal Pole).</i> |
| * * * | |
| 1555 | Parliament re-enacted the 1401 Statute <i>de Heretico Comburendo</i> and the Council executed Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and 273 under that law. |
| * * * | |
| 1559 | Act of Supremacy, Act of Uniformity. Sixteen bishops deprived. |
| 1563 | First persecution Act. |
| 1568 | William Allen (later Cardinal) founded the Douai College for the English mission. |
| 1569 | The Northern Rising, after which several hundred executed (two among the martyrs). |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 1570 | Pope Pius V issued the Bull of Deposition, <i>Regnans In Excelsis</i> . <i>Two martyred.</i> |
| 1571 | Act 13 Eliz. 1 and 2: made it treason to call the Queen a tyrant, a heretic or a usurper; or to introduce papal bulls into England. <i>One martyred.</i> |
| 1572-8 | <i>Five martyred, including one of the Forty.</i> Seminary priests begin to take over from the Marian priests. |
| 1580 | Frs Persons and Campion begin the Jesuit mission. |
| 1581 | Act of Persuasions 23 Eliz. 1: High Treason to reconcile or be reconciled to the 'Romish Religion'. <i>Four martyred, including three of the Forty.</i> |
| 1582 | Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North, begins the northern persecution. |
| 1582-5 | <i>Twenty-six martyred, including three of the Forty.</i> |
| 1585 | Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other suchlike disobedient persons, 27 Eliz. 2; High Treason for a priest to be within the Queen's dominions, Felony to receive and relieve. |
| 1585-92 | <i>Ninety-four martyred, including six of the Forty (two women).</i> |
| 1593 | Act for the Better Discovery of Wicked & Seditious Persons calling themselves Catholics, but being Rebellious and Traitorous Subjects, 35 Eliz. 2: recusancy laws made more stringent. |
| 1593-1603 | <i>Fifty-seven martyred, including seven of the Forty (one woman).</i> |
| * * * | |
| 1604 | Act for the Execution of the Statutes against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, etc. 1 Jas 4: confirms existing penal laws. <i>Five martyred.</i> |
| 1606 | Gunpowder Plot. Act for the Better Discovery and Repression of Popish Recusants 3 Jas 4 and 5: enforced a new Oath of Allegiance impossible for Catholics. |
| 1606-18 | <i>Twenty martyred, including four of the Forty.</i> |
| * * * | |
| | During the rest of the recusant martyr period, the initiative for persecution passed from Anglican monarch to Puritan Parliament. |
| 1628 | Act against Sending any Beyond the Seas to be Popishly Bred, 3 Car 1 §: by parliamentary petition. <i>Two martyred, including one of the Forty.</i> |
| 1641-6 | Puritan Long Parliament. Royal Proclamation banishing priests on pain of death. <i>Twenty-two martyred, including three of the Forty.</i> |
| * * * | |
| 1651-4 | <i>Two martyred, including one of the Forty.</i> |
| * * * | |
| 1678 | Titus Oates Plot. |
| 1678-81 | Persecutions and Exclusion Crisis. |
| 1678-80 | <i>Twenty-four martyred, including six of the Forty.</i> |
| * * * | |

This Table does not include the forty-three *dilati* whose cause has been postponed for fuller evidence—among them two Benedictine priests who died in prison in Yorkshire in the same year that St Alban Roe was martyred (1642). Nor does it include the last to be martyred, Bl Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland (1681).

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Fr Hughes on the Priesthood, *et alia*; we regret that the remainder must be held over until the next issue, for reasons of space.

I. FR HUGHES ON THE PRIESTHOOD, *et alia*

No theologian in recent years has given more of his thought to aspects of the priesthood than has Dr Hughes, who has experienced the priestly life both as an Anglican and now as a Catholic. Conditionally ordained in 1968 as priest of the diocese of Münster by Cardinal Höffner of Cologne (as he is now), he was for a while a professor at the University of Louvain, and is now associate professor of historical theology at the school of divinity, St Louis University. He writes regularly in American periodicals.

Two recent articles in *WORSHIP* (St John's Abbey, Collegeville) bear upon the two books reviewed below. His article, "Eucharistic Sacrifice: Transcending the Reformation Deadlock", *Worship* 43.9 (Nov 1969), 532-44 relates directly to "Stewards of the Lord". In it he argues that the late medieval and Reformation theologians misunderstood the nature of the eucharistic sacrifice and propagated a bad tradition of theology. Had they looked to the liturgy about them as they prayed it, they would have found the right equilibrium. The theologians of the Church, in defending her teaching, proved so insipid at the time that they simply added fuel to the flame. The awful dilemma was presented to the world: *lex orandi* and *lex credendi* appeared as two utterly opposed conceptions of the central Christian mystery. Of course the resolution is to be found in Old-and-New-Testaments and in Aquinas; and it is also to be found in the Vatican Council documents and in the writings of Calvinist theologian F-J Leenhardt and Taisei brother Max Thurian. The two theologies are no longer divided over eucharistic sacrifice.

His second article relates to the second book below. It is "Married Priests: Solution or Sellout?", *Worship* 43.3 (Mar 1969), 134-53 in which he argues out the theology of clerical celibacy before asking whether that theology is cogent or whether the present Church law should be abolished. He issues due warnings about breaking down the salutary customs of the Church's life without sufficient reason. He goes on to discuss the ordination of married men—favourably. He ends by relating the undermining of the doctrine of dedicated celibacy to the crisis of faith, which is the larger issue in which it is set. Finally he makes a plea for priestly celibacy: "it would certainly be a loss, and a grave loss, if among those choosing to live in this respect in literal imitation of Christ we did not find a goodly number of his ordained ministers."

John Jay Hughes *STEWARDS OF THE LORD* Sheed & Ward 1970 xvi + 362 p 84/-

In his *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void* (London 1968) Dr Hughes, an American priest of the Roman Communion, gave us a brilliant historical examination of the context, especially the intrigues, surrounding Pope Leo XIII's "condemnation" of Anglican Orders in 1896. The present work, as competent and hilarious as its predecessor, is a critical examination of the theology of Leo's bull *Apostolicae curae*. Rigorously argued and richly documented, it neatly dissects both the bull and the writings of F. Clark, its principal champion.

Leo's bull concluded that Anglican Orders were invalid on two grounds: defect of intention and defect of "form", i.e. the spoken part of the rite. Now, according to traditional Catholic and Roman theology it suffices for intention that the minister of a sacrament simply intends to perform a religious rite (to baptise the baby, not just bath it), or to do "what the Church does", or "what Christ instituted". And it has always been explicitly recognised (e.g. by Bellarmine) that a minister's conceptions, however erroneous, about the identity of the true Church, or what exactly Christ did institute, are irrelevant. Fr Hughes shows conclusively (pp. 268-273) that Clark's attempt to interpret the theological tradition differently, and so vindicate Leo, is vitiated by his misreading and misquoting the standard authors to whom he appeals.

And E. L. Mascall has shown that even if Clark's interpretation were right, it would be irrelevant.

It is equally difficult for an Ordination *form* to be invalid, particularly if you play it safe, as the Anglicans did. Just as for the valid appointment of a civic official the form of appointment need only state the office being conferred and refer to the statutes governing it (it need not detail the duties of the office) so all what is required for an Ordination rite is that it be clearly the making of a priest/presbyter; it need not spell out the theology of the Christian priesthood. The bull seems to start with this obvious criterion (Duchesne or Gaspari would 1555 have made the point). For Leo begins by denying that the Anglican rite of 1662 satisfied this criterion. After suggesting that the rite could be mistaken for a Confirmation, he argues that the words "Receive the Holy Ghost" "do not signify definitely the order of the priesthood, or its grace and power"; next he allows that the addition of the words "for the office and work of a priest" might have made all the difference, and finally he reasserts that "nowhere in the Ordinal is there any clear mention of . . . the priesthood". Yet, as Hughes observes (p. 28), the word "priesthood" occurs six times in the Ordinal. Leo lent plausibility to his surprising argument only by ignoring the Ordinal's all important Preface, by considering only one prayer in the rite, and of that only the first four words, though it continues: ". . . and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of his Holy Sacraments"—surely an excellent description of the Christian ministry.

The bull then switches over to the criterion that an Ordination rite must not, even implicitly or by silence, express an incorrect theology of the ministry, and it deems the Ordinal defective as being, in the light of its historical origin, constructively "anti-sacrificial". But, as Hughes shows in detail, the English Reformers had played it safe. As if aware of the danger of theological fashions, they ignored the current debate about the nature of the ministry and refrained from writing into the Ordinal any systematic theology of the ministry. Rather, the Ordinal proclaimed in the clearest possible terms the intention of its three rites to "continue" the three orders, "Bishops, Priests and Deacons", which "from the Apostles' time" have been "in Christ's Church". Moreover the rites themselves broadly define the three offices in terms which are largely a mosaic of uninterpreted New Testament and Apostolic phraseology (Hughes, ch. 10).

For good measure, however, Hughes proceeds in a series of penetrating and rewarding chapters to examine the late mediaeval Mass system, the Reformation debate and Vatican II's doctrine of the ministry. Drawing on recent German Roman Catholic scholarship, he shows that degrading superstitions flourished, that the popular Mass-teaching was "sub-Christian" and (pp. 110-111) that "both practice and theology contained definite tendencies towards objective heresy".

I conclude by selecting two connected points of disagreement. First it is incorrect to imply (p. 41, of pp. 157-8) that "the English Reformers rejected eucharistic sacrifice". Even Cranmer, for instance, explicitly *accepted* the famous passage of Peter Lombard which explains that the Eucharist "is called a sacrifice and an immolation because it is a memorial and representation of the true sacrifice", just as he gladly accepted the formulas of Chrysostom and other Fathers. Cranmer accepted a "commemorative", but not a "propitiatory" sacrifice. But he also saw that the rhetorical sayings of the Fathers cannot be simply taken over as principles for systematic theology. For example, the great slogan of the Middle Ages, explained away by St Thomas but thereafter taken more and more seriously, the slogan that the Mass "is one and the same sacrifice as that of the Cross," was bound in the long run to do immense damage to theology and piety. Semantics, when abused, take their revenge.

Secondly, Fr Hughes's emphasis on Cranmer's "purely subjective and psychological" interpretation of "remembrance" or *anamnesis* is misleading. For the Anglican formularies teach a strong doctrine of sacramental signs, defining them in traditional terms as "effectual signs of grace". Moreover, even for Cranmer *faith* was not purely subjective—and was only half of the story. The other half is the objective memorial itself, which Cranmer precisely made it his business to restore, replacing the Mass said by a priest inaudibly and in an unknown tongue, with his back to the people, usually

without communicants, by a rite more clearly obedient to the Lord's command, when, taking a loaf he said grace over it, broke it up and gave it to the disciples, bidding them: "Do this . . ." The "shape" of the Eucharist is a meal; the sacrificial aspect, while essential, is adjectival. But this is a splendid book, an ecumenical event.

ANTHONY A. STEPHENSON.

Dept. of Religious Studies,
University of Exeter.

John Jay Hughes *MAN FOR OTHERS: REFLECTIONS ON CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD* Sheed & Ward 1970 137 p 30/-

Both writing and talk on almost any aspect of the life of the Church are still apt to be more or less partisan for one extreme or the other—reactionary or *avant-garde*. The great merit of Fr Hughes' book is that he is able to take a balanced view. The author was ordained in the Episcopal Church of America, but became a Catholic in 1960 and was ordained (conditionally) in the Roman Church in 1968 in Germany, and he has studied and had pastoral experience in Germany and Belgium as well as in the United States. His book is not written for scholars, but it is written by a scholar with varied experience in two ministries, and is primarily addressed to priests engaged in pastoral work. It is described in the subtitle as "Reflections on the Christian Priesthood", but they are not random reflections, for they are based on St Mark's description of the calling of the apostles (3:13-15), and the foundation of a priest's life and work is seen in answering a call from Christ first to the service of God and then to his fellow-men. The balanced view appears throughout. As a post-Vatican II priest he is well aware of the social dimension of the Gospel, and that this has been greatly neglected, but he is equally aware that to plunge into an activism which virtually cuts out private prayer and expresses itself in tasteless adaptations of the liturgy is a dangerous delusion. "If our newly fashionable activism and our joyful rediscovery of the social dimension of the gospel prove to be less fruitful than we had hoped, then a large part of the explanation may lie in our neglect of the primacy of worship, adoration, prayer and penance" (p. 52). Or on the obvious theme of authority; he quotes some terrible examples of the official pronouncements of the Church on the relative positions of clergy and laity, which make it easy to understand why anti-clericalism becomes a feature of Catholic life wherever the Church is in control. But he is careful to point out that neither is the Church a democracy. There must be, and is, room in her for both institutional authority and the freedom of the Spirit. "To attempt to cure the grave over-emphasis of authority in the past by banishing all authority and exalting liberty is merely to rush from one extreme to another. All such cures are quite as harmful as the disease which they are supposed to remedy" (p. 97).

The necessity for a both/and rather than an either/or attitude, for being both intensely active and a man of prayer, for being with Christ and sent out to preach, is an essential part of the paradox which runs through the whole of Christianity—losing our life to find it, bearing a burden and a yoke which are yet light and sweet, peace and the sword. And he illustrates it by the very form of the cross—a vertical, Godward directed, dimension; and a horizontal one of sacrificial service of our fellow-men. Inevitably there will be a tension, and it was one which tore Christ apart.

The book is full of good things, for example the unmerited nature of grace. God loves us not because we are good, but because he is. In many Christians there is a Pharisaic feeling that they must earn grace, the love of God; that God will not love them unless they do something to merit his love, while all they can do is to observe his commands in thankful response to his love. Finally, seeing his priesthood, like Christianity itself, as the response to the call of Christ as revealed in Scripture, it is for him the pearl of great price and he feels no need to share the anger and despondency that some feel; he is content to leave the guidance of the Church to the Holy Spirit. A good spiritual reading book with more in it than might appear at a first glance. Based on lectures, it is relaxed and conversational in style but not too much so, and it is kept in touch with the world we live in by topical allusions and reminiscences.

GERARD SITWELL, O.S.B.

Jerome Smith, O.P. *A PRIEST FOR EVER* Sheed & Ward 1969 217 p 34/-

Dogmatic theologians are often thought by Scriptural exegetes to impose their notions on the text. Exegetes are often thought by dogmatists to be totally careless of the implications of their work. Neither will have much cause to grumble thuswise at Fr Smith's thesis, though they may find other reasons for disliking it. He is engaging in a precise textual study in order to speak about a matter of dogma. He considers Hebrews in order to consider priesthood. Fr Smith's basic notion is that we must realise that the divine action in Christ is truly God's definitive action. We must let the *hapax* be *hapax*. The Cross is the moment of infinite divine action once; the Cross "has no limit on the human side" since it shares in the misery of human existence to the point of laying down life for all. The atonement effected at the Cross is mediated to us through our sharing in the faithful liturgy, but we must not suppose that the event itself from which the sacraments rise was literally cultic, sacrificial and priestly.

We must not suppose that Hebrews either speaks of Christ's action as literally priestly or speaks in suchwise that we have an assurance that our ministry is priestly. The Epistle's priestly theme is read by Fr Smith as a sustained and unified piece of allegorical typology which brings out the ephaptic and eschatological character of the crucifixion. He demonstrates the paradox that this letter which sets out so clearly to proclaim the unique, realised eschatological value of the crucifixion should nevertheless, more than any other New Testament writing, including the first gospel, have been taken to announce a continuity between Old Testament sacrifice and priesthood and the way we live now. Hebrews is the epistle of discontinuity. We do not carry on any old priestly work.

We have literalised the imagery of Hebrews into a theology of priesthood and we have now to deliteralise and remythologise, so that we are brought from the liturgical interpretation of a political execution to an imaginative appreciation of the personal act of Jesus as the once for all redemption. In our "simple family ritual over the bread and the wine" we proclaim the death of the Lord who was always so free in his dealings with the traditional concepts of the Law in the days of his flesh, and who put away sin once for all at the Cross.

Fr Smith keeps his book within bounds. He has not space enough to make out the relevance of his thesis to the interpretation of other New Testament writings or to the reevaluation of dogmatic reputations; it is doubtful, therefore, whether his praise of the biblical doctrine of the priesthood presented by St Thomas will be defence enough against those dogmatists and exegetes who suppose their own priestly character to be placed in jeopardy by his thesis. However, his careful progression from matter to matter in this book suggests that his answers will be both courteous and confounding. His hope, after all, is that we shall come to appreciate the personal wonder of Christ in which his ministers and all of us share.

HAMISH F. G. SWANSTON

Eliot College,
Canterbury.

The reviewer has since taken up the professorship of systematic theology at Boston University.

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL WERE RIGHT

28th November 1970.

SIR,

As one of your new "general readers" may I thank you for the deeply perceptive editorial "On Martyrdom"? I wish however that you could have printed the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* in full for one meets many educated Catholics who have never read it and without it the Elizabethan scene cannot be fairly judged. I would submit that we had then one of those tragic situations where nearly all the contestants are in the right, a much more difficult problem to resolve than when they are all in the wrong. The case for the seminary priests and the Catholic laity, and even for Elizabeth you have put convincingly but seem still to blame her "constitutional advisers". Could they have acted otherwise than they did? England was a small weak country without a powerful ally, and it is surely established beyond doubt from *Catholic Documents* that Philip II did in fact intend to conquer her, and to exterminate the Queen and such of the population as refused to abandon their aspect of the faith. Cecil and Walsingham could not know which of the seminary priests and their friends were privy to these plans and which had a purely spiritual motive; do we really know now? Naturally they regarded them all as appalling security risks. It was their officers of state's clear duty to take every precaution: the cruelty with which the priests were treated was of course part of the penal system of the age. Catholics, with their terrible record of the Marian burnings and the Duke of Alba's campaigns were in no position to complain.

I hope your suggestion, that there should be some tangible memorial of the common desire of Protestant and Catholics to praise the magnificent courage of their "founding fathers", will be pressed forward. It would help us to remember that in building a truly Christian civilization, a willingness to be martyred for one's faith is not enough: we must also resist the temptation to make martyrs of our opponents when we have the chance.

Yours faithfully,

(Dr.) LETITIA FAIRFIELD.

60 Beaufort Mansions,
Beaufort St., S.W.3.

Editorial Note: The translation of the Bull Regnans in Excelsis done by David Lewis has been printed by Mgr Hughes in "The Reformation in England" III (1954), 418-20.

YESTERDAY'S MEN

1st December 1970.

SIR,

One can only presume and hope that the publishing of the short article comparing the merits of the respective Member of Parliament and candidate of the General Election was done in order to ridicule its author (Autumn Number p. 457). To denounce Mr. Turton as one of "yesterday's men", a phrase which Alan Aldridge conjured up for the purpose of ridicule, is as discourteous as it is ungrateful to a gentleman who has served a basically agricultural constituency far better than could be expected of a young and inexperienced academic however honourable and well intentioned his motives.

More than one Ampleforth headmaster would turn in his grave to see such an unnecessary and childish slur cast from behind the shield of authority that has marked the JOURNAL for so long on the character of a man who could well have been singled out as a model of the calibre of gentleman Ampleforth might aim to present to the world.

I am, etc.,

QUENTIN HOLDER.

Squires Hill, Tilford,
Farnham, Surrey.

THE MEAT SAFE

21st November 1970.
Dies Memorabilis EBC

SIR,

The high altar in the Abbey was Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's crowning achievement and the six candlesticks, with his tabernacle between them, are the ornaments which set it off. They were made with infinite care by my mighty father at St John's Works, Wolverhampton. Each casting, as it came out of the Bronze foundry, was brought to his board room where F. J. J. Gibbons K.C.S.G. examined it critically: "The patina of this casting is imperfect. Use finer, drier facing sand", "The angel's ears are closed. Insert tiny false cores to open them." and so on, concerning every detail.

The tabernacle, square and squat, was a lovely little thing. The monks christened it affectionately, "The meat safe". And now it's condemned to solitary confinement in a safe somewhere in the crypt!

When the Abbey was completed, the problem of giving Holy Communion to 700 boys involved the use of very many chalices and the "meat safe" was too small to contain them. And so another tabernacle, not designed by Sir Giles, though made by my brother Paul, has replaced it. That over-tops the candlesticks. It should be christened "The Fridge".

But now, under the ever-changing "liturgy", the communion chalices are brought to the table in front of the high altar, and so a large tabernacle is no longer needed.

On behalf of the artist collaborators—Giles and Frank—who sit together in the Celestial Stalls, I claim that "the meat safe" should go back to its proper place.

TONY GIBBONS.

13 The Meade,
Stratton on the Fosse,
Bath, Somerset.

THE LEYLAND CHALICE

6th January 1970.
Epiphany

DEAR FATHER,

Thank you for the photograph of the pre-Reformation Leyland chalice in the Autumn 1970 JOURNAL.

As you say, "Its history before the Benedictine mission opened in 1845 is unknown". But part of its history can be guessed with strong probability. According to the Victoria County History, the words "Restore mee to Layland in Lankeshire" are engraved in late 17th century script. The only known Mass centre in Leyland at that time was Old Hall, home of the Charnocks. The last Charnock, Robert, was a priest and said Mass there. When he died in 1670, he left the house to his housekeeper to continue as a Mass centre, but on her death her relatives claimed the property. After a lawsuit lasting four years, the property was decreed forfeited to the Crown in 1688, but was later granted by the Crown (William and Mary) to the Anglican Vicars of Leyland.

During repairs to the house in 1884 some hiding holes were discovered, one adjoining a chimney and one being a passage between the first floor and the ground floor.

It is not known how the chalice got to St Gregory's, Weld Bank, which was built by Fr Chadwick on one of Thomas Weld's estates in 1774. One tradition is that it had been preserved at Burgh Hall where Fr Chadwick's brother was squire, but Fr Lennon, rector of Weld Bank from 1870 to 1897, maintained that it was given to Weld Bank by Mrs Gillebrand of Gillebrand Hall. Perhaps the Gillebrands (or the Chadwicks) had been given it by the Charnocks of Astley. But none of this is very important. What is more important is that the chalice was almost certainly used in penal times, and may have been used by martyrs such as St Edmund Arrowsmith and St John Southworth.

Yours sincerely,

BONIFACE HUNT, O.S.B.

St Mary's,
Leyland.

COMMUNITY NOTES

ABBOT WILLIAM PRICE

1899-1971

ABBOT William Price died in St Raphael's Hospital, Edinburgh, early in the morning of 2nd January, in his 72nd year. Though his health had been giving some anxiety he had ended the term at Gilling in apparently good strength and spirit. He then went, as so often at Christmas, for a short while to stay with Sir James McEwan, to say mass for his family. When unexpected signs of heart failure developed he was moved into hospital where he died, with great peace and serenity, with Father Abbot at his bedside. The loss to his monastic family, and to the whole congregation, is very great. His obituary will be published in the next number of the JOURNAL, but affection demands a word without delay.

When he entered the Community in 1933 he was already a man of distinction. He entered a closely knit Community, almost all Ampleforth men in origin, and still strongly North Country. He was a man from a different tradition, a larger world. It is doubtful whether the Community, still basically clinging to the traditions so well described by Father Paul in *Ampleforth and its Origins*, understood the distinction of the man who was joining them. He himself cannot have been untouched by the knowledge of success and the habits of independence. But gone with unparaded ease was the eye glass, gone the small comforts of the world where he moved with such ease—the evening drink, the Chinese boy to tie his laces—and his brethren were largely unconscious of the strength of character which made the transition so apparently smooth. He instantly belonged to the Community, but always had something distinctive to give it. That note of distinction, which he gave to everything he did and every group he joined, was never lost but never divisive.

With distinction there was gentleness and sympathy. It is inevitable, since he came to succeed Father Paul as Headmaster in 1954, that we should think of him mostly as Father Paul's successor. He was more than that, but that was his hardest challenge. He met it with such gentleness and modesty that it almost succeeds in obscuring his achievement. He had a gift for self effacement. But nothing can obscure his work for us. When the history of Ampleforth in the middle of this century comes to be set in its true perspective it may well be seen that his influence was crucial.

VISIT OF THE ABBOT PRIMATE TO THE ABBEY,

6-10TH JANUARY

The Abbot Primate, Dom Rembert Weakland, did us the honour of coming from St Anselmo's, Rome to lead and join our January monastic discussions (below) and to stay for a while among the brethren. He gave us one address on the Benedictine Confederation—a sort of "State of the Union" message. He began by observing that the common language of Latin

has simply fallen out of usage in the monasteries and nunneries of the Confederation, so much so that it would be futile to bother to provide the old style *Annales* in a single standard Latin edition, because nobody would read it. If that enterprise is to be repeated, it must be in several major living languages.

The latest five-yearly *Catalogus* is just being published for 1970. From it we find that, when due account is taken of the Camaldolese and Vallombrosians formally joining the Confederation and so raising total figures suddenly, the Benedictines have decreased in number by 10% in the last half-decade: the total was 12,070 and is diminished by about 1,200. A clearer comparative statistic in assessing the trends of our time is that of novices: in 1965 there were 601 listed, while in 1970 (1st January) there were 279, a relationship of 15:7, a drop of over 50%. Behind this statistic is an alarming pattern, which it is hard to correct: work is increasing in range and intensity, the load on each monk is growing heavier, the number of novices is decreasing and the possibility of future novices is also decreasing because overloading does not attract; and so the load graph rises even higher. There is a noticeable reaction to this pattern: the number of small houses and new foundations is increasing (there are 208 independent houses in the Confederation and a further 119 hoping for eventual independence). That at least is heartening, and a good omen for the future of benedictinism in an age of mass organisation.

The novice pattern is interesting and fairly unexpected. There is no real drop in the number of postulants who nibble and novices who bite: but there is a grave rise in the number who cannot persevere beyond simple and even solemn vows. We live in an age of short contracts and changing allegiances. But again there is hope: this year has brought a sudden influx of novices into most houses of the Confederation, a trend that is recognisable if not accountable.

Nevertheless many houses will now not be able to survive much longer. Some feel sad if not bitter about it. Others have adopted the philosophy that "we have served this moment in history; it is of no moment if we die out now. We have responded to the *Zeitgeist* of our time and the new *Zeitgeist* needs a new and different response".

The Primate surveyed the monastic climate of the various nation blocs. Behind the Iron Curtain poverty and cleanliness, intellectual restriction and even the permanent threat of suppression marked the life of the monks and nuns. In the Far East, Africa and Latin America the pattern was of a kind: various European congregations had made missionary foundations and were retaining control of those foundations according to the traditions (often very various) of their nationality and congregation; whereas the monks of the area strongly wanted to break the European link, the separation of traditions and to form their own new congregation with its own localised corporate character. South America provides a good example, with its one Chilean and four Argentinian houses belonging to the Swiss, Subiaco, Solesmes and Beuron congregations.

There will certainly be major regroupings in the monastic world in the next decade. Europe and America have played their part, and for political reasons are no longer acceptable in those areas, where the main need is now to build up present foundations with indigenous vocations as foreigners are phased out (not an easy process for a monk, who puts so much stress upon stability and family life).

The abbots have met in Congress at Rome several times in the last four years, setting up their own commissions to examine and report to the congressional meetings—the Commission *de Re Monastica* being the most controversial in itself, if not its matter. It was eventually agreed almost unanimously that, while the Abbatial Congress is not in any sense an executive or directly consultative assembly, it would be fruitful to all abbots that monastic problems should be discussed openly on an international basis. Some congregations assented to this reluctantly but afterwards gave testimony to its success: a spirit of communal search and candour proved most rewarding, abbots being able to bring back to their own houses a very wide experience of the current movements of monasticism. The language-group sub-assemblies, while they tended to avoid major ideological confrontations, tended thereby to exaggerate local cultural ways of viewing and doing things; so proving the need for cross fertilisation. New translation techniques allow this; and already, for instance, the Austrian and English houses are intending to share common problems concerning secondary education.

The general tendencies in benedictinism are interesting. A century ago and till recently, the debate was for or against the views embodied in Solesmes, Laach or Beuron. Now problems and theories are more closely shared on a "layer" rather than area basis by those of each generation. Where the nineteenth century returned to high medieval sources for their example, the present returns if anything to the pre-Benedict monasticism of both east and west: there they find among the ancient communities of Syria, Palestine and Cappadocia a much greater consciousness of community, which satisfies the urge to community consciousness today. The place of the abbot, which was exalted to a great height by St Benedict and re-exalted by Beuronese practice and the Maria Laach doctrine of abbatial charism under the Holy Spirit, has been brought into perspective in the light of these studies and this modern urge: RB 2 and 64 have been balanced by RB 71. Among the scholars at St Anselmo's for instance, two schools of view have gathered about the feet of Dom Adalbert de Vogüé (Pierre-qui-Vire) whose emphasis is upon abbots and Dom Jean Gribomont (Clervaux) whose emphasis is upon communities. The truth of course lies in the middle.¹

¹ Cf. Rembert G. Weakland, "The Abbot in a Democratic Society", *Cistercian Studies* IV, 2 (1969), 95-100 which is in effect an adumbration of RB 3 on calling the brethren to council, this in the light of modern Church law which has placed some right of decision (and so certain responsibility) in the hands of the Chapter and Council, and in the light of modern democratic trends. "The abbot's role is not just to preside, but to help in the forming of a consensus (leading to a deliberative vote). He must not be afraid to express his whole-hearted acceptance of an idea, or his doubts either. What he must avoid is stifling the discussion by considering

(continued at foot of next page)

THE JANUARY DISCUSSION ON MONASTICISM

AMPLEFORTH 6-8TH JANUARY

The Community gathered, including many of the parish fathers. Three main topics on the theme of the spiritual needs of the world today were discussed during 48 hours of conference. The Abbot Primate introduced each subject beginning with "Attitudes and needs of today". He spoke of an increasingly empirical world under the goad of technology, God being driven to the fringes where "acts of God" still occurred. Death-of-God theologians are a symptom of this process, in that they confine their search to a verifiable "historical Jesus": they speak of human values, though they ask of them the questions which have only transcendental answers. To recognise transcendence is to recognise that there is knowledge beyond experience, that events do not exhaust our experience, that the experiences of love or hope or sheer creature inadequacy are signs of reality beyond self and beyond all empirical verification.

In group discussion, we agreed that every aspect of life, eg. marriage, education, authority or the function of the Church, is being questioned—often most constructively questioned with fruitful results from minds trained to verify and minds used to the pangs of uncertainty. However, the one thing most questioned was the need for "salvation" (in the traditional sense): the consciousness of sin and hell had diminished, the consciousness of the ills of life—and especially insecurity—had increased, the sense of personal salvation was regarded as feathering one's own nest in a rather selfish and "Protestant" way. The young are now searching for something different: justice, happiness, peace and economic security. The married are looking to the wellbeing of their children above all. Society in general is valuing good human relations most, and with that sort of group idealism. They react so strongly against institutional religion partly for sociological reasons and partly for religious. The impersonality of modern dynamic-efficient, work-study life has given them a yearning for the personal in human relations as in religious. They do not want a Church enshrining the Decalogue with a thousand "Thou shalt not . . ."s appended: they want challenge and charity, a living liturgy and an orientation to the poverty of Christ which stands as a reproach to the glut of affluence. They want new doctrine to illumine new ways of life, a new apostolate by an increasingly studious laity, a new missionary spirit which is more than clerically motivated.

At the second discussion the Abbot Primate showed from a Chicago survey that, though people were no longer so swiftly moved by institutional

(continued from previous page)

any opinion contrary to his own as disobedience or a personal affront. If the abbot is very desirous of obtaining something and is unable to convince over half the members that it is truly of value, he will surely hesitate in wanting to move forward. It may well be that the abbot is right, but he must realise that, if so, then his community requires more preparation and information before consensus can be reached . . . the Constitutions of the EBC were perhaps the only ones before the Council that in some respects touched the problem of consensus.⁴

acts, religious motivation had if anything increased. Pascal's *homo religiosus* is still very much alive, if often detached from his Church. Even in such supposedly amoral places as West Germany and Sweden, surveys show that, for reasons beyond mere humanism or convenience, 95% of women believe that they should be faithful to one man.² Writers like Harvey Cox ("The Feast of Fools", 1969) and Theodore Roszak ("The Making of a Counter-culture", 1970) are coming to see the vital importance of liturgy and aesthetics as vehicles of ultimate truth beyond all empiricism. Faith is an assent to that truth, also a seeking of signs and a positive evocation of God's presence in hope. "Thy Kingdom come . . .": evocation leads to prayer, and prayer to poetry for the mystic and perhaps psychological games for the sociologist. Those who believe, while they must sometimes seek to verify, will more often accept with joy and want to share both seeking and finding and then the acts of prayer themselves. So much is this so, that there are groups who have changed the *Credo* into "we believe . . ." This desire to share in the search and the discovery of faith in the ultimate Truth brings men out of the world to our monasteries for the sake of the mutual experience. That is what they ask of us, to share our faith and our prayer for a while.

The groups agreed that as monks who "truly seek God" (cf RB) we have something to share with other searchers. A living community is an intense experience of family, where all is open and loving, tending to peace among men who do not hide their humanity or their state as pilgrims searching; in it there is no room for stiff self-sufficiency. A working community shows the proper relationship between *orare* and *laborare*. A praying community shows the primacy of the service of God for the sake of God himself and not for man's advantage. Christ is present in us as man created for him, as monk vowed to him, as priest representing him: our prayer is ever through Christ in the Spirit to the Father. The elements which were thought to hinder the search for God were diverse: they revolved around aspects of thought about our life (e.g. whether the Office could be seen as a *pensum servitutis*, whether *fuga mundi* was a selfish idea, whether monasticism should be evangelical at all), about our particular situation (e.g. class structure, the pull of the School, the pressure of work, the size of the monastery), and about personal friendships having too little time in which to blossom.

At the last discussion introduction, the Abbot Primate was insistent that before we could communicate our experience, we must have some experience to communicate—*nemo dat quod non habet*. What we have

² Speaking of surveys to discover public opinion on religious matters, the Abbot Primate referred to the German episcopal survey, since published in part, made for the January synod. The four million returns show that more than three-quarters of the country's Catholics go to Mass on almost every Sunday, that 60% rely on "holy services" as the mainstay of their faith, that 55% see the importance of the Mass as "an encounter with God" and an occasion to "draw new spiritual strength", that 66% hold the first task of the priest as saying Mass and administering the sacraments. The survey showed also that 60% of German Catholics valued "a chance to live without war" most highly and were most concerned about "hunger and poverty in the world".

is not for ourselves alone behind closed doors, but for Christ's Church at large. We must open our doors to those who want to come and share our liturgy and our life, however shortly. The liturgy has always been for secular man a living faith-experience of high affective content; this was especially so of monastic liturgy in the last century and was still so at such centres as Maria Laach as recently as the 1950s. It was liturgy that visitors came for, but alas now it is usually the architecture, for today "they go to Taizé" for the faith-experience. We must beware that we do not "use" our liturgy to entice visitors, employing the power of its undoubted aesthetic attraction: it must be a living liturgy as from ourselves, not a performance for others. It will only then be a valid monastic apostolate, only when we are seen to be a vibrant bible community of saints who can appear as an oasis in a desert to those outside but not to ourselves (for we are most conscious unto ourselves when the visitors have gone and we are washing up). A monastery must never be a shop window, all ills disguised: it must be a natural, human, free, individualistic society that fulfills itself before God. Sometimes, as in the third world, its primary witness will be to Poverty; sometimes, as in the affluent world, it will be to Celibacy (not "middle-aged disgruntled celibacy of the affectively unbalanced"); always it will witness to Stability and to Charity. A monastery must guard against overstretching itself or its members: it should be carefully selective, allowing its specialists to contribute to the ecclesial community as they can, not on huge canvases but more often as miniaturists who achieve masterpieces which may equally contain the sum of holiness.

At the last discussion, it was thought that it is ourselves, not our experiences, which should be made available to those who ask for them: we must show our inner selves in the way that we are able and without shyness. We should first expose others to our corporate prayer life and only secondly try to teach. We should take thought as to a living, flexible liturgy, one which gives some room to the world and its needs. We should not forget that overwork diminishes our capacity to experience God. In communicating to the School, we should always show as well as feel concern for the welfare of the boys, should never appear to be subscribing to a double standard of the Church and the world, should have constant recourse to God in our daily life and from that preach more by example than word. In communicating to the parishes, we should bring monastic values into industrial areas (by priory groups?), should emphasize family groups and Masses, should be sensitive to the real inner needs of modern society, should not fear to give solid advice in the confessional, and should be quick to want to share our prayers with others and to join theirs. Perhaps a practical measure would be that the monastic experts (liturgists, canonists, account experts, etc.) might be made available from the monastery to the parishes for short periods. Asking ourselves how we might best teach people how to pray, we decided that the place to start was the particular popular situation, which so easily elicits a prayer of petition, and that can be so quickly guided to the greater prayer of adoration. The

story was told of a child whose prettiest prayer was this: "Lord, make bad people good, and good people nice".

The summary session brought out these thoughts. There is a need for a deeply theological understanding of what is happening in the Church: unlike the French and the Germans, the Anglo-Saxons are slow to theory and swift to practice. There is a need for silence, reflection, receptivity; for an awareness of the long and often cyclic rhythms of human and liturgical life (those life cycles which are better known to women than to men, partly in virtue of their physical nature which has its inbuilt reminders of the time processes). There is a need in the electric age to recapture the sense of darkness and of light, of black vigils, miserere dawns, laudate sunrises and hymns in daylight; of fear for dusk and joy from the dawning day. There is need to seek out fellow believers of like heart, often from other Confessions in ecumenical groups, for mutual comfort and mutual persuasion to Christ.

PRIOR OF DURHAM

Fr Columba Cary Elwes, returned from his year of seminary teaching in Nairobi, went off in October to St Louis for three months, in the first instance to open the new library there with the Cardinal Archbishop of St Louis. That same day, with the approval of General Chapter, he was appointed titular Prior of Durham.

This might be an opportunity to speak of the ancient titles that the English Benedictines still keep up within the Congregation. The oldest are the cathedral priors. Before the Reformation the English Benedictines formed the chapters of nine of the cathedrals of England; they had the privilege of a diocesan chapter with power to elect the bishop. The most famous, largest and most influential was of course Canterbury. There, as in the other cathedrals, the superior of the monastic community which kept up the Office and annual round of liturgy in the great church was the cathedral prior, and he was often elected to the vacant bishopric. In 1633 the Holy See enacted that these titles should be perpetuated, the office conferring no jurisdiction but only honour and precedence. The last cathedral prior of Durham, Fr William Price, became the Abbot of York.

The same arrangement was made as to the great abbeys of England, nine of them. In 1818 the Holy See granted the revival of the dignity of titular abbot to perpetuate the remembrance of these great abbeys which had been at the centre of black monk monachism up to 1539. The title, as with the priors, confers honour and precedence but no jurisdiction. It is normally accorded for signal service to the Congregation. Our former Abbot, who was also the Abbot President of the Congregation, now holds the title of Abbot of Westminster (the house from which this community claims descentance).

PRIEST PHILOSOPHERS

Fr Placid Spearritt, the Community's philosophy tutor, attended the thirteenth annual meeting of the Priests' Philosophy Group, held at the Maria Assumpta Training College, Kensington Square at the end of the year. There were also monks there from Downside, Quarr and Farnborough, and Mr Russell Coleburt from Worth and Fr Myles Reardon from St Benet's Hall. Of the five papers delivered, perhaps the most remarkable and certainly the most unusual was on "Forgiveness", given by a sociologist, Miss Irene Brennan of the University of Surrey: her central point was that forgiveness is gratuitous and absolute, not a probationary dismissal which can be resummoned if relations do break down again. An additional paper was given by Rev. J. F. Maxwell entitled, "Contraception and Slavery—An Analogy? A Study in the Development of Catholic Doctrine": its intention, very simply, was to use the field of slavery (where usury has been used so far, without sufficient success because the analogy is insufficient) to suggest that as one doctrine has very considerably evolved from its early stages to present belief, so may another.

WE must record the death of Cardinal Benno Gut on 8th December in Rome. He was the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Divine Worship. Until 1967, he had been for eight years the Abbot Primate, visiting Ampleforth in 1961. Before that he had been a monk (1918) and then Abbot (1947) of Einsiedeln in Switzerland. In his time he had been, as is the Primate who has succeeded him, a fine musician.

ON 20th and 21st November, to mark the eighth centenary of the death of Archbishop St Thomas Becket, a Drama Cantata was performed in the Romanesque crypt of Canterbury cathedral—a crypt which Becket would have known well. The libretto was by Miss C. R. John and the music by Fr Lawrence Bevenot O.S.B., who also made the musical arrangements. Besides a twenty-piece orchestra and a large choir of women's voice, a harpsichord and the solo voices of the Canterbury Singers were called upon; as were several actors and a school dance group. It was not unambitious.

THE Abbot and Community were hosts to the lay masters and their ladies at a dinner given in the College on 10th December to mark the canonisation of St Alban Roe; and they were again hosts on the Feast of the Epiphany, this time to our Bishop and some of the clergy of the Middlesbrough diocese in honour of the canonisation of St Margaret Clitherow. Bishop McClean presided at the preceding concelebrated Mass, assisted by the Abbot Primate and the Abbot.

EBC AND RB + RM: A LOSS OF INTEREST

THERE was a time when the monks of the English Benedictine Congregation were endlessly pursuing studies directly concerned with the Rule. In 1886 a monk of Fort Augustus, later to become Abbot Sir Oswald Hunter Blair Bt, brought out a translation of the Rule. In 1908 Dom Bernard Hayes of Ampleforth brought out his version of the Rule arranged for mental prayer, "The *Via Vitae* of St Benedict", with an introduction by Bishop Cuthbert Hedley of the same house. In 1912, revised in 1927, Abbot Cuthbert Butler of Downside produced his internationally acclaimed *editionem critico-practicam*, with its notes relating the text to its apparent sources, a work not superceded until the Hanslik Vienna CSEL edition of 1960 (and, as to its practicality, still not superceded). In 1952 Abbot Justin McCann of Ampleforth published his final Latin and English edition of the Rule in the Burns and Oates Orchard Series (reprinted 1969 at 30/-), which is the best of its kind in English, used by all but the most meticulous scholars who must go to Hanslik.

Besides these editions of the Rule itself, there have been a cluster of writings around the subject, mainly—it must be admitted—from the pens of Abbot Cuthbert Butler and Abbot Justin McCann. In 1899 Butler wrote his first essay on "The Text of St Benedict's Rule" in the *Downside Review*. He followed it with two essays on the Montecassino text and the Benevento manuscript in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for 1902 and 1910. He drew together his thought in 1919 in "Benedictine Monachism", revising it in 1924. In 1930 he wrote a review article on Abbot John Chapman's book, "St Benedict and the Sixth Century" in the *Downside Review*. At about this time Dom Justin was taking up the subject with his life of St Benedict, published in 1937 (revised for a paperback in 1958), his translation of *Dialogues* 11 in 1941 (second edition 1951), and his interest in the RB/RM controversy which broke as the War broke. In the January 1939 *Downside Review* he brought the subject to England with his article, "The Rule of the Master" (examining principally c.2 on the Abbot); and in April 1940 he went back to "The Master's Rule Again". In the May 1950 *Ampleforth Journal* he wrote on "The Master and St Benedict" and in the early winter of 1959 he gave us a final article under that title, meanwhile reviewing the Vanderhoven/Masai diplomatic edition of RM in the 1955 *English Historical Review*. If anyone has followed these two, it is only Dom Hubert van Zeller with his 1958 study, "The Holy Rule" and his 1959 book, "The Benedictine Idea".

THE one piece of serious work to come from an EBC pen on this subject in the last ten years is a thesis submitted to Blackfriars, Oxford in the summer of 1965 for the S.T.L. It is entitled "Doctrine and Life in Western Monastic Tradition", by Dom Francis Davidson of Fort Augustus. It bears the mark of *Perfectae Caritatis* and the spirit of the Council, in its twin principles of return to sources and relevance for the present: "this thesis is a modest attempt to return to some of the sources of monastic

doctrine and life, as a means towards understanding what an authentic monastic life is." It is in essence a study of John Cassian, the Master and St Benedict, the relation of abbot to community being the hinge of the study. A comparison of the three sources suggests a possible approach to a theology of monastic life; and this is clarified in terms of current theology and set in its context as a species of the common ecclesial vocation of all Christians.

Cassian stresses the individual, taught by a spiritual senior and ultimately by Christ direct (cf. *S. Theol* III:7:7); the Master shares this idea of the personal charism of the abbot to teach, though he requires a martyr-obedience rather than the obedience of understanding and assent. Where RM asks only a docility to the abbot, RB adds the dimension of the community and the element of obedience to one's brethren: the monastery is called a "school" where the one and the many are conjoined. Cassian sees the monastery as the ideal Christian community, the Master sees the abbot as teacher and pastor in the hierarchic sense, and St Benedict provides the ambience of communion and fellowship.

Christ's prime functions as prophet, priest and king provide a programme of analysis. As to prophecy: Cassian describes prayer as the steadfast yearning of the heart for the coming kingdom (just as Augustine took Daniel, *vir desideriorum*, for the type of the monk); and the two Rules underscore the living confession of the lived monastic way as the prophetic element—example rather than preaching (which belongs to hierarchy, outside monasticism). It is the testimony of living faith which speaks to others "for their building and encouragement and consolation"; and this is enhanced for individuals by the charismata of the Spirit found in shared community, and not in eremitical isolation. As to kingship: the themes of overcoming and ruling are expressed in the Master's language as martyrdom (so also Cassian's); and in RB with military metaphors. We are linked to the kingship of Christ through positive acceptance of suffering and our victory over the powers of evil; these in harmony with the royal character of suffering as expressed in NT (what the *Imitatio* calls "the royal road of the Cross"). A monk's obligation is to suffer and to suffuse with Christian culture, not to build human society by begetting or owning or serving the state. Nor is the nature of his obedience precisely what it is in the world, viz the efficient collaboration of a group; rather it is primarily the ascetic imitation of Christ in his total obedience to the Father, free of self-will. Christ sits as a king at the right hand of the Father in virtue of his obedience unto death (Phil 2:5-11): this is the way of the monk, who submits to one who shares in Christ's authority to subject all things to himself. As to priesthood: the hierarchic ministry of clerical priesthood has no essential connection with the abbot or the cenobitic community. Their priesthood is one of sacrifice of praise to God: "do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God"

(Heb 13:15f); as Augustine showed, a man consecrated to God, in as much as he dies to the world so to live to God, is a sacrifice (*Civ Dei* X.6). And further, in as much as the monastic community is a part of the Church, it is also part of the sacerdotal robe which is the Church; and in as much as the unity of the Church is a priestly sacrifice, so the most particular expression of that unity—a monastery (reflecting the Jerusalem community of Acts 4:32ff)—is an expression of the priestly sacrifice, perfectly realised only in the heavenly city.

The form used in this thesis is one of scriptural and patristic theology centred on the person and mission of Christ, which is the traditional form of monastic theology. It brings out again what has come to be widely recognised, that any comparison of Church and monastery shows the monastic life to be very close to the general character of the Christian life at its clearest.

Much further work has been done very recently in this field by commissions and sub-commissions of the Congregation in pursuance of new statements of the nature of the Benedictine life, new congregational constitutions and the Congressional commission report *de Re Monastica*. But this has so far taken the form of draft papers not in a state ready for publication beyond commissions and congresses. The time is ripe for further writing from an EBC pen.

We ask the prayers of readers for one of our contributors, recently dead. Dom Odo Brooke of Farnborough Abbey in Hampshire died suddenly on 12th January aged 51. Only last summer he had been one of the principal organisers of the Catholic Conference for Ecclesiastical Higher Studies, held at Liverpool, at which Fr Henry Wansborough read a paper. He will be especially remembered for the work he did at Rome for his doctorate in sacred theology, on perhaps the greatest and certainly the least appreciated of the early Cistercian writers, William of St Thierry (c. 1085-c. 1148): in this field he stood second only to Dom Déchanet. His thesis has been largely published in a series of articles in the *Abbaye du Mont Cesar* (Louvain) journal, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*: "The Trinitarian Aspect of the Ascent of the Soul to God in the Theology of William of St Thierry" (RTAM 26, 1959, 85-127); "The Speculative Development of the Trinitarian Theology of William of St Thierry in the *Aenigma Fidei*" (RTAM 27, 1960, 193-211 and RTAM 28, 1961, 26-58); "William of St Thierry's Doctrine of the Ascent to God by Faith" (RTAM 30, 1963, 181-204 and RTAM 33, 1966, 282-318). Cf. also "Faith and Mystical Experience in William of St Thierry", *Downside Review*, Apr. 1964, 93-102.

OXFORD AND THE FORTY MARTYRS

BECAUSE of our St Benet's Hall tradition, inevitably our minds turn to Oxford rather than, say, Cambridge; and it may be well to say some words about the Oxford martyr connexion. Those who have read "The Meeting of the Ways" (*Tablet*, 31st October p. 1062f), that remarkably sensitive and generous sermon preached by the President of St John's College, Professor R. W. Southern, when at his invitation the Master and members of Campion Hall brought the Mass back to that college chapel on the Canonisation Sunday, will know that St John's has a quite unusual record. That College produced the Douai proto-martyr, once the College chaplain, Guthbert Mayne; and the most famous and most learned of the Jesuits, Edmund Campion; and the first of the Benedictines, John Roberts—a brilliantly representative trio. Nor does it end there, for among the martyrs were Thomas Hemerford and the secular priests Edward Stransham, Robert Ludlam, Edward James and William Hartley, and with Campion during most of his adult life, made BA and MA together, was Gregory Martin, the Douai version translator. "Since for so many years we had in common our college, our meals, our studies, our opinions, our fortune, our degrees, our tutors, our friends and our enemies, let us for the rest of our lives make a more close and binding union that we may have the fruit of our friendship in heaven", wrote Campion to Martin.

But the record of Brasenose College is not so very far the less. The secular priests John Shert, Lawrence Richardson (Johnson), Robert Anderton, Francis Ingleby, George Nichols, the Jesuit priest Thomas Cottam and the Dominican priest Robert Nutter were all from that College, seven of them in all. And Worcester College, the old Benedictine Gloucester Hall, had six among the martyrs, including the vacillating Abbot John Beche (Marshall) of Colechester. Trinity College, the old Durham College, had five, three of whom died at York. Corpus Christi, New and Oriel Colleges each had four. Of the martyrs recently canonised, St Alexander Briant came from Hertford (formerly Hart Hall), St Ralph Sherwin from Exeter and St John Boste from the Queen's Colleges. St Richard Gwyn (White) had studied briefly at Oxford before going on (should we say "off"?) to Cambridge. Lastly, there were five martyrs born at Oxford and as many executed at Oxford, but none both. From an earlier canonisation, we should remember also the High Steward of the University, once at Christ Church (which included Canterbury Hall), who ultimately became Chancellor of England.



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OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died: J. E. Marsh (1912) on 6th November; Major D. N. Simonds (B 37) on 20th November; J. C. Le Mee Power (C 30) on 26th November; S. Tempest (C 31) on 11th December; and Abbot William Price, a Vice-President of the Ampleforth Society, on 2nd January 1971.

OBITUARY

JOHN COWPER LE MEE POWER

W. B. Atkinson writes:—

To those who recall the first year of the House system the name of the four brothers Le Mee Power will have been a byword. Each in his own way was to meet tragedy, which struck first during that year at one of them; his memory is perpetuated in the lancet windows above Fr Abbot's stall. John, the last to survive, whose endearing nature, warm character and active friendship earned my deep gratitude as a new boy, suffered from a tendency to rebel against authority which was to dog him through life. It was typical that on commission he chose the glamour of a crack cavalry regiment and spent the early '30's in the splendour of viceregal India. There followed a short spell in Ceylon where we met again. In 1939 he was made the heir to a large fortune of which he was soon to be deprived during his war service. Thereafter with varying success he fought the caprices of character and fate culminating in a protracted and lethal illness which he bore with exemplary courage under conditions of hardship experienced by few and of which he died, *cum visticio*, on 26th November in obscurity. At his funeral I recalled a remark attributed to a great Amplefordian to the effect that "we try to teach boys not how to live, but how to die". In that sense John was a fine pupil. On a lighter note, my happiest memory of John is the occasion of a Gormire Day in the late '20's on which, at his instigation and by his generosity, with carefree abandon we broke every rule devised by a harassed authority for the better regulation of that revered annual event.

MARRIAGES

- Philip Butcher (T 61) to Stephanie Hassall at the Cathedral of St Barnabas, Nottingham, on 13th June 1970.
- Frederick David Scotson (A 56) to Franziska Haering at Schlosskapelle St Andreas, Cham, Switzerland, on 14th August.
- John Lacy (J 66) to Jo Whitfield at the Church of St Gregory the Great, Stratford-upon-Avon, on 19th September.
- John Holt (O 65) to Stephanie Watson at the Church of St Mary, Hampstead, on 26th September.
- Richard Murphy (C 59) to Mary Riddell at Swinburn Private Chapel, Northumberland, on 10th October.

- Simon Howden (E 67) to Deborah Maskell at St Augustine's, Weymouth, on 31st October.
- Michael Clement Ryan (A 63) to Lindsey Bradish at the Oratory in Ballytrent House, Kilrane, Co. Wexford on 17th November.
- Ivan Scott Lewis (O 57) to Mary Menzies Weaver at the Church of Our Lady and St Michael, Dorchester, on 5th December
- Oliver Richard Backhouse (E 59) to Gillian Irene Lincoln at the Church of Our Lady, Help of Christians, Rickmansworth, on 14th December.
- John Gibbs (T 61) to Jennifer Margaret Glennon at the Church of St Joseph, Burwash, on 9th January 1971.
- Alexander Bradshaw (W 59) to Susan Elaine Eisenhower in New York, January 1971.

ENGAGEMENTS

- John P. A. Burnett (B 63) to Billie de la Mere.
- Simon MacDonald Broadhead (C 65) to Mary O'Connell.
- Benjamin Blackden (H 63) to Sally Butcher.
- Anthony Shepherd (B 60) to Gay Handley.
- John Feilding (A 63) to Veronica Georgina Mary Farmer.
- Peter McKenna (H 64) to Caroline Mary Palmer.
- John Anthony Lorriman (H 65) to Jill Elliot.
- Edward Sturupp (D 58) to Sue Fleming.
- John Watson (E 50) to Joan Elizabeth Sedman.

BIRTHS

- Carol and Anthony Benson, a son, Andrew David.
- Sarah and Peter Dewar, a daughter.
- Diane and Henry Lorimer, a son.
- Yvonne and Stefan Shillington, a daughter, Emma Jane.

BOOKS

LAST August JOHN BECKWITH (E 37) published his latest and most ambitious book "Early Christian and Byzantine Art" in the Pelican History of Art series, at £7. This book establishes him as the heir to André Grabar in the field, and an art historian of international reputation—we might venture to claim, without any apparent rival in his generation. He went up to Exeter College, Oxford before the War as a scholar to read History. His course was interrupted, and after a War spent in the Duke of Wellington's Regiment he returned to Oxford for a further two years,

where he came to know Gervase Mathew O. P., who advised him to go to the Victoria and Albert Museum. There he has spent the greater part of his life, being appointed Assistant Keeper in the Department of Textiles in 1948. He moved in 1955 to the Department of Sculpture, where his interest turned to medieval ivory carvings. Three years later he collaborated with Professor David Talbot Rice on the the Exhibition of Masterpieces of Byzantine Art, shown at Edinburgh and in London; and that year he published "The Andrews Diptych". From 1960 he produced a book a year, first "Caskets from Cordoba", and "The Art of Constantinople" the following year; then "The Veroli Casket" in 1962, "Coptic Sculpture" in 1963, "Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque" in 1964; and besides these, specialist articles. In 1964 he was invited to Harvard to lecture on Early Christian and Byzantine Art and Medieval Art in the West. During the 1960s, he was selected for the English committee of the Council of Europe exhibitions of Romanesque Art, Fourteenth Century European Art, Byzantine Art and the Age of Charlemagne. He is now Deputy Keeper of the Department of Architecture and Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum, under the Directorship of John Pope Hennessy.

On 10th-11th November, John Beckwith came up to lecture, first to the Historical Bench on "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester", giving a slide-illustrated account of King Stephen's brother as a patron of Church art; and the next day a straight lecture on the Byzantine Empire before 1204. Both were memorable performances by what is clearly a master of that medium; years spent lecturing Kensington intelligentsia and ambassadors' wives at the V&A have not been in vain.

HUBERT GALLWEY (O 34) is having published this year a major work on "The Wall Family in Ireland 1170-1970". The Author is Editor of the *Irish Genealogist* and has contributed genealogical articles to several journals. This forthcoming account is "the most thorough piece of genealogical investigation to be carried out to date upon a knightly family with an Irish background".

J. P. BLACKLEDGE (C 32) has been appointed Attaché, the British Legation to the Holy See, in succession to Jim Utley, Fr Peter's brother, who died last year.

N. G. GLYNN (C 28) was awarded the M.B.E. in the Birthday Honours 1970 for his work in Kenya.

Leaders of North London Councils include:

- PETER RIGBY (C 47)—Harringay
MARTIN MORTON (B 50)—Camden

BASIL RABNETT (A 30) who had been Manager, Products Application for aviation with Shell Canada Ltd since 1951 has been appointed their Co-Ordinator, Environmental Control, with responsibility towards the problem of Pollution.

ANTHONY J. D. BRYAN (B 37) is Vice-President (Exports) of Monsanto Chemical Co at the World H.Q. Office in St Louis, Mo.

BRIGADIER D. E. WARREN has been appointed Chief Signals Officer, Southern Command.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL STACPOOLE (A 57) writes from the Far East. He has just returned from Sharjah, the British base in the Persian Gulf; and he has now gone out to Singapore as GSO 3 (Ops/Training). He has passed the Staff College Examination and is hoping for a nomination. His soldiering has taken him to Aden three times (cf JOURNAL, Spring 1968, 49-53), South America, Australia, Africa, Norway, and Bavaria, from infantry work to parachuting, from skiing to water-skiing.

MICHAEL GOLDSCHMIDT (A 63) is now ADC to the Governor of Western Australia. He succeeded PETER MAXWELL (B 61) who on release from his duties, toured the whole of Australia and drove back to England via India. Goldschmidt writes from Government House, Perth: "On 12th October we went on a three week tour of the north of the State, during which we covered some 2,700 miles by air and 1,200 by road in H.E.s Rolls Royce and the Austin Princess. To give you some idea of size, the State of Western Australia is 800 miles wide and 1,500 miles "high"; so my master's parish comprises about two fifths of Australia, Perth to Sydney is the same distance as London to Moscow . . . it is not difficult to see how 4,500 sheep can get lost in 999,950 acres (in Western Australia, no one is allowed to own a million acres)."

DAVID NOTON (B 56) has been appointed an Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering at the University of Colorado. He was awarded the 1969-70 Joseph P. Dias Scholarship by the department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science at Berkeley, California where in 1968 he received the degree of Master of Computer Science.

ADAM PEARSON (H 65) has been awarded a Harmsworth Law Scholarship, tenable for 3 years, by the Masters of the Bench of the Middle Temple.

MICHAEL SPENCER (H 65) and RICHARD HAWORTH (W 62) were called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in May 1970. Michael Spencer was awarded a Profumo Scholarship by the Masters of the Bar of the Inner Temple.

NICHOLAS BUTCHER (T 65) passed the final Solicitor's Examination in February 1970.

MICHAEL BARRY (D 62) has been awarded a Ph.D in Mathematics and is taking up post-doctoral research in Computer Science.

JAMES SMITH (D 63) has gained his M.A., B.M., B.Ch. at Oxford.

JOHN BRYAN (D 64) has gained 2nd class Honours in French at Liverpool University.

B. A. McSWINEY (O 69) and S. A. C. PRICE (C 69) have passed out from Mons.

SPORT

JOE McHALE (A 69) now reading PPE at Queen's, Oxford, has been running regularly for the tortoises (2nd Oxford Cross-Country VIII). He is rated 10th in the University and should win a Blue in 1971.

A. L. BUCKNALL (A 63) captained England's Rugby XV against Wales and has kept his place in subsequent matches though handing over the captaincy to his friendly rival John Spencer (*Sedbergh*).

R. T. AHERN (T 66) played for the Combined Universities of Ireland against the Rest of Ireland—an official trial for the Ireland XV. W. M. REICHWALD (T 70) has won a regular first team place at fly-half in the Headingley XV when the International and County players are on duty elsewhere.

M. C. A. PENDER-CUDLIP (O 68) and R. NAIRAC (E 66) played for the Oxford Greyhounds v. Cambridge LX Club.

The following entered Universities or Further Education in October 1970:
 HISTORY. S. F. Fane-Hervey (*Lincoln*), W. J. E. Charles (*The Queen's*), R. E. Mackay (*Worcester*), J. P. MacHale (*The Queen's*), A. M. Smith (*Magdalen*), S. H. Barton (*St Benet's Hall*), OXFORD; S. B. Wakefield (*Bristol*); P. M. Horsley (*St Andrew's*); P. J. Muir (*University College London*); N. H. S. Armour (*Exeter*); J. R. Parker (*Kent*).

CLASSICS. M. E. W. Studer (*University*), C. E. Lillis (*Christ Church*), Viscount Asquith (*Balliol*), OXFORD; R. D. Balme (*Magdalene*), CAMBRIDGE; B. C. McGing (*T.C.D.*).

SCIENCE. H. C. Hornyold-Strickland (Natural Science, *Exeter*), A Dufort (Natural Science, *New College*), OXFORD; A. J. Walker (Natural Sciences for Engineering, *Gonville and Caius*); R. J. Hughes (Natural Sciences, *Fitzwilliam*), CAMBRIDGE; D. B. Dees (*Manchester*); P. D. Clarke (Chemistry, *Bristol*); D. N. Young (Engineering Science, *Birmingham*); J. F. P. Eddison (*University College, London*).

MODERN LANGUAGES. J. W. Watt (*The Queen's*), P. C. S. Donovan (*Magdalen*), OXFORD; M. J. Jayes (*Clare*), CAMBRIDGE—Japanese.

ENGLISH. R. E. Baker (*Reading*).

MATHEMATICS. M. P. Reilly (*York*); C. B. Young (*Sussex*).

PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN STUDIES. M. J. Pearce (*Modern Studies, The Queen's*), OXFORD; P. Q. de B. Collins (*Philosophy, Queens'*), CAMBRIDGE; J. W. McDonald (*Philosophy, Warwick*); P. G. de L. A. Aylwin (*French Philosophy, N.W. Polytechnic*); W. A. Dawson (*Behavioural Sciences, Aston*).

ECONOMICS. C. J. C. Bartle (*Bristol*); T. A. Dunn (*Exeter*); E. S. Poyser (*Physics and Economics, Exeter*).

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS. P. C. S. M. Seilern-Aspang, J. Seilern-Aspang (*Geneva*).

BUSINESS STUDIES. C. P. L. Penno (*Regent St Polytechnic*); A. H. G. Boardman (*City of Leicester Polytechnic*); D. P. McKenna (*Oxford Polytechnic*); C. H. Worsley (*Portsmouth Polytechnic*).

MEDICINE. P. P. Nunn (*Christ Church*), OXFORD; C. M. Harrison (*St Thomas' Hospital*); A. Walsh (*Middlesex Hospital*); R. P. Honan (*Sheffield*).

ARCHITECTURE. D. S. C. Lovegrove (*Bristol*).

FORESTRY. G. R. Hatfield (*Aberdeen*).

AGRICULTURE. R. T. J. Stringer (*Seale Hayne Agricultural College*).

HORTICULTURE. J. P. Rochford (*Nottingham*).

ENGINEERING. J. P. Knowles (*Leicester*); P. C. Coghlan (*Brunel*); C. E. P. O'Connor (*Salford*).

ESTATE MANAGEMENT. R. M. Ruck Keene and A. P. Gastrell (*Royal College of Agriculture, Cirencester*).

H. L. Lukas is at the *Royal College of Agriculture, Cirencester*, and A. B. G. Simpkin at the *Barking Polytechnic*.

O.A.C.C. and CRICKETER CUP

The first round of the Cricketer Cup will be played at Ampleforth on Sunday, 30th May, v. Radley Rangers.

SCHOOL XI

The XI will be hosts to Uppingham, Blundell's and Oundle in the Cricket Festival, 12th-14th July.

ATHLETICS

It is hoped that the new Athletics track—to the south of the present 1st XV Rugby ground—will be officially opened on the Saturday of the Exhibition week-end, June 5th, with the match against Sedbergh.



ABBOT WILLIAM AT HIS LAST FORMAL OCCASION, THE YORK MASTER PRINTERS' DINNER. This year Walter Smith, of Herald Printers, has been President of the Master Printers' Association of York. On a warm evening in mid-June the President's Dinner was held at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, York. Those attending included the Dean of York (who said grace). Fr William made a speech of reply for the guests (at which he spoke most movingly of the sacramental power of print as conveyor of truth). This photo was taken before the dinner: left to right—Abbot William, Mrs. Smith, Walter Smith, Mrs. Richardson and Dr. Alan Richardson (Dean of York).



CINEMA PROJECTION BOX—see School Notes



ANNO post Christum natum supra sexagesimo tertio, quatuor-
 tas auctoritate, capite ecclesie per Joannem Regnum declinare, in auctoritate
 mane Scote ac catholice vestitus fidei assertores et probatores, ac nulli vel carere
 mane. Hanc ergo innotuit veritatis ac fidei, quae passiva in auctoritate
 tatis religioe, fidei, vestitus catholice auctoritate dicitur. Et sic Carthusianus
 Non sicut de ipsa supra exteri ac alligati fuerunt super cruce terminati, et sic ab ipsa
 qualis, virgula, Caspian, aqua et lactis. Et primo quidem ce bei fuerit ore Prioris, post
 Lausone, Prior domus bone Valla. Et Augustinus Duchtere Prior domus vestitus
 ue. Procumator, et Scholasticus Normandiae sonor monachus. Qui tres per 14 dies conseruati
 que ad passus et obtulimus, solo abiq; reclusione vel solitudine pro quatuor necessitate
 in carere. Postquam non dico sic ad locum infirmitate crucis dicit, vestitus fuerunt, et in
 huius precia fuerit verenda. Et sic decepto omnia curia vestitus et igitur in cruce. Hinc
 lum dicit, non per portam et murum curiam Londinensis suspense. (Duo vero puri Prioris
 Mias passus sunt, scilicet Robertus et Jacobus. Phalaris sacerdos, vestitus et religioe
 dicit Beate, Thomas Jobinson, Thomas Grene sacerdos, Joannes Dany domus, Phalaris
 Hoare conuictus in carcere sine moris forte ac in terra suffocati, excepto Phalaris. Post
 qui videtur, huius est triumphus curiam que eam in Christum tenent videtur, fidei, vestitus
 rando quidem vestitus, quatuorlibet francocobus vestitus. Terminus conseruati non dicitur
 exempla tibi ad oculis demonstrat ut tu quatuor exerto ac in terra religioe passus, vestitus
 randa demonstrat, huius est triumphus, vestitus.

... Rex eius nominis octavus, non sepe sacrilego quadam ausu, contemptis Romano Se
 horrendam crudelitatem exercuit in bono xxvii Carthusianos qui se vendicatio sancte Re
 metu aliquid potuerit, ut illius impie aegrescere a sancto Sede apostolica defensionem, contenti
 fidei tabula. Anno itaq; domini M. CCCC. XXXIII. passus fuerunt pro defensione liber
 domus Londinensium, non uno tempore, sed diversis diebus et annis. duarum, tertie, quarta
 Londinensium fere 140 ad locum infirmitate, qui distabant a carcere tribus miliaribus, per locum ore
 Mias, quorum ista sunt nomina. Joannes Hachton Prior domus Londinensium, Robertus
 Post hoc eodem anno die 19. Iunii alij tres. Hunc rita Myddelmore Thomaus, Vuilhelmus cellerius
 illis nono carcere crucis, crucis ad colla, brachia, Cruxon crucis foren, et subter crucis fite
 nono xlij die. Novebris quarta. Quilibet huius laici, qui per octavo quatuor fite
 prestis quoniam spiritum coelestem de missi. Conuicti, quibus spiritum paululum recipere.
 carum, carum corpora in quatuor sunt partes facta et crucifixum ille partes cellularis in cruce et patula
 carum ad portam monasterij sui scilicet Carthusianorum. Anno autem 1137. quatuor 14
 carum octavo 17. quatuor Calendas Junij, in carceribus fuerunt alij decem nomini, scilicet Richer
 de. Thomas Scrymgeour, Robertus Sale, Vuilhelmus Berjoon, Thomas Reding, et Phalaris
 que passus est in que sex primus, ut superius est expressum. Cuius fuit in Christo obitu, hec
 carum. Rationem reddam. Et saltem apostolicam auctoritatem, suo privilegio, vestitus, tanquam ad
 carum, in quo tyro carum que dicitur amore potius abrupit contraria adhibere, in bono vestitus, huius
 carum in mundo in diaboli afflictione, nono. Et terrore non cum ipsa portis merore
 in conceptis suis. Qui est benedictus, et in sancto. Ius semper gloriosus in carum. Anno



MARTYRDOM OF THE BRITISH. THE LONDON CHARTERHOUSE. PLATE 4. Boiling heads and limbs before piking on public places. PLATE 5. The process of quartering.

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 Edward's 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 Studies).
 Dom Leo Chamberlain, M.A.
 Dom Bonaventure Knollys, M.A., S.T.L.
 Dom Nicholas Walford, M.A.
 Dom Alberic Stacpoole, M.C., M.A.
 Dom Andrew Beck, M.A.
 Dom Gilbert Whitfield, M.A.
 Dom Edgar Miller

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. 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.



A. L. BUCKNALL

Ampleforth 1st XV 1962; Vice-Captain 1963; Oxford University 1965, 1966; Hon. Sec. O.U.R.F.C. 1967; England Trials Reserve 1966; 1st and 2nd England Trials 1968-9; England 1969-70 (S. Africa, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France) and Barbarians; Captain of England, 1971.



RUGBY 1ST XV

From Left to Right

Standing: M. Stapleton, C. Bowie, R. Ryan, J. Dawson, G. Sandeman, T. McAuley,
 J. Ruck Keene, C. J. Harris, F. Cape
 Sitting: T. E. Lintin, D. C. Judd, D. A. Callighan, J. C. Gaynor, F. B. Skehan,
 J. D. Dowling, P. B. Duguid

| | |
|---|---|
| G. A. Forsythe, B.Sc. | R. F. Gilbert, M.A. |
| G. C. C. Blakstad, M.A. | H. R. Finlow, M.A. |
| D. M. Griffiths, M.A. (Head of English). | C. Briske, B.Sc., Ph.D., A.R.I.C. (Head of Chemistry). |
| E. G. H. Moreton, M.A. | F. D. Lenton, M.A. |
| E. S. R. Dammann, M.A. | G. W. Compton, B.A. (Careers Master). |
| P. Goring, B.A. | I. Davie, M.A. |
| E. G. Boulton, M.A. (Head of Geography). | Mrs M. Rodzianko. |
| G. J. Sasse, M.A. (Head of General Studies). | P. A. Hawksworth, B.A. |
| J. B. Davies, M.A., B.Sc. (Head of Biology). | R. D. Nelson, M.A. (Head of Mathematics). |
| J. G. Willcox, B.A. (Games Master). | K. R. Elliott, B.Sc. |
| T. L. Newton, M.A. | C. J. Hudson, B.A. |
| A. I. D. Stewart, B.Sc. | R. D. Rohan, B.A. |
| | W. J. Best, B.Sc., grad. inst.P. |

Music:

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|--|---|
| D. S. Bowman, MUS.B., F.R.C.O., A.R.M.C.M. (Director of Music). | G. S. Dowling, MUS.B., A.R.M.C.M. (Piano). |
| H. G. Perry, B.A., A.R.A.M., F.R.C.O. (Piano). | D. B. Kershaw, B.Sc. (Wind). N. Mortimer (Violin). S. Gibbons (Guitar). |

Art:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| J. J. Bunting, A.R.B.S., A.R.C.A., N.D.D. (Sculpture). | M. Henry. |
|---|-----------|

P.E.:

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 | ... | ... | ... | ... | J. C. Gaynor |
| School Monitors | T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, | T. A. Doyle, | T. G. Marshall, | R. J. Twohig, | M. C. Leslie, |
| | E. C. Sparrow, | P. J. Russell, | S. J. H. Jefferson, | C. H. Berry, | G. R. Gretton, |
| | W. A. Moore, | R. P. Burdell, | P. St J. L. Baxter, | D. A. Callaghan, | C. E. J. S. McDonough, |
| | C. M. Lorigan, | P. C. C. Solly, | J. R. O'Grady, | T. J. Berner, | N. P. V. Lewen. |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Captain of Rugger | ... | ... | ... | ... | J. C. Gaynor |
| Captain of Cross Country | ... | ... | ... | ... | M. M. Forsythe |
| Captain of Boxing | ... | ... | ... | ... | S. L. Cassidy |
| Captain of Shooting | ... | ... | ... | ... | R. A. Fitzalan-Howard |
| Captain of Squash | ... | ... | ... | ... | G. W. S. Daly |
| Captain of Swimming | ... | ... | ... | ... | G. R. Gretton |
| Captain of Golf | ... | ... | ... | ... | C. R. Lochrane |
| Master of Hounds | ... | ... | ... | ... | T. M. Fitzalan-Howard |
| Office Men | G. R. Gretton, | W. A. Moore, | N. P. V. Lewen, | D. A. McKibbin, | J. N. Newsam, |
| | C. A. Campbell, | T. G. Ruck-Keene, | R. S. Willbourn, | P. B. Quigley, | C. M. Brennan, |
| | R. G. Plowden, | J. S. Burford. | | | |
| Librarians | G. R. Gretton, | P. Grace, | S. G. Callaghan, | A. M. J.-S. Reid, | P. P. Keohane, |
| | E. P. P. Clarence-Smith, | R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, | N. B. Herdon, | A. M. Ryan, | J. N. P. Higgins, |
| | A. J. Purves, | J. C. H. Rigby, | M. M. Duckworth, | L. J. Dowley, | J. V. Smyth, |
| | J. G. M. Heathcote. | | | | |
| Bookshop | M. H. Armour (Asst. Manager), | R. P. Burdell, | J. V. Smyth, | M. S. Callow, | T. P. Macfarlane, |
| | S. J. Trowbridge, | C. V. Barker-Benfield, | R. A. Hunter-Gordon. | | |
| Bookroom | J. A. Durkin, | R. G. Killingbeck, | M. A. Campbell, | C. M. Durkin, | S. J. Doyle. |

The following boys entered the School in September, 1970:

From schools other than Junior House:

Hon. D. A. G. Asquith (O), N. M. Baker (W), J. D. P. Barnes (J), S. M. Belfield (H), S. J. Berner (W), R. E. Blackledge (E), J. G. W. Bruce-Jones (A), B. C. Byrne (C), N. M. Casserly (B), N. J. Crichton Stuart (H), T. P. Cullinan (W), S. H. Davey (H), C. V. Ellingworth (E), J. J. Ephraums (J), J. S. Fuller (B), J. T. Gaisford St Lawrence (C), N. J. L. Georgiadis (A), E. P. Gleadow (A), A. F. Graham-Watson (J), J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple (E), S. B. W. Hastings (H), R. A. A. Holroyd (A), E. M. Holt (D), R. Q. Houlton (W), M. F. B. Hubbard (J), M. J. F. Hudson (W), C. J. H. Judd (C), C. F. McCarthy (W), P. A. Marsh (J), J. Mellon (J), A. J. Mitchell (H), M. G. J. Moore (C), N. A. J. G. Mostyn (A), N. C. H. Munro (D), M. A. Norvid (J), M. J. O'Connor (H), N. D. Pitel (E), N. D. Plummer (T), R. M. F. Plummer (W), W. D. B. Porter (D), H. M. L. Roberts (J), S. P. Roberts (D), A. B. Rose (O), P. L. Rosenvinge (O), E. N. Shuttleworth (C), R. P. C. Sparrow (E), H. St G. Treherne (D), R. J. S. Tweedy (J), M. D. Willbourn (T), C. M. A. Woodhead (T).

From Junior House:

M. Ainscough (C), S. J. Ainscough (C), J. F. Anderson (H), S. G. T. Ashworth (C), H. J. C. M. Bailey (E), R. J. Bishop (D), R. M. Bishop (A), A. M. P. S. Ciechanowski (B), L. M. J. Ciechanowski (O), S. I. C. Clayton (D), C. M. Conrath (B), C. A. Copping (J), B. R. J. P. Corkery (J), A. J. Craig (B), P. H. Daly (A), T. F. Fawcett (B), E. W. Fitzalan Howard (T), N. S. Forster (A), M. J. Franklin (D), R. D. Freeman-Wallace (E), J. N. Gilbey (C), J. V. R. Gosling (C), C. A. Graves (A), A. J. Hampson (B), M. A. Heape (H), R. T. J. Kevill (H), C. J. Laptew (H), M. J. Lawrence (A), C. E. Lees-Millais (C), M. D. Leonard (W), S. N. Lintin (A), P. D. Macfarlane (T), N. J. McDonnell (T), I. S. Millar (A), A. R. I. Millen (D), C. B. Moore (J).

S. C. J. Murray (H), J. E. L. New (E), J. J. Nicholson (T), K. E. J. O'Connor (H), J. P. Orrell (H), M. J. Palairat (O), D. Pavlovich (E), D. P. M. Pearce (C), J. P. Pearce (A), N. T. Peers (T), C. J. Poyser (O), R. J. G. Raynar (D), G. C. Rooney (J), J. D. Ryan (B), A. P. Sandeman (J), G. M. J. C. Scott (O), F. J. C. Trench (H), W. T. H. Wadsworth (A).

The following boys left the School in December, 1970.

St Aidan's: S. M. Christie, J. H. O'N. Craig.
 St Bede's: M. I. M. Hutchinson, J. S. M. Robinson, P. J. N. Ryan.
 St Cuthbert's: D. S. M. Clarke, C. M. R. Hardy.
 St Dunstan's: F. A. Cape, M. C. Leslie, T. J. J. Park.
 St Edward's: P. St J. L. Baxter, P. H. Cochrane, D. C. Judd, D. Pavlovich.
 St Hugh's: D. A. Callaghan, S. M. Garsten Zuntz, A. D. Harris, P. J. Russell.
 St John's: A. D. Hugonin, R. F. Hugonin, S. G. Jefferson, R. J. Kelly, S. C. Ryder.
 St Oswald's: J. C. H. Berry, P. J. Ford, C. T. A. Forster, W. J. Howard, P. B. Newsom, R. S. G. Watson.
 St Thomas's: N. R. Cape, J. C. Gaynor, M. C. A. Lorigan, C. E. J. S. McDonough, R. F. Mathews, P. C. C. Solly.
 St Wilfrid's: M. D. A. Birtwistle, F. X. Cullen, T. M. Fitzalan-Howard, J. R. O'Grady.

We congratulate R. F. Mathews who has been awarded an Exhibition in Engineering at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

CONGRATULATIONS are also due to T. C. Bidie, who has won an Army Scholarship to Sandhurst, and J. D. Hughes who has been awarded a Royal Naval Scholarship to Dartmouth.

We were sorry to say goodbye at the end of term to Mr Gordon Compton, who is returning to his former Language Institute in London as Principal. Mr Compton had also been our Careers Master for the past year. We wish him every success in his new post.

We welcome Mr D. S. Bowman as our new Director of Music, and Mr W. J. Best, who has joined the Physics staff. Mr J. A. Lyon Tupman also came in September to instruct us in Dynamic Reading and to give help to the English department. As part of their training two students from Trinity and All Saints' College, Leeds, joined the Masters' Common Room for the term. Mr M. Hughes taught History, and Mr E. J. Hayes, English.

MUSIC

MUSIC-MAKING is clearly entering a new era at Ampleforth. Tuition is now provided for the many boys who wish to learn the guitar, and for the first time for many years a Choral Society of about 80 boys is really flourishing. In addition the standard of the singing by the *Schola* in Church continues to rise, and a series of recitals during the term, under the auspices of the A.M.S., were varied in content, extremely well attended and very enjoyable.

SONATA RECITAL: LEONARD FRIEDMANN AND OTTO GRUENFELD

This recital brought the day that celebrated the Canonisation of the Forty Martyrs to a fitting end. Three Beethoven violin sonatas, albeit in this bi-centenary year, might have been thought to be somewhat indigestible fare. But such fears were easily dispelled by the assured performance of two fine players. Mr Friedmann introduced the sonatas, each one of which interestingly represented the three stages of Beethoven's creative life, and reminded us that these pieces could be regarded as piano sonatas with violin *obbligati*. Certainly Mr Gruenfeld (helped by the way by some deft and unobtrusive page turning from Mr Vazquez) tackled the formidable piano parts with tremendous verve and panache, without sacrificing anything in the way either of accuracy or of balance with his partner. Mr Friedman for his part produced that purity of line and silkiness of tone, backed by a formidable technique, which are the hallmarks of a master violinist. Together, these players gave us a thoroughly interesting evening's music, and one that was much appreciated.

E.H.M.

JAZZ CONCERT: JOHN PEARCE AND HIS MUSIC

ON October 4th the School enjoyed an evening of (largely) traditional jazz given by a group of Newcastle players led by Old Amplefordian John Pearce at the piano. The other five players (Trevor Johnson, clarinet and saxophone; Les Ball, trumpet; Bob King, trombone; Ian Heslop, bass; Jackie Denton, drums) were visiting Ampleforth for the first time.

The immediate problem in reviewing jazz concerts is in deciding whether to regard them as primarily musical events to which academic musical criteria are relevant, or as theatrical entertainments to be judged mainly in terms of audience-reaction. Probably a bit of both; the audience packing the theatre certainly showed that they thought that this concert was a roaring (not to mention whistling) success.

The usual pattern of collective improvisation interspersed with featured solos was followed, and the programme was a nice blend of standards (*Tin Roof*, *Basin Street*, *Royal Garden*), slightly off-centre pieces (*Big Noise from Winnetka*, *Blueberry Hill*) and an original by trombonist Bob King (*Digger Digger Do*); a vigorous, minor-ish piece owing more harmonically to the Kibbutz than the Outback—a kind of My Yiddisher Cobber?).

One or two little discrepancies may perhaps be mentioned. In the announcement for High Society, the point was made that the clarinet solo would be the classic one, half a century old, by Johnny Dodds (or was it Jimmy Noone?), but it wasn't; certainly it was a fine solo, but it was a Trevor Johnson original, fresh from the creative mint. The saxophone he played in several numbers, too, was not a tenor as the notices said, but a baritone. Also, George Gershwin might be excused for smarting, if not actually turning, in his early grave for having one of his more famous compositions, *I Got Rhythm*, not only attributed to Cole

Porter but also cut short in each chorus by the omission of the interrupted cadence just before the end. Other harmonic uncertainties were noticeable from time to time, particularly in *Davenport Blues*, when Les Ball, playing the diminished 7th arpeggio in the trumpet solo, had his notes confounded by the plain minor chord in the piano accompaniment. Shortage of time for detailed rehearsals creates problems for all non-professional music-making!

The best bit of show-biz of the evening came during the rhythm section's showpiece, *Big Noise from Winnetka*. This curious piece from the Bob Crosby era gave bassist Ian Heslop and drummer Jackie Denton plenty of scope to demonstrate their skill, rapport, and sense of humour. The musical effect of extracting tunes from a double-bass by asking the drummer to beat a light tattoo on its strings may or may not be a significant addition to the range of tonal possibilities available to composers, but only the unsmiling exponents of some of today's avant-garde fatuities would miss the point that such effects are essentially comic and to be laughed at.

Encores apart, the final number was (inevitably!) *The Saints*—no trad. concert is complete without it, or them—and the applause from an excited and grateful audience must have left John Pearce and his colleagues in no doubt that everyone there, their critic included, would always be glad to see and hear them again any time.

D.B.K.

THE KING'S SINGERS

I WAS once accommodated in a guest room on the Organ Gallery, when I awoke in the middle of the night and heard, apparently issuing from the wall next to my bed, the most beautiful strains as of angels (full grown and of the male sex). "Grief", I thought, "I'm dead". Then I remembered where I was! It must have been rather like that for the surprised congregation of monks and boys at Benediction on Sunday 22nd November last term when the King's Singers sang Morley's motet "Nolo mortem peccatoris". The superb beauty of tone and phrasing which this group of former choral scholars brought to this motet was again apparent in the six Renaissance motets with which they began their concert that evening. What we were not prepared for was the almost unbelievable rhythmic virtuosity which they displayed in five brilliantly arranged spirituals which concluded the first half.

The second half began with a set of Renaissance love songs (appropriately, one of them was by Henry VIII), continued with part songs by Grieg, and concluded with a set of modern arrangements of folk and pop songs. These were sung with such gusto and joie de vivre that the group were detained for three encores.

This concert demonstrated conclusively the tremendous pleasure that is to be derived from singing, both by the listener and, more especially, by the performer. In consequence many a cherished prejudice has begun

to crumble and a new interest in vocal music awakened in the school—we owe the King's Singers a considerable debt of thanks.

D.S.B.

CHRISTMAS CONCERT

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE CHORAL SOCIETY AND ORCHESTRA

Conductor: David Bowman

PROGRAMME

- "Transports de Joie" from "L'Ascension" Olivier Messiaen
Patrick Newsom, Organ
- Magnificat Giovanni Pergolesi
Choral Society and Orchestra
with Peter Ritchie, Treble Andrew Rose, Alto Nigel Lewen, Tenor
Robin Schlee, Bass Patrick Newsom, Cello Obligato
William Howard, Harpsichord Continuo
- Trio Sonata No. 16 in D minor Jean Baptiste Loeillet
David Nelson, Flute William Howard, Oboe Patrick Newsom, Cello
Michael McDonald, Harpsichord Continuo
- Psalm 150 Benjamin Britten
Choral Society Trebles and Orchestra
- Symphony No. 8 in D minor William Boyce
Orchestra
- Three Movements from the Suite No. 3 in C for Unaccompanied Cello J. S. Bach
Patrick Newsom
- Cantata: "Das Neugeborne Kindelein" Dietrich Buxtehude
Choral Society and Orchestra
- "Dieu Parmi Nous" from "La Nativité du Seigneur" Olivier Messiaen
William Howard, Organ

THERE was no mistaking the eager anticipation with which we took our seats in the Abbey Church just before the end of term for this Christmas Concert, the first to be presented by Ampleforth's new Director of Music, David Bowman. Nor would it be easy to say who were the more astonished, the audience, at seeing a chorus and orchestra of some hundred performers enter precisely on time and in orderly ranks, and take their places before us, entirely filling the great Sanctuary in front of the High Altar; or the performers, when they saw the whole Abbey Church filled to capacity by the School which had come to hear them. That it came in such numbers is no surprise. The performers were, without exception, either boys or masters of Ampleforth, drawn alike from Junior House and Upper School. Some were already known as outstanding musicians; others had never sung a note of music before this term. Together they gave us what must have been the most distinguished and professional concert ever to have been performed at Ampleforth by members of the School.

A glance at the programme will make it plain what talented and versatile musicians the School will lose in William Howard and Patrick Newsom when they leave this term. Both of them have served as organists on many occasions at Mass and Benediction; so it was fitting that this

concert should begin and end with them playing two pieces from Messiaen's visionary meditations for organ, the very apotheosis of that tradition of French religious mysticism exemplified by Debussy, César Franck and Poulenc. Those who heard these pieces will not need to be told what demands they make on virtuosity and intelligence in the performer, and we were not disappointed.

With Michael McDonald at the harpsichord, they were joined later in the concert by David Nelson in a Loeillet Trio Sonata, for Flute, Oboe and 'Cello. Mr Nelson's inspired performance (he is a master of his instrument) encouraged his fellow-players to give a most lyrical reading of this work. They (and future musicians from the School) are lucky to have in him someone to set them such a standard of excellence.

Patrick Newsom's solo performance of Bach's 'Cello Suite (which he played by heart) revealed just what a sensitive musician he is. One cannot give him greater praise than to say we took his technical accomplishment here for granted. Drawing out a lovely stream of golden tone from his instrument, he allowed Bach's noble music to speak for itself.

Let us hope that his playing will encourage many more members of the School to take up a stringed instrument, and join the Orchestra. The thinness of its string section, in particular, was noticeable in the Boyce Symphony, nor were the acoustics of the Abbey Church kind to the performance of this work, accentuating as they did the wrong notes which an orchestra of young people inevitably makes, and blurring the loud passages of brass and tympani into an amorphous haze of sound.

But this was much less noticeable in an exciting performance of Britten's setting of Psalm 150, where the echoing trumpets highlighted the words of the text, and the tympanist (Simon Finlow) really came into his own with some marvellously menacing crescendos.

I find it hard adequately to convey to those who were not at the concert how wonderful it was to hear the treble voices entering triumphantly in this Psalm with Britten's ingenious rhythms and striking harmonies; to hear, too, in Pergolesi's *Magnificat* the majesty of the full chorus as it broke up the quiet conclusion of the second section with a thunderous *fecit potentiam*, or their joyful singing in Buxtehude's delightful Christmas Cantata.

This was an astonishing standard for the choir to have reached after only one term's work. We should call it a triumph, if such a word could be applied to so modest a man as David Bowman. To those who attended only the concert, something of the means whereby he achieved this result will be apparent: above all, a clear and dynamic beat, with cues that give the maximum help to voice-entries, and a great capacity to put across subtleties of rhythm with bodily expression (how well he managed to elicit from the strings exactly-judged *ritardandi* in the *Magnificat*!).

But behind all this he has put in immense hard work and maintained exacting professional standards in the training of his choir. Most remark-

able of all he has succeeded in getting the boys of the Junior House (who, we must confess, have not hitherto come to our notice as devotees of Melpomene) to sing the complicated counterpoints of composers as diverse as Buxtehude and Britten, with an infectious sense of enjoyment (and here we must not forget to mention the enthusiastic support and encouragement which Fr Cyril gives to music in the Junior House).

If boys from every section of the School, with or without previous experience of singing, will now come forward in large numbers and add their voices to the choir, great things can be expected, and they will find the experience of working with Mr Bowman exhilarating. Ampleforth is indeed fortunate to have secured his services.

B.V.

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE ORCHESTRA

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>1st Violins</i> | <i>Contra-basso</i> | <i>Bassoons</i> |
| Mr Mortimer | Fr Anselm | Mr Dowling |
| Fr Henry | | A. J. A. Tate |
| M. D. Guiver | | |
| J. M. Pickin | <i>Flutes</i> | <i>Horns</i> |
| Mr Best | Mr Moreton | Fr Ignatius |
| | S. G. Callaghan | N. Greenfield |
| | S. P. James | J. F. Spencer |
| | R. J. G. Raynar | |
| <i>2nd Violins</i> | | <i>Trumpets</i> |
| Fr Aelred | | M. E. D. Henley |
| M. J. McDonald | | M. Newton |
| E. P. Bennett | | |
| | <i>Oboes</i> | <i>Trombones</i> |
| <i>Viola</i> | Hon W. Howard | Mr Kershaw |
| Fr Adrian | Fr Nicholas | J. F. Anderson |
| | | |
| <i>'Cellos</i> | <i>Clarinets</i> | <i>Timpani</i> |
| P. B. Newsom | C. J. Anderson | S. R. Finlow |
| J. P. Guiver | B. P. Lister | |
| M. B. Spencer | D. W. R. Spence | |
| M. H. Tweedy | | |

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE CHORAL SOCIETY

Trebles

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| N. A. J. Benies | S. B. Harrison | M. J. P. Moir |
| S. J. Bickerstaffe | C. W. J. Hattrell | P. R. Moore |
| M. J. Craston | C. G. E. Heath | J. C. E. Moreton |
| D. S. C. Dobson | B. D. J. Hooke | C. P. Myers |
| B. J. Dore | D. A. Houlton | J. N. Norman |
| J. A. Dundas | T. L. Judd | S. D. Nuttall |
| B. H. Finlow | Lord R. F. J. Kerr | S. D. Peers |
| A. H. J. Fraser | C. de Larrinaga | S. P. S. Reid |
| R. D. Grant | L. A. Lindsay | P. A. J. Ritchie |
| D. G. M. Griffiths | D. H. R. Lochrane | M. S. Thompson |
| L. S. Livesey | M. G. R. May | J. Wilson |
| J. D. Harrison | D. J. K. Moir | |

Altos

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| S. J. Berner | S. B. W. Hastings | A. Tate |
| R. J. Bishop | P. Langdale | J. N. X. Wakeley |
| L. Ciechanowski | N. Peers | |
| J. Gosling | A. Rose | |

Tenors

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| A. R. Baillieu | C. J. V. Ryan | Fr Henry |
| A. P. J. Haughton | D. W. R. Spence | Fr Jonathan |
| N. P. V. Lewen | Fr Adrian | Fr Placid |
| M. I. M. Hutchinson | Fr Cyril | |
| M. J. McDonald | Fr Dominic | |

Basses

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| M. H. Armour | S. P. James | Fr Andrew |
| S. G. Callaghan | S. McCarthy | Mr Dowling |
| R. D. Dalglish | P. B. Newsom | Mr Elliot |
| S. R. Finlow | R. L. M. Schlee | Br Felix |
| M. Fitzgeorge-Parker | M. B. Spencer | Mr Hawksworth |
| R. A. A. Holroyd | Fr Aelred | Fr Ignatius |
| Hon W. Howard | Br Matthew | Fr Leo |

THE YORK ARTS THEATRE SOCIETY

THE term's outings started well with a couple of half-Pinters—the Glasgow Close Theatre's assured production of *Silence* and *Landscape*. The first consists of the spoken reminiscences of three seated figures whose monologues interlock, though the characters themselves do not speak directly to one another. It is a beautifully modulated piece and profoundly sad: the three people on the stage knew and loved one another in their youth, but are now living alone, old, friendless, perplexed, and self-deceived. (The unmarried woman pretends that she can recall her non-existent wedding-day.) In form and conception this is really a fugue for voices—a radio play—and effective though this production was, the play gained nothing from being transferred to the stage. With *Landscape*, however, we were back in the theatre of non-communication. A caretaker and his wife sit together in the kitchen of a big house; he talks about the odd nut he has met in a bar, while she is preoccupied with her own thoughts and does not listen. The two together seem to make up the two halves of a single personality that has been split by marriage. Isolation is therefore an experience common to the characters in both plays. *Landscape* was brilliantly acted, and the splendid *bravura* passages—on the art of barrel-rolling beer, for example—were not allowed to upset the hesitant rhythms and repetitions of Pinter's muted style. It is a mode of presentation which leaves the audience to piece the fragments of a recollected past into some sort of coherent pattern, and it is one that works long after the play is over.

I.D.

NOTHING we saw at the Arts Centre this term approached the standard set by Pinter's *Landscape*. Both Portable Theatre's *What Happened to Blake* and the Arts Centre Theatregroup's *Man of Mode* were disappointing.

The former attempted to set Blake's life and work in a surrealist framework, with the surprising and unaccountable inclusion of Jane Austen among an ill-assorted group of literary figures, but the result, if at times amusing and impressive, lacked real theatrical unity, and was all but unintelligible to any but a Blake expert.

Etheridge's *Man of Mode* was a poor play to rehabilitate; its tedious plot and uninspired dialogue were a severe strain on the temper, hardly assisted by some incredibly bad speaking and acting among the minor characters. On the credit side must be set a really amusing Pop, while the Restoration dresses were a constant delight to look at.

It was a pleasure earlier in the term to welcome back Lindsay Kemp's Mime Company. A new *Pierrot Lunaire*, set to Schoenberg's music, would have been more intelligible if a printed scenario had been provided to explain the composer's German text. But no commentary was needed for the brilliant satire on the Silent Movies, which formed the second half of his show. This was Lindsay Kemp at his best, outrageously funny as a card-sharper, or wickedly provocative (in drag) as he received the tumultuous applause of a packed theatre and returned for yet another encore. His supporting company of four were excellent, but special mention must be made of the pianist who caught the style of the Silent Movie accompanist to perfection.

Since it first opened its doors a few years ago, bringing to York a lively and adventurous programme of music and drama, the Arts Centre has given a generous welcome to members of Ampleforth's Sixth Form (on an average, forty boys attend each drama production), presenting entertainment that is stimulating, intelligent, amusing and imaginative. We have seen, for instance, Lindsay Kemp's Mime Theatre, and Barry Smith's Theatre of Puppets, while the Centre's own theatregroup has given us some fine productions of rarely-seen plays: Ibsen's "Rosmersholm", Mrozek's "Tango", Pinter's "Homecoming" and Edward Bond's "Saved", to name but a few. Life at Shack would be much the poorer without them.

The Centre depends for its existence on the support it receives from every section of the community: the City, the University, and (not least) the School; but it is now desperately short of the funds it needs if it is to continue its policy of presenting all that is most alive and worthwhile in the Arts in a way that will do them justice.

May I appeal to you to help support a group that does so much for the School? If you live near York, you can become a member of the Arts Centre and support its activities. If you would like to help with a gift of money, please send them a cheque (payable to Arts Centre York). By every means possible, please help to keep the Arts Centre alive.

B.V.

DOCTOR FAUSTUS

MORALITY and melodrama, high seriousness and knockabout comedy, soaring lyricism and sick humour—these are the ingredients of Marlowe's strangely powerful play. It is a play that sets the producer an almost impossible task, for if either term, in each of these pairs, does not support its partner, the whole structure falls apart and the play becomes a succession of "fine" bits followed by "funny" bits. It was, therefore, a bold undertaking on the part of Messrs Collard, Kinsky, and Henderson, to mount

a production within the first half of the winter term, but one that was fully justified in the event, not because they had hit on a way of unifying Marlowe's dizzy contrasts—this would hardly be likely where Stratford itself had failed—but because the genuine *rapport* between actors and audience reproduced something of the atmosphere in which *Doctor Faustus* must first have been performed.

Sebastian Roberts played the exacting part of Faustus very creditably, but he seemed to be unaware of the complexity of Marlowe's conception. In his over-weening self-confidence, Faustus must combine a Renaissance scholar's defiance of authority with the temperament of a voluptuary and the high spirits of a schoolboy practical joker. Indeed, it is this last element that intensifies the horror, for it is precisely because he has kicked off the traces of "superstition" (as he likes to think) that he is able to treat the whole ecclesiastical system as a fitting subject for practical joking, not realising that the joke, in its grimmest theological sense, is "on him". Further, the audience must be made to feel that a high emotional charge—of romantic love in reverse, as it were—characterises his relationship with Mephistophilis. If it does not, the final "recognition" loses much of its effect. Roberts gave us a Dickensian rather than a Renaissance Faustus: it was rather as though Scrooge had studied at Wittenberg. His articulation was excellent, but his delivery was too monotonously deliberate, and in the final soliloquy this had the effect of stretching out "dramatic time" until it felt like "real time".

Cyril Kinsky gave us a highly intelligent performance as Mephistophilis. Visually he was magnificent—an ashen face lacerated by a fixed scarlet smile; swift nervous movements caught up in the folds of a voluminous grey taffeta habit. Vocally, it might be thought that he started off on too high a note to allow for a controlled *crescendo* in his assault on Faustus' soul, but again and again his performance communicated the authentic shudder, the inner agony that breaks through the clowning and puts the antics of Faustus in their true perspective.

The clowning itself was well done—particularly by Neville and Clarence-Smith whose exchanges were dashed off with great gusto and inventiveness. The Papal Court scenes were hilarious: Caulfield's doty mumbbling Pope (whose blessing of everything in sight had become a conditioned reflex) was superb, and the Goon Show Friars (M. Solly, B. Wallis, and N. Hall) were very funny. As for the spirit-world, Lucifer and Beelzebub were impressive totem-figures, but the Devils were too like bunny-boys to be anything more than decorative. In the Good Spirit's performance there was an element of unintended burlesque which threw the serious-comic contrasts a bit off balance. This was a pity because Willis in his nightgown looked angelic enough: the trouble was that one felt he might wink at the audience any minute.

The sound-effects were ear-splitting. It seemed as if soundings were being taken underwater, though occasionally the strains of a monster fugue could be heard between the crashes. Such is the debt that Excellence

owes to Enterprise, but we can only be grateful to all concerned for the equitable settlement reached between them.

I.D.

MATEO FALCONE

THIS interesting film underlined many of the difficulties of adapting for the cinema an established work whose main merits are purely literary, and inevitably some of the character of Mérimée's story was lost in the process—his wit and irony, the effect produced by the narrator's personality, the moral and physical importance of the Corsican setting. The problem of presenting on film the relationship between Fortunato and his father Mateo—essential to the short story—was met in the adaptation by developing the symbolic value placed by Mérimée on the watch—the boy emulating his father, at first by treating the coin on a string given to him by the bandit as a make-believe watch—and thus providing a new motivation for his subsequent betrayal; unfortunately, the purpose of the scene does not appear to have been clear to some members of the audience, owing to a certain lack of definition in the camera-work at this point. It was also felt that it would have been helpful to have given at the beginning the essential information: "Corsica, 18 . . .", the savagery resulting from the Mediterranean code of honour becoming more comprehensible with knowledge of the setting.

Uncertainty was also left in the minds of some by the business of the bandit's attempted escape, and by the montage of the final shootings—an interesting device, indicative of the degree to which the focus of attention was shifted in the script away from the Falcone family relationships and towards the character of the bandit, opening up the possibility of easier visual effects.

There were many impressive aspects of the film: the casting, especially of the father, who managed to suggest at least some of Mateo's dominance and power, the choice of location and much of the camera-work—the father striding up the lane, the bandit running towards the farm through the fields, the movements of the soldiers around the farm, and the moment, central to both story and film, when the boy puts out his hand for the watch.

"Mateo Falcone" was a brave and ambitious experiment in the direction and production of a film conceived on classic cinematographic lines with amateur actors. The enthusiasm of those connected with the film was obvious to any who saw them at work; the interest of the School was indicated by the large numbers who came to see it. It is to be hoped that the small charge made for admission covered the inevitable deficit in the company's balance sheet.

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| MATEO | Alec Simpkin |
| FORTUNATO | Simon Peers |
| BANDIT | Fergus Flynn |

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| SERGEANT | David Judd |
| FIRST SOLDIER | Tom Turnbull |
| SECOND SOLDIER | Ted Kentish |

Camera-men: Benedict Loftus and Bernard Caulfield

Director: Paul Collard

Producer: Mark Henderson

D.K.C.

CAREERS

TOWARDS the end of September, the Industrial Society arranged a two-day Conference at the School, to bring home to boys the problems of industry and commerce, particularly with regard to management and the organisation and efficiency of labour, and the ways in which these problems are being solved. Adrian Owen, of the Industrial Society, acted as Chairman, and George Harron (Assistant Personnel Manager of I.C.I. Heavy Organic Metals Division) and Barny Ward (a District Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union) were the principal speakers. Almost the entire second and third-year sixth forms attended the Conference, and they were organised into discussion groups of eight or nine, led by young managers from a number of industrial and commercial firms.

The Conference sessions, held in the Theatre, were lively affairs, particularly when some members of the audience pressed Barny Ward for explanations of his union's attitude towards the problems of management, and for details of attendances at Union meetings and procedures in the election of officers.

Most of the boys seemed very interested in everything they heard, and there is little doubt that George Harron and Barny Ward dispelled a number of misconceptions as regards the conditions and remuneration of "blue-collar" workers in industry and about the degree of co-operation which exists between organised labour and management.

Our warmest thanks are due to Adrian Owen and the Industrial Society, to George Harron, Barny Ward and the fourteen young executives who led the discussion groups, for a most interesting and informative week-end.

A number of successful talks were also given during the term; by Dominic Morland (an old Amplefordian) on the Accountancy profession; by Peter Lee, Assistant to the Senior Tutor of the University of Keele, on the interviewing of University applicants; and by Mr Douglas Laycock, Head of the Textiles/Fashions Department of Teesside School of Art, on careers in management in the garment industry. We are very grateful to these gentlemen for giving up their valuable time to come to the School, sometimes travelling fairly long distances. Their help is very greatly appreciated both by the boys and the staff.

During the course of the term we have also had visits from the Schools Liaison Officers (Army and Navy), who were kept busy for a full afternoon interviewing boys interested in making a career in one of these two Services.

Towards the end of the term, the School received a visit from Mr Boyd Campbell, the Director of the Public Schools Appointment Bureau. Mr Campbell spent a full day here interviewing fifteen boys about their career problems and giving them a great deal of information of a very practical nature. These interviews were very helpful indeed to most of the boys and, in expressing our thanks to Mr Campbell for giving up a full day of his valuable time, we hope that he will be able to extend the same facilities to the School next year.

C.W.C.

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE KINEMA

UNDER the able direction of M. Callow, the six members of the Box gave admirable service to the School, if such service was sometimes marred by faulty changeovers. At half-term a 16 mm arc projector was acquired through the contacts of John Rigby (OA). Its installation demanded an extension to the Box which was planned and executed with considerable speed and skill by M. Callow and J. Burford, assisted by R. Coughlan and B. Rambaut. The complete construction gives more room inside and the standard of the assembly is noticeably superior to a previous extension. The opening of the extension was accompanied by a short TV film taken by the BBC some years ago, and the quality of the picture at the same size (c. 16' x 10') is very comparable to the normal 35 mm one. A tape recorder has now been acquired to record and play sound track music for the intervals. Mike Rambaut, our father-figure, came up to remove his brother, Benedict, at the end of term, and, dentist-like, found several "holes" which could give trouble later on. In no time at all, he had these fixed so we have now sweeter running machines, a steadier picture and improved non-sync. The Box team were M. Callow, J. Burford, J. Reid, R. Lewis, B. Rambaut, P. Hugonin and M. Rigby.

Finally, to our non-sync advisers, J. Rigby and M. Rambaut, go our lasting thanks and gratitude.

S.P.W.

EXHIBITION, 1971

At Exhibition this year there will be performances of *Richard II* on 4th and 6th June. The Choral and Orchestral Concert will take place in the Abbey Church on Saturday, 5th June, at 8-30 p.m. The main item will be a performance of *Haydn's 'Nelson' Mass*, with Honor Sheppard as the principal soloist.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

THIS has been a term of frantic fluctuations for the Senior Debate. With attendances varying from 95 to 25, it is not easy to gauge the term's achievements. Of one matter there can be no doubt—never before has a Committee worked so hard for a common goal. It can no longer be held that the existence of this body is an unnecessary formality.

At present the Society can rely on a hard core of about 25 supporters. These loyal members regularly speak and seldom ever miss a meeting. For the Debate to flourish we need 45 such members, with average attendances of 50-60. This term several attacks on the Debate have been made; every one has been answered. However, as concerts continue to enjoy their deserved success, there is going to be greater competition for the use of Sunday evenings. Fr Stephen was invited to the seventh meeting to explain how great is the feeling that we should think of meeting on a weekday; a most enjoyable debate in private business ensued. It was decided that while we would retain six out of the nine Sunday evenings next term the Society could also meet on a weekday in the theatre as the host of the whole school. At present the Debate is in a most interesting and important stage of transition and by October next year the outcome should be decided.

Although the standard of debating began at a low ebb after the departure of speakers like Messrs Simpson, Charles and Lewis, under the guidance of Mr Sam Lorigan and the President the first half proved a sound grounding for some excellent speaking in the second half. Mr Charles Anderson stood out as one of our finest leaders since Mr Robert Bernasconi left. The Vice-President, Mr Nicholas Hall, leading the Government bench from November, proved himself as witty as ever and this encouraged many maiden speakers to brave the mood of the House. Messrs Clayton, Norton and Hunter-Gordon found us eager to hear their views, and combined with the resurrection of Messrs Fraser and Solly the term proved a success as regards quality. No résumé of last term would be complete without a mention of the humorous Mr Giles Pinkney, who gave us unstintingly of his energies to provide so much entertainment. As well as two pleasant guest debates with the girls of the Mount School and Richmond Convent, we were twice visited by Mr D. C. Jennings of York University, whose monocle and mincing manner found admirers rather than emulators.

I would like to propose a vote of thanks to Fr Alberic, who was constantly behind the scenes and without whose guidance the Society might well have collapsed about our sweating brows.

The debates were as follows:

1. 20th September: "This House applauds the fact that Pop music is shackled to bad living." Ayes 20, Noes 18, Abstentions 0.

2. 27th September: "This House believes that the mass-media and colour supplement mind reduces Man to his lowest common denominator." Ayes 12, Noes 22, Abstentions 0.
3. 11th October: "This House would deny that America imports the most civilisation, but exports the least." [Guest Speaker—Fr Leo] Ayes 15, Noes 22, Abstentions 4.
4. 18th October: "This House believes that men should be educated, while women should be trained." Ayes 32, Noes 51, Abstentions 12. [Guest Debate with The Mount School.]
5. 8th November: "This House denies that Remembrance days are morbid." Ayes 14, Noes 14, Abstentions 0.
6. 15th November: "This House regrets the passing of the epic film." [Guest Speaker—Fr Stephen] Ayes 22, Noes 17, Abstentions 4.
7. 29th November: "This House does not believe in spiritual preparation by physical fasting." Since Fr Stephen was again with us this week to explain Weekend Plotting, it was decided to debate in private business the following motion: "This House will not accept the advances of any other Society threatening to impinge on our time." Ayes unanimous.
8. 6th December: "This House believes Britain has the monarch it deserves—a middle-class Queen." Ayes 27, Noes 40, Abstentions 5. [Guest Debate with Richmond Convent.]

(President: Fr Alberic)

A. D. WENHAM, Hon. Sec.

THE JUNIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

THE term, despite a rather slow start, was undoubtedly a successful one for the Society. The figures speak for themselves. At the first meeting, there was an attendance of twenty-three, and at the last, this number had increased to seventy-three, with no less than nineteen speakers. As the numbers increased each week, so did the standard of debating and the last debates of the term indeed were well worth attending. There was a good variety of speaking, ranging from the humour of Mr J. Spencer to the quiet but forceful logic of Messrs Mahony and Heywood. Mr M. Spencer had numerous arguments with his brother who gave us the impression that it wasn't the motion he was interested in so much, but the fact that his brother was speaking for the opposition.

Mr Bodkin, who started as a serious speaker, decided to use wit as his main weapon, the most notable occasion being when he was proposing Cassius Clay in the parachute debate.

Mr Hood was a good speaker who always knew many facts, perhaps occasionally too many for the House to follow. Mr Wright is a very valuable speaker but should perhaps be content with giving only a general outline since members are inclined to switch off when they sense a long lecture on Leander class frigates or some such topic.

Mr Karwotowski is a clear, logical speaker, as is Mr Tyrrel but these two should be more forceful in their approach.

Mr. Gaisford-St Lawrence, a first year member, has shattered many an older member with his clearly but quickly thought out arguments. Another first year speaker who perhaps lacks the confidence of Mr Gaisford-St Lawrence is Mr Hastings; yet he was rewarded for his efforts by great success in the parachute debate.

To sum up, then, the Society started slowly, yet with each debate it gathered momentum. We can only hope that the success it has achieved this term will not be lost.

The following motions were debated:

"This House holds that British Rail is more of a public nuisance than a public convenience." Ayes 5, Noes 18.

"This House would hi-jack an Arab airliner in sympathy with the Israelis." Ayes 11, Noes 10.

"This House would use the money, spent by the Americans on their space programme, to improve our own world." Ayes 14, Noes 16.

"This House believes that there should be no forms of censorship imposed upon the arts and literature." Ayes 11, Noes 27.

"This House would continue with the Concorde despite its economic problems." Ayes 17, Noes 16.

Parachute Debate: Gen. de Gaulle 6, Muhammad Ali 9, Karl Marx 12, Leonardo da Vinci 17.

"This House would on no account sell arms to South Africa." Ayes 36, Noes 37. [Guest Debate.]

(President: Br Felix)

S. R. FINLOW, *Hon. Sec.*

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THE Society had, in every respect but one, a most successful term. The one disappointing feature was the poor attendances at meetings. The average attendance was seldom more than 20, and this makes it rather hard to get visiting speakers.

Mr Lenton opened the term's meetings with an informative talk on "Slavery". He dealt with his subject most thoroughly and ended by making a poignant comparison of Roman Society to *apartheid* in South Africa. Dr J. I. Coates visited us from Welwyn Garden City to lecture on "The Life and Times of Richard III"; despite his obvious sympathies, the speaker argued objectively, making best use of the evidence. Fr William told us, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, of "The Bones of St Cuthbert" but, despite heckling from Fr Cuthbert and the Secretary, refused to divulge the secret of their alleged resting place.

Two films were shown on the Vikings and their civilisation and Mr McDonnell concluded the term with a fascinating talk on "Monastic Granges in Yorkshire". We must thank Mr McDonnell also for surrendering

his Monday afternoons to lead a small party of members in the surveying of some of the earthworks round Byland Abbey. Despite Mark Clough's preference for chasing the farmer's pigs, some useful work was accomplished.

We must thank L. Jennings, our treasurer, and our President, Fr Henry, for all their efforts.

(President: Fr Henry)

N. HALL, *Hon. Sec.*

THE CHESS CLUB

At the beginning of term, H. M. Duckworth and T. Myles were elected officials. The attendance this term has been very poor and the number of members has fallen considerably; only two or three new boys have been drafted into the Club. We had one match against Leeds Grammar School which we lost 2—4. We look forward to more matches next term.

(President: Mr Nelson)

S. L. CASSIDY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FILM SOCIETY

The Society's membership continued to be gratifyingly large, but one feels that many members fail to gain the utmost from their membership because they seem averse to meeting and discussing the numerous points which the films bring up. The programme this term met with varying approval and it was important to refrain from drawing comparisons between films often excellent in themselves but of differing moods. The programme ranged from the simplicity of Bresson, a newcomer to the AFS, to the weird, enigmatic Tennessee Williams via Losey. *Bonnie and Clyde* started the term, a penetrating study of outlawry in the 1930s. *Mouchette* followed in remarkable contrast; a beautiful and sensitive picture of the *étranger* in French provincial society. Although deeply pessimistic it finished with satisfying conclusiveness. *Confrontation* was not received with the same enthusiasm. It was an allegory on revolution with special reference to Hungary at the end of the war. It struck the Society as being naïve and comic, rather than a statement of a profound political problem. The scabrous wit and anti-establishment mood of *I'll Never Forget What's 'is Name* (Winner) got the most clamorous reception of the term. Next came *Boom* by Joseph Losey from the play by Tennessee Williams with Burton and Taylor. It was a puzzling film about power and the angel of death. The photography was excellent, but the characters lacked a certain realism. The term ended with a masterpiece—Fellini's *8½*—full of vitality, thought provoking and brilliantly acted. But if its purpose was autobiographical many of the Society were left bewildered by the images, symbols and incidents which it portrayed. Our thanks are due to Fr Stephen who spent a lot of time and thought arranging such a varied programme, to the cinema Box and finally to the committee, Julian Dawson (posters) and Charles Lochrane.

(Chairman: Fr Stephen)

T. BERNER, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FORUM

IN an effort to reassert its existence the Society assembled in varying numbers this term. Mr Smiley propelled us into our meetings with an exposition of the connection between "Voltaire and the Lisbon Earthquake"—a well-attested lecture. Nicholas Hall had concealed behind the laconic title "Richard III" a peculiar attitude of high humour. Charles Edmonds spoke on "Taoism in the writings of Lao Tzu". Speaking in St Oswald's (many thanks to Fr Adrian), Michael Macdonald guided us, a largely tone-deaf rabble, through the music of Mahler. The final lecture on Dylan attracted a large audience, partly to send off all the more convincingly Patrick Ford, patriarch of the Forum.

(President: Mr Smiley)

T. R. V. BUXTON, *Hon. Sec.*

(Vice-President: Fr Dominic)

THE HISTORICAL BENCH

IN the summer term the Society had elected as its new secretary, R. P. Fane-Hervey (T), and as its treasurer, R. Schlee (W).

The first lecture of the term, "The Soviet Union Today—Economic and Political Problems", was given by Mr R. Edmonds, MBE, CMG, the British Minister in Moscow. His talk was well received by a very large and appreciative audience and the Society is greatly indebted to him for setting the tone for a highly successful term. Br Jonathan, in the next meeting, made a successful debut at the Society delivering a talk illustrated with slides entitled "The Siege of Malta, 1565" in which the Bench heard an epic account of how 9000 Christian defenders held off 30,000 Ottoman Turks for four months. The Society was next treated to a talk by the dynamic Professor Gwyn Williams of York University, called "On the Frontier of Illusion—the Epic of Welsh America". By sheer brilliance, the speaker soon convinced the highly amused audience that the Welsh must have founded America sometime, whether in myth or reality. For the fourth meeting, the Bench was very kindly entertained by the Archaeological Society, but more especially by Dr J. I. Coates, who delivered an interesting talk entitled "Richard III and the Princes in the Tower". The Society was then fortunate enough to hear Mr John Beckwith, Deputy Keeper of the Victoria and Albert Museum, whose talk on "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, a Twelfth Century Patron of the Arts" proved extremely scholarly: it was illustrated with some magnificent slides. The last meeting of term was given by the ever-amusing Mr Dammann who told the Bench all about "John Bull's Other Island"—a satirical view of British history since 1066.

The term has been highly successful, with attendances averaging over 80 and all thanks are due to the speakers for the high quality of their lectures.

(President: Mr Davidson)

R. P. FANE-HERVEY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY

ALTHOUGH the Society had only two meetings we had a very successful term. Mr Nelson gave a very interesting and easily understandable talk on "Jeeps". We heard how this problem, which baffled war-time boffins, was solved by Sixth Form mathematicians. The second lecture was given by Dr H. Hartnagel of the Department of Electrical Engineering at Sheffield University. He spoke on "The effect of computers on Man in the next 14 years". This popular topic led to a very interesting discussion and we are very grateful to Dr Hartnagel.

(President: Mr MacMillan)

P. B. QUIGLEY, *Hon. Sec.*

(Chairman: Mr Nelson)

THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE Society started again this term after a lapse of nearly a year and had two lectures. The first, "Roach Saga", was given by the new President, Fr Julian, on his experiences with cockroaches. He also demonstrated some apparatus for experimental work on breeding and showed a film which was made some years ago in Lab 9.

The second lecture was given by Mr Michael Henry on "The Birds of West Africa" and illustrated by coloured slides taken during his two years V.S.O. in Sierra Leone. He also visited Gambia and Senegal. He found the savannah best for birdwatching. This was very difficult in tropical forest owing to the dense foliage until one had mastered the technique. Observations were much easier from a boat on the river at Bonte where he was stationed.

I would like to thank the President on behalf of the Society for organising both these interesting lectures.

(President: Fr Julian)

B. C. OSBORNE, *Hon. Sec.*

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

THIS term the Scientific Society underwent the fate of many other societies and suffered a big drop in membership—a reduction of about half on last year's figures. This trend was first noted at the Annual General Meeting in the Summer Term, when five officials had to be elected from fifteen members who were present. Those elected were: G. R. Gretton, Hon Secretary; P. G. Westmacott, Hon. Treasurer; P. Craven, B. Skehan, R. Schlee—Committee members.

The first meeting consisted of a talk on "Steel" given by Mr R. Walker of the British Steel Corporation. Although the talk was more on the economics of steel making than on the processes involved, it was very well received. For the next meeting, a film evening, we are indebted to Fr Cyril for the use of the Cinema Room in JH, since the SLR projector had broken down. Two very good films were shown: "Load on Top",

about oil pollution at sea and its prevention, and "North Sea Strike", the story of a successful gas rig in the North Sea. Mr E. Atack, of Derwent Plastics Ltd., gave a talk just before half term on "Plastics—Materials and Applications", which was well-illustrated with charts, diagrams and products.

The first meeting after half term was a talk on "Rocket Motors" given by a member of the Society, C. M. B-Ratliffe, assisted by M. Hutchinson; some very good demonstrations were given. Then Mr N. Birch gave an absorbing talk on "Foundations and Groundwork" which was illustrated by his own slides. The final meeting of the term was a talk by Cdr M. F. Ranken, of the Society for Underwater Technology, again fully illustrated by slides, in which he covered a vast number of topics connected with the exploration and exploitation of the seas and oceans.

(President: Professor R. McNeil Alexander [University of Leeds])

(Chairman: Dr C. Briske)

G. R. GRETTON, Hon. Sec.

YOUNG FARMERS' CLUB

THE Club was reformed after a year of non-activity, and now has over 30 members. We have a new President, Mr Hughie Gray, the farm manager—Fr Aidan Gilman having retired to higher things.

Ten meetings were held. These included two outings—one a conducted tour of the College farm, the other a visit to the North Riding A.I. Centre. A very enlightening lecture on the Common Market was given by Mr J. Murray, the local ICI technical representative. He explained in a very understandable way the problems and advantages of Britain's entry into the Common Market. A new innovation for meetings was tried this term—a film followed by a talk and then a general discussion. The first meeting of this sort was on the relative merits of the different ways of making silage; the discussion was led by the President. Later in the term we had another meeting with a similar format when Fr Prior talked on shooting game and vermin.

It is not for any of the above-mentioned exploits that the Y.F.C. are particularly known by the School. The main enterprise of the term was pig keeping. In early October the Club, with the advice of the President, purchased three good quality eight-week old Landrace/Large White X weaner pigs. Their complete welfare has been the responsibility of the members, under the direction of Sebastian Stainton, who also has kept a complete statistical record of the activities. The pigs' progress has been rapid, only marred by the death of one of them from septicaemia and pneumonia due to a suspected hole in the lung, despite the attention of the vet. and quantities of antibiotics. However, we hope to recoup our losses with the profits from the other two.

(President: Mr H. Gray)

MICHAEL HUTCHINSON, Hon. Sec.

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE FIRST FIFTEEN

THE record of this XV speaks for itself: they won 7 out of 10 School matches and scored nearly 160 points in the process. Their victories were often by wide margins; they were narrowly beaten twice in games which could easily and with justice have gone the other way, and only one team, Whitgift, a formidable side by any standard, was definitely superior.

The success of the team was based on a threequarter line of real ability and not a little pace and on the experience of the back row. Most important of all was the magnificent team spirit fostered by the captain, J. Gaynor, and by D. Callaghan, his vice-captain. Both were responsible for the obvious pleasure the team took in playing its rugby as well as the pleasure the spectators took in watching them play it.

The side had weaknesses. The pack never attained the ferocity, belligerence, or ambition necessary to win, keep, or regain possession at will, and they could never dominate their opponents physically or mentally. This weakness led in its turn to other things: firstly they could get little ball in the line-out, secondly there was a shortage of ball from the loose, and thirdly there was at times, and only at times, a distinct weakness in tackling which was displayed in both matches on tour. Another weakness was their penchant for incurring successful penalty kicks. Sheer ignorance of the laws gave their opponents 45 points out of 101 points scored against them.

But this is carping. The side scored 31 tries and many of them were length-of-the-field affairs involving many pairs of hands. Stapleton at full back, taking the place of Marshall who broke his wrist against the Old Boys, had a magnificent pair of hands and a good kick, and if seemingly listless at times, increased in confidence as the term wore on and became thoroughly dependable. Bowie became one of the centres and by half term was playing well: the games against Sedbergh and St Peter's demonstrated his increasing skill and confidence and the disappointment felt at his two displays on tour was a measure of his stature by the end of term. His co-centre, Callaghan was a great threat at all times: he was very fast with a good dummy, and his experience meant a great deal to the team. He was missed against Whitgift. There were three wings, all with half-colours, for the unlucky Fane-Hervey was injured against the Old Boys and did not play a School match until the tour. Here he played with the utmost verve and determination and his tackling was a joy to watch. His replacement, Ruck Keene, improved rapidly after a slow start; he was faster than Fane-Hervey without the latter's ball-sense and he scored a lot of tries: it was good to watch him against Stonyhurst where he scored twice and against Whitgift where his pace nearly brought him another two. The right wing berth was occupied by Ryan. Not quick enough for an orthodox wing, his tremendous strength in the tackle saved many an awkward situation: he never knew when he was beaten and his exemplary spirit was a source of inspiration—nobody tried harder! Skehan who would have been in the centre but for Twobig's unfortunate injury took the latter's place at fly-half and made the line move most impressively. His hands were immaculate, his distribution good, his repertoire large and his ambition boundless: above all he has a cool head, and the hallmark of a fine player—he always seems to have plenty of time. There are imperfections in his game but these will soon disappear. Lintin the scrum-half was very fast and had a long quick pass: he always posed a threat to the opposition: having made a break he sometimes kicked his possession away instead of feeding or forming the apex of a ruck, but he is a fine player whose ability will take him far but not without the coolness and sense which he sometimes lacks.

The front row was formed by Duguid, Judd and Cape. The former is a very good player now who will become one of the highest class. His covering tackling was exemplary and his good hands and ball sense are products of the time he spent in the threequarters earlier in his career. His one weakness was the same as that of the

other four tight forwards—he did not use his weight and power: too often he hesitated. Judd was a fine hooker who had a tendency not to get involved in the more physical work, but his covering and clearing of awkward situations were uncanny. Cape did well at tight head. He forced his way into the XV against some good opposition: he was strong and durable and improved with every game. It was difficult to decide on the merits of three locks. Dawson was inexperienced, a very poor tackler and too young to relish a hard physical battle but he was much the best in the line-out, and the courage he displayed at Stonyhurst which won the game for the School will be long remembered: he won his place by half term and kept it. Sandeman on the other hand was experienced and had a good physique: he, too, was a little young and slow to use his power. McAuley was the only one with the iron determination and fire which makes a good lock but he had poor hands and was not as big as the other two. His acceptance of disappointment was a lesson to all and he well merited his reinstatement to the XV near the end of term: he justified his selection by playing two excellent games on tour. Harris, one of the flankers, could play with a strength and fire which one was delighted to see but he sometimes got overexcited and played oddly, missing tackles and dropping passes. He will become a fine player indeed with a little more knowledge of technique. Dowling was at his best in broken play where his speed and tricky running showed to advantage. He had immense stamina and although lacking the weight and height for a close quarter battle he was always in support of the ball carrier. He was never any less than very good and his brilliant displays against Sedbergh and St Peter's will live long in the memory. Gaynor, the captain and No. 8, was a great success: as a captain, he earned the respect, loyalty and friendliness of his team, as a player he drove himself to the limit. He was unfailingly courteous on and off the field in victory or defeat. The mark of his success was not only the statistical record of his team but also the pride and enjoyment the team took in earning it.

The team was: M. Stapleton, R. Ryan, C. Bowie, D. A. Callaghan, J. Ruck Keene, R. Fane-Hervey, F. B. Skehan, T. E. Lintin, P. B. Duguid, D. C. Judd, F. Cape, J. Dawson, T. McAuley, C. J. Harris, J. D. Dowling, J. C. Gaynor. Also played: G. Sandeman, D. McKibbin.

The Captain awarded colours to the following: P. B. Duguid, T. E. Lintin, C. J. Harris, and half colours to: M. Stapleton, J. Ruck Keene, R. Fane-Hervey, R. Ryan, C. Bowie, F. Cape, J. Dawson, T. McAuley.

v. O.A.R.U.F.C. (at Ampleforth, 27th September)

THE Old Boys brought their usual strong side to play the School and were shocked in the first ten minutes when the 1st XV carried the battle to their opponents, scoring an excellent try through Lintin who had a fine game at scrum-half. The Old Boys struggled to re-establish themselves but although they made it 3—3, the School again asserted their supremacy with a penalty by Skehan. Just before half-time the 1st XV suffered a cruel blow when Marshall, a brave full back, had to retire with a broken arm, and the Old Boys now got on top. Leading 9—6 at half-time, they piled on the pressure and when Fane-Hervey on the left wing was led off after pulling a muscle in scoring a magnificent try, the match ceased to be any form of contest and was only made interesting by the matchless courage of the team who held the Old Boys to 26—19.

Lost 19—26.

v. MOUNT ST MARY'S (at Mount, 3rd October)

PLAYING against a stiff breeze, the XV found things difficult in the first ten minutes and were soon 0—3 down when a dropped pass resulted in a try for the home team. But there were signs that Ampleforth were to have enormous superiority forward and Skehan soon levelled the scores with a penalty. Duguid, having a successful game after his enforced rest soon made it 8—3 (Skehan converting) when he scored from an excellent catch at a line-out and Ampleforth continued to exert

heavy pressure until half-time. After the interval, the gap between the two teams widened as the Mount forwards tired. Duguid, in some excellent close support by the forwards, Harris, Ryan and Skehan all added tries while the latter, in good kicking form, converted three of the tries and kicked another penalty. It was a most encouraging performance by a number of new players in particular and by the pack in general.

Won 29—6.

v. DURHAM (at Durham, 7th October)

THIS match between two fine sides produced a most enthralling game. If Durham were very slightly better up front, the flair of the Ampleforth backs was equally evident. In the first half they made enough chances to win the game and neglected to take them: in the second only some fine Durham tackling saved the game for the home team. In the final analysis, the difference between the two sides lay here: the Ampleforth tackling was decidedly weak on occasions and Durham were allowed to score four tries from set pieces. On the other hand Ampleforth made a host of chances from the fine loose play of their forwards and were only allowed to score twice. The school were also tactically at fault early in the second half when three times they kicked away good possession. It was on such a fine balance that the game turned. Indeed it had made exciting watching: Durham opened with a penalty soon equalised by Skehan. The School then took the lead through a goal by Skehan after a fine ruck created by Ruck Keene. Durham soon overbawled the School and although Skehan kicked an even better penalty, they turned round 14—11 down. Another goal made it 19—11 and heavy pressure on the Durham line led to another penalty and a score of 19—14. Another penalty by Durham and a magnificent try by Callaghan brought the score to 22—17. Although it was now evident that Durham were tiring and although the School were all but over, twice more in each corner, a final penalty by Durham put them beyond range and ended a fine match.

Lost 17—25.

v. GIGLESWICK (at Ampleforth, 10th October)

AMPLEFORTH registered their second victory of the campaign in warm, dry conditions which ensured some good running and passing. From the moment that Judd took the first of many strikes off the head, the School were well on top and tries came thick and fast. This time it was the turn of the backs to show their prowess and the handling and passing were much improved from the previous game. Ruck Keene (3), Callaghan (2), Ryan (1), Lintin (2) were the backs who scored and Dowling and Duguid added two more. Skehan was not in his best kicking form but converted 4 of the tries. The front row trio were this time the pick of the forwards who played well without the dynamism they had shown against Durham.

Won 38—6.

v. DENSTONE (at Denstone, 21st October)

THE School started well and were soon thrusting at their opponents' line. After twenty minutes they deservedly snatched the lead when Callaghan sold a glorious dummy and crossed near the posts for Skehan to convert. Two very unintelligent offside offences nullified the advantage within a further ten minutes and at half-time Denstone still clung to their precarious lead. This they increased in the third quarter when an unusual error on the Ampleforth line let in Denstone for a try. The struggle thereafter was desperate as each side fought for supremacy and it was Denstone who tired first. In the last ten minutes Ampleforth laid siege to the Denstone line and it seemed that the School must score. Lintin did get over but failed to ground the ball and a final thrust by the same player ended two yards short when the ball slipped from his grasp into the arms of a grateful opponent who ended the game. It was an excellent match in which Denstone's stout defence got the better of a superior attack.

Lost 5—9.

v. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL (at Ampleforth, 24th October)

FRESH from their fine but unavailing effort against Denstone the School were immediately in command, and camped in the Leeds 25. But three glorious chances were thrown away when two scoring passes were put down and when a scrum on the Leeds line resulted in a penalty to the visitors. It was a quarter of an hour before Leeds found themselves in the Ampleforth half only to miss two penalties at goal. By now the game was deteriorating: Ampleforth could not get enough possession to launch their backs and Leeds had not got the ability to break the School's stranglehold on their own backs. Soon Skehan kicked a magnificent penalty against the stiff cold wind and the sides turned round with the School in the lead. It remained a dull game until the last quarter when again the School appeared to last the better. Two tries were scored by Ruck Keene after some splendid rucking and passing and although Skehan missed two penalties in the difficult conditions the School eventually ran out easy winners of a rather drab and colourless game.

Won 9-0.

v. STONYHURST (at Stonyhurst, 28th October)

THIS was an admirably exciting match played in most difficult conditions. A fine drizzle which became heavier as the match progressed started with the game; but the School did their utmost to use their talented threequarters from the start, and with the pack in command, they threatened the Stonyhurst line for long periods. They were foiled both by the deteriorating conditions and Stonyhurst's skilful full-back who goaled a penalty to put the home team into the lead after 25 minutes. Skehan was not in form in his attempts to respond in kind and it was a blind side move which brought the School level on the stroke of half-time when Ryan crashed over in the corner.

Shortly after the interval, Dawson, who had played so well in his first game, had to go off with a painful-looking finger injury. It was in this period that Stonyhurst looked their best: the full-back kicked two more penalties for wild infringements and the pack and halves adapted themselves much better to the worsening conditions. But when Dawson came back, the School again outlasted their opponents and with Gaynor back to his best form took charge of the last quarter. First Lintin who had given his opponent a trying time throughout made his break and scored under the posts for Skehan to convert, 8-9 but time was running out! Then the last scrum of the game gave Ampleforth possession and Skehan his only break; magnificently safe handling sent Ruck Keene over in the corner. The unsuccessful kick was of only academic interest as it ended a thoroughly entertaining game in which all 30 players had given their all.

Won 11-3.

v. SEDBERGH (at Ampleforth, 7th November)

IN a splendidly open and entertaining game played in ideal conditions the School demonstrated the prowess of their threequarters. In the first half the pack in which J. Dowling excelled sent a steady supply of good balls to their threequarters and first Bowie and then Lintin capitalised on this to make the score 10-3. Sedbergh having kicked a penalty in the opening exchanges, Skehan made the score 13-3 at half-time with a simple penalty for off-side in front of the posts. When the School went further ahead with a superb try by Ruck Keene, it seemed that Sedbergh were doomed to lose by a large score and for ten minutes the School's backs gave a thrilling exhibition of threequarter play and cut the Sedbergh front line defence to ribbons. But to Sedbergh's eternal credit, their line stayed intact and their covering tackling had to be seen to be believed. Gradually they worked their way back into the game and as the School tired they were rewarded with a goal following a forward rush.

Won 16-8.

v. ST PETER'S (at Ampleforth, 14th November)

ST PETER'S winning the toss and taking advantage of a strong cold north wind, forced Ampleforth into their 25 for long periods. Yet the School still contrived to be 8-5 up at half-time. Time and again St Peter's left themselves open to a quick counter-attack and Lintin, with Dowling who was again in splendid form, made the most of these opportunities. First Callaghan, set in motion by a lovely catch and run by Stapleton, dummied and weaved his way through the opposition and put Dowling over near the posts for Skehan to convert. A few minutes later Skehan launched his backs on a counter-attack from a ruck inside his own 25 and Bowie outpaced everyone in a thrilling run as far as the opposition's 25. When he was pulled down, a ruck developed, a scissors took place, Bowie was seen again in possession and he it was who dived over in the corner. The XV then went to sleep and sheer bad tackling on the blind-side allowed St Peter's to score under the posts. The second half was a scrappy affair and not worthy of the first. The School refused to use the strong wind for twenty minutes and St Peter's were content to spoil and deny the Ampleforth backs any opportunity. But when Skehan kicked a magnificent penalty across the wind from the touchline, the pressure told and St Peter's were in desperate straits. Lintin scored a try, again magnificently converted by Skehan, and in the last minute Dowling was over again but failed to ground the ball.

Won 16-5.

v. HEADINGLEY (at Ampleforth, 29th November)

A BACK division containing two internationals and three county players tested the tackling ability of the 1st XV to the limit. But the team were in superb form in defence and their tackling was incisive and deadly. Playing with the rain-laden wind in the first half they carried the game to their illustrious opponents and though Headingley saw much more of the ball, they persisted in running it in very unsuitable conditions. This played into the hands of the boys who led 5-3 at half-time through a good try and a superb conversion by Skehan. After half-time Headingley played more aptly and with a quarter of an hour to go suddenly scored a rush of points as the boys tired. At 16-5, it looked as though the team had had enough but they were as suddenly lifted by a wonderful try by Dowling who dribbled half the length of the field to score near the posts. Calling on their immense team spirit, the School pack now waded into their opponents and for the first time in the game dominated them. Faster to the loose ball they succeeded in winning ruck after ruck and it was at one of these that an off-side decision was given and Skehan popped over an easy goal. The School was now rampant but Headingley staved off defeat in their turn and the whistle sounded with the watching School enthusiastically acclaiming the deeds of 15 very tired boys and 15 very relieved men! It is invidious to single out individuals but Dowling, Duguid and Gaynor in the pack and all the threequarters, particularly Fane-Hervey, were in splendid form. Our thanks go to Mr Donovan and the Headingley team for producing such a fine match in such foul conditions.

Lost 13-16.

v. BLUNDELL'S (at the Stoop Memorial Ground, Twickenham, 16th December)

THIS was a scrappy game in which Ampleforth started smoothly enough but were soon rattled out of their somewhat lazy stride by an aggressive Blundell's. For the first ten minutes the School gained ample possession enjoying a territorial advantage and eventually scoring two tries in the same corner by Dowling and Gaynor. Skehan, who had earlier missed a simple penalty, struck the ball perfectly both times; two monstrous kicks soared off his boot, one succeeded and the other struck a post. As they had done so often before, the XV now relaxed and just when they needed another score before half-time, they allowed their opponents to get back into the game with an unconverted try. Skehan restored the balance with a snap drop goal after the interval, when the School seemed to realise their danger, but Blundell's

were now beginning to play with more and more confidence. They succeeded with a penalty to make the score 11-6 and although the XV came back with a penalty by Skehan, Blundell's were now clearly enjoying the School's discomfiture. Callaghan who had thus far tackled Kent out of the game injured a shoulder and had to go on the wing and it was not long before Kent seized his opportunity and scored. For the remaining seven minutes, Ampleforth hearts remained in Ampleforth mouths and there was a general feeling of relief when the final whistle blew. The team's air of lethargy was hard to explain but one was glad that Harris, Duguid, Dowling, Callaghan and Fane-Hervey shone so brightly.

Won 14-9.

D. WHITGIFT (at Whitgift, 18th December)

UNABLE to gain any possession in tight or loose the XV found it difficult to break the stranglehold that a strong Whitgift pack put on them. Soon Whitgift were ahead when Ruck Keene was penalised for lying on the ball but on the School's first sortie to the Whitgift 25, Skehan kicked a good penalty to equalise. Some desperate defence in which Ryan and Fane-Hervey were prominent kept the teams level at half-time. Whitgift kept up the pressure in the second half and soon kicked another easy penalty. This seemed to dispirit the XV and one or two failures to catch the ball or tackle an opponent enabled Whitgift to increase their lead very quickly to 19 points. To their eternal credit the School stuck to its guns and seemed to outlast a powerful pack, being unlucky not to score through Lintin once and Ruck Keene twice. But Whitgift had the last word scoring a rather lucky goal in the final seconds to make the margin unflattering to the visitors. McAuley, Harris, Dowling and Duguid were the pick of the Ampleforth pack while most of the backs contrived to look dangerous with the small amount of ball they received.

Lost 3-24.

THE SECOND FIFTEEN

THE season was not a vintage one, and although W. A. Moore was a splendid captain both on and off the field, the team was never sufficiently competent in the set pieces to be able to elaborate effectively. The tight scrummaging was never solid and although P. J. T. Golden hooked effectively, the locks never settled down. Various partners were tried with J. R. Dawson, and when it looked as though D. J. G. Lees-Millais was the most effective, J. R. Dawson was deservedly promoted to the first team on account of his developing aggression. The front row was solid but slow, and N. C. D. Hall in spite of the curvature of his back in the tight was hard to replace with anyone more effective. The line-out work too was weak. Good blocking in the line-out is no substitute for good catching, and the blocking was good, with P. J. T. Golden conspicuous at the front of the line and T. J. Berner tidying it up at the back. Catching the ball is an art which requires aggression and a determination to get the ball at all costs, and these prerequisites were lacking. In the loose D. A. McKibbin, the leader of the forwards, was a tower of strength, particularly in attack, and on many occasions it was a delight to watch the way he deftly snatched up the loose ball after a movement had broken down. Unfortunately the rest of the pack was too slow across the field to take advantage of this and even D. A. McKibbin was not proof against the greater part of the opposition pack.

This lack of clean possession from the set pieces and the loose made the work of the half-backs even more onerous. P. D. W. Garbutt at scrum-half gained confidence as the season wore on, but needed just that bit more time to get the ball away accurately. His was not an enviable task and he took a lot of punishment, with good humour, behind the scrum. W. A. Moore at fly-half coped admirably in these difficult conditions. He seemed to have glue on his fingers and took the ball cleanly however awkwardly it came. His kicking in attack and defence was long and grew more accurate as the season progressed. Under these conditions he was not encouraged to try and take the ball on the move, but he did make some strides in this direction.

In attack his penetration came mostly from scissors, or dummy scissors, which he had nicely timed with C. V. Harries. In the centre C. V. Harries and A. G. Pinkney were potentially players with great thrust and penetration, but A. G. Pinkney needed room to get moving until at the end of the season he began to take the ball on the burst and exploit the half breaks. C. V. Harries was a considerable asset in defence, tackling like a man possessed. On the wings D. K. J. Lloyd and B. C. de Guingand lacked speed, but used their wits to exploit the situation, and D. K. J. Lloyd, in particular, came on tremendously, developing a bewildering side step and showing some very determined running for the line. G. W. S. Daly at full back had a lot to learn, being new to this position, but acquired a safeness in catching and tackling which was an asset to the side.

The fixtures started off promisingly with a draw and three good wins but then the team came up against a strong Leeds side, gave away three penalties in the first half, fought back to 9-9 in the second half, only to concede a try in the last minute of the game. Against Sedbergh the opposition pack was larger and stronger and the pack was pushed all over the field. However, they got the better of their opponents in the loose, and gained some of the cleanest heels of the season, and often the side looked threatening. Against Ripon the side was outclassed, but fought all the way, often getting within inches of their opponents' line. At half-time the score was only 3-11, but with the retirement of D. J. G. Lees-Millais soon after with a leg injury, the score inevitably began to mount. In the final match against St Peter's, the ball was very greasy, and after scoring two quick tries in the first few minutes the backs were unable to hold on to the ball with any conviction, and this score was fortunately sufficient to ensure victory in a very exciting game.

In spite of their deficiencies this side played with determination and a will to win which was infectious. The credit for this must go to D. A. McKibbin who led the forwards so admirably from the front, and to the captain, W. A. Moore, who inspired them with his own fiery determination to win.

The following played for the side: Full-back—G. W. S. Daly, M. T. M. Stapleton; Wings—D. K. J. Lloyd, B. C. de Guingand, J. G. Ruck Keene; Centres—C. V. Harries, A. G. Pinkney; R. P. Fane-Hervey; Halves—W. A. Moore (Capt.), P. D. W. Garbutt; Front Row—R. J. A. Richmond, C. P. N. Entwisle, N. C. D. Hall, P. B. Duguid, P. J. T. Golden (Hooker); Locks—J. R. Dawson, F. O. A. Flynn, D. J. G. Lees-Millais, T. G. McAuley; Back Row—D. A. McKibbin (Leader), M. M. Forsythe, T. J. Berner.

Colours were awarded to: T. J. Berner, C. V. Harries, J. R. Dawson, A. G. Pinkney, D. K. J. Lloyd.

RESULTS

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|------|------|
| v. Pocklington | A | Drew | 6-6 |
| v. Barnard Castle | H | Won | 11-0 |
| v. Durham | H | Won | 18-0 |
| v. Scarborough 1st XV | H | Won | 23-3 |
| v. Leeds | H | Lost | 9-12 |
| v. Sedbergh | A | Lost | 0-11 |
| v. Ripon 1st XV | A | Lost | 6-37 |
| v. St Peter's | A | Won | 6-5 |

THE THIRD FIFTEEN

THERE was no shortage of talent this year to make a good side; once again the main obstacle was the difficulty of finding the time for practice due to the calls of house league matches. The forwards normally gave the backs enough possession, but the latter rarely achieved enough rhythm to constitute any real threat to the opposition.

The tally of four wins and two losses represents the quality of the side which did well to defeat Archbishop Holgate's 2nd XV but which should never have lost to Giggleswick having dominated the opposition for most of the game. We were well beaten by Richmond 1st XV who now are too strong for a third fifteen fixture.

The remaining three games against Scarborough, Leeds and St Peter's were won by a margin which fairly reflected the game.

S. G. Jefferson led the side well and with spirit. S. McCarthy was outstanding among the remainder of the forwards. Likewise M. Comyn at scrum-half and S. Callaghan deserve special mention.

The following were regular members of the side: S. G. Jefferson (capt.), S. Callaghan, S. Stainton, R. Dalglish, J. Burford, C. Hardy, M. Comyn, S. McCarthy, N. Herdon, F. Flynn, M. Ryan, P. Spacek, M. Clough, N. Baxter, P. Hiseocks, M. Lister, P. Westmacott, S. Lorigan, S. Gartsen-Zuntz, A. Cumming and T. Myles also played.

The results of the matches were as follows:

| | | |
|--------------------------------|------|------|
| v. Archbishop Holgate's 2nd XV | Won | 5-0 |
| v. Giggleswick 3rd XV | Lost | 0-3 |
| v. Scarborough College 2nd XV | Won | 22-0 |
| v. Leeds G.S. 3rd XV | Won | 6-0 |
| v. Richmond G.S. 1st XV | Lost | 0-25 |
| v. St Peter's 3rd XV | Won | 12-0 |

UNDER SIXTEEN COLTS

This team had its second consecutive unbeaten season, also the second unbeaten season at this level. The score would have been higher if there had been a reliable kicker, for in eight games twenty-seven tries were scored, of which only four were converted; similarly there were only seven penalty goals scored. Of the points kicked most were due to Potez, though each of the Cooper twins put two kicks over.

The main potential of the team lay in the backs. The halves came into their own in the Newcastle game and never looked back, till the hard-working scrum-half, Moroney, broke his arm against St Peter's. The two Coopers, at fly-half and centre were remarkable for their handling, seemingly able to pick up any ball at any speed, and for their elusiveness. Perhaps the players who developed most in the course of the season were Craig, who served well at full back for two games before he came forward to provide real thrust and inescapable tackling in the centre, and Hornyold-Strickland, whose darting rushes on the wing provided any number of tries. In the forwards too the inspiration and spirit instilled throughout the season by Gaynor, the captain, were equalled by his unsparring play; particularly his positioning and ability always to be at the loose ball were noteworthy. Much of the power was provided by Potez at No. 8; he was the largest of a comparatively small pack and made good use of his penetration and drive. The other big forwards were Clayton, who got through a lot of work and Willis, who after a slow start, developed into an outstanding player. Doherty's stamina and speed at wing-forward, and Stilliard's wiry vigour at prop made sure that opportunities were not missed; and Lewis, the hooker, played an important part in the rough-and-tumble of the loose.

Two matches stand out, against Durham and St Peter's. In the former, against an excellent team, a crushing defeat looked certain, but in the second half tackling improved and the forwards got on top in the loose, and we settled for a very satisfactory draw. The achievement against St Peter's was to beat an already heavier team though playing only 13 men for most of the game (owing to the long delay over Moroney's broken arm, the referee, after consultation of both captains, took 5 minutes off each half; but if anything Ampleforth's pressure increased towards the end). The Stonyhurst match, though less sparkling rugby, was made thrilling by the even mounting of the score, first one, then the other team leading.

Colours were given to the whole team: M. Faulkner, P. Ryan, J. Craig, H. Cooper, R. Hornyold-Strickland, M. Cooper, P. Moroney, J. Stilliard, R. Lewis, E. Briscoe, S. Willis, S. Clayton, P. Gaynor, J. Potez, W. Doherty. Also played C. Ainscough, J. Durkin, M. Liddell, R. Nelson, C. Sandeman, S. Murphy and M. Lloyd.

RESULTS

| | | |
|---------------------|----------|-------|
| v. Pocklington | (H) Won | 25-0 |
| v. Durham | (H) Drew | 6-6 |
| v. Newcastle R.G.S. | (H) Won | 20-0 |
| v. Ashville | (A) Won | 15-3 |
| v. Stonyhurst | (A) Won | 9-8 |
| v. Sedbergh | (A) Won | 15-13 |
| v. St Peter's | (H) Won | 11-6 |
| v. Barnard Castle | (A) Won | 12-8 |

UNDER FIFTEEN COLTS

The team has played nine games so far this season and only the first match played was lost. 151 points have been scored with only 33 against, which gives the team the best defensive record in the School. Strangely enough it is for handling and running with the ball that this team is particularly suited rather than strong defensive play. Indeed glaring weaknesses in this department were all too often exposed. However these were readily forgotten, perhaps too readily, as a result of imaginative and exciting play.

In the threequarters, Mangeot has played outstandingly well, running closely and kicking in formidable fashion (41 points so far). One remembers particularly a vital drop goal against Scarborough and a prodigious penalty kick from about the half-way line against Archbishop Holgate's sailing well over the bar. Finlow was the other outstanding back, his strength and speed taking him through to the try line on numerous occasions. In the pack the play of the Foll brothers has been exceptional. Playing with a maturity beyond their years, and always with enthusiasm, they have dominated forward play in several games.

The hardest match played was against Ashville, where, despite being on top for long periods, the team was a trifle fortunate to hold out over the last few minutes. The most exhilarating games to watch were against Holgate's and Coatham when the team's handling was at its best. But undoubtedly the best game of the term was played away against Leeds G.S. in a temperature close to zero and with a gale force wind blowing. On this appalling day the qualities of McCarthy as a skipper were seen to their best advantage. Playing the first half against the wind he held the team together and forced them to play the correct tactical game of defence, against their inclinations to open up at every opportunity. His reward came in the second half when, with the wind at their backs, his team piled on the pressure to score two goals and a try to nil.

The captain awarded colours to S. R. Finlow, A. H. Foll, C. J. Foll, A. R. Mangeot, B. P. Lister and J. P. Pickin.

UNDER FOURTEEN COLTS

Played 6. Won 5. Lost 1. Pts. For 69. Pts. Against 48.

In a set where the standard was very even it has been difficult to select an obvious final fifteen. Experiments have been tried and more may yet be to come. Enthusiasm is high and there is no lack of competition for places.

At the start of the term it was clear that to produce a back division proficient in the basic abilities of running, handling and tackling a great deal of practice lay ahead. But there were several individuals of good physique and ample speed and it does great credit to their determination that they have improved steadily throughout the term. They are still fickle but have shown that they are now capable of using a good ball when they get it and causing problems for most opposition defences.

In defence Lintin has been outstanding and if he can gain more control of his long pass, Plummer at stand-off should be able to make good use of a dependable service both in setting up his backs and with his own running.

The forward play has been more consistent but even they have shown a tendency to relax just when the advantage should be pressed home, as when allowing a demoralised Archbishop Holgate's side to find new life and come back from 15-3 to finish the stronger side at 15-11. The two locks, Ainscough and Allen, have produced most of the fire in open play and Gray's line-out work has progressively improved. What Fuller and Graves lack in stature they have amply made up in technique and knowledge of their respective positions of hooker and open-side flanker.

The lesson for next term must be that sporadic effort is not enough. Every player must go all-out for the whole game. The good work of individuals must not be wasted through lack of support. When the whole side is going well, as in the second half up the formidable Ashville slope, they produce a good brand of rugby.

The following have represented the team: A. Mitchell, J. Ryan, P. Macfarlane, S. Davey, N. Peers, M. D. Leonard, N. D. Plummer (Captain), S. M. Lintin, C. Woodhead, J. S. Fuller, R. Holroyd, K. D. McCarthy, B. Allen, M. M. Ainscough, A. Moore, A. Gray, N. Georgiades, C. A. Graves.

Colours have been awarded to: N. D. Plummer, M. Ainscough, C. A. Graves, S. H. Lintin, J. S. Fuller, C. M. Woodhead, P. D. Macfarlane, B. M. Allen, A. M. Gray, S. H. Davey.

RESULTS

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| v. Pocklington | (H) Won 19-5 |
| v. Scarborough College | (A) Won 9-0 |
| v. Leeds G.S. | (A) Lost 0-24 |
| v. Coatham | (H) Won 14-5 |
| v. Archbishop Holgate's | (H) Won 15-11 |
| v. Ashville College | (A) Won 12-3 |

THE HOUSE MATCHES

Sr Hugh's with their wealth of talent in the forwards were undoubtedly the favourites for this competition but it was left to St Edward's and St John's, St Bede's and St Oswald's to open the proceedings. St Edward's had no difficulty in disposing of St John's who could get no sort of ball to launch Daly and Burford in the backs. Curtis not only worked well for St Edward's but also kicked conversions from all angles and ranges, and Lloyd, Judd and Garbutt were very noteworthy. In the other 1st round match an exciting struggle saw St Bede's home 12-5 against St Oswald's. Duguid scored a runaway try for St Oswald's for which house Stainton excelled, while Ryan balanced this with an equally good try at the other end. Newsam, Gretton and Duckworth shone for St Bede's whose better teamwork just got them through.

Judd and Curtis carried on the good work in their second round 6-3 victory over St Wilfrid's. The latter playing fourteen men for much of the game, had a good pack spearheaded by Berner and a sound fly-half in Birtwistle. St. Cuthbert's produced the surprise of the round when within 25 minutes they were 14-0 up against St Thomas's, through the good services of the Cooper twins and their captain, Moore. The pack played their hearts out and although St Thomas's gradually whittled away at their lead, they stuck it out to the end and just got home 14-12. St Hugh's owed much to the fine kicking of an injured Callaghan when they won a scrappy game 15-0. Zuntz, Dawson, Harris and Dowling played well for the winners while Willis, Gretton and Duckworth were once again in evidence for St Bede's.

St Dunstan's won a scrappy and ill-tempered game 6-5 against St Aidan's who had to play 14 men for much of the game. Skehan and Pinkney were the deciding factors in St Dunstan's narrow win while Lewis also played well at scrum-half. For the losers McDonnell and Callaghan had outstanding games.

St Dunstan's again squeezed through in the semi-final round against St Edward's on a bitterly cold day. Skehan's dropped goal from long range was decisive but was nearly matched in the last five minutes by a similar one from St Edward's. St Hugh's had an easier passage against St Cuthbert's; but the losers' backs caused

endless trouble until St Hugh's revised their tactics, kept the ball close and launched their scrum-half, Comyn, who was rewarded with two tries in an 11-6 victory.

St Dunstan's, prompted by their captain, Skehan, threatened briefly in the final and limited St Hugh's to a lead of three points at half-time; at this stage they could well have been in the lead having failed to take their chances, but after half-time, the massive St Hugh's pack took control of their lighter opponents, and the tries began to come. Dowling, Harris, Dawson, Comyn and Potez, who used the blind-side well, were all conspicuous while McAuley, Clayton and Pinkney did all they could to stem the flood. But St Hugh's played with increasing confidence as the game progressed and eventually ran out easy winners 28-0.

The Junior final between St Aidan's and St Oswald's was a hard struggle in which the St Oswald's pack, and the trusty boot of Mangeot were just too much for a spirited St Aidan's who could not give enough of the ball to Finlow. He it was, however, who made the break to put St Aidan's in the lead before the three Mangeot penalties gave St Oswald's the Junior Cup.

SQUASH

It has naturally been impossible to maintain the same general level of interest amidst the winter conditions. A squash ladder has been operated to promote the game. The squash team—G. W. Daly, C. Ainscough, R. Fane-Hervey, P. de Zulueta, and N. Plummer, has performed well in view of the limited training facilities, although Major Shaw has been kind enough, yet again, to grant us the use of his court at Welburn Hall. Although losing its first two matches to superior opposition, the team was rewarded with a well-earned success against the Lay Masters.

RESULTS

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| v. St Peter's, York | Lost 5-0 |
| v. Barnard Castle | Lost 4-1 |
| v. Lay Masters | Won 3-2 |
| | G. W. S. DALY. |

GOLF

MORE golf has been played this term than usual as Fr Martin has taken a number of boys to various golf courses in the vicinity once a week. In addition our own course under the hard working Fr Leo continues to improve. The usual October match against the Old Boys was played at Ganton to the enjoyment of all concerned and although the Boys lost, several of them played with great tenacity and not a little skill.

THE BEAGLES

T. M. FITZALAN HOWARD continued as Master of Hounds this term, thus joining the select few who have held that position for three seasons. The Hunt owes him a lot for his enthusiasm and energy. Whippers-in were R. G. P. Plowden and R. A. Fitzalan Howard. S. A. Stainton was Field Master.

The harvest being in reasonably good time this year, there was no delay in starting hunting, though for the first month or so the land was too hard and dry for good scenting conditions. In other respects, weather-wise, everything was as nearly ideal as could be: fine, still days with no wind to speak of and no cold, wet days. Hounds could not really go till November when those followers who wished could get all the exercise they wanted, with hounds often hunting continuously on one hare or another.

Once again most of our hunting on Saturdays has been in the Bransdale-Farndale areas, in addition to the few remaining local meets and the occasional day at places further afield, particularly Levisham. The number of shooting syndicates increases each year, and we owe much to these and to the keepers who allow us on their ground.

THE VENTURE SCOUTS

THE events of the past year included day trips spent caving, sailing and walking. In the Easter term we went to the Yorkshire Ramblers' hut in Little Langdale for a week-end. The terrible weather was off-set by the discovery of large deserted slate mines which looked promising. The summer term included a trip to Gaping Gill. The Bradford Caving Club had set up a winch in the main chamber (360 ft high) so that a through trip from Bar Pot was possible. On 7th May there was a sponsored walk in aid of *Shelter*; we raised £280. Fr Patrick presented four Duke of Edinburgh Silver Awards and five Venture Awards at the end of term. The first ten days of the holidays were spent on a thoroughly enjoyable sailing trip from York to Whitby. Last term on the week-end 14/15th November a party went to the Pennines to go down Ireby Pot, which is 415 ft deep and took us eight hours, and Kingsdale Master Cave. New techniques and limitations were discovered, ensuring a successful week-end. At the end of term we were presented with the Sir William Worsley Award, which is given to the best unit in the North Riding. As a result we received £35, which is to be spent on new equipment.

J.P.M.

THE SEA SCOUTS

THE term began with the annual general inspection by Lt-Cdr Ginn, R.N. on 23rd September. 19 boys were on parade at the landing stage under SPL Mark Faulkner. Fr Benedict, our District Commissioner, Fr Thomas and Venture Scout representatives attended. Cdr Ginn saw work being done on Anthony Brodrick's survey of the lake, helmed an *alpha* dinghy with Brendan Peacock as crew, and watched the clearing of the lake.

During the term there were regular activities on Saturday afternoons. Sailing instruction was given. Andrew Hamilton, Charles Francis and Anthony Tate were tested on their sailing ability and all passed. On two occasions help was required by Fr Gregory for his camps for local Primary school-children. The term's activities at the lake culminated in a barbecue in December. There were courses on first-aid, canoeing, sailing and caving. Many thanks to Fr Benedict, Fr Thomas and George Gretton for all their help. Caving has become increasingly popular and many boys have produced their own fibre-glass helmets. Pot-holing has also been popular, greatly encouraged by Richard Townsend and Danny Coghlan. Br Jeremy took various enjoyable expeditions down the Helmsley windpits.

On 13/14th November 16 scouts with Mr Hawksworth and Br Jeremy camped in Ribblesdale. Conditions were cool for camping but ideal for fell-walking and caving. On the Saturday some explored both Upper and Lower Long Churn; the next day some walked over Fountains Fell, others explored the Calf Holes-Browgill through-passage. Much experience was gained by the first-year scouts who joined the troop after half-term.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

THE Ministry of Defence have recently introduced a new Proficiency syllabus for Army Sections. It is known as the APEX Scheme and the object is to provide a much wider variety of subjects and to allow some degree of choice so that schools can carry out the sort of training for which they are best equipped. It also allows specialist training—e.g. Band, Signals, R.E.M.E.—to count towards the obtaining of a Proficiency Certificate.

The APEX Scheme works out as follows in this contingent:

BASIC SECTION

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|----------------------------|---|
| Compulsory Subjects | { | Drill & Weapon Training | — C.S.M. J. F. A. Baxter, U/O R. G. Flowden. |
| | | Orienteering & Map Reading | — 2/Lt D. A. S. Beck, U/O C. A. Campbell. |

ARMY SECTION

| | | | |
|--|---------|------------------|---|
| There is a choice between these 2 subjects | { | Night Patrolling | — Major A. N. Haigh, Instructors from the Yorkshire Volunteers. |
| | | Self Reliance | — Lt T. M. Wright. |
| Optional Subjects | 1. Band | 2. Signals | — D/M L. D. McGreanor, — U/O C. M. B. Ratcliffe, C.S.M. R. G. Graham. |
| | | 3. R.E.M.E. | — C.S.M. P. O'K. Craven. |
| | | 4. Rock Climbing | — No. 11 (Green Howards) Army Youth Team. |

Beyond the APEX Scheme the following courses are also being run:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Map Making | — Major P. H. Trafford. |
| Advanced Orienteering | — Captain M. E. Corbould. |
| Pioneering | — Captain M. R. Everest. |

Now that the Band training is allowed to be carried out on a parade afternoon more constructive practice is possible and with the purchase of some old police uniforms the appearance as well as the playing of the Band is improving. The Signals Course continues satisfactorily under the enterprising command of U/O Ratcliffe and C.S.M. Graham, who ended the term with a very well prepared exercise in the area of Wombwell aerodrome. In addition to Lieutenant Roddy Bailey and his Army Youth Team who once again have conducted a Rock Climbing Course, we have to thank Major Rodney Harms and the Yorkshire Volunteers (Patrolling Course) and Dr K. Adamson, Mrs Dowson and Miss Lilley who conducted the First Aid part of the Self-Reliance Course.

One outstanding success has been the Advanced Orienteering Course which often takes part in public orienteering competitions. Its record this term was as follows:

| | | | |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| 4 Oct. Yorkshire Schools Championships, Eshott Wood, Leeds | Junior Men— | H. G. Kirby | 6th |
| | 2nd out of 10 teams | E. C. Sparrow | 8th |
| | | P. St J. Baxter | 11th |
| | | | (78 entries) |
| Boys— | 1st out of 15 teams | H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple | 8th |
| | | D. M. Harwood-Little | 12th |
| | | S. G. Murphy | 17th |
| | | | (98 entries) |

| | | | | | |
|---------|--|--|--|--|---------------|
| 11 Oct. | Lakeland National Badge Event, Tarn Hows, Hawkshead, Lancs. | 2nd out of 17 teams | E. C. Sparrow P. St J. Baxter P. B. Quigley | 4th 21st 23rd | (98 entries) |
| 25 Oct. | National British Junior Championships, Broxa-Silpho Forest, Yorks. | 10th out of 39 teams | E. C. Sparrow P. B. Quigley P. St J. Baxter | 10th 42nd 45th | (211 entries) |
| 14 Nov. | E. Yorks Night Event, Beverley | "A" team 1st "B" team 4th out of 6 teams | "A" { P. B. Quigley P. St J. Baxter E. C. Sparrow A. H. Davenport "B" { R. G. Killingbeck J. D. Pratt | 1st 2nd 5th 4th 12th 17th | (33 entries) |

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

It was with much regret that we heard during the Christmas holiday of the death of C.P.O. H. Keefe, Royal Navy. He had been our Area Instructor for some five years and although dogged by ill health was unfailingly cheerful on his regular Monday visits to Ampleforth. He was a very competent and patient instructor and many old boys at present with the Fleet and at Dartmouth owe much to his efforts on their behalf. We will miss his help very much indeed.

We are sorry, too, to say goodbye to Lieutenant C. Crowther, Royal Navy, who is leaving Church Fenton. He has assisted the Section in many ways for the last year and was always ready to come to us and give us his help.

The running of the Section is now in the capable hands of U/O N. Lewen who has taken over from James Rapp. The latter is now at B.R.N.C., Dartmouth, where he has played regularly for the 1st XV. We would like to congratulate L/S J. Hughes, who has been awarded a Royal Navy scholarship. The Section is once more supplying the major part of the Combined Camp in Malta at Easter.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

The Section this term was under the control of U/O Purves with W.O. Bidie and W.O. McArthur. A small intake was absorbed and put through initial training which included some aircraft recognition lectures by W.O. Bidie. Apart from Air Proficiency and Advanced training, a wide variety of courses was organised, from Rock Climbing under the Army Youth team to signals and electronics. Flt/Lt Pearce, R.A.F., paid us a visit during the term and we are grateful for his help and advice. Flt/Sgt Collins was also a frequent visitor who gave us valuable assistance in our stores and training. At Sutton Bank, J. Heathcote completed his conversion to a Swallow and six other members of the Section took part regularly in the gliding activities there.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

THE long Christmas term broke up naturally into two quite distinct parts with the half-term holiday separating them. The first half of the term was experimental to some extent and involved getting to know over 50 new boys (40 from Gilling and 11 from other schools), giving responsibilities to a new second year, smoothing out time-table problems, re-arranging sets and shaping teams. The second half saw the house working as a single unit, happy after most of the growing pains had been sorted out, with some solid work being done and with some good sport too. The general picture was that of a term well spent.

THE library room was not ready by January after all. It became obvious that we needed an extra fire escape if we were to have nearly a hundred boys sleeping in the dormitories on the top floor. Once this has been installed, and it should not take long, we will be able to complete the plan which can give us the extra space for the library, a music room (already established) and an art room. We do not think, however, that the house will have its new look until the beginning of the Summer term.

THE impact on the house of Mr Bowman, the new director of music, has been obvious and we hope that it will prove enduring. All the boys were put through the Bentley music test at the beginning of the term and the best 24 trebles found themselves in the Abbey church choir straight away. They rehearsed five times a week and their singing in the Abbey church was much appreciated every Sunday. Thirty-six boys formed the treble line of the revived choral society. They too worked extremely hard. At the end of term concert in the Abbey church Pergolesi's *Magnificat*, Buxtehude's cantata *Das Neugeborne Kindelein*, and Benjamin Britten's version of Psalm 150 won the admiration of a large and enthusiastic audience. It is obvious that the Junior House is going to see a lot more of Mr Bowman because it is his sole source of trebles; and it is just as obvious that this is going to be an immense benefit to the house as well as to the school at large. Even the un-musical expect to enjoy Mr Bowman's

basic music classes which have been built into the time-table. Moreover, the vision of a house orchestra is no longer just a dream but a reality on the near horizon. All in all, music in the Junior House is looking up, much to everyone's deep satisfaction.

THE canonisation of the house's patron, St Alban Roe, on 25th October, was an event of great significance. Fr Cyril, Charles Soden-Bird, Miles Thompson, David Barton and Timothy McAlindon flew to Rome on 23rd October for the ceremony. They joined Fr Piers and his party of Gilling pilgrims not only for the canonisation of the 40 martyrs but also for an unexpected and delightful holiday in Rome. The Junior House representatives were most grateful to Fr Piers for including them in his pilgrimage. The rest of the house had to make do with a more local pilgrimage to York in honour of St Margaret Clitheroe. This was followed on 28th October by the retreat conducted by Fr Cyril, Fr Simon, Fr Alban and Mr Rohan.

THE entertainments of the term were varied. We thank Fr Martin for a particularly enjoyable lecture on the first ascent of Everest; he knows a lot about it and was able to use Lord Hunt's own colour slides to illustrate his talk. The house was enthralled by the visit of the King's Singers on 22nd November. They gave us a splendid concert just when our own singing was coming into shape. Simon Peers, Nicholas Cruice Goodall, Stephen Glaister and Roderick Newton were the leading lights of an entertaining home-made play in the cinema room on 29th November. They had a collection and sent it to charity. (The house, incidentally, contributed to the poppy appeal as usual and also raised £15 for the East Pakistan relief fund.) Nearly everyone was present on 30th November to take part in a noisy debate about the merits of football as a sport. We thank Fr Geoffrey once more for arranging our weekly film and for looking after the projector. *The Heroes of Telemark*, *The Double Man* and *Ring of Bright Water* seemed to be the most popular films of the term.

SCOUTS

A LARGE influx of new members inevitably makes the Autumn term a settling-in term for the scout troop. A training week-end very early in the term saw the new Patrol Leaders well established in office. They are: Robin Duncan (Senior Patrol Leader, Mark Tate, Ian Macfarlane, Malcolm Moir, Robin Burdell, Christopher Myers, Duncan McKechnie and Brendan Finlow. By half term the new members were taking a full part in the troop's activities and they made their Scout Promise at a meeting on 23rd November.

Preoccupation with settling in did not preclude all other activities; the normal weekly programme carried on except when interrupted by special events. Four of the latter deserve notice:

Twenty-two of the second year had a successful camp at Rievaulx on 3rd and 4th October.

On the 17th and 18th October the Patrol Leaders and their assistants did 12-mile hike camps in pairs as one of the requirements for the Advanced Scout Standard Award for which a number of them should soon qualify. These hikes started in places as scattered as Scawton, Hawaby and Newton Dale and ended at various points in the Lastingham area.

Twenty vigorous scouts hiked 20 miles from Farnedale via Rosedale, Wheeldale and the Roman road to Newton Dale in the sunshine of the 14th and 15th November spending the night in the friendly hospitality of the Wheeldale Youth Hostel while the wind blew and the snow fell outside.

The weather was surprisingly co-operative again on the night of Saturday, 28th November, when 14 scouts and six scouters spurned their beds in favour of a ten-mile hike in the dark round Bilsdale East Moor and Bilsdale. Commendably accurate compass work revealed the cairns and howes hidden in the moonless black of the moor top, exactly according to plan. The human frame was protected from deprivation by well-timed stops for soup and bacon and egg, and by a very restful Sunday to follow.

The term must be deemed a success. For this we owe thanks to many people and we hope that they know how grateful

we are. We must mention, by way of welcome, Br Matthew, who has joined us as Assisant Scout Leader, and five new Instructors from the upper school: Paul Marmion, Christopher Ryan, Michael Ryan, Terence Doyle and Philip King.

SPORT

The 1st XV had a successful term. They played ten matches, won nine of them and lost only one. They were not spectacular as a team but they read the game well, understood their own limitations and played accordingly. The strength of the team lay within the pack which was well led by Mark Tate, the main try-scorer and vice-captain. The merit of the pack lay in its rucking, from which good possession of the ball could normally be obtained. Joseph Dundas played at scrum-half and was the captain of the side. He had a good understanding with the back row and could be relied upon to feed his backs or make ground with accurate kicking. Simon Bickerstaffe apart, there was not much punch amongst the three-quarters, who were short of pace; but they tackled well and thus played an important part in the nine victories achieved. The upper school kindly arranged for us to play two practice matches with their pool of youngest players, and we won both of these; we won both our games with Red House; we beat St Martin's twice; and we also defeated St Olave's, St Mary's Hall, and Barnard Castle. We lost the last match of the term, against Pocklington, 6-5. The team scored 137 points during the term and conceded 24.

The first year team had a promising term. They lost to St Olave's and St Mary's Hall but defeated Howsham Hall and Pocklington. They too found their strength in the pack, but it may well be that when they become the senior team next year they will have a more enterprising set of three-quarters than this year's 1st XV.

Two other teams took the field this term. A so-called 2nd XV scored 20 points in a game with Howsham Hall; it consisted of four second-year boys and 11 first-year boys. Another rather indeterminate team called, for the event, the 3rd XV, had a match with Pocklington's 2nd set;

they lost it fairly convincingly but enjoyed themselves in doing so. It turned out in the end that exactly 50 members of the Junior House played at least once in one term or another during the term.

Apart from rugger, Christmas term sport included soccer (a constant spare-time activity on the rink), basketball under the guidance of Mr Rohan and Mr Hayes, swimming with Fr Anselm, Fr Alban and Fr Julian as coaches and the usual PE classes taken in the gym by Mr Henry.

FACTS AND FIGURES

THE house monitors during the term were: C. H. W. Soden-Bird (head monitor), J. A. Dundas, M. S. Thompson, M. J. P. Moir, C. P. Myers, R. A. Duncan, M. W. A. Tate, B. L. Bunting, D. A. J. McKechnie and R. G. Burdell.

THERE are 103 boys in the house. Fifty-two (including eight day boys) are in their second year and 51 (including three day boys) are in their first year.

FORTY-FIVE masters teach the boys in any given week.

THE following sang in the Abbey church choir during the term: S. J. Bickerstaffe, M. J. Craston, C. de Larrinaga, D. S. C. C. Dobson, B. J. Dore, B. H. Finlow, A. H. J. Fraser, J. D. Harrison, C. W. J. Hattrell, C. G. E. Heath, B. D. J. Hooke, T. L. Judd, R. F. J. Kerr, L. A. Lindsay, S. L. Livesey,

M. G. R. May, D. J. K. Moir, C. P. Myers, J. N. Norman, S. D. Nuttall, S. P. S. Reid, P. A. J. Ritchie, M. S. Thompson.

THE choral society's trebles consisted of the choir boys and the following: N. A. J. Bonies, J. A. Dundas, R. D. Grant, D. G. M. Griffiths, S. B. Harrison, D. A. Houllier, D. H. R. Lochrairie, P. R. Moore, J. C. E. Moreton, S. D. Peers, J. Wilson.

THE 1st XV was usually made up of: M. J. Pierce (full-back); N. E. Cruice Goodall, F. Brooks, S. J. Bickerstaffe, R. T. St A. Harney (three-quarters); C. H. W. Soden-Bird, J. A. Dundas (half-backs); R. G. Burdell, C. A. Vaughan, M. J. P. Moir, M. S. Thompson, B. L. Bunting, S. B. Glaister, M. W. A. Tate, D. A. J. McKechnie (forwards). Colours were awarded to Bickerstaffe, Burdell, Dundas, Glaister, McKechnie, Moir, Soden-Bird and Tate. R. W. Newton, D. G. M. Griffiths and S. P. O'Carroll-Fitzpatrick also played for the 1st XV.

THE following played for the first year team in all four matches: E. A. A. Beck, M. J. Craston, E. A. Dowling, R. S. Duckworth, N. J. Gaynor, J. B. Horsley, T. L. Judd, P. R. Moore, J. M. D. Murray, S. P. S. Reid (captain), N. G. Sutherland, S. J. Connolly, B. D. J. Hooke, D. J. K. Moir and P. D. Sandeman played in three matches. S. N. Ainscough, K. M. Evans, M. P. Peters and P. A. J. Ritchie played in one.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

The Officials for the term were as follows:
Head Captain: M. P. Trowbridge.

Captain of Rugby: T. B. P. Hubbard.
Captains: J. C. B. Tate, S. G. Durkin,
 D. R. Ellingworth, P. K. Corkery, C. C.
 Howard.

Secretaries: C. P. Watters, S. J. Dick,
 A. de Larrinaga, T. D. Beck.

Sacristans: P. B. Myers, I. C. S. Watts,
 A. C. Burt, P. S. Stokes, D. C. Bradley.
Librarians: A. E. Duncan, M. J. Blenkinsop,
 J. F. Nowill, P. J. A. Hall.

Ante-Room: T. M. May, M. F. Russell,
 J. F. Lennon.

Art Room: A. J. Nicoll, L. R. Dowling,
 M. D. Sillars, S. R. F. Hardy.

Bookroom: T. R. B. Fattorini, M. S. Harrison,
 C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley, B. J. M. Edwards.

Hymn Books: E. T. B. Charlton, A. P. Ryan,
 M. C. M. Pickthall, S. J. Unwin,
 M. T. C. Madden.

Dispensary: M. J. Velarde, C. F. H. Clayton.

Office Men: A. R. Goodson, D. McN. Craig.

Woodwork: A. C. A. Quirke, I. Rodzianko.
 The following boys joined the school in
 September 1970:

G. L. Anderson, A. J. Bean, P. A. Cardwell,
 L. St. J. J. David, C. S. Fattorini, M. T. B. Fattorini,
 A. J. Fawcett, G. B. Fitzalan Howard,
 D. G. Forbes, W. M. Gladstone,
 P. W. G. Griffiths, J. G. Gruenfeld,
 P. W. Howard, J. T. Keவில், S. D. Lawson,
 R. Q. C. Lovegrove, E. C. H. Lowe,
 M. T. C. Madden, M. D. W. Mangham,
 S. C. E. Martin, J. R. C. Meares,
 R. J. Micklethwait, R. K. B. Millar,
 S. C. E. Moreton, C. R. N. Procter,
 J. A. Raynar, C. B. Richardson,
 D. P. B. Richardson, D. J. Sandeman,
 J. R. Q. N. Smith, C. D. P. Steel,
 M. C. Schulte, T. M. Tarleton,
 J. R. Treherne, S. J. Unwin,
 A. C. Walker, J. G. Waterton,
 D. G. G. Williams, H. J. Young.

ABBOT WILLIAM

News of the death of Fr William staid a sad shadow over the Christmas holidays. In spite of the sadness the lasting feeling for all of us at Gilling is of deep gratitude for having Fr William so close to us for the past five years. Notice elsewhere

in the Journal will tell of his many and brilliant gifts. What we can treasure most are his kindness, gentleness, his understanding of all our trivial troubles and above all his patent goodness and holiness. May he rest in peace.

We welcome Mrs O'Riordan, who came as Nurse in September and quickly won our affection by her kindness and attentiveness. Mr Michael Henry also joined us for a month of the term and gave much valuable help both in and out of the classroom.

We gratefully acknowledge a generous gift to the Library from the North Riding Division of the Red Cross.

Although it was a long term, it was a very busy one and perhaps for that reason seemed to pass quickly. The highlight for all, but especially for the lucky ones who went with Fr Piers to Rome, was the Canonisation of the Forty Martyrs.

On 1st November a number of boys attended an open-air Mass in York on the Knavesmire, the place where many Martyrs were put to death.

On the feast of Christ the King the following boys made their First Communion: A. J. Bean, L. St. J. David, C. S. Fattorini, D. G. Forbes, W. M. Gladstone, J. T. Keவில், E. C. Lowe, M. D. Mangham, R. K. Millar, J. A. Raynar, D. J. Sandeman, T. M. Tarleton and J. G. Waterton.

Although the autumn term now ends some time before Christmas the old traditions of Plum Pudding, Christmas Trees and Decorations and the grand finale of the Christmas Feast are maintained. At the end of the Feast, the Head Captain, M. P. Trowbridge, with well-chosen words thanked the Matron and her staff for looking after us so well and for providing so many good things for all the Officials' Teas and especially for the Feast. For so long now we have instinctively associated all festive occasions with the name of Mrs Maria Anderson and her departure is indeed a very sad loss for Gilling. For 16 years Maria has been with us and no one could have been more loyal, devoted and kindly besides being quite expert in her job. We assure her of our very great gratitude and our good wishes for her future happiness.

MR LIONEL HORNETT

ONE evening about the middle of the term presentations by the Headmaster and members of the staff were made to Mr Hornett, who retired after 11 years as Secretary to the Headmaster of Gilling and prior to that for many years in the similar post at Ampleforth College, first under Fr Paul and then under Fr William. In brief speeches Mr Lorigan and Fr William expressed the gratitude of us all for the great work Mr Hornett has done, underlining among his many other virtues those we have come to know especially well—his unfailing courtesy and kindness, his readiness to go to any trouble and his strict regard for the many and important confidences entrusted to him. We wish him and Mrs Hornett many years of happiness.

ART

THIRD FORM

AN extra number of boys doing extra art could be taken as a sign of unusual artistic ability. Or it could be taken as a sign that the arduous of physical exercise—the alternative subject at this time—can be neatly bypassed by a feigned interest in the brush and pencil. The beginning of the year is apt to be a period of selection of the most likely to benefit, or who show a consistent and genuine interest. One of the best indications of this kind of interest is the amount of voluntary effort. A. J. Nicoll and T. M. May have shown signs of consistent ability; and T. R. B. Fattorini of energy and enthusiasm. M. D. Sillars, M. C. M. Pickthall, I. Rodzianko and T. D. Beck all show signs of effervescent imaginations with a need for skill and patience to provide the staying power necessary for a vintage year.

SECOND FORM

THE general standard of art amongst the boys of the Second Form was unusually high this term. Subjects chosen were birds, fish, mammals, a portrait entitled "My Mother", and a poster for the Canonisation of the Forty Martyrs. In the traditional ante-room Christmas Art Exhibition D. Harrington's shepherd kneeling in front of the crib was much admired; amongst the many kings on their way to Bethlehem, some of the best were done by E. Beale,

D. Ogden, C. Waterton, P. Millar, P. Cardwell, and F. Howard. Other promising artists in the Second Form are J. Adams, D. Dundas, P. Graves, R. Elwes, D. Rodzianko, C. Pagendam, J. Dowse and D. Richardson.

FIRST FORM

THE boys of the First Form painted a great many pictures in the art room with their usual enjoyment and enthusiasm. The boys of 1B and those who do Extra Art worked as a team on two large posters for the Third Form Play "Everyman". S. Moreton easily proved himself to be the best boy at painting large letters. In a tableau of a king and his servant, which formed part of the Christmas decorations in the refectory, attractive work was done by W. Gladstone with his king, A. Bean and J. Waterton with their camels, and M. Fattorini with his palm tree from the branches of which hung a monkey. For the ante-room Christmas Art Exhibition C. Steel and R. Millar together painted a large picture of two kings sailing in a ship on their journey to Bethlehem. Other good work in the same exhibition included R. Lovegrove's Madonna, L. David's king, and R. Micklethwait's crib. In the Prep Form the most successful artist of the term was G. Fitzalan Howard; J. Treherne, L. David, J. Raynar, and C. Richardson have also done some good pictures.

MUSIC

AN enjoyable concert was held on 1st December. An unusually large number of boys took part, many of them playing in public for the first time. Among the many pianists, Lovegrove deserves a special mention for his sensitive touch and easy fluency; Twomey and Tate also gave creditable performances. Dowling, Madden and Corkery achieved some notable effects with their close harmony recorder ensemble; and the only violinist, Goodson, impressed the audience by his strongly marked rhythm and adventurous bowing. 1B communicated their own enjoyment of "The Bedpost", though not all the words were actually audible. The concert ended with Highland Dancing, in which the performers overcame the vagaries of the tape-recorder and fully deserved their encore.

DRAMA

M. RUSSELL and M. Sillars produced their fifth play for the entertainment of the school at midday on Sunday 29th November in the Gallery. Actors were concealed behind screens on either side of the stage when they were not performing, and Mr Leng, the head gardener, found us a Christmas tree just the right size for standing on the lockers behind the stage; it was well decorated by members of the cast. The play was advertised by the First Form artists and was called "Everyman". The theme of the play was a moral lesson on how to behave on earth in order to be welcomed into heaven. The part of Everyman was played extremely well by Malcolm Sillars, who directed the play without any help from masters, which was a remarkable achievement. Other members of the cast were C. Howard *Angel of God and Knowledge*; J. Lennon *Strength*, who rode on a horse (D. Craig and T. Fat-torini); S. Unwin *Goodness* who was dressed up as a lady by Miss Margaret Dawson; J. Nowill *Courtyardman*; M. Pick-thall *Death*; S. Durkin and I. Watts *Friends*; M. Velarde *Prophet*; E. Charlton *Money Keeper*; D. Craig *Poorman* to whom Everyman gave away all his money before being welcomed into heaven at the end of the play by the Angel of God. A. Ryan was stage manager. The costumes were kindly lent by the parents of A. Burt and J. Blenkinsopp.

This was a good production, which was thoroughly enjoyed by the whole school.

SCOTTISH
COUNTRY DANCING

MEETINGS in the Gymnasium after tea on Sundays were well attended by about 20 boys in the First and Second Forms. A. Goodson very kindly helped to run the dancing and work the tape recorder for the accompanying music. Three sets of six boys danced "Strip the Willow" in front of the school after the second scene in the Third Form play, and 12 boys danced "The Dashing White Sergeant" with considerable skill at the end of the School Concert. The three best performers were P. Millar, P. Griffiths and C. Steel.

RUGBY

THIS has been yet another memorable season, and another memorable team. We won five matches out of eight, scoring 107 points, and conceding 40.

The first match, away at Malsis, was a searching test to face when still in the process of team-building. We lost 12-3, the pack being as yet unable to win sufficient possession of the ball. We won the next three matches, against St Martin's, St Olave's and Glenhow, and started the second half of the season with a win in the return match with Glenhow. Then came the real test: how would we fare in the return match with Malsis? We opened the scoring with an early try playing uphill, but Malsis soon settled down and at half-time they were leading 8-3. After the interval we attacked persistently. A scissor movement between Ellingworth and Corkery was followed soon afterwards by a dummy scissors which resulted in a good try. Malsis then scored again, but we came back and scored once more. So Malsis won by 11 points to 9. There have been many great games played on the Far Field: this was as fine as any.

The season ended with a win against St Martin's, and a double fixture for the "Under 11" and "Under 10" teams, away at St Olave's, in both of which we were outplayed. The "Under 11" team was missing Hubbard, and the "Under 10" team were playing their first match and had much to learn.

The First XV full-back was either S. G. Durkin, C. M. Waterton, or P. R. Myers, and the rest of the team was as follows: M. T. C. Madden, A. C. A. Quirke, P. K. Corkery, S. R. Hardy; D. R. Ellingworth, D. H. Dundas; C. F. Clayton, J. C. B. Tate, P. S. Stokes; M. P. Trowbridge, S. J. Unwin; T. M. May, M. C. M. Pickhall, and T. B. Hubbard (captain).

Colours were awarded to Hubbard, Tate, Trowbridge, Ellingworth, Corkery, Unwin, Quirke, Stokes and May.

The following also played for the First XV or for the "Under 11" XV: R. S. J. Adams, A. de Larrinaga, S. J. Dick, T. R. B. Fattorini, D. R. L. McKechnie, and C. P. Watters.

The "Under 10" XV was as follows: R. M. Glaister; R. Q. Lovegrove, D. P. B. Richardson (H. J. Young), M. E. M.

Hattrell, E. T. Hornoyld-Strickland; M. J. Caulfield, D. R. L. McKechnie (captain); G. E. Weld-Blundell, P. M. Graves, M. C. Schulte; E. J. Beale, T. A. Herdon; C. E. Pagendam, M. H. Sutherland, and A. J. Bean (D. H. N. Ogden).

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 the lower sets there was an abundance of talent, among whom the following were awarded tackling colours: A. J. Bean, M. J. Caulfield, A. J. Fawcett, D. G. Forbes, J. G. Gruenfeld, R. Q. Lovegrove, R. J. Micklethwait, S. C. E. Moreton, C. B. Richardson, D. P. B. Richardson, and H. J. Young.

SWIMMING

As a result of mild weather the swimming bath has probably never been used before so extensively during the winter term. Boys in the Second and Third Forms were offered formal lessons in all four strokes, diving and life saving. Exciting water polo matches were also played by boys in both forms. J. Stewart, T. Baxter, M. Schulte, and J. Dowse all learnt how to swim this term.

ROME PILGRIMAGE

GILLING too sent its party to the October Canonisation of the Forty Martyrs. Fr Piers, Anne Willis and Mrs Blake-James took nineteen boys, after Fr William had given them his blessing. They went by SPES to Ciampino Airport and on to a pilgrims' convent on the Janiculum hill, where they were called "bambini" and at once put to bed.

A day was spent sight seeing, Watts and Burt getting lost in the Colosseum. Hubbard was found fishing coins out of the Trevi fountain instead of throwing them in, when he wished. Tate met one of his cousins in the Woldingham party on the Pincian Hill, while others went off to buy balloons lighter than air.

On the Canonisation day (see the main account elsewhere in this JOURNAL), the boys arrived early in St Peter's remaining in groups of 5-6 divided among the adults. Fr Piers managed to deliver the box of hosts to Fr Paolo Molinari which Mother Theresita had sent from the Tyburn Community for the Mass, and they were

put in the ciborium. The boys lasted out the long ceremony well, except Corkery who nearly fainted and had to be brought to the back of the south transept to sit and rest.

That afternoon Mr and Mrs McAlindon, whose boy at Junior House was also with our party (with three other JH boys), took us all to lunch along the Appian Way: Lennon drank more wine, albeit watered down, than was good for him and had to lie down. We went on to a Mr Guido's house, who claims to be the last man in Italy to make his wine by treading it underfoot in biblical fashion: so we took off our shoes and had a go ourselves, watching the juice flowing out of the bottom of the barrel, Hubbard finding it cold work on the feet.

Next day we went to the papal audience in the Cortile San Damaso, a courtyard in the Vatican full of thousands of pilgrims, Ellingworth taking the opportunity to collect the autographs of nearly the entire English and Welsh hierarchy. We went on to the catacombs after lunch, down ancient flights to where the early popes and martyrs were buried together, until Corkery saw some old bones of a young Christian and said that he had had enough. Ellingworth bought a five foot rosary with luminous beads on the way out.

We arrived at the basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura in time for the end of Cardinal Heenan's consecrated Mass of thanksgiving with the English bishops and clergy. On his way out, the Cardinal gave us all a blessing, asking where we had come from: "Ampleforth Parpety School", said Sillars excitedly, and then turned round and said, "doesn't he speak good English for an Italian?"

The following boys were on the pilgrimage: A. C. Burt, S. J. Dick, T. M. May, A. P. Ryan, J. C. B. Tate, J. C. S. Watts, J. Blenkinsopp, E. T. B. Charlton, P. K. Corkery, S. G. Durkin, M. S. Harrison, C. C. Howard, T. B. P. Hubbard, J. F. Lennon, P. B. Myers, A. C. A. Quirke, M. F. Russell, M. D. Sillars, D. R. Ellingworth.

JH:

C. H. W. Soden-Bird, M. Thompson, D. J. Barton, T. McAlindon.



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BLAKE'S "THE LAST JUDGMENT", 1808
watercolor version, Egremont collection, Petworth.

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Part II

EDITORIAL : ON INFALLIBILITY

Cardinal Manning narrates the miraculous resuscitation of the Virgin Mary, and his argument for believing it is that the story is a beautiful one, and that it is a comfort and help for pious souls to think it true. Both may be freely conceded to him; but really as much may be said for the miraculous apparition of Cinderella's fairy godmother.

Matthew Arnold, "God and the Bible".

THOSE who are nurtured in the four walls of the Church of Rome cannot ever entirely know what apprehension the 1870 doctrine of Papal Infallibility, then untempered by the Conciliar expansions of 1964, engendered in the minds of even sympathetic Christians outside the Roman obedience. To most of them, not embedded in two millennia of developing ecclesiology nor fashioned by a rigorous tradition of theology, but inclined to a certain eclectic freedom, the doctrine appeared as arbitrary and even intellectually humiliating to the individual. Dr Arnold's comment upon the doctrine which was to become the centre of the one irrefutable exercise of Infallibility (a comment made shortly after 1870) focuses that fear of the random and irrational which 1870 caused and is by no means yet dispelled.

Nor is it only the outsider who fears for his independence of judgment: for the term "creeping infallibility" has become common currency among Catholics in recent years. It is claimed for the Pope by zealous curial officials that certain of his encyclicals carry the sanction of infallibility, or that his condemnation of books (e.g. Jansen's "Augustinus") or propositions (as in 1864 and 1907) or persons, or his elevation of persons in canonisation, have the mark of infallibility. If we were to take the recent canonisation of the Forty Martyrs as an instance, it has been said that since these men and women have been raised to the altar by an act of the Roman Pontiff, there is no further need to investigate their lives by historical research or to explore their motives: *causa finita est*. In a booklet just released by the Office of the Vice-Postulation in London, the principal Postulator of the Cause, Fr Paolo Molinari, S.J., declared that "canonisation is an act of the infallible teaching authority of the Church". When one thinks of the random history of canonisation, beginning with veneration of the martyrs, continuing in the selection of confessors by local acclamation of the *vox populi*, then by the investigation of local bishops, then by the liturgical act of peripatetic popes, then by processes increasingly

formalised up to this day; when one recalls that a doctor of the Church, the Venerable Bede, has never formally been canonised and that Edward the Confessor's claim to sainthood rests on poor and slanted monastic chroniclers' evidence; when one recalls that many medieval canonisations were part of the coinage of international diplomacy, one then wonders whether Fr Molinari's claim is not a case of "creeping infallibility".

It is instructive to go to the roots of Infallibility to ask who possesses it, and when, and what it is that they possess. It is possessed by the Roman Pontiff as pastor and doctor of all Christians; by the bishops in *ecclesia congregata*; by the general consensus of bishops in *ecclesia dispersa*, i.e. scattered in their dioceses but acting in fellowship with each other and the Pope; and by the universal body of the faithful, "from bishops to the last layman", this in accordance with Augustine's principle *securus judicat orbis terrarum*. The Pope and bishops must intend to make a definitive utterance and explicitly state that intention or provide unmistakable proof of the fact (canon 1323.3), that utterance to be held by the universal Church (not merely localities) concerning faith and morals. The body of the faithful must be involved in a supernatural discernment of faith. What is the infallibility they then possess? It is "that infallibility which the divine Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed". This brings to mind those great Gothic cathedrals, massive canopies of masonry set down on foundations at best uncertain, at worst conjectural; for this sonorous definition which may seem to allow of "a bull for breakfast" day by day hinges upon a premise which remains undefined or at most obscurely defined. When did the divine Redeemer ever will that his Church should be endowed with infallibility? When he said: "I will lead you into all truth"; or "the Father will give you another Advocate to dwell with you forever, the spirit of truth"; or "behold, I shall be with you all days till the consummation of the world"? In what we may call the Gamaliel principle (Acts 5; but this in fact discourages definitions)? Where is the term, or even the explicit idea, defined in Scripture: in Paul's words that the Church is "the pillar and ground of truth"? How are we to know beyond doubt what Christ has willed, or where his will is at work? In so serious a matter, are arguments from probability, suitability or general tendency sufficient? Indeed are the ways of Scripture and the Patristic interpretations determinative, irrefutable and coercive; or are they authoritatively attractive, intellectually inviting and morally persuasive? In a word, is the very idea of infallibility out of harmony with the "come, follow" of Scripture; is it born of an age more of regimentation than of inner reform? And might that age be over?

What is it that is infallible? Is it the formula as promulgated or the single common opinion when embodied in human words? Is it the Pope and bishops and the people in their act of assertion? Aquinas insists that it is more rooted than this; that the object of faith is nothing less than first truth (*obiectum fidei est veritas prima*, ST II.II.1), which is divine Truth: for the act of a believer comes to rest not in a proposition but in reality

(*actus credentis non terminatur ad enuntiabile, sed ad rem*, ib. 2 ad 2). The object of faith is God himself as Truth, though for man *in via* the mediation is through a human agent using a cognitive instrument, i.e. a vicar of Christ formulating. Sometimes a distinction is drawn between the act of preaching and teaching, called an instrument of active infallibility; and accepting and affirming, called passive infallibility. Nevertheless the act is centred upon *veritas prima* and nothing less.

The ground truth is not "reformable", but the definition may be subject to reformulation, that surely being of the essence of doctrinal development. Any doctrinal definition will contain an element of mortality, as the product of passing processes of thought liable to be overtaken by "newer" thought processes. "The Church must be forever building, for it is forever decaying within and attacked from without: for this is the law of life." We might ask, for instance, how useful today are the early definitions of Christ's two natures in one person, we who know those words principally through psychology and psychiatry, biography and the arts in general. Words have their day, even though the sensitive historian may recapture something of it.

There is need to stress the historicity of the life of the Church, a fluctuating institution which adopts particular attitudes as it progresses, loses sight of some of its greatest insights, overemphasises others under pressure. As the Louvain professor Gustav Thils has said, "the reality of the Church never exists in a pure state, but is always situated at one point in history." His confrère Roger Aubert has shown with some force that "Church history is an indispensable key to interpreting the decisions of the Magisterium" (*Concilium* VII.6 (1970), 97-107); and he quotes Henri Bouillard writing on Aquinas as far back as 1944 to show the complexity of thought transmission and the need of the historian to study the thought patterns and methods of approach of theologians and Council fathers alike. For behind every definition is a whole ramification of assumptions spreading out into life and back into the past:

"Any theology that is not of its age would be a false theology. . . . When the mind evolves, an unchanging truth can stay the same only by means of a simultaneous and correlating evolution of all its aspects, preserving the same relationship among themselves. . . . the affirmations themselves, if they are to keep their meaning in the new intellectual climate, determine new ideas, methods and systems that correspond to this climate. If it were otherwise, the old formulae would lose their original meaning by the fact of their continuing in existence. When the mind grasps a formula, in fact, it tries to relate it to the totality of its conception in order to understand it. It interprets it in the light of what it knows. It reconstructs it according to its personal scheme of things, and only under these conditions can it understand it. Then surely it follows that if the mind unconsciously modifies one of the ideas or schemes in a formula or correlating set of formulae, then all the others have to be modified correlatively if the affirmations are to retain their original meaning."

We must accept that men live cocooned in the assumptions of their age, giving way both to apprehension and to opportunism, making sometimes very pragmatic pronouncements accordingly. If we are to grasp the immutable kernel of everlasting truth, it will only be in the recognition of the relativity of events and utterances. Every reiteration of a set formula (take for example the ancient coronation rite) is something of a new event, placed in a new concatenation of relationships. Those who have invoked Magna Carta or the Bill of Rights down the years have known this very well—and it is of interest how often the American and French declarations of rights have had to be either amended or redrafted. We are forced to the conclusion that pronouncements of the Magisterium are always dated; and it would be no hard task for the historian to find some that are contradicted by others (e.g. those personal liberties which Pius IX condemned in 1864, Pius XI extolled throughout his reign).

If we accept this, we may even come to think that the definition of 1870 could have been made at no other time than in the late nineteenth century: indeed it was twice rejected in the fifteenth century at Constance and at Basle. It would take a major essay to rehearse the evidence, but the following indications may illuminate that thesis. It was an age of scientific hypotheses, of omniscient philosophies and timeless panaceas: nothing so sweepingly simple as Darwinism (which the Augustinian Mendel soon faulted), Hegelianism (which lay at the root of two world wars) or Marxism (which sowed the ground for the worst tyranny on earth) could have burgeoned in any other century. It was an age of over-rationalism coupled with poverty of faith, of faith nevertheless in the possibility of recovering total truth, of reducing human experience to words in books without loss, of presenting documents as the final analysis of human motivation. Let us look only to Germany and to England for evidence.

In Germany the ruling mind in human thought was the Berlin professor Leopold Ranke (1795-1886). It is no accident that in his youth he had done his doctorate on Thucydides, whose aim had been to preserve an accurate record of a war so that the facts might be a permanent source of political teaching to posterity, a gift to "those who desire an exact knowledge of the past as a key to the future, which in all probability will repeat or resemble the past"—a "*possession forever*". Ranke, when he was not leading the Berlin school of "pure" history to their task of discovering what really happened (*wie es wirklich war*), when he was not preaching the gathering of final facts from which to deduce through the process of historical evolution "the workings of God from a great distance at least", when he was not eulogising the permanence of the socio-economic order brought about in central Europe by Bismark, was writing his seven volumes of "Weltgeschichte"—universal history. His was a climate of thought bound to foster the idea of final infallible statements.

In England we find the same thing, a Cambridge historian lecturing on the French Revolution, saying "in a few years . . . all will be known that ever can be known", assuming that when all the source material is edited

into print, all historical problems will be solved to satisfaction, writing that "impartiality is the character of legitimate history (and its end) the increase of accurate knowledge". Until Croce and the subtleties of modern relativism modified his naiveties, John Dalberg Acton (1834-1902) subscribed to timeless historical truth and therefore timeless historical importance. Like Ranke, he searched for historical finality, assuming that his world had reached some permanent equilibrium, and like him he preached universal history beyond the unstable saga of the nations. Astonishingly he found himself not on the side of the angels when it came to 1870 (cf. J. V. Conzemius, "Lord Acton and the First Vatican Council", *JEH* 20 (1969), 267-94).

If the intellectual climate was ripe as never before in Europe, so was it for a very different reason in Roman circles. The years of Pio Nono's pontificate were marked by an anti-intellectualism, an anti-liberalism and a refusal to come to terms with the developing world which astounds us now in retrospect. He made a positive contribution neither to the main issues of his age nor to the unfolding social problems of mankind. He condemned outright the idea of a free Church in a free state (Montalembert's programme), fearful of Cavour. He anathematised liberalism, pantheism, naturalism, rationalism, indifferentism, communism and societies formed for the study of scripture. His *Syllabus Errorum* of 1864 ended after two clauses apparently denouncing religious toleration, with this often criticised Error: that "the Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile himself and reach agreement with 'progress', Liberalism and recent departures in civil society". Under his rule theology, scriptural exegesis and concomitant higher studies came to the verge of bankruptcy in the Church. Against contemporary German philosophy and its consequent theology, Rome could bring only a wooden neo-Scholasticism, a monopoly method concerning which Dr Döllinger said at the Munich Congress of German Catholic scholars in 1863 that Rome brought bows and arrows to the guns of Germany. Roman theologians labelled evolutionists as heretics, while inconsistently indulging in a naïve concordism, condemned by Newman in 1861 and described later by Lagrange as "too much readiness to parade the harmony of faith with the opinion of scientists, and to introduce into exegesis the very latest professional theory". In such an atmosphere of thought, pontifical definitions appeared as an attractive substitute for the complexities of authoritative argument which would otherwise be necessary.

And if the intellectual climate in both Rome and the thinking world was ripe for the Vatican definition as never before or since, so too was the institutional climate at Rome and emanating from the Holy See. It was not merely that Pius IX had encouraged the suggestion that the *Syllabus Errorum* (signed not by himself but by Antonelli) was infallible, compelling obedient acceptance; and that again in 1869 he allowed the *Syllabus* to be linked with the doctrine proposed for his Council (so throwing both into the arena of politics): for he had fiercely promoted the progress of Ultramontanism since his fright in 1848 at the power of Liberalism to liberate men's minds. The 1870 definition, worked out behind closed doors, was the

crowning act of a concerted policy of systematic centralisation, which made the Hildebrandine Reform pale by comparison. First the Pope refused encouragement to all Catholic political parties caught in the local problems of Church and state, viewing them as the heirs of episcopal power structures of the years before 1848. Next he reduced the influence of bishops and their capacity to initiate in their own dioceses. Then he turned his attention upon the Sacred College, using the Jesuits, with their special dedication to the service of the Pope, to build up a strong personal bloc in the Curia: *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit journal, became the principal organ of the Holy See, until in 1878 the reign of Pio Nono was described as "a sort of occult government, composed of Jesuits of *La Civiltà*". Over the twenty years preceding the First Vatican Council, a programme of unrelieved uniformity was put into effect. Bishops were selected for their Roman training, their Curial docility and their personal devotion to Pius IX; so that by 1870 of the 740 bishoprics filled since the middle of the century, 660 were filled by clergy of the Pope's personal choice, and the most overtly loyal had been raised to the cardinalate. These bishops, as expected, increasingly countenanced papal interference in provincial synods and the reduction of their powers by encroachment. They were happy to indulge in the renewed custom of *ad limina* visits to the See of Peter, which ensured that they would be recently conversant with the mind of Rome (what Acton called "Romanism"). They gladly immersed themselves in the 1854, 1862 and 1867 grand Vatican episcopal assemblies which were designed to manifest ecclesial unity and became in fact apotheoses of pontifical power. Those bishops who clung to their independence discovered that, in a way outreaching the Hildebrandine, new channels of Apostolic Nunciature had been developed to circumvent them, and that Romanist priests in their dioceses (their own priests whose vows of obedience were to them) were being given support against them as new disciples of Ultramontanism: and then a mass of new monsignori were named as a further winning move, without the consultation of and over the heads of their bishops. The tendency to Vatican centralisation was brought to a new pitch with the foundation of seminaries in Rome so that young priests, the most promising of them, would be Rome trained and soaked in Roman mores (the word *Romanità* grew out of this period); and so that they might regularly attend the audiences of the Pope to learn the paramountcy of unity and the mind of the Vicar of Christ. Such was the setting for the First Vatican Council, whose political manoeuvring (and no moral unanimity) flowered in the definition of Infallibility of the Pope—*ex sese non autem ex consensu ecclesiae*. It is interesting that the Tübingen historian of councils, Bishop von Hefele of Rottenburg and the great social leader, Bishop von Ketteler of Mainz and many of the ablest prelates (Strossmayer of Croatia, Rauscher of Vienna, Dupanloup of Orleans, Darboy of Paris and others) were ranged among the influential minority group against the definition. They came largely from countries of mixed and advanced religion, of strong theological traditions, where issues had been refined to some precision by defensive dialogue: they stood in sharp

contrast with the "practical" prelates, the missionaries and those used to an easy, unchallenged and presumably less exact Catholicism. For all that, a general council of the Church, after due deliberation and important re-draftings, made the definition, and so it stands among the *de fide* doctrines axiomatic to the belief of Catholics.

The closed, secretive, fearful fundamentalism of the mid-nineteenth century which attempted (in Montalembert's phrase) to sacrifice the complexities of truth and history to an idol erected in the Vatican, and which was the climate and condition of the 1870 definition, is alien to us now. After the Second Vatican Council we see ourselves in an open world and a pluralist society of men—pluralist in dogma, in philosophy, in ethics, in morals, in belief about society and the individual and even about the afterlife. So changed is the thought climate of the world today that the German Jesuit Fr Karl Rahner has concluded: "I can hardly imagine a really new proposition being so stated that it could be everywhere perceived as an expression of the faith-consciousness of the whole Church and thus able to be defined". Such a proposition would suppose that the Church shared a uniform theology, a state which "no longer exists and cannot be realised again in the foreseeable future". He added that "the end of the Magisterium's ability to define really new dogmas makes the historicity of the dogma of Infallibility brutally clear".

The last Council was conducted in the full light of day, it struggled to bring the Church to modern civilisation, it embraced the most flexible of liberalism, it blessed a massive programme of change (liturgical change especially) and it made no claim that any of its utterances were final or irreformable. Its theme was not *Pastor Aeternus*, but the more liberating *Gaudium et Spes*.

"The ignorant and simple-minded declare that meaning is not otherwise than words, that as words are, so is meaning. They think that as meaning has no body of its own that it cannot be different from words and, therefore, declare meaning to be identical with words. In this they are ignorant of the nature of words, which are subject to birth and death, whereas meaning is not; words are dependent on letters and meaning is not. . . . Anyone who teaches a doctrine that is dependent upon letters and words is a mere prattler, because Truth is beyond letters and words and books. This does not mean that words and books never declare what is in conformity with meaning and truth, but it means that words and books are dependent upon discriminations, while meaning and truth are not; moreover, words and books are subject to the interpretation of individual minds, while meaning and truth are not."

From the "Lankavatara Sutra" (a Buddhist scripture written in Sanskrit in India circa 350 A.D.)

SAINT MARGARET CLITHEROW HER "TRIAL" ON TRIAL

THE CASE AGAINST HER BY JULIANA WADHAM

A REPLY FROM KATHARINE LONGLEY

To mark the canonisation of one of the three women among the forty martyrs, the patron (after Our Blessed Lady herself) of our diocese, and the sole certain claimant to be both York bred and York martyred, we asked the author of "Margaret Clitherow" to deal with the legal process which brought the martyr to her death. The outcome was a long article in the Autumn JOURNAL (pp. 334-364) entitled "The 'Trial' of Margaret Clitherow".

This article, and the presuppositions behind it, have been challenged by a writer who, although she has researched into sixteenth century material, makes no claim to be an expert in the field of recusant history. She is the author of "The Case of Cornelia Connelly" (Collins, 1956). She has based her argument upon an analysis of the facts presented in the article by Katharine Longley. Her intention has been to elicit more evidence upon those areas where the martyr's case seems least convincing: she has, in fine, taken on the task of *advocatus diaboli*, whose unpopular duties in a canonisation process are nevertheless appreciated for their testing function (as, by analogy, the task of the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition in the House of Commons). Her success in this is shown by the most illuminating reply from the author of the article under examination.

THE CASE AGAINST HER BY JULIANA WADHAM

So disturbing are the implications of "The 'Trial' of Margaret Clitherow" that it is impossible to leave them unexplored. For in fact there is no evidence to suggest as your editorial introduction did, that "she died untried, unheard, unconvicted" (except by her own wish) and by "this travesty of a legal process". And there is considerable doubt as to whether she died "the victim of national religious politics" and not as the result of a prolonged domestic quarrel.

The manner in which Margaret Clitherow died, *peine forte et dure*, was imposed upon her entirely because she refused consent to her own trial. This is what the penalty of *peine forte et dure* (pressing to death) existed for, to gain the prisoner at the bar's consent to his, or her, trial by jury in cases of felony. If he or she refused to plead and be tried, it was the normal legal punishment. (It was only officially abolished in 1772 and women were not exempt from it.) It carried with it one outstanding compensation—those who chose it were allowed to leave their property to their heirs—whereas if tried with their consent, and found guilty, their property was forfeit.

In fact, many of those who suffered this penalty were common felons whose guilt was clear and who would only waste their own time, and the judge's (as well as forfeiting their children's inheritance) by putting in a plea of not guilty and standing trial by jury. But some of those who opted for this dreadful death did so for reasons other than the desire to save their children's inheritance. In some cases their exact motives are not clear.



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ALL A MISTAKE?

This drawing of a Martyr's crown, with the words, "Veni sponsa Christi accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus preparavit in aeternum. Margareta Clitherowe Gaudens in Caecis antea Sanctorum qui Christum venturum sunt secuti: et qui pro eius amore, sanguinem suum iudicant" occurs at the end of a manuscript of part of Fr John Mudi's "True Report of the life and martyrdom of Mrs Margaret Clitherow", in the collection made by Peter Mowle senior, of Attleborough, Co. Norfolk, which is now at St Mary's College, Oscott. This is the earliest manuscript of the "True Report" (first written in 1586) to which a terminal date can be assigned, for it may be dated between the years 1592 and 1602. It is early evidence of the spreading of the cult of Margaret Clitherow as a martyr.

Foremost among them is Margaret Clitherow who died, according to her own words "to God's glory and the advancement of the Catholic Church".

But did she? Are her motives really only these? And on whose evidence do we know them?

Unhappily, it is possible, using the same evidence as that contained in the article by Katharine Longley, to reach very different conclusions from those reached by her—and presumably by the Church who canonised Margaret Clitherow.

It is surprising how little we know about Margaret Clitherow herself (though we are told a great deal about her prosecutors, i.e. those who tried to bring about a proper trial). We do not even learn her approximate age or the religion of her husband or family (she was, in fact, about 30. See note A†), while all that we do know about her comes to us through the "Report" of Father Mush, her confessor and biographer, who is also the major, in fact the only, witness in her defence. (I am here using the phrase "witness for the defence" in its non-legal sense. For in 1586, and until the eighteenth century, no witnesses for the defence could be called.)

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that Mush should be a man of impartiality—and that he himself should be thoroughly vetted so that his evidence may be properly assessed. For, in addition to being the only witness in Margaret Clitherow's defence HE IS THE ONLY WITNESS WE HAVE AT ALL OF THE CONDUCT OF THE TRIAL (see p. 349, "the only record of the legal proceedings is that given in Father 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").

Yet what do we find? That we know nothing about him—not even his age. (He was, in fact, 34. See note B.) We are given no word about his personal history or character except where we learn that he later became confessor to Mary Ward (p. 363) and again where the author says (in a context too involved to go into here) "there could scarcely be two persons with Father Mush's powers of vituperation" (see note C).

Now it is impossible to stress too strongly the part played by the unfortunately named Mush in this whole business—or the danger of reticence upon the subject—for, as well as being Margaret Clitherow's biographer and confessor, and therefore possibly biased, he was himself heavily implicated in her "guilt" (he was the priest said to have been seen in her house by the small boy on whose evidence she was arrested) and therefore presumably partisan.

We are thus confronted with the astounding fact that what little we know about Margaret Clitherow comes through the word of one man, Mush, who was himself implicated in her trial, possibly involved with her in the accusations made against her (see this article, page 15 (4)) and almost certainly dependent for his own personal safety or reputation upon the outcome of her trial and what she revealed during it.

It is hardly surprising in the circumstances, perhaps, that we fail to learn from him the exact nature of the indictment brought against Margaret

† Notes A to G at p. 20. Other page and note references are to the Autumn JOURNAL.

Clitherow. To quote Katharine Longley, "It is unfortunate, in the absence of the official records of the arraignment, that Father 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' it is impossible to judge how far the entire proceedings were illegal." (p. 356) (see note D).

In fact (even on Mush's evidence alone) they do not appear to have been illegal at all. Far from being a "travesty of a legal process" they appear to have been conducted with commendable propriety and lack of rancour by Judge Clench. Indeed, Katharine Longley describes the "trial" 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." (p. 349). (This is no place to discuss the barbarity of the custom; in a barbarous age it was the law.)

How, then, within the context of her own biographer, does Margaret Clitherow conduct herself in court and out of it—and what evidence for her integrity are we given? Unfortunately very little. Yet it is essential that we should be. For not only was Margaret Clitherow accused of harbouring priests, she was accused, apparently outside the indictment, of sleeping with them (p. 344 and note 32). In fact this is the reason her stepfather Henry May gave after her trial for her refusal to plead before a jury chosen from the district; for, if she did, he said she would have been branded by those who knew her as a whore. She preferred, he implied, to be tried by the conscience of a judge who was a stranger to York. The same accusations had been repeated in court when it became clear that Margaret would not plead (p. 351) not only by Councillor Hurlstone, but later by two very different men; Laurence Meeres, who had been reader at Gray's Inn and later became Recorder of Berwick, and the Council's non-legal secretary, Henry Cheke (see note G), son of the famous Greek scholar of Cambridge, Sir John Cheke, who had been tutor to Edward VI. These were not men without consequence, even if they were Protestants. Their accusations must be answered—and answered well. For there surrounds this whole case a most unpleasant miasma of doubt.

Why, for instance, did her husband say nothing on her behalf? Clearly their relations were not good since she speaks slightly of him in court, "God knows 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". Moreover, she refused to see him at all after she was arraigned and before she died. She said, in answer to those who visited her in prison and accused her of indifference to her family, "You charge me wrong. I die not desperately nor willingly procure my 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 . . . as for my husband know you that I love him next unto God in this world" (p. 359).

But did she? Commenting upon her refusal to see him at all between her investigation and her death she said, "God's will be done for I will not offend God and my conscience to speak with him" (p. 355). She gives

as her reason that she would be forced to "yield unto something" if she did and have to attend Church or hear a sermon. At whose request? Her husband's—or the prison governors? We are not told, but her intransigence at such a time is extraordinary. Surely, if there was anything left of their relationship as man and wife she would have agreed to see him, even if it meant listening to a Protestant sermon, in order, if for nothing else, that they might be reconciled? Instead, she sent him her hat . . . "in token," Mush says, "of her loving duty towards him, honouring him as her head".

But, again, was it? It was the same hat she had been reprov'd for wearing in court (p. 350) as a sign of disrespect. The gesture is open to two interpretations. And however one decides in its regard there can be little doubt that, whatever she achieved by her martyrdom, she achieved it at the expense of her relationship with her husband.

His silence emphasises this fact. It is most marked. While it is odder still that he was with the Council in York at the very moment when the Council sent two sheriffs to search their house (p. 342). It was the afternoon of a week-day in Lent. Hardly a time, as Katharine Longley herself points out, when they might expect a priest, hidden in her house, to be saying Mass. (I am not siding with her stepfather in his accusations. I am asking that they should be answered.)

Leaving aside the nature of her relations with her husband, how, on the evidence of the way she conducted herself in court, can we decide about her? Again it is possible to form two distinct impressions—either that she failed to understand, or believe, what the judge was telling her, or that she resolutely determined upon a martyr's crown for motives that are not altogether clear. It is true that she faced "a sharp death for want of trial" with equanimity (p. 351). She said, cheerfully, "God's will be done. I thank God I may suffer any death for this good cause". "Some of them, seeing her joy, said she was mad and possessed of a smiling spirit." But then most ("All" according to Mush, p. 352, l. 33) of those who watched her in court were struck by her "obstinacy and folly" and many of them by an air of insanity (pp. 351, 355).

Who were these people and why did they hold these views? Unfortunately Mush does not tell us who they were. He leaves us to presume that, apart from the two judges (Clench and Rodes), they were the members of the Council (her enemies) and, since "the puritan preacher Wigginton stood up" in court to plead on her behalf from amidst a "great murmuring and noise in the Hall" (earning the epithet "Balaam's Ass" from Mush (p. 362) for doing so), presumably a considerable number of the general public as well. Why were they struck by her smiling obstinacy? Because she categorically and repeatedly refused to plead in the face of the judge's patient and persistent advice that, in her own self-interest, she should.

This is the crux of the matter. Undoubtedly the two most significant questions arising from the "trial" are these. (I do not like the implication of the inverted commas in your article. They suggest the trial was

improper, not, as was in fact the case, that Margaret Clitherow refused trial). Why did she consistently refuse to plead? (For which the automatic penalty was pressing to death.) And why did the judge as strenuously urge her, in her own interest, to do so?

To take the last point first, since, in the long run, it will make my final case clearer:

Judge Clench was, I think we can safely assume, advising her in good faith. He was, we are told, called her "good judge" by Queen Elizabeth (p. 356). Since he sat in an Assizes Court he was not a local man and cannot, therefore, be accused of playing any part in the domestic quarrels of York, to which much of Margaret Clitherow's arraignment was due. (See Katharine Longley's article *passim* but in particular p. 344, para. 2.) No suggestion is, in fact, made by the author who is careful to stress his clemency and his courtesy. He behaved, on Mush's evidence, with equity. He offered Margaret Clitherow not merely the triple chance to change her mind to which she was legally entitled (*Trina admonitio*, p. 349) but seven chances. He extended the seventh chance by 12 hours (p. 349) and postponed sentence for a week (p. 363) that she might once more reconsider her decision not to plead. He impressed upon her what the consequence of such a decision must be. In addition, he only imposed sentence provisionally (p. 362), "Although we have given sentence against you according to law, yet will we show mercy if you will anything help yourself".

Yet the author says (having stated, p. 348, that Clench was "slow to condemn" and quoted in his favour his junior judge's comment, "Brother Clench, you are too merciful in these causes") that he acted like Pilate in not relieving her from death when it lay in his power to do so (see note E). But did he? How many who refused to plead before 1586 were relieved? I do not know. It is difficult to discover. But the legal view seems to be that it was not reasonable to expect he should. Besides, apart from not adopting this course, he tried every avenue open to him to save her life. He virtually told her that if she pleaded he would direct the jury to acquit her (p. 351). "Good woman, consider well what you do; if you refuse to be tried by the country (i.e. a petty jury of 12 substantial citizens of York) you make yourself guilty and accessory to your own death, for we cannot try you but by 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." (He was, in fact, a half-Flemish boy of 12 who did lessons with her children, p. 339.)

Moreover, once he realised she was adamant in her resolve not to plead he had her examined (p. 340) by "four honest women who knew her well" for a possible pregnancy which would have exempted her from the death penalty (the "benefit of venter"). This was not the act of a Pilate. (It is one of the sad aspects of this sort of case that other characters involved, who do not happen to share the "saint's" views, tend to go down to history, sometimes unjustly, as villains.)

Why, exactly, was he so anxious to make her plead? Because he wished her to apostatise publicly? I think not. In law, before sentence was passed this was not necessary. It was only after sentence was passed that, for a remission, a public apostasy became necessary. What, then, was his reason—apart from compassion or distaste for the Catholic cause? It seems reasonable to suppose that it was because he knew he could save her. In other words, he was confident that she would not be convicted on the evidence before him once he had directed the jury for acquittal. Or, if she were, it still lay within his power to grant her Queen's mercy. He was as determined to try her within the law as she was to remain outside it.

Indeed, far from seeking her death he must have longed to avoid it. She was not (as those who normally suffered *peine forte et dure* were) a common criminal. It was a dreadful way to die and the Queen was not likely to relish a woman martyr on her hands at this particular time and on a newly (1585) introduced statute. (It was the year before Mary Queen of Scots was, at last, reluctantly put to death by Elizabeth who was very sensitive to this sort of danger.) Moreover, if she died, she would be the first woman to die for the faith in Elizabeth's reign. Hardly a way to ingratiate himself with the Queen (see note E, line 13).

Why then did he not, in the end, and even after her refusal to plead, relieve her? It lay in his power to do so. (It was also possible for the Council to do so without his consent, though this was merely an academic possibility. They were hardly likely to, having brought the case themselves. They were, in effect, hoist with their own petard. Besides, in 1561 (p. 358, n. 86) a Council had been told that it was exceeding its commission by relieving without consulting the judge.) It is difficult to say. Perhaps he thought, and hoped (certainly his postponement of sentence, and (p. 357) of execution suggests it) that she would be prevailed upon to change her mind. Perhaps he became hardened by her apparent determination to bring death on herself. Perhaps he felt that, by allowing her in the end to die, he would prevent other women recusants from following her example and refusing to plead. (In this, if he did, he was wrong. It had quite the opposite effect (see note E, 26).) But, whatever his motives for not giving her a final reprieve, he did everything else possible, within the context of the law, whose servant he was, to save her.

Why, then, did she so consistently and firmly refuse to listen to him?

There are eight possibilities: (1) That she failed to understand his advice; (2) that she wished to avoid the forfeiture of her children's property; (3) that she was mad; (4) that she was an adulteress; (5) that she wished, by refusing to plead, to repudiate the right of the court to try her—or of Parliament to impose the law by which she would be tried; (6) that she feared witnesses might be brought against her, if she pleaded, who might give away those she sought to protect; (7) that she wished to die a martyr's death—the first woman to do so in Elizabeth's reign; (8) that she intended, by obstinately choosing to die a martyr's death, to rebuff her local reputation as a "common scold" and to score off her family who had contributed to it.

(1) Failure to understand the judge can be dismissed, from her own behaviour in court. She answered several of the judge's questions well; indeed she was commended by him for doing so once. She was intimately connected with the law. Her own father had been sheriff, others of her relations were law officers and among her acquaintances were clerks and attorneys (p. 341). She herself had been tried the previous year and had pleaded not guilty to not attending a Parish Church service (with no success we must assume from the fact that she was imprisoned, but it shows she knew how to and how the processes of the law worked).

(2) Avoidance of property forfeiture, too, can be dismissed, although I do not share the author's dismay if it should have proved to be her motive, or one of her motives. It was a standard reason in those days why men preferred to die in this way rather than to stand trial and be found guilty. There is nothing dreadful about it, except to those who set a high premium on a martyr's crown. But in Margaret Clitherow's case it would seem improbable because she was a woman, and therefore not likely to be the main purveyor of property to her children; and there is no evidence to show she was an heiress. There is some, though, to suggest she was rich. According to Mush, Margaret's mother had taken Henry May from "the beggar's staff" and he owed his rise to the office of Lord Mayor of York to her.

(3) That she was mad, too, with slight reserve, can be dismissed. For though there is evidence for thinking she was not mentally very stable there is not enough to suggest real insanity. It is true she had a perpetually smiling countenance in surprising circumstances (which enraged those who watched her but may have been due to nerves, or to keep up her own courage, or to prove it to others) and that she went to her death (a macabre touch this) dressed as a bride in spite of being the earthly wife of a York citizen and mother of several children. It is also true that one of her children, Henry, who later tried his vocation in several orders, and failed to be accepted in any, died, it appears young, *mente molis* (p. 353, n. 72) and that his mental instability may have been inherited. But though this is possible it cannot be proven. Certainly some aspects of her behaviour suggest the sort of latent hysteria that moved some of her contemporaries to get themselves accused of witchcraft, but it is a very faint suggestion. The main piece of evidence in her favour lies in the judge's attitude to her. If she had been insane, and evidently so, there would have been less point in trying by argument to save her. I think we may safely assume she was not.

(4) There is more evidence to suggest she was an adulteress—but whose evidence? Except for Meeres and Cheke—which could have been hearsay or prejudice—that of Councillor Hurlstone and her own family, her stepfather, Henry May, in particular.

But May's motives are suspect. He may have been trying, after the event, to rationalise his opposition to his stepdaughter. All the same it would be comforting in this context, to learn that note 32 (p. 344) which refers to Henry May's accusations of Margaret Clitherow's immorality

with priests, did not include any between her and Mush (or Ingleby. (See notes D and F)). For he was known to have been harboured by her—and was in the house when she was arrested (p. 356).

There is the undoubted fact that she did not wish to face a jury composed of citizens from her own district. But this, in spite of Henry May's insinuations, may have been for other reasons—notably that she feared the jury would try to please the Council (her enemies whom she accused (p. 357) of "picking quarrels" with her) by siding with them against her.

There is the fact that her husband deliberately left the house and, it would appear, sided with the Council in York who accused and arrested her. But this may well have been for irritation over her Catholicism and priest-harboursing rather than for her adultery.

There is the somewhat disquieting fact that Mush does not give us the exact wording of the indictment against her. This may be because he did not wish to be himself named and involved in it. But it may also be because he does not wish us to know that she was accused of immorality with priests—and that one of those priests was himself.

From insufficient evidence we may presume that Margaret Clitherow was not an adulteress. But it is not a presumption that, without further evidence, we can totally dismiss.

(5) That she wished, by refusing to plead, to deny the rights of the court to try her—as More did, or rather since More, unlike Charles I, did not repudiate the right of the court to try him, to rebuff the right of Parliament to make such a law. (What More said was "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, among Christian men, insufficient to charge any Christian man".)

But, if she did, why did she not say so, as More did, instead of lying specifically to the charge made against her in court? (p. 350). She had ample opportunity for doing so. She could even have quoted More's words—already part of the Catholic tradition. As it is, her oft repeated "Having made no offence I need no trial" (p. 350) is too ambiguous to be taken for such a claim. We must assume that since she did not ascribe any such motive to herself (see account of her own motives, p. 357) she did not have it.

(6) That she feared witnesses might be brought against her if she pleaded not guilty and that through what they said someone she wished to protect might be given away: this cannot be dismissed, for it is the most rational motive that can be ascribed to her. It is the prime one she ascribed to herself. She said "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 deaths if I should have seen any of them brought forth before me to give evidence against me" (p. 357). This has the ring of truth.

But evidence of what? Presumably it can only be of harbouring priests for which she was indicted (with or without the adultery of which

her enemies additionally accused her). She denied the charge specifically in court. She said "I neither know nor have harboured any such persons. God defend I should harbour or maintain those who are not the Queen's friends". But she knew the nature of a formal plea and not being on oath (she was a prisoner at the bar not a witness) she presumably felt herself entitled to lie. But why, in fact, did she? She was not, in fact, obliged to speak at all. Technically she stood mute (p. 356) and could have remained content to have *Nilil dicit* put against her name. The results would have been the same but she would have avoided the need to lie in court. As it is the words she did speak provide no clear clue to her motives. It might be worth noting here that she almost certainly regarded the law as being below the necessity for truth. There was *prima facie* evidence (p. 342) that she had broken the bonds upon which she had been released from prison eighteen months before.

There is, of course, the possibility that she felt her silence might imply acquiescence—as silence in law sometimes does. But since she knew herself to be guilty of the charge anyway, and indeed implied as much on the second day of her trial when she said "As for good Catholic priests I know no cause why I should refuse them as long as I live", there does not seem much point in her speaking merely to lie.

Why then did she? There is no obvious explanation. And yet the prime motive she ascribed to herself (this fear that her children and servants might be called against her) does seem the most likely and sensible motive she could have, on the grounds of reasonable argument as well as on her own admission, for refusing to plead.

Would they in fact have been called if she had pleaded? Was she justified in thinking they might be? She had the judge's word that they would not—"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 was he speaking the truth? Might he not have yielded to pressure and allowed further witnesses to be called? The legal view seems to be that other witness might have been called; that the Crown, at this date, in response to the Court Crier was entitled to call for additional evidence as the trial proceeded. But, of course, in Margaret Clitherow's case they would have been only her own children and servants, whose evidence, if against her, would presumably be little different from that of the Flemish boy's.

It is only fair, therefore, to allow her the chief motive she allowed herself. But it is a pity that she obscured it by contradicting herself in court (denying the charge on the first day, implying it on the second) so that even here doubt and ambiguity are rife. They are rife, too, in the second motive she ascribed to herself:—

(7) For her second, and last, motive coincides disturbingly with the seventh of these possibilities—that she was a religious fanatic whose enthusiasm to win a martyr's crown ran away with her and took her well beyond the realms of reasonable action. There is, unhappily, considerable evidence for thinking this.

For her secondary motive, as she herself said (p. 357) was, "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 part to hinder the country (i.e. jury) 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".

These sentiments are so stunning in their pious hypocrisy that they leave one gasping. It is almost impossible to believe that a rational woman would abandon life, and husband and children, in order that a jury whom she feared ("as well might she expect justice from a jury picked by Judas Iscariot," p. 342) should not have the burden of her death upon their conscience. It makes one feel, as Wellington felt on another occasion, "if you can believe that you can believe anything".

Perhaps it was this sort of comment that caused people, her family especially, to dislike her. It was accompanied by pieties as fervent, but possibly less hypocritical, such as the remark in court "I wish to God both my husband and children might suffer death with me for this good cause".

Certainly her smiling elation in court and her ecstatic words referring to her death as "marriage" do little to suggest the quiet mind of sanity. While even according to Katharine Longley (p. 355) her actions grew "increasingly symbolic" (by which presumably, since she doesn't disclose their nature, she means irrational) as her death drew near.

This eccentricity is not great enough to suggest insanity, but it is certainly exaggerated enough to suggest fanaticism, especially when it is distinguished by an implacable obstinacy which impressed itself on all who saw her.

(8) Was this obstinacy great enough to make her refuse to plead (and die, in consequence, in agony) simply to score off her family?

There is some evidence to suggest that it was. For Margaret Clitherow had just received a severe blow to her pride and good name; a blow so great, and publicly administered, that she may have felt that only by dying a martyr's death could she retrieve her reputation.

The blow was this. On her way from her arraignment at the manor of York, to a cell in the castle prison, she was ducked in the River Ouse—presumably in the ducking stool set there for the punishment of "common scolders" in 1581.

She arrived so wet that she was "glad to borrow all kinds of apparel to shift her with". Yet she never once alludes to this indignity. Although, according to Katharine Longley, it was imposed on her as the "sport of scoundrels"—on which she congratulates Margaret Clitherow with the words "the fact that she did not explain it herself gives us a further glimpse into the soul of the Pearl of York".

But does it? Even if they were scoundrels who ducked her, and not the officers of the law, they must have done so with the connivance of the law, since she was in the law's hands at the time. They must also have done it with the knowledge, possibly agreement, of her family—for both her

stepfather and husband were at the manor of York when she was arrested and her stepfather, as Lord Mayor of York, was hardly likely to stand for such treatment of his stepdaughter if he had not himself condoned it.

Since the ducking stool was a well-known punishment reserved for a "scolding and gossiping woman", defined by Blackstone ("Commentaries", Vol. IV, p. 164, note) as "one who is a public nuisance to her neighbourhood", her silence on the subject is scarcely surprising. It is also significant.

But even without this evidence of her local reputation it is clear, from Margaret Clitherow's own words, that she was a zealous, determined, tactless woman who set family and children low. She said "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 discharged of them" (p. 359).

Her stepfather and husband were not slow to return the compliment. Perhaps they had reason. Perhaps what they were objecting to was not that she harboured priests but that she did so flagrantly, and in open defiance of their wishes, at a period when, with the steadily increasing flow of priests from abroad, she was becoming a serious threat to their safety and their careers.

Certainly her family's behaviour strongly suggests exactly that. For it seems as if, in their irritation and spite, they decided to teach her a lesson and give her a severe fright that might deter her in the future from compromising them. They would produce a case against her which would get her to court (just) and from which, on too little evidence, she would be acquitted by any self-respecting judge.

This last is, of course, supposition only. But it embraces a view which, to some extent, Katharine Longley herself shares, without realising the inference. She says that the sheriff's search "was not aimed at catching priests, or at punishing their harbourers in general, but at catching one woman, Margaret Clitherow, and giving her a good fright" (p. 344). It is a supposition supported, too, by many of the facts of the case. Not least by the fact that the only witness actually produced against her was a boy of twelve and that the evidence found with her was actually found not in her house but a neighbour's. (None of this came out as she didn't plead—but the fact that it was not found in her house would have helped her had she done so.) What none of them anticipated in fact was her absolute refusal to plead. When she refused and it became clear she would die, her stepfather Henry May went down on his knees to beg her to save herself (p. 344). He may of course have wanted her apostasy, in addition to keeping her quiet (he was an ambitious man and it was the year in which he became Lord Mayor of York). But one thing he clearly did not want was her death.

Such, then, is the evidence for a newly canonised saint, who, in my view, should never have been canonised. For canonisation should not be a matter of awarding colours, in this case on too little evidence and on the recommendation of one man. To make it so is to be both invidious and unwise.

When Pope Pius V (himself a canonised saint, though this is no reason for compensating those who suffered as a result of his actions) published his bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, in 1570, he placed a heavy burden on English Catholics. For his bull, declaring the Queen to be excommunicate, deposed, heretical and a bastard, and absolving her Catholic subjects from their allegiance to her, virtually forced them to choose between becoming traitors to their country or disobedient to their Church. They chose between the two extremes, according to their temperaments and consciences, as well as the two extremes themselves. Those selected for canonisation, as martyrs, from among those who unconditionally chose the Church, were selected, one understands, on the exemplary nature of their lives and, one hopes, for the sane and sensible way they conducted themselves before, during and after trial, if they were tried; before and during death if they were not. For canonisation has little point unless it is to serve as a guide-line for those who come after and find themselves in similar difficulties and conflicts.

There is no doubt that Margaret Clitherow acted with exemplary courage. But there is some doubt about her motives, the evidence for them, and the wisdom with which she interpreted them. Until we can be sure that her death was morally necessary she should not be added to the calendar. For though there is not enough evidence to show she was mad, or an adulteress, there is a great deal to suggest that her case was one of a family feud which by being taken to court, got out of hand; so that the spite which dragged her there provoked in turn the obstinacy that led to her fearful end.

The view that she was a religious fanatic must, of course, depend, to some extent, on the view one takes of a woman who put harbouring priests above the wishes of her husband and family, and death before the interests of her children—a fact which dismayed the judge: “Consider if you have husband and children to care for; cast not yourself away.” (p. 353).

Perhaps in deciding we would do well to think upon the judge's words, and to remember that a saint is not expected to practise heroic virtue alone but to practise that cardinal virtue which is “the proper and distinguished excellence of a person's calling”. Leaving aside the very considerable doubts that attend this trial, was it right that Margaret Clitherow (not a nun or a spinster but a wife and mother) should have acted—and died by her own choice—as she did? In my view it was not. There is not only insufficient evidence for thinking her a saint—there are insufficient grounds for thinking her a suitable candidate.

NOTES

(A) Margaret Middleton (born c. 1556) married John Clitherow, butcher, on 1st July 1571. She was probably about fifteen at the time which would make her about thirty at her arraignment. Her husband, a widower, over fifteen years older than she, was later described in the City Housebooks, 2nd February 1602/3, as among “the best sort of the citizens and well liked by this court”. His name appears second in the Monk-Ward list, Christ's Parish of “the best citizens and inhabitants in this city”. By then he was married for the third time. In 1574 Margaret Clitherow had become converted to Catholicism, possibly under the influence of John's brother William who was, in spite of John's Protestantism, a Catholic priest.

(B) *Rev John Mush* (1552-1617) was born in Yorkshire and arrived in Douai 9th March 1576. On 1st October he was sent to the English College in Rome, one of the first students under its newly constituted form under Jesuit rule. According to Persons he wished to enter the Society but was rejected for “his impracticable temper”. He was, he added, “a poor rude serving man received and educated by the Jesuits out of charity” and known patronisingly to his colleagues as “Dr Dodipol Mush”. Certainly, in a letter from Dr Lewis to Allen, 10th March 1579, he is the only student not given the title of “Mr”. But on 31st December 1579 Foley records him as giving theses on philosophy to a great assembly where “he acquitted himself most creditably”. He was admired for his learning by Allen. But he was a malcontent. He was one of 4 leaders of students who rebelled against the Welsh Rector, Maurice Clenock, and was finally forced “to swear obedience or else to depart laying down their apparel—Mush, Gore and, which all men wondered at, I was the fourth. The rest Mr Archdeacon had quarrels with of old”. Haddock, another rebel, writes modestly to Allen 9th March 1579. Mush was persuaded “to leave all meddling and practice in this tumult” and in March 1581 was made deacon in the college chapel. The date of his ordination is unrecorded though in September 1583 Foley records him as going to England, with Cornelius, Lowe and Hodgson “all in priests orders”. Mush himself implies in his *Declaratio Motuum* (p. 71) that he was one of 3 students ordained in the Lateran by Gregory XIII in person. When he arrived in England he sometimes used the alias of Ratcliffe. On 4th September 1586 (six months after Margaret Clitherow's death) Tyrell, a turncoat priest, imprisoned for his implication in the Babington plot, informed his captors that John Mush “the chief layer of plattes (plots) for actions” was in the city of York. Possibly as a result of the information laid by Tyrell he was traced to the house of Richard Langley (caught and executed in York, 1st December). Mush escaped. On 3rd and 7th March he was reported to be in Mr Talbot's house in Mitcham, Surrey. In May 1588 he was reported in London. In 1593 he visited Rome and returned via Flanders. His fluent pen was often involved on behalf of the anti-Jesuit party. He played a prominent part in the troubles at Wisbech that began in 1585. (Though not a prisoner he was twice an arbiter and succeeded in finally persuading Garnet to establish peace.) In the Archpriest controversy that followed he proved an uncompromising antagonist of Blackwell and was to Rome to present the case for the appellants before Clement VIII. He has left his own account of this preserved in the *Pety MSS* in the Inner Temple. Soon after the settlement of the dispute he became assistant to the Archpriest—on the Pope's recommendation that 3 of the appellants should be appointed on the first vacancies. In January 1603, he was one of 13 priests who signed the declaration of allegiance to Elizabeth. In May 1603 he was in Paris and signed the memorandum to the Pope asking that administration of English affairs should be removed from the internuncio at Brussels to the nuncio at Paris. He returned to the north of England and was in Durham and York in 1610. According to Bishop Challoner (p. 120, ed. 1924) “after having suffered prison and chains and received even the sentence of death for his faith, he died at length in his bed, a good old age, in the year 1617”. What authority Challoner has for saying this we do not know, since there is no evidence for it. Perhaps, like others before and after him, he depended on Mush's words alone. For Mush himself speaks of his visit to Rome in 1593 with the words *post carceres, post compedes, post ultimae vitae pericula pro fide superate*. (*Declaratio Motuum*, 71). There is no other record anywhere of his imprisonment, much less his condemnation. (Dodd/Tierney, “Church History of England”, Vols. I-IV, esp. II-III letters and appendices; H. Foley, “Records of the English province S.J.”; G. Amstruther, “Seminary Priests”).

(C) Miss Longley refers (p. 340, n. 17) to Mush's almost certain authorship of “A Yorkshire Recusant's Relation”, published, like Mush's “Report”, in Morris, “The Troubles of our Catholic forefathers” (1877). This contains references to the trial and death of Margaret Clitherow.

(D) It is unlikely, in any event, that the priests John Mush and Francis Ingleby would be named in the indictment on which Margaret Clitherow was arraigned as “by the old common law the accessory could not be arraigned till the principal was attainted”. This may have been overcome by referring to them as “priests unknown”—or the rule may have been waived at the time in connection with recusant trials. But, had Margaret Clitherow pleaded, their names would have come out later as the trial proceeded.

(E) Indeed Miss Longley says (363) "Judge Clench in passing 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." If Clench did, in fact, merit the Queen's displeasure in this case (as knowing her "tender heart" and disinclination to create martyrs he might) he soon regained it. In 1591, after the death of the Lord Chancellor, when the Great Seal was in Commission, he was one of four judges assigned to hear cases in Chancery. Moreover, the fact that he was not knighted is not in the least odd. "The disinclination of Queen Elizabeth to grant titles is particularly remarkable in references to judges." (Foss, "Judges of England", V.397.) Of the 27 judges appointed under Elizabeth only two were knighted. The only strange thing about this case is that Clench, in whose power it lay, did not relieve her from *peine forte et dure*. He tried, by offering her the privilege of venter. This, although she seems to have been in the early stages of pregnancy, she appears to have declined. In this context it is interesting to note that under Huntingdon's Presidency of the North, Margaret Clitherow was the only female recusant to die. (See Dr M. Claire Cross, "The Third Earl of Huntingdon and Trials of Catholics in the North 1581-1595", *Recusant History* VIII No. 3, p. 144.) In 1594 Grace Claxton and Lady Margaret Neville were both condemned to death for harbouring. Both were reprieved, the first on behalf of venter, the second on confessing her guilt and craving the Queen's Mercy as, it seems to me, Clench is urging Margaret Clitherow to do. In 1596, Anne Tesh (who had been Margaret Clitherow's cell-mate in 1586, presumably charged with harbouring or hearing Mass, at the same time and let off on a fine) was condemned to be burnt alive—the punishment for High Treason for a woman. She, too, was reprieved, together with Bridget Maskew sentenced at the same time. They were kept in prison and released in the following reign. Why was Margaret Clitherow the exception? Because, I think, Clench had clearly advised her that if she pleaded she would be reprieved. What he was not prepared to do was to relieve her from the refusal to plead (though even here he offered her the privilege of venter). Perhaps he wished to deter others from following her example. If so he failed. For Fr Gerard, writing in about 1609, expressly states that Jane Wiseman was following the example of Margaret Clitherow in refusing to plead. Only the Queen's direct intervention in Jane Wiseman's case (she was reprieved from *peine forte et dure* by Royal Command) prevented her dying a martyr's death. So, as Miss Longley says, "Margaret Clitherow alone, of the English and Welsh martyrs, was pressed to death".

(F) *Von Francis Ingleby* (c. 1551-1586). Little is known of Ingleby except that he was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1576 was a student of the Inner Temple. He arrived at Rheims on 18th August 1582 to take up his studies as an ecclesiastical student for which he paid himself. He was ordained at Laon, 24th December 1583, and was sent to England 5th April 1584. He was arrested in York in 1586 and martyred 3rd June 1586. He is believed to have said on sentence being passed *Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium* and, smilingly and rather charmingly, on seeing the fetters bound to his legs at the prison door, "I fear me I shall be overproud of my new boots". According to Fr Warford he was short but well-made, fair-skinned and with a chestnut beard and a slight cast in one eye.

(G) In this context, it is perhaps worth noting that several of the Council and citizens who attended Margaret Clitherow's trial were themselves related to, married to (Henry Cheke on *deuxièmes nocces* to Frances Constable only the previous year), or later to become Catholics themselves. The North was palpably still more tolerant of Catholics than the South, even at this date, and recusancy was almost as endemic among those that administered the law as among those that suffered it. Indeed, Henry May's predecessor as Lord Mayor of York, Robert Crippling, was himself tried for recusancy the year of Margaret Clitherow's death (p. 338, note 9).

REPLY BY KATHARINE M. LONGLEY

Mrs Wadham's attack is based upon two fallacies: that the requirements of the Sacred Congregation of Rites¹ were the same in the case of a martyr as in the case of a confessor, and that Fr John Mush is the only witness to the life, arraignment and martyrdom of St Margaret Clitherow.

The protracted enquiries which since the Middle Ages have been necessary before a Servant of God can be beatified or canonised were instituted chiefly to deal with the causes of those whose gift of themselves to God had fallen short of "the supreme gift of charity". In the case of a martyr, what the Postulator has to prove is not the exercise of virtues to an heroic degree, but martyrdom, the laying down of life in circumstances that involve some degree of *odium fidei* in the persecutors.²

Faults that would disqualify a confessor are overlooked,³ for martyrdom gives full remission of the temporal punishment due to sin. (Fr Mush admits that "some little imperfections remained" in Margaret Clitherow.) Even the qualification of baptism is not essential, martyrdom being considered as "baptism by blood".

Candidates are, however, not normally canonised "on the recommendation of one man". The Sacred Congregation lays great stress on *Fama Martyrii*, evidence that the death was regarded by contemporary Catholics as martyrdom.

The cause of Saint Margaret Clitherow was given a flying start the year after her death by the inclusion of an account, not of her character, dismissed as *virtute celeberrima femina*, but of her arraignment and martyrdom, in Richard Verstegan's "Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis", published at Antwerp in 1587, with the engraving and verse reprinted in my article. This account is not derived from Fr Mush, for it differs from his in several particulars, notably in saying that John Clitherow was banished (*in exilium missus est*), and it may have been

¹ "By the Apostolic Constitution *Sacra Rituum Congregatio* of 8th May 1969, the Sacred Congregation of Rites was divided into two independent Congregations, namely the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship and the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints. This followed the *Motu Proprio Sanctitatis clarior* of 19th March 1969, which decreed a general reform and simplification of the procedures for beatification and canonisation. The Holy See will be issuing a further document prescribing the executive norms for the implementation of *Sanctitatis clarior*" "The Canonisation of the Forty English and Welsh Martyrs": a commemoration presented by the Postulators of the Cause (1971), 19-20.

² "Evidence must be offered to show either martyrdom or extraordinary virtue." (G. Parish, "The Canonisation of a saint" (1956), 9.) "If it is a question of a martyr, the fact of martyrdom and the cause of it will be sufficient. . . . If however there is no martyrdom, then the process is much longer . . . because it must be shown that all the virtues have been exercised to an outstanding degree." (id., 10.) Cf. D. Aitwater, "Martyrs: from St Stephen to John Tung" (1958), xvii.

³ For example, John Hambley, alias Tregwethan, captured in 1586, revealed the names of almost every Catholic he had met since his return to England, giving details also of all the staff and students of the English College, then at Rheims, that he could remember. (S.P. 12/192, No. 46/1.) In 1587, however, the same John Hambley was hanged, drawn and quartered as a priest, suffering "with wonderful constancy". He is now among the *Venerabiles*.

carried abroad in this slightly garbled form very soon after Margaret's death by that "Mr Stapleton" who will be mentioned later.

But long before this, in fact, immediately after her death, Fr Mush and others, unnamed, had given proof that they sincerely believed Margaret Clitherow to be a martyr. For six weeks they searched for her body, "being desirous" to have it "reserved with some due honour". It must be remembered that had Fr Mush been caught he would have been hanged, drawn and quartered as a priest, so it is unlikely that he was guilty of deliberately foisting a wolf in sheep's clothing upon the Catholic world. The body was found incorrupt, and a number of people were involved in taking it a long journey and "laying it up as a worthy treasure". (There are three references to this: Fr Mush as "the Yorkshire recusant", 1586 (Morris, "Troubles", iii, 99), "An Ancient Editor's Note Book", c. 1592, authorship unknown (id., 52), and the Vatican Library ms. of the "True Report", c. 1610, which has probably been edited a little by another hand than Fr Mush's. The Vatican Library ms. alone mentions "her ghostly father" as one of those concerned in finding her body.)⁴

The history and nature of Fr Mush's "True Report" are highly relevant as contemporary evidence, and they are not at all what Mrs Wadham chooses to suppose.

About 1586-7, one Thomas Harwood, in Ouse Bridge Kidcote with William Hutton, "being accused by one Pennington, who was in the same prison for debt, for writing of Mrs Clitherow's book of her life, and arraignment at the bar before the judges", was summoned before the Council, and not long afterwards died in the low prison in the Castle.⁵

This is the earliest external evidence of the existence of the "True Report", which from internal evidence is known to have been written before 3rd June 1586 when Ven Francis Ingleby was executed.⁶ It is important to observe how early a prisoner on Ouse Bridge, in the Kidcote adjoining "John Trewe's house" where Margaret Clitherow spent her last days, was taking the trouble to copy out the manuscript, at danger to his life, as it turned out.

⁴ "The sergeants and catchpools were commanded to bury her body at midnight in an obscure and filthy corner of the city that none should know where which they did with great secrecy that in whole six weeks after the Catholics could not find it. Her ghostly father and others being desirous to have the sacred body reserved with some due honour laboured all they could to find it and when they had sought divers places at last it was found the same Friday six weeks after she had been buried. They took it up by night and carried it on horseback a far journey from York and within four or five days prepared spices and with reverence buried it again where with God's grace it may be kept a glorious relic for better times to come. At which time when she was found God showed no small token of this martyr's holiness. For when they took up her body . . . they found it without any ill smell or any corruption, fair and clear as though she had been but new dead, only her breast, throat and face were disfigured with blood, which remained there because they kept her so long under the heavy press." (Vatican Library, Barberini Latini, Codex 3555.)

⁵ Fr J. Morris, s.j., "Troubles of our Catholic forefathers" (1877), iii, 301. ("Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote." The "Notes" are dated 10th December 1594, and this event took place about eight years previously.)

⁶ id., 358.

Now as regards the sources of the "True Report". I have referred to it as "the basis of all study of the subject", and I have said (p. 349) that "the only record of the legal proceedings" is contained in it, but I have not claimed Fr Mush as the *author* of the account of Margaret's arrest, arraignment, examinations in prison and execution. I have said that he "pieced together" the reports of various people who were present, but have suggested that the basic editing may have been done by William Hutton himself, for prison life was often curiously free by modern standards, William Hutton certainly did a lot of writing, sometimes for Mrs Vavasour, and his "Notes" have exactly the limpid, detached and literary style that marks these chapters of the "True Report", so unlike Fr Mush's verbose and emotional style. I think the material certainly passed through Hutton's hands, for his "Notes" contain a précis of it, slightly garbled as though written down later from memory.⁷

Fr Mush only claims to have edited these chapters. His exact words are, "In whose life I will not, by God's grace and assistance, make relation of anything more than that which I saw and well knew in her myself by some years of our conversation together, for which season I was privy to her whole heart as much as any. And as for those things which happened at her apprehension, imprisonment, arraignment, judgment, and death, I will report no more than that which I have received from the mouths of divers honest and credible persons, which were present witnesses and beholders of every action."⁸

Who these persons were, we can have little idea. For what is known of Margaret Clitherow's four days' imprisonment in the Castle before her arraignment, the source is clearly Mrs Anne Tesh, who shared her cell. The sincerity of the faith of Anne Tesh, a friend of Margaret's, was proved not only at this time but even more strikingly many years after the "True Report" had been circulated. It was presumably on the evidence of the "Flemish boy" that a charge of harbouring priests was brought against Anne Tesh at the Lammas Assizes 1586. How he could have known what went on in her house on the other side of the river, in the parish of St Mary Bishophill Junior, was not at all clear; the charge failed to convince the jury, who merely fined her a hundred marks for hearing Mass in Margaret's house. In 1596, while in prison, Anne Tesh and Bridget Maskew, with others, were betrayed by an *agent provocateur*, a minister who pretended a great desire to become a Catholic; for attempting to arrange this, Anne Tesh was sentenced to be burned to death. "The women were by means of their friends reprieved from time to time, to the King's coming [sc. in 1603], of whom their friends got their pardon."⁹

For the examinations in prison, Margaret's friend Mrs Dorothy Vavasour was surely a principal witness, for she was in the "New Counter at Ousebridge" from 1581 to 1587,¹⁰ and the New Counter was the official

⁷ id., 308-310.

⁸ id., 368.

⁹ Morris, "Troubles", i (1872), 243. (Lady Balthorpe's Recollections.)

¹⁰ Morris, "Troubles", iii, 316-7 (Fr Grene's MS. M).

name for "John Trewe's house".¹¹ For Margaret's actions during her last night on earth the only witness can be the Protestant Mrs Yoward, prisoner for debt, who shared her room. It is not unlikely that one of the other witnesses was Ven Robert Bickerdike (executed in the summer of 1586), who, although technically himself a prisoner in the Counter, was free to "go over the way to the Tollbooth" on the day of Ven Francis Ingleby's death.¹²

There is plenty of evidence for the character of Mrs Vavasour, who died in prison; she was the "chief matron and mother" of the Catholic women of York, and ran the most important Mass centre in York until her arrest. She was the widow of Dr Thomas Vavasour, the most respected, outspoken and influential Catholic layman of York, who had died in prison the previous year. Mrs Vavasour was not likely to be mistaken about the character of Margaret Clitherow.

There is, therefore, a fund of evidence that belief that Margaret was a martyr, and of a character worthy to receive that grace, began in York among the people who had known her, and especially among her fellow-Catholics in prison. (Fr Mush says that even non-Catholics said "that nothing wanted to make her a true martyr but only a true faith", both sides being united in the belief that it is the cause that makes the martyr.)¹³

A single vignette survives from another source, the Chronicle of the Bridgettine nuns of Syon, to illustrate the life of Margaret Clitherow some ten years before her martyrdom, when she was exercising an apostolate among the women of York, with her friend Mrs Foster, who died in prison in 1578, and whose son, Fr Seth Foster, became chaplain to the Bridgettines. One of the charges brought against Mrs Foster was that "she and her daughters with Mrs Clitherow and others their companions had already with their meetings and assemblies, and even at their gossiping and feasting done much hurt in York, and would do much more if they were permitted. Hereupon Mrs Clitherow was apprehended, and afterwards executed . . ." ¹⁴ These daughters of Mrs Foster, as also the daughters of Mrs Vavasour, who survived their parents, would have known the truth about Margaret Clitherow's character.

By about 1593 Margaret's fame in York was such that a twelve-year-old boy, John Jackson, meeting her "sister", was sufficiently impressed to recount the event to the authorities of the English College, Rome, ten years later, as one of the stages in his conversion. (He wrote, "*Alteram cognoui feminam prope nos habitantem, quae soror fuit dominae Clytherow,*

¹¹ H. Foley, s.j., "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus", iii (1878), 241.

¹² Morris, "Troubles", iii, 311. ("Notes by a Prisoner.")

¹³ *id.*, 434.

¹⁴ Dom Adam Hamilton, ed., "The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St Monica's in Louvain [i]" (1904), 168. (Quoting the MS. chronicle of the Bridgettines of Syon at Chudleigh.)

"Gossiping". 1. A christening or christening-feast. 2. A meeting of friends and acquaintances esp. at the birth of a child; also *gen.* a merry-making. (O.E.D.)

devotissimam catholicam et multa de Sacerdotibus proferret, ubi vero moram traxere dicere noluit quoniam ut referrebat valde juvenis fui et tempora periculosa.")¹⁵

By 1598 the manuscript of the "True Report" had been so much copied that it had reached Mrs Wiseman in Essex.

By December 1599 Margaret Clitherow's two stepsons, William and Thomas (sons of John Clitherow by his first wife, Matilda Mudd) were obstinate recusants, and so continued; William became a priest, and served on the English mission from 1608 to his death in 1636, while Thomas died in prison for the Faith in 1603.¹⁶ It is clear that their stepmother's conduct had not been such as to scandalise them, to say the least.

Nor did it scandalise her daughter Anne, who, as an intelligent girl of twelve knew exactly who was hidden in the house. At the age of fourteen she ran away from home, and by 1593 was herself in Lancaster Gaol "for causes ecclesiastical". In 1596 she entered St Ursula's, Louvain, was professed as a Canoness of St Augustine in 1598 and died in the odour of sanctity in 1622. In 1619 an abridgement of the "True Report" was printed at Mechlin and dedicated to Sister Anne Clitherow; the only surviving copy is with the successors of the community she helped to start at St Monica's, Louvain, the Canonesses Regular of St Augustine at Newton Abbot, who cherish her memory to this day, for her mother's sake as much or even more than for her own.

When Fr John Gerard, s.j., wrote his account of his eighteen years in England, about the year 1609 at Louvain, he mentioned that up to 1598 "we had had only two women martyrs . . ." and he named one of these as "Clitherow".¹⁷

Probably the "Ancient Editor's Note Book" contains the earliest surviving list of martyrs in which Margaret Clitherow's name (and the date of her "birthday into heaven") appears, compiled c. 1592.¹⁸ Her name appears also in a list that ends with the year 1618, as "Margt. Clitherow, Gentlewoman" among the Knaresborough mss. at Beverley.¹⁹

The desire to have relics of the deceased was accepted by the Sacred Congregation of Rites as evidence of *Fama Martyrii*. The Bar Convent, York, possesses a female hand claimed as that of Margaret Clitherow, and formerly kept beneath the altar in their chapel, accompanied, until at least 1887, by an ancient manuscript note describing her as the protomartyr of her sex under Elizabeth I.²⁰ (The oral tradition is that the hand was given

¹⁵ Catholic Record Society, liv, "The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome", Pt. I, 1598-1621 (1962), 124.

¹⁶ References in M. Claridge, "Margaret Clitherow" (1966), 191. [Mary Claridge is a *nom de plume* used by the author of this article. Ed.]

¹⁷ "John Gerard"; translated by Fr P. Caraman, s.j. 2nd edn. (1956), 53.

¹⁸ Morris, "Troubles", iii, 40.

¹⁹ Knaresborough MSS. 27/5 (County Record Office, Beverley).

The table on pp. 8-17 of C.R.S. v (1908) gives the "modern official list of martyrs, 1583-1603" and shows in which ancient and "modern" catalogues of martyrs their names are included. The name of Margaret Clitherow appears in eleven lists between the years 1608 and 1730, in addition to the references given in this article.

²⁰ Fr H. J. Coleridge, s.j., "St Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York" (1887), 384.

by Fr Mush to Mary Ward, and the discovery that he was one of those who found her body makes this more likely.) There used also to be a relic of the hair of Margaret Clitherow at Westminster Cathedral, but it has disappeared.²¹

Of the earlier surviving manuscripts of the "True Report", the Osceot copy is pre-1602; the Middlesbrough diocesan copy (based on the earliest, pre-June 1586, text), c. 1600; York Minster Library copy, c. 1600; Bar Convent copy made from an old ms. (original text, early 1587), in 1654; the Vatican Library copy, perhaps 1610-20. They are all very much the same so far as the chapters covering events from Margaret's arrest down to her death are concerned.

Fr Mush's early chapters on her life and virtues are found in the Middlesbrough, Bar Convent and Vatican mss. He has managed to include something under the heading of every virtue required to be proved as possessed by a *confessor* to a heroic degree, and it is clear that he sincerely believed Margaret Clitherow to have reached heroic virtue even before her martyrdom. Yet, as I have said, he admits that "some little imperfections remained in her", and evidently one of these was a sharp tongue, which she exercised on Wigginton when he interrupted her prayers. Even here one can see that she made amends later by friendly conversation with him in prison. The "True Report" has been in print in one form or another since 1849 (excluding the 1619 abridgement) and has made Margaret Clitherow one of the best known of the Forty Martyrs.

I supposed, when I undertook to write an article on a specialised subject for an intelligent readership, that any criticism I received would be well informed. Nothing that can be said in the twentieth century either against Margaret Clitherow or even for her, can have any weight in comparison with the opinion of her contemporaries. These things were not done in a corner. The cult of Margaret Clitherow as a martyr began on the day of her death, among the people who knew her, and continued to spread from a city of ten thousand inhabitants, who included her husband (still alive as late as 1614), his third wife, who would have had ample opportunities for gossip, had there been anything to gossip about, and all his in-laws gained by his three marriages. As we have seen, even his sons by his first wife became incorrigible Roman Catholics.

The nature of the accusations brought against Margaret Clitherow at the time of her arraignment and afterwards being such as St Paul said should not be so much as named among us, they have not been described in detail either by me or by previous writers, but I can hardly continue to suppress the relevant unpublished portions of the "True Report", as I have mentioned them in my article. I give them now in full, beginning with passages that Fr Morris cut out or toned down, for obvious reasons. I have modernised the spelling and punctuation; the new portions are given in italic.

²¹ Dom Bede Camm, "Forgotten shrines" (1910), 370; correspondence with Canon Bartlett, the Administrator of Westminster Cathedral, 1965.

(Cf. Morris, "Troubles", iii, 427.) "When they saw that they could not persuade her, nor make her yield in anything, they brought in ridiculous slanders against her, and told her how the boy had confessed that she had *lain with a priest by a week together, and then she would discipline herself with whips, also that the priests and she would have delicate cheer, when she would set her husband to dinner with bread and butter and a red herring. When she heard these words, she smiled, and said, 'God forgive you for these forged tales; and if the boy said so, I warrant you he will say as much more for a pound of figs.'*"

(Cf. Morris, "Troubles", iii, 433-4.) "Now the next day the heretics railed against her out of their pulpits, with most shameful lies and slanders. The Lord Mayor, called Mr May, to show his gentle mind to the martyr's mother, which had taken him from the beggar's staff, made this his honourable table talk among his heretical brethren, that she died desperately, and that she had been an dishonest woman of her body, and that she had *hanged the priests' beds with silk curtains, and that priests used to lay her on their beds [erased] knees and give her discipline, and that they used her body when they would, with many such like false and heretical slanders. As for my Lord Mayor, I will have more regard to his honour than he hath to his honesty. Let him remember his own notorious incontinency with his two servants in his wife's days, the one whereof is now his lady, and whether he himself had not good proofs of this martyr's constant honesty at all times when she was in her mother's house.*

"But what shall I need to speak against the vicious murderers in defence of this chaste martyr, whose honesty and other virtues are well known to her neighbours, as well heretics as others, who can witness that as she was not once suspected of any dishonest behaviour in all her life, so it will be impossible after so glorious a death for heretics to persuade any but such as wallow in the same abominable puddle of uncleanness with them that their slanders be true. For who seeth not this, that these are the ordinary fruits of their heretical humour, then chiefly to heap up most untrue and detestable slanders, without all proof or likelihood, when they would contrive or have committed some shameful fact, thinking thereby to cover their horrible practices and barbarous cruelty? *Who telleth them she was a dishonest woman? No experience hath been of it, surely, none that knew her in life did ever report it, all her neighbours and her husband have another opinion of her. O shameless, impudent heretics, acknowledge your own detracting spirit, your unclean and filthy humour, which causeth you thus devilishly to forge lies! Quid dabitur tibi, aut quid apponetur tibi ad linguam dolosam? What shall be given thee or shall be laid to thee for thy deceitful tongue? Look surely for the reward following: Sagitta potentis acuta, cum carbonibus desolatoriis, Sharp arrows of the mighty God, with consuming coals. Now this is most truly verified against you in this martyr, whom you have most unjustly murdered, to your endless reproach, that which was before in the bloody Jews, infidels and heretics against Christ and His martyrs. Ostium abundavit malitia et lingua tua cogitavit dolo tota die, injusticiam cogitavit lingua tua, sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum,*

dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem, iniquitatem magis quam loqui aequitatem; dilexisti omnia verba praecipitationis, lingua dolosa. Your mouth hath abounded with malice, and your tongue hath aptly forged lies, all the day long, your tongue hath thought to utter injustice, you have smothered your crafts as with a sharp razor, you have loved malice above benignity, and to speak iniquity rather than truth, you have loved all words of rashness and deceitful tongue. But hear also your just reward: Propterea destruet te in finem, evellet et emigrabit te de tabernaculo tuo, et radicem tuam de terra viventium. For the which tongue, God will destroy you in the end, He will pull you and remove you out of your tabernacle, and your root out of the land of the living.

"Did ever yet falsehood and slanderous lies prevail against Christ, against His martyrs or against His Church? Was ever the Christian Faith, which you falsely pretend to set forth, planted by detractions? Was it ever maintained by lies and forgery? No, certainly. Then you labour in vain to heap your cruelty in murdering God's saints, by unjust slandering their virtuous lives and deaths. Against your predecessors, the faithless Jews, Christ's innocence prevailed; against your ancients, the impious infidels, the simplicity of martyrs has conquered. Think not but over you, the very kindly brood of those serpents, the virtuous children of God's Catholic Church will shortly triumph. Do you say in your hearts, Non movebor a generatione in generationem sine malo, we will not be moved to any time without doing mischief, and therefore, maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine, et dolo, sub lingua tua labor et dolor, your mouth is full of malediction, bitterness and lies, under your tongue shall be hidden travail and pain. Remember, I pray you, while you have time, quoniam non in finem oblivio erit pauperis, paciencia pauperum non peribit in finem, In the end the poor shall not be forgotten; the patient suffering of the poor shall not perish in the end, whereas this shall be your reward: Commutentur peccatores in infernum, omnes gentes quae obliviscuntur deum, in operibus manuum suarum comprehensus est peccator, cognosceatur dominus iudicia faciens, You living sinners shall be turned in to hell, and all such as forget God, you wicked men shall be caught in the works of your hands, and you that will not know God in this time of His patience, and expecting long your amendment, shall know in the execution of His dreadful judgment.

"What silly soul would ever imagine he could persuade the world by lying, that this martyr was a dishonest woman of her body, when all people that ever knew her in quiet life, or saw or shall hear of her last conflict, must needs confess her virtue to be far from all such fault. For if she desired most willingly, as yourselves can witness she did, rather to forgo all pleasure of this life, nay, her sweet life itself, than she would offend God by yielding unto you in any jot at all, who can reasonably surmise that for a very momentary delight, which is in itself loathsome to such as have any spark of God's grace, she would offend Him? Torments overcame her not, sweetness of life overcame her not, the vehement affection to husband and children overcame her not, your flattering allurements and deceitful promises overcame her not, finally, the world, the flesh and the devil over-

came her not, and think you without any sign, without any probability, without reason, nay, against all reason, to persuade the world that a taste of loathsome pleasure overcame her? O blind envy, O impudent malice, O unclean spirits in you! To appeal to yourselves, not to your slanderous tongues, but to your conscience, wounded to death by her virtue, think you that she was a woman so vicious? Or rather, your secret hearts do witness her innocence of life and your own unjust cruelty, and then shame moveth you to hide it with untruths. Assure yourselves, for both heaven, hell and earth speak, that if she had been a woman of so beastly disposition, you had won her, God had forsaken her, the world had defamed, or at the least, suspected her, Satan's tyranny had kept her, that she which was, as you say, so long his captive for a trifling pleasure, might continue still his slave for the saving of her life.

"Your own fellows in heresy, but yet of more modest nature and not so far from all honesty and truth as you are, after this martyr's death, they seeing her behaviour witness freely what constant virtue was in her, and say she was a rare woman in mortification to the world and the delights thereof, and that nothing wanted to make her a true martyr but only a true faith. Your slanders therefore will redound to your own reproach and discredit, and to this martyr's great glory. For the priest's chamber, did you find silk hangings? You know well there were no hangings nor curtains at all, and therefore your lies are signs of more notorious malice, by how much you are not ignorant, but impudent in them."

(Cf. Morris, "Troubles", iii, 435.) "This also is not a little to your shame, that this glorious martyr in her lifetime did chasten her body and with scourges subdued her body and sensuality to the spirit, which as vainly as slanderously you labour to turn to her ignominy, saying the priests set her on their knees. Where have you these untruths? Perhaps you say, from a boy, to cloak your own deceitful forgery, but are not you maliciously childish, while against all reason you feign a child to be the father of all your own heretical lies? For is it likely that the boy should have known any such thing, if it had been so as you defame? If the boy said no such thing, as certainly he did not, are you the lying authors of this slander? If he said it, forced to say what you would, rather than to suffer your unnatural cruelty, are not you ridiculous and too childish, which upon such unlikely and forged untruths seek to excuse your cruel fact, and justify your wickedness, upon so unwise a foundation labour to build up your credit? But behold how God hath wrought by His servant . . ."²²

That is what one of the two priests whom Margaret Clitherow was accused of harbouring had to say about the slanders. The other, Ven Francis Ingleby, as I have already indicated, was arrested, tried ("after Whitsunday"²³), and condemned, and hanged, drawn and quartered at York on 3rd June 1586.

²² "True Report", MS. belonging to the Diocese of Middlesbrough (MS. A), ff 63r, 68r-71v, 73v-74r.

²³ Morris, "Troubles", iii, 87. (Fr. Mush as the "Yorkshire Recusant".)

At this point it will be useful to quote from William Hutton's résumé of the "True Report", apparently written from memory. (That Hutton should think it worth writing at all is significant, for he certainly knew Margaret Clitherow; he had been one of the churchwardens of Christ Church—her parish—in her Anglican days.) "And when they saw they could by no means prevail, they used slanderous speeches against her, and said she was reported to be of evil demeanour with priests, using more familiarity with them than with her husband, providing dainty cheer for them and simple cheer for her husband, and willed her to ask her husband forgiveness. She answered: 'I do not depend upon the judgment of men, but of God. If I have offended my husband, touching disobedience in [any]thing that is lawful, I will willingly ask him forgiveness; but for defiling his bed, and your other slanderous reports, I need not, and God forgive both you and those which make any such report.'²⁴

Yet a man was certainly seen in her house when it was searched, and much would be made of that fact. Fr Mush very deliberately names him—he must certainly have left the country by then, and was possibly the person who supplied information about the martyrdom to Verstegan. "In a low chamber of her own house there was a schoolmaster named Mr Stapleton (who had escaped a little before out of the Castle, where he had lain almost seven years for the Catholic Faith) teaching her own children and two or three boys besides."²⁵ This information was intended to settle any doubts, and it tallies precisely with what is known of "Brian Stapleton, Esquire", brought from the Castle before the High Commission in July 1580, and returned there in an obdurate state.²⁶

Any woman wishing to receive instruction in the Catholic Faith, in an age when it was proscribed and neither nuns nor lay catechists were available, had to risk her reputation by receiving it in secret from a priest. It is of some interest to observe the development of similar slanders in the case of another woman, about whose conversion more is known; it shows, incidentally, that vituperation was as common on the Protestant side as the Catholic.

Ursula Gray was the young daughter of the Puritan gaoler at Wisbech Castle, which had been turned into a concentration camp for high-ranking Papists. (The last Abbot of Westminster and the last of the old Catholic hierarchy in England ended their days there.) She had "an astonishingly acute mind", and was regarded almost as a "prophetess". She married John Bartholomew, a Puritan, servant and kinsman of one of the local Justices appointed as overseers to the prison. In the course of the frequent "disputations" between Catholics and Protestants at Wisbech, and no doubt also through the influence of Fr William Weston, s.j., who tells the

²⁴ *id.*, 309.

²⁵ *id.*, 410 ("True Report", text corrected by York Minster Library MS, and others).

²⁶ Fr P. Hughes, "The Reformation in England", ii (1954), 429. Brian Stapleton "arrived at Rheims 14th June 1586, was ordained 19th Sept. 1587". (Fr G. Anstruther, *o.p.*, "The Seminary Priests", i[1968], 332).

story²⁷—though he never learned how wonderfully it ended—Ursula became convinced of the truth of the Faith, and finally refused to attend the established Church with her parents. Thereupon her foul-tempered father drew a dagger and drove her from his house. She left husband, home, and her two children, the youngest a tiny baby, and eventually found employment as "governess" to the Aprice children at Washingley.

Nine years later her husband, who had not been given Fr Weston's version of the way his wife left home, drew up his own will, containing the following passages:

"Because Ursula my late wife, whom I married in the Lord, hath forsaken God and me, to hearken to the persuasion of unclean, lecherous and filthy seminary and Jesuit priests in Wisbech Castle (idolators against God, and traitorous to Her Majesty and the land), to Papists, and to such unclean workers of darkness, to use their unchaste companies in their close chambers (against her knowledge and my commandment), until she was bewitched by them, and given over of God, to love and abide their companies better than mine, yea, and to the end that she might have more colour to company with those vicious priests and such unfruitful workers of all wickedness, even to renounce the knowledge wherewith Christ had enlightened her with the truth of His Word, and to embrace papistry, in the whole idolatrous profession thereof, so far also until that, for the enjoying of these, she utterly forsook me, in running from me, since the fourth of December in anno 1589 even to this day, the twenty December 1598, being above nine whole years, as also the children borne me of her body; therefore, she having thus, and thus long, left off to keep any vow or promise with God or me, this my will accordingly is, that if she be yet living, in any sort, of anything which God hath given me, or which she might have had right unto, she never enjoy or possess the value of four pence . . . Praying God that these two children may pare their nails from their mother's sins, may truly lament her fall, and may faithfully live and die to Christ, which I charge them hereby as a father."²⁸

John Strype prints a contemporary paper that takes these slanders a stage further:

"[The Jesuits and seminary priests] be all young and lusty people, disposed to mirth and viciousness with women; known to attempt them, as well with deeds as words, with enchanted almonds; as the keeper's maiden and his two daughters have been in whorish manner: one of them run from thence, and hath had children from her husband; and overthrown in popery, of a modest, fair young wife."²⁹

²⁷ "William Weston: the autobiography of an Elizabethan"; translated by Fr P. Caraman, s.j. (1955), 169-172.

²⁸ Somerset House, P.C.C. 43 Fenner (Will of John Bartholomew).

The will of Thomas Bartholomew, son of John and Ursula (P.C.C. 39 Barrington), 14th April 1628, shows that despite his upbringing he had become a Catholic and a servant to Lord Petre. His mother appointed Lord Petre as one of her executors; her will reveals that she had been reunited with her daughter also. (P.C.C. 54 Russell, made 21st June 1631.)

²⁹ J. Strype, "Annals of the Reformation", iv (1824), 274.

"Enchanted almonds" were edible rosaries.

I was myself brought up a Protestant—not merely a non-Catholic—and this kind of accusation seems more or less commonplace to me. In the circumstances of religious controversy, I would entirely discount such charges, whoever was made the subject of them.

So I might be pardoned from giving any further attention to Mrs Wadham's nonsense. Some of it, however, is interesting, as leading to further understanding either of the English Martyrs or of the psychology of prejudice.

Everything Mrs Wadham says about John Clitherow is ridiculous. To begin with, the Council of the North had no jurisdiction over morals, which were amply taken care of by the ecclesiastical system, beginning with the presentment of the offender by the churchwardens in the court of the Ordinary. Then Fr Mush says the Council summoned John Clitherow to appear before them; he went most unwillingly. (I might indeed have made this clear, but having told the whole story, so far as I knew it six years ago, in sixty thousand words, I was concentrating on a single theme.) He was imprisoned from the day of his wife's arrest until six days before her death, when he was told to leave the city for five days. Margaret asked to see him, but "they"—not specified, but "None was permitted to speak with her but ministers, and such as were appointed by the Council"—said she should not, unless she would yield unto something." She replied, "God's will be done, for I will not offend God and my conscience to speak with him." As for the way she spoke about her husband in court, he may well have owed his life to it, for a man was held responsible for his wife's actions.³⁰

What did John Clitherow think of his wife? "When her husband heard that they had condemned her, he fared like a man out of his wits, and wept so vehemently that the blood gushed out of his nose in great quantity, and said, 'Alas! will they kill my wife? Let them take all I have and save her, for she is the best wife in all England, and the best Catholic also.'³¹

Much that Mrs Wadham finds distasteful belongs to the period, in which the supernatural values of martyrdom were being rediscovered. In my book I was at great pains to place Margaret Clitherow in her period and to show her against a background of hitherto unknown and apparently unimportant people who stood firm under persecution and prized the values given them by Jesus Christ—which were so strongly stressed in the old liturgy—above wealth, family, freedom, and life itself. The "smiles" and "joy", mentioned in innumerable accounts of the martyrs, are not to be analysed or understood by the standards of this world. To the worldly, Margaret's remark, "I mind by God's assistance to spend my blood in this faith, as willingly as ever I put my paps to my children's mouths",³² must remain a puzzle.

³⁰ Sir Edward Coke, in his "Third Institute" says that "where a married woman commits felony, in company with her husband, it shall be presumed to be done by his command, and she shall be excused." (G. Jacob, "A New Law Dictionary" (1756), heading Felony.)

³¹ Morris, "Troubles", iii, 418 ("True Report").

³² *id.*, 427 ("True Report").

Before dealing with suggestions based solely upon my own work, I must explain how I produce that work. My research is as sober as the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints could desire, but my methods of reconstruction and of writing contain a creative element that would be considered alien to the Roman spirit. I may have invented a new art form, but I have never treated conjecture as fact. I try to leave no stone unturned to recover forgotten facts from archives, and then I consider what pattern they make. But, as I said in my article, the result of all this labour is still a very faded and incomplete picture. Had I found the facts in a different order, the pattern of conjecture might be different. This is one of the fascinations of writing—and reading—"history", but it is a very human and fallible thing.

My "discovery" that Margaret Clitherow might have been ducked in the River Ouse as a scold dates from the spring of 1970. (She was taken from the Manor to the Castle; the River Ouse was the most direct and private way; near the landing-stage was a ducking stool; she arrived at the Castle inexplicably soaked to the skin. It adds up, but it is not evidence on a par with an entry in a parish register.) My guesses about the part played by Henry May in the story originated with my first reading of the unexpurgated passages of the "True Report" in 1964; my conjecture that Margaret Clitherow had been pushed into the machinery of the recusancy laws found unexpected confirmation when in 1970 I began to study the connections of some of the people involved. (I do not, however, understand why the discovery of an enemy in her own household, so to speak—her stepfather—should tell against Margaret Clitherow, any more than the fact that she had the strength to detach herself from her own children for the love of Christ.)

Similarly, I can recall the very moment in 1964 when it came to me that Margaret Clitherow had died to protect someone else by preventing the giving of evidence; the circumstances of her arraignment for harbouring priests, and, above all, her refusal to purchase her life by an act of apostasy, made her death martyrdom. It seems very curious that, for the purpose of making out a case, my imaginative brain-children should be put on a level with the actions of those who risked a hideous death to start the cult of a saint in 1586; and their actions are evidence of that "reputation of martyrdom" which is the Sacred Congregation's concern.

In my book, I did something more than "disclose the nature" of Margaret's symbolic actions—I discovered them, or rather, discovered them to be symbolic. (Liturgists should notice that Mrs Wadham equates symbolism with irrationality.) Margaret, according to the "True Report", "went cheerfully to her marriage, as she called it"; all the rest, the meaning of the white habit and the binding of her hair with tapes, is my interpretation. But if Mrs Wadham thinks this macabre, she is out of step not only with St John Fisher and other Catholic martyrs, but with the Anglican King Charles "the Martyr", who, on waking on his execution day, said, "Herbert, this is my Second Marriage-Day; I would be as trim today as may be; for before Night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." He

then appointed what Cloaths he would wear . . .³³ In other words, this is part of normal Christian experience in abnormal circumstances.

With regard to "the proper and distinguished excellence of a person's calling", one of the tests by which it is seen whether a confessor comes up to the standards set by a martyr, everything indicates that in the case of a married woman and a mother, that cardinal virtue is Fortitude. The original *mulier fortis* is pre-eminently married and a mother. Had Margaret Clitherow apostatised, her children would have done so too. Moreover, she did not die "by her own choice"; she was utterly convinced, from the day of her arrest, that she would be condemned, for not only the Council but Fr Mush had told her, "You must prepare your neck for the rope".³⁴ Margaret chose a more painful form of death to protect her neighbour.

Mrs Wadham's attack is one of the most remarkable examples of prejudice I have ever come across. She is at liberty to suspect that the traditional interpretation of a person's character is incorrect, but in order to substantiate her claim she should first study the subject, in order to find which facts support her theory.

Fr Mush says of Margaret Clitherow that the Council "were resolved of her despatch, by what means they greatly respected not".³⁵ Similarly, Mrs Wadham is resolved to find her unworthy of canonisation, however palpably absurd the means she uses. (Some of the things she says are very silly—the bit about the hat, for instance.) She ignores the basic source for the subject, in which she would find a number of her questions answered by the martyr herself, she considers it unreliable, she ignores the full-length book which contains the results of much wider research than the narrow subject of my article required, and then she treats my article as though it were a primary source itself! She questions Fr Mush's account, based on his own knowledge, and his editing of contemporary reports, yet appears to swallow the results of my research, when it suits her, hook, line and sinker. If I were in Mrs Wadham's shoes I should wish to go through all the documents for myself.

³³ Sir Thomas Herbert, "Memoirs of the two last years of the reign of King Charles I" (1839), 184.

³⁴ Morris, "Troubles", iii, 382 ("True Report"). This was at the conclusion of a discussion of Margaret's moral duties after the passing of the Act of 27 Eliz. I which made the harbouring of priests a felony. Fr Mush assured her that it was even more meritorious now to shelter priests and that it was safer for her husband, not being a Catholic, to know nothing about her activities; but he added this grim warning.

³⁵ "True Report", MS. A, f 76v (unpublished).

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My grateful thanks are due to the Right Rev the Bishop of Middlesbrough and to the Directors of the Vatican Library for permission to quote from unpublished portions of the manuscripts of the "True Report" in their respective possessions

K.M.L.

THE CHARGE PRESSED FURTHER BY J.W.

I HAVE now read the documents and am confirmed in my view. The emphasis of my argument has changed in only one respect (see p. 39 para. 5 below) in the light of the new evidence supplied by the unexpurgated extract from Mush's "Report" published here for the first time, and I now ask that, in the interests of truth, Margaret's case should be re-examined.

Why, Miss Longley asks, have I used the words of John Mush when it suits me and not when it doesn't? Because there are no other words to use. ALL the evidence we have about Margaret Clitherow (apart from wills and other archives) comes to us through his life, written in 1586, within three months of her death, and widely distributed. It may have been "pieced together" from the evidence of others, but their names are seldom given and their authority goes unquestioned. There is no proof that Verstegan's short account in "Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis", published in Antwerp in 1587, was not derived substantially from Mush.

It is possible that John Clitherow spoke lovingly of his wife after her condemnation, but he is not recorded as saying a word in her defence before it. Moreover, he soon remarried and was on friendly terms with Henry May, her stepfather, who had instigated her trial and was, to this extent, responsible for her death. As a tribute of affection Henry May left his "son-in-law, John Clitherow" his "signet of gold which is on my little finger" when he died in July, 1596.

Margaret Clitherow may have spoken slightly of her husband in court to preserve him from the law. But the same attitude is reflected elsewhere in Mush's account of her life.

In case the reader is confused about the sequence of events leading up to the arraignment I would like, in Mush's own words (taken from the earlier published version, 1849, edited by Wm. Nicholson from the Bar Convent MS.), to record them.

In 1586 Fr John Mush (34) had been Margaret Clitherow's spiritual director for two years. "For this end she had prepared two chambers, the one adjoining her own house, whereunto she might have resort at any time without the sight and knowledge of any neighbours" (p. 106). Here, every morning she visited him and again in the evening at "eight or nine of the clock to pray a little" (p. 111). "She was about thirty years of age" and to "a body with beauty and comely favour" were added a "sharp and ready wit" (p. 73). She had been married at about fifteen to a widower over fifteen years older than herself and two or three years later became converted to Catholicism. As a result she was "at the first fully resolving rather to forsake husband, life and all than to return again to her former unhappy [the MS. gives 'damnable'] state" (p. 74). Her husband remained a Protestant and on one occasion (p. 139) upset her when "in his pots at a banquet" he said "I cannot tell what Catholics are. They will fast, pray and give alms, and punish themselves more than we all, but they are of as evil dispositions as we are". She was strongly addicted to the company of priests (p. 129). "Her zeal betrayed her for

none knew her but they were assured she would not be without a priest if any could be gotten in the whole country". Indeed, on one occasion (p. 122), "she procured some neighbours to feign the travail of some women that she might under that colour have access to abide the longer with her ghostly father to be instructed in necessary points of the Catholic religion". However, "one thing only in all her doings may seem perhaps to be void of discretion, which was to let the children in her house be acquainted with her privy conveyance of safety" (the priest's chamber). Mush adds thoughtfully that this "ever misliked me and I wished it had been otherwise" (p. 129). She was a firm young woman. "Sometimes I asked her how she durst be so sharp with her servants when they offended her by slacking their duties, seeing they might procure to her much danger if they revealed upon any displeasure or grief the priest being there. She would answer 'God shall dispose as it pleaseth Him but I will not be blamed for their faults nor fear any danger for this good cause'" (p. 133). "Everyone loved her", Mush assures us on page 132, but on page 135 he says "What uncharitable surmises and false judgments have some in their secret hearts conceived against her. . . . What disdainful and crooked looks hath cankered emulation procured against her".

On 10th March the Councillors at York "sent for Mr Clitherow to appear before them. They rebuked him that he had not waited on them the day before as they had commanded. He answered that he gave attendance to their commandments and departed after long expecting their opportunity seeing them greatly busied in other matters. After some few words they commanded him to return to them again immediately after dinner (lunch) which he did. The martyr, hearing of this and having good experience of their subtleties, feared the worst; and when her husband was departed she came to the father and said, 'The Council hath commanded my husband to come to them again and I pray God they intend no falsehood and now, whilst they have him, make my house to be searched'."

Her fears were justified. The sheriffs searched the house soon after and, though Mush and others with him escaped, they bribed and beat a Flemish boy (12) who lived with her and did lessons with her children as part of the family. He "feared their cruelty yielded and brought them to the priest's chamber" (p. 147). "A rumour was spread in the town that the boy had accused her for harbouring and maintaining divers priests, but two especially by name, that was Mr Francis Ingleby of Rheims and Mr John Mush of Rome" (p. 148). The boy also revealed the disquieting news (p. 29 above) that "she had lain with a priest by a week together, and then she would discipline herself with whipcords".

On this evidence she was arraigned, refused to plead and was pressed to death.

Why did she refuse to plead? Because, in my view, she knew that more evidence would be brought against her than that of the Flemish boy. As she herself said, "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". (Italics mine.)

She may, of course, have been innocent of the charges made against her. But it is a pity in the circumstances that Fr Mush should admit (p. 31 of this JOURNAL) that "this also is not a little to your shame that this glorious martyr in her lifetime did chasten her body and with scourges subdue her body and sensuality to the spirit which vainly and slanderously you turn to her ignominy, saying the priests set her on their knees" because this first is precisely what the boy did say. (He did not accuse priests of whipping her: Henry May did (p. 29 above).) Moreover, she was known to have been disturbed by sensuality and to have endeavoured "principally to overcome herself in all disordinate passions and intimations of nature" (p. 77).

Why, then, did Mush draw attention to the fact, surely to her disadvantage? Because presumably he had to—for the accusations were public knowledge preached about from every Protestant pulpit (p. 29 of this JOURNAL) and must be quickly and effectively denied. Her canonisation is a tribute to his success.

How, if this is so, has the fact been overlooked for nearly four hundred years? It hasn't altogether. In 1619, two years after Mush's death, the editor of the *abridged* version wrote about her accused adultery "which slanders (Thanks be to God) are washed away by the shedding of [her] blood".

No doubt they are. But not for the purposes of canonisation. For this, if it took place, is no ordinary adultery. It is said to have occurred between her and the very man, her confessor and biographer, whose account of her life and death has alone made her a canonised saint of the Church.

I misjudged her in my opening case. I thought then that she died simply to preserve her own reputation, preferring to be remembered as a martyr rather than as a scold. I think now she died to preserve the reputation of two priests. (She could not have died to save their lives as they were both free at the time.) One of them, John Mush, who normally wrote with violence and vituperation, writes about her death with anguish and her life with possessiveness. Her "golden way was utterly to forsake her own judgment and will, and in all her actions to submit herself to the judgment, will and direction of her ghostly father" (p. 89). "With what rare simplicity, lowliness and sincerity she revealed to her father the very bottom of her heart, every corner and secret inclination" (p. 113).

What I think he is trying to say here, and elsewhere in his book, is that Margaret Clitherow may have sinned in thought but not in action; that the seal of the confessional prevents him from saying that, though she often wished to commit adultery, she had not physically done so. Her own words in court support this view (p. 355), "I have deserved death, I must needs confess, for mine offences to God, but not for anything I am accused of".

But how can this be proved? And who, in the circumstances, and with a knowledge of Mush's career, character and imprecision could be wholly convinced of her innocence? His own prayer (p. 200) is ambiguous. "Thou art now all washed in thy sacred blood from all spots of frailty,

securely possessing God Himself; whereas I am yet a woeful wretch, clothed with imperfections, as now thou seest, and not so able to break the loathsome bonds of my own sensuality as I shall be when, by thy gracious intercession, I receive more help."

(1) About those whose testimony is given in favour of Margaret Clitherow; *a*. Mrs Vavasour, it is true, was a woman of high repute. But her opinion of Margaret Clitherow is not in fact recorded by Mush. Since Mrs Vavasour was in prison from 1581-7 she cannot have seen much of Margaret Clitherow in her last years, except, possibly, during the last twelve days of the latter's life when they shared the same prison. *b*. The less said about Fr Seth Foster, chaplain to the Brigettines, the better. For those who enjoy scurrility the account of him in Th. Robinson's "Anatomic of the English Nunnerie at Lisbon" (1622) will provide it. Mrs Foster's actual opinion of Margaret Clitherow is never given us by Mush. We are left, as with Mrs Vavasour's, to presume it; and so also with Anne Tesh.

(2) An interesting confusion arises about the date on which Margaret Clitherow died. Mush records it as 25th March, the feast of the Annunciation; this was also Good Friday in that year, and until the calendar was revised in 1752 it was also New Year's Day. Other sources show her death as on 26th March, the normal Saturday for executions in Elizabethan England; and indeed the words of Mush, "Now the next day the heretics railed against her out of their pulpits", reinforce this. Has Mush deliberately shifted the day for its enhanced associations and symbolic value to help promote a cult?

A DUSTY ANSWER BY K.M.L.

I AM not so stupid as to attempt to prove the chastity of a woman who lived four hundred years ago; every lawyer knows the difficulty of obtaining such proof even about contemporaries. In the ordinary course of life, a person's general character is accepted as evidence.

At least half of Fr Mush's "True Report" deals with Margaret Clitherow's character. If it is the only detailed source for her character, as for her arraignment and death—and therefore highly suspect to Mrs Wadham—it is the sole source for Henry May's accusations; is it sensible to accept the latter, recorded for posterity by one of the very priests harboured by Margaret Clitherow, yet to question the validity of the former?

It is no use blaming Fr Mush for being the only person to write the life of Margaret Clitherow, for he was the only one of her known priest-guests to escape the gallows. Fathers Kirkman, Hart and Thirkeld predeceased her, and Fr Ingleby outlived her by only three months.

However much or little of Richard Verstegan's account of Margaret Clitherow's death may have been derived from Fr Mush, perhaps by word of mouth, certainly the reason he gives for her refusal to plead, that she was "unwilling to be the cause of another's death or to bring him to the misfortune of such terrible sufferings and to give him occasion for the shipwreck of his faith" is not to be found in the "True Report". I stand by my exposition of this point in the footnote to pp. 146-7 of my "Margaret Clitherow".

Mrs Wadham did not read the "True Report" until long after her prejudice had been formed. This detailed analysis of Margaret's life began

to circulate among people who had known her, within three months of her death; a great many people were involved, and if it is an elaborate hoax, a "cover-up", its motive is obscure, silence being so much the best means of keeping a secret, and there being no shortage of martyrs and potential martyrs in York in 1586 to attract a cult. Thomas Harwood's copy was in non-Catholic hands by 1587, and there must have been many non-Catholics who knew Margaret Clitherow—the neighbours who gave the "banquet", for example—and could have contradicted the "Report" if it was not true. It is significant, too, that the only surviving manuscript that contains the whole of the last chapter, in which Fr Mush reveals the slanders in some detail as he refutes them—though all the manuscripts mention these charges—is the one preserved by the recusant Middleton family who were proud to claim kinship with the martyr.

As a work of fiction, moreover, the "True Report" displays a touch of genius; the character comes to life in Fr Mush's pages, despite his style, in a manner that some of our greatest male novelists might have envied. If this is not a portrait of a real woman, John Mush was one of the great figures of sixteenth century English literature.

By the era of the Elizabethan persecution, those who took religion seriously curbed their natures by ascetical practices, including the scourge or "discipline", the use of which so shocks Mrs Wadham. (Few confessors who did not use it would make the grade for canonisation.) The slander at this point consisted not in the use of the discipline but in the statement that it was administered by the priest.

Mrs Wadham's Charge, especially the last three paragraphs, reveals the great gulf that lies between Catholic thought and practice in the sixteenth century and today. Even in the late eighteenth century, Fr Jean Grou, S.J., in his influential "Manual for interior souls", recommended unreserved obedience to a spiritual director in terms that echo the words of Fr Mush: "those good souls who wish to go straight to God" must pray for "a man who can conduct them thither", then, "let them open their heart to him without reserve, let them listen to him with docility, let them follow his advice, as if God Himself spoke to them through his mouth". (Chap. iii.)

I find nothing whatsoever in Mrs Wadham's account of Fr Mush's career (to which may be added a good deal of the Catholic Record Society's volume li on "The Wisbech stir") to suggest immorality. (Indeed, his bad qualities may tell in his favour, for do we not hear nowadays that it is celibacy that makes priests irascible and domineering?) He frankly expresses his opinion of his mediaeval predecessors, commenting in the opening chapter of the "True Report" on one of the root causes of the Reformation in England, that the country was "accursed no doubt in God's heavy indignation for the punishment of the dissoluteness and iniquity as well in the Catholic clergy as laity".

Fr Mush was a man who made many enemies, but even the Jesuits, who have a long tradition of detesting his memory, have not attacked his moral character, nor have they ever considered the Cause of St Margaret Clitherow to have been contaminated by his spiritual direction of her. Even

the apostate Thomas Bell, who had been his second-in-command over the secular priests of Yorkshire and Lancashire, when betraying him and all his hosts to the Earl of Derby, about the year 1592-3, brings no moral charge against him; the worst he has to relate is that he commanded Anne Southworth "to pull off his boots in token of humility"! (Westminster Archives, A4 No. 38, p. 442.)

But Mrs Wadham would have us believe, without a shred of supporting evidence, that Fr John Mush was a sanctimonious lecher who turned from adultery and scourging to saying Mass and to communicating her more frequently than St Teresa of Avila was permitted to do at the same period, and all this while he went in hourly danger of arrest, imprisonment and death by hanging, drawing and quartering—though, to be sure, he could always have apostatised. Is it not remarkable that in the same work in which he robbed his mistress's death of all value by revealing the very evidence she died to suppress, he should so portray her last hours that they can be interpreted in terms of the highest mystical theology (which nobody can accuse me of inventing)?

What is more, he presents her strange actions without comment; did he suppose that his readers were so well acquainted with mystical theology that they would at once grasp the symbolism of the actions he described and understand what he was suggesting?

Could not Margaret have very easily solved her dilemma and avoided both death and betrayal of her "lover" by the simple act of apostasy that so many worthy people urged upon her? There is no reason to suppose that her case would ever have come up for trial again had she agreed to go to church and hear a sermon, and why should a woman of such insensitivity to moral values have had any scruples in the matter?

Mrs Wadham has seized upon passages suppressed originally by the Victorian Fr John Morris, S.J. (who did indicate omissions from his transcript) on grounds of decency, and by me (though I referred to them) partly for the same reason and partly because I do not believe everything I read, even in manuscript. There is yet another unpublished passage that raises all sorts of relevant questions which cannot be answered very readily. "You have murdered this saint", says Fr Mush, "... for that she kept in her house such Catholics as you had unjustly imprisoned for their faith and by her good means had escaped your hand ..." (MS. A, f 84v.) Mr Stapleton we know about, but how many escaped prisoners were there in Margaret Clitherow's house at any one time? How large was the house? And, above all, *what was John Clitherow's attitude* to the harbouring of such quantities of wanted men (and women?) in his house? And what might have come out in evidence about this, if Margaret Clitherow had pleaded?

Mrs Wadham has in any case entirely misdirected her fire. By taking upon herself the office of "Devil's Advocate" she is challenging the manner in which the Cause of the Forty Martyrs has been conducted. The result of her attack upon my work might be more deserving of attention if she had asked at the outset, first, how much I had to do with the Cause, and second,

whether my "Trial" article, commissioned for the AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL with a dateline ever before me—not the most satisfactory way to do "history"—was in every particular accurate.

To answer the second question first, within a month of publication His Honour Judge Kershaw had pointed out a legal error, and Mr Douglas Price, of Keble College, Oxford, had expressed several doubts. This kind of thing would have more serious implications were I actively working on behalf of the Office of the Vice-Postulation or if the Canonisation Process had been based in any way upon my previous findings and conjectures. I have, of course, been immensely dependent upon the work of Fr John Morris and others associated in the past with the Cause of the English and Welsh Martyrs, but apart from securing a promise from Fr Philip Caraman to write a foreword I had no contact with the Office of the Vice-Postulation and its personnel until after my book had been accepted for publication.

I may have assisted the development of the cult to a very small extent, but I have had nothing to do with the Canonisation Process and it would be presumptuous of me to take upon myself its defence. I do not, however, think I am infringing the Postulator's right of reply by stressing that martyrs are canonised for their deaths, not their lives, that the example they give us is of that very refusal to compromise, that Mrs Wadham holds against Margaret Clitherow as a fault, that it is the cause, not the suffering, that makes the martyr, and that the historical investigations relevant to the Process are chiefly concerned to establish that the Servant of God died in conscious defence of some Christian principle of faith or morals. I have made no conjectures inconsistent with this position, however much Mrs Wadham may twist them, nor has any secret been made of the procedures followed in the Cause, which are described at some length in the commemorative booklet published by the Office of the Vice-Postulation.

That Office cannot, in turn, be held responsible for my work. Just as the canonisation of Saint Margaret Clitherow owes nothing to my conjectures, so Mrs Wadham's conjectures, being based upon mine, are not very likely to effect her decanonisation. Why Mrs Wadham so long and persistently refused to base her argument upon the original sources remains a mystery. To expose my deficiencies as a writer, though damaging to me, can hardly touch my subject.

In actual fact, conviction of the sanctity of St Margaret Clitherow is not founded upon the account of her life and death as given by Fr Mush, although this, since William Nicholson gave it to the world in 1849, has been the source of the cult in modern times. The real foundation of such a conviction is the evident opinion of her contemporaries, shown by the trouble they took to copy and circulate the "True Report", and, above all, by the way, at the risk of their lives, they treated her body, in preparation for the normal beginning of a canonisation process, namely, exhumation and identification. This opinion has finally received solemn ratification by the Pope.

CATHOLIC ANTI-INFALLIBILISM

by

JOHN JAY HUGHES

There are those, not confined to the highest circles of ecumenical dialogue, who believe that the issues of Church, priesthood and eucharist (all so closely interlinked) are now virtually resolved between the main Christian communities, so that a *modus communis vivendi* could be quickly reached were it needed to be; but that the papacy remains the stone of stumbling, and particularly the doctrine of papal infallibility. Those who view Rome from the outside look with real apprehension at the way Catholics may be expected to give full intellectual assent after an *ex cathedra* utterance to what the majority of the Church may not have been able to accept before it. And this possibility tends to engender an attitude of hierarchy and obedience which is paternalistic and infantalist (depending upon the angle of sight), so that the words *Roma locuta est* carry their special awe. Recently Professor Hans Küng of Tübingen, who has already done so much to dispel ecclesiological apprehensions, publicly and controversially grasped the nettle of Infallibility. Here Fr Hughes, who has already done so much to clarify the fields of priesthood and eucharist, examines Dr Küng's new book. This examination is a preliminary to a longer article, circa 10,000 words, for *Theological Studies* (June 1971). He is currently a professor at St Louis University, Missouri, and a regular visitor to St Louis Priory.

"If a Protestant had written this book, little if any dust would have been raised, for almost all of Küng's arguments have been used during and after the Reformation."¹ Many readers of Hans Küng's sensational best-seller, "Infallible? An Inquiry",² will doubtless have agreed with this judgment of Marcus Barth, son of the man many regard as the greatest theologian of the twentieth century. There is none of Küng's arguments which cannot be paralleled in Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox critics of papal infallibility during the last century. It is thus not unnatural to find a feeling in certain quarters that, at least with regard to infallibility, Küng must be classed not as a Catholic but as a Protestant. This view received seeming support when none other than Karl Rahner wrote in a now famous sentence that "under the given presuppositions it is clear that one can debate with Küng only as one would with a liberal Protestant".³

This view of Küng as (at least on the issue of infallibility) essentially Protestant will not stand inspection in the light of history. Though it is of

¹ Marcus Barth, "Papal Fallibility" in *Saturday Review of Literature*, 10th April 1971, 18.

² New York, 1971, translated from the German. An English edition, Collins 1971.

³ Karl Rahner, "Kritik an Hans Küng" in *Stimmen der Zeit* 186 (1970) 361-77, at 365. Widely overlooked or unreported was Rahner's statement on the same page: "at the same time we must warn against turning the condemnation of a thesis into the condemnation of him who advances the thesis". Unnoticed too has been Rahner's explanation of his charge of liberal Protestantism. It resulted from the fact that Küng did not recognise the binding force of councils or even of scripture until their teachings had first been proved to his own satisfaction, a position which Küng has since emphasised by writing repeatedly that the burden of proof for the necessity of what he calls "infallible propositions" rests with those who maintain this necessity. Cf. Rahner's article *loc. cit.* and his "Replik. Bemerkungen zu: Hans Küng, Im Interesse der Sache" in *Stimmen der Zeit* 187 (1971) 145-60, at 149.

course true that Protestants can recognize many of their criticisms in his work (which however also contains strictures on certain Protestant positions hardly less severe than those which Küng directs against his own Catholic tradition), Küng is voicing a tradition which has always had a place within Catholicism, albeit a modest one. Indeed this tradition was ably expounded at the first Vatican Council, Küng's criticisms of both majority and minority at that council to the contrary notwithstanding.

Admittedly, the foremost exponent of this tradition at Vatican I was not himself a member of the council. But his tireless work behind the scenes and his wide and often intimate connections with the bishops, especially of the minority, have caused a leading modern historian of Vatican I to call him "the catalyst of the international opposition in the council".⁴ The attitude towards papal infallibility adopted by the English liberal Catholic historian, Lord Acton, was not identical with Küng's. Yet Acton's views afford interesting parallels with Küng's especially in regard to the basic motivation of the anti-infallibilist position adopted in each case. For both of them are concerned not so much with the dogmatic question as such (which Acton never really understood, and which Küng treats in a superficial manner which is inevitably unsatisfying), but with an essentially moral question. Papal infallibility is opposed in both cases because it is seen as the source of moral corruption in the Church—especially of untruthfulness. Acton appealed to theological and historical scholarship for support in his fight against infallibility. But ultimately his opposition to the doctrine was not a theological matter—indeed nowhere in his numerous letters from the council does he make clear what the precise content of the doctrine was. Whereas the conciliar discussion treated at length such questions as the extent, conditions, limits and organic function of the Pope's teaching office, for Acton it was "rather a question of fighting the spirit behind [the doctrine], a spirit given to lying and untruth. He saw its exponents in the absolute papal system and the curia. The chasm which yawned between the majority and the minority was not, in his eyes, primarily due to dogmatic-theological differences, but to ethical ones."⁵

Thanks to his wide and intimate connections with the bishops in Rome (greatly assisted by family connections and his unsurpassed linguistic abilities) Acton was able not only to learn, despite the oath of secrecy imposed on the council fathers, of everything which passed inside the council and out. He was also able to have tremendous influence on the members of the minority. He exercised this influence in two ways; by continuous personal contact with the bishops, and by supplying his friend and erstwhile teacher in Munich, Ignaz von Döllinger, with the raw material for the famous "Quirinus Letters" published during the council in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*. Indeed a number of these letters were written by Acton himself.

⁴ Victor Conzemius, "Die 'Römischen Briefe vom Konzil'" in *Römische Quartalschrift* 60 (1965) 76-119, at 77.

⁵ J. V. Conzemius, "Lord Acton and the First Vatican Council" in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 20 (1969) 267-294, at 280.

In the most important of the Quirinus letters to come from Acton's pen he outlines his conception of infallibility. He begins with a definition of liberal Catholics which (though Hans Küng nowhere uses the term) might fit equally well in the works of the Tübingen reformer. Liberal Catholics, Acton writes, are those "who desiderate freedom not only for the Church, but in the Church".⁶ Acton then proceeds to outline the intellectual background of the infallibility doctrine. "It is mainly as an institution for the salvation of men and dispenser of the means of grace that the Church has to deal with the labouring, suffering, and ignorant millions of mankind. And in order to guard them from the assaults of popular Protestantism a fabulous representation of the Church has been gradually built up, which surrounds her past history with an ideal halo, and conceals by sophistries and virtual lies whatever is difficult or inconvenient or evil, whatever, in short is offensive to pious ears. But such a transfigured Catholicism is a mere shadow of Catholicism, not the Church, but a phantom of the Church. Its upholders are compelled at every step to employ various weapons, to ward off any triumph of their enemies and avoid disturbing the faithful in a religious sentiment artificially compounded of error and truth combined. To quote a significant phrase in constant use here during this winter, 'the dogma must conquer history'".⁷ This was the system, Acton held, responsible for the magnification and glorification of papal power; and this in turn found its ultimate expression in the doctrine of papal infallibility. Since, however, the historical evidence did not support this mythologising of the papacy, history must be reinterpreted in the interests of a mythological dogma. "The struggle was not between dogmas, but between the theological view and history, i.e. truth; a struggle in which the awareness of truth and error, indeed of good and evil, was destroyed."⁸

Acton's conception of the infallibility issue as a primarily moral concern comes out very clearly in a further passage from this thirty-seventh Quirinus letter. The similarity to Küng's approach, not only in "Infallible?" but in his previous book, "Truthfulness; the Future of the Church",⁹ will be obvious at once to readers familiar with Küng's works. Acton remarks that the exalters of papal authority (who are now trying to get the Church to define the Pope's infallibility) held it permissible "in order to save the Church and for the interest of souls to commit what would in any other case have been acknowledged to be sin". They falsify history and suspend even the rule of Christian morality "where the credit of the hierarchy [is] at stake". Acton then contrasts the attitude of "the 'genuine Catholic, who wishes also to be a good Christian'" (a description

⁶ *Quirinus Letters from Rome*, London, 1870, 442.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 442f.

⁸ V. Conzemium (ed.), *Ignaz von Döllinger—Lord Acton: Briefwechsel* vol. ii, Munich, 1968, 314f. Cited hereafter as *Döllingerbriefe* ii. It is interesting that Döllinger, whose opposition to papal infallibility was based on strictly dogmatic and historical grounds and who did not understand the moral basis of Acton's opposition, did not publish this sentence from the private letter from Acton on which the 37th Quirinus letter cited above was based.

⁹ London and New York, 1968.

intended for Acton himself, but which one could easily apply to Hans Küng without committing the historian's great sin, anachronism). Such a "genuine catholic", Acton writes, "cannot separate love for his Church from the love of goodness and truth. He shrinks from lies in history as much as from present adulation, and is divided by a deep moral gulf from those who deliberately seek to defend the Church by sin and religious truth by historical falsehood. This contrast is most conspicuously exhibited in the question of infallibility, as one example may suffice to prove. The principles of the inquisition have been most solemnly proclaimed and sanctioned by the Popes. Whoever maintains papal infallibility must deny certain radical principles of Christian morality, and not merely excuse but accept as true the opposite views of the Popes. Thus the Roman element excludes the Catholic and Christian."¹⁰ In view of the deep ethical opposition evident here all compromise is impossible. Acton goes on to argue that those who opposed the definition of papal infallibility at Vatican I merely on the grounds of inopportune timing were actually closer to the proponents of the doctrine than to those who opposed it on principle. For the inopportunist differed from the infallibilists merely on a question of prudence or expediency; whereas they were separated from the radical anti-infallibilists on a question of dogma and (the primary issue for Acton, as we have seen) on a question of morality.

Acton's failure to come to grips with the dogmatic issues discussed at the council itself (the extent, limits and nature of the Pope's infallibility) is clearly evident in this passage. For only the most extreme infallibilists, such as Manning, thought of including within the scope of papal infallibility such statements as those about the inquisition. The definition actually adopted offers no ground for such a sweeping understanding of the doctrine. Indeed, from the point of view of those who, like Acton, wished a definite limit placed on papal power, the definition was a gain. Without it the extremists could claim (and did) that any papal utterance put forth with more than usual solemnity was guaranteed by the promise of infallibility. Following the definition such claims did not cease. But it was easy to refute them by appealing to the authentic statement of Catholic doctrine which had issued from Vatican I.

Critics of papal infallibility then and since have followed Acton in exaggerating their statement of the doctrine; this gives them a broad target to shoot at. Küng's book is a case in point. He writes at one point: "the teaching of Vatican I really amounts to this: if he wants, the Pope can do everything, even without the Church" (105). It is small wonder that Küng's Catholic critics have taken him to task for failing to hit the only target they are interested in defending,¹¹ and for basing his attack on an interpretation of "infallible propositions" which "is not an exact account of

¹⁰ *Quirinus Letters* 444f.

¹¹ Cf. the review of Küng's book by Avery Dulles in *America*, 24th April 1971, 427f, at 427 col. 1.

what the magisterium means when it speaks of binding doctrinal decisions".¹²

It is the primacy of the moral issue for Acton which explains the vehemence of his opposition to infallibility. For him the doctrine was the result of a spirit "which falsifies history and corrupts morals", a spirit which "is the crying sin of modern Catholicism".¹³ To fight evil on this scale no language was too strong, no measures too radical. The same could be said of Küng's brilliant but often violent polemic, which has been criticised by theologians as eminent as Congar¹⁴ and Rahner,¹⁵ both of whom have made major contributions to the conciliar breakthrough in Catholic theology, and neither of whom is a friend of Roman absolutism (in fact under Pius XII both suffered the heavy hand of Roman discipline and censure, which Küng to date has been spared).

Despite the violence of his anti-papal polemic Acton never considered leaving the Roman Catholic Church. Conzemius explains that Acton "never forgot that the Roman Catholic Church, however corrupted it appeared, remained an instrument of salvation, and he never exempted the highest bearer of ecclesiastical office from the duty and possibility of reforming himself. The declaration on infallibility, however, seemed not only to dispense the Pope from this vital catharsis; it forced an unrealistic over-idealised Catholicism on believing Catholics—at the risk of their salvation. Not to see this contradiction was, in Acton's eyes, the result of ignorance or malevolent insincerity. A spirit of deception had crept into the Church and was using infallibility as a means of harming her and poisoning the sources of salvation."¹⁶ Küng for his part states at the outset of his book that he "is and remains for all his criticism a convinced Catholic

¹² Karl Lehmann, "Die Not des Widerspruchs" in *Publik*, 29th January 1971, 19. Lehmann adds: "This is not to deny that Küng's interpretation squarely hits various statements of school theology as well as the abuse of infallibility in ecclesiastical politics. But neither of these things is identical with the dogma of infallibility interpreted according to the historical critical method!" (*Loc. cit.*, emphasis in original.) The assertion that Küng has retuted a conception of infallibility which is not authentically Catholic is also at the heart of Rahner's attack on Küng.

¹³ *Quirinus Letters* 444.

¹⁴ Following Küng's criticism of the papal *motu proprio* regarding mixed marriages in early summer, 1970, Congar published an open letter to Küng in *La Croix* for 2nd July 1970 which said in part: "My dear Küng, you are very certain of yourself. Do you not have a very high opinion with regard to the extent of your theological charism? Do you think that the responsible pastors are so badly informed and backward that they speak without any sound reasons? Or is the basic issue concerned with the doctrine of the Church?" In the latter case, Congar concluded, Küng would be raising a question so fundamental that it could not be treated through letters in newspapers. (Translated from the German version in *Die römische Warte*, 14th July 1970, 203. For Küng's reply to Congar see the following issue of the same newspaper, 22nd July 1970.) Congar has since written that in "Infallible?" Küng displays "a radicalism which verges on simplification and . . . a courage approaching rashness". (Y. Congar, "Infallibilité et indéfectibilité" in *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 54 (1970) 601-18, at 613.

¹⁵ Rahner has endorsed Congar's criticisms of Küng's style, adding for himself that he finds it "overbearing". Cf. *art. cit.* in note 3 above, 362.

¹⁶ *Art. cit.* in note 3 above, 288.

theologian" (26). And in a widely disseminated article he has subsequently explained "Why I am Staying in the Church".¹⁷ Here the similarity of his position to Acton's is especially striking. "I am staying in the Church", Küng writes, "because, along with the other members of this community of faith, we are the Church. (One should not confuse the Church with its apparatus or administrators; nor leave it to them alone to mould the community.) I am staying in the Church because, with all the strong objections against it, here I am at home. Here all the great questions are asked: the where and whence, the why and how of man and his world. I could not think of turning my back on the Church any more than, in the political sphere, I could turn my back on democracy, which, in its own way no less than the Church, is being misused and abused."¹⁸

It would be interesting to analyse the views of another Catholic critic of infallibility somewhat nearer in time to Küng than Acton. The English Jesuit, George Tyrrell, approached the question in the wider context of Church authority generally; also his standpoint was more theological than either Acton's or Küng's. Yet interesting parallels to their views can easily be found in Tyrrell's works nonetheless which only limitations of space prevent our pursuing. If it be objected that Tyrrell is clearly different from Acton and Küng in that he left the Roman Catholic Church, it must be stated that in his eyes he never did so. He was uncanonically and illegally expelled from the Society of Jesus because he was honest enough to admit, when questioned, that he was the author of an anonymous article published without his knowledge in an Italian newspaper. This consisted of excerpts, in Italian translation, from a paper he had written for private circulation to bolster the troubled faith of friends amongst the English Catholic intelligentsia. Tyrrell's arguments would cause not so much as the raising of an eyebrow today. It is a moot point whether Tyrrell was excommunicated. The ecclesiastical authorities insisted that, though he was deprived of the sacraments, no canonical sentence of excommunication had been passed upon him; while Tyrrell countered that this was mere dishonest quibbling and that if one was deprived of the sacraments it was small comfort, indeed meaningless, to be told that one had not been excommunicated. At any rate Tyrrell left instructions in his will that there be inscribed on his gravestone the traditional priestly emblems (chalice and host) and the words "Catholic priest", and this was done.

Especially interesting for the contrast which they present are the views of John Henry Newman on papal infallibility. Before the council Newman wrote to a correspondent: "I have ever held the Pope's infallibility as an opinion, and am not therefore likely to feel any personal anxiety as a result of this council." Yet he went on to say that he was strongly opposed to the definition, and that for one important reason: "hitherto nothing has ever been done at councils but what is necessary; what is the necessity of this? There is no heresy to be put down. . . . Let us look to it lest a judgment

¹⁷ Cf. *Tablet* 225 (1971) 433f and *America* 124 (1971) 281ff.

¹⁸ *Art. cit.* in previous note.

come down upon us, if we do, *though we have a right to do*, what we ought not to do. We must not play with edged tools."¹⁹

Newman maintained this view after the definition. He continued to hold the doctrine (differing in this from the other Catholic critics of infallibility whose views we have considered). But Newman objected strongly to its definition, to the means by which it had been forced through, and to the grossly exaggerated interpretations of the definition which Manning and other extreme infallibilists in England attempted after the council to foist upon the public—to the extreme discomfiture of many conscientious Catholics in England, and the delight of no-popey agitators.²⁰ Thus we find Newman writing on 19th July 1872 to Alfred Plummer, an Anglican clergyman and friend of Dollinger: "I have for these twenty-five years spoken *on behalf of the Pope's infallibility*. . . . This is quite consistent, in my way of viewing it, in my being most energetic against the *definition*. Many things are true which are not points of faith, and I thought the definition of this doctrine *most inexpedient*. . . . I now fear much lest the infallible voice of the council may not do harm to the cause of the Church in Germany, England, and elsewhere. What I said . . . was that the definition *would unsettle men's minds*. This anticipation has been abundantly fulfilled. I said, moreover, expressly that it would be *no difficulty to me*, but that it was making the defence of Catholicism more difficult."²¹

But during and after the council Newman was severe in his condemnation of the proceedings at the Vatican. Both for pastoral reasons (to avoid upsetting the faithful, who were not yet ready for such a definition) and for

¹⁹ Cited from C. S. Dessain, "What Newman Taught in Manning's Church" in M. D. Goulder (ed.), "Infallibility in the Church: an Anglican-Catholic Dialogue", London, 1968, 53-80, at 70f. Küng uses the identical argument: "The early Church of both east and west, both the Orthodox Churches of early and modern times and also the medieval western Church, both the Reformation Churches and the Counter-Reformation Church, did not define what they could have defined, but what they had to define, 'yielding to necessity, not following impulse'. They defined, not the maximum possible, just for the pleasure of defining, but the necessary minimum, under external pressure". ("Infallible?" 149.) Küng goes on to criticise as aberrations from sound tradition the modern definitions of papal primacy and infallibility and "the two Vatican dogmas of Mary", concluding that this "aberration is all the greater when it deepens the division of Christendom". (*Loc. cit.*)

²⁰ In the draft of an unpublished Quirinus letter dated 10th April 1870 Acton revealed an important motive for the vehemence of his opposition to papal infallibility. "According to the current theory of the ordinary Englishman, the Catholic today still believes that the persecution of heretics by the Inquisition, and the dominance of Rome in politics are, in principle, right and proper. Therefore, they cherish the belief that Catholics cannot achieve greater freedom or self-determination. And not only are they uncomfortable and a nuisance in a state that is well developed according to modern standards; they are hostile to it." (Cited from Conzenius, *Döllingerbriefe* ii, 300-307.) A similar motive is operative in the case of Hans Küng who has been concerned ever since his first book, "Justification" (1957), to reconcile Catholic and Protestant teaching. (This concern is central in Küng's recent book, "The Church"). A doctrine like that of papal infallibility inevitably queers the pitch. Küng's negative reaction is correspondingly vehement. A typical example may be seen in the final sentence of the passage from "Infallible?" cited in note 19 above.

²¹ Cited from F. L. Cross, "John Henry Newman", London, 1933, 173f.

dogmatic ones (in the interest of a really carefully and exactly stated definition which could command general assent) Newman considered that matters were being pressed on much too fast at Rome. He contrasted this (in his view) scandalous haste with the slowness and care with which the definition of the Immaculate Conception had been prepared. "Is this the way to gain a blessing on a most momentous undertaking?" Newman wrote to the Jesuit, Fr Robert Whitty, in Rome. "To outsiders like me it would seem as if a grave dogmatic question was being treated merely as a move in ecclesiastical politics."²²

To another correspondent Newman wrote on 1st November 1870: "Nothing can be more pitiless and intolerable than the conduct of those who have brought about and are carrying out this decision—and that conduct tempts one to rise in indignation against the *matter of the decision itself*—but I don't think, really, looking at that matter, that it is a very great thing, or very formidable. Very little has been passed indeed—and they *know* this, and are disappointed who have been the means of passing it . . . they hoped to get a decree which would cover the Syllabus, and they have not got it. . . . Again, the decree is limited to 'faith and morals' whereas what the Ultra party wished to pass was 'political principles'".²³ On 2nd January 1871 Newman wrote to another correspondent: "As little as possible was passed at the council—nothing about the Pope which I have not myself always held—but it is impossible to deny that it was done with an imperiousness and an overbearing wilfulness, which has been a great scandal."²⁴ On 12th February of this year Newman was writing: "I never expected to see so great a scandal in the Church. Such scandals, I know, have been before now, and in councils—but I thought we had too many vigilant and hostile eyes upon us, to allow even the most reckless, tyrannical, and heartless ecclesiastics, so wounding, piercing religious souls, so co-operating with those who wish the Church's downfall. The Almighty Lord of the Church will heal over the great offence, as he has obliterated other offences. His will be done—good will come out of it—nothing has been passed (as I think), but what I have ever held myself, about the Pope's infallibility—but one's natural sense of justice, of loving kindness, of large forbearance and discretion, as Christian duties, is shocked by what has taken place at Rome . . ." ²⁵ Almost two years later Newman, in refusing a suggestion that he speak against the doctrine, showed he had not altered his view about the harm the definition had done. "If Popes cannot teach falsehood *ex cathedra* they can *extra cathedram* do great evil, and have so done before now. I suppose Liberius and Honorius are instances in point. If they, why not Pius?"²⁶

Despite all this strong language, however, Newman held that "the late definition does not so much need to be undone, as to be completed. It needs *safeguards* to the Pope's possible acts—explanations as to the matter and extent of his power. I know that a violent reckless party, had it its will, would at this moment define that the Pope's power needs no safe-

²² Cited from Wilfrid Ward, "Life of Newman" ii, London, 1913, 298.

²³ Dessain, *op. cit.*, 72f. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 73. ²⁵ Dessain, *op. cit.*, 74. ²⁶ Dessain, *op. cit.*, 73f.

guards, no explanations; but there is a limit to the triumph of the tyrannical. Let us be patient, let us have faith, and a new Pope, and a re-assembled Council may trim the boat."²⁷ Fr Dessain argues that this and other prophecies of Newman "have had their almost literal fulfilment at the second Council of the Vatican, notably in all that was decreed concerning the collegiality of the bishops."²⁸ Hans Küng sees no ground for such optimism. He points out that the third chapter of the Constitution on the Church (which treats episcopal collegiality) is introduced in article 18 "with a massive confirmation of Vatican I and its statements on the primacy and infallibility."²⁹ And in article 25 "this infallibility is extended to the episcopal college, admittedly with the qualification 'when that body exercises supreme teaching authority with the successor of Peter'";³⁰ so that in Küng's view the last state of Catholic dogma is worse than the first.

Concerning the fulfilment of another of Newman's prophecies there can be less doubt however. We have already noted his view, expressed on 12th February 1871, that despite the "scandal" of the definition, God would "heal over the great offence . . . good will come out of it". He amplified this view in October 1872. "What I could not call opportune before the council, I call opportune after it. . . . I hold it to be opportune in the same sense in which it was opportune not to 'restore the Kingdom to Israel' on [Christ's] ascension. Instead of a triumphal spiritual Kingdom, He gave the apostles persecution. This was opportune. Persecution is consistent with opportuneness."³¹ The Holy See has long been attacked by those who do not acknowledge its authority. What is new in the present situation is that the attack now comes from within the Catholic fold. Küng has given utterance (and done so with no little polemical and rhetorical ability) to an idea of dynamic power whose time has finally come. Though it would be an exaggeration to speak of a Catholic "persecution" of the papacy, something akin to persecution is taking place before our eyes. This began during the first session of Vatican II, when so many council fathers attacked the curia as to cause one of its representatives to cry out in anguish: "Nos sumus martyres concilii!"³² This example has proved so contagious that the attack has now been broadened to include the whole Church establishment, including the papacy itself. Is it entirely fanciful to see in this development a fulfilment of Newman's prophecy of "persecution"? And is it unreasonable to view the papacy's present trials as part of that "judgment" which Newman warned against if we were to "play with edged tools"?

If these questions be answered in the affirmative, as we believe they must, we are confronted with the further (and ultimately more important) question: is the trial and judgment which the papacy is now undergoing also (in Newman's sense) "opportune"? To that question an affirmative

²⁷ Cited from F. L. Cross, "Newman", 170. Cf. this hopeful passage from Newman with the determinedly optimistic remarks made by Küng in "Infallible?", 27, from which one sentence is cited at the end of this article below.

²⁸ Dessain, *op. cit.*, 78. ²⁹ "Infallible?", 60. ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

³¹ Cited from Dessain, *op. cit.*, 72.

³² Cf. Xavier Rynne, "Letters from Vatican City", New York, 1963, 109. The speaker was Archbishop Parente, responding to attacks on the Holy Office.

answer will be possible if the present inner-Catholic debate over infallibility results in the "completion" of the Vatican I definition, that "trimming of the boat" which Newman desired and towards which Vatican II moved (in its statements about collegiality), though with much timidity, tentativeness, and compromise—for all of which we are now paying a high price in terms of turmoil and anguish. Will this condition be fulfilled?

There are solid reasons to hope it will. Especially hopeful is the skilfully worded statement of the German bishops about Küng's book, issued in February of this year.³³ The bishops begin by stating their considered view that some of the "fundamental elements of the Catholic understanding of the faith and of the Church . . . are not preserved in this book". Despite this fundamental demurrer, the importance of which must not be overlooked or forgotten, the bishops proceed in the course of their statement to move, however cautiously, in Küng's direction. They state, for instance, that "it is not the task of the bishops to take a position on points of technical theological controversy". This amounts to a tacit recognition of Küng's argument that the Church's theologians have a teaching office of their own which is not identical with that of the bishops. The bishops also recognize a distinction between the word of God and scripture. They speak about "God's word, to which the Bible bears witness", and about "God's word of revelation . . . testified to in the Bible". Here too it is possible to discern an approximation to Küng's position, that revelation is not identical with scripture, but that scripture *bears witness* to revelation.³⁴ It is significant too to find the bishops stating that the Church's power of defining dogma belongs "first of all" to ecumenical councils, but that this power may be exercised "in addition" by the Pope. This way of stating the matter is fully consistent with Vatican I, which says that under certain narrowly defined (and correspondingly rare) conditions the Pope exercises the Church's infallibility, not some personal infallibility of his own. This is far closer to Küng's position, however, than it is to the account of papal infallibility given in innumerable dogmatic manuals still cluttering our bookshelves, or even in so recent a document as the *Nota praevia* to the Constitution on the Church at Vatican II.

Finally, it is especially worthy of note that the statement of the German bishops nowhere uses the word "infallibility". This might be ascribed to the impossibility of defining a word by itself, were it not for the fact that the statement defines the word "dogma", but then goes on to make explicit use of the term as well. Is it unreasonable to see here a tacit recognition on the part of the bishops that the criticisms of the term "infallible" which have been made by Küng³⁵ and others³⁶ are justified? If this be admitted, there is reason to believe that this so misleading term may eventually disappear from the vocabulary of Catholic theology, to be

³³ For a full English translation of this statement see the conclusion of the author's "Infallible? An Inquiry Considered" in the June 1971 issue of *Theological Studies*.

³⁴ Cf. "Infallible?" 209-21. ³⁵ Cf. "Infallible?" 139ff.

³⁶ Cf. *inter alia* Paul de Vooght, "Les dimensions réelles de l'infaillibilité papale" in Enrico Castelli (ed.) "L'Infaillibilité: son aspect philosophique et théologique", Paris, 1970, 131-58, esp. 154f.

replaced by language less open to misunderstanding. When one reflects that in the century since Vatican I Catholic theology has been unable to convince people (even within the Catholic Church!) of how limited a thing infallibility is, that it is essentially negative in character and worlds removed from inspiration, then one cannot but rejoice at the prospect of the term's demise.

Our conclusion then is essentially hopeful, but this hope must be tempered by sober realism. The demise of the term infallibility (and with it of the Roman-school theology against which Küng polemicalises with such deadly force) is not likely to be swift. The death throes of this theology may well be violent. They will involve the papacy and with it large sections of the Church's leadership in much further suffering and anguish. Can we reasonably expect it to be otherwise when the methods used one hundred years ago in an attempt to canonize this theology (and these methods have been repeated on all too many occasions up to our own time) were such as to cause a man otherwise as moderate as Newman to apply on 12th April 1870 to what was then going forward at Rome the apocalyptic words of Christ himself: "Woe to the world because of offences! Whoever causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him if a great millstone were hung round his neck and he were thrown into the sea."³⁷

Yet we have seen that Newman was able to write less than a year later: "The Almighty Lord of the Church will heal over the great offence, as he has obliterated other offences. . . . Good will come out of it." The good to be expected from the controversy initiated by Hans Küng is the clarification of Catholic belief. This clarification is most likely to be negative. Even if we are unable to arrive at better and clearer statements of what the Catholic Church does believe and teach, the controversy will at least make it clear what she does *not* believe. This will surprise no one familiar with dogmatic history and with the fact, which this history amply illustrates, that the Church has always found it easier to say what she does *not* believe than what she does. This explains the fondness of councils and Popes for the negative form of the anathema. There are good reasons for the unpopularity of this particular form of dogmatic utterance today. But it should not be forgotten that the anathema, which states what the Church does not believe, performs a positive service by eliminating misunderstandings, false claims, and illusions. In our day the elimination of such things is an important *ecumenical* service. For if it is important for Catholics to give a clear account to others of what they do believe, it is hardly less important for them to make clear what they do not believe.

Let us give the last word, then, to Hans Küng himself, whose "Candid Preface" to his insistent and important "Inquiry" contains a sentence typical of all his writing, and one which may well stand at the conclusion of this article: "The crisis must be endured and will be overcome."³⁸

³⁷ Cited from Newman's letter to Fr Whitty already quoted above, as given by W. Ward, "Newman" ii, 297. Newman, like the Church fathers, here conflates two scriptural passages: Mt. 18.7 and Mk. 9.41. His quotation is given in Latin and corresponds to the Vulgate version of these two passages. ³⁸ "Infallible?" 27.

THE CLOSE OF THE GREGORIAN ERA

by

R. H. RICHENS

Between Maundy Thursday 1969 and Maundy Thursday 1970 a liturgical revolution (evolution, perhaps?) of unprecedented proportions was promulgated and put into effect. On 2nd April 1969, by his Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*, the Holy Father approved the new Roman Missal, reformed (a weighty word) in accordance with the requirements of the Conciliar Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (4th December 1963). Four days later, by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, two parts of the new Missal were published, namely the *Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani* and the *Ordo Missae*; and similarly a third part, *Ordo Lectionum Missae*, was published on 25th May 1969. Exactly a month later the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship published norms for the gradual application of the Constitution, publishing a further "Instruction on the Gradual Application of Apostolic Constitution *Missale Romanum*" on 20th October 1969. There it was stated that the Latin text of the *Ordo Missae* could be used from 30th November 1969 and vernacular texts thereafter at the discretion of Episcopal Conferences. Each Conference was to determine the day from which the new *Ordo Lectionum Missae* was to come into use, on or after 30th November.

Thus was launched the great Pauline revolution, far more far-reaching than the one begun under Paul IV in 1562 (Co. Trent, Session XXII): its massiveness has gone largely unnoticed in England. So the Chairman of the Association for Latin Liturgy has here provided a careful account of the nature of one aspect of the changes. In a field much given to passionate personal literary criticism, he brings the cool judgment and consequent authority of a scholar.

THE most momentous event in the long history of the Roman rite, the promulgation of the new *Missale Romanum* on Maundy Thursday 1970, has made next to no impact on the Catholic world. This, of course, is because the Latin text has been examined by few and used by few, and until the translators have completed their arduous task, the changes introduced are not likely to register.

It may be useful therefore, at this stage, to draw attention to one, and not the most important, of the changes involved, the complete rearrangement of the items of the proper so that they correspond at comparatively few points with the propers that have persisted in use with but minor changes, for over a thousand years.

There is no point in discussing here the intricate and largely unanswerable problems as to the arrangement of the propers of the Roman rite in its earliest stages. Historical accidents have preserved such texts as the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries, but the continuous history of recent liturgical arrangements only commences with what we may, in deference both to legend and to the researches of Chavasse,¹ call the Gregorian arrangement. Whether, and if so to what degree, St Gregory

¹ A. Chavasse, "Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire de l'antiphonaire romains de la messe", *Revue Bénédictine* 62 (1952), 3-94.

was indeed responsible for this is irrelevant. What is important is that, from the seventh century onwards, the various liturgical books, sacramentaries, lectionaries, antiphoners and ordos indicate that a unified rite had been devised which, with relatively minor modifications, became the rite of almost the whole of the Christian West.

As is well known, the text of the Roman rite falls into two parts, the relatively fixed ordinary and the variable proper, and the component items of the latter, introit, collect, readings, gradual, alleluia or tract, gospel, offertory, secret, communion verse and postcommunion, were, by and large, specific for each occasion. They constituted its office, and this became much more obvious after the turn of the millennium when complete missals began to replace the separate liturgical books. Much of the ease of handling late Western liturgical books has resulted from the convenience of having an office for each occasion, and while it is true that the items of a single office might have been of diverse provenance, once they came together they remained as a unity thence until the recent reform.

Not to cover too wide a field in this article, attention will be restricted to the yearly temporal cycle of the Roman rite, ignoring the special cases of Holy Week, the ember days and the vigils, which present special problems of their own.

The new missal contains only introits, collects, prayers *super oblata* (secrets), communion verses and postcommunions, so the intervenient chants and offertories of the *Graduale Romanum*, also said to be under revision, need not be considered. Further, it is impossible adequately to discuss the new missal without reference to the new lectionary which dovetails into it. The prefaces of the new missal again constitute a separate issue, and will not be discussed here.

If one attempts to describe the salient features of the Gregorian arrangement, it may be summarized thus. The various items may have special reference to a particular feast or season, or they may be "generic", that is, concerned with the Christian life but without reference to any particular mystery of the faith. The arrangement of the items of generic proper is complex in detail, but there are abundant signs of the principle of *lectio semicontinua* in the choice of introit psalms, epistles and communion psalms. It is hardly perceptible for the gospels. The generic prayers, collects, secrets and postcommunions, show no clear plan.

In the case of the major feasts, the theme of the day clearly governs the choice of the theme of the proper. However, even in the generic proper, there may be thematic connection. Thus we have the introit antiphon from the epistle for Advent 3, introit and communion verse from the same psalm in Lent 1, and epistle, as at Easter, or gospel as at Pentecost, providing the communion verse. In all these cases the items remain together in the new missal.

What is now called the principle of irrepeatability was not always applied. The *Graduale Romanum* has no special items for Epiphany 4 to 6, nor between Pentecost 23 and Advent. The Sundays after the ember days

originally had no office, nor the Thursdays of Lent, nor the Saturday preceding Palm Sunday. There was some replication of the prayers; thus the secret of Lent 3 Sunday was also used for Lent 4 feria 3.

As the Roman rite spread, it diversified into various local and regular uses. In England, the Sarum, Hereford and York uses predominated,² but it is remarkable how comparatively slight were the differences in the texts of the proper of these uses and those of the later Roman rite standardised after the Council of Trent. It is pertinent to note, however, that the proper of all three of the English medieval uses are closer to those of the original Gregorian arrangement since they have not suffered the dislocation in the Sundays after Pentecost (after Trinity) which is evident in the post-Tridentine Roman rite, where the Gradualia items and epistles have fallen one Sunday out of step with the prayers and the gospel.³

In a number of countries, the Gregorian arrangement, at least in part, survived the Reformation. In England, the Book of Common Prayer usually retains the collect, epistle and gospel of the medieval uses, and also retains the ancient arrangement of the Sundays after Trinity. In the Lutheran churches of Germany and Scandinavia, the collects, epistles and gospels were at first retained, and in various degrees they still remain. In much of Germany, in Denmark and Norway, though not in Sweden, the collects of Veit Dietrich⁴ were early substituted for translations of the Latin collects; later, alternative epistles and gospels were added to the older ones. In Sweden, post-Reformation revision caused a dislocation in the collects of the Sundays after Trinity, which lag one Sunday behind the epistle and gospel, which are generally as in the English medieval uses.⁵

Thus, on the eve of Vatican II, the Gregorian arrangement still provided a framework of liturgical unity that linked the Latin rite throughout its extent, provided manifest evidence of its identity with the Church of preceding centuries, and retained a form of common worship with a number of the churches that originated at the Reformation.

The first business of Vatican II was to proceed to liturgical reform and we find in the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* the norms along which the reform should proceed. These were greater intelligibility,⁶ simplification,⁷ elimination of useless repetition,⁸ more numerous and more varied scriptural readings over a prescribed number of years,⁹ a special emphasis on the paschal mystery,¹⁰ but no innovations "unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them".¹⁰

² *Missale Sarisburgense*, edit. F. H. Dickinson (1861-83). *Missale Herfordense*, edit. W. G. Henderson (1874). *Missale Eboracense*, edit. W. G. Henderson, *Surtees Society* 59-60 (1872).

³ Cf. Chavasse, p. 15-16.

⁴ Cf. B. Klaus, *Veit Dietrich, Leben und Werk* (1958).

⁵ Cf. E. E. Yelverton, *The Mass in Sweden*, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 57 (1920), 55.

⁶ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (CSL) cap 21.

⁷ CSL, cap 34, cap 50.

⁸ CSL, cap 35, cap 51.

⁹ CSL, cap 40.

¹⁰ CSL, cap 23.

The task of revising the liturgical books was entrusted to a newly established *Consilium*, now merged with the Congregation for Divine Worship, and it is to these bodies that we owe the new lectionary and missal of the Roman rite.

As has been hinted, the changes introduced have been very great indeed. However, since so many of the liturgical texts of the Roman rite are biblical, these hardly allowed amendment. The same could not be said of the prayers, and extensive reworking of the prayer texts was undertaken. This, however, is a separate issue and will not be discussed here.

If it is asked, in brief, what has happened to the Gregorian propers, the short answer is that most of the constituent items remain, but re-distributed so widely that a large part of the ancient arrangement has completely disappeared, and no single office, at least of the temporal cycle, survives as a unity.

Changes in the calendar have been responsible for some of the changes, though these mainly affect the sanctoral cycle. The major change in the temporal cycle has been the suppression of Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, which date only from the sixth century. Also, a new conception of the paschal season, with Pentecost as its termination, has resulted in the suppression of the *ferias* of the octave of Pentecost. By way of addition, we now have *ferial* propers for Advent, and for the Christmas season till Epiphany, and for the whole of the paschal season.

Instead of the comparative simplicity of the old annual temporal cycle, we now have three interlocking temporal cycles, an annual cycle for the introit, prayer, communion verse, the readings for major feasts, the gospel of *ferias* and the first reading of Advent, Lent and Easter *ferias*, a biennial cycle for the first reading of ordinary *ferias*, and a triennial cycle for all Sunday readings. The introduction of a third reading enables the Old Testament to be heard on all Sundays throughout the year. It is interesting to note that the first reading of the Christmas midnight mass and the Christmas Day mass is the same as the extra reading in the English medieval uses.¹¹ This measure implements the Conciliar objective of displaying the treasury of Holy Scripture more lavishly. However, the three readings pose problems of congregational tolerance thresholds that seem not to have been fully taken into account by the revisers.

We are fortunate in having some very detailed accounts of the way in which the new missal has been compiled by three authors very largely connected with the revisions, Augé,¹² Raffa¹³ and Ferretti.¹⁴ In addition to

¹¹ It should be noted that the extra lesson of the English uses precedes the epistle without an intervening chant in contradistinction to the ancient offices, such as the ember days, in which more than two readings occur, where all readings are separated by intervening chants. In the *Missale Sarisburgense* (p. 50), the Old Testament reading at the midnight mass was forced and chanted alternately by two clerks.

¹² M. Augé, "Le collette del proprio del tempo nel nuovo messale", *Ephem. liturg.* 84 (1970), 275-98.

¹³ V. Raffa, "Le orazioni sulle offerte del tempo nel nuovo messale", *Ephem. liturg.* 84 (1970), 299-322.

¹⁴ W. Ferretti, "Le orazioni post communionem de tempore nel nuovo messale romano", *Ephem. liturg.* 84 (1970), 323-41.

the Conciliar directive mentioned above, we find the following criteria listed: theological enrichment of the prayers, in particular the introduction of ecclesial themes and the theme of hearing the word,¹⁵ paschalisation,¹⁶ and the replacement of generic prayers by special prayers on feasts and in special seasons.¹⁷ A highly significant policy adopted by the revisers has been the elimination of "negative" themes or their transfer to Lent. The notion of negative themes in theology, ethics or liturgy is perhaps one of the key concepts of modern Church history, and one which the reports of Vatican II made familiar to the world in general. There is no real English expression for this concept and, indeed, attempts to define it in philosophical or theological terms tend to get nowhere, especially when we find the Congregation for Divine Worship attaching it to so robust an object as the Wedding March from Lohengrin. Nor can the concept be regarded as scriptural. Perhaps the best we can do in the present case is to attempt an ostensive definition, giving examples of what the three authors referred to above regard as negative themes in the older liturgy. These turn out to be allusion to sin, human frailty, human dependence on God, divine disapprobation, the presence of evil in the world, conversion, penitence, mortification, prayer, meditation, moralising and polemic.¹⁸ Such a wide-ranging concept obviously embraces much of sacred scripture itself. It is obviously not possible to deal with negative themes in the Bible as freely as with those in later liturgical texts. The policy of the revisers appears, in general, to have been to excise "hard sayings" from the Sunday gospel readings, while leaving them intact for the *ferial* readings where, one presumes, the danger of misunderstanding is less.¹⁹ Closely associated with the excision or transfer of prayers with negative themes has been the desire to accommodate them as far as possible to the mentality of modern man.²⁰ Other reasons for rearrangement include elimination of repetition, the

¹⁵ E.g. the postcommunions of Sunday 5 and Sunday 11 (from the votive mass *ad tollendum schisma*) carry the ecclesial theme; the theme of hearing the word is illustrated by the new collect of Lent 2.

¹⁶ The Ambrosian collect newly assigned to Lent 3 *feria* 5 makes explicit reference to the paschal significance of Lent.

¹⁷ Augé (p. 278) states that all the old Advent Sunday collects are too generic and have therefore been replaced by others more specific to the season. Similarly the collect of the former Easter 5 has been transferred to Sunday 10 as not sufficiently paschal for the season.

¹⁸ Cf. Augé, p. 288, 298; Raffa, p. 313-4. Examples of prayers transferred to Lent (usually *ferias*) on account of their negative themes include the following: on sin, the former collect of Pentecost 23, the secrets of Epiphany 3 and Pentecost 14; on human dependence on God, the *sine te* collects of Pentecost 8, 14, 15 and 18; on human frailty, the collect of Epiphany 3 and the secrets of Epiphany 4 and 5; on conversion, the secret of Pentecost 24; on purification, the postcommunions of Pentecost 10 and 16; on atonement, the secret of Pentecost 21; and on forgiveness, the postcommunion of Pentecost 13.

¹⁹ On Sunday 14 (year 3), Our Lord's condemnation of the Lake Cities is excised; on Sunday 22 (year 2), Our Lord's contrast between unclean thoughts and the cleanliness of excrement is removed.

²⁰ Both Augé and Raffa allude to the outlook of *l'uomo d'oggi*. It appears to be taken as axiomatic that he is averse to any negative allusions, and Ferretti (p. 341) assumes that prayers that are more cheerful (*più gioiosi*) and more expressive of community feeling (*più comunitari*) will better correspond to contemporary attitudes.

avoidance of prayers framed in connection with particular historical events,²¹ and the arrangement of the propers to form a more comprehensible scheme, for example, arranging the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus in chronological order.

A further reason for the extensive rearrangement has been the decision to incorporate many prayers not in the Gregorian arrangement. These additions fall into four main categories: (1) prayers from the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries, which can be taken, by and large, as being in the Roman tradition; (2) arrangements, often centonised, of Roman material from the formative period of the Roman rite, notably the sermons of St Leo; (3) borrowings from other rites, particularly the Ambrosian; and lastly (4) completely new compositions.²²

To estimate the extent of the new transpositions, we can take the new Sundays (and Weeks) of the year. Of 102 prayers, somewhat over half are Gregorian, about a fifth (22) are Leonine or Gelasian, while 8 are elaborations, often centonised, of early Roman material. Seven appear to be new. Of the remaining prayers only one is Ambrosian. It is interesting to note that whereas the new ordinary of the mass has been criticised as including elements alien to the rite, notably the Jewish-style offertory prayers and the new eucharistic prayers which introduce an incongruous Eastern element,²³ on the whole the new items of the proper are in the authentic tradition of the Roman rite.

In the case of the generic parts of the new lectionary, the principle of *lectio semicontinua* has been applied to the second and third readings, with independent cycles for Sunday and weekdays. The first Sunday reading harmonises with the gospel.

In the case of the generic prayers, the overall principle of rearrangement is much more obscure, if we exclude transfer of items on the grounds mentioned above. Apparently anticipating that the rearrangement will appear at first sight as *una cieca trasposizione meccanica*, Augé²⁴ is at pains to explain that it has all been done with the content of the prayers in mind. It appears, from Ferretti's classification of the postcommunions,²⁵ that the various prayers were classified and arranged to correspond in some way to the initiation, progress and consummation of the Christian life.

Generally speaking, when items of the generic propers were thematically related in the old missal, care has been taken to keep them in

²¹ Augé (p. 278) cites the view that the former collect of Advent I refers to a period of local turmoil in Rome.

²² The *super oblata* and postcommunion of Advent I are Leonine, and the corresponding prayers of Advent 2 are Gelasian. Raffa (p. 303) provides a good example of centonisation, the *super oblata* for 18 December, constructed from Leonine *super oblata*, an Ambrosian *super oblata*, and a Leonine preface. The collect of Advent I is Gallican, the *super oblata* of Advent 4 is Ambrosian. The postcommunion of Sunday 5 is new, while that of Sunday 22, according to Ferretti, is *nuovissimo*.

²³ G. G. Willis, "The new eucharistic prayer: some comments", *Heythrop Journal* 12 (1971), 5-28.

²⁴ Augé, p. 297.

²⁵ Ferretti, p. 326.

association, even when they have been transferred to another context. Thus the gospel and communion verse of the former Lent 3 Saturday have been transferred together to the new Lent 5 Sunday (year 3). Some associations have, however, been severed; for instance, the gospel on the marriage feast at Cana, read on the former Epiphany 2, no longer carries the communion verse from the same passage, the plainchant setting of which is one of the most graphic in the *Graduale Romanum*. Also the communion verses previously associated with the gospels of the former Easter 2, 3 and 4 have disappeared.

With the exception of the treatment of the equivocal negative themes, the principles described as animating the compilation of the new missal can be taken as stemming from Conciliar directives. It remains to assess some of the practical results.

First, taken in aggregate, it is probably fair to say that most of the items of the old propers of the temporal cycle have survived somewhere, though often not where expected. Thus the old collect for Pentecost survives in the new votive mass of the Holy Spirit.

The former prayers *super populum* have suffered most. Twenty-six such prayers are included in the new missal for use *ad libertatem* throughout the year, none with specific associations. In this list only five of the Lenten prayers *super populum* remain.

While, generally speaking, collects, prayers *super oblata*, postcommunions and the prayers *super populum* retain their original role, this is not always the case. Thus the collect for the former Lent 4 feria 3 becomes the postcommunion of the new Lent 2 feria 5. The prayers *super populum* of the former Lent 2 feria 4 and Lent 2 feria 5 become respectively the collects of the new Lent 2 feria 5 and Sunday 18.

We can ask to what extent the propers of the old offices have survived in a context similar to that in which they were formerly found. The answer varies. Of the 96 propers under consideration in this article, by far the largest number of items to survive in their original context are the introits, 71 of which remain arranged much as previously. In all other cases the number of items surviving in a context similar to their previous one is much less, the number for the collects, prayers *super oblata* and postcommunions so remaining being 40, 35 and 32 respectively.

If we consider the various days in the temporal cycle, the three Christmas masses and Epiphany retain the greatest number of items from their former propers. Of what were formerly the two greatest feasts of the year, the Sundays of Easter and Pentecost, Easter has retained its former introit, collect, epistle and communion verse. The original gospel, secret and postcommunion have been transferred to the Easter Vigil. Pentecost has undergone drastic change to stress the ecclesial theme. Only an optional introit, the epistle and the latter half of the communion verse remain. A number of the old ferial masses retain as many as three or four items of their former propers. The ordinary Sundays have been changed most of all.

Since the propers have for so long been regarded as liturgical units, it is pertinent to ask how many survive as units, or more or less so. We can ascertain this as follows. The old offices had seven items, the equivalents of which are included in the new lectionary and missal; should these seven items remain together, even though there may be textual amendment, we could refer to maximum survival. If six items remain then the degree of survival is one less, and so on. The figures come out as follows:

| | |
|---|----|
| 7 items of a previous office remaining together | 0 |
| 6 items of a previous office remaining together | 3 |
| 5 items of a previous office remaining together | 3 |
| 4 items of a previous office remaining together | 10 |
| 3 items of a previous office remaining together | 15 |
| 2 items of a previous office remaining together | 33 |
| 0 items of a previous office remaining together | 37 |

The total of these items slightly exceeds the 96 offices under consideration since sometimes two items, say, of a former office have been transferred to one new office, and two others to another.

The biennial and triennial lectionary cycles mean that these are maximum figures, since an old lesson may recur in the old context only once in three years. Even so they indicate how extensive the reordering has been, no single proper of the temporal cycle having survived completely intact. As mentioned above, the offices least modified are those of the three Christmas masses and Epiphany; next come the Lenten ferias. Of the former Sundays after Pentecost, 19 have been amended so greatly that no original items at all remain in association.

Admitting the magnitude of the changes, is this a matter of any concern? Cannot we assume new material, the greater number and range of scriptural readings and the more schematised arrangement is an improvement on the old? Let us assume this to be so, but we must next ask the price which we must pay. First we should dismiss any particular value in itself of *lectio semicontinua* either in the old or in the new liturgical books. This merely provides an easy way for compilers to distribute texts over a given period. The first serious point is that we are now cut off from our own liturgical past, not only from the post-Tridentine Roman rite and the Roman rite back to the time of St Gregory, but also from our own English uses. Baumstark,²⁶ perhaps the greatest liturgical scholar of this century, expressed the immense significance of the transcendence of time by liturgical worship thus. He who takes part in the liturgy "feels himself to be at the point which links those who before him, since the very earliest days of Christianity, have offered prayer and sacrifice with those who in time to come will be offering the same prayer and the same sacrifice, long after the last fragment of his mortal remains have crumbled to dust". The latest revision of the missal cannot but destroy a great part of this abiding awareness of the historical continuity of the worshipping Church, so valuable an aid to faith in this era of declining credibility. We are also cut

²⁶ A. Baumstark, quoted by T. Klauser, *A Shorter History of the Western Liturgy* (translated by J. Halliburton, 1969), 18.

off from all spiritual literature with liturgical allusion. The homiletic literature from St Gregory I to St Bernard and to the later Middle Ages is keyed to the Gregorian offices. Much of the spiritual writing of seventeenth and eighteenth century France was moulded upon the texts of the liturgical year as Brémond²⁷ has shown. It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the extensive liturgically rooted spiritual writing that has spread the world over, following the impetus provided by Guéranger,²⁸ resulting in the almost universal dissemination of bilingual missals for the laity in literate communities.

There is, moreover, another serious break with our own liturgical past, and this is in the field of music. As all the ancient Christian rites, the Roman rite was primarily a sung rite, including the entire proper with its lessons. The whole was set to plainchant, and we are in danger of losing much of this. Many of the new items of the proper have no plainchant settings, and setting of new texts to old chants is fraught with difficulties. In addition, the new *Ordo Missae* which has created difficulties with regard to polyphonic settings of the ordinary, which are amongst the greatest monuments of Christian liturgical art, has led to a revival of interest in the polyphonic gradualia by such major composers as Isaac, Gallus and Byrd, to say nothing of the settings of individual items of the propers by innumerable composers from Dunstable to Poulenc and Stravinsky. Admittedly, the *Ordo Missae* allows latitude in the choice of introits and communion verses, but we are obviously placed in an anomalous situation when the immense output of liturgical music of the highest quality no longer fits the liturgy for which it was composed.

Also, in the context of ecumenical relations, we are now removing ourselves further from the forms of worship in the Church of England and the Lutheran churches of the Continent, where the Gregorian arrangement is still pervasive. The extent of the divergence caused is illustrated by the fact that in 35 cases, the collect, epistle and gospel of the Book of Common Prayer is the same as in the ancient Gregorian arrangement and in the medieval English uses; not a single one of these former correspondences will survive when the new *Missale Romanum* comes into use.

Further, in elaborating their new arrangement, the compilers have overlooked two Conciliar directives, the principle of minimum change and the principle of simplification. It seems quite impossible to harmonise the immense number of changes in the new *Missale Romanum* with the Conciliar directive against any innovations "unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them". Taken at their plain sense, the words approved by the Conciliar fathers seem to indicate a desire for a thorough overhaul of the Roman missal, but with no disturbance of its texts or structure beyond what was clearly necessary. An obvious case calling for remedy was a number of textual errors which study of ancient

²⁷ H. Brémond, *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France*, 10, "La prière et les prières de l'ancien régime" (1932).

²⁸ P. Guéranger, *L'Année Liturgique* (1840-51).

manuscripts had revealed. These, one is glad to see, have been largely, though not entirely, removed. One might have expected that the dislocation of the post-Tridentine Roman missal would have been corrected to correspond more closely with the Gregorian arrangement so well illustrated by our own medieval English uses, but of this there is no trace. The wish for a wholesale reconstruction of the missal cannot be read into the Conciliar documents. Similarly, as regards simplification, the rites themselves have indeed been simplified, but the multiplication of liturgical books, the complex lectionary cycles, and the large number of items to be chosen, or available for choice *ad libitatem*, have resulted in very considerable complication, reversing the trend until recently applauded in liturgical histories, of reducing the cumbersome equipment of books required in the early period of the Roman rite, sacramentary, epistolary, gospel book, antiphoner and ordo, to the single comprehensive missal.

Also, the revisers have overlooked one very important aspect which did not, apparently, receive adequate attention at Vatican II, the importance of the written word. The new lectionary and missal can hardly be condensed to a single handy volume, and the possibility of a bilingual Latin-vernacular mass book is even more remote. This represents a serious loss to the faithful in countries where missals have been of proven value in promoting participation. Mass in which the ear but not the eye is engaged can reasonably be regarded as a lesser involvement than when both senses are active. Other reasons why missals remain a desideratum are their usefulness under poor acoustic conditions, and their value to the deaf. Furthermore, the complexity of the lectionary cycles, and the large number of permitted variants, no longer make it possible to know, given the introit, what is to follow.

While it is true that a number of repetitions have been eliminated in the new missal, it has to be pointed out that many of the new ferial masses are largely composed of repeat material. Thus in the ferial masses of the first three weeks of Advent, while there are collects for each day, the prayers *super oblata* and postcommunions repeat in rotation those of the first three Sundays of Advent, while there are six introits and communion verses, one for each day of the week, which repeat in successive weeks.

Future judgment on the new *Missale Romanum* is likely to depend considerably on whether the revisers' attitudes to negative themes and their concept of the modern man prove to be more than transient. It seems that much of the distaste for negative themes derives from the immediate post-Conciliar euphoria, now rapidly dispersing. While all Christians are animated by the hope of the good news brought by the gospels, they were conscious enough, in the formative stages of the Roman rite, of the world in turmoil and of human weakness and sin. Today the turmoil is with us still; we know the depths to which so-called Christians can sink in war and repression of all sorts; we are aware that we may bring the Last Day upon ourselves; and we know in more detail than our ancestors the force exerted on our actions by our unconscious drives. Coughlan,²⁹ in his booklet

²⁹ P. Coughlan, *The New Eucharistic Prayers* (1968).

introducing the new eucharistic prayers, remarked how well the Roman canon had stood the test of time. This has been largely because it transcended the era of its composition. It is difficult to feel as confident that the new *Missale Romanum* transcends its era of compilation.

We might next ask, given the Conciliar directives, could the task have been accomplished with less disruption of the older arrangement. The answer appears to be affirmative. The fact that the introits have been so little rearranged shows that the older order of generic prayers was acceptable in this case, and the kaleidoscopic treatment of the other items of the older offices of the Sundays after Pentecost (the present Sundays of the year), does appear, even when all the reasons advanced have been considered, to do little more than shatter the tradition of the last thousand years with minimal gain.

But what, it might be asked, is the point of drawing attention to drawbacks in the arduous and scholarly work that has resulted in new service books that will remain in use now for many years to come? Unconstructive criticism would indeed be pointless and out of place, but it would be naïve to suppose that the Roman rite is about to enter into another period of immobility comparable to that of the recent past. For one thing, changes, admittedly minor, have already been made in the new *Ordo Missae* since its first promulgation in 1969. Secondly, the present lectionary and missal were compiled anonymously with no general consultation or sounding of the views of the faithful at large. We are moving into an era in the life of the Church where such proceedings are likely to be censured in retrospect as wrong in principle. Thirdly, while it is obviously intended that the new books shall arrest the near chaos that liturgical experiment had engendered over the last few years, it appears unlikely, after stabilisation has been achieved, that a new rigidity will prevail indefinitely. Few would regard this as consonant with the spirit of Vatican II. We might well expect further liturgical development that will not only produce new forms, but will re-establish and find a place for the historical liturgies of particular places. In due time, it seems proper to hope that the English medieval rites will be re-incorporated in some form into the broader spectrum of liturgical worship which one would hope our own hierarchy will one day secure for English Catholics.

It seems reasonable, therefore, in welcoming with some reservations the new liturgical books, to examine their contents with close attention, so that, as our liturgical life continues to develop, whatever defects become apparent, whether through rearrangement, excision or addition, can be corrected for the greater good of the Church when the time for further revision comes upon us.

CARDINAL NEWMAN AND ETERNAL PUNISHMENT

by

FR CHARLES STEPHEN DESSAIN

All those whose deeds are evil will be thrown into the burning furnace, the place of wailing and grinding of teeth. . . It is better to enter into life with one eye than to keep both eyes and be thrown into the fires of hell.
Mt. 13,42; 18,9.

Ours is not an age which speaks of duties to God, or of the suffering of this world as a necessary apprenticeship for the glories promised in the Kingdom. The words of St Benedict in his Prologue, echoing St Peter in his Epistle, *passionibus Christi per patientiam participemus, ut et regno eius mereamur consortes*, ring curiously old fashioned to modern ears. We do not attend much to the after life; and in not doing so, we do not attend to this life in the way that we otherwise might. We speak of resolving frustrations (Freud), of filling existential vacuums (Frankl), of the psychology of purpose (Maslow): but we do not speak of our final end and the interim obligations it supposes. We do not speak of ultimate beatitude or everlasting punishment: yet to refuse to advert to a reality does not remove it, and to give it too little consideration may unbalance our value structure and with it our fundamental pursuits. It is with this in mind that we should reinstate the reality of hell, the permanent privation of the vision of God, a state very real to John Henry Newman in his time.

Newman's biographer-editor, C. S. Dessain, was educated at the Oratory School and Balliol, where he read History. In 1929 he joined the Birmingham Oratory, founded by Newman, where there were still among the community eight priests who had known the Cardinal (as had Fr Dessain's family). Fr Dessain has been fifteen years archivist at the Oratory and has become the foremost scholar on the life and thought of Newman. In 1966 he wrote a study of him for the Leaders of Religion series. Since the late 1950s, he has been steadily editing the great volumes of "The Letters & Diaries of John Henry Newman" (Nelson).

ONE of the secrets of Newman's influence was his ability to enter into the minds of others, to understand the strength of a point of view which he did not share, and to meet it as far as he could. These characteristics may be seen in his treatment of the doctrine of eternal punishment, which, during the second half of his life, was increasingly denied. In 1849 he wrote in a letter, "about eternal punishment, it is to me, as to most men, the great crux in the Christian system as contemplated by the human mind. . . . But then is there to be no trial of faith? . . . Reason is able to approve of much—is it to approve of all?"¹ The doctrine comes under faith, is to be accepted because it has been revealed. It comes at the end of a process. It is a fundamental thesis of Newman's that obedience to one's conscience, "a right state of heart", is what enables men to judge correctly in religious matters. Those in good moral dispositions are in the way to recognise the voice of the Good Shepherd. Having followed their inward guide, they realise that it is insufficient and are on the look-out

¹ Letter of 2nd December 1849, "The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman", Volume XIII, 1963, p. 318.

for a revelation. This, says Newman, is why willingness to believe receives such praise in the Gospel. But once they have given their faith to Christ the Revealer, they must accept all that Truth Himself teaches. Thus Newman professes in the *Apologia* "I believe the whole revealed dogma as taught by the Apostles, as committed by the Apostles to the Church, and as declared by the Church to me". Already, at the beginning of the same book, he tells us how, from his first conversion at the age of sixteen, "I have held with a full inward assent and belief the doctrine of eternal punishment, as delivered by our Lord Himself, in as true a sense as I hold that of eternal happiness; though I have tried in various ways to make that truth less terrible to the imagination".² When as an old man Newman discussed the harm that would result from letting go the doctrine of eternal punishment, he began by avowing that he held the doctrine, "not because of the disintegrating consequences of letting it go, but on the simple word of the Divine Informant".

This was in an article of 1885, re-published in "Stray Essays". After showing how the denial of the teaching of one part of Holy Scripture would lead to the denial of other parts, Newman called attention to another disintegrating consequence, which was precisely the weakening of the natural conscience. Ordinary men may know that they should adhere to God with pure love, and yet welcome all that helps to keep them on the narrow path. As Newman puts it, "Those solemn warnings of Scripture against disobedience to the law of right and wrong are but fellows of the upbraids and menaces of the human conscience. The belief in future punishment will not pass away without grave prejudice to that high Monitor. Are you, in weakening its warning voice, to lose an ever-present reminder of an Unseen God? It is a bad time to lose that voice when efforts so serious have so long been making to resolve it into some intellectual principle or secular motive".

A further disintegrating consequence is that Calvary, the work of our Redemption, begins to lose its importance. Newman continues, "But there is another doctrine, too, that suffers when future punishment is tampered with, namely, what is commonly called the 'Atonement'. The Divine Victim took the place of man: how will this doctrine stand, if the final doom of the wicked is denied? Everyone who escapes the penalty of pain, escapes it by virtue of the Atonement made instead of it; but so great a price as was paid for the remission supposes an unimaginable debt. If the need was not immense, would such a Sacrifice have been called for? Does not that sacrifice throw a fearful light upon the need of it? And if the need be denied, will not the Sacrifice be unintelligible? The early martyrs give us their sense of it; they considered their torments as a deliverance from their full deserts, and felt that, had they recanted, it would have been at the risk of their eternal welfare. The Great Apostle is in his writings full of gratitude to the Power who has 'delivered him from the wrath to come'. It is the foundation of the whole spiritual fabric on which his life is built.

² "Apologia pro Vita sua", uniform edition, pp. 251 and 6.

What remains of his Christianity if he is no longer to be penetrated by the thought of that second death from which he had been now delivered?"³

So much as to the doctrine itself. How does Newman try to make it "less terrible to the imagination"? He begins, in "A Grammar of Assent", by insisting on the mystery. "The real mystery is, not that evil should never have an end, but that it should ever have had a beginning. Even a universal restitution could not undo what had been, or account for evil being the necessary condition of good. How are we to explain it, the existence of God being taken for granted, except by saying that another will, besides His, has had a part in the disposition of His work, that there is a quarrel without remedy, a chronic alienation, between God and man?" Newman insists that we ought, "before we judge, to understand, not only the whole state of the case, but what is meant by the doctrine itself. Eternity, or endlessness, is in itself mainly a negative idea, though the idea of suffering is positive. Its fearful force, as an element of future punishment, lies in what it excludes; it means never any change of state, no annihilation or restoration; but what, considered positively, it adds to suffering, we do not know. For what we know, the suffering of one moment may in itself have no bearing, or but a partial bearing, on the suffering of the next; and thus, as far as its intensity is concerned, it may vary with every lost soul. This may be so, unless we assume that the suffering is necessarily attended by a consciousness of duration and succession, by a present imagination of its past and its future, by a sustained power of realising its continuity." In this view the fact of suffering, and its eternity, without a change of state, remain.⁴

Newman applied these same ideas in a letter as yet unpublished, of 1884. "The only question is whether eternity of punishment is *in truth* inconsistent with the moral attributes of God. Before we say it is, we must know what eternity is. We only know the negative side, not the positive. 'Punishment never ends.' This proposition we *can* understand; but 'Punishment *ever* is—' this we *cannot* understand as a proposition. We cannot understand what eternity consists in, and in consequence we do not know what it adds, whether it adds anything positive to the intensity of the punishment. For instance, whether *dates* be supposed to exist in eternity or not, it is plain how different time would be to what it is now, if it had no measurements. I say all this as suggesting the rashness of dogmatizing on what is consistent with the divine attributes, and what is not."⁵

Newman, however, refused to allow people merely to discuss the whole question in the abstract. The doctrine of eternal punishment was a concrete personal matter, which each individual must consider for himself and as applied to himself. Three years before the appearance of "A

³ "Stray Essays", privately printed, 1890, pp. 83-8.

⁴ "An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent", uniform edition, pp. 399, 422, 503. Newman explained to his nephew about the passage quoted: "What I meant to say was this, that there are needless *exaggerations*, made popularly, of a doctrine, grave enough in itself".

⁵ Letter of 12th December 1884.

Grammar of Assent", Newman wrote a vivid letter, again not yet published, to a lady who was troubled in her faith: "Can you know about God's dealings with others, since *He* sees their hearts and you do not? But you can know something of His dealings with yourself. Now has *He* not ever been most loving and tender with you, and have you not been most ungrateful to Him? What you *know*, is His dealings with *you*—what you *don't* understand, is His dealings with others. Go by what you know, instead of attempting what you don't know—Interpret what you don't know by what you do. Is it not hard that, for all His loving kindness to you, you will not trust Him, you will not have faith in Him, when He asks you by His own lips, for it is *He* who is the special herald of the awful doctrine of eternal punishment? What is meant by having faith, if you are to have nothing to try it? What *does* try it, what *do* we feel difficult to accept, but doctrines like this—which do not merely imply miracles, for miracles are mere contrarieties to nature, and God of course is the lord of nature, and can supersede what He has made—but which seem contrarieties in God Himself?

I grant that this doctrine seems to us inconsistent with His infinite love—but we cannot understand any of the divine attributes in their infinitude from the nature of the case—they run into mysteries—they seem to contradict each other. We cannot combine them. We understand enough of them to have ground for faith, hope, and love towards Him—and we must leave the difficulties which they involve when carried out in their perfection to be solved for us by Himself in a higher state of being." After putting forward the considerations about eternity described above, Newman concluded his letter: "I discern clearly but one thing, viz.: that the state of the lost is never reversed, that they never will see the face of God, or enter heaven, that they never will be annihilated, yet never be in company with the Saints. These are awful *negatives*—but they are negatives which are inflicted on lost souls by themselves—for it would be but an increase of misery for an unholy soul to be brought into heaven, and it remains unholy by its own act. No positive pain is necessary for the fulness of the second death. Sinners are self condemned, self punished."⁶

Newman was more gentle and less personal with this lady, than he allowed St Cyprian to be with Callista: "Nothing will ever make me believe that all my people have gone and will go to an eternal Tartarus."

"Had we not better confine ourselves to something more specific, more tangible?" asked Caecilius, gravely. "I suppose if one individual may have that terrible lot, another may—both may. Suppose I understand you to say that you never will believe that you will go to an eternal Tartarus."

Callista gave a slight start, and showed some uneasiness or displeasure. "Is it not likely," continued he, "that you are better able to speak of yourself, and to form a judgment about yourself, than about others? Perhaps if you could first speak confidently about yourself, you would be in a better position to speak about others also."⁷

⁶ Letter of 3rd July 1867.

⁷ "Callista, a Tale of the Third Century", uniform edition, pp. 216-17.

BLAKE'S LAST JUDGMENT

by

KATHLEEN RAINE

*The Last Judgment is not Fable or Allegory, but Vision . . .
a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really and Unchangeably.*

from Blake's MS. Book, 1818.

Blake died in the same year as Beethoven, 1827; the following year Dante Gabriel Rossetti was born, who was to "rediscover" him. He lived a life which was highly creative, furiously productive, and entirely unappreciated by his age. He sank into virtual obscurity after his death, from which he has by degrees been rescued by the judgments of successive generations—this because of his intense combination of imaginative symbolism and psychological insight.

I must Create a system, or be enslav'd by another Man's,

I will not Reason & Compare: my business is to Create.

He was, like Rossetti, both poet and painter, by turn the one more than the other, till he ended his days still engaged upon his hundred delicate watercolours of Dante's "Divine Comedy", whose vastness seemed to hold infinity in a single palm. He wrote like a sibyl with effortless beauty, hymning the journey of the soul to Vision, as it moved from corporeal sleep to spiritual vitality in the Eternal beyond, its passions not curbed but cultivated by understanding. It was Blake's particular vision to exalt holiness as controlled passion, guided by prophecy and fired by poetic genius. For him, the Judgment was a point in time to which all life was moving, coming, becoming, the point of realisation. To this theme he continually returned, even to the end.

Kathleen Raine is both poet in her own right and critic of poetry. She has published six books of verse, the most recent being "The Hollow Hill" (1965). Of her works of criticism perhaps the best known is "Defending Ancient Springs" (1967), though certainly the most important is "Blake & Tradition" (1969). Blake has been her constant study for the past twenty years. This last work is a development of the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, delivered at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in 1962 (she followed André Grabar and preceded John Pope-Hennessy): it constitutes an investigation of the sources of Blake's knowledge of the neo-Platonic and Hermetic traditions and allied currents of thought. She has long believed that Blake can best be understood in terms of that continuous symbolic tradition (or traditional mythology) which has proved the inspiration of countless poets and painters down the ages.

For more than twenty years I have been studying the inspired and prophetic works of William Blake; and during that time have seen in him now one, now another truth of the human soul; but if I were asked today to name the central theme of his work I would say the vision of the Last Judgment; whose meaning however has only slowly become apparent to me.

Ten years ago it would have been impossible to give a paper outside some esoteric circle upon the theme of the Last Judgment. But the children of the Age of Aquarius understand many things that once were known only to the few. This was not always so; for truth is never new, but always itself in every age. And every civilisation except perhaps our own has borne witness in its art to its knowledge and experience of a

universal and unanimous tradition of spiritual wisdom. The art of the present time testifies not to knowledge of, but ignorance of this wisdom, by which all great ages have lived and died, and which a new generation is now, it seems, beginning to rediscover; with singularly little help from Church or University, but much from William Blake.

And yet spiritual knowledge is not less objective, nor less verifiable than is the scientific knowledge upon which our culture is founded; and in which even the Church, now bent on "demythologising" itself, appears to have more real faith than in the Christian doctrine it daily proclaims, that Christ "shall come again in glory to judge both the living and the dead".

Before symbols disappear altogether their meaning is forgotten or falsified; and so it is with the awful splendour which once invested the Church's teaching on a Last Judgment. Not an exclusively Christian conception, it is Platonic, Egyptian, Buddhist, Hindu, and for all I know universal. In spite of which humanists take excessive credit for their perspicacity in disbelieving what no Christian who understood his own religion would ever believe: that at the end of the world, all the churchyard turf will heave, as in Stanley Spenser's painting of the general Resurrection at Cookham, as the bodily dead rise up for a grand trial before a high court judge, from whose verdict there is no appeal, and whose foregone conclusion is the condemnation of nearly everyone to eternal Hell.

Kafka took for his theme "The Trial", which ends with the death-sentence carried out upon the hero K, who from first to last has protested his innocence, not knowing in the least for what he is being tried, nor by whom, nor why.

But for Blake the Judgment was understood quite otherwise. "The Last Judgment is not Fable or Allegory, but Vision . . . Vision or Imagination is a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really and Unchangeably . . . The Last Judgment is one of those Stupendous Visions. I have represented it as I saw it; to different people it appears differently as everything else does." He doubted neither the certainty of the event, nor its justice, nor its mercy. For him it lacked nothing of its traditional terror, nor its traditional glory; yet at the same time he saw the Last Judgment as a kind of joyous and liberating disillusionment, like waking from a bad dream.

The Last Judgment is an event which takes place in the inner kingdom; for the heavens and hells are all within ourselves, as the Gospel teaches: "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you". But for Blake the Judgment is not a monstrous piece of Cosmic injustice; it is a crisis of consciousness; the ultimate crisis of consciousness.

The idea that our conscious self is by no means our whole self is nowadays familiar, and in whatever the various schools of psychology may differ all are agreed that we are normally aware of only a small part of what is in us. Our consciousness is like a small circle of light beyond which

lie regions of memory, some recoverable at will, some not; and beyond our personal memories, archetypal configurations and unknown energies of the psyche. Beyond everything which we can still, however remotely, call ourselves, there is what the mystics have called the "divine ground"; and C. G. Jung the presence in, and to, the human soul, of what can only be named God.

Jung has defined a "complex" as a part of the personality which has become cut off from the whole, and functions autonomously. The so-called ego, he adds, is only a particularly active complex, in this sense. The work of redemption, as understood in terms of this psychology, is the reintegration of the separated ego within the whole to which it belongs. What the psychologists call the ego, Blake calls the selfhood; and in his system, the selfhood is Satan; the spirit who has said "I will not serve", and who has set up a kingdom in opposition and rivalry to the "God within". In theological terms, Hell is nothing else than the kingdom cut off from God; and the kingdom cut off from the God within, is the Satan in each of us, the ego. As in the Hebrew myth, Satan is not created evil; the ego is not necessarily evil; and Blake's "Satan in his original glory" depicts the still unfallen Satan as lord of the elements.

But the true centre of the psyche, called by Jung (who takes the term from Indian philosophy) the "higher Self", is not the ego; in Blake's language, it is the "Divine Humanity", the Imagination; or as he says, "Jesus the Imagination". The "Divine Humanity" is the eternal Christ in every man, the "God within". And however we may differ in our outward personalities, the indwelling imagination is the same in all; a truth Jung also discovered, or rediscovered. He named that shared inheritance, somewhat clumsily, the "collective unconscious", a term which does small justice to what Blake calls the "images of wonder" which inhabit those inner worlds. "If the Spectator could enter into these Images in his Imagination", Blake writes, "approaching them on the Fiery Chariot of his Contemplative Thought, if he could enter into Noah's Rainbow or into his bosom, or could make a Friend & Companion of one of these Images of Wonder, which always intreats him to leave mortal things (as he must know), then he would rise from his Grave, then he would meet the Lord in the Air and then he would be happy." ("Noah's Rainbow" because the "flood of the five senses" drowned mankind's perceptions of the spiritual world, and the rainbow is the sign of promise, the shimmering beauty of the spectrum which links a lost spiritual vision to the earthly in our post-diluvian world.)

What Jung calls the collective unconscious, Blake calls "the true vine of eternity"; for Jesus himself said, "I am the vine and you are the branches"—it is the one life in all. "This world of Imagination is a world of Eternity; it is the divine bosom into which we shall all go after the death of the Vegetated body. This World of Imagination is Infinite & Eternal, whereas the World of Generation, or Vegetation, is Finite & for a small moment. There Exist in that Eternal World the Permanent Realities of Every Thing which we see reflected in this Vegetable Glass of

Nature. All things are comprehended in their Eternal Forms in the divine body of the Saviour, the True Vine of Eternity, the Human Imagination, who appeared to Me as Coming to Judgment among his Saints and throwing off the Temporal that the Eternal might be establish'd."

Among Blake's archetypal visions of the inner world the vision of the Last Judgment occupies a special place; for it is a total vision or epiphany of the archetypal order as a whole. In this sense it is the term of human consciousness, not a station on the way; nor is it merely an event which takes place at the end of the world; it is itself that end; for it is the ultimate confrontation of the temporal with the eternal, the part with the whole.

The Judgment is traditionally believed to be undergone by every soul after death; this belief was held in ancient Egypt, and Plato's writings on the after-life contain the same teaching. The *Dies Irae*—that great hymn in which the terrors of the Judgment are announced—was sung at the Mass for the dead; for at death each soul is held to stand before the Judge, stripped of all temporal refuge or concealment. This Blake too doubtless believed; for him the immortality of the soul was a truth beyond question. But the Judgment is also continuous, though veiled; every moment of time stands before the eternal. The Last Judgment is an ever-present reality, hidden only by the degree of our own unconsciousness, our mortal "sleep", "deadly sleep" or "death", as Blake says, using the neo-Platonic language to describe the mortal condition. In this belief Blake was not so much heretical as alive to the reality which for most Christians has become obscured by centuries of habit and misrepresentation.

To whoever perceives the eternal order, the temporal stands already judged in the light of eternity; and, so Blake believed, to this point all must come: "When Imagination, Art & Science & all Intellectual Gifts, all the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, are look'd upon as of no use & only Contention remains to Man, then the Last Judgment begins." To this existential confrontation we are inevitably forced, so Blake believed, by the exhaustion of all temporal possibilities. This suggestion is supported by a later passage in the same piece of writing: "No man can Embrace True Art till he has Explor'd & cast out False Art (such is the Nature of Mortal Things), or he will be himself Cast out by those who have Already Embraced True Art . . . Whenever any Individual Rejects Error & Embraces Truth, a Last Judgment passes upon that Individual". And again, "Some People flatter themselves that there will be No Last Judgment & that Bad Art will be adopted & mixed with Good Art, That Error or Experiment will make a Part of Truth, & they Boast that it is its Foundation; these People flatter themselves: I will not Flatter them. Error is Created. Truth is Eternal!"

It may seem at first sight strange that in writing of the Last Judgment Blake appears to digress into discussions of the arts; but "True Art" for Blake is the expression of imaginative vision, and nothing less. "Jesus and his disciples were all artists"—so Blake elsewhere says; but

this is necessarily so insofar as Jesus is the Imagination itself, and his disciples those who act from that centre. He so conceived Jesus even as early as "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell", in which he wrote that the God of the Jewish prophets was "the Poetic Genius": "We of Israel taught that the Poetic Genius (as you now call it) was the first principle and all the others merely derivatives". Of this genius Jesus was the supreme realisation. The poet, as agent and oracle of imaginative truth, plays a special part in the overthrow of the false constructions of rationalism and temporal morality. Blake wrote the poem "Milton" in order to define the poet's part in the work of awakening; "Milton, the Awakener" is the epithet of the "inspired" poet, who speaks not from the ego or "selfhood", but from the inspiration of the higher Self, the imagination.

It is evident in every word he wrote that Blake is not speculating, but attempting, by every means at his disposal, in figures and symbols both of the Platonic and of the Christian tradition, to describe a reality which for him was not a matter of opinion or "remote knowledge", but of experience.

But of the human drama we each re-enact and in which we are all implicated, the Last Judgment is not the beginning but the end; not to be understood unless we have recognised how it is that we have fallen into the human predicament which Christian theologians call original sin, and Blake, less moralistically, error. Kafka's Herr K.—in this a true successor to the Hebrew tradition of Job who pleaded his innocence before Jehovah—could never be brought to admit, in his Trial, that he was in any way blameworthy. Yet it is not only in the Judeo-Christian tradition that we are ourselves held responsible for our predicament. The "creator" or "error or creation" is Satan the selfhood, the ego. The Indian theologies, both Hindu and Buddhist, teach the Law of Karma; that we reap what we sow, and as we make ourselves in one life, so are we born in another. According to the Tibetan "Book of the Dead", souls about to descend into generation choose their parents and the circumstances of their future lives. The Greeks, too, had their own version of the Law of Karma. Plato in the tenth book of "The Republic" tells how each soul about to enter human existence is brought before the Fates and offered a choice of the "patterns of lives"; and according as we choose, so our life—our fate—will be. The wise choose carefully, while the foolish souls snatch at the prospect of riches or power, not stopping to look further. Odysseus, coming to choose his next life, looked very carefully until he found a life of peaceful and happy obscurity. When the souls have chosen their lives they proceed to the River of Forgetfulness—which according to the later neo-Platonic commentators is matter—and before crossing into earthly existence each soul must drink. And according as we drink more or less deeply of the waters of forgetfulness, so do we more or less completely forget what we knew in eternity.

What the Hebrew and Christian tradition calls the "fall" into original sin, the Greeks see in terms of forgetfulness. Plotinus speaks of those who pass from life to life unawakened, as passing "from bed to bed,

from sleep to sleep". Translated into terms of Jungian psychology one might say that some have more, some less access to the archetypes within the unconscious.

Blake, too, lays the responsibility on ourselves: "If the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is, infinite. For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things through narrow chinks of his cavern". Man has "closed himself up"; and it is for us to open ourselves, to awake—for Blake uses throughout his writings the Platonic language of sleep and awakening. The "cavern" into which man has closed himself up is Platonic too. In "The Republic", in a justly famous allegory, mankind is likened to prisoners living in a cave, who can never see the light or things as they really are, but only their shadows as these pass to and fro across the wall of the cave. Blake's account of the Creation—of "Error, or Creation", as he calls it—is not the gradual emergence of perception from ignorance, but is the reverse, the story of how man has "closed himself up" within the narrow perception of the five senses—the chinks in the "cavern" which is himself. The myth of the "binding of Urizen"—the fallen human intellect of Blake's myth—describes the six agonising stages of this incarceration; the "rest" of the seventh day being the merciful limit set to the "fall". Such are the six days of "creation" which are indistinguishable to Blake from the fall of man. The end of the process is the loss of our full perception of eternity; for the "narrow chinks" of the cavern (the five senses) are not the full range of possible human consciousness, but only "the chief inlets of soul in this age", better than nothing but a great deal less than we are capable of. Blake considered them sadly limiting:

How do you know but ev'ry Bird that cuts the airy way

Is an immense world of delight, clos'd by your senses five?

Berkeley, too, whose philosophic writings Blake knew and admired, has described the Creation in terms of the generation of a mode of perception, and not of the objects of nature in any other sense; and this indeed is taken for granted in the Indian concept of *maya* ("appearance" or "illusion"). Some years ago Owen Barfield, in his book "Saving the Appearances", tried to communicate this simple but—till recently—apparently ungraspable idea, that the "creation" we perceive is a mode of consciousness. Any scientist would indeed be the first to admit that matter in itself is unknowable by human or any other organs of perception.

What would be less acceptable to the scientist would be Blake's idea that the "creation" is not only a mode of perception, but a narrowed and restricted perception, resulting from a loss rather than a gain. But so he believed: "Many suppose that before the Creation all was Solitude and Chaos. This is the most pernicious Idea that can enter the Mind, as it takes away all sublimity from the Bible and Limits All Existence to Creation and to Chaos, To the Time and Space fixed by the Corporeal Vegetative Eye, and leaves the Man who entertains such an Idea the habitation of Unbelieving Demons. Eternity Exists, and All things in Eternity, Independent of the Creation".

Explain it as we may, this sense of having lost, or forgotten, some knowledge we once possessed, or almost possess; of some greater consciousness which haunts us, which seems to hover on the fringes of our awareness, is an experience we all know. Evolutionists would say that we have never possessed this greater awareness, but that it presses in on us as a coming-to-be; Platonists, Christian theologians and Blake see this sense of loss as being in fact the lapse into "sleep" which we feel it to be. Wordsworth, paraphrasing Plotinus, wrote that "Our birth is as a sleep and a forgetting. / The soul that rises with us, our life's star, / Hath elsewhere had its setting / And cometh from afar / Not in entire forgetfulness". Plotinus was expressing knowledge, not fancy.

However modern psychology might explain a universal intuition that our present consciousness is incomplete and defective, both Freudian and Jungian schools have adopted the Platonic term, *anamnesis*—recollection—more literally, un-forgetting—which describes the process in which they too see the way to self-perfection. Knowledge, according to Plato, comes to us by bringing to mind what is already there; and the psychologists say much the same; what is already present in our own or in the Collective Unconscious, comes to us like a memory of what we already and for ever know. The Platonic philosophers indeed reverse the terms of our modern psychology; for them it is we who are "unconscious", while the eternal mind is omniscient.

But to return to Blake. For him there was no question: mankind has built his own cavern, by a narrowing of our perceptions, and our own Western mankind has done so especially by the misuse of the rational faculty and exaggerated reliance on sense-perception and deductions based thereon. The physical senses, according to Blake, do not so much reveal reality as limit it:

Ah weak and wide astray! Ah shut in narrow doleful form,
Creeping in reptile flesh upon the bosom of the ground!
The Eye of Man a little narrow orb, clos'd up & dark,
The Ear a little shell, in small volutions shutting out
All melodies . . .

Some modern physiologists would probably accept this view of the senses as organs of selective exclusion. But not so the Behaviourist school, whose early exponent, Locke, had already defined the view still so widely held that all knowledge comes to us through the senses alone, and that there are no innate ideas in the mind. The philosophy of Locke Blake opposed with all the energy of his intellect and his spirit.

Blake followed the Platonists and anticipated Jung in his belief that archetypal forms are innate in us; and the reawakening of our lost world of consciousness, submerged by "the flood of the five senses", was the end for which he laboured.

"The Nature of my work is Visionary or Imaginative; it is an Endeavour to Restore what the Ancients call'd the Golden Age". In terms of Blake's mythological language, the Golden Age of the Greeks, the Lost

Paradise of the Hebrew myth, is a lost mode of consciousness. The restoration of this lost consciousness is the Last Judgment; which is nothing less than the confrontation of the temporal world of "Error, or Creation" in which each of us has imprisoned himself, in which we are shut in like the dead in their graves, with eternal reality.

Most of the passages quoted above are taken from Blake's notebook for the year 1810; from his famous description of his painting of the Last Judgment; of which several pencil-sketches also exist, besides a shorter description, written in 1808. To this theme Blake returned again and again. The ninth book of "Vala" or "The Four Zoas" (1795-1804) describes, in terms of Blake's Platonic-Christian polytheistic mythology, the Last Judgment; "Jerusalem", his last prophetic poem (1804-20) concludes with a Last Judgment; and the theme is also treated (from another point of view) in "The Everlasting Gospel". "Milton" deals with one significant aspect of this event, the "Overwhelming of Bad Art & Science". Blake was at work on his final (now lost) pictorial version of this great theme to the year of his death, in 1827.

Blake keeps faithfully to the traditional and familiar Christian symbolism; when "Jesus the Imagination" appears upon his Throne, the temporal world is consumed in fire, as the dead rise from their graves before the Judge, who is the Imagination present in and to every human consciousness. Blake's Judgment is not a judgment of the moral law, as this is understood in the temporal world ("Satan's Kingdom"); it is none the less terrible since it is a judgment of all false constructions by reality itself; and of every soul by "the God within". Against such a judgment there can be no appeal, for we judge ourselves.

"There is a throne in every man, it is the throne of God." It is from this throne that all mankind is judged. The "dead" who rise from their "graves" are, in terms of this world, the living, the souls who have "descended" (in Platonic terms) into the cave, or "grave" of mortal life; they are the living-dead who, as in "Ah! Sun-flower":

Arise from their graves, and aspire
Where my Sun-flower wishes to go.

From the "graves" of our mortality our true selves, however long buried under habit and cares, must finally "arise". The "fires" of the Judgment are also symbolic: "Error is created. Truth is Eternal. Error, or Creation, will be Burned up, & then & not till then, Truth or Eternity will appear". Put more bluntly, "A Last Judgment is Necessary because Fools flourish". The fools are those who are misled by "error, or creation" which is "Burnt up the Moment Men cease to behold it"; for "creation" is, in Blake's sense, merely a misconception of eternal truth. Such is the sublime simplicity of Blake's vision.

This transformation of consciousness is not reached by speculation or experiment, but by an opening from within; "The Cloud that opens; rolling apart before the throne & before the New Heaven & the New Earth. . . ." Earth and Heaven (Blake follows Swedenborg's definition of these as the outer and the inner objects of consciousness) are renewed

by a renewal of consciousness itself. Not by progress or evolution, still less by learning or by experiment, but by revelation—epiphany—the objects of imaginative knowledge appear before consciousness. The “cloud” is our own clouded awareness.

Many persons have refused to accept the Christian teaching of an eternal hell for the wicked and an eternal heaven for the righteous because the “cruelty” implicit in such a judgment is incompatible with the idea of a God who is both merciful and supreme in power. Blake, too, held moral judgment to be cruel; but it is Satan, “the prince of this world”, “The soul of the natural frame”, who metes out moral judgment and punishment in the endless persecution, wars and bloodsheds of the temporal world.

The Judgment of the eternal on the temporal is not of this kind; it is, in all Blake’s writings, the event supremely to be desired, the banishing of illusion by the light, the coming of Christ’s Kingdom, whose throne is in every heart. Reality passes judgment upon morality, upon all the false constructions of mankind; the tyrants, the builders of false philosophies and false religions, cold abstractions and “the dread forms of Certainty” (who are collectively “Satan”) are overthrown. But like the Imagination, the moral tyrant is also in ourselves; a truth implicit in the words “Judge not, that you may not be judged”. The Judgment is terrible above all, to those who in terms of temporal values pass moral judgment. When we stand before the Christ within, we are judged, condemned and forgiven in one supreme moment of truth.

The terrors of the Judgment are real enough to those under the power of “Error, or Creation”, and described by Blake with no less apocalyptic grandeur than in the “Dies Irae”:

*Quandus tremor est futurus
Quando iudex est venturus
Cuncta striete discussurus.*

The modern mentality which would refuse any external “divine retribution” cannot so easily escape the implications of a Judgment by the “God within”, before whose truth (as the “Dies Irae” proclaims) the just themselves must stand in fear.

Blake, too, believed, according to the traditional teaching of the Christian Church, that the heavens and hells are eternal; but not that anyone need remain in them eternally; only the possibilities are always there, in every age, for every human being. “These States Exist now. Man passes on, but States remain for Ever; he passes thro’ them like a traveller who may as well suppose that the places he has passed thro’ exist no more, as a Man may suppose that the States he has pass’d thro’ Exist no more. Everything is Eternal!”. The States are all more or less illusory, and he comes very close to Buddhism when in his Vision of the Last Judgment he writes, “I do not consider either the Just or the Wicked to be in a Supreme State, but to be every one of them States of the Sleep which the Soul may fall into in its deadly dreams of Good & Evil when it leaves Paradise following the Serpent”.

Elsewhere, in the poem “Milton”, he warns us not to identify “the true man” with the state he may be in:

Distinguish therefore States from Individuals in those States.
States Change, but Individual Identities never change nor cease.
—and he continues to urge us to subject ourselves to Judgment:

Judge then of thy Own Self: thy Eternal Lineaments explore,
What is Eternal & what Changeable, & what Annihilable.
The Imagination is not a State: It is the Human Existence itself.
Affection or Love becomes a State when divided from Imagination.
The Memory is a State always, & the Reason a State
Created to be Annihilated & a new Ratio Created . . .
Whatever can be Created can be Annihilated: Forms cannot.
The Oak is cut down by the Ax, the Lamb falls by the Knife,
But their Forms Eternal Exist for ever.

Satan too is a State; “the State call’d Satan can never be redeemed in all eternity”. This belief in the eternal damnation of any being, even Satan, not to mention human souls, seems to us unbelievable because basically unjust. But according to Blake’s understanding, “men pass on”; no-one remains for ever in any State. Insofar as each of us has an ego, each of us has a Satan; or are in the “State call’d Satan”. That State is an eternal possibility; but there is no person called Satan. When the drop of water returns to the sea there is no more drop; when the complex is reintegrated into the whole personality there is no more complex; it has ceased to exist. So with Satan, who is nothing more than the state of separation, and ceases to exist when no more separate. In the human drama he is always there, always at work; but his empire, as Blake told his friend Crabb Robinson, is “an empire of nothing”. This view is close to that of Buddhism also; whose hells, no less terrible in themselves than those of Christianity—and we ourselves know that the terrors of the possible “states” are impossible to exaggerate—are eternal only as possibilities; no soul need remain in them. And it is the Imagination, the “God within”, who releases—“redeems”—us from every State.

Night the Ninth of “The Four Zoas”. “Being the Last Judgment”, is Blake’s first version of his great theme. The elaboration of mythological detail is constructed upon a very simple and orthodox foundation. The trumpet sounds, and at the cry of the time-spirit, Los, “Awake, ye dead, & come To Judgment”, the earth is shaken, the dead rise trembling from their graves, kings and tyrants fall, while the blessed rejoice.

Folding the scrolls of the Enormous volume of Heaven & Earth,
With thunderous noise & dreadful shakings, rocking to & fro,
The heavens are shaken & the Earth removed from its place,
The foundations of the Eternal hills discover’d.

The experience is a transformation of consciousness; the illusory “Creation” which was brought into being through an imprisoning and narrowing of consciousness, a closing of the doors of perception till man “sees all things thro’ narrow chinks of his cavern”, now is “burned up”: “If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to

man as it is, infinite." Heaven and earth now appear as "scrolls", a record written and read by the mind. The "place" of the earth is no longer, as formerly, physical space; and "the foundation of the Eternal hills" is discovered to be in mind itself; for as Blake wrote in a letter, "To Me This World, is all One continued Vision of Fancy or Imagination". Whatever belongs to the false constructions of illusion is "consumed" in the "fire" of vision; while whatever belongs to eternity is released as from a prison, by the supreme experience which humanity at once desires and fears:

"... from the clotted gore & from the hollow den
Start forth the trembling millions into flames of mental fire,
Bathing their limbs in the bright visions of Eternity".

The shaking of the earth on its foundations is a symbol both Platonic and Christian; it appears in Plato's "Laws" in the account of the reversal of the gyres of the Great Year, when the god Saturn (ruler of the Golden Age) reassumes, or relinquishes, the government of the cosmos. It is probably not accidental (for Blake knew the neo-Platonists through the translations of Thomas Taylor) that the two principal images he employs in "Vala, Night the Ninth" are both Biblical and Greek; the harvesting of the corn, and the treading of the wine-presses of earth. The reaping of the harvest of earth into the barns of Eternity employs the Eleusinian emblem of immortality—the ear of corn—which St Paul used when he preached to the Greeks the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection: "Unless a grain of corn fall on to the ground and die" any initiate of the Mysteries would have understood: mortal life is a "death" from eternity; "and who knows whether to live be not to die, and to die to live" was said also, by Plato. Blake is alluding to both traditions in his magnificent Image.

... all Nations were threshed out, & the stars threshed from their husks—for the "stars" are a Platonic symbol for the souls who "descend" or who are (according also to the Christian parable) "Sown" on earth; and the "husks" the natural body from which the spiritual body is raised.

The wine-press too is both Dionysian and Christian; and as the "stars" are threshed from their "husks" so the "clusters of human families" fall "howling" into the wine-press while the distilled "odors" (the Dionysian symbol of the reascent of the soul) sing as they rise;

"O terrible wine presses of Luvah! O caverns of the grave!
How lovely the delights of those risen again from Death!
O trembling joy! excess of joy is like Excess of grief."

The paradox of terror and joy which belongs to the nature of the Last Judgment is no less great in Blake's vision than in the awe-inspiring Christian hymn. The Judgment of "Jesus the Imagination" is terrible for "Satan the Selfhood", whose "Empire of nothing" ("error, or creation") is "burned up" in the light of truth. Every individual must partake both in the terror and the joy; since all have a temporal selfhood, which must be consumed away, and all an eternal nature to be freed. The Judgment will be joyful or terrible to the degree of our involvement with the temporal, or participation in the imaginative vision of the eternal world. We are alike the damned and the saved, in the same instant.

* * *

There is a passage in "The Everlasting Gospel" so shocking to conventional Christian sensibilities that one Christian commentator (Mrs Margaret Bottrall) has gone so far as to suggest that the words to Jesus which appear to be spoken by God are spoken by "the God of this world", Satan:

If thou humblest thyself, thou humblest me;
Thou also dwell'st in Eternity.
Thou art a Man, God is no more,
Thy own humanity learn to adore,
For that is my Spirit of Life.
Awake, arise to Spiritual Strife
Any thy Revenge abroad display
In terrors at the Last Judgment day.
God's Mercy & Long Suffering
Is but the Sinner to Judgment to bring,
Thou on the Cross for them shalt pray
And take Revenge at the Last Day.
This Corporeal life's a fiction
And is made up of Contradiction.

A difficult passage, certainly; but one which contains so many elements of Blake's thought that I believe we must accept it as it stands. We may begin with the reply of Jesus:

I never will pray for the world.
Once I did so when I pray'd in the Garden;
I wish'd to take with me a Bodily Pardon.

Blake is here using the words of the Fourth Gospel (Jn 17.9) to establish his argument that "Jesus the Imagination" does not save the world, but saves *from* the world: "I pray for them; I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me; for they are thine. And all mine are thine, and thine are mine". Jesus does not save "error or Creation" because "This Corporeal life's a fiction"; it has no reality in it, and therefore vanishes, as an illusion vanishes, in the light of reality. A "bodily pardon" is an impossibility. The Last Judgment is described in "Jerusalem" as an awakening from a dream:

"O pitious Sleep, O pitious Dream . . ."

The word which it seems hard to associate with the divine mercy is "revenge", twice repeated. It must however be read in the context of a poem whose purpose is to portray a Jesus neither humble nor meek, and to destroy the insipid image of the Jesus of popular imagination. If the foregoing account of the Last Judgment is borne in mind, its terrors, for Satan's Kingdom, which is the temporal world, are real enough; and might be called the "revenge" of spiritual reality upon the oppressors of the spirit who in this temporal world wield power. Christ, in Cabalistic terms, is, as the Judge, Geburah (justice) rather than Chesed (mercy). The revenge, however, is not everlasting torment, but the destruction of a texture of illusion to which the temporal man wrongly clings.

As to the lines

God's Mercy and Long Suffering
Is but the Sinner to Judgment to bring

—these words do in fact describe what Blake conceived to be the whole purpose of the "six thousand years" of the temporal experience; for the Judgment is the supreme, the ultimate experience of awakening. Time, Blake elsewhere writes, is the mercy of eternity. "Canaan" (the six-thousand years) is "mercifully" created "to protect Satan from punishment" while fallen mankind can work out our salvation. It is Satan, the Selfhood, who alone must, at the Last Judgment, be "punished" or (which is the same thing) redeemed; for in either case, he disappears from the picture. The creation of a time-world is repeatedly called "an act of Mercy". To this theme, as an essential part of the scheme of salvation, Blake often returns; it forms an important part of the mythological structure of "Milton". This time-world is a dream; its duration is less than a moment of Eternity:

Every time less than a pulsation of the artery
Is equal in its period & value to Six Thousand Years.

Eternity is ever-present; and to its confrontation and Judgment all, soon or late, must come; for only so can humanity awaken from its "deadly dreams", and enter "the True Vine of Eternity, the Human Imagination, who appear'd to Me as Coming to Judgment among his Saints & throwing off the Temporal that the Eternal might be Established". To bring the sinner to Judgment is in reality to release him from his prison-house, and bring him to the vision of the eternal joy; and God's "mercy" and "long suffering" is the mercy of time, without which the "sinners" could not work out their salvation. The "terrors" are all for the "Empire of nothing", the world of illusion; they have no reality except within the dream, the "States of the Sleep which the Soul may fall into in its deadly dreams of Good & Evil when it leaves Paradise following the Serpent".

* * *

In his depictions of the Last Judgment Blake is much indebted to two masters—Swedenborg and Michelangelo. From Swedenborg Blake has certainly taken those collective or group-souls formed by spirits in the same inner state. In his painting and his drawings of the Last Judgment one sees these organised multitudes of souls, which he also describes: "It ought to be understood that the Persons, Moses and Abraham, are not here meant, but the States, Signified by those Names, the Individuals being representatives or Visions of those States as they were reveal'd to Mortal Man in the series of Divine Revelations as they are written in the Bible; these various States I have seen in my Imagination; when distant they appear as One Man, but as you approach they appear Multitudes of Nations". The phraseology of "distance" and "approach" is borrowed from Swedenborg's writings, as is the idea itself. But above all the composite being of the Divine Humanity (this term also Blake adopted from

Swedenborg) is taken from the Swedenborgian Grand Man who, in the form of a cosmic cross, fills the heavens. So Blake's "Jesus the Imagination" is depicted as containing within His being the innumerable multitude of souls. This cosmic life of the many-in-one and the one-in-many Blake has also in many passages described:

As One Man all the Universal family & that One Man
They call Jesus the Christ, & they in him & he in them
Live in Perfect Harmony, in Eden the land of life.

Every individual is "a divine member of the divine Jesus". The originality, and also, as a painting, the failure of Blake's "Last Judgment" may be seen in this attempt to depict collective life. The composition tends to become diagrammatic, like some Tibetan mandala of the heavens and the hells. The little human figures lose expressiveness by their multitude, and the enthroned figure of Jesus is indicated rather than depicted. But in compensation, there is in this composition the sense of a flowing river of life, circulating like a blood-stream within the collective humanity in whose single life we are like cells, corpuscles in the veins and arteries of a greater person.

To Michelangelo's painting of the Last Judgment Blake must have given great thought; perhaps he admired Michelangelo, amongst other reasons, because he had attempted the cosmic theme to which he was himself, for so many years, so deeply dedicated. Again and again in Blake's work one may find those "clusters" of figures, falling headlong, as Michelangelo painted the groups of the damned falling into Hell.

The twenty-two Job engravings—Blake's last completed work—also describe a Last Judgment; here treated as an individual, not a collective, experience; and for that reason more amenable to pictorial composition. The two kingdoms, the temporal and the eternal, are depicted in relation to the figure of Job. Above him is the interior space of his "heaven", where his own "divine humanity" sits enthroned; a figure depicted with Job's own features, since Blake believed that the divine resides in every individual, under the aspect of his unique individuality. (In this sense must we understand Blake's startling statement that Jesus Christ was "snubby, like me"?)

"Thine has a great hook nose like thine,
Mine has a snub nose like to mine."

Blake when he is not sweeping us into the splendour of some cosmic vision is inclined to bring us down to earth with a jolt; but whether in his "terrific", his "mild and gentle" or his "prosaic" passages, he tells always the same truth.)

The Satan of the Job series does not resemble Job; perhaps in this Blake is indicating that in our temporal false personalities we depart from ourselves. Job's Satan is a course creature, though vigorously energetic (somewhat like the Prince Regent, as a distinguished professor of history once remarked to me). Be this as it may, Satan is the temporal selfhood of every individual, a false construction of the temporal world. God and Satan and their two kingdoms are within Job himself. When illumination

comes, Blake indicates that Satan's kingdom was "an empire of nothing", for we see all Job's "trials" dissolving like a dream, a *maya*. In No. 16 of the series we see again the Michelangelesque headlong falling Satan, accompanied, in the water-colour sketches, by other figures, whose presence suggests not only Blake's visual source, but also that the overthrow is of a whole order of things, and not merely of the single figure of "Satan the Selfhood".

In the watercolour version of No. 20 the "deadly dreams" are shown as a disintegrating cloud, or crumpled scroll "burnt up the moment men cease to behold it". Job has ceased to behold his own world of illusion, and so passed through the Judgment into the beatitude of "a new heaven and a new earth"; the apokatastasis by which "the whole creation will be consumed and appear infinite and holy whereas it now appears finite and corrupt". This condition is expressed in the last of the series, which is in every respect but one like the first—Job and his family grouped beneath the Tree of Life. The world is the same; only Job himself has changed; and is now, with his family, praising God on these instruments of music which in the first plate hung unused on the Tree of Life. These instruments are symbols of those gifts of the imagination which are the birthright of every man. For the highest of the arts is life itself and it was Blake's belief that we should live at every moment in, and from, and by, the imagination. Not all are poets or musicians, but every man, woman and child may, by living, in every act and moment of life, by the "inner light" of imagination, create the thing itself of which the arts are only images—the state of Paradise, the "Golden Age" it was Blake's purpose to restore.

Does that Judgment seem less dread
The Judge more merciful
Each being to ourselves
Accuser and accused
And heaven and hell?

* * *

A new volume of poems, "The Lost Country", by Kathleen Raine has just been published by the Dolmen Press (Dublin) and Hamish Hamilton (London). This is her first volume of verse since "The Hollow Hill" (1965).

POLIDORI THE PHYSICIAN

AMPLEFORTH'S FIRST FORAY INTO "THE QUALITY"

by

PHILIP SMILEY

It is fashionable to believe that Ampleforth as a school was unfashionable until the House system transformed it during the Great Depression. But, as we remember from the recent Goremire correspondence, memories are shorter than the records. Our beginnings in the valley produced pupils no less improbable than we still produce today. Philip Smiley (D 41) has resurrected one of them to show how little new there is under our sun.

It appears to have been forgotten at Ampleforth that Byron's private physician and travelling companion, John William Polidori, was educated here. Since he was born in 1795 he must have come to the School in its very early days. Many of the records of this period were taken to Bath at the time of the Prior Park secession, and were never brought back. An article in the "Ampleforth Diary" for 1894, which tries to reconstruct the early School lists, gives the name Polidori under the year 1817; but the date is impossible, and may be a mistake for 1807.

Polidori's father was a distinguished Tuscan man of letters who had once been secretary to Alfieri and translated Milton into Italian. Settling in England in the late eighteenth century he married an Englishwoman, raised a bilingual family, and sent at least two of them to Ampleforth. John Polidori is described as a tall and handsome youth "with a marked Italian cast of countenance". He was highly intelligent and talented, but the volatility which in the end ruined him was already apparent, and the political enthusiasms he showed during the Napoleonic Wars were mocked by his fellow-Amplefordians as "losing his temper". He left Ampleforth in 1812 to study medicine at Edinburgh, and qualified at the surprising age of 19. The thesis on nightmares which he presented for his degree was written in Latin; apart from his two native tongues he could also speak fluently in Latin and French, wrote poems, essays and stories which were taken seriously at the time, was a competent artist, a bibliophile, and a knowledgeable judge of painting and drama. It seems fair to infer that some at least of these tastes were acquired at Ampleforth.

In 1816, when Byron was setting off from England (for ever, as it turned out) on a tour of Europe after the breakdown of his disastrous marriage, he engaged the 21-year-old doctor as his travelling physician. (The D.N.B. says that Polidori was also Byron's secretary, but there is no evidence that he ever performed such a duty). Byron's publisher, John Murray, offered Polidori £500 for a diary of the tour. The two of them, with three servants, set off in a vast coach containing a bed, a library and a dining-table, and the doctor was soon reporting busily on the state of his lordship's bowels.

Byron was apt to refer to his companion half affectionately and half contemptuously as "Polly-Dolly". The poet's biographers have usually presented Polidori as a fatuous nuisance; Thomas Moore, for example, called him "an eccentric young man whose vanity made him a constant butt for Lord Byron's sarcasm and merriment". "Among other pretensions," he goes on, "he had set his heart upon shining as an author; and one evening at Mr Shelley's, producing a tragedy of his own writing, insisted that they should undergo the operation of hearing it. To lighten the infliction, Lord Byron took upon himself the task of reader; and the whole scene, from the description I have heard of it, must have been not a little trying to gravity. In spite of the jealous watch kept upon every countenance by the author, it was impossible to withstand the smile lurking in the eye of the reader, whose only resource against the outbreak of his own laughter lay in lauding from time to time most vehemently the sublimity of the verses, particularly some that began: 'Tis thus the goitred idiot of the Alps.'" Byron himself described him as "very young and hot-headed, and more likely to incur diseases than to cure them"; but even after their final estrangement he gave Polidori testimonials, both medical and literary, which show his own generosity and kindness at their best. He also spoke highly of the doctor's honesty and sincerity, qualities of which he was an exacting judge. Indeed, it is clear from Byron's letters that he regarded his companion, irritating though he often found him, with a good deal more respect and affection than his biographers generally allow.

Polidori's diary was not actually published until 1911. It is a literate, spirited but uneven document, and was unfortunately tampered with after the author's death by his Aunt Charlotte. This lady cut from the manuscript certain passages (one of them apparently read: "Lord B. fell like a thunderbolt upon the chambermaid") which she deemed improper. From the diary one can follow Polidori's raffish progress across Europe, quarrelling frequently and dividing his interest more or less impartially between cathedrals, women and bookshops. He was present in Geneva at the first meeting of Byron and Shelley, and noted laconically: "Percy Shelley, shy, consumptive, 26; keeps the two daughters of Godwin, who practise his theories" (of free love). For some months he was constantly in the company of Shelley's circle, and under their influence (Mary Shelley had already begun "Frankenstein") wrote a "Gothic" tale called "The Vampyre", which was once thought to be Byron's and had great popularity on the Continent. His morbid excitability, however, got him into constant trouble. Once, when Shelley had beaten him in a yachting race, he challenged the poet to a duel—a more unlikely adversary can scarcely be imagined—and only withdrew when Byron, who could shoot out a candle at 20 yards, threatened to take Shelley's place. On another occasion, fancying himself slighted by Byron and Shelley, who were planning an excursion without him, he lost his temper and shut himself in his room. Byron followed, offering to shake hands, but found his doctor at the

medicine-chest, about to take poison. Polidori burst into tears, and left Byron to restore him to composure as best he could.

In 1817 Byron finally gave Polidori his congé, observing that the young man was "always in squabbles" and that he himself had "enough to do to manage his own scrapes". Polidori's own account runs: "Lord B. determined upon our parting, not upon any quarrel, but on account of our not suiting. The fault, if any, has been on my part".

The two men met again shortly afterwards in Milan, in characteristic circumstances. Polidori at the theatre found his view blocked by the fur hat of an Austrian officer. He asked him curtly to take it off—unreasonably enough, since the fellow was on duty. A violent altercation followed, and Polidori was arrested. Byron, who happened also to be in Milan, was sent for, and, as he wrote in a letter, "found the man of medicine begirt with grenadiers and conveyed into the guard-room, where there was much swearing in several languages". Oddly enough, two eminent Italian poets, Monti and Pellico, were present at this scene, which ended in Polidori's expulsion from Milan, "foaming with rage" and threatening "to bestow manual castigation" upon the Austrian governor. From there he went to Pisa where he was engaged to treat the invalid Earl of Guilford. When his patient died, Polidori cut out his bowels and sent them back to England for examination. "Conceive," wrote Byron in typical vein, "a man going one way, his intestines another, and his immortal soul a third."

Soon afterwards Polidori went back to England and practised medicine for a while in Norwich, where it is said—a bizarre thought—that Harriet Martineau fell in love with him. It was even rumoured that the Princess of Wales was to give him the post of private physician. "Poor thing!" remarked Byron's friend Hobhouse, who had disliked Polidori from the first, "she must be mad." He then moved to London and started to read for the bar; but before he was 26 years old he incurred a large gambling debt, fell into a depression, and was found dead in his lodgings of prussic acid poisoning. The coroner's jury returned the quaint verdict of "death by the visitation of God", but his own family had no doubt that he had committed suicide and indeed had prepared the poison himself.

John Polidori's brother Henry also came to Ampleforth. His sister Frances married Gabriele Rossetti, so that he was the posthumous uncle of Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti. Another nephew, William Rossetti, edited his diary and gave a picture of him to the National Portrait Gallery. Shelley, we are told, remembered him often; Byron was saddened by his death; Ampleforth, however, seems to have forgotten him completely.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical History Society; the View from Rome; Man in search of Holiness; King versus Subject; the Reformation; the Church of Newman; General.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY, 1961-1970

The Ecclesiastical History Society was founded in 1961 at a meeting held at University of London King's College under the impetus, *inter alia*, of the Editor of the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Rev C. W. Dugmore, M.A., D.D., who is Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of London and was the second President of the new Society in 1963 after the founder President, Dom David Knowles, then about to retire as Regius Professor of History at the University of Cambridge. The first winter and summer meetings were held in January and July 1962, Professor Knowles providing a Presidential Address from his own ancient College of Peterhouse on "Recent Work on the Benedictine Rule"—which is a fitting beginning to studies in ecclesiastical history. His paper proved the genesis of a long and important part of his book, "Great Historical Enterprises" (1964).

Since that time, the papers read annually at the two meetings, winter and summer, have been gathered into books under the title "Studies in Church History". The first two volumes were published by Thomas Nelson until the withering hand of Lord Thompson settled upon that publishing company to the great gain of its shareholders and a certain loss to scholarship. The next three volumes were published by Messrs. E. J. Brill of Leiden; and the Syndics of Cambridge University Press (surely the most excellent book producers in the world as to standard issues) have undertaken to publish the next three volumes, the first two of which are here under review. It is under their imprint that the volumes begin to take on a discernible theme and hang together as something more than a random collection of Church History papers. The initial volume was edited by Rev C. W. Dugmore and Dr Charles Duggan, with the help of Dr Patrick Collinson, all of King's College; but since then the task of editing has fallen to Rev G. J. Cuming, who in this latest (the seventh) and future volumes has co-opted Derek Baker of the University of Edinburgh as his joint editor. One works from St Mary's Vicarage in Leicester, the other from a Hall of Residence in the capital of Scotland.

In the first volume, Professor C. N. L. Brooke opened by asking what are the problems of a Church historian, especially the problem of defining the field. He took as illustration the history of Christian marriage during the Middle Ages, and the various cognate disciplines required to deal with it—one of these being a study of the vernacular French literature of the twelfth century, the century when the layman began to reveal himself more fully in documents. At the beginning he pointed out that the historian wields both axe and olive branch, and is motivated both by the sharpened insight of hatred and the warm empathetic perceptions of love. He judges, echoing Plautus, that "the historian's field is the whole of the past; nothing in it is alien to him . . . it is his present interests which often give direction, actuality to his studies; it is often a sense of relation between past and present which gives history its constant, chronic excitement". This is surely more so in Church history than in any other; for the seeds of its discovery are ever ripe for planting, ever future seed for the buds of theology, theology being an amalgam of the severest analysis of history and the highest flights of philosophy, the most ultimate act of man's God-ordered mind outside art.

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ed. G. J. Cuming THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH AND THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH
CUP 1970 170 p £2.75

Eleven papers constitute this "Studies in Church History", volume 6. It does not include a paper by Prof W. H. C. Frend, whose study "The Missions of the Early Church, 180-700" appeared in a French journal recently. It is in chronological order

and begins with "The mission of SS. Cyril and Methodios and its aftermath in Central Europe" by A. P. Vlasto, lecturer in Slavonic Studies at Cambridge and author of a large work reviewed elsewhere in these pages. This is followed by Derek Baker's paper, "The Shadow of the Christian symbol" which examines the evangelisation of Europe in the first millennium, taking for a theme Bruno of Querfurt's comment on Adalbert's mission to the Hungarians: "When they had forsaken some of their errors he raised over them the shadow of the Christian symbol": the shadow was there by 1000 but the real task of spiritual conversion remained to be done. Dr R. A. Markus of Liverpool contributed a paper on a subject familiar to him, "Gregory the Great and a papal missionary strategy"; the late Dr G. S. M. Walker of Leeds on a subject familiar to him, "St Columban: monk or missionary?"; and Dr C. H. Talbot of the Wellcome Institute on a subject equally familiar to him, "St Boniface and the German mission", though his task was not to present new study, but to mark the anniversary of the bringing to Mainz of the martyred body of the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface. The Presidential Address by Professor C. N. L. Brooke of London was given on "The missionary at home: the Church in the towns, 1000-1250": he begins by contrasting the two Orders of friars and shows how closely intertwined were economic and pastoral interests in the growth of the parish system, calling on largely English evidence to show the effect of conversion by infiltration, example and popular cultus. Papers on the mission fields outside Europe, on the training of missionaries, on the 1866 cholera outbreak follow. Bishop Stephen Neill ends with a general comment on "The history of missions" as an academic discipline. In all, it has valuable papers in it, but it is not a distinguished collection. The most detailed is Dr A. F. Walls on the early Sierra Leone colony; Derek Baker's is the most luminous.

ed. G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker COUNCILS AND ASSEMBLIES CUP 1971 358 p 45

Volume 7 is altogether more enterprising, and it composes twice as many papers. Professor Peter Hinchliff from Rhodes University, South Africa, has a paper in both, this one on the beginnings of synodal government in South Africa; and the new joint editor has a second paper in this, on a subject close to his own expertise, "Viri religiosi and the York election dispute", discussing the great confrontation of the 1140s between the Blois group and international Cistercianism mobilised by Bernard, a power game that did York little good. The volume begins with the Presidential Address of Professor Walter Ullmann, "Public welfare and social legislation in the early medieval councils", which in 40 pages set out a magisterial programme for new researchers to follow. Miss Margaret Gibson of Liverpool provides an interesting clue to why Gregory VII persistently pursued Eberhard of Tours through their two lives, on grounds of heresy. Dr M. J. Wilks provides a long and learned paper on papal investiture policy during 1106-23, showing not any disruption but a continuity of papal policy in the actions of Pascal II. Professor D. M. Nicol deals with the Byzantine reaction to the 1274 Council of Lyons. Fr Joseph Gill, S.J., deals with the representation of the *universitas fidelium* in the conciliar period; and there are specific papers on aspects of the Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basle (bis.). Representing the Reformation period, Professor Basil Hall of Manchester provides a study of the Regensburg Colloquy and the moderate group attempts at reconciliation during 1539-41. The custodian of Richard Baxter studies in our time, Dr Geoffrey Nuttall, indicates his shift of study interest with a paper on "Assembly and Association in dissent, 1689-1831": it is confined to England, as is the next and shorter paper by Dr G. V. Bennett, "The Convocation of 1710: an Anglican attempt at counter-revolution". The penultimate paper by E. E. Y. Hales marks the centenary of the first Vatican Council.

What general conclusion comes from so many Assembly papers? Perhaps, as so often in human affairs, one of doubt about the dispassionate search for the right and the mean among churchmen and Christian laymen. John Hales, chastened by the Synod of Dort (R. Peters' paper) wrote years later when his passion was spent: "Are these men in common equity likely to determine for truth? Their way to proceed to a conclusion is not by weight of reason but by multitude of votes . . . as if it were a maxim of nature that the greater part must needs be the better. It was never heard in

any profession that truth went by plurality of voices, the Christian profession only excepted; and I have often mused how it comes to pass that the way which in all other sciences is not able to warrant the poorest conclusion should be thought sufficient in Divinitie. . . . It is given out that Christian meetings have such an assistance of God that they may assure themselves against all possibility of mistaking. This way of ending controversies, (which) in all other sciences is so contemptible, gives a determining to theological disputes of so great authority."

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

II. THE VIEW FROM ROME

Renée Haynes *PHILOSOPHER KING: THE HUMANIST POPE, BENEDICT XIV* Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1970 246 pp £3

The eighteenth century is a surprisingly neglected century in Catholic Church History, at least in English writing on the subject. This period, stretching from the condemnation by Innocent XII of Fenelon's "Maximes des Saints" (1699) to Schleiermacher's "Sermons concerning Religion" published in 1799, was one rich in experiences for the life of the Church. It was the age of the Church's encounter with the *Aufklärung*, of a growing Rationalism and Deism, of sharp decline in the Papacy's influence upon the affairs of Europe, of the flowering of Baroque literature and Rococo art, of the spirituality of Leonard of Port Maurice & Paul of the Cross, of Benedict Labre and Alphonsus Liguori.

During this period, when the Popes seemed on the way to becoming rulers of an Italian cultural backwater, resting on the laurels of their medieval religious claims and Renaissance glory, there occurred the pontificate of Benedict XIV, the most illustrious of the eighteenth century pontiffs. Pope from 1740 to 1758, he was a man of wide sympathies, able, unlike many of his contemporaries, to rise above the prejudices and assumptions of Baroque Catholicism. He entered into correspondence with Voltaire, the "enfant terrible" of Rationalism (who dedicated his tragedy "Mahomet" to the Pope), and with Voltaire's admirer, Frederick the Great of Prussia, the "enfant terrible" of European politics. Benedict XIV's moderation in an absolutist Europe, his charm and humour so reminiscent of John XXIII of our own century, his enlightenment and wisdom in Church affairs (with the exception of his blunder over Chinese rites), and his real interest in science and learning, did much to commend the Petrine office to men of the *Aufklärung*.

Miss Haynes has written an interesting biography of this "Philosopher King" in which she brings out the deep humanity of Benedict in all the changing scenes of his life—his upbringing in Bologna, his posts in the Congregations of Rites (*Promotor Fidei*) and of the Council, his work as Archbishop of Bologna, and finally his pontificate. Especially valuable is her group of chapters on Benedict's chief literary production, the *De Canonizatione*, where she displays her expert knowledge of the realm of extra-sensory perception and paranormal phenomena. The whole book is imaginatively and well written, and is a most welcome addition to eighteenth century religious studies.

ALFRED BURROWS, O.S.B.

Karl Othmar von Aretin *THE PAPACY AND THE MODERN WORLD* Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1970 256 p £1.75

This is a searching work, a balanced, well-informed and fair examination of the contact between the Catholic Church and the state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The writer, Professor of History in Darmstadt, treats of the Church primarily as a political institution. Much of the criticism of the papacy in recent years has really centred round that fact. The condemnation of Pius XII for his "silence" about the massacre of the European Jews represented him as more concerned with the preservation of the Church and the Papacy than with moral judgments. The Pope's critics, many of whom would not have dreamt of respecting any other moral

pronouncement of the Pope, set him up as the moral arbiter on this issue for the world; he lost his moral authority (the argument went on) when he did not excommunicate Hitler, when he negotiated "the fatal concordat" of 1933. But what if the Pope conscientiously interpreted his supreme duty as the preservation and wise government of the Church, a task laid on him by divine command? Even now, when the Papacy has shed all but the smallest territorial possession, its institutionalism is questioned. What, say the critics, gives the Vatican the right to hold investments?

Professor Aretin has fairly posed the problem in modern terms. But in fact it goes back to the earliest ages of the Church. We find Pope Gregory the Great regretting that as the one authoritative ruler left in the West, he had to concern himself with civil government. The "Donation of Constantine" may have been a terrible burden for the Church, but it was inescapable. But, the critics say, was not the governance of the Church and its territories fatal to its spiritual influence? Not always, surely. In one of his letters to his niece Baron von Hügel makes a good point in this connection. She had, it appears, asked whether it was not possible to have a purely spiritual religion. The Baron cited the Quakers, who had reduced institutionalism to its utmost simplicity, and he asked whether their very existence was not owing to the Christianity and fundamental truths which the Church had preserved and handed down even to them.

Let us take two examples from the large number given by the writer who, with all respect to the Popes, holds the Papacy responsible for the gulf it created between the Church and the modern world. Pius IX, obdurate in his refusal to surrender to the champions of the Italian national cause, is held up as the arch-obscurantist. But he complained that he was only a humble priest and the people called upon him to be a national leader. What turned the liberal, patriotic archbishop into an illiberal Pope was, at the outset, his refusal to head the nationalist war against Austria, which he was convinced would lead to a schism in the Church in Austria. It may fairly be argued that the Holy Spirit guided the First Vatican Council in that the Temporal Power was not proclaimed a dogma. But Pius IX, at the end of his long reign, confessed that he might have acted differently, if only some small space could have been afforded to safeguard his independence.

Or take Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, which Professor Aretin treats as another sign that the Church has turned its back on its worldwide mission. The Pope was relentlessly pressed by the whole Church and much of the world outside to make a definite pronouncement on the morals of contraception. When, after much soul-searching, he complied with a document which, whatever one may think of its practical moral teaching, was an impressive and moving exaltation of the ideal marriage, he was scorned. The medical debate about the "Pill", or rather "Pills", still goes on, so what would have been said if the Pope had endorsed these or other well-known methods of birth-control? A German firm has recently been charged with its death by thrombosis of a woman who had taken their pill. *Humanae Vitae*, so it seems to me, having stated lofty principles, left the decision to the consciences of Catholics, as in so many other principles.

Professor Aretin's chief assertion is that in 1945 the Papacy should have led the world towards the great goal of democracy and above all to a world rid of racialism. As if democracy, in at least some of its manifestations, embodies all the Christian virtues, and as if the three last Popes have not condemned racial discrimination. Perhaps, in dwelling on these cases, I may seem to have criticised this book as provocative. So it is, but in the best sense, and many Christians reading it will be aroused to reflect more seriously on the relevance of the Church to our present ill society. This is not, of course, the only relevance; there is the grace given through the sacraments, the support given to individual souls in a terribly perplexed world, the inspiration still flowing from Rome to hosts of humble servants of the poor, the ignorant, the over-burdened seekers after peace and a meaning in life.

This serious study is accompanied by many pages of excellent illustrations.

Master Close,
Oxted, Surrey.

ALEC RANDALL

The reviewer is author of "Vatican Assignment" (1956).

POPE JOHN XXIII: LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY 1901-1962 Tr Dorothy White Chapman 1970 95/-

There is nothing of interest in these letters and yet they have a fascination of their own because they reflect the man who wrote them. All through his long life Angelo Roncalli shows the same integrity, simplicity, quiet affection, gentle shrewdness and humour, and patience. And patience! Was it not this great patience which enabled him to endure years of minor frustrations in Bulgaria without losing the hopefulness which so enlivened the Church during his brief pontificate? It is now seven years since he died and time only shows more clearly the holiness that was his. *Whole* he was, unified, and so a vessel for the Spirit which unifies, because love is communion.

Angelo Roncalli was able to deflate the false aureole surrounding the papacy by taking it simply as the job he had been given to do by his brother cardinals. Without any fuss he got out of the superhuman sovereignty and back to the truly apostolic level of Simon Peter. When you have read all these letters about dying relations, family difficulties, smartening the lavatory, *et cetera*, you may not be much the wiser; yet it may become apparent why this son of poor farmers was able to open the windows of the Vatican to the world and call the greatest Council of the Church, and die praying *ut unum sint*. He was practical. He had the courage of endurance. He looked straight ahead.

Simplicity is the greatest mystery. In a sense there is nothing to be gained by the sumptuous publication of Pope John's letters and journals. Any photograph brings him to life far more truly. Look at him on the jacket here, sitting on the grass at a ludicrous indoor table, in his white hat, writing away in complete absorption. Or remember him at the Council, putting on his glasses and flicking over the pages of his splendid opening speech in a business-like way. He is. Even in print, even in translation (the devoted work of Dorothy White, who lived in Florence in the thirties and knew at first hand the difficulties under Mussolini) something of this *being* comes through, a cumulative feeling of goodness, kindness, faithfulness to Christ's Gospel in the midst of the Church. And for such a solid man he had a light touch: light, but steady. To me he remains the greatest human being I have seen in 50 years on this planet. The men usually called great have often seemed small, on sight. Not John.

70 Pulteney Street,
Bath.

MERIOD TREVOR.

John L. McKenzie, S.J. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH The Weidenfeld & Nicolson History of Religion 1969 288 p £3.15

"There is a great deal in first impressions", as someone once said. My first impression of "The Roman Catholic Church" was that here is a good book, well printed, but with something a little awry. A clue to what I sensed was wrong is given by the dust cover—two-thirds of it are occupied by the crossed keys of St Peter surmounted by the papal tiara. The keys and tiara are printed in gold and the paper itself is strengthened by a glossy laminated foil. This portrays only one side of the Church, there is another, and I would like to have seen both shown on the dust cover e.g., a missionary saying Mass in a bamboo hut.

This first impression is not changed after reading the book through twice. Too much emphasis is laid on the structure of the Church and authority—though Fr McKenzie does offer a defence for doing this. However, to devote nearly half the book to a description and assessment of "The Structure of Roman Catholicism" seems to me to get things a little out of proportion. Fr McKenzie gives a balanced picture of the Church's structure, if one can isolate it from the rest of the book. He has an interesting treatment of papal primacy. Peter's primacy was one of faith and love but cannot be defined in juridical terms; Vatican I in 1870 described papal primacy as one of jurisdiction and did so in precise terms—the pope possesses it as Peter's successor and it is a supreme power in the Church. The gap between the two is bridged by the development of tradition. But a little ambiguity creeps in when

Peter is said to exercise a kind of leadership in the Palestinian community (Acts 1-12), but then disappears and Paul is said to recognise no leader, but Paul recognises no one else as leader (cf. p. 9). Fr McKenzie does not seem to take into account what Paul says about Peter in Galatians I, 18: Paul's visit to Peter was out of respect for the head of the Primitive Church, as all the Fathers have understood.

I have been wondering why Philip Hughes has been taken as the basis for most of the historical details in the book. His "History of the Church", though sound enough, was published between 25 and 35 years ago and was never finished. This may account for some of the historical inaccuracies, e.g., when describing the early Fathers of the Desert he says that the solitary depended on begging. Solitaries such as St Antony of Egypt did work to keep themselves.

The second part of the book is on "Worship" and in it a concise summary is given of the sacramental life of the Church. It is balanced and gives a good picture of this aspect of the Church's life today. Among his criticisms Fr McKenzie says that as a sign of unity the ritual of the Eucharist symbolises more than a parish community would accept, if it was celebrated as a genuine community dinner. This I venture to suggest is one of the biggest problems in the Church today—to get the parish to be a united community.

Parts III and IV are devoted to "The Beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church" and "The Works of the Church" respectively; together they occupy just over a quarter of the book. In the fourth part the Saints are described as the end-product of the Church, a description which helps to colour what the author is saying, but one that will perhaps cause irritation. Many Englishmen will be further irritated when they read "The early casual practices (of canonisation) resulted in a few embarrassments: non-existent saints like . . . George (a Christian reincarnation of the Marduk-Tiamat, Baal-Mot, and Perseus-Andromeda myths) . . . "Neither Hippolyte Delahaye, the Bollandist, nor Donald Attwater would agree with this verdict.

A book by Fr McKenzie cannot be lightly dismissed and "The Roman Catholic Church" is no exception, but at the end one is left wondering for whom it was written. It is not a History of the Church and was not written for the historian. It describes the Roman Catholic Church as it is today and a brief sketch is given of the origins of many of its features. It is perhaps meant for the educated laymen, but the non-Roman Catholic might find it rather dry, the conservative Catholic too critical. However I think a priest or educated laymen would find it a very useful description of the present situation of the Church, and there is an Epilogue that is optimistic as to the future. I was asked recently for a book on the Theology of the Church for students studying the present day equivalent of the tract *de Ecclesia*. "The Roman Catholic Church" would be well worth recommending to them in this context.

PATRICK NUTTGENS, O.C.S.O.

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III. MAN IN SEARCH OF HOLINESS

Thomas Merton THE CLIMATE OF MONASTIC PRAYER Cistercian Studies Series No. 1 Irish University Press 1969 154 p 35/-

I am not a Merton fan and so I am glad to be able to recommend this little book of his, published posthumously. His style is simple in this, and freer from the clever paradoxical spirals which made some of his earlier writings rather tiresome. A rare example in the present work illustrates this: "I cannot discover my 'meaning' if I try to evade the dread which comes from first experiencing my meaningfulness!" (p. 94). The book, introduced by the spiritual leader of the Society of Friends in America, is divided into 19 very short chapters. A few topics such as solitude, the problems of institutional religion, meditation, and spiritual inertia are followed by sections devoted to well (or less well) known masters of monastic life from St Basil to Augustine Baker—whom he describes as "the most revered and articulate master of the

spiritual life produced by the E.B.C. until the present century when he has perhaps been equalled by Dom Chapman". In so short a work the examples are necessarily very briefly treated. The final chapters (less than 50 pages) deal with some problems of contemplative prayer; for instance the dark night of the soul, quietism, active versus contemplative life, or personal versus liturgical prayer: on the whole, they stretch out reasonable lines for their solution. But one is left with a hunch that his frequent use of the word "dread", implies that Merton did not always convince himself.

This book must be considered a lightweight, but for that very reason it may be able to penetrate better the lay world Merton also had in mind. "The most important need in the Christian world today is this inner truth nourished by this Spirit of contemplation: the praise and love of God, the longing for the coming of Christ, the thirst for the manifestation of God's glory, his truth, his justice, his Kingdom in the world. These . . . are the very essence of monastic prayer." (p 154). A fitting epitaph for this prayerful man.

AIDAN GILMAN, O.S.B.

Sister Jeanne D'Arc, O.P. *THE LISTENING HEART; a book on prayer* Chapman 1969
140 p 35/-

A great number of books on prayer have been written in recent years, some of which have been very good indeed. This one is quite different from the rest. It is written by a nun who in spite of her undoubted competence as a Scripture scholar and theologian remains very much a woman with a woman's illogicality that is exasperating at times, and a woman's insight that illuminates nearly every page of the book. "Truly authentic prayer," she tells us in her foreword, "defies definition or discussion; it is beyond logic." So she has chosen to discuss certain themes connected with the life of prayer and to explore them from different angles. She herself says that the book may be picked up and opened at random—"any chapter that takes the reader's fancy will do to begin with". But it would be foolish to follow her advice. The first chapter, which gives the title to the book, is the most important and should be read first; it lays the foundation for all that follows. To listen, to receive, to welcome—this is the very essence of prayer. She has much here that is of value for everyone. In the remaining chapters she returns to these ideas again and again, obviously writing for the married and those living in the world. There is an excellent little chapter on prayer as a sacrifice of time, on the prayer of children, on the need for arranging to have some little corner of the house set aside specially for prayer, on the sacraments and prayer. Something of the author's own openness to God comes through all the pages of this book and invites a similar openness on the part of the reader. And it makes one complain against the short-sightedness of the publishers. The book is well printed, and the format is pleasing; the translator has done her work well, it reads like an original work in English. But there is not really much reading for 35/- . What a pity that the book was not issued as a paperback at quarter of the price; so many more people would have then benefited from the wisdom of the author.

JOSEPH CHADWICK, O.C.S.O.

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Sebastian Moore, Kevin Maguire *THE DREAMER NOT THE DREAM* Darton, Longman, Todd
1970 159 p £1.00

SM's contribution, "Studies in the Bi-polar Church", is an anguished argument that the discoveries of psycho-analysis concerning the unconscious, sexuality and myth (they all have good biblical references) must no longer be ostracised from Catholic pastoral theology. Plato and Aristotle have been baptised; let Jung, too, assist in the rescue of modern man, drowning in a deluge of sensations and informations. At Vatican II a cry of salvation was raised, but the rescue team has turned up with the same lifeboys, only more brightly coloured; they simply do not float in the present flood. In 20 short chapters of five or six pages each the author pokes a fog-light at the subjects of the Liturgy (the very idea of sacramental rite), celibacy of the Latin clergy,

monastic life, confession. All in rather joyless, but not hopeless, vein, lit with flashes of criticism which will strike home to all hearts, though generally elusive and beyond the comprehension of the drowning flock—but he is doubtless addressing the shepherds. Every page is a search for a spring-board in modern experience from which to make the leap of faith.

The evidence can of course be interpreted inversely—the old type of belief was not merely bolstered by, but was in fact nothing but social convention; or alternatively those who now adhere to the sacramental system with honest but blind conviction, are doing the one thing necessary for (their) salvation, i.e., living a life of love.

I hope what I have written will persuade readers to persevere beyond the point where they receive their first shock. Some of it will be as offensive to some good Catholics as St Paul's preaching was to some good Jews. But it is all done decently, like this review. Truth is not the price we offer for salvation but the reward we get. The price of salvation is the search for truth, and this book is certainly that. It has something of prophecy in it.

KM's first contribution, "Sentences on the Bi-polar Church", consists of 31 sentences, that I find useful. His second, called "Illustrations", seem to me parodies in verse; and the fable, beautifully told in hieratic language is, I fear, a frightful satire which gives no help to anyone.

(There is surely a misprint in the title—NOT should be AND . . . at least on SM's principles.)

CUTHBERT RABNETT, O.S.B.

ed. Marina Chavchavadze *MAN'S CONCERN WITH HOLINESS* Hodder & Stoughton 1970
188 p £1.75

The refreshing spirit about this book is the enthusiasm each writer has for the holiest members of his own tradition. This may be the result of temperamental similarity and so sympathy with another's spiritual struggles and accomplishments. Fr Geoffrey Curtis shows how Anglicans admire great Evangelicals like Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce, or Catholics like John Keble and Edward King. Geddes MacGregor and Regin Prenter both make it clear that the Reformed tradition expects every believer to be holy and finds difficulty in looking for specific sanctity in the way Fr Caraman speaks of various kinds of canonised saints. Reformed heroes include Dietrich Bonhoeffer as a striking modern example of a confessing Christian, although not all would regard his death as a martyrdom. The essay on Orthodox saintliness by Professor Paul Evdokimov takes some of us into a strange world—or out of this world because of its deep Godwardness. God alone is holy, creatures can be so only by derivation. This collection of essays can help us to appreciate other people's religious convictions and practice at the deepest level.

GILBERT WHITEFIELD, O.S.B.

IV. KING VERSUS SUBJECT

David Knowles *THOMAS BECKET* Adam and Charles Black 1970 xi + 183 p 40/-

Through more than thirty years, Dom David Knowles with ever-increasing eminence has achieved a position of unique distinction among English medievalists. Pre-eminently the historian of the religious Orders in England, he has made important contributions also in the fields of spirituality, intellectual and cultural history, and in a special way on the controversy between Henry II and Becket. His British Academy lecture for 1949, on "Archbishop Thomas Becket: a Character Study", remains one of the most sensitive and penetrating analyses of Becket's career and martyrdom. In that year also he delivered the Ford Lectures at Oxford on the theme "The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket", and these were published as a volume by the Cambridge University Press in 1951. This volume proved the definitive study on that aspect of the Becket question, and is unlikely to be superseded for many years to come. It was

appropriate therefore that the year 1970, the eighth centenary of Becket's murder, should be marked by further studies from his hand. In Canterbury Cathedral on the feast of St Thomas's Translation, his lecture on "Archbishop Becket—The Saint" was read in his regretted absence, and published in the Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle; and by the end of the year his awaited biography of the martyr had also appeared. All these works have been distinguished by their author's qualities of deep learning, scholarly integrity, and moderate and humane judgment. It is scarcely appropriate to compare or contrast their respective merits, for they reveal both a consistency and an openness to development of judgment or assessment in the light of such protracted reflection through so long a period of time, in which Becket studies have made very significant advances, in spite of the curious statement to the contrary on the dust-cover of this latest volume.

Broadly in this new biography, Dom David accepts the simple pattern of chronology for his chapter titles. His opening chapter deals with the importance of London in the twelfth century and with Thomas's birth and early links with the city. The second chapter treats of developments and influences in the English Church, affording the necessary backcloth to the Becket dispute. Three further sections survey successively the principal stages of Becket's career, as Archbishop Theobald's clerk, as King Henry's chancellor, and finally as Archbishop of Canterbury. The crisis of the years 1163-64 provides the focus of interest in the sixth chapter, with an analysis of the canonical issues and a commentary on the councils of Clarendon and Northampton. The exile and the final though deceptive reconciliation provide the material for three more sections, while three concluding chapters deal with Becket's return to Canterbury, the aftermath of the murder and an assessment of the characters and policies of four of the principal participants in the controversy: King Henry II, Bishop Gilbert of London, Pope Alexander III and Thomas himself.

The whole survey is remarkable for its lucid grasp of the essentials of Becket's career and of the controversy in which he was engaged, and in this sense the modest length of the book is misleading. Each major topic is set within a very few pages in its widest context. Thus, the brief section on the English Church looks back to the traditions of the pre-Conquest Church in England, looks outward to the profound changes wrought in the Universal Church in consequence of the Gregorian Reform movement from the later-eleventh century, and sums up the impact of these changes on the Church within the island, disclosing the crucial relationship between these trends and the emergence of a crisis in the English kingdom. The policies of pope Alexander III are approached with perceptive understanding, and the statesmanlike qualities of this frequently underestimated pontiff are fully acknowledged. Dom David's commentary on the bitter antagonism between Thomas on the one hand and both Roger of York and Gilbert of London on the other aptly widens to comprehend the centuries-long rivalry for pre-eminence between the principal prelates of the Church in England; and in the course of this discussion he withdraws to some extent from an earlier and more severe judgement on Bishop Gilbert in the light of recent studies by Dom Adrian Murey and Professor Christopher Brooke. The most generally interesting chapter is that in which Dom David brilliantly analyses the characters of the principal players in the drama. Interest will focus most closely on his latest assessment of Thomas's character and qualities, and here the biography should be read in conjunction with his Canterbury lecture, in which he was concerned above all with Thomas's claims to the titles of saint or of martyr. While scrupulously fair and objective in this difficult analysis, Dom David reveals some reservations in reaching a favourable verdict. On the precise question whether Thomas was a saint or a martyr, the biography expresses a negative verdict, though in its final sentence a certain concept of martyrdom seems accepted. In a similar vein but with a distinctly more favourable emphasis the Canterbury lecture provides a moving revelation of Dom David's own thought process, and contains this statement: "Thomas was therefore, at that moment, dying for the freedom of the Church, and as such was a martyr, a witness, to the right of the Church to spiritual freedom".

It is not possible in a brief review to mention more than a few of the numerous points of high interest in this important study. For the present reviewer, it is a matter

for pleasure to read Dom David's words of praise for the work of Professor Raymonde Foreville, whose immensely scholarly studies in this field have been sadly neglected by English historians, and also for his emphatic acceptance of conclusions reached by canonical scholars on the legal aspects of the Becket dispute. It is not the least of the merits of this excellent book that Dom David's authority and reputation will now win wider recognition for conclusions which modern research demand, but which have hitherto remained too often confined to the specialist literature. This then is a study admirably based on scholarship, both expert and moderate in judgment, lucid and elegant in composition. It will give pleasure and enlightenment to a very wide spectrum of readers, and will significantly influence and shape the general views of Becket's career and of the Becket dispute.

CHARLES DUGGAN.

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J. G. Bellamy *THE LAW OF TREASON IN ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES* Cambridge University Press 1970 266 p £4.50

In his *True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, published in 1584, William Allen argued that by obtaining convictions of treason under the statute of 1352 against Campion and his companions the Elizabethan government had illegitimately extended the definition of treason beyond the intentions of those who had drawn up the statute in the fourteenth century: "that the Pope hath power to excommunicate or deprive a prince in case of heresy or apostasy, and consequently to absolve his subjects from their oath and obedience to him; or to stand in defense of themselves and the Catholic faith against him, cannot be proved treason by the statute of Edward the Third".¹

The great interest of Professor J. G. Bellamy's new book on *The Law of Treason in the later Middle Ages* for those concerned with sixteenth century recusant history is that for the first time the statute of treason of 1352 is comprehensively discussed and placed in its historical context. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, encompassing or attempting to encompass the king's death or that of his near family had already come to be considered treason, as had forging or clipping the coin of the realm. The crown could still enlarge the scope of treason without having recourse to parliamentary statute: Edward I construed the levying of war against the king to be treason. During the reign of Edward III, it seems chiefly to obtain a better enforcement of the law during the king's absence from the country, the royal judges further widened the extent of treason by associating with it the new offence of encroaching upon the royal power, and Professor Bellamy sees parliament's objection to this practice as the occasion for the passing of the statute of treason. The great statute formally defined treason and so limited the powers of the justices to interpret the law as they thought fit. Henceforth the encompassing or imagining the death of the king, the queen, or the heir to the throne, violating the queen, the king's eldest daughter, or the wife of his eldest son, slaying certain royal officials when they were executing justice, counterfeiting the royal seal, or forging English money or bringing false coin into the realm was regarded as treason. The statute also provided that doubtful cases of treason should in future be determined by the king in parliament.

It is unlikely that the great statute of treason materially hindered later medieval kings from prosecuting men as traitors: the offence of encompassing or imagining the king's death could be, and was, very broadly construed. A full century before the treasons act of 1534 the royal judges interpreted traitorous words as constituting treason. English kings were restricted only by the need for proper legal process, and after 1352 cases of treason were usually, though not invariably, tried in the common law courts by justices with a commission of oyer and terminer.

¹ R. M. Kingdon, ed. *The Execution of Justice in England, by William Cecil: A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholics, by William Allen*, Cornell University Press, 1965, p 129.

Technically, therefore, Allen was perfectly correct: the 1352 statute did not take into consideration the right of the Pope to depose temporal rulers, and only by fabricating evidence of treasonous acts and, when that failed, alleging treasonous opinions, could the Elizabethan government secure a condemnation of Campion and his associates under this act. Yet the implication behind Allen's argument, that parliament in equity could not make offences, not named in the statute of 1352, treason, is much more contentious. Professor Bellamy's valuable monograph shows that between 1352 and 1485 neither the crown nor parliament considered the statute of treason unalterable. The king with the consent of parliament by statute could declare new treasons, and indeed on several occasions in the later Middle Ages parliament petitioned the king to make new offences treasonable. Allen's subtle debate did not solve the insoluble dilemma of Elizabethan Catholics. After the recognition by parliament of Elizabeth as supreme governor over the English Church and after the Pope's excommunication of the queen English Catholics could not profess full loyalty both to their temporal and their spiritual ruler. A Protestant parliament in consequence had some justification in seeing Catholics at least as potential traitors and in passing new laws which made the withdrawing of men to the Romish religion or the promising of obedience to the see of Rome treason.

University of York.

CLAIRE CROSS.

V. THE REFORMATION

H. J. McSorley, C.S.P. LUTHER, RIGHT OR WRONG? AN ECUMENICAL-THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF LUTHER'S MAJOR WORK, THE BONDAGE OF THE WILL. Newman Press 1970 xvii + 398 pp 84/-.

It would be hard to say which was the most outstanding doctrinal problem at issue between Martin Luther and the Catholic Church of the 1520s. A good case could be made out for each, or all, of the following: the question of justification by faith alone; the problem of the Eucharistic real presence; the Scripture v. Tradition debate; the role of Church authority in Christian life; the question of grace and free will; the primacy of conscience. Luther himself, certainly in 1525, had come to the conclusion that the heart of his disagreement with Rome lay in the questions concerned with grace and man's free will: could man take the first step towards God's grace unaided? was he free to co-operate with that grace, or was the grace of God irresistible? As Luther said on the last page of his work *De Servo Arbitrio*, "Therefore I heartily praise you (Erasmus) on this account, that you, alone of all my opponents have attacked the real issue (the bondage of the will) i.e., my central concern. You have not wearied me with those extraneous issues, which are trivia rather than issues, such as the papacy, purgatory or indulgences . . . You, and you alone, have seen the hinge on which everything turns. You have aimed for my jugular vein."

This work of Luther's on "The Bondage of the Will", probably to be accounted his major work, was published in 1525, the year of several outstanding events: in northern Italy the battle of Pavia had radically upset the balance of European politics; in Cologne and Worms William Tyndale was publishing his translation of the New Testament for the English underground market; in central Italy Matteo di Bassi was founding his "Capuccini", to be one of the great spearheads of reformed religious life; in Oxford Wolsey had established and richly endowed his educationally progressive Cardinal College. In Luther's own immediate scene, it was the year of the death of his patron, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, the year of the suppression of the Great Peasants' War in Thuringia, southern Germany, and Alsace, and the year of Luther's marriage to the ex-nun, Catherine von Bora. By this time, Luther's theology was beginning to crystallise into certain set positions over against the Romanist position, and the *De Servo Arbitrio* represents the nearest which Luther ever came to giving a systematic account of his views on the Grace/Free will dilemma.

Fr McSorley's most excellent book was published in German in 1967 and is the result of his five years' doctoral study upon the subject. It is prefaced by a highly

laudatory introduction by Professor Heinrich Fries of Munich. Not content with a study of the *De Servo Arbitrio* and of Erasmus's *De Libero Arbitrio* (1524) which stimulated Luther to write, Fr McSorley gives us a very comprehensive survey on the development of the Church's thinking on grace, free will, and slavery to sin, from the Biblical teaching, through that of the early Fathers, to that of St Augustine, which in many ways remained normative for much of the Middle Ages. He then traces that continuation, with its distortions and omissions, through the early Scholastics and St Thomas, and then through the thought of fourteenth and fifteenth century later Scholasticism. This latter section is of key importance since it was the ethos which Luther imbibed in his youth, and against which he reacted in his mature period.

Two points of specific praise must be singled out about this book. Throughout, the book is excellently documented, references being constantly given to primary and secondary works of importance on the subject, making it a unique scholarly tool for the theology of grace and free will. It also has a mammoth bibliography of several hundred titles. Secondly, Fr McSorley's work is a first rate example of what ecumenical theology should look like, viz. a study in theological depth, rooted biblically and historically, carefully weighing the insights of both Catholic and Protestant authors, with concern for truth at the forefront. It will join that class of first rate studies in theological themes which, one by one, are helping to rebuild the bridges between Rome and Wittenberg, Rome and Canterbury, Rome and Geneva, which were demolished in the sixteenth century. This is a work of the standing of Hans Kung's "The Church" and "Justification", and Max Thurian's "L'Eucharistie"—pioneer works whose stature will increase with time.

AERLEI BURROWS, O.S.E.

W. P. Stephens THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE THEOLOGY OF MARTIN BUCER. Cambridge University Press 1970 ix + 281 pp 54.50 (90/-).

Martin Bucer, the reformer of the Church in Strassburg, has been one of the most neglected of the leading Reformation figures. This is rather surprising, since in some respects his chief concerns are very much those of the mid-twentieth century Church—namely, pastoral and missionary fervour, an enthusiasm for opening up the Liturgy for the layman, a desire to build up a solid biblical theology for the Church, and above all, an ecumenical, conciliatory approach to doctrinal divisions. He is, in this respect, a much more relevant figure than Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin. Unlike them, Bucer was not a leading original thinker; he was in many respects an imitator and very much influenced by others. Thus, the most profound religious experiences of his life was the impact upon him of Luther at Heidelberg in April 1518, which seems to have been a kind of "road to Damascus" as far as Bucer's spirituality was concerned.

This is not to say that his mind, once moving basically in a Lutheran direction, did not develop its own theological nuances and emphases. In fact, his developed Eucharistic doctrine is much closer to that of Zwingli than that of Luther, and the Church discipline which he tried to inject into the Strassburg church is closer to the Calvinist polity. The important position of Strassburg, athwart the well-worn communication routes of the Upper Rhine, its proximity to areas dominated by all hues of the religious spectrum, from the Catholicism of Mainz and Worms to the Anabaptism of the Swiss towns, gave the sensitive Bucer much experience in trying to relate his insights to the points of view of other reformers. His influence upon Thomas Cranmer (especially upon the Anglican Ordinal of 1550) explains the difficulty found by scholars in trying to pin down Cranmer's later doctrinal position with a label such as "Lutheran" or "Zwinglian".

The author of the present book has written a very detailed study of Bucer's theology, very comparable to the kind of thing which Professor Wendel has done for John Calvin, and Professor Williams for the Reformation radicals. The rather narrow title of this book belies the scope of the work which covers all aspects of Bucer's thinking from Predestination, Vocation and Justification, to the ministry, Baptism and Holy Communion; showing that throughout, from 1523 to 1551, the key concept for Bucer is the living presence and work of the Holy Spirit. Dr Stephens points out that Bucer has suffered from very selected surveys of his work; he therefore makes it one of his

aims to consider Bucer and his developing thought as a whole, even when concentrating on one aspect of doctrine. Since, too, many of Bucer's works are not available in English, Dr Stephens thoughtfully gives a translation of many extracts from the reformer's writings.

Students of the Reformation will be grateful to the author for this book, which is probably the only serious study in English of the well-springs of Martin Bucer's theology. It is to be hoped that its readers will be led to study further the interesting life of this ex-Dominican who ended his life as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. It would be fitting to close with a quotation from Bucer himself, which illustrates one aspect of his ecumenism (quoted by Professor Rupp in "New Camb. Mod Hist." II, p. 111)—"Flee formulae, bear with the weak. While all faith is placed in Christ, the thing is safe. It is not given for all to see the same thing at the same time." This, though perhaps as dangerous as St. Augustine's *Ama, et fac quod vis*, is also equally wise.

ALFRED BURROWS, O.S.B.

Christopher Haigh THE LAST DAYS OF THE LANCASHIRE MONASTERIES AND THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE. Chetham Society XVII Manchester University Press 1969 x + 172 p 50/-

This is a very professional study, coming from the research supervision of Professors G. R. Elton and E. G. Rupp. It is, so to speak, a sister study to one covering the other side of the Pennines, "The Benedictines and Cistercians in Yorkshire in the Sixteenth Century", Professor G. W. O. Woodward's as yet unpublished 1955 thesis for Trinity College, Dublin. The immediately evident difference between them lies in their respective range of subject matter. As to black monk houses, Dr Haigh was able to call upon the tiny priory of Upholland, founded in 1319; and a handful of cells, Lytham belonging to Durham, Penwortham belonging to Evesham and Kersall belonging to Cluniae Montacute: against this meagre haul Dr Woodward could put St Mary's York, Whitby, Selby—all great abbeys with significant histories from very early days—and others such as Cluniae Pontefract, where Archbishop Thurstan went to live out his last weeks. As to white monk houses, Dr Haigh has for his study the large abbey of Furness and the much smaller one of Whalley; whereas Professor Woodward has some of the greatest of those abbeys in England, Rievaulx founded by St Bernard's secretary, Fountains founded from the St Mary's crisis, Byland with its great church, not to say Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Meaux, Roche or Sawley. The same pattern is evident for the other Orders, Lancashire having no Carthusian house to match Yorkshire's Mount Grace, no Grandmontines to match Yorkshire's Gosmont and only Burscough, Conishead and Gartmel to match a mass of Yorkshire Augustinian houses (among them Newburgh Priory). As to the friars, York itself had as many friaries of one kind or another as Lancashire's Preston (Franciscan), Lancaster (Dominican) and Warrington (Augustinian). Only with its Premonstratensian priory at Cocksand and cell at Hornby could Lancashire measure up to Yorkshire.

It was these two counties which provided the heart of the resistance to the Dissolution, and comparative to its resources Lancashire put up a stiffer resistance than Yorkshire. It was a seat of reaction, its religious "development" (this being a sociological rather than theological judgment) being some 50 years behind that of the south of England. The churches were in disrepair, the laity behaved violently towards their clergy, the clergy never preached properly if they bothered to preach at all. Yet religion lived, and lived on, chantry chapels being built even after the value of prayers for the dead came to be doubted elsewhere; the Privy Council described Lancashire of the 1570s as "the very sink of popery, where more unlawful acts have been committed and more unlawful persons holden secret than in any other part of the realm". Furness was forced to surrender in 1537 after some of its monks ended in Lancaster gaol following the Pilgrimage of Grace: at Whalley the abbot and another monk were executed for their part in the rebellion, as were several canons of Cartmel (but not, as Knowles states, the subprior, who escaped to Scotland, becoming a monk of Holywood Abbey). How different this was from say St Mary's, York, where the abbot pleaded early in the Dissolution proceedings to be given the main abbatial manor for his own to retire to.

What Lancashire provided, in virtue of its isolation and general "backwardness" (by which is meant both McFarlane's type of bastard feudalism and a tendency to trade only with the still strongly Catholic north together with Spain, Portugal and Ireland), was the spectacle of a rising Catholic fervour underwritten by a drive towards chapel building suddenly chilled by the rising Protestant fervour of the rest of England. When the remainder of the country had heard the monastic death-knell toll long enough for the land brokers to begin hovering over the body, Lancashire was in the throes of a sunset enthusiasm for its monks, whose houses continued to expand and fulfil the social aspirations of the county. "The vitality, generosity, splendour and utility of some of the Lancashire houses contributed towards the attachment of the people to the old faith. The proximity of Whalley Abbey may have been one of the reasons for the later recusancy of the Ribblesdale valley, and of the Southworth, Sherburne and Towneley families which dominated Lancashire Catholicism under Elizabeth . . . the importance of the monasteries and Lancashire recusancy were both the product of the slow evolution and conservatism of the county. The later history of the monasteries in Lancashire is one aspect of the county's resistance to religious reform."

Dr Haigh, with exhaustive care, traces the inexorable process of the classical tragedy which was set afoot by Thomas Cromwell and his voracious monarch. First Layton and Legh were sent on their nefarious visitations to find or fabricate communal sins worthy of outside intervention—sins that could all be capped by the monarch in his own private life. Layton and Legh's *Compendium* for the Lancashire houses showed that Conishead fared worst: of eight Austinians, five were accused of incontinence. At Furness, among the 33 Cistercians who made up the Community, four were accused of incontinence and one of homosexuality. Other than these, the remaining houses provided only one or two charges each under these categories, 11 charges in all, many less than in the Yorkshire Province. The men who were to judge them as to these undefended and certainly politically tainted charges, and who were then to take their lands and lives from them, men like Sir John Byron and Sir Richard Houghton, themselves openly womanised or kept mistresses though married.

The Dissolution process began with the cells (the least defensible) and then went on to the lesser monasteries (less able to defend themselves) and finally to the greater houses, sapped and shadowed by rebellion. Between 1536 and 1539 occurred first the deliberate restoration of some houses by the angered common people (the mob restored the canons of Cartmel and Conishead) and then the great northern rising which goes by the sonorous title of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Its intention was laudable in principle if not in practice, but its failure proved the very instrument of the destruction of the northern houses that remained. The point is here made in Chapter VII, entitled "The Aftermath of the Pilgrimage: the Attack on Whalley and Furness". The Furness area especially had proven a hotbed of religious reaction, where, in Latimer's words, "pardoning doth prate in the borders of the realm". The further north one went, the greater was the reaction against the Crown. Even the Earl of Derby, steward of five Lancashire monasteries, debated on being sent the King's commission whether rebellion would pay higher dividends than loyalty.

When the suppression of the monasteries was completed, two issues required to be settled: the disposal of the inmates (some to vicarages, others to prison, others to wander the country pensioned or unpensioned—as two-thirds of Lancashire monks found themselves); and the disposal of the property, almost all of it to the already major landowners. The royal receivers set an astonishing precedent by entering legal transactions, even without the consultation of the Community involved (but later with its consent), whereby at Whalley the monks were to divest themselves of all they possessed, they being but the living representatives of a corporation whose goods they held in trust. Inevitably in these sad times, it worked: and it worked many times again. The frightened Abbot of Furness, for instance, his nerve shattered, did exactly the same, not bothering to consult his brethren till a lawyer urged him to it. The lukewarm capitulated, the holy were extinguished, the rich grew more secure, the poor went neglected despite their protestations: it is ever the way of the world in an age of greed. *Circumspice*.

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

VI. THE CHURCH OF NEWMAN

G. Egner *Apologia pro Charles Kingsley* Sheed & Ward 1969 242 p 40/-

Poor Kingsley — pulverised by the *Apologia*. A sense of fair play suggests that an *Apologia pro Charles Kingsley* would be a good idea. Curiously, however, the hero of Egner's book is not Kingsley, but Bishop Bell of Chichester, to whom it is dedicated, and whose name does not otherwise appear.

Egner is a philosopher, and his analysis of the connection between Newman's philosophical stance and his insensitivity to the relevance of Christian belief for social and political questions is amongst the best things in the book (cf. pp. 54-87). The first section, on "Hagiography and the Miraculous", demonstrates that Newman failed to deal with some of Kingsley's objections, although the difficult problem of Newman's views on historiography is too complex to be adequately dealt with in part of a short study, and on the basis of so few texts. Newman's irritating habit of not drawing attention to many of the innumerable minor variants he introduced into later editions of his works (cf. pp. 90-6) is not unconnected with his prolixity in correspondence, concerning which Egner rightly says that it "can (fairly or unfairly) create an impression that the speaker or writer is playing with words, and . . . refusing to commit himself" (pp. 131-2).

Egner, on the other hand, tends to commit himself rather too readily: historians will be astonished to learn that Manning "possessed and showed a sympathetic understanding of the merits of the Anglican Church that Newman did not" (p. 204), and theologians will be puzzled by the assertion that "Theology . . . cannot but be inimical to that painstaking and cautious cast of mind which is necessary in so many branches of secular science" (p. 154; cf. pp. 147-8 for other equally unsatisfactory remarks about theological method). Moreover, the book shows signs of having been written in haste: a number of the last-minute additions could helpfully have been incorporated into the main argument (cf. pp. 72, 84, 213, 216, 221).

Newman is unfavourably compared with the nineteenth-century logician, De Morgan: there is "a blunt and fearless conclusiveness in the writings of the logician which I cannot myself find in Newman" (p. 197). It would be pointless to retort that logic may lend itself to "blunt and fearless conclusiveness" rather more than the study of history or theology, where the irreducible complexity of the data (because, *pace* Egner on p. 147, theology is concerned with "the interaction of theory and evidence") frequently demands a certain "painstaking caution". It would be pointless because, just as the hero of the book is not Kingsley, so also the villain is not Newman. Egner says of the tortuous complexity of the "General Answer" to Kingsley that it is a "symptom of the damage done to Newman by the system under which he had to work" (p. 197). *The villain of the piece is the atmosphere of hostility and repression which has too often been the Church's official reaction to intellectual creativity*. Egner is acutely conscious of the damage done to the cause of Christian truth by acquiescence in this state of affairs: "A persuasion . . . seems to lurk among believers that obedient submission to the dictates of Church authority ensures the eventual triumph of ideas and hopes which were apparently crushed by those dictates" (p. 198). This book, written in the aftermath of *Humanae Vitae*, is an impassioned plea for intellectual honesty in the Church. It is for this reason that its hero is Bell, with his indomitable courage, rather than Newman, whose reverence for authority and agonising awareness of the complexity of concrete problems inhibited him from exercising his prophetic gifts with a similarly uncompromising single-mindedness.

A tract for the times. But in order to tackle the problem via a study of Newman, a greater degree of intellectual sympathy with Newman himself, and a closer familiarity with the corpus of his writings, would have been necessary. As it is, one cannot help wondering whether, if Newman had lacked his characteristic weaknesses, he might not also have lacked his peculiar strengths which enable him to speak—more profoundly, I believe, than Egner allows—to our age. The Church needs the voice of Jeremiah, or Newman, just as it needs the more rugged accents of Amos and Bishop Bell. And it will rarely welcome any of them.

St Edmund's House, Cambridge.

NICHOLAS LASH.

ed. C. S. Dessain *THE LETTERS AND DIARIES OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN* vol. XX JULY 1861-DEC 1863 Nelson 1970 609 p 135/-

"Not only for the interest of a biography, but for the arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method." (Newman to his sister Jemima, 18th May 1863, as later revised).

Whatever doubts one may have about this opinion, it is surely true of Newman himself, whose biographers, however well-meaning, leave the English reader feeling that Newman is over-sensitive. This reviewer expected to have to wade through minute self-examinations, for the years covered by this volume are the very years when Newman was most misunderstood: suspected by Catholics of being too liberal, by the bishops as being unsound in educational matters, by many of being about to return to the Anglican fold. This did cause Newman to shrink in on himself, even affected his health. He hoarded old letters, copied them out, revised them; but in so doing clarified his thoughts, perfected their expression, and left us a highly readable record of his daily actions and thoughts. Far from being embarrassingly scrupulous, the letters charm by their description and delight by their perspicacity. There are important letters on such diverse themes as the unity of the Church, Old Testament difficulties, Christian civilisation and slavery, and on the necessity of maturity for those thought to have a vocation to the priesthood; short paragraphs on the role of the liturgy, on discipline in schools, on the status of Canon law; all interspersed with much of human interest—the beauty of Cambridge, Dickens' description of Deal, showers and health, and how Newman dealt with the mass resignation of the staff of the Oratory school. His very isolation makes Newman a disinterested critic, whose opinions are very worthwhile reading. So much so that one regrets that there is no subject index to the volume.

With a view to showing the sanctity of Newman and countering the accusation of scrupulosity too much has been made of Newman's sufferings during this period. He certainly felt them acutely, but his letters reveal quite another side of Newman—his intellectual acumen. The hoarding and correcting of old letters was not primarily an attempt at self-justification, but rather the sign of an intense belief in truth, a determination to comprehend and to expound the meaning of life at a level of cultural and intellectual appreciation rarely found today. As Professor Chadwick wrote (in *The Victorian Church*, vol. 2) "...to Newman dogmas of faith were always expressions of attitudes or feelings less articulate and more profound. Newman was less interested in the various articles of the creed than in the atmosphere, the cast, the inmost breathing of the mind". This concern to transcend the literal expression of truth and yet to express it as accurately as possible is what gives his private papers their perennial interest. Because this volume does not reach the *Apologia* it will too often be passed over, yet the very lack of an important focus is what gives the variety and breadth of vision which helps us the more faithfully to arrive at the "inside of things".

Newman has been fortunate in his editor. Not only is every letter reproduced, every modification of it from draft to later correction is recorded by an ingenious system of brackets and copious footnotes. Nor are the footnotes simply technical; they give information which helps to place the letters in their setting and refer one to other letters on the same subject. The diary entries also help one to follow Newman's movements. Finally there are good indices listing the letters by correspondents, and of persons and places. It is a pity that such a labour is inevitably expensive, as Newman's instinct was right; his letters deserve more than the perusal of scholars, they have an intrinsic interest of their own.

BEIDE EMERSON, O.S.B.

Owen Chadwick *THE VICTORIAN CHURCH, PART II* A & C Black 1970 viii + 510 p 70/-

The present volume, the eighth in Black's "Ecclesiastical History of England", completes Professor Owen Chadwick's magisterial survey of the Victorian era, Part I having made its debut some five years ago. The period covered by Part II runs from 1860, the year of the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, to the end of the queen's reign. And what a period it was! In that epoch England enjoyed a wealth, a power and an international prestige such as few other nations have known, before or

since. No longer a mere European off-shore island—albeit a considerable one, with the command of the seas—she had now become, with her far-flung empire, a political, industrial and commercial force of world magnitude. Her self-confidence, material and moral, and her sense of mission seemed but the natural assurance of a favoured destiny. Little wonder, then, that the nation's religious life should have appeared as the proper counterpart, in the spiritual realm, of the certainties that marked the temporal. For ecclesiastically also it was an age of expansion. The Church of England—visibly the Church of the English people—had all the pride of an unquestioned status. Yet nonconformity too, growing apace, spoke with an ever greater confidence in its moral vocation, whilst Roman Catholicism, emerging from the social shadows, now felt able, despite occasional "No Popery" agitations, to assume a new and more influential place in the national life.

All these developments Professor Chadwick chronicles and correlates with a richness of illustrative detail. The reader—the older reader, at all events—is moreover fascinated by an evocation of the Church that he can perhaps remember from his boyhood days—for the long sunset-glow of the Victorian age lasted, ecclesiastically speaking, well into the present century. For him no great effort of the historical imagination is required, as in trying to conjure up, say, the scenes of Tractarian Oxford, or the Evangelical hey-day, or the Hanoverian church establishment, or—heaven knows!—the distant Carolines. What we have here is what our grandparents lived through—what they bequeathed—alas so profitlessly, we may sigh—to this godless and graceless generation! For if the religious organisation of late Victorian England was not the kingdom of Heaven on earth it surely may claim the praise of being at least a plausible imitation of it. The European world, indeed, was fast becoming secular, even secularist—after all Auguste Comte was elaborating his *Philosophie positive* back in the 1840s, and his English disciples—George Henry Lewes, Harriet Martineau and Herbert Spencer, not to mention the growing company of utilitarians, materialists and honest doubters (the name "humanist" had not yet come into vogue)—were enthusiastically proclaiming his doctrines soon afterwards. Yet that England professedly and intentionally, was a Christian country was obvious. The opposition of course was vocal, but up and down the land the churches—newly built, or re-built ("restored" was the euphemism)—were full, Sunday by Sunday. The Christian creed, in a Protestant perspective, was still the plain man's ultimate frame of intellectual reference. Above all, the Christian ethical standards—Bible-based, if moulded into the social patterns of English middle-class convention—were accepted even by practising libertines as beyond serious challenge. (Part of the joy of "sin" was to know that it is wrong; final permissiveness is likely to mean only the dead-end of total *ennui*. In fact it is not at all easy for the churchman of today—if he is elderly or even middle-aged and brought up on traditional lines—not to feel that the Victorian religious set-up—and every denomination breathed the Victorian air—is anything other than the norm of all that is Christian, churchly and respectable. Men in those days genuinely believed, but they were not fanatical; they worshipped from a sense of obligation, but they did not persecute: high-minded, earnest and efficient, they sought, according to their lights, the attainable Good. But in our world today, with all the barriers down, all inhibitions eschewed and tradition become—in the current slang—a "dirty word"—how are institutions whose still remembered past is what it was to adapt to the present whirl of revolutionary change? If we obliterate such vestiges as are left of the Victorian image what really can we put in their place? Social welfare, with no futile questions about "belief"? Or the gimmickry of "pop"?)

Professor Chadwick's main aims of course are to record events and to re-create the outward scene. These, as in his first volume, are achieved with the most admirable success. A wealth of learning is disposed in a manner that never forfeits the reader's interest. The section on "The Village Church", for example, vividly conjures up the picture of a bygone era and way of life—the era and way of life memorialised in the novels of Thomas Hardy. But the picture is far from being a nostalgic dream; factual details fill every page. Dr Chadwick rightly notes the rise in social status of the Church of England clergymen as the century advanced, as too the many practical

difficulties facing a country parson with a "social conscience" who tried to take the labourers' part in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions. Moreover, in most parts of the country where the battle was fought the evidence suggests that the Chapel did not gain what the Church lost. The labourer simply stopped going to any place of worship. And the drift from Church to be noted in the country was much more marked in the towns, where indeed—in the industrial areas at least—the workman had usually grown up in more or less complete alienation from it. Yet the statistics of Church membership remained impressive—we today can only think them wonderful. Take the figures for the clergy alone. The established Church in 1841 numbered 14,613 clergymen, or one for every 1,101 laymen; by 1881 this had increased to 21,663, with one to 1,194 laymen. By 1901 there were 25,235 Anglican clergymen. In 1881 there were 9,374 nonconformist ministers, a figure which over the following twenty years swelled to 11,572. Between 1860 and 1901 the number of Roman Catholic priests in England and Wales was considerably more than doubled, a total to which the peasantry of Ireland made a liberal contribution.

A large book packed with information, like the present, cannot be adequately described in a short notice, and the reviewer will naturally turn to those parts of it which happen to be of special interest to himself. In dealing with the thought of the period Dr Chadwick is rather more summary and generalising. His concern, quite properly for his purposes, is rather with the visible signs and effects of the movement of ideas, theological, philosophical and scientific, than with their actual content. But the chapter on "Science and Religion" affords a clear and balanced account of the controversies over Darwin and evolution, the emerging study of comparative religion, and—most crucial of all—the literary history, inspiration and authority of the scriptures, all of which raged during the sixties and seventies. To us today the nature and extent of the public reaction to *Essays and Reviews*, for example, is nothing short of astonishing. Then belief as such was taken more seriously than now, not least by the non-believers themselves. Among us the kind of scrupulosity evinced by men like Stopford Brooke or Henry Sidgwick would perhaps seem odd.

Dr Chadwick's *magnum opus* is likely to take its place as the definite work on its subject for many years to come, even though others may wish to explore the theological and philosophical developments of the period more fully. It now completely supersedes Warre Cornish's English "Church in the Nineteenth Century" (1910), which in any case has long been out of print. A work indispensable for the student, it can be recommended as a pleasure in store for any reader with a taste for the historical.

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E. G. RUPP HORT AND THE CAMBRIDGE TRADITION Cambridge University Press 1970
24 p 6/- (30p.)

Gordon Rupp's choice of subject for his Inaugural Lecture as Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge was indeed felicitous. The first two of the famous Cambridge trio, J. B. Lightfoot (1828-89) and B. F. Westcott (1825-1901), became successively Bishops of Durham; the third, F. J. A. Hort (1828-92) remained in Cambridge. Lord Acton said of them that they were critical scholars surpassed by neither Frenchman nor German ("Lectures on Modern History", p. 17). Westcott and Hort collaborated over a period of 30 years in producing the celebrated text of the Greek New Testament known as WH (1881). The three bequeathed to future generations of scholars a wealth of historical scholarship, meticulous and unpolemical, concerning the earlier centuries of the Church.

But the Cambridge trio did not leave behind them merely a corpus of factual knowledge. They demonstrated the truth that the historical and critical theological method developed in the nineteenth century was not necessarily bound up with the negative and sceptical conclusions of the Continental critics. They showed that it was fully compatible with the historic Christian belief in the Incarnation, historical Resurrection and Eternal Reign of Jesus Christ. A critical historian did not have to

become a Liberal Protestant of the Germanic type: as against the contemporary teachings of the Continental critics in the century of Schleiermacher, they stood for a Liberal Anglicanism which could affirm *ex animo* the Catholic Creeds. (Hort had begun his education at Rugby School under Thomas Arnold and A. C. Tait.) In the heyday of "Darwinism" Hort was acting as an examiner in the Natural Science Tripos at Cambridge and declaring in his Hulsean Lectures (1871) that we should see "every truth which seems alien to Christ as a sign that the time is come for a better knowledge of Christ, since no truth can be alien to him who is the Truth".

It is good in our own age, when the cold wind of scepticism is still liable to blow in across the North Sea, to be reminded of Hort and his fellow-workers. Professor Rupp's lecture, expressed with his usual elegance, wit and insight, is a timely recollection of the service which dedicated scholarship by being true to itself can bring to the understanding and defence of the Gospel.

ALAN RICHARDSON.

The Deanery,
York.

ed. Josef L. Altholz and Damian McElrath THE CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD ACTON AND RICHARD SIMPSON Volume I Cambridge University Press 1971 xxvi + 228 p £5

ed. Josef L. Altholz VICTORIAN ENGLAND 1837-1901 Cambridge University Press 1970 xii + 100 p £1.75

The Liberal Catholic movement in the nineteenth century, in England as on the European Continent, was an attempt to bridge what seemed to its adherents to be a disastrously widening gulf between the doctrines and general outlook of the Roman Catholic Church and the intellectual, social and political attitudes of the modern world. Its leader in this country was Sir John (afterwards Lord) Acton, a cosmopolitan by family, education and personal interests, its literary organ *The Rambler* periodical (in 1862 renamed *The Home and Foreign Review*), started in 1848 by John Moore Capes, a former Anglican clergyman, and concluding, under Acton's own editorship, in 1864. Its demise was the outcome of Pius IX's anti-liberal policy, which culminated in the Munich Brief of March 1864 and the notorious encyclical *Quanta Cura* (with its accompanying *Syllabus of Errors*) of the following December. The article, entitled "Conflicts with Rome", which Acton himself contributed to the final number (April 1864), of the *Home and Foreign* may fairly be described as the movement's swan song in England. The story of English Liberal Catholicism is to all intents, indeed, that of this periodical and of its editors' encounters, increasingly serious, with ecclesiastical authority. *The Rambler's* aim was to urge, in the words of Wilfrid Ward, "the necessity of absolute freedom and candour in scientific, historical, and critical investigation, irrespective of results". Its scholarly and literary standards were high, Matthew Arnold judged that "perhaps in no organ of criticism in this country was there so much knowledge, so much play of mind".

On assuming the editorship in 1858 Acton secured the assistance of a congenial spirit (and an able writer) in the person of Richard Simpson, who like Capes was a convert from Anglicanism. The present book, edited jointly by Professor Altholz of the University of Minnesota and Father McElrath of the Catholic University of America, is the first published instalment of their complete correspondence, and comprises 200 letters covering the period from February 1858 to August 1859. The entire collection amounts to some 700 letters and its publication will be completed in two further volumes. This enterprise has already been fully and fittingly prefaced by Professor Altholz's "Liberal Catholic Movement in England", issued here by Burns and Oates in 1962, but the present volume also carries an introduction to the series.

Acton himself, unfortunately, was not very careful about preserving correspondence and many of Simpson's letters to him were lost. Most of those that survived were kept at the Acton family house at Aldenham, and although a large part was subsequently removed by Douglas Woodruff to London, many more remained stored at Aldenham, and these, as well as the papers held by Woodruff, have now been examined by Fr McElrath. For both collections, along with the Acton papers in the Cambridge University Library, the editors claim to have a complete file, "subject"—readers of this

review please note!—"to the possibility of unexpected discoveries in the attics and closets of country houses". Acton's letters to Simpson, on the other hand, were well looked after, having been bound up in chronological order. Simpson's nephew, William Simpson, gave them and some related correspondence to Abbot (later Cardinal) Gasquet for publication in the latter's "Lord Acton and his Circle" (1906), and they are now at Downside. Gasquet undertook the editing of Acton's letters at the request of the second Lord Acton, but, as the present editors remark, "the apologetic purpose of the Modernist crisis, let us remember—"boded ill for its scholarly objectivity, the more so since Gasquet was subject to pressures from the Acton family" and others, as well as "from regard for ecclesiastical interests and feelings". The upshot was a highly unsatisfactory edition, with extensive and arbitrary, or else blatantly tendentious, omissions, not to mention deliberate distortions. The present editors have sought to put the record straight on many points by the direct presentation of "the full, unaltered text of the letters, 'warts and all'". They have done their work admirably, with studious regard for accuracy and informativeness. Editorial comment always brief and precise, has been confined to footnotes. The book itself is printed and produced in the best C.U.P. tradition. Those who can afford it and its successors as they appear will not regret their purchase.

"Victorian England 1837-1901", the third volume of the Cambridge University Press's series of Bibliographical Handbooks has been compiled by Professor Altholz. It contains 2,500 entries broadly representative of all aspects of the history of Victorian England, apart from its imaginative literature, and will certainly be of use to students of the period.

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VII. GENERAL

THE COMPLETE SUNDAY LECTIONARY & MASS BOOK: FOR SUNDAYS & FEAST DAYS Chapman 1970 622 p 25/-

Peter Coughlan and Peter Perdue COMMENTARY ON THE SUNDAY LECTIONARY Vol. III, First Sunday of Advent to Last Sunday of the Year (Year Three, 1971) Chapman 1970 198 p 18/- (90p)

The first of these covers the whole three year cycle and has the Order of Mass at the end. It is based on the Jerusalem Bible text with the Grail Psalms and Canticles. It is a miniature of the large resplendent lectionary that rests on the lecterns of many churches now, containing all the readings (three for each Sunday) that are used. It is pleasingly printed.

The second covers Advent 1970 to the autumn of 1971. It explains why the various readings have been chosen in relation to the liturgy of the particular day. There are also introductions to the Luke and John Gospels, Acts, five Pauline Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Revelation. Fr Coughlan will be known for his New Mass commentaries, published in 1967 and 1969. This book will make a good *vade mecum* for those actively involved in the weekly liturgy.

R.E.

THE OXFORD ANNOTATED BIBLE: THE NEW TESTAMENT Revised Standard Version, Illustrated School Edition O.U.P. & Chapman 1969 x + 342 pp 9/-

An edition of the New Testament will have to fight hard nowadays to hold a place in a market already boasting the Jerusalem Bible, J. B. Phillips version, Good News for Modern Man, and the New English Bible, to mention only some of the more outstanding. The R.S.V. however has already proved its worth as a dignified and scholarly rendering, and the present volume, with its excellent concise notes and introductions by Bruce Metzger, John Knox, and others, certainly deserves a niche on the shelf of Biblical translations.

V.A.B.

COMMUNITY NOTES

FATHER HUBERT STEPHENSON

1911-1971

AFTER a long and painful illness Father Hubert died on 13th March at the age of 60. He had served the local parish at Ampleforth faithfully for 20 years, longer than any previous pastor. The pattern of his life was that of many another Amplefordian who chose to become a monk: he was clothed in the religious habit at the age of 18; he spent three years at Saint Benet's Hall, Oxford, taking a degree in chemistry. Ordained priest in 1938, he devoted himself to teaching in the School. His career as parish priest extended from 1949 to 1969.

"His was not an easy temperament," said Father Abbot at his funeral. And yet those who occasionally clashed with him could not fail, if they were wise, to learn something true and useful about themselves. They would notice, too, in Father Hubert, as the years went by, a developing gentleness, a deepening compassion, a concern to enter into the interests of others. "Those twenty years of pastoral work in our village," Father Abbot pointed out in his panegyric, "of devoted service, of consideration and compassion—especially for the sick and the dying—that meticulous care for the house of God, that provision of a first rate school for the children of the village, these are only some of the more obvious benefits of his twenty years' ministry." Justly the Abbot concluded: "There was a toughness about him right to the end, but a toughness which failed to hide from those who knew him, who were close to him at the end, a genuine and sincere attachment to the Lord he had sought. We esteemed him more than he esteemed himself; we valued him more than he knew."

ABBATIAL ELECTION: 15TH APRIL

FATHER Basil Hume was re-elected Abbot of Ampleforth on Thursday, 15th April, and so entered on his second term (8 years) of office as the fourth abbot of the monastery of St Laurence the Martyr. The election was conducted by the Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation, the Right Reverend Victor Farwell (Abbot of Worth) and the Constitutional procedures were marked by a smoothness and speed that reflected the mind of the Community in their vote. There were 130 electors—three more than in 1963—and of the 52 Fathers on our Missions, 46 were able to be present. The Prior of St Louis, Fr Luke Rigby and Fr Timothy Horner, the Headmaster, were also present from America.

The Community sent a telegram announcing the news to Abbot Herbert at Leyland and added a fraternal greeting as a mark of their respect and continuing affection. It read: "Abbot Basil re-elected. Community assembled here send affectionate greetings and good wishes."

After the election the Community stood for a "team photograph"—something that had not been possible in 1963 because of bad weather—and so provided the first group record for sixteen years. It is printed elsewhere in this JOURNAL.

HEADMASTER ABROAD

TIME it is to remark on the extramural involvements of our Headmaster, Fr Patrick Barry. In 1969 and 1970 he was Chairman of the North East Division of the Headmasters' Conference. In 1970 and 1971 he has been a committee member of the Headmasters' Conference and on their Public Relations Committee; and has been on the Joint Standing Committee of the Headmasters' Conference/Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools. He is on the Committee of the Conference of Catholic Colleges and on the Oxford and Cambridge Chaplaincy Board. During the course of the last two years, he has preached at the following schools: Ellesmere, Giggleswick, St Peter's, Bootham, Oundle, Monmouth, Leeds Grammar School, Great Ayton and others. He has been to the Catholic Prep Schools to give away the prizes, and to parents' meetings up and down the country. He makes a termly visit to London to see parents. We should add, perhaps, that he is on the monastic Council and is Ampleforth's Delegate to General Chapter, and is a member of the Congregational Co-ordinating Committee for Monastic Renewal.

TWO DEGREES AND A BOOK WITH ONE STONE

THE Ampleforth monastic community will be more than interested in a recent publication put out by the Oxford University Press: "Clement of Alexandria's treatment of the problem of evil" by W. E. G. Floyd (£2.10 net). The author, Dom Gregory Floyd, a monk of Portsmouth Abbey, Rhode Island, U.S.A., did his theological studies at Oxford, gaining his S.T.L. with the Dominicans at Blackfriars and his B.Litt from the University Faculty of Theology. The book is substantially the thesis submitted for the latter degree, with the encouragement and under the supervision of Dr Henry Chadwick. Dom Gregory resided at Saint Benet's Hall throughout his studies and consequently made many friends among the younger generation of Ampleforth monks. His book shows all the care to be expected from such a work; it is replete with a full apparatus of references and bibliographies. Yet this formidable display of learning is charmingly offset by a preface revealing the author's modesty, an expression of gratitude for much help received, and a disavowal of any notable accomplishment.

Judgment of the book's content must be left to specialists in the field; but those who know its author will not be surprised at the skill and intelligence with which the argument is conducted, leading to the conclusion that, "Although thinkers before him had considered the paradox of evil, Clement of Alexandria is one of the first Christian theologians to feel the contradiction of evil in God's world." To be noted also is the instinct

to bring alive what could be a rather dry academic subject with a vivacity of phrase and some apt quotations from such writers as T. S. Eliot and Albert Camus. Dom Gregory, like so many of his Benedictine confrères, is now involved in the routine business of school teaching and administration. It is to be hoped that this will not mean the end of his career as a writer. He achieved something exceptional during his years of study, by a happy combination of opportunities provided by his superiors and his own initiative, mental energy and perseverance. It might be thought that such a coincidence of intellectual enterprise, favourable circumstances and the ability to use them, could profitably appear rather more frequently in the student life of Saint Benet's Hall.

A.G.

THE SECOND EBC THEOLOGY CONFERENCE AT WORTH

30TH MARCH TO 2ND APRIL 1971

DURING Passion Week, the Second EBC Juniors' Theology Conference was held at Worth Abbey, Sussex. It was attended by about forty religious, and not just Juniors (Juniors are professed monks but not priests). The first conference held last Easter at Belmont was so successful that this year's one branched out in three new directions: several young priests were present (and one or two not so young!) adding age, and one presumes maturity and experience to the gathering; one or two monks from other Congregations came (Prinknash, Maredsous and Quarr) bringing their own individual outlooks and monastic traditions; and two nuns from Stanbrook were there, contributing not only their contemplative tradition to the conference, but also that less definable feminine, intuitive perspective. The abbeyes chiefly represented however were Douai (12), Belmont (8), Ampleforth (10), Ealing, Buckfast, Downside and Prinknash.

What was gained or learned by those present? Perhaps five things can be pinpointed which were of value. Firstly, it was a conference primarily for theological study, and therefore there were lectures and discussions, formal and informal, on the theological topics set, which for this year were questions concerning the Sacraments, and questions about God. Everyone seemed to learn—and most were able to contribute—something of interest, a new approach perhaps, a fresh formulation, or even something new. Of the eight papers, three were given by Ampleforth monks: Fr Aelred talked about "How many Sacraments?"; Br Jeremy about Psychology, Guilt and the Sacraments; and Fr Placid about his own proof for God's existence. Perhaps the main specific points of theological concern which emerged were: the historical relativism of doctrinal formulae; the ecumenical dimension of all questions discussed; the unsatisfactory nature of the popular understanding of the relation between sacraments (grace) and the rest of one's secular existence; the important contributions of Frs Rahner and Schillebeeckx to the latter; and the

impossibility of convincing everyone that an apologetic for God's existence is feasible.

Secondly, those present were able to observe, and talk about, the monastic approaches of other houses. We saw the Worth community at prayer, at work, at recreation; we exchanged views about our own monasteries. All this, I think, helped us to realize the important distinction between the *adiaphora*, the inessentials, of monastic life (the way of celebrating the conventual Mass; the speed we sing the Office; the kind of work we do; the length of hair; length of the Office, etc.) which are bound to differ from house to house, and about which we can learn from each other; and the essential *vita monastica*, the spirit and way of life of the Holy Rule to which we are all in our different ways committed. Of course, it doesn't take much reflection to realize also that certain ways of doing things (perhaps speed of Office, hair length?) are bound up with the preservation of important elements in the *vita monastica*.

Thirdly, although in no sense could these conferences be thought to jeopardise the autonomy of each monastery, yet they seem to me to be extremely valuable in promoting and widening friendships between monks of our different houses—friendships which, given our very loose structure as a Congregation, probably form the basis of Congregational unity. The many opportunities at Worth for friendly converse, from the expeditions to Brighton, Parkminster and the Scientologists, to the late night informal beer sessions, did nothing but good in forming strong personal links between our houses.

Fourthly, the specific contribution of Dames Teresa and Joanna, the two Stanbrook nuns, were of immense value. They reminded us once more of the great humanity of the contemplative tradition, and the constant primacy of the spiritual. Their contributions, and especially their comments on our EBC monk tradition, were always pertinent and penetrating. It was a delight to the rest of us to see these sisters extracting every ounce of joy that they could out of the few days' break from their enclosure, from breakfast in the morning, to beer late at night!

A few thoughts for improvement next year were suggested. Each day was probably too packed with talks, discussions, and other activities; also, more general sessions of the frank kind which followed Br Oliver's paper would be welcome next year; and lastly, although the discussion groups were among the most successful features of the conference, they would have benefited further by several specific questions being indicated after each talk, as a basis for their discussion.

Finally, the Ampleforth contingent would like to express its thanks to Fr Swithin of Douai, Magister Scholarum, who took so many pains to bring about the conference and to ensure its success; and to the Abbot and Community of Worth who were our excellent hosts, welcomed us to their Office and Community Mass, and gave us so much of their time.

7th ANNUAL CONFERENCE: RYEDALE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

This year the subject of the Annual Conference, held again at Ampleforth, on 3rd April, was *The Importance of Being Human*. As before, three papers were given, and after a period of group discussion partially designed to formulate questions for the next stage, the three speakers then composed a panel to answer written questions. The speakers were interestingly balanced: a Catholic priest and writer, a humanist and lecturer, and a Quaker consultant psychiatrist.

Fr John Dalrymple, since September Chaplain at St Andrew's University, was put in first to bat. He was billed as a founder of Martin House for distressed people in Edinburgh, the first RC representative to General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk in 1969, and author of "Theology and Spirituality" (Mercier Press, 1970); and perhaps we should add that he was Head of the School at Ampleforth, following his brother Hew in the 1940s. He began by sketching the goodness of created nature and our need to have time to reflect upon it: upon natural beauty, patterns in the mud; upon man-made beauty, an express train in full flight; upon the great beauty in human relationships resting on our power of choice (our most Godlike gift). All these take us back to the Creator, whose ever present force now throbs through his universe. He then spoke, in this vein, of the three essential relationships: to self, by discovery and mastery; to others, by discovery and response; to God, by discovery and obedience. Then he spoke of another darker vein, nature red in tooth and claw, ivy destroying all that it climbs over, hatred spreading as rings in a pond, the whole mysterious and often intolerable areas of frustration, pain, sorrow, distress and evil. To contemplate these two aspects of nature together has led man to construct a false dualism between puritanical body and Platonic spirit, "nature" versus "grace" as in the hymn "... we pray, that earthly joys may fade away"—it is the Teilhardian dilemma posed in the early pages of the "Milieu Divin", whether to choose human living or religious. But man of course is a unity, whose instincts are prevoluntary, raw materials for living (what Aquinas so perceptively described as *passiones*, from *patior* = "to undergo"). Admittedly, man is born in original sin, wounded as a fault in rock, in need of constant correction, having (as Paul says) to fight to overcome the flesh: but it is the whole man, not his "body", which is like that. He is full of danger and full of possibility; and Christ himself has shown us this, showing the need for strong instincts controlled by a strong mind and a strong will—showing us something far removed from Swinburne's "pale Galilean". Ours is a nature full of potential to goodness—in flesh and blood, instinct and emotion, decision and detachment—and patient of steady divination under the creative impulse of the Trinity: our vigilance must be against the sin that is in our will, our hope is in Love, our end is in adoption into the Godhead.

A reply to this came from Dr Colin Campbell, lecturer in sociology in the University of York, who has undertaken research into irreligion in contemporary society. He is responsible for the course in the sociology of

religion in his faculty; is a member of the British Humanist Association; and is a director of the Rationalist Press Association. He began with the principal humanist assumptions—that man is essentially on his own; that there is no God, nor a supernatural realm, nor any life after death; that there is no intrinsic purpose to the world outside the aspirations of man; and that there is in fact a diversity of human interests and purposes. He held that all knowledge comes from scientific endeavour—echoing the scholastic tag, *nihil in intellectu nisi in sensus prius*. He claimed that nothing had drawn scientific knowledge into a single synthesis more than the theory of evolution, which Sir Julian Huxley has done so much to propagate as the link which creates a single scientific panorama. In this panorama, man is utterly insignificant, both as to his duration and as to his power; he has roamed the earth a shorter time by far than the dinosaurs, and he shares all the urges of the animal world—the instinct for survival, for food, for sleep, for sex, etc. For all that, his intellectual capacity has allowed him to build societies, to evolve cultures and to master the earth, until now he seems even able—and this for the first time in history—to determine the future course of evolution. Man alone invests the events and relationships of the world with values, he alone speaks of "good" and "bad" and "purpose"; for the world is otherwise a very impartial place. He alone possesses that mixture of judgment and optimism which we call "hope" and which appears to liberate reservoirs of energy not available to other species. The ultimate aim of man, in the humanist's view, is personal health and happiness, the fulfilment of his potentialities and the encouragement of the potentialities of others. One remembers the words of Bernard Shaw: "this is the true joy of life, the being used for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one, the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap". It is a worthy ideal, which includes the desire to eliminate poverty, suffering, injustice. It is the great challenge that humanists hold out; that man who can recognise values and make decisions and who has a real measure of self-determination, can build his own life.

A professional psychiatrist, Dr W. A. L. Bowen, Physician Superintendent at the Naburn and Bootham hospitals, York, and incidentally a Quaker, was called in to mediate, or at least to provide a purely scientific facet to the problem of humanity. He described his calling as part priest, part philosopher, part witch doctor, part seer, possessed of responsibility but not power, able to cure but not prevent, denied the status of a scientist. He said that he wavered, in the eyes of an unsympathetic world, unsteadily between being fortune-teller and unfrocked prelate. The psychiatrist takes man in the particular, in his social and personal setting, and argues to the general from there: as Freud was fond of muttering, "all thoughts centre round the beloved ego". In the psychiatrist's discipline, anxiety is the key symptom, a biological drive to worry left over, it would seem, from the jungle needs and animal nervous mechanisms which socially speaking have become redundant. The task of psychotherapy is to change man's inner feelings about his own condition (for it is from there, and not from society outside, that the abiding pressures come): it is a process of education and

re-education, of wakening emotions, of reordering personality. Chemical treatment can do a certain amount to restore man's confidence or a more hopeful world-view for him; but ultimately words are still the most important drugs, and persuasion will rebuild hope far faster than pep-pills. But what is normal man? A best-seller by Eric Berne, M.D., "Games People Play: the Psychology of Human Relationships" (Penguin, 1964) suggests that life is a series of reflex responses to familiar situations, "games" we play in order to live with one another and ourselves, that we have a script already written for us as characters in a life drama: this is too highly determinist. At the other remove is the book by Alan Watts, "Psychotherapy East and West", where life is depicted as utterly spontaneous, and man as in need of living out their lives as they really are and not as society needs them to be. Western culture is depicted as over pragmatic, over puritanical, over purposeful, leaving no room for the semi-human (and all too human) activities of aimless meditation, chewing the cud, pottering, loping, and all that is summed up in the song "Gone Fishin'". The truth lies, as with all extremes, between the two: man is part determined, part spontaneous; he is part ordered to society's needs, part ordered to his own flowering. But society, like the sabbath, is for man, not man for society. Man is at the centre of the created world, and by restructuring his social engineering, he need never again suffer as those who have gone before have suffered.

The questions were aimed for the most part at the professed humanist, Dr Campbell, who with some nimbleness and much charm clothed in a winning smile, batted the balls back to their bowlers. One pair of ladies was heard to whisper: "I never go by what the speakers say, I go only by the radiance in their faces as they talk". Asked what were humanist standards, as Christ is the standard of Christians, Dr Campbell replied, "loyalty, charity, honour, courage, integrity—all that adds quality to human living". Sin, evil and good are Christian criteria, not humanist: human nature constructs its own values out of the social context, and goodness is merely conformity to the rules of the social game. Asked how humanists could cope with unmerited suffering (which the Christian is able to sublimate into the sufferings of Christ), he said that there was no problem, that cool blows could be overcome by character, and what could not be overcome was beyond man's control and so accepted as a factor of existence. There could be no problem, for there was no room for choice, as in death: "suffering, like death, is a human resource which one can put to one's own ends". Asked what was the humanist motive in a totally unselfish act (and many parental acts towards their offspring are that), Dr Campbell saw such acts as moments when men were most fully human in most fully realising themselves; unselfish acts, almost by their definition, arise spontaneously because they seem appropriate at the moment. Motive and action, he went on, while they are interrelated, do have independent values, the action being useful perhaps and the motive elevating. Asked who were not humanists, if we consider Christians as humanists and more, he said: Marxists, nihilists, anarchists, existentialists and others who did

not invest in human hope. The last question was on hope, which alone could change men's hearts, through cultural milieu: but some set attitudes could be changed in society only by death and the replacements which are the fruit of new education. It is there that we must make our investments, both financial and emotional.

ST SYMEON'S SLAVA

THE patronal feast of St Symeon's House, Oswaldkirk, was celebrated this year on Friday, 26th February, with a Slava (a "glory") according to Serbian custom. The celebrations were presided over by Father Zebich, the priest in charge of the Serbian community in Birmingham—he represented Bishop Lauvrentije who was absent in Australia. Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, who was unfortunately ill, sent as his representative, Father Yves Dubois, who looks after the Russian church in Guildford and teaches at St Benedict's School, Ealing. From Oxford came an American deacon of the Russian Church, the Reverend Basil Osborne, and Father Boris Udovenko from Russia itself, who are both studying at the university. Father Abbot together with several of the Community attended the concelebrated liturgy at which Father Yves preached a moving sermon on forgiveness and the need for real depth in the spiritual life as the meeting point for Christians of the different traditions.

Lunch was followed by the Slava blessing of the Kolach, a cake and fresh wheat, for which there was a large gathering of local friends and members of the School. In a short presidential speech, Father Zebich spoke enthusiastically of the work being done at St Symeon's, describing it as a "holy mission of the Orthodox Church", with great importance as a pioneering venture in drawing the Churches of the east and west together. The festivities ended with a series of House Punch entertainments performed by members of St Symeon's.

STATUS CONFOEDERATIONIS 1970

THE new *Catalogus Monasteriorum O.S.B.* (Rome, 1970), compared with the one of five years ago, shows a general diminution of the Order from 11,963 to 10,936, that is by just ten per cent. The reason is well shown by looking at the comparative figures for the EBC: priests have hardly dropped (450 to 446), but juniors and novices have dropped considerably (143 to 83). The young are not coming to the cloisters as they used to, and this is shown by the figures of the whole Order: novices have dropped from 600 to 280, non-priests from 4,070 to 3,480. This diminution of numbers is spread evenly over the seventeen congregations, none suffering more strikingly than another (unless it be the American Gassinese or the Swiss Americans), none being free from the worldwide slump in vocations.

There are 170 abbeys, 55 priories, 120 dependent houses in the Order, 345 houses in all. Montecassino composes 32 monks (no novices), St Paul's in Rome 35 (4 n), Subiaco 39 (no n) and Farfa is down to its last three. Einsiedeln composes 175 monks (1 n), Solesmes 97 (no n), Clervaux 86 (no

n), Beuron 150 (4 n), Maria Laach 106 (no n), Pierre-qui-Vire 107 (4 n), En-Calcat 90 (no n), Monserrat 128 (4 n), Kremsmünster 93 (1 n), St Ottilien 250 (no n), Münsterschwarzach 264 (7 n), Schwertlberg 110 (4 n), Peramiho 121 (no n, 56 lay), Ndanda 101 (no n, 41 lay), Maredsous 97 (4 n), St André 97 (no n). In America, the Abbot Primate's former abbey of St Vincent Latrobe composes 262 monks (11 n), Collegeville 349 (6 n), St Meinrads 147 (no n), Conception 114 (7 n), New Subiaco 98 (2 n), Mount Angel 98 (4 n).

How does Ampleforth compare? The figures given are 118 priests (as in 1965), 15 juniors (39 in 1965), 8 novices, total 141 monks (161 in 1965). Like the rest, we have grown older and fewer.

(Incidentally the new *Catalogus* is not without fault: for instance, the names of Fr Andrew Beck and this Editor have been gratuitously wiped out of the Order, not even being included in the *necrologium*. Perhaps it is prophetic?)

HOLME-ON-SPALDING MOOR

A MOST attractive little book by Katharine M. Longley was reprinted in 1969 tracing the history of this little parish through its many vicissitudes.

It has a special interest to us because from 1743 to 1864 (121 years) thirteen priests of the English Benedictine Congregation were in charge of it, both as chaplains to Holme Hall and missionaries of the surrounding district. In those days the Mission work was directed by two Abbots Provincial, not by any one monastery.

Dom John Fisher, a monk of St Lawrence's, Dieulouard, worked there forty-five years (1743-1788) and died at Dieulouard in 1798.

Dom Joseph Legrand, a monk of Lambspring, worked with him from 1746 to 1752.

Dom Alban Clarkson, a monk of Lambspring, was there seventeen years (1798-1815).

Dom John Turner, a monk of St Edmund's, Douai, worked there twenty-eight years (1815-1843). He died at Ampleforth and was buried there in 1844.

The rest were there for periods of three or four years.

ENGAGEMENT

It is a matter of Community pleasure (not O.A., for he was not at the School) to hear that David Charles-Edwards, son of Tom and Imelda, is engaged to Angela Bodenham. We would expect that the son of a diehard recusant historian—let Thomas at Corpus hearken, for his time will come—should marry into a recusant family who at the time of the Gunpowder Plot made "the Catholic Commotion" on the Hereford/Monmouth border, albeit skilfully enough to keep their heads.

As a rule . . .

the triumvirate SGB is immediately known and associated with scaffolding—an identification which goes back to the very origination of tubular steel scaffolding by SGB, and one which has now been established for more than sixty years. Today, however, the full breadth of activities encompassed by the same three letters is represented by the following companies which now form the



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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: Frank H. Quinn on 16th February; Jeremy Ryan (O 59) in April; William J. Marsh (1896) who died in Texas on 1st February; and M. H. J. Villeneuve.

IN the space of three months, two of the oldest Amplefordians—Edward Marsh (1912) and his brother William Marsh—have died. For many years they had been living with their sister in Fort Worth, Texas. His sister wrote to Fr Abbot:—

“Even as late as 1970 William Marsh composed a Mass in honour of the 7 Lancastrian Martyrs. He also wrote an ‘Ecclesiastical Service’ based on the Latin Mass which was sung by a choir of 60 at his funeral in St Patrick’s Cathedral, Fort Worth. The recessional was the Texas State song ‘Texas, our Texas’ which he composed over 40 years ago. We have received tributes from all over the country including a Resolution adopted by the Texas State Legislature on 8th February honouring his great contribution to Art in this State. He received his basic education in Catholic Church Music at Ampleforth under the direction of Fr Clement Standish.”

MARRIAGES

- Nicholas Dove (A 64) to Kathleen Kane at St Mary’s, Cadogan St.
 Christopher James (J 65) to Belinda Jane Siddeley at St Mary’s, Cadogan St. on 20th February.
 David Lloyd-Williams (A 62) to Charlotte Jane Glover at Holy Trinity, Windsor, on 1st May.
 Hugh van Cutsem (E 59) to Emilie Quarles van Ufford at the Guards Chapel, Wellington Barracks, on 10th June.
 David Price (W 65) to Shervie Ann Whittaker at All Saints’, Babworth, on 27th February.
 Daniel Worsley (E 65) to Virginia Wilkinson at Christ Church, Vienna.
 T. J. P. Ryan (D 65) to Victoria Byrne in Birmingham on 3rd April.
 David George Pavillard (D 54) to Sandra Mary McLean at the Church of SS. Catherine and Martina, Hoylake, on 16th July.

BIRTHS

- Olivia and Michael Bramwell, a son.
 Mary and Henry Bedingfeld, a daughter.
 Clair and Aidan Connolly, a son.
 Jane and John Ryan, a daughter.

EIGHTEEN months ago a circular was sent out by the Careers Master in conjunction with the Headmaster asking Old Amplefordians if they would be prepared to help the Careers Department if approached. The response was most encouraging and is being a great help to the Careers Master. It was not thought right to publish such information as was received in the AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL.

There have been requests, however, for more news about Old Amplefordians to be published in the JOURNAL and with this in mind the circular which is included in this copy of the JOURNAL has been prepared in the hope that many O.A.s would be willing to send information which can be inserted in the JOURNAL.

It is planned that this circular, if it meets a need, should be sent out with the June issue every year and that information received will be printed in the three issues that follow, viz: October, February and June.

ENGAGEMENTS

- David Atherton (D 67) to Anne Dawson.
 David Connolly (B 57) to Maria Christina Sturupp.
 Peter Corrigan (J 64) to Mary Margaret Gradwell.
 Anthony Garnett (O 49) to Lucie Cable Palmer.
 Edward Harper (E 51) to Bryany Stuart Wilson.
 Michael Henry (O 64) to Birgitta Maria Claesson.
 Peter Henry (B 66) to Patricia Anne Allen.
 Peter Knapton (J 63) to Barbro Richter.
 Peter Llewellyn (C 55) to Frances Lynch.
 Michael Mathias (C 65) to Gillian Fletcher.
 Michael Montgomery (D 59) to Elizabeth Searle.
 Henry Rosenvinge (O 67) to Nuala Meharg.
 Christopher Tubbs (A 64) to Diana Jane Wylie.
 Adrian Vanheems (B 66) to Penelope Wheeler-Bennett.
 T. J. Lewis (A 61) to Veronique Mary Hall.

The Liverpool Dinner will take place on Friday, 19th November.

DAVID HAROLD BARRY, s.J., was ordained Priest on 20th June, and at Ampleforth on 4th July, the following were ordained to the Priesthood: Br JEREMY NIXEY (O 60), Br DAVID MORLAND (H 60), Br JONATHAN COTTON (H 60) and the General Secretary of the Society, Br FELIX STEPHENS (H 61).

MAJOR GENERAL the HON MICHAEL FITZALAN-HOWARD (B 35) is to be Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps from 1st January 1972.

NIGEL RYAN (C 47) became Chief Executive of I.T.N. in June. After National Service he joined Reuters working in the Middle East, Africa and the Congo. He joined I.T.N. ten years ago and in 1967 became Editor of "News at Ten", which has since received several awards for its high standards of factual reporting.

DOMINIC MORLAND (T 55) is a partner in Price Waterhouse, the Chartered Accountants.

P. SHEEHY (B 48) has been appointed a Director of the British American Tobacco Company where he joins A. D. McCORMICK (O 36).

P. SAWDY (D 49) is a Director of Brooke Bond Leibig Ltd.

D. A. E. R. PEAKE (C 53) has been appointed a Director of Kleinwort Benson Ltd., the Merchant Bankers.

DESMOND FENNEL (A 52) was Chairman of the protest movement against the siting of London's third Airport at Cublington.

PROFESSOR MICHAEL FOGARTY (A 34) has been appointed by the Irish Government to head the inquiry into the Irish Bank dispute. The Governor of the Bank of Ireland is JOHN A. RYAN (C 34), who started a second term of office as Governor last June.

C. W. FOGARTY (O 39) is the Treasury's representative in S.E. Asia and holds the position of Minister (Economics) at the High Commission in Kuala Lumpur.

HON MICHAEL PAKENHAM (W 61) is a Private Secretary to Geoffrey Rippon.

DAVID RUSSELL (W 61) has been made a partner in Rowe and Pitman, City Stockbrokers.

BRIGADIER T. P. H. MCKELVEY (O 31) has been appointed Director of Army Medicine and Consulting Physician to the Army.

CHARLES YOUNG (B 64) has been admitted to the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration as a Candidate for the degree of Master in Business Administration.

MICHAEL BRENNAN (H 61) graduated last year from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is now a lecturer at the University of British Columbia.

RICHARD THOMPSON (D 62) is a Lecturer in Law at the University of Saskatchewan.

A. B. B. CAPES (W 62), having received a postgraduate Diploma in Town and Country Planning at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is now an assistant public transport planner with the Tyneside Passenger Transport Executive.

JOHN KNOWLES (H 61) and LOUIS ROTHFIELD (W 45) have set up Iberian Management Consultants in Madrid.

MICHAEL HADCOCK (O 48) has resigned from the Royal Navy, where he reached the rank of Lieutenant Commander, and has been appointed a Chief Engineer in Malaysia by Unilever Ltd.

JOHN BALME (W 64) was President of the Students' Union when he was at the Royal College of Music. From there he won the *Stier* conducting prize in 1970 and the Silver Medal of the Worshipful Company of Musicians for 1970. He now holds the Tillet Trust Award. He is working with the Welsh National Opera at Cardiff for their season.

R. A. CAMPBELL (C 46) has been promoted Lieutenant Colonel in the Royal Marines and has been appointed to command 41 Cdo RM in Malta.

JOHN REID (D 42), who is a management consultant with two companies specialising in executive recruiting, will be pleased at any time to hear from those Old Boys aged over thirty who may have had the misfortune to lose their jobs as a result of a merger, an acquisition or through redundancy. He might be able to assist them. To this end, it would also be helpful if Old Boys with jobs to offer were to contact him.

His address: J. M. Reid, Esq., M.A., Managing Director, Executive Search Ltd., 8A Symons Street, London, S.W.3. Telephone No.: 01-730 0137.

BOOKS

DESMOND SEWARD (E 54) has brought out his first biography, "The First Bourbon: Henry IV of France and Navarre" (Constable). Of it the reviewers have said: "it is drawn with a vigorous enthusiasm suitable to the subject" (C. V. Wedgwood); he "has thrown a great deal of light upon a particularly involved period of French history" (Sir Charles Petrie); "it combines felicity of expression with erudition, elegantly presented" (J. J. Dwyer). Later this year Eyre & Spottiswoode are to publish his second book, "The Monks of War", a general history of the military and religious orders, Templars, Hospitaliers, Teutonic Knights and others. This will be the first extensive review of the subject as a whole since Hippolyte Heliot produced his work in 1721. At present, he is working on a biography of Francis I of France, "The King of Patrons; François Ier" (Constable, 1973). He is also a regular contributor to *History Today*.

MARK GIROUARD (C 50) has come out into the sun, or rather, into the glare of B.B.C. publicity, with two broadcasts/articles (*Listener*, 22nd April and 29th April) on the Queen Anne style of architecture, i.e. that style which flourished during 1870-1900. Osbert Lancaster called it "Pont Street Dutch".

Mark went up to Christ Church from Ampleforth, went on from Oxford to the Courtauld Institute of Art where he took a doctorate (his thesis being "The Smythson Family, their Work and Drawings"), and then—after helping Pevsner a bit—joined the editorial staff of *Country Life*, where he soon became Architectural Editor. After a decade had passed, he pulled out his thesis and turned it into a fascinating book, "Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era", writing it mostly under the roof of Sir Roy Harrod.

His description of "Queen Anne" covers Victorian pubs, riverside residences, seaside hotels with lively balconies and green copper domes, and cheerful schools or public libraries, all dubbed "abject copyism". The discussion of it tended to decline into a crusade, Goths v. Vandals; Sir Gilbert Scott was cast as the Arch-Goth and the Queen Annettes the stabbers-in-the-back. "It was as though Gropius had come down to the Bauhaus one morning, and found his disciples hard at work designing Tudor tea-houses." Then there were the lapsed Goths like Norman Shaw, poor fellow. It was an age, not of faith, but of sunflowers, lilies and blue-and-white china; an age of daintiness, quaintness and prettiness piled on with remorseless tastefulness.

UNDER the Scottish disguise of "David Stuart", Lord David Crichton-Stuart (C 51) has written a book, which the Scottish Academic Press are publishing. It is 100 pages long at two shillings for each five pages. It is, truth to tell, "An Illustrated History of Belted Cattle", otherwise "Belties", to him sacred cows. The TLS says of them: "belted cattle are widespread in space and time"—meaning Outer Mongolia two centuries ago, Churchill's Chartwell in 1935 and on the author's estates today despite the menace of Government and Common Market interference.

ONE of the Radziwills has written a book; he is Prince Michael Radziwill and he has entitled it "One of the Radziwills" (John Murray, £2.50). He tells us that in the early 1920s at the age of thirteen he was sent to Ampleforth: "After dinner I was told to unpack and go to bed. As the place was more or less as big as a barn, with no heating and ten windows on each side permanently open, I spent a miserable night between damp sheets. I had not at that time acquired the science of sleeping in three pairs of pyjamas and covering my blankets with an overcoat and any other item of clothing, which habit I think saved me in future years when snow blizzards started blowing in through those windows, which, on no account, were allowed to be closed. . . ." It is in fact a very serious book about the depredations of the Nazi regime and then the Communists in his native Poland. It shows, incidentally, one life of unswerving character formed in some part by Ampleforth.

J. H. WHYTE (A 46) has had published "Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923-70" (Gill and Macmillan, £4.25). *The Times's* reviewer concluded "Anyone who wants to view this highly emotive question, so charged on every side with unecumenical, sectarian prejudice will find Dr Whyte a fair-minded guide with inside knowledge of what he is writing

about." Dr Whyte was a Scholar of Oriel College, Oxford, taught at Ampleforth for a period and became Lecturer in Political Science at U.C.D. He is now at Queen's University, Belfast.

P. A. B. LLEWELLYN (C 55) has had published "Rome in the Dark Ages", and CHRISTOPHER TUGENDHAT (E 55), M.P. for the Cities of London and Westminster, has "The Multinationals" awaiting publication. His first book, "The Oil Business", was published a few years ago.

T. M. CHARLES EDWARDS (B 62) has been elected a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

S. F. FANE-HERVEY (T 69) has been elected Captain of Boxing at Oxford University in succession to ROBERT NAIRAC (E 66) who is at present Secretary of *Vincent's Club* at Oxford.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE 89th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY

THE 89th Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at Ampleforth in the evening of Easter Sunday, 11th April 1971, with Fr Abbot, President, in the Chair; about 60 members were present.

The Hon Treasurer's Report was presented to the meeting and the accounts were adopted, subject to audit. The provisional surplus for the year was £1,071, only the second time that the revenue had exceeded expenditure by over £1,000. This had been made possible by an increase of £340 in subscriptions over the previous year.

The Hon General Secretary presented his Report, which was accepted. Membership of the Society had reached 2,617. 112 had joined the Society, 25 had resigned and 83 had been removed from the lists because of non-payment of the subscription. The number of those members in arrears with their subscription had been cut by a third to less than 400.

Dinners had taken place in York, Dublin and Liverpool. 120 were present at the Ampleforth Sunday in London in December and the Birmingham Area arranged a Summer Party in July which unfortunately had been attended by only 11 O.A.s in a total attendance of 70. There had been two hot-pots in Manchester as usual.

Fr Abbot, on behalf of the Committee, proposed that Fr Prior should be elected Vice-President of the Society in recognition of his work over many years and to fill the gap left by the death of Abbot William Price. Fr Prior was elected unanimously.

ELECTIONS

Vice-President: Very Rev A. L. Ainscough, O.S.B. (1925)

Hon General Treasurer: W. B. Atkinson, Esq. (C 31).

Hon General Secretary: Rev J. F. Stephens, O.S.B. (H 61).

The Chaplain: Rev P. B. Perceval, O.S.B. (W 34).

Committee for 3 years: Rev D. A. Beck, O.S.B. (A 60), P. Williams (T 69), C. P. King (A 55).

THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st MARCH 1971

| | 1971 | 1970 |
|---|---------|---------|
| | £ | £ |
| <i>Employment of Fund</i> | | |
| Investment at cost per Schedule | 15,214 | 12,658 |
| Loan to Local Authorities | 1,000 | 2,000 |
| <i>Current Assets</i> | £ | £ |
| Income Tax Refund 1970/71 | 306 | 327 |
| Bank Deposit Account | 864 | 575 |
| Bank Current Account | 21 | 552 |
| Sundry Debtors | 42 | — |
| | 1,233 | 1,454 |
| <i>Less Current Liabilities</i> | | |
| Address Book Provision | 200 | 50 |
| Subscription paid in advance | 65 | 59 |
| Sundry Creditors | 878 | 815 |
| | 1,143 | 924 |
| | 90 | 530 |
| | £16,304 | £15,188 |
| <i>Funds</i> | | |
| General Fund | 14,890 | 14,338 |
| Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund | 368 | 211 |
| Gilling Prize Fund | 4 | 9 |
| | 15,262 | 14,558 |
| Revenue Account | 1,042 | 630 |
| | £16,304 | £15,188 |

Approved: W. B. Atkinson,
Hon. Treasurer.

Report of the auditors to the Members of the Ampleforth Society

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st March 1971, and the annexed Revenue Account, Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund, and General Fund for the year ended on that date. In our opinion, together they give a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st March 1971, and of the financial activities for the year ended on that date.

99 St Paul's Churchyard,
London, E.C.4.
11th May 1971.

Buzzacott, Vincent, Watson, Kilner & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

GENERAL FUND FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH 1971

| | 1971 | 1970 |
|--|---------|---------|
| | £ | £ |
| Balance brought forward 1st April 1970 | 14,338 | 14,979 |
| Subscriptions from new life members | 542 | 817 |
| Ex-gratia from existing life members | 10 | 209 |
| | 552 | 1,026 |
| | 14,890 | 16,005 |
| Loss on sale of investments | — | 1,667 |
| Balance carried forward 31st March 1971 | £14,890 | £14,338 |

THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY

REVENUE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH 1971

| Revenue | £ | 1971 £ | £ | 1970 £ |
|--|-------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| Members' Subscriptions : | | | | |
| For the current year | 2,946 | | 2,673 | |
| In arrears | 220 | | 148 | |
| | | 3,166 | | 2,821 |
| Income from investments—gross | | 830 | | 924 |
| | | <u>3,996</u> | | <u>3,745</u> |
| Expenses | | | | |
| Members' Journals | 2,462 | | 2,527 | |
| Chaplain's Honorarium | 20 | | 20 | |
| Address Book | 191 | | 336 | |
| Printing and stationery and incidentals :— | | | | |
| General and area printing and stationery | 12 | | 19 | |
| Envelope addressing | 17 | | 24 | |
| Secretarial assistance | 44 | | 26 | |
| Postage | 58 | | 46 | |
| Midlands area postage | 10 | | 9 | |
| Treasurer's expenses | 36 | | 20 | |
| Old Boys' sporting activities | 54 | | 58 | |
| Grant to Lourdes pilgrimage | 50 | | 30 | |
| | | 2,954 | | 3,115 |
| Net Income for the year | | 1,042 | | 630 |
| Balance brought forward | 630 | | — | |
| Disposal—Rule 32 | | | | |
| Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund ... | 630 | | — | |
| | | <u>£1,042</u> | | <u>£630</u> |

SCHOLARSHIP AND SPECIAL RESERVE FUND

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH 1971

| | £ | 1971 £ | £ | 1970 £ |
|--|-----|-----------|-----|-----------|
| Balance brought forward 1st April 1970 | | 211 | | 1,288 |
| Amount transferred from Revenue Account | | 630 | | — |
| | | 841 | | 1,288 |
| Educational grants | 473 | | 626 | |
| Debit balance on Revenue Account 31st March 1969 | | | | |
| Written off | | — | 451 | |
| | | 473 | | 1,077 |
| Balance carried forward 31st March 1971 | | £368 | | £211 |



SOLITUDE





Father Abbot President with 118 of the 142 members of the Ampleforth community after the re-election of Abbot Hume, Thursday, 15th April 1971.

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS were:

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Head Monitor | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | R. J. Twohig |
| School Monitors | T. A. Doyle, | T. G. Marshall, | R. P. Burdell, | E. C. A. Sparrow, | R. S. Willbourn, | C. M. Brennan, |
| | C. A. Campbell, | T. J. Berner, | G. R. Gretton, | W. A. Moore, | R. G. P. Plowden, | M. J. Harrison, |
| | H. G. S. A. Kirby, | J. D. Dowling, | J. S. Burford, | J. H. Dagnall, | M. M. Forsythe, | N. P. V. Lewen. |
| Captain of Cross Country | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M. M. Forsythe |
| Captain of Boxing | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | S. L. Cassidy |
| Captain of Shooting | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | R. A. Fitzalan-Howard |
| Captain of Squash | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | G. W. S. Daly |
| Captain of Golf | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | C. R. Lochrane |
| Captain of Swimming | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | G. R. Gretton |
| Master of Hounds | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | R. G. P. Plowden |
| Office Men | W. A. Moore, | G. R. Gretton, | M. J. Harrison, | J. G. Ruck-Keene, | P. B. Quigley, | J. M. Newsam, |
| | R. A. Fitzalan-Howard, | R. B. H. Francis, | G. W. S. Daly, | R. M. S. Chapman, | M. H. Tweedy, | J. C. Mounsey. |
| Bookroom | J. A. Durkin, | R. G. Killingbeck, | M. A. Campbell, | C. M. Durkin, | S. J. Doyle, | L. M. J. Ciechanowski. |
| Librarians | S. G. Callaghan, | P. Grace, | P. P. Keohane, | E. Clarence-Smith, | R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, | N. B. Herdon, |
| | J. N. P. Higgins, | A. J. Purves, | J. C. H. Rigby, | H. M. Duckworth, | L. J. Dowley, | J. V. Smyth, |
| | J. G. M. Heathcote, | P. W. Spacek, | M. J. P. Moorhouse. | | | |
| Bookshop | M. H. Armour (Asst. Manager), | M. S. Callow, | R. A. Hunter Gordon, | T. P. Macfarlane, | J. V. Smyth, | C. V. Barker Benfield, |
| | S. P. Trowbridge, | M. Staveley Taylor, | M. Nolan. | | | |

The following boys joined the School in January:

M. U. A. Alen-Buckley (E), J. S. Brear (O), C. J. M. Casey (T), S. M. Codrington (W), J. I. Dodge (T), G. S. Elwes (B), P. A. Fraser (W), R. P. C. Gorst (O), N. R. Graham (C), B. P. Hornung (E), R. M. Langley (E), B. J. F. Macfarlane (W), T. P. B. J. Odone (B), F. R. P. Plowden (C), S. A. Robertson (W), R. P. Rowe (B), Hon. B. J. Smith (O), H. P. Swarbrick (T), J. R. H. Sykes (D), W. R. A. Wells (O), J. R. White (O), K. A. Wilcox (D), T. C. H. Williams (T).

The following boys left the School in March:

P. W. Spacek (A), M. S. Gibbs, B. B. E. Wallis (B), M. P. P. Atsoarthis, P. L. O'C. Lawrence (D), E. C. A. Sparrow (E), C. J. Anderson, R. L. Crosthwait, C. A. L. Errock, C. N. Moon (O), P. A. Carrington (T), S. P. Harding (W).



RUGBY SEVENS

Standing, Left to Right.
N. Motoney, M. Cooper, R. Ryan, R. Fane-Hervey, R. Lewis, H. Cooper
Sitting.
T. E. Lintin, J. D. Dowling, P. B. Duguid, F. B. Skehan, C. J. Harris.



CROSS COUNTRY

Standing.
J. Pratt, H. Hamilton-Dalrymple, N. Fresson, S. Murphy, P. Grace.
Sitting.
R. G. Plowden, M. M. Forsythe, J. T. Prendiville, H. G. Kirby.

MR LENTON was appointed Careers Master at the beginning of term.

WE welcome Mr E. J. Miller, who has come to teach Mathematics for two terms. It was also very pleasant to have Mrs Dammann to help out in the English Department during her father's illness. Two students from St John's College, York, also helped us for a month: Mr D. Booth taught P.E. and Geography, and Mr J. Law P.E. and English.

AN innovation this term has been the extension of the tutorial system. Now every boy in the School has a tutor who has overall supervision of his work, giving guidance, help and encouragement, in consultation where necessary with the senior master concerned and the boy's housemaster. Tutorial groups number about seventeen boys, who see their tutors at three weekly intervals. The following is a list of the present tutors:

Group I: Mr Smiley.

Group II:

First year: Fr Dominic, Mr Finlow, Mr Griffiths, Br Timothy, Fr Alberic, Mr Dammann.

Second year: Mr McDonnell, Mr Goring, Fr Edward, Fr Aelred, Mr Houghton.

Group III: Mr Nelson.

Group IV:

First year: Mr Gilbert, Mr Stewart, Dr Briske, Fr Benedict.

Second year: Mr Elliot, Fr Michael, Fr Ambrose, Fr Prior, Mr Davies.

U.Va1: Group Masters.

U.Va2 and 3: Fr Edgar.

Remove B: Group Masters.

Remove C: The Headmaster.

Remove C Tutors:—Mr Davidson,
Fr Henry, Fr Leo, Mr Davie, Fr
Dunstan, Mr Sasse.

U.Vb1: Group Masters.

U.Vb2: Remove C Tutors.

U.Vb3: Fr Edgar.

U.Vc: Fr Charles.

M.Va: Mr Vazquez.

M.Vb: Fr Placid.

M.Vc: Mr MacBean.

M.Vd: Fr Anselm.

M.Ve: Fr Stephen.

L.V: Fr Andrew.

U.IVa: Mr Forsythe.

U.IVb: Fr Gregory.

U.IVc: Mr Hawksworth.

M.IVa: Fr Gilbert.

M.IVb: Fr Bonaventure.

JUNIOR HOUSE

L.IV: Fr Cyril.

U.III a and b: Fr Simon.

U.III c and L.III: Fr Alban.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

SEVERAL important changes in the teaching of religion at Ampleforth have taken place over the past year. In such a short space it would be impossible to give a full account of the changes and the reasons behind them but in general two lines of approach are being pursued.

Firstly, to concentrate on systematic, informational instruction and learning in the first three years in the School. In the IVth Form this has taken the form of a team effort by the masters concerned to work out a common course, based very roughly on the themes of the liturgical seasons, but responding to needs in the boys' own lives, and taught by lectures, films, music, classwork, etc. All boys in the L.V and M.V have done a course in O-level Scripture—the comparatively new alternative syllabus on the Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ, based as it is on a study of certain New Testament texts, along with a theological understanding of them for the present day. This has in fact provided a motivation (exam to be done; possibility of another O-level), and also a sound Scriptural corpus of knowledge that was just not there previously. In the third year, mainly Remove C, two periods of "History of Christianity" have been established, to be taught by topics and projects, and preferably by historians. This should provide the evolutionary, historical dimension to the faith, which will complement the systematic Scripture study. This Church History feature will only get off the ground properly this September.

Secondly, for the last two years in the School, we have adopted a system which takes account of their near-adult nature, and incorporates the popular feature of option. A series of options are offered in the form of a number of courses (like General Studies). In their two A-level years, the boys do five courses: three in their first year, and two in their second year, with no course in their Summer A-level Term. The method is left to the master, i.e. lectures and discussion groups are normally elements in the course, but their frequency and alternation (as also of essays) is left to each master.

Finally, to ease the burden of the whole school's religious education off the Senior Master, Fr Aelred, four delegated "Senior Masters" have been appointed for each section of the School's religious education, each organising, supervising and co-ordinating the staff in his sector, but responsible to the Senior Master for general policy.

All the changes initiated derive from the community's unchanged conviction, that the School's religious formation is of the highest importance, and that we only exist as a school, as Fr Paul Nevill put it, to train them for death.

V.A.B.

SIXTH FORM CONFERENCE

Forty Amplefordians and about 120 sixth formers from ten other schools met for a conference on religious studies on 8th March. The conference was ecumenical in more senses than one: both sexes were equally represented; Catholics met Anglicans, Methodists and Humanists; independent schools met grammar schools and voluntary aided schools. The speakers, Dr Bernice Hamilton, Mr John Benson and the Venerable Mahanama, all came from York University. They approached the problems of evil and of attitudes to the world from the Christian, the Humanist and the Buddhist standpoints. The sixth formers listened and then broke up into more or less successful discussion groups, followed at the end of the day by a question panel under the chairmanship of Fr Placid. The purpose of the conference was to enable sixth formers of different backgrounds to meet and compare ideas, and to gain a first hand impression of the different traditions of thought they will meet in the world today. We have still much to learn about the running of such a conference, but the relative success of this first meeting encourages the view that such conferences have a real part to play in religious and general studies.

G.L.F.C.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

The Headmaster formed the Steering Committee some time ago as a forum for discussion of any matter relevant to the running of the School. The Committee fulfils this function through its own discussions, the minutes of which are now published to the staff, through the promotion of open staff meetings on appropriate questions, and by bringing relevant questions to the notice of other bodies, such as the Housemasters' Meeting. The Steering Committee is a body strictly concerned with communication and discussion; it has no power of decision.

Membership is temporary. Two monks are appointed by the Headmaster, one of them a Housemaster. Two laymasters are elected by the Common Room. (The difference in method of appointment is more apparent than real; the burden of attending meetings does not make the Committee a sought-after assignment.) Two boys sit on the Committee, the Head Monitor and one other appointed after consultation. The Committee this term was formed by Fr Martin (Chairman), Fr Leo (Secretary), Mr Henry, Mr Moreton, R. Twohig and N. Clarence-Smith. The Committee discussed at length school coverage in the JOURNAL, which was felt to be insufficiently representative of the different activities in the school; clothes, on questions of tidiness and formality; tape recorders, their use and misuse. Other questions were also touched on during the six meetings held, but the underlying theme was the question of the Committee's own effectiveness. Since the Committee's end was communication, the circulation of the minutes was greatly widened, and non-members were invited to meetings on specific subjects which concerned them, or which they had suggested to

the Committee. Any boy is welcome to make suggestions to the Committee for discussion. Various topics were suggested for open staff meetings, and it is hoped that such meetings will take place during the Summer Term.

G.L.F.C.

CAREERS

In February 89 boys took a series of tests and questionnaires arranged by the Public Schools Appointments Bureau in conjunction with Birkbeck College. These are designed to show the extent and nature of a boy's abilities and the direction of his interests; the idea is that any realistic discussion about careers must start from an assessment of the boy which is as accurate as possible. The tests are scored by experts in London and the results sent back to schools. Each boy is then interviewed and his ideas about careers discussed in the light of the results. Finally a short written report is sent to parents.

This was our first experience of the tests and the general opinion is that they are informative and valuable to the boys and to those advising them; we shall hope to extend them in the next academic year. The forebodings of some boys that they would be dragged into a distasteful career or compelled to give up some treasured project were not realised and it should be emphasised that the declared aims of these tests are modest: to encourage boys to start thinking systematically about a career from the age of about 15 and to suggest the type of work which might be suitable.

The only talk arranged had to be cancelled because the speaker was taken ill. But Major General Deedes paid us a visit and saw a number of boys, as did Mr Maxwell Scott of the Public Schools Appointments Bureau. On Field Day some 55 Sixth Form boys took part in careers visits; St James' Hospital in Leeds, a coalmine near Castleford, Trust House Hotels, the Assize Courts and a solicitor's office in York, Rowntrees and York University all received parties. We are extremely grateful to all the organisations and individuals concerned for arranging most interesting programmes and being so generous with their time.

F.D.L.

MUSIC

STEPHEN GIBBONS—GUITAR RECITAL

The guitar definitely does not have a small sound. Instead, "it sounds from afar". In my opinion, as also has been stated by many experts in this field, it was once more very evident at the Stephen Gibbons recital, that the classical guitar is not enhanced by the aid of a microphone.

With all due respect, the school theatre is quite unsuitable for a guitar concert and a smaller hall could have resulted in greater achievement in the field of acoustics. Despite the unfavourable conditions, Stephen

Gibbons managed to give a good account by demonstrating what the guitar can express in both sounds and feelings. Only such an instrument can be so closely related to oneself, because of the intimacy produced by controlling the strings with one's fingers.

"Romanza" by Paganini belongs to the period when this musician abandoned the violin for three years to devote himself to the guitar, adapting to this instrument procedures of great effect and characteristics of the violin such as the *Vibrato*, *Portamento* and *Trémolo*. By choosing Paganini, Mr Gibbons demonstrated his great possibilities of interpretation. His treatment of Spanish "Leyenda" ("Asturias") from "Suite Iberia", by Albéniz was discreet. I agree with whoever said that Albéniz piano works sound as transcriptions from an imaginary guitar original. Falla composed some music for solo guitar. Even his works for piano and orchestra—as "The Dance of the Miller"—have a style suggested by the guitar. Extra-special were Héctor Villa-Lobos' "Preludes" and "Choros 1 and 2". In his interpretation of these pieces, the guitarist achieved a breathtaking performance and here Mr Gibbons scored the real triumph of this musical evening. Villa-Lobos is beginning to be considered the most extraordinary composer who ever wrote for the guitar. These two pieces reflect perfectly music of a strange intensity and power.

As much as I would like to enlarge upon the events of this delightful evening's entertainment, both in connection with the composers and the ability of the performer, regrettably lack of space prevents my commenting any further. I look forward to another recital by Mr Gibbons with the inclusion of composers such as F. Tárrega—the creator of the modern guitar school—and Fernando Sor—the virtuoso composer. This will enable Mr Gibbons to acquire more maturity to launch him into concert-halls of renown, including the ones of Spain, which a Spaniard would normally be reluctant to suggest, but not so in the case of the Spanish writer of this article.

V.R.A.

LOURDES CONCERTS

It was a sad day when, some years ago, it was decided to stop the *Shrove Monday* entertainment, but it has been more than adequately replaced by Fr Martin's Concert in aid of the *Lourdes Sick Fund*. The new entertainment has a positive purpose, it uses the skills of a wider selection of people—monks, boys, girls from the Bar Convent—and it is thus more varied in content. The concert given at Ampleforth on 28th February was repeated—with minor changes—the following Wednesday when two performances were given at the Bar Convent in York. The three performances raised a total of £230 and if Fr Martin rightly wishes to thank all those who helped in this massive undertaking, those same people and all the audiences would wish to thank him for the amount of work he puts into the arrangements.

The concerts began and ended with music of a wide variety both of performer, type of music and standard of performance. David Bowman and

Simon Finlow's skill with four hands at the piano was matched by the indispensable Spence twins arriving from Hull and Birmingham the previous day to reveal the art of song accompanied by the guitar at a very high level. Simon James and Tom Dowling produced the same combination with no less enthusiastic response from an audience which was never less than gay at Ampleforth and came close to total involvement. The arrival of the "Monastery Moans" created uproar at Ampleforth and more sensitive appreciation at York—neither of these reactions need have worried the Moaners. A choir from St Oswald's, led by Robin Dalglish, told us all of a recipe which any School chef could do without. And 13 girls from the Bar Convent led by Veronica Cieslik sang and acted "Three Little Maids" after four of their number had entertained the audience with songs on the guitar.

It is fairly easy to produce musical items, much more difficult to provide skits. Fr Cyril, Fr Andrew, Fr Martin and Fr Dominic, the compère, described a love-hate relationship between a Line, a Dot, and a Squiggle, and Clarence-Smith and Ritchie presented a skilfully composed skit which they had made up on the way to York to collect the girls for the final rehearsal and performance. Before the last item, Fr Martin introduced another generation to his flea "Alphonse".

Finally, the whole company joined together to sing the end of Bach's *Peasant Cantata* at each of the performances. At the end of the final performance in York it was possible to look back on an excellent evening and our thanks go not only to the girls for their efforts and their company but also to the Reverend Mother and her Community for looking after the Ampleforth group so well and for dining the members of the staff so handsomely.

J.F.S.

A CHAMBER RECITAL BY MEMBERS OF THE EUTERPEAN OCTET

Katherine Hart—Viola

Peter Wright—Clarinet

David Nelson—Piano and Flute

with

Stephen Gibbons—Guitar

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Six Pieces for Flute and Guitar | Anton Furstonau (1792-1852) |
| Four Pieces for Clarinet and Piano. Op. 5 | Alban Berg (1885-1935) |
| Arpeggione Sonata for Viola and Piano | Franz Schubert (1797-1828) |
| Allegro—Adagio leading to Allegretto | |
| Four Pieces for Guitar | H. Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) |
| Miller's Dance from "The Three Cornered Hat" | Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) |
| Trio in E flat for Clarinet, Viola and Piano | W. A. Mozart (1756-1791) |
| Andante—Minuet and Trio—Allegretto | |

The proceeds of this concert were given to the Royal National Institute for the Deaf.

EUTERPE was the Muse associated with the flute and although scholars are divided as to the precise nature of the *αὐλός* (it was certainly quite unlike the modern transverse instrument) it was a happy idea of David Nelson's to give this name to his group of musicians, and an even happier one to bring some of them here. All three members of this Octet were formerly members of the National Youth Orchestra of Great Britain.

The unfamiliar duets by *Furstonau* were a positive delight. They are extremely attractive pieces and Mr Nelson's marvellous playing brought out all their qualities. Mr Gibbons was a deft partner and later on repeated his earlier triumphs in pieces by *Villa-Lobos* and *de Falla*.

The pieces by *Berg* I found difficult to listen to, though Mr Wright did his best to be a persuasive advocate of this kind of music. He was in no way helped by the continuous and noisy sound emitted from the water pipes. The offending pipe was silenced during the interval (this could have been done much earlier) but I should not have been surprised if Mr Wright had refused to continue playing.

Really good viola players (Katherine Hart is a member of the New Philharmonia Orchestra) are a rarity, and it was a pleasure to hear Miss Hart's gorgeous playing. She gave a thoughtful reading of the *Arpeggione* Sonata, but her playing was much more relaxed in the *Mozart*, and both she and the clarinettist gave us a beautiful and satisfying performance of this famous Trio. Mr Nelson, demonstrating yet another of his many gifts, played the piano accompaniments with style, accuracy and a sure feeling for the music. To him and to his friends our thanks are due for a most entertaining evening.

E.H.M.

A.M.S. CHORAL AND ORCHESTRAL CONCERT

Mr Bowman richly deserved every decibel of the applause, which greeted him from both performers and audience alike, at the end of the Choral and Orchestral Concert in the theatre on 24th March. For too long one has felt the lack of an adequate musical tradition in depth at Ampleforth; after this concert, and the previous one at Christmas, one begins to feel that this regrettable state of affairs is at last being rectified, and that music is beginning to flourish at the grass roots.

Mr Dowling gave the evening a good send-off with Brahms' G Minor Rhapsody. He prefaced his performance with some explanatory remarks about the new Concert Grand Piano, and one felt that he was perhaps a little too conscious of its possible teething troubles to do himself justice. In spite of this there was much to admire in his virtuosity, and sympathy with the music—qualities apparent also in his accompaniment to the "Four Slovak Songs" of Bartok which ended the programme.

A complete Beethoven Symphony is an ambitious work to perform, yet it came off very well. The treacherous opening was effectively done, and

though the first movement as a whole was perhaps the least successful of the four (it seemed to lack body, due perhaps to the rather dry acoustics of the theatre on this occasion), the second movement was the best, and was indeed very well played. One admired the accuracy of the horns in their short but very exposed passage at the end of this movement, and there was some excellent cello playing throughout. And dare one mention the tympanist? Though occasionally a little too loud, in general he performed his important part with considerable competence.

It seems a pity that the members of the string quartet, which began the second half of the programme, were anonymous, because it must be the first time that a complete string quartet has been played at Ampleforth, in which all the performers were boys in the School. The Pleyel work itself was hardly more than pleasant to listen to, and if one must carp at all, the celloist was a little too strong for the others. But pleasing it certainly was, and all credit to John Pickin, Michael Guiver, Michael McDonald and Mark Tweedy whose playing made it so.

But I hope it will not be taken amiss by the instrumentalists if it is said that it was the choral items which really "stole the show". The Schola Cantorum began the good work with some stylish performances of pieces of English church music—the Stanford item was much later than the others and yet it fitted in with them remarkably well. One admired the incisive attack and carefully controlled dynamics of the lively "Cantate Domino", which contrasted very well with the simple *legato* approach to, for example, the "Ave Maria". Benjamin Hooke has a pleasant treble voice, and sang the "Evening Hymn" very well, after a (quite understandably) rather nervous start, ably accompanied by the cello and harpsichord continuo.

The Choral Society sang the three concluding items on the programme, which seemed to get better and better as they went along. The Seiber pieces were, one felt, pleasant though not particularly distinguished; Britten's "Gloriana" Dances were much better, and one admired particularly the catchy tune of "Country Girls" for trebles and altos alone. None of these dances are easy to sing, either harmonically or rhythmically, yet they were brought off very well.

But it was the Bartok items which appealed most musically, and in which the Choral Society most distinguished itself. While one felt that the "Wedding Song" was perhaps a trifle sad for such an occasion, it contrasted well with the other pieces, particularly the Dancing Songs. In these pieces Mr Bowman marshalled his forces superbly; the rhythm was lively, harmony and general ensemble were excellent, and they provided a fitting climax to a thoroughly enjoyable concert.

The hallmark of a good conductor is that he can make his performers give beyond their best, communicating to them his own ideas about the music, and make them in turn communicate these ideas to the audience. This one felt Mr Bowman achieved in full measure, and our grateful thanks are due to him, as well as to his players and singers who responded so well to his direction.

H.R.F.

THE NEW CONCERT GRAND PIANO

THE life of a piano is about the same length as that of a man. Ampleforth is probably by no means unique in having a predominantly rather elderly population of pianos, many of which are in their dotage and some of them past it, some battered into premature senility, some for which surgical rejuvenation would be uneconomic, all being steadily and cheerfully worked toward their graves.

This situation is perhaps tolerable in the Music School—indeed it may be argued that it must be tolerable, having been tolerated so long, and even that teaching and practice may derive some salutary benefit from the stimulating challenge of learning to cope with the vagaries of these dotards; though this argument seems uncomfortably like claiming that moral stamina in the young may be fostered by knocking old men about.

It is in the theatre, on occasions of public performance, that the want of an adequate piano has been felt for so long as to have become a steady ache. The six grand pianos in the establishment are among the most venerable, if not venerated, of the population; none of them is a concert grand, and the choice among such various defects as lack of power, coarseness of tone, unevenness of touch, and others literally unspeakable, is a task which for many years has become steadily more difficult to perform with confidence.

Now, through the fortunate confluence of two generous benefactions we have had the opportunity to assuage this ache, and with the help of a supplementary contribution from the Procurator, members of the Music Staff enjoyed the happy task of going shopping for a concert grand and were able to spend about seven hundred pounds at Messrs Rushworth's in Liverpool; now in the theatre stands a strapping eight foot teenager by Challen out of the B.B.C., discarded by them because engineers are made uneasy by big pianos whose hammer noise is heard by microphones at close range. It is suitably housed in a massive oak case, robust rather than beautiful, and stands on a triangular frame with castors allowing it to be easily shoved around without the legs exerting those strains on the frame which tend to disturb the tuning. Its touch is firm and even and though not very easy to caress it can fill the theatre with handsome if not ravishing sound. Some lack of brilliance in the extreme treble will probably improve as the newly felted hammers become hardened with use. It has also been re-strung, and as with any freshly strung piano it may take some little time for the frame to settle into accepting the twenty or thirty tons of tension; indeed when it was officially "opened" a few days after its arrival, at the end of term concert (of which an account appears elsewhere), it was already apparent that it was beginning to need re-tuning; but this perhaps only enhanced the sense of occasion.

Our thanks to our benefactors will be sonorously expressed again and again in the coming years.

G.S.D.

"ANDROCLES AND THE LION"

THE Junior Society presented "Androcles and the Lion" by G. B. Shaw in the Theatre on Saturday, 27th February.

The choice of play was a good one; it is short, relatively simple to stage, and has few female parts, and so is suitable for production by a junior society; it is entertaining, and so suitable for presentation at College; it is polemical and provocative, and therefore fit matter for consideration for those who have no occasion to fear when their religion comes under fire.

Any production of the play depends largely upon the eponymous character, and in this rôle Pearce gave a very satisfactory performance, which steadily improved as the evening progressed. He started off rather shakily—beginner's nerves?—but when he reached the moment in the prologue when he had to extract the thorn from the lion's paw, then, quite naturally, he seemed to fall into the realisation that all Androcles' speeches must be taken on a conversational tone. Nay, more, half of the time Androcles is talking to himself, speaking—almost purring—his thoughts aloud, quite unconscious that what he says may be unacceptable to others—as, for example, when he rebukes Caesar: "Oh, don't talk like that, sir". The success of the evening was therefore largely due to Pearce's intelligently natural performance.

As regards movement he received good support from Dawson in the part of the lion, but not vocally. It was certainly not the case (in Shakespearean phrase) "Well roared, lion!"; this was, in fact, a very *dumb* king of beasts, so that such a Shavian stage direction as "The lion, combining a series of yawns, purrs and roars, achieves something very like a laugh", went for nothing.

I felt it was a pity that the lion's costume lacked a lion's head. "Androcles and the Lion" is, if you wish, a religious pantomime—a pantomime into which Shaw stuffed some very wise as well as some very foolish things—but it is *not* a burlesque in the manner of "Pyramus and Thisbe" and I could see no point in surmounting the lion's body with the actor's head. It seemed to offend too much, and to too little purpose against Horace's dictum

"Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Iungere si velit . . ."

There was some very good supporting acting among the minor parts: owing to considerations of space I can refer to only a few of these. Slattery gave a very convincing portrayal of the giant Ferrovius, being very good in the moment of his remorse and despair on his return from the arena. Bruce-Jones made a delightful vignette of the part of the Emperor, and showed a very good sense of timing (perhaps more than half of the art of acting) in his speeches, which were rewarded with appreciative laughs from the audience. Lister seemed quite at home in the part of Lentulus, apparently enjoying it as much as the audience did. He must, however, be careful not to overdo his gestures—a gesture should always *tell*;

exaggerated, it loses its effect and merely becomes distracting. In an otherwise very satisfactory performance Baker, as Captain of the Guard, was rather inclined to the opposite fault, and was in consequence somewhat stiff in bearing. Bishop doubled the parts of Megaera, in which he was too shrill, and of Metellus, which he played very capably indeed.

Female parts are always difficult for boy actors, and so it is pleasing to record that one of the best pieces of acting of the evening came from Conrath in the part of Lavinia. This part contains the best of the more serious speeches in the play, and the dialogue between Lavinia and the Captain of the Guard, as he tried to dissuade her from martyrdom, was excellently sustained by both performers. In only one respect could Conrath's performance be faulted: he failed to show us that Lavinia, in addition to her serious side, has also a very delicate sense of humour. In the following snatch of dialogue, for example, there should be three laughs for the audience:

LAVINIA: Very easy, Captain, when their enemies are as handsome as you.

THE CAPTAIN: Lavinia, you are laughing at me.

LAVINIA: At you, Captain! Impossible.

These were, unfortunately, missing in the performance; but then to get the correct audience-reaction is one of the most difficult parts of the art of acting, which is (in the words that Chaucer used in another context) a "craft so long to learn". Apart from this, Conrath's performance was outstandingly good.

As regards the production in general, I thought it was a mistake to simplify further the staging of the play by omitting the actual confrontation of Androcles with the lion in the arena itself. The Shavian stage-directions at this point are very long (extending to almost a page of the printed text) and very explicit; if, greatly daring, one ignores the stage-directions of such a master-craftsman as Shaw, whatever one gains by the simplification is to the detriment of the play as a whole.

Altogether, a very enjoyable evening, which owed its success to the very hard work put in by all concerned (back-stage as well as the cast), and especially to Slattery as producer, and to Mr Davies, who, when Mr Haughton fell ill, kept an avuncular eye on the production, and whose advice and encouragement throughout the later rehearsals were a spur to the efforts of the whole company.

E.J.M.

The cast was as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| LION | William Dawson |
| MEGAERA | Richard Bishop |
| ANDROCLEES | Dominic Pearce |
| CENTURION | James Craig |
| SOLDIER 1 | Hugh Dowling |
| SOLDIER 2 | Chris Sandeman |
| CAPTAIN | Nicholas Baker |
| LAVINIA | Christopher Conrath |
| LENTULUS | Benedict Lister |
| METELLUS | Richard Bishop |
| FERROVIUS | Adrian Slattery |
| SPINTHO | Robert Bishop |
| OX-DRIVER | Neil Johnson |
| CALL-BOY | Neil Johnson |
| EDITOR | Mike Martin |
| MENAGERIE KEEPER | Roderick Pratt |
| EMPEROR | John Bruce-Jones |
| CHRISTIANS : | |

Patrick Daly, William Wadsworth, Gervase Elwes, Alexander Ciechanowski, Nick McDonald.

Produced and directed by Adrian Slattery and Benedict Lister

Sound effects: Mr Best

Lighting: Mr Best, Bill Hatfield, F. Lucas and K. Cobb

Scenery painted by Julian Dawson, W. Wenham and M. Haughton

Costumes: Mrs Haughton

Make up: Mr Davies, Mrs Nelson and Tim Berner

Stage manager: Charles Anderson

assisted by J. Stilliard, J. Dowling, J. Eckoff and J. Turnbull

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

This has been a reluctant term for the Debate, albeit an active term in the first half. As time wore on to the G.C.E. examinations, debating grew more jejune; but the underlying cause must have been the failure of Mr Charles Anderson to get elected to the leadership of either bench, though he was clearly the best speaker of his year. As deputy leader of the House he was active; but he was not at the helm, a position he so obviously deserved.

After the hopes aroused last term, the attendances were mildly disappointing. The Committee had worked hard to stress and advertise the importance of full houses and richly spiced speeches, but seemingly its power to invent innovations to secure this was exhausted before it was successful. Messrs Derek Jennings and Colin Kilkelly kindly came over from York for our meeting on the Trades Unions, and on that night the attendance exceeded 50. But at no other time on home ground, not even during the *Observer* Mace competition, did the attendance reach that figure.

The Regional Round of the National Competition of the Schools Debating Association (i.e. the *Observer* Mace competition) was held in the theatre at Ampleforth on Thursday, 11th February, in the middle of the postal strike. The judges were Dr Bernice Hamilton and Dr Roland Hall of York University, and Miss Joyce Blake, Headmistress of The Mount School at York. The field was reduced by problems (not least postal) to four schools. First Easingwold Grammar School argued with Harrogate Grammar School over the motion: "That racial integration is essential to the progress of civilisation"; then Ampleforth fought Hymer's School, Hull, over the issue: "That no government or individual has the right to impose, through censorship, their moral judgment upon the freedom of others". In the first foray, the one gleaming spark was Miss Hawkins of Harrogate, who charmingly stood alone among males to deny civilisation. In the second, our pair, Mr Julian Dawson and Mr Charles Anderson, delighted themselves and their audience, enraged Hull by remarks about their mud-banks and failed sufficiently to move the judges either way. The jokes were funny—to Ampleforth; the arguments were cogent—to the speakers; the passion was dissipated in frivolity. Then up spoke Mr Peel for Hull with the style of Mr Paisley of H***, who had mastered a few thin arguments, the art of persuasion and eventually the hearts of the judges. Both debates were thrown open to the floor, which enabled the judges to judge ("ye-es") how speakers were able to cope with impromptu challenges. Mr Peel and Hymer's College won the day and went on to another. Our Vice-President chaired the evening with courtesy and charm: the name of Mr Nicholas Hall alone was engraved on the heart of Dr Bernice Hamilton.

The Society brought an array of quaintly or freakishly dressed members to York on 30th January to debate in a three-cornered encounter, involving over a hundred debaters, with The Mount School and Bootham School (both Quaker, but of different sexes). In mid-March, sartorially smoother, the Society went to Richmond to debate and dance with the girls of the Assumption Convent. These were not powerful forensic experiences, but they were good evenings.

Mention should be made of some new speakers who came from the obscurity of inarticulateness to grace the House with an ease of diction which made us rub our eyes and cock our ears. Mr Walker was first to "break through" and he ended by delighting the Assumption girls. Viscount Tamworth was the next, and so mesmerising was he that he found himself elected to lead the Government bench in the second half—

his father a House of Lords whip,
off that block he is clearly a chip!

Mr FitzGeorge-Parker followed that same evening, and lives on to be elected to high places yet. Lastly an old lag learned to fly: Mr P. M. Purves (once "Mr Impervious") flew like a butterfly and stung like a wasp, especially on the night of the Assumption debate.

It is important, if the Debate is to succeed, that good speakers should come forward with commanding manners and striking speeches. Mr Paul Duguid looks like the man to do that; while Mr Giles Pinkney, comic as he is, has always looked not the man, i.e. not the mettle for a bench leader—indeed he was elected on a tide of frivolity (like Scottish university chancellors). In short, if the big fish come forward to replace the goldfish, the little fish will swim in under their fins and grow visibly bigger.

The following motions were debated:

"This House prefers to die of lung cancer than succumb to Government pressure." Ayes 19, Noes 14, Abstentions 3.

"This House holds that no government or individual has the right to impose through censorship their moral judgment on the freedom of others." Ayes 12, Noes 16, Abstentions 1.

"This House holds that the trade unions, founded as protectors of the workers, have become the tyrants of the nation." Ayes 26, Noes 24.

"This House deplores the passing of the cat, the birch and the gallows." Ayes 9, Noes 16, Abstentions 1.

Two Guest Debates were held at The Mount School and the Assumption Convent respectively.

The motions were:

"This House believes that public school education, while of benefit to parents, holds no use for the pupils." There were over 100 present. "This House does not believe." There were about 70 present.

Unfortunately, no records were kept.

The motion for the *Observer* Mace Cup round was:

"This House holds that no government or individual has the right to impose through censorship their moral judgment on the freedom of others."

It should be said that voting figures represent the active attendance at the end of an evening of 100 minutes' debating, during which many others have come and gone.

(President: Fr Alberic)

A. D. WENHAM, *Hon. Sec.*

JUNIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

THIS term's debating has been by no means as successful as that of last term when attendances were high and the standard very good. Three of the four debates had attendances of no more than 20 but all four, once they had got off the ground, turned out to be profitable, notably a debate on Smoking. A nucleus of boys is necessary to achieve a good standard and this was lacking. It was left to Mr Gaisford St Laurence to carry the debates and this he did with his usual pungency and charm. Mr Mahony continued to make valuable contributions as did Mr Martin Spencer, Mr Hastings, Mr Bodkin and on rare—all too rare—occasions Mr Finlow. New speakers emerged but they had little chance in a low-key setting—Mr Rigby needed a larger audience and Mr Langdale may prove to be a fine debater in later years.

JOHN SPENCER, *Hon. Sec.*

The President writes:

In previous years a weak Winter Term's debating has been followed by a standard of high quality in the Spring Term as new members are drawn into the debate and old hats develop. The decline this year is due to a number of factors, not all within the control of the Society: for example, the cancellation of the Common Market debate at which the Irish Ambassador was to be present because of the Ulster crisis. The J.D.S. looks forward to such visits with unconcealed enthusiasm and rightly felt disappointed when it could not take place, although appreciating the problem. In addition Houses now have television available and this creams off several debaters. Again, the Winter Term was directed by Mr Simon Finlow whose influence and stature was sufficient to draw people to the debate. This term's secretary has had a difficult task and stuck to his job but it is necessary for all the members to realise that it is their Society and not that of the President. He helps them but they must help themselves by being optimistic and enthusiastic.

(President: Br Felix)

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

IF the Society has had a setback, it has been the low attendance at meetings. However, those who did turn up enjoyed a series of varied and stimulated talks. Mr Ronald Rohan gave a talk, illustrated with his own slides, entitled "The Pleasure in Ruins". In this cynical but highly entertaining lecture we were told of the many people who treat ruins as they do grades of hotels, and of the various features which go to make up a "good" ruin. The Society was invited by the Venture Scouts to listen to an informal talk by Mr Tony Pacitto who spoke of his potholing experiences which his study of archaeology necessitated. Fr Rupert, again with his own slides, gave us his theory on the growth of various towns—why and how they had become important.

As guests of the Historical Bench the Society listened to Professor Hamilton of Nottingham University who delivered a paper on the state of Rome in the Middle Ages. In return the Historical Bench joined us for our final meeting when Mr Ross, an engineer working on York Minster, gave us a history of the Minster, with particular mention of the repair work currently taking place. We were treated with a comprehensive selection of slides which added to the detail Mr Ross put over in the limited time available.

On the whole I think the Society has had a successful year, marred only by the low attendances. Mention must be made of our President, Fr Henry, and Treasurer, Luke Jennings, to whom a great portion of the Society's success is due.

(President: Fr Henry)

NICHOLAS HALL, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FORUM

WITH the departure of a number of our members at the end of last term the Forum might have lost some of its impetus; however, it heard on two occasions lectures which showed the Society to be very much alive. The first, Fr Dominic's, was a personal enquiry into the relationship between words and music. Adeptly fiddling with gramophone and tape-recorder he was able to give us a survey of the various ways men have fused the two forms of expression. It is a tribute to the lecture that by the end we could understand the application of e.e. cummings to electronic music. After multiple postponements my lecture on the "Developments of Pasmore" was delivered: an attempt to defend modern art in the face of aesthetic recusants, it seems doubtful that it converted any.

(President: Mr Smiley)

T. R. V. BUXTON, *Hon. Sec.*

(Vice-President: Fr Dominic)

THE HISTORICAL BENCH

The five titles of this term's lectures may well suggest the Contents page of "History Today" rather than the "English Historical Review", but for this we make no apology. The Bench exists to stimulate an interest in history throughout the upper forms of the School, not to cater exclusively for a specialist coterie; although from time to time we hope the specialists do find some satisfaction. The term opened with a talk by Fr Anselm entitled "Moving Cattle in the Highlands", in which he related a few of the more remote aspects of Scottish cattle stealing (a subject on which the lecturer's ancestors were fairly expert in their day) and, as it subsequently became, cattle-trading. Specially taken slides illustrated this highly original lecture. Ever faithful to the Bench, our honourable President delivered the next talk, "Music in History", in which, with great scholarship and a few records, he demonstrated how music could give an insight into the minds of men, the movement of ideas and the life of society at various periods. At the third meeting we welcomed the much-travelled Fr Henry, who lectured on "Crusader Castles of the Levant", in which he showed how much the great medieval castles of England and Wales owed to developments in the art of fortification during the Crusades. His talk was illustrated with some superb slides. The next meeting saw our only outside speaker of the term, Mr Bernard Hamilton of Nottingham University, who lectured on "The City of Rome in the Middle Ages". He considered what it was like to have lived in a ruined city, built to house a million, if you were one of a mere 50,000; and what it was like to have lived in the shadow of so many shrines, if your primary interests were secular. This scholarly talk, illustrated with unusual slides, was enthusiastically received. The last lecture of the term was given by Fr Abbot, whom it was a rare and great privilege to welcome. His subject was "The Valley of the Monks", and from it the Bench learned much fascinating detail of the history of Ampleforth, from its origins at Westminster to its arrival in the Valley. We are promised a second instalment.

The term has been highly successful, and attendances have averaged 50 per meeting. The Bench would like to thank all its speakers most sincerely.

Rory Fane-Hervey and Robin Schlee continued in their respective offices of Secretary and Treasurer.

(President: Mr Davidson)

R. P. FANE-HERVEY, *Hon. Sec.*

THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Society had a successful term with four lectures. Michael Henry on 22nd January gave his experiences of "Birds of the Ampleforth Country" which stimulated interest in local ornithology and may lead to the development of field studies. Mr J. Grayson, the Secretary of the Ryedale Beekeepers' Association, on 19th February recounted some history and

gave a first-hand account of his own contribution to recent advances in "Bees and Beekeeping". The Society had a kind of preview of a book which Mr W. Spence is writing on "Whaling in the Northern Hemisphere" on 2nd March.

Finally there was a combined meeting with the Scientific Society and the Young Farmers' Club on 15th March when a former member of all three societies, Dr Peter Evans, posed some serious problems for the future in "Pollution, Pesticides and Population" and illustrated his points with some excellent slides.

The Society is very grateful to the lecturers for the time and effort they have given.

(President: Fr Julian)

B. C. OSBORNE, *Hon. Sec.*

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

DURING the Easter Term the meetings of the Society followed the trend first noted last term—that of ever-decreasing attendances. This disappointing decline in interest was heightened by the fact that this term's speakers were of a high quality. It remains to be seen how much longer this Society can continue to invite eminent speakers, or can continue to function at all, if its members fail to give it their support.

Of the four meetings this term the first was a film evening, during which "Search and Research" and "Roller Bearings and their Lubrication" were shown; it was felt that the second film was rather too fundamental in its production.

The first lecture was the Presidential Address, given by Professor Alexander, "Animal Mechanics". The President interested and amused members with his apparently inexhaustible fund of experience and knowledge. The next lecture was given by a member of the Society, R. L. M. Schlee, who demonstrated some "Scientific Conjuring". The final meeting of the year was a lecture by Mr K. F. Rogers, of the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, on "Carbon Fibres". The lecture and the many exhibits aroused keen interest in those who attended; regrettably only 20 members were present.

(President: Professor R. McN. Alexander, University of Leeds)

(Chairman: Dr C. Briske)

G. R. GREYTON, *Hon. Sec.*

THE SYMPOSIUM

WHEN Mr Peregrine Solly left the School in December, the Society lost not only a very able Secretary but also the benefits of the Housemaster's room in St Thomas'. However, making use of the Classics room and the History room the Society met four times during the term to hear lectures of outstanding quality.

Mr Criddle very kindly offered to open the first meeting. It is always difficult to find a speaker at short notice, but with his enviable skill Mr Criddle volunteered to talk about "Rimbaud and the Artificial Paradise". Mr Criddle introduced the Society to Rimbaud's hashish-inspired world, taking relish in the gruesome details of the squalor to which the poet sank in his early life and relating his experiences to those of Baudelaire and Huxley.

Mr J. Ruck-Keene was the next to address the Society, choosing as his subject "The Original Ted Hughes", as in "The Hawk in the Rain". Reading extracts with feeling and then commenting quietly, and with some wit, he subjected this collection to incisive analysis, clearly demonstrating his intimate knowledge of Ted Hughes' work.

It must have been difficult to maintain the very high standard set by these first two meetings, but Mr S. McCarthy made it seem easy. His topic was "Franz Kafka—A Personal View", and with almost clinical detachment he skilfully exposed the themes and ironies of Kafka's surrealist nightmare world.

The last lecture of the term was given by Mr T. Buxton on "Philip Larkin". The subjective, nostalgic, bitter-sweet blend that is Larkin was very sympathetically presented. Quoting profusely, Mr Buxton illustrated Larkin's great personal honesty, explaining the innuendoes and imagery with obvious sincerity of feeling and ready humour.

All the meetings of the term were of an extremely high standard, as has come to be expected, possibly too easily, by the members of the Society. Perhaps it is not realised how much hard work is put into their preparation, for which I must express my sincere thanks.

(President: Mr Griffiths)

R. J. CODRINGTON, *Hon. Sec.*

THE YOUNG FARMERS' CLUB

THE Spring Term has been a most satisfactory one for the Young Farmers. The high point of the term's meetings was reached when Earl Ferrers delivered a lecture on the "Effects of Parliament on British Farming". He warned us of the dangers and pointed out the advantages of joining the European Economic Community, and many other valuable points in a clear and compelling talk.

The Ampleforth Natural History Society has been kind enough to invite the Y.F.C. to two of their meetings, both of the utmost interest and much valuable information was gained. The President arranged an outing to the Yorkshire Farmers' Bacon Factory in Malton with his usual cheerful efficiency. This outing was enjoyed by the 20 members who went and were shown all the stages from the death of a pig to slabs of bacon being produced.

Although the Club's experimentation in pig-keeping met with a loss of money, owing to the demise of one of the three investments, we feel that this loss is offset by the experience we have gained from the venture.

The Hon. Secretary arranged several film meetings, even during the postal dispute, and attendance has been very good at these. The membership has increased to 57, from 32 at Christmas. If this admirable trend continues the future of the Club can be viewed most optimistically.

The Hon. Secretary would like to thank the President for all the time and energy he put into the success of the Club and also the Hon. Treasurer, R. Graham, for all his continual help. Finally, he wishes the new Hon. Secretary, S. Stainton, and the new Hon. Treasurer, D. Tyrrel, all the best for the next Y.F.C. year.

(President: H. Grey, Esq.)

VISCOUNT TAMWORTH, *Hon. Sec.*

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE KINEMA

THIS term Fr Stephen chose for the School an excellent selection of films, combining the comic with the thrilling and the serious. Of the comic, perhaps the most outstanding were "Cactus Flower", a delightfully complicated film in which Walter Matthau, as a dentist, pretends to his girlfriend that he is married, in order to avoid emotional complications, and "Otley", which took an uproariously satirical look at the world of espionage, into which Gerald Otley (Tom Courtney) is unwillingly plunged.

More on the serious side: "King Rat", familiar to many, was a repeat for the School, but still left an impression on many people, as it portrayed the squalid existence of the British and American prisoners in Changi prison camp in Singapore, during the last war. While on the subject of wars, "The Looking Glass War", adapted from the novel by Jean le Carre, took a typically Carre-ish look at the espionage scene again, but this time left us rather drained after its bitter cynicism of a fruitless mission behind the Iron Curtain which results in the death of two young people to satisfy the whims of three old men. An excellent performance from Sir Ralph Richardson.

Gregory Peck appeared twice in the term; firstly in "McKenna's Gold", an unsophisticated western about a search for lost gold, in which Omar Sharif played the outlaw, and Gregory Peck the sheriff, and although laughably old-fashioned, contained some brilliant photography. Secondly, we saw Gregory Peck in "Marooned", a space drama, which kept many people on the edge of their seats, about an orbital mission which gets into difficulties, and the occupants are whisked from death at the last minute by a rescue mission. Ironically, at the time it was shown Apollo 14 was on its way back from the moon.

Marginally the best film of the term was "Bullitt" with Steve McQueen, which reached fame through its car chase, in which McQueen does all his own stunt driving, a fact which made the film all the more exciting to watch.

Closely behind this however came "The Longest Day", a film which was, without doubt, enjoyed by all. Daryl F. Zanuck's mammoth

v. HARROGATE COLTS (at Ampleforth, 7th February)

THE School team looked rather small compared with their opponents and when Harrogate, playing down the slope, soon scored on the blind side, one began to think that the School might go down heavily. But a good push in the tight which wrecked Harrogate's heel and their half back operations, and great tackling by the Cooper twins kept the score to 0—3 at half time. Swales soon put Harrogate further ahead with a good drop goal, but the longer the game went on, the more apparent it became that the School were tiring their opponents and getting on top. Soon Lintin scored a wonderful try under the posts which narrowed the margin to 5—6 and it was he who crossed again for a try after a ruck to bring about a magnificent victory in which the spirit of the forwards and the skill of the backs had been the decisive factors. None did better than Duguid who was always aggressively in the van and he was well supported by Harris, McAuley and Clayton.

Won 8—6.

v. NEWCASTLE R.G.S. (at Newcastle, 10th February)

AFTER their great victory against Harrogate Colts three days earlier the School started far too slowly to cope with an older and more experienced Newcastle side. 8 points down in as many minutes, the team began to look dejected and their tackling, which had been a joy to watch against Harrogate, went to pieces. Time and again a lack of aggression into the tackle left the opponent on his feet and able to get his pass away: time and again four of the team would be needed to deal with only one opponent: time and again a dummy was outrageously offered and incredibly bought. The pack were no match for their opponents in spirit, height or weight and could get no possession from set piece or ruck. But it was the general lethargy which weighed most heavily against the School and only Lintin and Fane-Hervey came out of the game with credit. It was all so sad after Harrogate!

Lost 0—29.

v. ROUNDHAY COLTS (at Ampleforth, 13th February)

SPITEFUL gusts of sleet and hail carried by a gale welcomed Roundhay's first visit to the School and ruined the game as a spectacle. Passing and even kicking were hazardous operations. In the circumstances the Ampleforth side played really well and showed that the lessons learned at Newcastle had been digested. They won any amount of ball in the rucks and it was from one of these that Lintin put Ryan over for a try in the corner which H. Cooper, facing the gale, could not convert. McAuley repeated the dose from a tap penalty a few minutes later to give Ampleforth a well-deserved 6—0 lead. The tackling however was still not at its best and there were three poor efforts at a set scrum to stop Roundhay scoring under the posts. The School continued to press in the second half and further tries by Duguid and Potez made the game safe. Roundhay answered these with an unconverted try but Ampleforth were again on the attack when the final whistle blew.

Won 12—8.

v. ARCHBISHOP HOLGATE'S G.S. (at Ampleforth, 20th February)

THE School started this match with tremendous urgency and were soon encamped on the Holgate's line. H. Cooper, striking the ball beautifully, had the misfortune to hit a post with two early penalties before he succeeded with a more difficult kick, and Lintin managed a good try which the former could not convert. Conditions now began to deteriorate rapidly and for the second match in succession, squalls of biting rain made handling and running extremely difficult. But the XV rose to the occasion. Fane-Hervey and Ryan on the wings scored excellent tries before half time to make it 12—0 and at the restart, Stapleton brilliantly made another for Fane-Hervey from a superb kick-off by H. Cooper, when no member of the opposition touched the ball. Thereupon the School made some oddly disjointed and unlikely errors and had a penalty

kicked against them for their pains. They finished with a flourish however, Fane-Hervey getting his third try and Berner capping a meritorious performance with a try in his first game. To score 6 tries in such conditions was no mean feat and went a long way towards amending the tribulations at Newcastle.

Won 21—3.

THE AMPLEFORTH SEVENS (at Ampleforth, 7th March)

A NEW system was tried this year which replaced the knock-out scheme of the past. Two divisions of four teams were formed and the winners met in a final. This ensured that every team played three times and in the event some very close matches were played, particularly in Division A. Here the School were desperately unlucky to lose twice in the final minute. Leading 10—8 against Ashville, and 8—5 against Newcastle they went down 13—10 and 10—8 respectively. In their final match they had no difficulty in beating Leeds 13—3 who had themselves beaten Ashville. The team played very competently with C. Harris outstanding and some promising work was done at times by all the others. If poor tackling had not dissipated an 8—0 lead against Newcastle, they would have reached the final. This was between Q.E.G.S. and Newcastle R.G.S. again and for the third consecutive time the title went to Q.E.G.S. who won 15—8. One would like to congratulate them and their hardy and spirited opponents and to thank all the other schools who took part in an enjoyable day.

The matches and scores were as follows:—

DIVISION A

Ashville College 13, Ampleforth College 10.
Leeds G.S. 8, Newcastle R.G.S. 16.
Leeds G.S. 8, Ashville College 5.
Newcastle R.G.S. 10, Ampleforth College 8.
Leeds G.S. 3, Ampleforth College 13.
Newcastle R.G.S. 6, Ashville College 8.

DIVISION B

Archbishop Holgate's 13, Sir William Turner's School 3.
Queen Elizabeth's G.S. 19, Bradford G.S. 0.
Archbishop Holgate's 3, Queen Elizabeth's G.S. 8.
Sir William Turner's School 14, Bradford G.S. 11.
Archbishop Holgate's 14, Bradford G.S. 3.
Sir William Turner's School 3, Queen Elizabeth's G.S. 16.

Points totals were as follows:—

DIVISION A

| | |
|--------------------|-------|
| Leeds G.S. | 2 pts |
| Newcastle R.G.S. | 4* |
| Ashville College | 4 |
| Ampleforth College | 2 |

DIVISION B

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| Archbishop Holgate's | 4 pts |
| Sir William Turner's | 2 |
| Q.E.G.S. Wakefield | 6 |
| Bradford G.S. | 0 |

*Newcastle went through to final by having scored the greater number of points in their three divisional games.

Q.E.G.S. Wakefield beat Newcastle R.G.S. in the final 16—8.

THE MOUNT ST MARY'S SEVENS (at Mount, 14th March)

IN the first round Ampleforth were drawn against Leeds G.S. and were soon demonstrating their handling skill, keeping possession cleverly but not capitalising on it. Although they looked too astute for Leeds it was some time before they took the lead with a scrappy try near the posts by Lintin which was converted by Skehan. Leeds answered in the final minutes with an equally scrappy effort near the posts but Harris, who was playing really well, managed to charge down the kick and the School went on to meet Ratcliffe in the semi-final. The first half belonged to the School but a defensive lapse let Ratcliffe in for an unconverted try. There was a transformation in the second half. This time it was Ratcliffe who were getting all the ball, and it seemed the School were on their way out of the competition when a long kick by Lintin and a swift chase

by Dowling brought them a try under the posts which Skehan converted. So far the team had not acquitted themselves with great purpose or fire but they soon showed Wakefield that they meant business in the final. The tackling was deadly and it was some time before Wakefield took the lead with a fortunate try magnificently converted. Wakefield seemed safe before half time when they added a very good goal to make their lead ten points. But they tired rapidly in the second half and the School matched them try for try, the score of 20-6 being somewhat misleading. Four tries were scored by Wakefield to two by the School.

Results : Ampleforth 5, Leeds G.S. 3; Ampleforth 5, Ratcliffe 3.

Final : Queen Elizabeth's G.S. Wakefield 20, Ampleforth 6.

THE WELBECK SEVENS (at Welbeck, 16th March)

The team took up against Wakefield as they had left off two days earlier, and a similar game developed. Wakefield took a 6-0 lead which the School cut to 6-5 with a splendid try under the posts. Wakefield were again tiring first but an unlikely error by an otherwise brilliant Harris led to Wakefield replying immediately against the run of play to advance their score to 11 points. Then Dowling showed a clean pair of heels to everybody to make it 11-8. The School got possession from the re-start and had one last opportunity but failed to take it and Wakefield were home, going on to win the competition. Meanwhile the School, now obviously enjoying their own skill at Sevens, were running riot against Silcoates and with a fine display of running and passing took 18 points off them without reply. Nor did Leeds have any answer in the losers' final to the pace of Fane-Hervey and Duguid and the rapidly improving Cooper. The School ran out easy winners by 15 points to nil.

Results : Ampleforth 8, Queen Elizabeth's G.S. Wakefield 11; Ampleforth 18, Silcoates 0; Ampleforth 15, Leeds G.S. 0.

Three splendid days gave a lot of pleasure to the Ampleforth team, who improved out of all recognition from match to match. They gave some fine displays of the art of Sevens. Duguid and Harris set a great example and the latter was quite brilliant in every game. M. Cooper played with more skill and authority in each game as did Fane-Hervey, while Dowling, if at times in trouble as a hooker, covered acres of ground at great pace. They all owed much to the handling skill of Skehan and the tenacity of Lintin. The reserves who played, Moroney and Lewis, also showed how useful they will be, and those who did not play did much by their uncomplaining and great loyalty to the team.

THE HOUSE SEVENS

Fortune did not smile on the best sides this year, three of them having to play in the preliminary round. A tremendous struggle took place between St Cuthbert's and St Hugh's in which the smaller but quicker St Cuthbert's team just got home 11-8. St Thomas's made an awful mess of their match against St Aidan's, missing a kick under the posts and then allowing St Aidan's to go through on the "last to score" rule. In the second round St Cuthbert's went on their way, Moore and the Cooper brothers being too much for St Oswald's. St Bede's and St John's had an enjoyable struggle in which St Bede's won by the odd point in 27 while St Aidan's went further with another close victory, this time over St Edward's for whom Unwin and Lloyd were always prominent. In the semi-finals, St Cuthbert's, now playing well, demolished St Bede's 18-0, while the powerful St Dunstan's, who had earlier taken 22 points off the luckless St Wilfrid's, only managed 6 against St Aidan's for whom Stiliard tackled everything that moved. The final between St Cuthbert's and St Dunstan's was an exciting affair in which both sides played some astute Sevens. But St Dunstan's were just too powerful in the front three and although St Cuthbert's had the last word, they could only bring the score to 13-10. For the winners, Skehan, Lewis and Pinkney excelled while the Cooper brothers, Moore and Hornoyld Strickland fought hard for the gallant losers.

In the Junior matches, St Oswald's and St Thomas's were the finalists and again a hard struggle developed in which St Oswald's just got home 3-0 through an admirable try by Pickin.

ATHLETICS

St Thomas's won crushing victories in both the Senior and Junior Competitions with only a spirited St Edward's giving them any sort of match. With athletes such as M. Forsythe, R. Fane-Hervey and M. Galloway in the van, they demonstrated their prowess in no uncertain fashion. There were very good performances from individuals too however, and a curiosity of this meeting was the number of successful challenges issued by Set 2 boys against Set 1. Fane-Hervey was one of these in the 100 Yards and he just managed to steal R. Twohig's cup by a foot with the latter closing fast. It is a long time since we had two such speedy boys in the School: both were credited with 10.3 secs and it is a shame that the wind was too strong for them to claim that they had equalled the record. J. Dawson did not have much difficulty in taking the cup for the Weight, nor P. Garbutt for the Javelin, nor C. Oppe in the Hurdles against an unfortunate A. Fitzgerald. But one of the races of the meeting was the challenge for the 440 Yards. Here B. de Guingand beat the strong R. Willbourn by a whisker in 56.4 secs on a very cold and windy day. One record was broken when P. de Zulueta threw the javelin in Set 4 over 112 ft and another was equalled when St Edward's won the Mile Team event gaining the first three places: the record had stood since 1935. There were other fine performances. M. Galloway in Set 3 with three firsts and a second, A. Marsden in Set 4 with four firsts and J. Ryan in Set 5 with three firsts, a second and a third had good reason to be proud of their efforts. All in all, one can say that the School should be well served in Athletics this year and for some years to come.

RESULTS OF THE SCHOOL ATHLETIC MEETING, 1971

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| Best Athlete | - | J. T. Prendiville and A. D. Fitzgerald |
| Set 2 | - | R. P. Fane-Hervey |
| Set 3 | - | M. S. Galloway |
| Set 4 | - | A. P. Marsden |
| Set 5 | - | J. D. Ryan |

SET 1

100 Yards.—(10.3 secs, G. A. Belcher, 1957, A. N. Stanton, 1960 and N. O'Donnell, 1965)

1 R. J. Twohig, 2 J. G. Ruck Keene, 3 R. S. Willbourn. 11.1 secs.
(Challenge : R. P. Fane-Hervey, 10.3 secs)

Quarter Mile.—(52.0 secs, J. J. Russell, 1954)

1 R. S. Willbourn, 2 M. M. Forsythe, 3 R. J. Twohig. 56.2 secs.
(Challenge : B. C. de Guingand, 56.4 secs)

Half Mile.—(2 mins 3.1 secs, M. G. Tolkien, 1961, A. G. Milroy and P. C. Karran, 1965)

1 M. M. Forsythe, 2 R. J. Ryan, 3 T. R. Buxton. 2 mins 8.5 secs.

Mile.—(4 mins 35.4 secs, R. Whitfield, 1957)

1 J. T. Prendiville, 2 R. G. Plowden, 3 M. P. Hubbard. 4 mins 55.2 secs.

Steeplechase.—(3 mins 42.8 secs, R. Channer, 1956, S. E. Brewster, 1960)

1 J. T. Prendiville, 2 M. J. O'Connor, 3 E. C. Sparrow. 4 mins 9.3 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.4 secs, A. N. Stanton, 1960)

1 A. D. Fitzgerald, 2 R. B. Carr, 3 R. P. Burdell. 17.5 secs.
(Challenge : C. F. Oppe, 17.0 secs)

High Jump.—(5 ft 10 ins, J. G. Bamford, 1942)

1 A. D. Fitzgerald, 2 A. G. Pinkney, 3 ———. 4 ft 11 ins.

Long Jump.—(21 ft 10 ins, M. R. Leigh, 1958, V. Tang, 1965)

1 J. S. Burford, 2 J. G. Ruck Keene, 3 M. H. Ryan. 18 ft 1 in.

Shot.—(46 ft 11 ins, C. B. Crabbe, 1960)

1 P. B. Duguid, 2 G. R. Gretton, 3 T. G. McAuley. 33 ft 10½ ins.
(Challenge: J. R. Dawson, 36 ft 7 ins)

Javelin.—(175 ft 0 in, P. J. Carroll, 1965)

1 P. D. Hiscocks, 2 E. C. Sparrow, 3 D. J. Lees-Millais. 128 ft. 1 in.
(Challenge: P. D. Garbutt, 152 ft 3 ins)

Discus.

1 D. J. Lees-Millais, 2 P. D. Hiscocks, 3 ———. 101 ft 1 in.

SET 2

100 Yards.—(10.7 secs, I. R. Scott-Lewis and P. B. Czarkowski, 1956)

1 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 2 B. C. de Guingand, 3 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland. 11.0 secs.

Quarter Mile.—(54.6 secs, F. H. Quinlan, 1957)

1 B. C. de Guingand, 2 W. M. Doherty, 3 E. P. Clarence-Smith. 56.0 secs.

Half Mile.—(2 mins 5 secs, P. C. Karran, 1954)

1 C. M. Bowie, 2 G. W. Daly, 3 P. S. Gaynor. 2 mins 11.6 secs.

Mile.—(4 mins 43.5 secs, H. C. Poole, 1966)

1 P. S. Gaynor, 2 G. W. Daly, 3 N. O. Fresson. 5 mins 11.5 secs.

Steeplechase.—(3 mins 49 secs, H. C. Poole, 1966)

1 N. O. Fresson, 2 J. D. Pratt and B. J. Caulfield. 4 mins 14.4 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.7 secs, A. N. Stanton, 1958, N. R. Balfour, 1961)

1 C. F. Oppe, 2 P. A. Sturridge, 3 R. M. Lewis and R. J. Nelson. 16.6 secs.

High Jump.—(5 ft 5 ins, D. B. Reynolds, 1943, P. D. Kelly, 1952)

1 C. F. Oppe, 2 P. A. Carrington, 3 P. King. 4 ft 10 ins.

Long Jump.—(20 ft 8½ ins, M. R. Leigh, 1957)

1 R. P. Fane-Hervey, 2 R. P. Hooke, 3 F. B. Skehan. 17 ft 6½ ins.

Weight.—(42 ft 5 ins, C. B. Crabbe, 1959)

1 J. R. Dawson, 2 J. A. Potez, 3 Hon F. M. Fitzherbert. 36 ft 7 ins.

Javelin.—(163 ft 8 ins, M. R. Hooke, 1946)

1 P. D. Garbutt, 2 C. M. Bowie, 3 P. J. Evans. 152 ft 3 ins.

Discus.

1 M. T. Stapleton, 2 S. M. Clayton, 3 P. D. Garbutt. 89 ft 10 ins.

SET 3

100 Yards.—(10.5 secs, O. R. Wynne, 1950)

1 M. S. Galloway, 2 S. R. Finlow, 3 S. C. Murphy. 12.3 secs.

Quarter Mile.—(56.4 secs, G. R. Habbershaw, 1957)

1 S. C. Murphy, 2 S. R. Finlow, 3 C. H. Ainscough. 60.2 secs.

Half Mile.—(2 mins 12.1 secs, G. R. Habbershaw, 1957)

1 S. R. Finlow, 2 S. C. Murphy, 3 C. H. Ainscough. 2 mins 22.1 secs.

Mile.—(4 mins 51.6 secs, H. C. Poole, 1965)

1 S. C. Murphy, 2 H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, 3 C. V. Clarke. 5 mins 19.7 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.1 secs, J. M. Bowen, 1960)

1 A. A. Hamilton, 2 M. S. Galloway, 3 D. M. Harwood-Little. 16.4 secs.

High Jump.—(5 ft 4 ins, A. R. Umney, 1955)

1 M. S. Galloway, 2 N. F. Woodhead, 3 M. Perry-Knox-Gore. 4 ft 11 ins.

Long Jump.—(19 ft 4 ins, D. R. Lloyd-Williams, 1960)

1 M. S. Galloway, 2 R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, 3 N. F. Woodhead. 17 ft 2½ ins.

Weight.—(37 ft 11 ins, F. C. Wadsworth, 1946)

1 C. A. Sandeman, 2 J. P. Townsend, 3 A. P. Oppe. 36 ft 0 ins.

Javelin.—(136 ft 4 ins, J. M. Bowen, 1960)

1 C. A. Sandeman, 2 R. H. Fergusson, 3 A. P. Oppe. 109 ft 0 ins.

SET 4

100 Yards.—(11.2 secs, A. B. Smith, 1952)

1 A. P. Marsden, 2 M. T. Heath, 3 J. P. Pickin. 12.1 secs.

Quarter Mile.—(59.0 secs, O. R. Wynne, 1949)

1 A. P. Marsden, 2 S. D. Mahony, 3 J. Jennings. 62.4 secs.

Half Mile.—(2 mins 17.5 secs, R. C. David, 1951)

1 J. Jennings, 2 G. L. Vincenti, 3 C. J. Simpson. 2 mins 30.9 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.1 secs, M. J. Dempster, 1958)

1 A. P. Marsden, 2 A. G. Yates, 3 C. J. Satterthwaite. 16.1 secs.

High Jump.—(4 ft 11½ ins, I. R. Scott-Lewis, 1954)

1 A. G. Yates, 2 C. J. Satterthwaite, 3 Hon R. A. Southwell and M. T. Heath. 4 ft 6 ins.

Long Jump.—(17 ft 4 ins, O. R. Wynne, 1949)

1 A. P. Marsden, 2 C. J. Satterthwaite, 3 M. T. Heath. 15 ft 7½ ins.

Javelin.—(105 ft, P. J. Stilliard, 1966)

1 P. G. de Zulueta, 2 N. G. Wadhams, 3 J. P. Pickin. 112 ft 6 ins (new record).

SET 5

100 Yards.—(11.5 secs, A. D. Coker, 1965, T. E. Howard, 1966)

1 J. D. Ryan, 2 N. D. Plummer, 3 K. E. O'Connor. 12.7 secs.

Quarter Mile.—(60.8 secs, R. R. Carlson, 1960)

1 J. D. Ryan, 2 S. N. Lintin, 3 N. D. Plummer. 63.0 secs.

Half Mile.—(2 mins 24.9 secs, J. M. Rogerson, 1957)

1 J. D. Ryan, 2 S. N. Lintin, 3 P. D. Macfarlane. 2 mins 30.4 secs.

Hurdles.—(15.9 secs, R. R. Carlson, 1960)

1 S. H. Davey, 2 W. T. Wadsworth, 3 A. P. Sandeman. 17.4 secs.

High Jump.—(4 ft 9 ins, G. Haslam, 1957)

1 Hon D. A. Asquith, 2 M. J. Franklin and M. A. Heape. 4 ft 2 ins.

Long Jump.—(16 ft 6 ins, R. R. Boardman, 1958)

1 N. D. Plummer, 2 J. D. Ryan, 3 S. N. Lintin. 16 ft 2 ins.

Javelin.—(107 ft 3 ins, A. G. West, 1964)

1 N. M. Baker, 2 A. M. Gray, 3 J. D. Ryan. 91 ft 5 ins.

INTER-HOUSE EVENTS

SENIOR

4 x 100 Yards Relay.—(43.9 secs, St Oswald's, 1958)

1 St Thomas's, 2 St John's, 3 St Cuthbert's. 45.6 secs.

Half Mile Medley.—(1 min 40.9 secs, St Hugh's, 1965)

1 St Thomas's, 2 St Hugh's, 3 St John's. 1 min 46.6 secs.

JUNIOR

- 4 x 100 Yards Relay.—(47.6 secs, St Aidan's, 1947)
 1 St Thomas's, 2 St Oswald's, 3 St John's. 49.9 secs.
- Half Mile Medley.—(1 min 50.9 secs, St Aidan's, 1957)
 1 St Edward's, 2 St Aidan's, 3 St Thomas's. 1 min 58.2 secs.
- 4 x 440 Yards.—(3 mins 58.4 secs, St Edward's, 1961)
 1 St John's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Thomas's. 4 mins 13.7 secs.
- Half Mile Team.—(6 points, St Cuthbert's, 1931)
 1 St Edward's, 2 St Aidan's, 3 St Thomas's. 16 points.
- One Mile Team.—(6 points, St Wilfrid's, 1935)
 1 St Edward's, 2 St Thomas's, 3 St Wilfrid's. 6 points (equals record).
- High Jump Team.—(14 ft 4½ ins, St Wilfrid's, 1939)
 1 St Thomas's, 2 St Edward's and St Cuthbert's. 14 ft 2 ins.
- Long Jump Team.—(51 ft 5½ ins, St Hugh's, 1962)
 1 St Thomas's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Edward's. 49 ft 1 in.
- Weight Team.—(99 ft 2 ins, St Dunstan's, 1961)
 1 St Hugh's, 2 St John's, 3 St Thomas's. 92 ft 6 ins.
- Javelin Team.—(355 ft 1 in, St Cuthbert's, 1953)
 1 St Hugh's, 2 St Wilfrid's, 3 St Dunstan's. 289 ft 3 ins.
- 4 Miles Relay (Senior and Junior).—(14 mins 33.8 secs, St Bede's, 1957)
 1 St Thomas's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Edward's. 15 mins 32.7 secs.

SQUASH

ALTHOUGH the first five have lost their two matches this term against Pocklington and the lay staff, they have made considerable strides. Daly and Ainscough are well-matched at numbers 1 and 2 and obtain continual practice in York every Saturday along with other members of the team. Since the whole team will be returning next year, we have high hopes that the results will soon improve. The first holder of the newly presented Davies Cup for the Individual Squash Rackets Championship is G. W. Daly, the captain, who defeated C. Ainscough in an absorbing final 3—1.

Results: Lost to Pocklington 0—5.

Lost to Lay staff 1—3.

BOXING

THE only match of the term, against Newcastle R.G.S. at Newcastle on 3rd March, was lost by five bouts to seven.

The afternoon began with three successive defeats. Brown-King proved too strong for Blackledge in the opening round and although Blackledge boxed with great courage in the final rounds he was not quite able to close the gap. Millar lost to a taller opponent but again never gave up until the final bell. Byrne also boxed a taller opponent and although he boxed with great verve and vigour he was too frequently out of range. New's appearance lifted the gloom, he boxed with amazing confidence, and more skill than we had expected, to take a clear points win. Holt obviously gained confidence from New's performance and boxed well to win narrowly, but was followed by Hampson, who lost to an opponent who proved to be much stronger than expected. In the next bout Collins faced a strong and dangerously hard-hitting opponent. However

he soon gained control and had the measure of his man when his opponent was disqualified for hitting with the inside of the glove on one occasion too many. Macauley seemed doomed to failure at the end of his first round, which he lost by a large margin. However he boxed the final rounds with such determination and vigour that he eventually emerged a clear winner.

The score now stood at four bouts each with four to go, and we had a good chance, on known form, of winning them all. As it turned out we won only one. The Captain of Boxing, Cassidy, involved himself in a hard-hitting scrap and lost narrowly to an opponent whom he could have beaten easily had he boxed at a distance and used his superior footwork and skill. Harwood-Little did what his captain should have done and boxed with great conviction and skill to give the best performance of the afternoon. However he failed to impress the judges and did not get the decision. Whatever the result, it had been an exciting encounter, one he could justifiably be proud of and the Captain awarded him his colours which he richly deserved. Garbutt boxed with great energy and determination but lost narrowly. Bowie ended the afternoon on a happier note by winning a very close contest. There were very few scoring punches landed in a bout of great tension and excitement and the first two rounds were absolutely even. In the last round Bowie snatched the verdict with a short but spirited offensive.

The Captain of Boxing awarded full colours to Harwood-Little, Bowie and Collins. Half colours were awarded to Macauley and Garbutt.

It is heartening to report the success of the two Amplefordians who boxed for Oxford in the Varsity match, S. Fane-Hervey, the new Blue, and the Captain of Oxford, R. Nairac. Also that Fane-Hervey has been elected as next year's Captain.

SHOOTING

BECAUSE of the postal strike the postponement of the Assegai and Country Life Competitions prevented the club from showing its true abilities. Results in practice so often differ from those in face of competition yet nevertheless it should be said that the scores produced week by week, and not by one or two but by many, revealed a distinctly high standard of shooting. This was borne out in the Stanforth Competition, held in the Christmas Term, when the second eight finished high up and within one point of the senior team. Linked to this competition was the Donegal Medal and the worthy winner was T. M. Fitzalan-Howard with an average score of 98.6%. In parenthesis it is appropriate to add that his younger brother "R.A." has won a high distinction through being selected as a member of the British Team of sixteen cadets, The Athelings, to tour Canada in August. He deserves our warm congratulations and we wish him every success.

INTRA-SCHOOL RESULTS

Johnson-Ferguson Cup (1st Year)—Won by K. E. O'Connor after a tie shoot with E. W. Fitzalan-Howard. Score 71/75.

Classification Cup—1st St Cuthbert's; 2nd St Wilfrid's; 3rd St Dunstan's.

Inter-House (Hardy Cup)—1st St Oswald's; 2nd St Cuthbert's; 3rd St Wilfrid's.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS VETERANS' CHALLENGE TROPHY

THIS will be competed for on Thursday, 15th July, after the Ashburton. All Old Boys who would care to shoot—lack of ability or practice matter little—should write to M. D. Ritel, Esq., 9 Blomfield Road, Malda Vale, London, W9. There is no problem about rifle or equipment which will be provided. After the meeting a Dinner Party will be held locally.

THE BEAGLES

THIS season will be remembered for the quite remarkably mild and open weather: almost perfect conditions day after day. There were virtually no windy or wet days.

Such conditions made it good to be out, whatever sport was like on any particular day. All the more so this term because all the meets were up on the moors, in the ideal and lovely country that we are so fortunate to be allowed to hunt over. We are very much indebted to the land-owners, shooting tenants, farmers and gamekeepers concerned, especially now when game preservation is so much more widespread than it used to be and the cost of a gun in a syndicate so much higher, not to mention the more intensive farming of what was more or less derelict land.

The Point-to-Point was held on 4th March. Weather conditions were good, but there was a good deal more ploughed land than usual on the course so that the going was heavy. The Master, R. G. P. Plowden, was an unchallenged winner. N. O. Fresson came second and R. A. Fitzalan-Howard third. In the Junior race J. F. Buxton was the winner from J. Hornyold-Strickland and R. G. Faber.

Whippers-in this term were R. A. Fitzalan-Howard and S. A. Stainton. T. C. Bidie was Field Master.

CROSS COUNTRY

IN terms of bare results both cross country teams had another good season. The 1st VIII won six out of eight matches and the 2nd VIII won seven out of eight. In the Midland Public Schools' meeting at Uppingham we came fourth out of twelve schools, and in the Northern Schools meeting at Disley we came 17th and 18th in the Senior and Junior events respectively, in each case out of about eighty schools.

The 1st VIII were fortunate in having three experienced and gifted runners in R. G. Plowden, J. T. Prendiville and M. M. Forsythe. The latter as Captain was a great inspiration to both teams. Plowden had an outstanding season (when he was spared from the hunting field!) and broke our own course record on two occasions. He and Prendiville had noteworthy runs in the Midland Public Schools' meeting coming in third and sixth respectively in a field of ninety-two. H. G. S. A. Kirby, S. G. C. Murphy, J. D. Pratt and P. Grace formed a solid centre to the team; and the last place was never hard to fill from as powerful a 2nd VIII as we have had for some time.

M. M. Forsythe and J. T. Prendiville were old colours; R. G. Plowden and H. G. S. A. Kirby were awarded theirs. Besides these and S. G. C. Murphy, J. D. Pratt and P. Grace—N. O. Fresson, A. D. FitzGerald, M. P. T. Hubbard, H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, P. B. Quigley and P. A. Carrington all ran in the 1st VIII.

The results of the 1st VIII matches were as follows:

- v. Pocklington. Won 25—63.
Ampleforth placings: 1 Plowden, 2 Forsythe, 4 Murphy, 5 Prendiville, 6 Kirby, 7 Pratt.
- v. Stonyhurst and Denstone. 1st Ampleforth 25, 2nd Denstone 77, 3rd Stonyhurst 84.
Ampleforth placings: 1 Forsythe, 2 Prendiville, 4 Kirby, FitzGerald, 6 Murphy, Pratt.
- v. Barnard Castle and Durham. 1st Barnard Castle 32, 2nd Ampleforth 48, 3rd Durham 103.
Ampleforth placings: 4 Forsythe, 5 Prendiville, 7 Kirby, 9 Grace, 10 Murphy, 13 Pratt.
- v. Leeds Grammar School. Won 32—52.
Ampleforth placings: 2 Plowden, 4 Prendiville, 5 Forsythe, 6 Kirby, 7 Pratt, 8 Murphy.

- v. University College School. Won 25—60.
Ampleforth placings: 1 Plowden, 2 Forsythe, 3 Prendiville, 4 Kirby, 7 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 8 Grace.
- v. Sedbergh. Lost 31—47.
Ampleforth placings: 2 Prendiville, 7 Murphy, 8 Forsythe, 9 Grace, 10 Kirby, 11 Pratt.

Midland Public Schools' Meeting. Ampleforth placed 4th out of 12.

Northern Schools' Meeting. Ampleforth placed 17th.

The 2nd VIII won seven out of their eight matches.

The results were as follows:

- v. Scarborough College 1st VIII. Won 27—54.
- v. Stonyhurst and Denstone 2nd Vllls. 1st Ampleforth 29, 2nd Stonyhurst 58, 3rd Denstone 106.
- v. York Youth Harriers. Won 31—48.
- v. Barnard Castle and Durham 2nd Vllls. 1st Barnard Castle 35, 2nd Ampleforth 45, 3rd Durham 1124.
- v. Army Apprentices' College, Harrogate. Won 30—49.
- v. Scarborough High School 1st VIII. Won 21—63.

The following ran: E. C. A. Sparrow (capt.), L. Jennings, N. St C. L. Baxter, T. R. V. Buxton, C. P. Molloy, H. E. B. Faulkner, T. G. Marshall, R. A. Fitzalan-Howard, C. V. Clarke, D. K. J. Lloyd, M. J. O'Connor and J. M. Newsam.

In the Inter-House races there was a very rare occurrence in the Senior event with two houses, St Edward's and St Thomas's, tying for first place. Plowden won the event in a record time. In the Junior A race St Edward's had five out of the first six home and won the team event easily, S. Murphy being the individual winner. St Thomas's just beat St Aidan's (by one point) in the Junior B.

The individual results were:

Senior: 1st Plowden, 2nd Prendiville, 3rd Forsythe.

Junior A: 1st Murphy, 2nd Finlow, 3rd Hamilton-Dalrymple.

Junior B: 1st Graves, 2nd Lintin, 3rd Ryan.

The Inter-House results:

Senior: 1st equal St Edward's and St Thomas's 76 pts, 3rd St Wilfrid's 123 pts.

Junior A: 1st St Edward's 42 pts, 2nd St Wilfrid's 149 pts, 3rd St Thomas's 153 pts.

Junior B: 1st St Thomas's 42 pts, 2nd St Aidan's 43 pts, 3rd St Hugh's 59 pts.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

ARMY SECTION

VARIETY again has characterised training this term. Nearly all the courses were working up towards the Field Day on 8th March, so a brief description of how that was spent will be given.

The Basic Section was tested for APC Part I in Weapon Training and Orienteering and part of the Drill (the whole syllabus will not be completed until next term, when it will be tested). The Orienteering took place in the Wass woods and was most efficiently planned and organised by the Advanced Orienteering Course. Very good results were obtained in both the subjects tested.

The Self-Reliance Course was tested for APC Part II and spent two nights out on the moors in cold and snowy conditions. The first night, Saturday, was a practice camp. The Sunday was the actual test, and consisted of an expedition over unfamiliar country in small groups and cooking and camping. All those who took part were successful in passing the test.

The Night Patrol Course camped on the Sunday night on Strensall Common and carried out a complete night patrol also for APC Part II. Over very boggy and featureless ground each of the small patrols had to find their way to their objective and back, carrying out all the patrol drills. All did well (H. Roberts, P. Sommer, G. Roche, T. Symes, L. Nosworthy passed with credit) but two of the patrols failed to reach their objective and so all members of them were failed. Nevertheless 23 passed out of 33.

Also at Strensall the Drum Major and his Corps of Drums of the King's Division Depot gave a full day's training to our Band. The Band, in addition to improving its playing, is also an impressive sight: we have recently equipped them with ex-Police blue uniforms and red and white peaked caps. The uniforms nearly all required a considerable amount of tailoring, but in spite of the difference in size between a full size policeman and a pocket size Ampleforth drummer or bugler, the result is very satisfactory.

The Green Howards Army Youth Team took the Survival Course out on the Sunday afternoon for 24 hours on the snow-clad North Yorkshire Moors. They were last seen disappearing into the drizzle of a low cloud and were out of sight until the following day when it was learnt that they had in fact survived. There was mention of long distances covered, of abseiling by night, and a lack of sleep, but the general impression was that they were rather pleased with themselves.

We were honoured with a visit from the Life Guards who brought a troop of armoured cars. During the morning the Signals Section were given driving instruction and manned the radios for a Tiger exercise. In the afternoon the Ski Course and Fr Rupert's Leadership Course took part in an ambush and road block scheme with the armoured cars in the Gilling woods. This was not very successful, partly owing to the wooded country which was unsuitable for armoured cars, and partly owing to the ill-disciplined and untrained cadets taking part in the exercise. In spite of this we hope that the Life Guards will be rewarded for their efforts by an interest in the regiment at Ampleforth. We are grateful to them for coming.

PROMOTIONS

ARMY SECTION

To be C.S.M.: Sgt Myles T.

To be Sergeants Cpls Barker-Benfield C. V., Baxter N. St C., Caulfield, Duckworth, Sherley-Dale M., Williams G., Clarke C. V., Colacicchi W. M., Deedes J. H., Hope A. J., Loring A. F., Ponsoby J. M., Poyser D. G., Rylands H. J. J., Stilliard J. A., Townsend R. C., Weaver M. C.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

It was with great regret that we heard at the end of the term that the Commanding Officer of our parent establishment, Commander David Dunbar-Dempsey, had been killed in a flying accident. He was a great friend who had done much to help us both officially and privately. We shall feel his loss.

Our now established habit of spending part of the Easter holidays in Malta continued. This year our hosts were the First Battalion, the Devon and Dorset Regiment and they entertained us splendidly. It was a source of much satisfaction to see at close quarters a first class fighting Regiment and to be able to train with them. All the cadets had an opportunity of firing the weapons used by the modern Army and watching demonstrations of the more sophisticated techniques. Although the presence of the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean does not compare with the size of the U.S. Sixth Fleet it was good to see and to visit a modern Guided Missile Destroyer, *H.M.S. London*, in Grand Harbour. We are grateful to Captain R. Forrest, Royal Navy, for the excellent visit he organised for us. In addition to the time we spent with the Services on serious training we had ample time for some exercise on our own, particularly during the four days we spent on Gozo where we walked, swam and enjoyed ourselves in splendid weather.

The cadets had shown much initiative during their fortnight in Malta but never more so than on the morning of the departure when we arrived at Luqa Airport at 4 a.m. to find a complete strike of the civilian air staff. By acting as booking clerks, baggage handlers and a variety of other occupations we managed to get away only 30 minutes after the scheduled time of take off—the only aircraft to leave Malta that day. If we obtain an allocation for a Malta camp in Easter 1972, as we hope, our hosts should be 41 Commando, whose Commanding Officer is an O.A., Lt. Col. R. Campbell, Royal Marines (C 47).

We are fortunate that for our Summer Annual Training we have had the minesweeper *H.M.S. Aveluy* put at our disposal for the last week in July. Operating from Devonport we should be able to visit the Channel Islands or North French ports given reasonable weather. We also hope to continue our association with the Tyne Division R.N.R. with training in *H.M.S. Northumbria*.

R.A.F. SECTION

UNDER U/O Purves, the Section prospered, though the numbers on parade were smaller than in previous years. Training for the Air and Advanced Proficiency Examinations ran smoothly under W.O. Bidie, while W.O. McArthur ensured the efficient administration of the Section, especially the stores, working well with Fg. Off. Davies and Flt. Sgt. Collins, our Liaison Officer from Topcliffe.

Flt. Lt. Pearce inspected the Section and found it satisfactory, for the last time as he is being posted away. The Field Day went well, with one party visiting the engineering base at Leonfield, and another, under W.O. Bidie, going to R.A.F. Laemling. J/Cpls. Guiver, Herdon and Kerr distinguished themselves in the Survival Course run by the Green Howards, and members of the Section attended courses in ski-ing, electronics and signals.

Under the skilled lead of Sgt. Heathcote, who has made 8 solo flights in 3 types of sailplane at the Club and is a qualified winch-driver, the Section's gliding at the Yorkshire Gliding Club went remarkably well. Over 20 flights were made by boys during the term, and members of the Section have now flown 7 glider types and with the new powered sailplane it is hoped even more will be achieved next term when the weather is less of an impediment.

Despite the weather there were some days of powered flying at R.A.F. Topcliffe, and we have two candidates for Flying Scholarships: Sgts. Reid and Vaughan. In all, though the Section is reduced in numbers, there is much enthusiasm, and the summer can be looked forward to with the greatest optimism.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

It was a brisk, easy, no-nonsense Spring Term of only ten weeks and it was successful in all respects. The health of the House was generally excellent throughout. The mild winter no doubt contributed to this yet the unexpected weather seemed merely to conform to the happy way in which Mrs Mallory and Mrs Kelly continued to run the domestic side of things. The standard of work and sport was high, too. It was just as well that we were without too many problems in a period notable for its postal strike.

The re-shaping of the House, involving the creation of a library and prep. room, a music room and an art room, has proved to be a slower business than was at first expected. Progress came to a halt until the beginning of March when fire escape experts finally agreed on a course of action. Since then work has continued and we expect most of it to be completed during the Summer Term.

While carpentry and scouting remain as popular as ever (and we thank Fr Charles and Br Matthew for their never-failing efforts in the carpentry shop, and Fr Alban and his enthusiastic team of helpers from the Upper School for their activities in the valley) the progress of music in the House has been marked. Mr Bowman's *Schola* was in action every Sunday in the Abbey church and was able to perform eight motets without difficulty at a concert at Kirkdale in March. For the Choral Society the climax was a highly successful concert in the theatre at the end of the term. Since nearly half the House is involved in either the *Schola* or Choral Society, this choral singing of high quality absorbs much of our energy and spare time and is a source of considerable satisfaction. Benjamin Hooke's solo singing in the theatre was a particularly fine effort.

Members of the House were able to go to the School theatre on two other occasions. Stephen Gibbons gave a much appreciated guitar recital at the beginning of February and there was an uproarious variety show at the end of the month. This was put on by members of the School in order to

raise money for the Lourdes Sick Fund and, rather to their astonishment, some of the Junior House found themselves taking part. Early in the term we were able to attend an organ recital in the Abbey church by Francis Jackson. We are as indebted as ever to Fr Geoffrey for his work in projecting our weekly film; *The Lion, True Grit, A Boy on a Dolphin, Blue Murder at St Trinian's* and *Sink the Bismark* were the most popular.

There were two holidays during the term, on the feast of our patron St Alban Roe in January and at Shrove-tide in February. The C.C.F. Field Day provided us with another opportunity to visit the Forum at Billingham towards the end of term. Indoor football (5-a-side), squash, table tennis, swimming and ice skating, together with a cafeteria lunch, kept us busy for six hours non-stop. Not a single member of the House missed this outing which seemed to be extremely popular. The skating, keen but untutored, had to be seen to be believed.

It was good to see Fr Patrick having lunch with us twice during the term. Other guests included Fr Charles, Br Matthew, various scouters and Mr Bowman.

SCOUTS

The scout troop had another good term, helped through this usually difficult period of the year by the unwinter weather. The eight patrols worked unhindered through a rota of different activities except on one Sunday when the weather did cause some discomfort. On two Sundays the normal rota gave way to a more intensive programme of preparation for the scout training awards and the troop is making good progress through the award scheme. Robin Duncan and Mark Tate are to be congratulated on receiving the Advanced Scout Standard award in the course of the term.

Advantage was taken of the first holiday of the term to complete a Patrol Leader Training Course started in September. The P.L.s spent the weekend at the mole-catcher's cottage and passed an interesting afternoon finding out all they could about Coxwold.

The second holiday in February found twelve scouts and three scouters tramping cheerfully and resolutely through the rain from Dalby Forest to the Scarborough Youth Hostel where they spent the night, despite an attempt by our Venture Scout Unit to kidnap some of the party. From there the party moved on by mini-bus to Flamborough Head for a walk along the cliffs (this time in sunshine) and a visit to the Coastguard Station.

The Field Commissioner, Mr Hugh Fletcher, paid us a visit on 28th February—not to make a formal inspection but to see our normal round of activities in progress. He was sport enough to let the air out of one of his tyres near Goulton just before the Kestrels, on a patrol hike, appeared round the corner. He reported afterwards that they dealt very creditably with the situation and changed his wheel for him with courtesy and efficiency. They were surprised to learn later whose wheel they had changed.

On the 7th March the troop invited a dozen boys from Ampleforth village to join in the day's activities at the lake. An assault course was built, competed on and dismantled. The village boys were integrated into the various patrols for the day. The Robin Patrol won the competition.

SPORT

The rugby season was completed with matches against Pocklington and St Olave's and we fielded three teams on both occasions. The 1st XV once again lost to Pocklington's strong team although they won their game with St Olave's 12-0. So the 1st XV may be said to have had a good season having played 12 matches, with 10 wins, 2 losses, 152 points gained and 38 conceded. The first year team won their last two matches and finished their season with 4 wins and 2 losses.

Two soccer matches were played with St Martin's. We played first on the Gilling ground where we won 4-2 and we won the return match at St Martin's 6-0. A first year team beat Gilling 6-1. The soccer teams were unofficial and un-coached and very enthusiastic.

The cross country season saw some running of high quality. Both the second year and the first year produced teams

which won their three matches: against St Edward's on 2nd March, St Olave's on 4th March and St Cuthbert's on 9th March. There was some keen competition between the second and the first year with victory usually going to the younger runners. In the cross country championship on 15th March Duncan McKechnie, the captain, was first man home. There were 92 competitors. U.I.I.C. won the team prize and U.I.I.C. were second; both were first year teams.

Indoor shooting for the second year took place during the term, the Gosling Cup being the prize. There were some really excellent results. Benjamin Dore won the cup with a score of 95 out of 100, Nicholas Benies was second with 93 and Stephen Glaister third with 91.

An indoor cricket school operated during the evenings after supper. Fr Simon was pleased with the way things went and he found a considerable amount of cricketering talent which should blossom in the summer.

Mr Callaghan from Gilling once again trained some boxers on Thursday evenings. The competition in March was a great success and we thank him for his labours on our behalf. Anthony Fraser is to be congratulated on being nominated the best boxer. Duncan McKechnie and Simon Bickerstaffe were hot on his heels.

This Spring Term, then, saw rugby, soccer, cross country running, shooting, cricket, boxing and swimming. Standards were generally high and we were pleased with the term's sport.

FACTS AND FIGURES

The following joined the Choral Society to bring the number of trebles up to 40: S. P. Treherne, R. G. Burdell, T. B. Boulton, P. H. M. Houghton, J. Dick, P. D. Sandeman, S. P. Finlow.

The following competed in the final of the Gosling shooting: B. J. Dore (95), N. A. J. Benies (93), S. B. Glaister (91), P. A. Graham (88), S. D. Peers (84), S. W. Ellingworth (83), S. B. Harrison (82), A. E. Bond (81), J. F. J. Donne (66).

In the boxing competition the following took part (winners' names first): J. D. Page and T. A. J. Carroll, K. M. Evans and N. J. Gaynor, M. G. R. May and M. J. Morgan, J. B. Horsley and D. A. J. McKechnie, M. N. Cardwell and C. W. E. Graham, T. L. Judd and B. D. J. Hooke, A. H. J. Fraser and M. C. F. D. Bailey, B. L. Bunting and P. D. M. Tate, P. R. Moore and P. A. J. Ritchie, S. P. O'Carroll-Fitzpatrick and J. A. Dundas, S. P. S. Reid and M. J. Craston, E. C. Glaister and N. W. O'Carroll-Fitzpatrick, S. J. Bickerstaffe and C. F. J. Maclaren. A. H. J. Fraser was judged to be the best boxer.

THE second year cross country team consisted of: D. A. J. McKechnie (capt.), B. L. Bunting (vice-capt.), M. W. A. Tate, M. S. Thompson, B. H. Finlow, J. H. D. Misick, J. A. Dundas, N. E. Cruice Goodall. The first year team: P. R. Moore, N. J. Gaynor, R. D. Grant, D. A. Houlton, J. M. D. Murray, M. P. Peters, A. H. J. Fraser, M. J. Morgan.

THE soccer team was made up of: J. A. Dundas (capt.), S. B. Harrison, M. R. F. Griffiths, S. P. S. Reid, R. G. Burdell, M. S. Thompson, S. J. Bickerstaffe, C. H. W. Soden-Bird, R. W. Newton, M. J. Pierce, M. J. Craston, M. J. Dwyer.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: M. P. Trowbridge.

Captain of Soccer: J. C. B. Tate.

Captains: T. B. P. Hubbard, S. G. Durkin,

P. K. Corkery, D. R. Ellingworth, C. C.

Howard, J. F. Lennon.

Secretaries: S. J. Unwin, A. P. Ryan,

E. T. B. Charlton.

Sacrists: P. B. Myers, T. R. B. Fattorini,

D. C. Bradley, P. S. Stokes.

Librarians: A. E. Duncan, C. P. Watters,

P. J. A. Hall, J. F. Nowill.

Ante-Room: A. J. Nicoll, B. J. M. Edwards,

C. F. H. Clayton.

Bookroom: A. R. Goodson, M. F. Russell,

M. T. C. Madden, M. C. M. Pickthall.

Chapel Books: M. J. Blenkinsopp, M. S.

Harrison, M. J. Velarde, A. C. A. Quirke.

Art Room: I. C. S. Watts, A. C. Burt,

L. R. Dowling, I. Rodzianko.

Model Room: T. M. May, C. T. Seconde-

Kynnersley.

Woodwork: S. R. F. Hardy, T. D. Beck.

Office Men: D. McN. Craig, S. J. Dick.

Dispensary: A. de Larrinaga, M. D. Sillars.

THE Spring Term began on a note of sadness, for we were without Fr William. His death was a grievous loss to countless people, but especially to us here at Gilling. As the term began it seemed that everyone was realising, gradually, just how much he had meant to them.

We welcomed two new faces. Fr Bede was a great asset, and the Third Form were quick to appreciate him as their form master. Mr. Timothy Reeves also reinforced the teaching staff, and contributed considerably to the success of our soccer season.

THE term went smoothly, with remarkably mild weather and no epidemics. Fr Hilary, alas, was taken ill, and after an absence of several weeks was given a great welcome when at last he was able to return.

THE feast of St Aelred, our patron, was a special day. Fr Abbot kindly came over to say Mass for us and preach, and afterwards the Third Form made their traditional pilgrimage to Rievaulx Abbey.

We are grateful to Dr Peter Evans, who came to give us one of his fascinating natural history lectures. This time he showed us colour slides taken on his recent visit to Poland.

AMONGST other visitors were Mr and Mrs Charles-Edwards, who came to judge the history projects organised by Mr Buxton—mammoth family trees of the Kings of England. Though they admitted that like the battle of Waterloo it was a "close-run thing", they finally decided that the best entry was that of Dowling and Sillars.

ONCE again we must record our thanks to Matron, Nurse and all the other staff for all that they do for our welfare, and in particular to Mrs Dowling who helped us so nobly, especially during the last few weeks of term.

It was only after the end of term that it became widely known that Miss Pauline Flannery had resigned as Matron. We thank her for all her devoted work here, and wish her every success for the future.

MUSIC

In the field of instrumental music this has been a most encouraging term. Various factors contributed to this. A new system of lessons was introduced, so that a boy had two short lessons in a week instead of one long one, so that interest and progress were maintained throughout each week. A brand new Kemble piano appeared in the Cedar dormitory, and thereafter was in almost constant use. Finally, two informal concerts were organised, not to mention the even less formal concerts which frequently took place in the Second Form dormitories before lights-out.

In the two concerts it was clear that our best pianists are Tate, Hattrell, Herdon and May, with Lovegrove and others also making good progress. Goodson, Ogden, D. Rodzianko and Pagendam are improving steadily on the violin, and all First Form violinists are increasing in competence. Of the recorder groups Corkery, Madden and Dowling were the most impressive, and the second of the

concerts concluded with an enthusiastic display of Highland Dancing.

All concerned deserve to be congratulated on their progress, and our thanks are due to Mr and Mrs Gruenfeld, Mr Mortimer and Mr Gibbons for all their expert tuition and the wonderful results they have achieved.

ART

THIRD FORM

A COMBINATION of international events (so often news value is disaster-conscious), trivial incidents and sport provide a never-failing fount of inspiration. War, if it were tolerated, would appear to fill the cup of inspiration to the brim. Next to war the sea provides a steady fascination and gives generous scope to the imagination in its more turbulent moods. M. D. Sillars can sometimes overspill his enthusiasm with Turneresque effects. Aeroplanes rank with cars as power symbols for the young, impressionable minds of Gilling artists (often with convincing sound accompaniment) and the crash of Rolls-Royce seemed to contain all the ingredients that could be desired for energetic picture-making. And the results were not disappointing. The quiet, reflective scenes of woodland and trout fishing by T. May were a welcome change from engineering fantasies. But some of the most pleasing designs were those done for the Eurocent—the basic coin for a United States of Europe. These compared favourably with the new pence introduced during the term. In spite of the absence of snow, ski-ing and tobogganing were as popular as ever in imaginations seemingly impervious to the cold, and the end of term revealed variety of talent and enthusiasm and no need for the invidious selection of prize-winners. This task comes in the summer.

J.J.B.

SECOND FORM

THE boys of the Second Form worked during art lessons with great enthusiasm and success. Ogden is still the leading artist in the Second Form, but there are other boys of considerable ability like Harrington, P. Millar, Graves, Cardwell, C. Waterton, D. Rodzianko, Martin and Dowse. Everyone improved during the term, especially Beale and Hunter, who

are now amongst the best artists in the form.

FIRST FORM

THERE is no one in the First Form who does not enjoy working in the art room. The general standard of painting is exceptionally high. Many of the pictures completed were exhibited as posters in the ante-room. They advertised the Feast Days of St Alban, St Aelred, St Scholastica, St Joseph and St Benedict. Events like Family Fast Day, the School Concert and the Boxing Competition, were also advertised in vivid colours. Steel and R. Millar often produce the best work, but are not as self-reliant as Micklethwait, Richardson, Lovegrove, Gruenfeld, Lawson and Raynar, who can paint an excellent picture with very little help, prompting and encouragement. M. Fattorini is a boy with real ability; his pictures are original, strong, colourful and interesting.

SKI-ING

THERE was a little snow during the first week in March which enabled sixty-one boys to do some ski-ing on four different afternoons. Everyone quickly mastered the art of walking with skis and downhill running on the gentle slopes of the golf course, which is ideal for beginners. The Second Form skiers had some fun over a jump at the village end of the golf course. The majority came to grief on landing, but no one felt too frightened to have another go. Fr Piers conducted a Ski Tour of 24 boys around the golf course on the Feast of St Aelred with apples and chocolate biscuits for "elevenses".

AEROMODELLING

WITH the help of better facilities, thirty-one boys from all sections of the school successfully completed thirty-one models. The largest gliders were two Empresses (wingspan 77 in) made by Durkin and P. Millar. Five boys made Inchworms (wingspan 64 in); the best one was by Corkery. Sixteen boys made Galaxies (wingspan 42 in); the best of these were by Elwes and Beak.

The best "all round" flyers this term were Doherty and Secondé. Other successful flyers were May, Durkin, P. Millar, Rohan, Rattrie, Harrington and Salvin,

who did a 55 sec flight with his Galaxy. F. Howard at present holds the highest time for open gliding with his Swan in a flight of 1 min 10 sec, while Secondé has the A/2 best flight with his Corsair built from plans, time 1 min 7 1/2 sec.

The two teams for the 1971 team event will be chosen from the most consistent flyers, and those boys with the highest flight times.

At the end of the term Mrs Dowling very kindly helped to provide some of the delicious food for the Section Leaders' tea party in the art room, which was a very successful celebration except that Fr Piers' speech was drowned by too much laughter!

SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCING

ALTHOUGH fewer boys came to meetings in the gymnasium after tea on Sundays, there was a real improvement in the general standard of dancing. Sometimes the boys danced so well that nurse rewarded them by handing out sweets, and at the end of meetings the thirst of the dancers was quenched by a drink of orange squash in the art room. Twelve boys danced a Dashing White Sergeant in front of the School at the end of the last concert of the term. The best performers were Steel and Procter, but all the boys had worked hard to perfect the dance, and on the day they did well, so that they thoroughly deserved the loud applause that they were given by the School at the end of their performance.

GAMES

THIS turned out to be a most memorable soccer season. There was great excitement when the goals on Far Field were fitted with nets; and a germ-free term followed with unusually mild weather, so that as many as seven matches were played.

Results on paper were not impressive: one win, one draw, and five losses; but we scored in every match, the final total being 14 goals scored and 22 goals conceded. It would be wrong to criticise the defence: Unwin and Dick both developed into goalkeepers of more than average skill; Caulfield was most reliable at centre-half; and Hardy and Stokes were a good pair of hard-tackling full-backs. But the real power of the team was in the midfield, in Tate, Hubbard and D. Ellingworth, and these three gave our forwards a liberal supply of the ball. Corkery

could be relied upon on the left wing, and the other three forwards, Madden, Dundas and Nicoll, combined well with each other and in fact produced most of the 14 goals. Madden scored four, Dundas and Nicoll three apiece, Corkery two, Ellingworth one, and there was one "own goal".

The season started with a heavy defeat by a strong Junior House side, then a defeat at St Martin's by two goals to one, a two-all draw with a weaker Junior House side, and a defeat by Bramcote in a match played in arctic conditions. Then came our win, by six goals to two, against a St Martin's team, then a defeat by a very skilful Marton Hall side by four goals to one, and the season ended with a defeat at Bramcote by two goals to one. A final game with the Junior House had to be cancelled because of heavy rain, to the disappointment of both sides of the valley.

Colours were awarded to Tate, Hubbard, Corkery, D. Ellingworth, Madden, Nicoll, Dundas and Unwin. Stokes, Caulfield and Hardy were the other regular members of the team; Dick played very well as goalkeeper in three of the matches, and May played twice when the full team could not be raised.

Lower down the School there was great enthusiasm for the game. Fr Piers and Fr Bede developed the talent at the Second Form, while Mr Lorrigan and Fr Gerald produced wonderful results with the First Form. The two sets clashed in a great match at the end of term—and the First Form won! Another match had to be arranged: the Second Form were at full strength with Dundas and Caulfield; even so they found it was no easy task to master the speed, skill and fire of the First Form, to say nothing of the vociferous cheering of the First Form supporters.

BOXING

THE Boxing Competition was held at the end of term, with 62 boys taking part, and others disappointed because they could not be matched. This enthusiasm for the sport (only those who genuinely want to take part) was reflected in the high standard, which so impressed Mr Gorring, S. L. Cassidy and C. M. Bowie, who so kindly came to referee and judge for us.

In the First Form Soden-Bird won the prize for the Best Boxer. The following also won their bouts: Lawson, David,

Lovegrove, Kevill, Forsythe and Young. Moreton was singled out as the Best Loser, but there were many close bouts and much promise shown for the future.

The best afternoon's boxing came from the Second Form, where there were many difficult decisions to make. Glaister, D. Richardson, Dowse, D. Rodzianko, C. Waterton, Ogden, Hattrell, Beale, Weld-Blundell, Sutherland and Pagendam all won their bouts; and Dundas won the prize for the Best Boxer. There were so many good ones to choose from that the judges were hard put to it to decide on the Best Loser, but eventually chose Graves and gave McKechnie a special mention.

The Third Form too put up a good show, Craig, Hall, Harrison, Seconde-

Kynnersley, Duncan, Madden, Hardy, Nicoll, Trowbridge, Corkery and D. Ellingworth all winning their bouts. But the match of the competition was between Quirke and Watters, both of whom showed real skill, courage and power. Quirke emerged with the title of Best Loser and Watters the prize for the Best Boxer.

Our thanks go to Mr Callighan, whose enthusiasm and skill produced such a fine competition; and to our visiting referee and judges, who came at a busy time to give us their encouragement: but above all they must go to the 62 boxers who demonstrated so convincingly that boxing can be a really skilful art.

LOCAL HOTELS AND INNS

White Swan Hotel, Ampleforth

(Ampleforth 239).

Evening grills from 7-30 p.m., Wednesday to Sunday. Full à la carte menu. Snacks always available during licensed hours.

Ryedale Lodge

(Nunnington 246).

On the road to Nunnington. A licensed restaurant with accommodation—four double rooms. Dinner (from £1.75) and breakfast served in comfortable traditional surroundings.

The Malt Shovel Inn, Oswaldkirk

(Ampleforth 461).

Seventeenth century inn, near to the College and Yorkshire Moors. Bed and breakfast. Bar snacks. Fully licensed.

The Green Man Hotel, Malton

(Malton 2662).

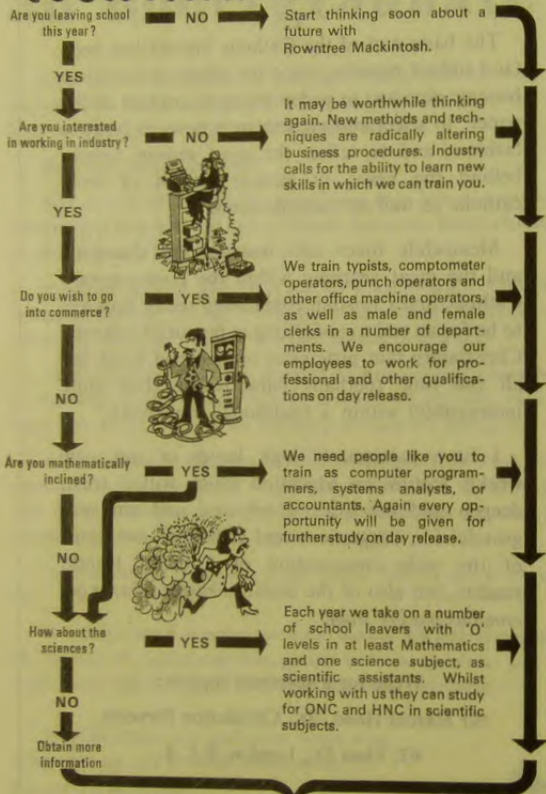
AA two star. 22 modern bedrooms, several with private shower, etc. Fully central heated. Dining room seating 100, open to non-residents. Fully licensed. Ample car parking facilities.

The Hall Hotel, Thornton-le-Dale

(Thornton-le-Dale 254).

Sixteenth century house in extensive gardens. Riding, squash available. Fully licensed. First class cuisine. Open to non-residents. Private bath-rooms available.

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EDITORIAL: *LEX LIBERTATIS*

It is dangerous to try to mould the Gospel into legal texts.

Cardinal Suenens.

THE Church is a mystery, and its governance is quite unlike any other form of government. Its task, as that of all institutions, is to bring freedom, not restraint; but the freedom of Christ is something different from the freedom that men can confer. Against love, joy, peace and service there can be no laws; and though law liberates in the main by restricting in certain regards, it is insufficient to express the drives of man, who is at once bound by time and his nature and destined for eternity and God's grace. Man lives in two orders of being, the spiritual and the seeable, constantly aware that his life is sacramental, inward and beyond him and yet evidently tangible and controllable by him.

These orders of being are not to be confused. The one embraces the operation of spiritual energy, a breath of God, life from Life, which man can receive or reject, but can neither create nor control. The other is the mundane order of growth and decay, seasonal change, supply and demand, contract, agreement, enforcement. The Church stands astride these two orders of being, exercising its authority and its laws not because such laws reflect divine life but because the Church is composed of men—men who are called to live fully human lives, and are called essentially and primarily to the responsibility of the service of God, which alone is perfect freedom transcending all human authority. The Church is an organic synthesis of these two orders—and so an apparent living contradiction, fraught with anomalies. Did Christ not say that he had come to fulfil the Law, and his vessel of election Paul then say that the Law had been done away with? Are we not baffled as how to reconcile the justice of God with the mercy his Son preached? Were we not exhorted never to cease endeavouring, yet Christ said "without me you can do nothing"? And what of the virtues of humility, gentleness, modesty and meekness, or forbearance and bearing the burdens of one another, which accord little with the self-interested prudence of this competitive world? And what does it mean that we should become as little children, when the whole drive of man in his highest civilising nature is towards adult maturity of mind? And what are we to make of the doctrine that the exalted are to be humbled and the humble exalted? And what is the lesson of Christ washing his disciples' feet or of a succession of Popes calling themselves *servus servorum Dei*? The Church is a sign of contradiction reconciling two worlds that seem

◀ ABBOT WILLIAM PRICE
1899-1971

Photo: Geoffrey Halliwell, "The Observer."



irreconcilable. Her role is well illustrated in the title of a recent book by Professor von Campenhausen: "Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power".¹

In two other vital ways does the Church differ from human organisations, breaking down all analogy. The first is that it is, for those who are enlightened to it (and *in petto* for those who are not), the sole vehicle of salvation. It is not a club we may join for its amenities and from which we may resign when it costs us too much; nor is it an alternative society, which must make its bid for our attention; nor is it a form of structure that might well have been otherwise and can conveniently be changed: it is unique, God's instrument for our salvation, our pilgrim caravan to the vision of God. Those who think otherwise should ponder on the words of Peter, poignant now as on the evening that they were uttered: "Lord, to whom shall we turn, for it is you who have the words of eternal life?"

This brings us to the second difference, that our relationship with the founder of the Church, "a Head crowned with thorns", is not a relationship down the centuries (as with St Benedict or the Magna Carta signators or the drafters of the Bill of Rights); nor is it a relationship down a hierarchical line (as in the Services, the professions or business companies): no, it is direct. Each of us Christians professes Christ, and him crucified and risen and living, living now at the right hand of the Father and in the *kerygma* and in a specially intimate way in the eucharistic action. Cornerstone and linchpin and head of his Church, he lives in each of its members today and tomorrow without reference to time past or to persons in between.

In this Church a real and increasing crisis has been created of late years as Ecclesiastical Authority has been smothering Spiritual Power, and then lulling itself into complacency in face of man's steadily accelerating revolution in spirit, till a disturbing gap has become evident between structure and reality. Over the years, beginning as far back as the Gregorian Reform and consolidated during the Counter Reformation, the clergy has been removed from life to an unreal world of ecclesiastical conceptualisation which fed upon its own theological rumination. Thought became crudely polarised by the harshness of Reformation politics (as it did in the minds of Cranmer and Luther, who distorted Supremacy and *sola scriptura*). The "seedbed" or *seminarium* was instituted, where men barely into their adulthood were trained in personal and intellectual isolation to lead dedicated lives of pastoral leadership. The process is exemplified in the lifelong struggle between England's two great nineteenth century Cardinals, Newman and Manning, the one to get Catholics (not just clerics) back to Oxford and Cambridge or any university of free ranging thought, the other to preserve them in pious myopia untouched by the world—as the mandarins bound the feet of their female children so that they would remain through life tiny. And to replace thought law

¹ "Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the first three Centuries", Adam & Charles Black, London 1969; reviewed by George Pell, "The Root of Church Power and Authority", JOURNAL, Spring 1970, 13-22.

was brought in wholesale—rubrics, rescripts, syllabuses, canons, condemnations, till all things seemed expressly forbidden until they were pronounced compulsory. It was a standardising, centralising, congealing process, denying subsequent growth and local interpretation, distinguishing culture from culture and place from place only by the narrowest margins,² referring all things to universal laws worked out by men of curial experience and long rusted modes of thought, men who see files and not people, who feel frustration and not pity, who love tidiness more than the burgeoning ubiquity of man's individuality, which powerfully reflects the infinite creativity of God.

If any doubt that this frame of mind has existed in our time and close to home, let him read as illustration the pages of Lord Butler,³ where he gives a restrained account of his negotiations with the English hierarchy leading to the 1944 Education Act. As President of the Board of Education (1941-45) he approached the bishops with sympathy and tact, showing them their own best interests for the coming years. This is the kind of reception he received, when as a senior member of Government he made a visit by appointment: "I visited (Archbishop Amigo of Southwark) on 24th November 1942, and my records state that 'after much sounding of the bell, a sad looking, rather blue-faced Chaplain let me in and we climbed a massive palace stair to the first floor where the Archbishop was sitting, fully robed, in a small room overlooking the ruins of Southwark Cathedral. His window was wide open on his left hand so that he could at once take in the tragic picture of the ruins and inhale the chilly morning air'. The Archbishop asked immediately we had sat down what I had come to see him for. I obliged by informing him; but it was not an auspicious beginning. He said that a 50 per cent grant was not sufficient and that he saw no chance of agreement with politicians. He said that if I had belonged to his community he would have suggested that we should pray. I said that I would be very ready to do so since I was also a church-

² An example of this is the Gelasian-Gregorian Latin liturgy brought piecemeal to the missionary southern hemisphere with scarcely a concession to the environment. A further example is in the way marriage cases are handled, not by Rome setting general norms for particular interpretation in the local Churches; but by each individual case being sent to Rome in writing only (i.e. without personal examination of those concerned) for ultimate decision. Both of these examples are blessedly undergoing change at present. However a further sad example is furnished by the Roman Curial reaction to the Asian bishops' Manila Conference, held last November and followed up in March at the Hong Kong Conference. The bishops have since accused the Curia of misunderstanding the general tenor and intent of the Manila Resolutions, of doubting the maturity of the bishops who drafted them, and of creating an impasse to their implementation. The Curia took some passages out of context, failed to see the pastoral setting and pressure of others, and made *inter alia* this comment on the episcopal pledge to develop an indigenous theology: "there is no question here of a different theology but an adaptation in terminology and presentation"—an observation about phrasing which left the bishops exasperated. The bishops responsible for the Church in Asia have now made it clear in a letter to the Pope that further delay in implementation "would undermine the credibility of the Church and inflict wounds on many . . . the great masses impatiently await witness authenticated through deeds more than through words". (That is the point, the crisis of time as much as of locale, the urgency of it all.)

³ "The Art of the Possible" (1971), 105-7.

man. This interview indicated the nature of the head-on collision with the Roman Catholics (who later) attacked the proposals and Cardinal Hinsley said that in negotiating with the President of the Board of Education they had 'at no stage agreed to the financial conditions now made public'. . . I said that, if the Catholics were patient and accepted this settlement, they could in my view (which has been proved correct by events) hope for more within another generation. If, on the other hand, they placed themselves athwart the stream of national progress, they would be doing their cause so much harm, especially in some districts, that it might never recover." What things are done in the name of religion.

While over the centuries Ecclesiastical Authority became as a glaciated waterfall, movement ran solid in its grooves, Spiritual Power continued to evolve, at first silently in the interchanges of a few (who championed toleration of belief, freedom of enquiry and the right to follow one's conscience); then in the specialist exchanges of the experts (who began to structure up their revolution with such centres of study as the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem or Louvain University in Belgium); then in the flood of scholarship of the years after 1918 which became the biblical, liturgical and theological movements; then in the surge of energy released by the conciliar years. Meanwhile European liberalism and scientific intellectualism blossomed, with their enormous encouragement to independence of mind and intensification of thought: Darwin and Keynes changed the record of man's socio-economic life patterns, Heidegger and the Existentialists the categories of philosophical examination, Barth and the "crisis" theologians the terms of theological pursuit. The worlds of literary and form criticism, of *heilsgeschichte* and the study of comparative religion, and the finds of archaeologists (notably at Qumran) radically affected all religious study, driving it to what Père Teilhard was to call "increased consciousness complexification". This new power was released among a laity "come of age", who were learning to sift for themselves, to test and to hold on to what was good. (And we must not discount the new power of grace among a laity now resorting to daily communion.) In recent times the idea of the *consensus fidelium* has taken on renewed meaning, and, after that, the proper use of private conscience.

The world has moved forward—not always in its own best interest—to a new control over the mechanism of mass destruction of life, to a new science of the intensive production of life's food, to a new power over the preservation of life to longevity and over the initiation of life, and to a "new morality" and ease of action as to the abortive termination of incipient life; and it now seems that we can distinguish the sexes in the male spermatozoa, so being able (let warrior nations notice) to control who shall be born when. Medicine now, for example, allows banks of male semen to be stored for years at a time for future intra-uterine infusion with a view to procreation, this without deterioration of semen—a process which is cousin to a transplant. And as science has given man immensely increased control over his own bodily functions, largely freeing him from the age-old natural inevitabilities, so a new approach is needed to govern

new freedom. People have turned to their doctors, others to fashion, others to their consciences or their confessors, others to the "new moralists" (like Dr J. A. T. Robinson) and others to Ecclesiastical Authority for their answers. Meanwhile man's problems have grown in dimension and severity: critically accelerating overpopulation everywhere, mass starvation in the Third World, economic pressure in a consumer society, nervous pressure in an urban society, social pressure in an affluent middle class society, pressure of credibility in a post-Christian society.⁴ New discoveries have brought new arguments, like that of the preventative contraception of the Pill before coitus (i.e. before a new soul could be present); new socio-intellectual standards have brought new interpretations of what responsible parenthood means; and new psychological/psychiatric understanding has brought new judgments on what it is spiritually to form and build a marriage.⁵ To all such problems Ecclesiastical Authority has been asked to provide new religious answers, rethought and not merely reconditoned.

And for the most part the answers have been *semper eadem*, until the magisterium is in danger of surrendering its right to be heard, forfeiting its sovereign leadership. Leaders there are, though: and some—like Cardinal Suenens and Bishop B. C. Butler—work on openly within Authority's walls; while others—like Père Teilhard, and now Peter de Rosa⁶—found themselves muzzled; and some—like Père de Lubac and

⁴ Not merely are books being written with titles like Toffler's "Future Shock" or Goldsmith's "Can Britain Survive?", but scientists are issuing serious warnings to learned groups. For instance, Dr S. R. Eyre of the Dept. of Geography, Leeds University, addressing the British Association meeting on 3rd September, said that biologists consider the rate of increase in births as a "swarming stage" situation, with mass mortality as the inevitable outcome; rational predictions warned that unless a population limitation programme was introduced, this was unavoidable, for the earth's resources could not sustain technological and agricultural expansion much longer. Cf. Arthur McCormack, "The Population Explosion", 1. Problems for the Catholic Demographer, *Tablet*, 5th June 1971; 2. The Green Revolution and Urban Pressures, *Tablet*, 12th June 1971; 3. The Human Family, *Tablet*, 19th June 1971, and references there given. Fr McCormack states that the present world population will double by 2005, a fivefold increase during the twentieth century, and that is accelerating.

⁵ Cf. Dr J. Dominian, "The Christian Response to Marital Breakdown", *JOURNAL*, Spring 1968, 3-13; review of Victor Steininger's "Divorce", *JOURNAL*, Autumn 1970, 427-8; references at the end of Fr Benedict Webb's article below.

⁶ Peter de Rosa gave his first full statement of reasons for resigning his priesthood, in the *Guardian* of 10th September, p. 12, as follows: ". . . theologically it is not antipapal or un-Catholic to say that (the Pope) might be wrong about birth control, only that he cannot possibly be wrong. In disagreeing I am simply availing myself of a generally acknowledged Catholic right.

For me the Christian priest is essentially a minister. In the Church and for the Church he is a representative not only of God but of the people, too, as was Christ himself. It is this representative function, at a key moment, in a key issue, that was denied me by our Catholic hierarchy after the Pope had first denied it to them. Ultimately I had no alternative except to protest in the radical way of resignation. Unable to represent the people I love and serve because of an enforced silence, I felt obliged to represent them by way of resignation. . . . I would ask those who think resignation a drastic remedy to consider how drastic a measure it is to demand total silence of a teacher." This severe statement must be taken, however, in its personal context: Catholic editors are certainly not silenced in the way that Fr de Rosa describes.

Professor Küng—have been partly muzzled and partly preserved by academic immunity; and some—traditionalists as well as progressives, bishops as well as theologians—have buckled under the strain and left their priesthood or religious vows. But the *Spiritual Power has not abated, either in parish or episcopal Church or in the papacy and bishops' synods*. The tension continues, a tension partly natural to the Church, but partly caused by an anti-intellectual, authoritarian, Counter Reformation separatism, a wrong separation from the world's life (not the separation the Fourth Gospel speaks of), from a world which is good and is created for man's dominion.

Symbolic of this wrong tension between the Spirit at work and the deadening hand of authority has been the Curial response to new life at the outset of the last three decades. In 1950 *Humani Generis*,⁷ a deeply condemnatory encyclical issued against "false trends in modern teaching", brought the biblical and theological movements to a near standstill as *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili* had done in 1907. "Idealism, immanentism, pragmatism, have now a rival in what is called *existentialism* (which) leaves the unchanging essences of things out of sight, and concentrates all its attention on particular existences . . . a world in continual flux"; it was its temper. "There is too a false use of historical method, which . . . contrives to undermine all absolute truth, all absolute laws." The encyclical spoke of "an itch for modernity, an indiscreet zeal . . . an itch, nay a burning desire, to break down all the barriers by which men of good will are now separated from one another". It extolled "what was written long ago . . . theological concepts hammered out and polished with utmost care, so to express with ever-increasing accuracy, the truths in which we believe—a process costing centuries of labour, accomplished by men of uncommon attainment of mind under the watchful eye of Authority". It exalted scholastic theology as the only form of theology, claiming a pre-established harmony between Thomistic philosophy ("an unrivalled method") and divine revelation; and it insisted that papal pronouncements rendered issues as "no longer to be regarded as a matter of free debate among theologians". It ended with this resounding statement of quint-essential exclusionist triumphalism: "that the mystical body of Christ and the Catholic Church in communion with Rome are the same thing is a doctrine based on revealed truth".⁸

In 1961-2 an element of the Roman Curia—it is an oft told tale—attempted to smother the Council before it began, dominating the preparatory commissions with their own presidents and "safe" men, calling in the known conservative cardinals to lead the preliminary discussions.⁹

⁷ CTS No 265, transl Mgr R. A. Knox.

⁸ Sec. 27 of CTS transl; cf. encyclical *Mystici Corporis*, AAS xxxv.193f. At the 25th October 1970 Canonisation, Pope Paul described the Anglican Church as the Roman Catholic Church's "ever beloved Sister in the one authentic communion of the family of Christ": AAS lxi.752f. Cf. Conciliar decree on Ecumenism, Ch 11; B. C. Butler, "In the Light of the Council" (1968), XII, The Church and the Churches.

⁹ Cardinals Ottaviani, Ruffini, Siri, Pizzardo, Marella.

vetting all subsequent publicity. So serious did their stranglehold become that the *senior pars* in Europe collectively "expressed their disdain for the freemasonry (a nasty word in European ecclesiastical circles) of Italian prelates, who have held the Church in thrall too long".¹⁰ This same Curial group had earlier attempted to absorb the Dominican and Jesuit biblical schools into their Lateran University; and had planned to do the same with the various theological faculties, to produce a safe Lateran theology. It was a rough action, involving unfair dismissals and much acrimony.

Now in 1971 a further characteristic storm has broken over the so-called *Lex Fundamentalis*,¹¹ an attempt to provide a written constitution for the Church, a crucial document concocted in secrecy and without proper consultation, by Cardinal Felici's commission for the revision of canon law. It relies on a strongly pre-Conciliar (i.e. hierarchic rather than pilgrim) view of the Church, making careful use of the letter but not the spirit of Conciliar decrees (in 102 citations) "by the omission or alteration of certain significant words and by a general tendency to restore the monarchical conception of papal authority" (so Père Congar). It was presented without warning to 3,386 bishops individually and not collegially, so that a consensus of adverse opinion would not build up publicly and need not become publicly known. Dr G. Alberigo, the Bologna Church historian, examined the 9,000 word document—159 pages of legal Latin—finding 180 references to *ecclesia*, most meaning "an authority different from and superior to the People of God"; and 24 uses of the word *suprema*, mostly in connection with ecclesiastical authority (one indeed referring to charity). In the document is no inference of a hierarchy of truth,¹² but only of discipline, all teaching being commended to acceptance without distinction. It failed to reflect the openness and mystery of the Church, presenting it as a juridically organised and self-sufficient society, not as a believing people with a mission to the world. As Père Congar said of it,

¹⁰ Xavier Rynne, "Letter from Vatican City", *New Yorker*, 10th October 1962, 98. The *Senior Pars* (*Sanior pars*) were led by Cardinal König of Vienna, Cardinal Döpfner of Munich and Cardinal Liénart of Lille.

¹¹ Text of draft 1, *Tablet*, 18th April 1970. This subject has been fully reported in the *Tablet* during June-Sept. 1971. A copy of Cardinal Suemens' interview to R. Guilderson of N.C. News Service, Washington, was sent by his secretary to this Editor, but it has been printed already in the *Tablet*, 24th July 1971. Cf. Peter Hebblethwaite, s.j., "The Church's Fundamental Law", *Month*, October 1971.

¹² The principle of a hierarchy of truth, of theological truths and values, is central both to the ecumenical movement (where distinctions must be made as to what is essential doctrine requiring total agreement, and what is patient of plurality and partial agreement); and to the structure in case of conflict—conflict of duties, rights, evils and good ends). It was Newman who noticed, to illustrate the point, that the Christological assertions had to be established first in the early Church councils before anything might be said of the Mother of God. In the Conciliar decree on Ecumenism, sec. 11, the principle is reasserted: "When comparing doctrines, (Catholic theologians) should remember that in Catholic teaching there exists an order or 'hierarchy' of truths, since they vary in their contribution to the foundation of the Christian faith". Cf. "Broken Lights on *Humanae Vitae*", *JOURNAL*, Spring 1969, 56-72, esp. p. 70f the statement of the French bishops.

values such as union, brotherhood, community, charisma, ministries, communion, coresponsibility find no place in it; nor is there a mention in it of priests' senates or pastoral councils or episcopal synods; and as it stands it would present a major obex to the continuance of the ecumenical movement. Cardinal Suenens said of it that it lacks all biblical perspective, that it elevates the juridical above the spiritual and charismatic elements of the Church, that it "runs the risk of completely blocking all future development". A group of two hundred European theologians (including Fathers Rahner, Metz and Küng) accused the *Lex* of subordinating the Gospel to the Church. The assembly of religious superiors in Rome took theological advice and rejected it. The Canon Law Society of America delivered their opinion that it was "regressive" and would cause "further tragic erosion of respect for authority in the Church". (Note the word "further"; elsewhere the Society spoke of "the diminishing respect for law and ecclesiastical authority".) The bishops began to take Cardinal Suenens' lead.

So our two principles in the life of the Church, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power, seem as far apart as they have ever been—except that the authority of Roman Curial government is diminishing with the years, being surrendered by degrees to where it should belong, in the hands of the College of bishops. That is where we shall find our *Lex Libertatis*, which will preserve without attempting to encapsulate the inexpressible mystery, under the Holy Spirit, of the living Church. Yet we should reflect with confidence that all authority comes from God, all spiritual power from the Spirit, and the Church is Christ's Church founded by him and to be gathered up to him: all of these converge on the one source, the Trinity. Moreover there are not two truths, natural scientific truth and revealed divine truth, in conflict: all truth is complementary, coming from Truth itself. So it is of Authority and Power and Church: where there is apparent conflict, we know there is ultimate harmony in Christ, and for that we must ever search. Then shall we find that man's secular life is shot through with the divine presence.

* * *

Theologians and bishops can no longer afford the luxury of interminable considerations and hesitations. The human family, enmeshed in urbanised industrialisation, is woefully divided. And nature itself has begun to lash back lethally at motor car societies which have over-reached themselves in ravishing their environment. The united witness of Christians is urgently needed to reconcile humanity with itself and with the earth.

Edward P. Echlin, S.J.

FROM PATRIARCHATE TO PAPACY

by

PETER LLEWELLYN

Modern theological thought concerning the papacy is inclined to be very anachronistic. The full development of pontifical authority is put upon the early popes, at least in inchoate form; and then inversely (and perversely) that is used to deduce the final flowering as an evident example of the development of doctrine in the Petrine sphere. The canonists of Innocent III's time and the ecclesiologists of the time of Bellarmine are almost pre-empted; Gregory I is made almost a brother of Pius XII in his understanding of the Petrine power; and the popes of a century or two before and after him are gilded as similar lilies. What the historian has to show is rather different—a Gregory who was made great after his time, a line of adjacent popes who took their cue from Byzantium, a Europe which was breaking up politically and needed for that reason a religious focus in Rome, and a Rome which invested itself with *potestas* as well as *auctoritas*, till the vision of Christendom narrowed as it became intensified. That narrowing was a grave loss, which is now beginning to be recovered.

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In the eighteenth century it was the custom, when a pope lay seriously ill, for his doctors to retire to the tomb of Sylvester II in the Lateran crypt; if Sylvester's bones were heard to rattle the pope would live. A similar consultancy is possible with the history of the papacy itself. There is danger, through the sheer impressiveness of institutional continuity, of misunderstanding the material at hand. A pattern of development may be detected and then the historian will elucidate the inevitable process of defining and refining the centre of doctrinal authority and expression, from a Cyprianic collegiality to Pío Nono's "La tradizione sono io"; the ecclesiologist may put forward and analyse definitions of the Church, discuss its relationship with the Mystical Body, and consider its organic evolution, in all this seeking confirmation in the Fathers and in early Church history; the legal historian may look for formulae of juridical expression and seek precedents further and further into the past. The danger is increased at a geometrical rate when one is concerned with an institution which grows organically, sustaining itself on the records and the interpretation of its own past.

A recent book¹ sets out, with a wealth of reference, to present the development of western ideas of tradition and authority in the Church through late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Central to this book is what the author calls the "Janus complex" of the Dark Ages, that is a dual aspect of traditional guardianship and discretionary authority. But here a caveat must be entered. Tradition may only be expressed and interpreted

¹ Karl F. Morrison: "Tradition and authority in the western Church" (Princeton, 1969)

against particular historical backgrounds; every period, region, class and individual has its own historical horizon, which conditions its view of the present. Christian juridical thought was the product of the twelfth century and ecclesiology of the post-Reformation period; the assumptions of these branches of theology should not, therefore, be intruded into an earlier age, even as analytical tools. I wish here to concentrate on this period of the "Janus complex" and to present it as a time when historical perspective changed and was limited; a period therefore which radically affected all subsequent arguments drawn from past statements and events.

GREGORY I'S POSTHUMOUS REPUTATION

The period that opens with the seventh century saw a number of changes in the historical perspective of Western Europe. In general antiquity is now represented by the Roman Church; the sense of the secular fades from consciousness. The guide books compiled for northern pilgrims to Rome illustrate this process; they contain no reference to the imperial monuments or history of the city but simply detailed instructions for finding the tombs of the martyrs.² The Passion of the martyr or the life of the confessor became the staple literature; in the former the persecutor become mere symbols of evil and lose historical definition; in the latter the confessor is depersonalised and is represented merely as a vehicle for conveying God's power. Bede, in castigating the Celtic observance, appeals to antiquity by means of the Roman usage of the "Catholic Easter"; in reality it was the Celtic Church which remained closer to antiquity, whereas Rome had only adopted the Alexandrian cycle in the sixth century. The Roman *Liber Pontificalis* became a major source for the past and could distort, in often ludicrous ways, an appreciation of the totality of Christian history and development, as events were related to a narrowed experience.³

These changes in the view of the past may be seen exemplified in the posthumous reputation of Gregory the Great and in appreciation of the contemporary papacy. Here the northern, essentially the Anglo-Saxon view has prevailed to the present day. Through Augustine's mission, it was felt, the English had been brought for the first time into the orbit of a Christian commonwealth that had replaced the formal structure of the Roman Empire and had been given a sense of historical and geographical context. This was the work of Gregory; to Aldhelm of Malmesbury he was

² The "Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae" and the "De locis Sanctorum Martyrum quae sunt foris Civitate Romae", both of the 7th century, are in R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, "Codici Topografici della Città di Roma", 4 vols., "Fonti per la Storia d'Italia" (1940), vol. 2. St. Columbanus expressed the change: "Rome may be great and famous but her greatness and fame for us are due solely to that see." Seventy years before Cassiodorus had noticed as an oddity an eccentric Egyptian monk who refused to visit any secular building, *opus civitatis*, when in Rome. The restrictive frames of early mediaeval reference occur elsewhere—as in the pilgrim's description of the pyramids as barns built by Joseph for the good harvests (in "Itinerarium Hierosolymita", ed. GSEL, vol. 39, p. 115).

³ So Bede can refer to the British king Lucius who received his Christianity from Pope Eleutherius, on the basis of *LP* I, 136. Lucius probably masks Lucius Aelius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX, king of Edessa (214-6), who lost his independence to the Empire and was exiled to Rome; the "Brittania" of *LP* is Bithra, a fortress of Edessa.

the "teacher of the English"; to his first biographer, an anonymous monk of Whitby, he was "our own St Gregory", "our holy teacher", "our blessed master", "this apostolic saint of ours" who "on the Day of Judgment . . . will bring us, the English nation whom he has taught, to present us to the Lord". To Gregory, in his own person and through his writings on the pastoral episcopal office, the English attributed the creation of a new missionary apostolate which Bede's contemporaries were continuing on the Continent. In the eighth century Bede examined and found wanting the Celtic Church because of its resistance to the English invaders and its neglect of the opportunity for missionary zeal; the Welsh thereby had forfeited the right to rule in Britain. Augustine's encounter, seated on the *cathedra* of the master and magistrate, with the Celtic leaders could be drawn as the encounter of Roman teaching authority and legal legitimacy with the jealous, individualistic disorganisation of the discredited tradition. Willibrord and Boniface saw themselves in the tradition of Gregory and, by direct papal commission as members of the papal household and Roman clergy, as repaying the debt of a century earlier. Again, Gregory's writings were the sole source for the life of St Benedict, whose monasticism the English with such spectacular results had made peculiarly their own. Through Gregory was derived the authority of the Church in England; through the reformers, missionaries and scholars of the eighth century this view took hold in France where the concept of a Christian commonwealth approached reality. The appeal of Gregory spread beyond the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish world, to appear in most unlikely forms.⁴

How far this Roman beginning to all things, this view of the Augustinian mission as an exercise of papal prerogative and initiative, this exclusive channel for the transmission of apostolic authority, can be maintained, is another matter. Augustine's mission was a confused, hastily prepared affair. The Frankish Church, already established in Kent, had done little in thirty years. Augustine's company was small and Gregory, with his Roman, Italian and Mediterranean preoccupations, was slow in answering urgent queries on missionary procedure. The news of ten thousand baptisms was relayed by him with an obviously surprised delight; he had little knowledge of the scope before the mission and reinforcements were spasmodic. The Frankish bishops were slowly completing the evangelisation of their own country and could spare little for England. Thirty years later Pope Honorius sent bishop Birinus direct to Wessex from Italy without reference to Canterbury. Birinus' successors were Frankish and the East Anglian mission was established, at Canterbury's initiative, by the Burgundian bishop Felix. The law and much of the literature with which English life was so startlingly enriched came not so much from Rome as from the south of France, and mainly Lyons where Wilfrid, the most Romanophil, had received his first education: it was probably to the Irish

⁴ See R. W. Hamming, "The Vision of History in Early Britain" (New York, 1966). A 10th-11th century Irish "Life" of Gregory presents him as an Irishman, born in County Kerry and buried on Arran: most of the major Irish saints had been his disciples.

who by the mid-seventh century had given a new life to the Frankish Church that this belated co-operation was due. It was the Greek Theodore, appointed by Rome but drawing on his experience of the well-ordered metropolitan structure of the East, who first organised a firm hierarchical Church in England, through which the legislative and governmental sides of civilisation could make themselves felt.⁵ It was the continental Irish who pressed for Irish conformity with Rome on the date of Easter and who made the question as much a matter of doctrine as of discipline. When appealed to on this by Columbanus Gregory kept silent; later his admirer Pope Honorius merely mentioned the custom of the greater part of the Church but gave no ruling. In the great achievement of the late sixth century, the conversion of the Spanish Visigoths to Catholicism, Rome played a smaller part than Constantinople.

The Anglo-Saxons and their successors held a near monopoly of the memory of Gregory; the anonymous of Whitby, Bede and the Lombard deacon Paul present a Gregory divorced from his Roman world. Only in the later ninth century, when the Carolingian renaissance affected Rome in an upsurge of antiquarian, republican patriotism and distaste for barbarian perversions of the past did the Roman deacon John Hymmonides produce the first "Life" of Gregory by a Roman, seeking to present him as a Roman of the Romans. Gregory's intervening record was uncertain. He had come to a papacy possibly at the lowest, most unhappy point of its prestige and only in retrospect could he be presented as having redeemed it. Justinian's reconquest of Italy had done more than bring social and economic disaster; it had brought Rome once more into immediate contact with Christianity's centre of gravity in the Near East. One pope, Silverius, had been summarily removed from office; his successor Vigilius, held under restraint in Constantinople to give consent to Justinian's doctrinal experiments and so perhaps to impugn Chalcedon, had by equivocation compromised the papacy's authority. Vigilius' successor Pelagius I, whom many held responsible for the whole debacle, could in 555 find only one bishop in Italy willing to consecrate him and had publicly to deny charges of bribery in obtaining the papacy. The African Church temporarily, and the Istrian Church of North Italy for longer, moved into schism in protest at Rome's lapses; by the time of his death in 604 Gregory had done little to restore the situation. When Columbanus came to Italy in 607 he was horrified by what he saw; the schism was continuing in the north and the papacy was apparently inactive in ending it and so in endorsing Chalcedon. There was even a strong supposition that Pope Boniface IV might turn monophysite.

In the east Gregory's reputation was not that of a hierarch but of moral preacher. His "Dialogues", with their stories of the ascetic and miraculous achievements of the eremitical monasticism of Italy, were attuned to the primarily monastic Christianity of the east in which the moral and doctrinal authority of the ascetic outweighed that of the prelate.

⁵ See J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "Rome and the early English Church. Some Questions of Transmission", "Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano sull'alto Medioevo", 7, vol. (1967).

They were known more immediately in the east when the Greek Pope Zachary translated them in the eighth century, and provided the model shortly after Gregory's death for John Moschus' "Spiritual Meadow", which presents the milieu in which the seventh century defenders of orthodoxy, Sophronius of Jerusalem and Maximus of Chrysopolis, were trained. In Rome and Italy however an almost embarrassing silence falls over Gregory's name. In a way unsuspected by the English his monasticism, which was the domestic, aristocratic monasticism of late antiquity, far removed from the form or spirit of Benedictinism, had disrupted Roman life. Gregory used his community as Augustine of Hippo had, as a pool of ordained, trained personnel for missions, administration and to fill bishoprics. This ran counter to the closed corporation of the Roman clergy, who were in danger of exclusion from established posts; Gregory's methods were upheld in a synod of 610 but dissension continued and it was the Roman clergy who finally regained and held corporate authority. Roman monasticism resumed its domestic nature, exercising its influence through individual prestige rather than institutionally.⁶

The new northern Christians in their enthusiasm interpreted Gregory's life in one manner; the reality was rather different. A similar selection operated in their view of Rome. None were more ardent *romipetae* than the English; the list of pilgrims, bishops, kings, private persons is a long one. In Rome they found authority and teaching. The Roman synod, the bishop and clergy, sat dressed in the insignia of Roman senators, conducting business according to the procedure of the Roman senate and law courts, and in accordance with the Roman law. But it was not a civil authority the English saw but Petrine. To the western mind of the early Middle Ages St Peter was above all the doorkeeper of heaven. Gregory the Great described the golden keys that fitted the gates of the *confessio* in St Peter's and contained filings from his chains, which were sent to important persons in the east and west. The Visigothic King Chintilla inscribed on a gift he sent to the basilica a request that Peter would open the gates of heaven to the donor; over the door of the basilica Pope Honorius placed an inscription emphasising Peter's role as janitor. The image of the doorkeeper was invoked decisively at the synod of Whitby, and the knowledge of these inscriptions became widely known as scholars, for instance Aldhelm of Malmesbury on his Roman visit of 690, copied and published them. In the

⁶ Synod of Rome, Mansi, 10, 506. On Roman monasticism, Guy Ferrar, "Early Roman Monasteries", "Studi di antichità cristiana", 23 (1957). The sole 7th century reference to Gregory from Rome is contained in the epitaph of Pope Honorius (625-38), who was a firm admirer of his. It was perhaps a shared preference for pastoral expression and distrust of secular education that led Honorius to endorse, or even give definitive form to the monothelite doctrine of Sergius of Constantinople, resulting in Honorius' condemnation at the Council of 681; this may have contributed to the silence on Gregory himself. Later canonists, considering the case of a heretical pope, did not discuss Honorius but rather Boniface IV, using a lost *Gesta Bonifacii*; it was only with the discovery of the Vatican MS of the "Liber Diurnus", with its reference to Honorius, in the late 17th century during the emergence of Gallicanism, that he first caused embarrassment; the text was not published for more than two centuries after that.

missionary areas of the seventh century, in England and in the areas evangelised by Amandus of Maastricht, dedications to Peter and Paul outnumber by far any others. Caedwalla of Wessex died in Rome after having been baptised with the name Peter by Pope Sergius; his epitaph, preserved by Bede, is eloquent of the Petrine appeal.⁷

ROME AS CENTRE OF UNITY

Behind this sentiment lay the extreme tension and consciousness of disunity that marks the sixth and seventh centuries. For the first time the world was divided clearly into nations and camps; the rivalries between the great Italian sees, Rome, Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna; Gaul, partitioned among the Frankish states and the Bretons, the Burgundians and the Visigoths; England of the Heptarchy; Ireland, divided into its clans. Doctrinal unity had overlaid some of this; in the course of the sixth century the Arian German nations had one by one turned to doctrinal conformity with Rome. The synods of Gaul and Spain looked back to a more effective unity; they insisted, long after provincial boundaries had any meaning, on preserving the old rules in order to maintain regional cohesion. Christian practice, under the great efforts of missionary endeavour in the countryside and in new territories, declined from the communal, almost municipal aspect of late antiquity. Baptism, formerly given solemnly in public on fixed days and in adulthood, was in the north now given privately in infancy. Penance, under the influence of the Celtic missionaries, was now private instead of a public reconciliation; private masses, with private intentions, were introduced in sixth century Gaul. This weakening of communal expression evoked some reactions; the sixth century Gallian councils were concerned to preserve the bishop's traditional role as the normal priest of his diocese by ordering concelebrated mass on the great feast days, whereas on ordinary Sundays the priests dispersed to their oratories. The disputes concerning the Easter date and the introduction of the Creed to the mass are evidence of the same desire to convey religiously a unity that no longer existed politically.

The northerners found authority in Rome but they misinterpreted its nature and history. Wilfrid, appealing to the papacy about his bishopric of York, found the clerics of the Roman synod laughing and chattering among themselves in Greek; for the Rome of the early Middle Ages was Byzantine city, presided over by a Byzantine patriarch. The bishop was not a purely independent authority, drawing his power solely from his order but was an imperial official and agent as well. Gregory I and Honorius were used as paymasters for the imperial troops in Italy, just as Gregory's friend Gregory of Antioch was for Syria. His election was confirmed on a permission for his consecration given by the Emperor or his viceroy in Ravenna. He might exercise civil functions, especially in the overseeing of testamentary matters, or mobilise troops in the event of rebellion, as Pope

⁷ See in general: E. Ewig, "Der Petrus- und Apostelkult im Spätromischen und im fränkischen Gallien", "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte", 71 (1960); Th. Zwoelf, "Sankt Peter, Apostelkult und Himmelfahrt. Seine Verehrung bei den Angelsachsen und Franken" (Stuttgart, 1929).

Vitalian did on the death of the Emperor Constans in 668, or Gregory II in the early eighth century against an Italian pretender and the Lombards of Benevento. In the mid-eighth century the papacy was entrusted with full powers by the Emperor to negotiate with the Franks and the Lombards, just as the patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria had been appointed with full civil powers to rule in Egypt in 630. The Lateran was his *patriarcheion*; his insignia, the pallium, the shoes, the stockings were those of the imperial magistracies and court appointments. The ceremonial of the papal court was adapted from that of the imperial court; the chief elements, the music and the incense, were civil in origin and in honour of the Pope's person, not liturgical or in honour of his primacy.⁸ The leading personnel of the Roman Church, like Roman society in general, was Oriental in tone. Of the 23 popes between 604 and 715, seven were Roman-born, six came from the provinces immediately adjacent to Rome, two were Sicilian Greeks, four were Greeks, three Syrian and one from Dalmatia. The great developments in the liturgy that took place in the seventh century were importations from the east; the Marian cycle of the *hyppopanti*, the Purification, Annunciation, Dormition and Nativity of Our Lady, were all introduced to the west by the Antiochene Pope Sergius I, who also included the *Agnus Dei* in the Mass; with the consecration, by permission of the Emperor, of the Pantheon as the Church of Our Lady and all the Martyrs, perhaps in 609, the first collective dedication and the first round church, both eastern in origin, came to Europe. At the beginning of the eighth century the high tide of Byzantine influence may be seen in the Alexandrian mosaics inspired by Pope John VII in the Church of St Maria Antica.⁹

The preoccupation of the papacy of the seventh and eighth century was mainly with the east, with the developments of imperial policy and theological speculation. The majority of popes had eastern experience, either like the actual easterners as refugees from persecution or the Arab invasions or as papal representatives in the capital; in the sixth century Popes Vigilius, Pelagius I and Gregory I, in the seventh Boniface IV and Martin I had all lived in Constantinople and as subjects of the empire taken a full part in doctrinal, political and social affairs. Imperial activity in religious matters, even when Rome and the east were in opposition, was accepted; when Martin I, arrested in 653, died in his Crimean exile in September 655, he had already for more than a year been replaced by a successor. At his trial in the capital Martin made no use of the arguments

⁸ On vestments: Th. Klauser, "Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrecht", Bonner Akademische Reden, 1 (1948). The growth of a papal court ceremonial, distinct from a normal episcopal liturgy, probably dates from Pope Vitalian (657-672), to whom, rather than to Gregory I, is probably due the development of the Roman chant: S. J. P. Van Dijk, "The Urban and Papal Rites in 7th and 8th century Rome", "Sacris Erudiri", 12 (1961), and "Gregory the Great, founder of the Urban Schola Cantorum", "Ephemerides Liturgicae", 77 (1963).

⁹ On the influence of the Pantheon's dedication on the Marian cult in the West, R. Krautheimer, "Santa Maria Rotonda" in "Arte del primo Millennio" (Turin, 1953). On S. Maria Antica, N.-J. Nordhagen, "The mosaics of John VII: The Mosaic Fragments and their Technique", "Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae", 2 (1965).

of papal immunity which had already been sketched out in the west and which were to become an important expression of the papacy's later position.

LEO I, FOUNDER OF THE MODERN PAPACY

During these controversies, which had more heroic moments for the Roman clergy and a more fruitful expansion of the liturgy than the west was to see for many centuries, the papacy did not look back to Gregory as the authentic exponent of its traditional authority but rather to Leo I. The first of the popes to be buried in St Peter's, his tomb had been by the main entrance of the basilica where an inscription proclaimed him the "door-keeper of the Church"; towards the end of the seventh century Pope Sergius, in the course of his liturgical reforms proclaiming the triumph of orthodoxy, moved his body to a more central, lavish memorial by the *confessio* of St Peter. Gregory himself was aware that Leo had set the standard for popes; "you think", he wrote on his election, "that you have a lion; I tell you, you have only a monkey". This was appropriate, for of all the popes Leo was most closely linked with the theme of Petrine succession and authority. In this he was but the most outstanding of the fifth century popes who had gained such an initiative in the century of the western empire's collapse. From Innocent I, with his *Petrus initium episcopatus* through Leo with his skilful adaptation of the principles and terminology of Roman law to the Petrine primacy and succession, to the uncompromising African qualities of Gelasius I in his confrontation with Emperor and Patriarch, the channel of development through the century seems to run true and clear. Leo's spare, direct prose, his vivid consciousness of the indwelling of Peter in the Roman Church and in each of his successors, his defence of the city against barbarian kings, his successful campaign against Manichaeism in Italy, above all his two resounding interventions in the Council of Chalcedon in 451, doctrinal, in the acclamation of his "Tome" with the words "Peter has spoken through Leo", and juridical, in his rejection of the claims of Constantinople as second see, add up to the picture of a major creator of effective, visible universal papal primacy.¹⁰

But the second session of Chalcedon does not suggest so ready acceptance of this authority as the western tradition would imply. The Council had been summoned primarily to vindicate the theology of Cyril of Alexandria and his defence was uppermost in the bishops' minds. Leo's "Tome", which drew heavily for its arguments on Cyril's writings, was accepted as an expression of the true faith "common both to Leo and Cyril". Some groups remained suspicious and wanted more assurance of the "Tome's" harmony with Cyril, which production of further texts Cyril provided. But these additional passages were not fully representative of Cyril's thought; his name was brought forward in order to dispel

¹⁰ W. Ullmann, "Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 11 (1960) puts the most vigorous case for a juridical interpretation of Leo's thought.

suspicion created by the "Tome's" language and to assure the Church of Leo's orthodoxy. It was Cyril who was considered the norm of orthodoxy against whom others were measured: "Cyril was lauded and proclaimed to the world as the sonorous herald and mighty champion of true doctrine" (Evagrius). Each bishop recorded that the "Tome" of Leo was but a new expression of the true faith proclaimed at the previous Councils and in the letters of Cyril. Chalcedon failed to unite the Church in the east and it was the monophysite and Syriac opposition who, in order to discredit the conciliar findings, first put about the story of an arbitrary, unprecedented imposition through Petrine authority. Moreover the acclamation, "Peter has spoken through Leo", must be seen against the common civil and clerical practice of the Hellenistic Roman Empire; these formalised plaudits may have been as little indication of recognised doctrinal authority as an earlier acclamation by which bishops applied the Petrine promises for the faith's safekeeping to the Emperor himself.¹¹

Leo's second celebrated intervention was his rejection of canon 28, which was to give the see of Constantinople second place after Rome. It was the accepted principle of the early Church, enshrined at Nicaea and many subsequent synods, to conform ecclesiastical to civil circumscriptions. In 380 Constantinople became the permanent imperial residence of the east and this was recognised ecclesiastically at the Council held there in 382. Pope Damasus refused to accept this rapid elevation from suffragan status but most prominent bishops, such as Ambrose, recognised Constantinople's effective influence. There were sound reasons for Rome's early hesitation for Constantinople's growth had been closely linked to court Arianism; in 339 Eusebius of Nicomedia, the first Arian leader, in 360 the semi-Arian Eudocius of Antioch and in 370 the Arian Demophilus, had all been translated, strictly against the canons, to Constantinople. Damasus claimed priority of weight for the three Petrine sees, Rome, Antioch and Alexandria, which could point to long, well-established histories of influence and orthodoxy; the record of Constantinople's growth did not display the stability and orthodoxy which should lie at the heart of every episcopate.

Leo did not object to the principle of promotion itself. The fourth session of the Council had upheld the promotion, purely by imperial order, of the see of Beirut to metropolitan status and had excommunicated the bishop of Tyre, Beirut's former metropolitan, for his continued opposition to the loss of half his province. At the opening of the Council the papal legates had agreed that the bishop of Constantinople take second place after them. Further, the form of the fifteenth session, at which canon 28 was proposed, is open to dispute. The legates and the imperial representatives were specially invited to attend, which may indicate that this was a

On Chalcedon, R. V. Sellers, "The Council of Chalcedon" (London, 1953), P. Galtier, "St Cyrille d'Alexandrie et St Leon le Grand a Chalcedoine", in Grillmeier, "Das Konzil von Chalcedon, vol. 1. See also K. Sarkissian, "The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church" (London, 1965), esp. 220-223.

paraconciliar session after the conclusion of the doctrinal, universal Council and that the assembly now considered itself a grand synod of the eastern Churches, regulating their own internal affairs.

The wording of the canon appears favourable to Rome; primacy was due to Rome, the second place conceded to Constantinople. Leo's objection was to the implication that Rome's primacy was attributable simply to its capital status and in this he may be seen as a defender of spiritual supremacy. Rome had not been the empire's residential capital for two centuries and its civil government was that of a republican enclave, presided over by the senatorial aristocracy and set down in the heart of a bureaucratic and military empire; its capital status was largely a matter of sentiment. Against the background of Rome's economic, political and social weakness during the disasters of the fifth century, it was the great achievement of the papacy to replace a waning civil authority by a parallel apostolic and Petrine one. This apostolic particularism was a comparatively new phenomenon; the early Church had regarded the apostles as teachers of the whole world and had been reluctant to ascribe them bishoprics of individual cities.¹²

WESTERN PETRINE UNITY

The Latin west had a homogeneity in language, education, history and society that contrasted with the east world of Greek, Syrian, Copt, Armenian and Persian, drawing from many intellectual and institutional tributaries. It was natural to illustrate this unity in apostolic terms by ascribing the west's evangelisation to its best known apostle, St Peter; the first texts to do so are eastern, the *Canones Apostolici* and the Syrian apocryphal *Teaching of Simon Kefas*, of the late fourth and early fifth century, which asserted Peter's responsibility for the foundation of the Churches of Rome and all Italy, of Spain, Britain and Gaul. In 416 Innocent I wrote to the bishop of Gubbio that all the Churches of the west should observe "that which has been handed down by Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to the Roman Church and has been preserved by it to this day . . . and especially as throughout Italy, the Gallic and Spanish provinces, Africa, Sicily and the islands in between no Churches have been established except those where the venerable apostle Peter or his successor established bishops; nor is any of the other apostles recorded as being found in these provinces or to have taught there. As this is not recorded it is right for these provinces to follow that which the Roman Church preserves, for that they received this tradition from there is not to be doubted."

This justification in apostolic terms of prevailing custom in the west was sharply accentuated during the fifth century. Through the second decade the patrician Constantius, regent in the west, was consolidating the

defences and administration of southern Gaul after the passage of the Visigoths into Spain and in the face of German crossings of the Rhine, and trying to unite the independently minded Gallic nobility, including the episcopate, more firmly to the empire. As an aid in this he had replaced the bishop of Arles, his seat of government, by the ambitious Patroclus, whom he encouraged to claim metropolitan status for southern Gaul. Four days after his election in 417 Innocent's successor Zosimus was presented by Patroclus with a legend of Arles' evangelisation by Trophimus, a disciple and legate of St Peter; on the strength of this, and arousing bitter opposition for his unprecedented action, Zosimus acknowledged his claim. By the middle of the century Leo I could refer to this Petrine foundation for Arles as an incontrovertible fact. Other sees followed suit in expressing their status; Carthage claimed descent from Crescentius, Ravenna, the new seat of government, from Apolenaris, and Aquileia from Hermogenes, all disciples of Peter.

These legends served local pride and accounted for the general common usage of the west which Innocent had stressed, but they also indicate a new development. Apostolicity was common and equal to all bishoprics; sees like Ephesus with a traditional foundation by an apostle did not thereby assume a status beyond their civil one. Nor was priority of foundation a basis for higher status: Acci, the first see established in Spain, remained a suffragan. Nor did the early Church commonly include the founding apostles among each see's episcopal lists. These were western, and specifically Roman, developments.

LOCAL CONTINUITY

That doctrine and practice would be accurately transmitted within a local Church was an axiom of ecclesiastical thought. Succession was an internal affair within each Church, which displayed the *diadoche* of the pure doctrine from the apostles to the present, attested by the *fasti* of successive bishops. Early Church historians used the *fasti* of the best documented sees, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, as evidence for the ecumenical norms of faith; Damasus followed them in this and seventy years later Leo I could not visualise the traditions of these three sees, deriving from a common source, as ever diverging. But the local Church remained the centre of the faith. Ambrose, in refusing to surrender a basilica to the Arian court of Milan, declared: "God forbid that I should surrender the heritage of my fathers—the heritage of Dionysius, who died in exile for the faith, the heritage of the confessor Eustorgius, the heritage of Myrocles and of all the faithful bishops of old times". Ambrose and the Christian community of Milan share in a common, local ancestry perfectly represented by obscure bishops. The authority of this succession was heightened if the local Church could look back to martyrs among its founding members as the only full proof possible of unswerving fidelity. A Church which had no martyrs was orphaned; after the providential discovery of SS Gervase and Protase Ambrose wrote to his sister: "You also

¹² See V. Monachino, "Genesi storica del Canone 28° di Calcedonia", "Gregorianum" 33 (1952). On apostolicity in relation to the episcopate, F. Dvornik, "The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the legend of the Apostle Andrew", *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 4 (1958).

have kindred to entreat for you; you have the martyrs as kindred". Since with the peace of Constantine the possibility of martyrdom had almost vanished their cult took on a feverish note; the Church experienced many aberrations until the substitute, the life-long martyrdom of the confessor and ascetic, was fully established. The language of martyrdom continued and especially in the ascription of honorary martyrdoms.

The local succession, doctrinal and liturgical, carried with it the notion of intercession, drawing upon secular imagery. The last centuries of the western empire saw the decline under crushing obligations and taxation of the curial class of the towns, which had maintained the civic pride and amenities of the Roman world. Emperors had appointed *defensores*, lawyers to protect their interests at court but most towns succumbed to local magnates as *patroni* and their independence vanished. In this world the bishop, to whom the Christian emperors had given many magisterial powers, the holding of courts of equity and the supervision of the manumission of slaves, was left as virtually the only freely elected official of the local community, becoming the guardian of liberties and often military defender as well. The bishop, on earth or continuing his ministry in heaven, took over the function and the titles of the *defensor* and patron. To Ambrose the patron protected not only individual devotees but also the whole community; to Paulinus of Nola it appeared as an act of God's providence that each city and region, lesser as well as greater, should have a saint for its protection and these not only from the apostolic age but also great bishops recently dead—Ambrose for Milan, Martin for Gaul and Delfinus for Aquitaine. In Spain Prudentius addressed the martyrs of Calahorra, who were "patrons of the world", who would never disappoint those who offer the right petition but "hear their prayers and carry them immediately to the ear of the Eternal King".¹³

¹³ In Gaul a double consciousness of continuity emerged as senatorial families made many bishoprics almost hereditary. At the end of the sixth century Gregory of Tours, whose writings on the martyrs and confessors of Gaul present them as active patrons and who sees himself as the vicar and almost the incarnation of St Martin of Tours could rebuke an ignorant cleric of his diocese—"the wretch did not know that all the bishops but five who held the see of Tours were connected with my family". The 9th century historian of Ravenna, Agnellus Andreas, tells of a strike by the clergy against archbishop Theodore in the late 7th century, over Church revenues; refusing to attend the archbishop's Christmas Mass they adjourned to the tomb of St Apolenaris and invoked him: "Arise, holy Apolenaris, and celebrate the Christmas Mass for us. St Peter gave you to us as our pastor; we are your flock . . . You stand before the most equitable judge of all, put our case . . . If you do not bestir yourself we will leave your church and go to Rome, to your master the blessed Peter . . ."

The patriarchate of Alexandria emphasised its continuity from St Mark in the enthronement ceremony of its patriarchs; to avoid interruption to the tradition the new patriarch took the pallium directly from the neck of his dead predecessor.

On bishops in the west, S. Mochi Onory "Vescovi e Città, sec. IV-VI" (Bologna, 1933).

The world of late antiquity in general was interested in local origins and transmissions; the neo-Platonic School at Athens kept the record of the *diadoche* of its rectors: the School of Edessa in N. Iraq saw itself as the latest in a chain of providentially-founded schools stretching back to that established by God for the angels: the Encomium of the City, treating of its foundation and prominent citizens was a favourite poetic genre.

Against this background Rome may be seen as differing only in quantity from other sees; Leo's consciousness of Peter's continuing presence is nothing unique. There were two founder-apostles representing priority in the declaration of faith and pre-eminence in the preaching of it; the archival and archaeological work of Pope Damasus had displayed the superabundance of martyrs in Rome testifying to a staunch orthodoxy. The Roman cults of Peter and Paul developed as a supersession of the declining administrative and constitutional order. The papacy's condemnation of Pelagianism, with imperial support, was one aspect of the instinctive closing of the ranks of Roman society after the disaster of 410; a large programme of church building was undertaken, in a veritable architectural renaissance, to eradicate the traces of lowered civic morale. The apostles appear as the traditional protectors of Rome: from the early fifth century medallions of gold and glass represent them in curule chairs and in the attitude of consuls, while to Orosius they had assumed a *consulatus fidei* under which there can be no more civil wars or factional strife. Their inseparability is a constant feature of their liturgy, both eastern and western; to Sophronius of Jerusalem in the seventh century "those whom Christ himself has united and whom he ordained with the same grace, it would be dangerous to dissociate". Until the seventh century they shared the feast day on 29th June, with two liturgies at their Roman basilicas. The transference of St Paul's observance to 30th June was probably a matter of convenience for the Pope had hitherto been compelled to binate at the widely separated basilicas. A seventh century Roman sermon rationalised this change—"it is proper that he who deserved the principality of apostleship should have his feast celebrated first", but also implies that the change was to improve attendance at the second celebration.

THE CIVIL ASSIMILATED TO THE APOSTOLIC

The feasts of the apostles grew out of a close association with the pagan Roman calendar and events in Roman history. The feast of 22nd February is known in Damasus' fourth-century calendar as *natale Petri de cathedra*, a commemoration of the founding of the Roman bishopric, but in a Gallic calendar a century later the cathedral aspect is unknown and the day simply commemorates the burial of the apostles. In the pagan calendar this coincided with the *cara cognatio*, the commemoration of dead relatives, which the Roman clergy had transformed to the commemoration of a spiritual ancestor. But it was a local Roman celebration, appearing in no western sacramentary before the ninth century. Another feast, which failed to gain permanency, was that of 28th August. Alaric had entered Rome in 410 on 23rd August; there had followed three days of plunder before, as Christian apologists maintained, for the first time in history a looting army had voluntarily left its prey. Leo's Sermon 84 was delivered on this anniversary, in which he blames the Romans for neglecting this "day of castigation and liberation" in favour of the circus. The sermon's style is closely connected with that of the formularies in the Leonine

Sacramentary for SS Peter and Paul in which the people thank the apostles for the deliverance of their city.¹⁴

Other fifth century themes reflect this assimilation of the civil to the apostolic. In 431 were designed the mosaics in the basilica of St Mary Major, representing the Presentation in the Temple. The temple depicted is the *Templum Urbis* of the goddess Roma Aeterna, shown with her statue still surmounting it. In pagan times it had been served by a college of twelve priests, of senatorial rank, headed by the Emperor as *sacerdos urbis*. Simeon is depicted as the head of this college, but in the traditional iconography of St Peter, with a short white beard; behind him the apostles take the place of the rest of the college. Simeon and the infant Christ are separated by St Joseph and Anna, symbolising the New and Old Testaments and joined together by an angel in a *concordia* attitude. The whole amounts to a powerful expression of continuity from the Old to the New Testament and thence to the Church as the successor of Israel, while old imperial hopes now come true in a Christian and Petrine sense. But it is appreciable only in a local sense, to those familiar with the city and its cults and who after their experience need reassurance of *renovatio*.¹⁵

This local aspect of the Petrine cult is worth emphasising. Two late fourth century hymns written for the feast of SS Peter and Paul draw attention to it, Ambrose's "Apostolorum Passio" and the "Plus solito coeunt ad gaudia" of Prudentius. These are exclusively concerned with the ceremonies of the feast in Rome, concentrating on the fact and the sites of the martyrdoms. Ambrose's hymn was liturgical, with specific reference to the three centres of the cult in Rome; Prudentius' is more literary but again, with its concern for the Roman celebration and its explanatory dialogue between a Roman and a stranger, is exclusively local in interest. In neither is there a reference to Peter's universal function within the Church; this, liturgically, is not met with until Bede's hymn "Apostolorum gloriam" indicates the change to the universal ("Quorum coronas totius Orbis celebrat ambitus"), followed by the Carolingian "O Petre, petra ecclesiae", written for the feast of St Peter's Chair. Ambrose presented the apostles as martyrs; Bede as martyrs and missionaries.

LOCAL LITURGICAL INFLUENCE

Leo's forceful expression of Petrine continuity in juridical terms is misleading if taken out of the context of his general thought, which is

¹⁴ Ch. Pietri, "Concordia Apostolorum et Renovatio Urbis", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 73 (1961); A. Rimoldi, "L'Apostolo San Pietro", *Analecta Gregoriana*, 96 (1958); F. Susman, "Il culto di san Pietro a Roma dalle morte di Leone Magno a Vitelliano", *Archivio della Deputazione Romana di Storia Patria*, 84 (1962); G. Morin, "Une fête éphémère du V^e siècle: l'anniversaire de la prise de Rome par les païens et chrétiens", see F. Paschoud, "Roma Aeterna: études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions", *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana*, VII (1967).

¹⁵ E. Kantorowicz, "Puer Exoniens—On the hypopante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore", *Perennitas*, Suppl.-Bd. 2 (1963).

liturgical. He was no extremist; the keynotes of his homilies are the virtues of moderation and equilibrium, expressed in a concrete, practical manner; through the prayer of the liturgy, an equilibrium between God and man; through almsgiving, between rich and poor; through fasting, between the good of the soul and that of the body. His concept of tradition is essentially liturgical, bound solidly to the customs and usages of the Church, the *ecclesia orans*, which derive from the apostles. Tradition and transmission refer equally to doctrine and the conferment of the sacraments; relying surprisingly little on patristic or conciliar texts he places most authority on the baptismal Symbol of the Apostles, by the acceptance of which at baptism and adherence to which through life the unity of all Christians is most perfectly assured and expressed.

Here it may be suggested that the transmission of Leo's own reputation into the early Middle Ages was a local and liturgical matter. He is the great exponent of fasting and its inseparable almsgiving. With the Vandal occupation of the cornlands of Africa, Sicily and Sardinia and the filling of Rome with refugees from Italy and Gaul began a period of acute pre-occupation with the physical supply of the city, lasting until the eighth century. The provision of *annona* for the population was yet another long-standing obligation of Roman magistrates assumed by the Church; it was in this connection that Gregory I earned the title of his epitaph, "God's consul". The week of 6th-13th July was the period of the *iudi Apollinares*, founded in intercession after Cannae; Leo adapted this into a time of special collections of funds and provisions for distribution to the poor in each church and region. Leo's name was also constantly before the Roman public through the regular use in the liturgy of his sermons. Two official homiliaries for the Roman parish churches have survived from the eighth and ninth centuries, which draw almost entirely on Leo's sermons or others ascribed to him. Their style is closely akin to that of the purely liturgical texts of the various Masses written in the late fifth and early sixth century, reflecting matters, famine, plague, siege, of immediate concern to Rome. The first full collection of Leo's sermons, which may be regarded as a patristic or canonical edition, dates only from the eleventh century; until then he was presented to the world, in style, use and content, as a liturgical writer.¹⁶

Local and liturgical; but the papacy of late antiquity had wider functions as defender of the faith, spokesman of the Latin Church and guardian of the canons. Pope Innocent's phrase, *Petrus initium episcopatus*, might imply that Peter and his successor may assume the teaching authority of the entire episcopate, which owes its validity to Rome; at Chalcedon Leo acted alone, on behalf of but with no support from the Latin episcopate. But Innocent's phrase may have local significance only. The multiplication of Italian sees was sufficiently recent for a natural dependence to be felt. The inhabitants of the Italian *municipia*, as Roman

¹⁶ A. Lauras, "Études sur Léon le Grand", *Recherches de Science religieuse*, 49 (1961); *id.*, "Saint Léon le Grand et la Tradition", *ibid.*, 48 (1960); C. Lepelletier, "S. Léon le Grand et la Cité romaine", *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, 35 (1961).

citizens, would have felt part of the Christian community of Rome; until the mid-third century Rome was probably the only established permanent bishopric in Italy, when Milan and perhaps Ravenna were founded. By the end of the third century there were perhaps a hundred sees and by the fifth, two hundred; but immediate dependence would have been emphasised by Italy's long exemption from the normal provincial organisation. Gallic bishops naturally referred to Rome until Milan's rise to prominence. A caution on an extended view of Innocent's phrase may be taken from contemporary Africa. In 397 the council of Carthage dealt with the problem of the increasing number of sees; pastoral problems as well as controversy had led to their creation in country districts, private properties and imperial estates. It was decided that these new sees should be regarded as cadets of the parent see, as being based on localities too small or diffused to merit full autonomy and because the consciousness of foundation by the *principalis sedes* was too active. In Italy the bishops followed the normal custom of attending their metropolitan's synod, held in St Peter's on the anniversary of the Pope's consecration; their own consecration in a chapel off the basilica and their deposition of a statement of faith and canonical observance in the *confessio* strengthened the Petrine element in episcopacy.¹⁷

The papacy's action on behalf of the western episcopate was as often as not the product of default. The Gallic bishops of late antiquity were not in the main interested in doctrinal dispute. The process of evangelisation was far slower in the rural west than the urban east and was not complete until the seventh century; the Gallic bishops had little time or opportunity to consider the major issues except those, such as discipline or the doctrine of grace, which had an immediate pastoral bearing. Information and texts diffused slowly; Hilary of Poitiers, the leading Latin opponent of Arianism, does not appear to have encountered the Nicene definition of faith until the 360s. Before Chalcidon Leo canvassed the Gallic bishops but received no answer until his legates were already returning from the Council.¹⁸

By imperial law the papacy had been given certain rights of hearing appeals on matters of the canons. But the word "canon" did not imply a decision by a hierarchic or legislative body. To St Basil, whose canons formed the basis of eastern discipline, "canon" is an authentic but anonymous presentation and interpretation of immemorial tradition and of the customary law of a local Church; it is "that which we have learnt from the ancients", "that which we have been taught", and "practice", "usage", "custom" are his principle words; only once does he refer to a text. The appearance of collections was due to the increased opportunity with the

¹⁷ F. Lanzoni, "Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del sec. VII", "Studi e Tesi", 35 (1927), analyses the origins and legends of the Italian sees. Their use was primarily political, not doctrinal; so in the 8th century the Greek sees of Sicily, wishing to withdraw from communion with Iconoclast Constantinople and yet retain their Greek rites and semi-independence of Rome, traced their descent from a foundation by Peter as bishop of Antioch. On Africa, P. Batiffol, "Les Principales Cathedrae du Concile de Carthage de 397", "Recherches de Science religieuse", 14 (1924).

¹⁸ G. Bardy, "Les répercussions des controverses théologiques des V^e et VI^e siècles dans les églises de Gaule", "Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France", 24 (1938).

expansion of Christianity for clerical careers and the ordination of bishops and priests to Churches of which they were not native and hence ignorant of local custom. In the case of dispute a synod of bishops, in considerable number and from several provinces, might meet to pool the traditions they have received; in this way only could be determined a tradition "the white hairs of whose antiquity confer the right to veneration". The idea of the canon, the norm, was therefore called into being to support the bishop's position as the special guardian of his local tradition. Uniformity did not replace unity: "in any religion," wrote the Church historian Socrates, "unity of faith does not have as its corollary uniformity of religious practice, for peoples with the same faith have differing practices among them".¹⁹

Where the early Church laid no special emphasis on a particularised apostolicity the fifth century saw a confining of its western expression to Rome alone: papal formularies which at the beginning of the century accorded the correct apostolic titles to other great sees (as the Church of St Mark for Alexandria), by the end of the century are referring to "the second see". A separate development of east and west intensified this. The fourth century had been the period of great synods and councils expressive of total apostolicity; but these were not purely Church assemblies; the Emperor had an admitted share in them and it was round the focus provided by the imperial court that ecclesiastical synods had congregated: the Emperor had always in attendance a number of bishops, advising or appealing to his executive power. From this developed a characteristic of the eastern Church, the *endemousa* synod, a permanent synod without strictly defined authority beyond the purely advisory and consisting of all bishops who happened to be in the capital; it thus presented a random but effective ecumenical apostolicity and collegiality in proximity to the executive authority of the Emperor. The west, with no universal secular power and without the attractions of a secular court, failed to develop this, and apostolicity and finally executive power fell to the papacy. At the end of the fifth century Pope Gelasius stated forcefully but in traditional form the position of pontiff and Emperor. The *uctoritas* of the priesthood was contrasted with the *potestas* of the ruler. Without the *potestas* of the Emperor the spiritual work of the priesthood would be jeopardised and doctrinal and disciplinary truths could not be manifest. The *uctoritas* of the priesthood was a moral prestige, akin to that of great public bodies like

¹⁹ The development of the canon and of synods is discussed in the edition of early canonical texts of P. P. Joannou, "Discipline Generale Antique" (Rome, 1962). The African Church was the keenest defender of jurisdictional autonomy in the west; Pope Zosimus' intervention in the affair of the priest Apiarius brought strong objections to an unwarranted extension of Roman activity: in their letter to Zosimus' successor Celestine the African bishops posed a number of arguments, apart from their reliance on the canons: how could an overseas tribunal judge a case in the absence of necessary witnesses? is justice only capable of being delivered in one place by one unique judge? is this impossible to a number of bishops united in council? is the aid of the Holy Ghost in pronouncing judgment to be denied to any one province? See C. Munier, "Un Canon inédit du XX Concile de Carthage: 'Ut nullus ad Romanum ecclesiam audeat appellare'", "Revue des Sciences religieuses", 40 (1966).

the senate and the priestly colleges; it was rooted in tradition and in the personalities of its wielders.²⁰

EXPRESSIONS OF PETRINE PRIMACY

Here it may be interesting to see what qualities were assigned to Peter and transmitted to his successors. In east and west he represented the unity and firmness in the faith. To St Ambrose there was in Peter a "primatum confessionis, non honoris; primatum fidei, non ordinis". To John Chrysostom Peter had received his leadership of the apostles because of the firmness and immutability of his faith. The eastern monophysites also recognised the authority given by Peter's priority of confession of faith and his firmness in it; but they held that Leo and his successors had since Chalcedon been personally guilty of the heresy of Nestorianism. To the Nestorians of East Syria Petrine authority was perpetuated in each of the great areas of the Church, their own *Catholicos* of Ctesiphon having a priority through origin but not of jurisdiction, as the gospel had first been preached there. To Augustine the feast of SS Peter and Paul was an occasion best to express the unity of Christians for they were the patrons most widely known in the world; he rebuked the apathy of his congregation, contrasting it with the exuberance with which they celebrated the feasts of local saints. To Gregory I, who assumed the style *servus servorum Dei*, it was above all Peter's humility which marked him out; he had meekly accepted the rebukes of the late-comer Paul and he had disdained the honours which the centurion wished to pay him. Rulership is absent from the Petrine concept; indeed Gelasius had declared that the figure of Melchisedek, the combination of priesthood and rulership, could since the Incarnation never again be realised.

The Church of late antiquity expressed itself most fully and typically through its liturgy; it had required a minimal administrative structure to fulfil its function since this was provided for in the pre-existing Roman and Hellenistic Empire. As civil authority declined in the west the language of its local expression was applied to the remaining institution and used to

²⁰ J. Hajjah, "Le Synode Permanent dans l'Eglise byzantine des origines au XI^e siècle", *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 164 (1962). D. H. Marot, "La Collegialité et le vocabulaire épiscopal du V^e au VII^e siècle" (*Irenikon*, 36, 1963) studies the confining of apostolic formulae in the west to Rome and shows the influence of Lertinian monasticism, that is, an influence to some extent detached from the normal episcopal milieu.

In the ninth century, following the discovery of the tomb of St James at Compostela, the bishops of Iria started signing themselves *apostolice sedis episcopus* and by the 10th century, *antistes totius orbis*, for which excommunication was incurred at Rheims in 1049 from Leo IX. It is worth noting that Rome alone put any doctrinal interpretation on the Petrine tradition; the first non-Roman consideration in theological terms of Peter's position comes from Nicholas III of Constantinople in 1085/6 when he answers juridical-doctrinal claims by suggesting that Christ's triple confirmation to Peter merely reinstates him in his apostleship after his triple denial; that if, as the papacy claims, jurisdiction comes through Peter's priority in recognising the Double Nature, why did it not come through John with his theology of the Word. Canon 28 of Chalcedon was the negation of a doctrine of primacy by divine right. (It is ironic that the papacy did accept canon 28, and Constantinople's second place at the Lateran Council of 1215, when Constantinople had a Latin patriarch.)

build a new authority on new bases. The early Middle Ages, especially in the west, saw a marked contraction of intellectual and historical horizons. The Roman law was now represented by epitomes, scaled down to meet the needs of less sophisticated societies and shorn of terminological niceties. In theological matters the fifth century onwards was pre-eminently the age of the *florilegia*, the compilations of patristic texts assembled in the first place to sustain a specific point in dispute without regard to context, and often later applied to other situations and controversies. The seventh century monothelite controversy may be regarded as the last intellectual debate of the ancient world, just as its greatest participant, Maximus Confessor, is the last of the ancient philosophers. The Mediterranean world was broken by the Arab dislocation of sea-routes and Slavonic dislocation of the Balkan land-routes; no longer did a debate reach the whole of the Christian world. In the fourth century Athanasius of Alexandria had initiated the propagation of his ideas and his party through the closely-organised shipping corporations based on his city; by the mid-seventh century these had vanished and the old *oecumene* with them.

The eighth to the eleventh centuries saw the gradual rebirth in the west of legal and social institutions; the material and the phraseology were drawn from ecclesiastical documents of diverse origins. The close assimilation of the ecclesiastical and the civil is first most clearly shown in St Boniface's account of his education in which he referred to "that synod and Church in which I was born and brought up, that is the synod of London in Saxony beyond the seas": showing that, to a prelate of the north, the Church organisation has supplanted any civil one as the sole stable and internationally recognisable mode of reference. The northern and eastern missions which continued steadily through these centuries contributed powerfully to the theoretical extension of the Roman Church; the accepted principal of late antiquity had been to assign supervision of missionary areas to the patriarchates until permanent bishoprics could be established, and the attachment of the new Christian areas to Rome was reinforced by the Petrine sentiments of the Anglo-Saxons. Both Willibrord and Boniface were consecrated by the Pope himself and received the specialised style of archbishop, while Boniface, and his consecrator Gregory II, saw his mission as an immediate extension of the papal household. Twelve years before, in 710, the Arab invaders from Spain had destroyed the records of the south French Churches, in particular those of Lyons and Vienne, helping to eradicate the tradition of local descent, while the keenest champion of regional autonomy of jurisdiction, the African Church, had already been extinguished in the previous half-century.

A second physical factor in the ascription to and assumption by the papacy of the language of *potestas* was the nature of the Frankish intervention in Italy and the creation of what emerged as the papal states. In eighth century Italy several cross-purposes were involved. The papacy was concerned to preserve, in the face of Lombard threats, not its independence merely but also the common Roman order in Byzantine Italy; in this it

acted not as a spiritual power but as an imperial magistracy of the late Empire and, in patriarchal style, as the officially appointed agent of the sovereign in Constantinople. Its appeal to the Franks, however, was couched in purely Petrine terms; letters were written as from Peter himself and the Franks were reminded of the influence of the door-keeper, while the Italian provincials are called "Peter's special people". It was wholly in response to this Petrine aspect, the sole basis for historical legitimacy that the north had taught itself to recognise, that the Franks intervened and, ignoring the secular rights of the Empire, confirmed sovereignty to the papacy. The suppression of opposition from the nobility of Rome (also holders of imperial offices) and from Ravenna (whose archbishop had at least as much right as the Pope to be regarded as local residuary legatee to lapsed imperial authority) highlighted the new sovereignty.

From Rome the Frankish kingdom received its royal style, its reformed liturgy (its derivation from civil court ceremonial no longer recognised), and its codes of discipline. This latter was drawn haphazardly, as materials allowed and from many different circumstances, to be welded into expressions of universal principle. The local codes of the ancient Church passed through Roman hands, received Roman additions and were passed on, with Roman liturgy and the Latin language to reinforce the new unity that Charlemagne was trying to impose. The "Symmachan forgeries", when first produced, were propaganda pamphlets put out during the disputed Roman election of 496-500, claiming papal immunity from his suffragans' judgment, a claim accepted by the Roman synod of suffragan bishops in 500. A few years later Dionysius Exiguus had wisely rejected these as invalid when compiling his code of discipline; the eighth century codifiers, on the other hand, without his historical acumen, accepted them as valid and extending their principle, placed the papacy in the position of an untouchable sovereign.

These Carolingian codes also included doctrinal texts, such as the "Tome" of Leo, as examples of the exercise of papal authority. Here a further divergence from a true view of the past may be seen. The Church of late antiquity, and after it the eastern Church, perpetuated great decisions through the medium of the liturgy; the Byzantine Church for instance observed feasts commemorating the greater doctrinal councils. In the west, concerned with creating a general body of law once again, doctrinal matters were more often presented under the form of legal requirements and therefore more often identified with western circumstances and usage. The distinction between the doctrinal and the legal became blurred; at the end of the eighth century for instance Hadrian I could describe the eastern government as heretical for its refusal to return the papal estates in Sicily. Whereas Gregory the Great had denounced the style of "ecumenical patriarch" as contrary to the humility which should inform every episcopate and as derogatory of the authority of other bishops, two centuries later Hadrian regards its use by Constantinople simply as a flouting of Rome's prerogative, and hence heretical.

CONCLUSION

The period from the sixth to the ninth century was one of crucial development for the whole Christian Church. In the west the whole society, intellectual context and direction of Christianity vanished; in the east, which had been the active centre of Christianity until the Arab conquests, flourishing traditions were temporarily submerged. The previous poverty of the west is shown up in the reassertion of ecclesiastical vigour in the eleventh century. Gregory VII claimed to be following in the patristic tradition and to be introducing no innovation—but of the Fathers he apparently knows only four, Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom and Gregory the Great. Of the two last, John was known only from *florilegia* and Peter Damian, when at the Pope's request he drew up citations in support of papal supremacy, drew most heavily not from the *Registrum* of Gregory I, but from those passages quoted by the ninth-century deacon John, who presented his subject to large degree as a landlord and dispenser of local Roman charity. Gregory VII's historical understanding of Ambrose was also faulty; ignoring many potentially telling passages from the Altar of Victory debate and the Callinicum affair, he concentrates wrongly on Ambrose's demand that the Emperor Theodosius undergo public penance and temporarily abstain from the sacraments, which he anachronistically assumes to have involved deposition. Cardinal Humbert's accusation that the Greeks had omitted the *Filioque* clause is just one, a more disastrous, result of loss of historical perspective and consciousness that marks the rise of an authoritarian papacy.

The assimilation of *potestas* and *autoritas* and the extension of the local to a universal principle in the eleventh century may again be shown in contemporary hymns. To Alphanus of Salerno Peter is "consul and Caesar" to whom the whole world is subject; to the author of the *Reginense* office of Peter the apostle is an "archsenator":

*leges in populos
Statuens velut archisenator
Saecli lura tenens
Regum diademata solvens*

This concentration was compounded by the loss of other traditions. In the late second century a Syrian, Bardesanes, in his "Book of the Laws of Countries", condemned the imperial Romans "who abolish the laws of the countries they conquer": he was a man who, drawing on his native Syriac and on the neighbouring Chaldean and Hellenistic traditions, was able to help in laying the foundations of a vigorous intellectual, spiritual and liturgical world which was at the heart of Christianity for four centuries. In historical terms western Christianity may be seen to have developed in isolation both from the greater part of Christianity and from its own past, from which it claimed its authority, and so to have produced an understanding and expression that was partial.

APPENDIX: THE AUTHOR'S BOOK REVIEWED

Peter Llewellyn *ROME IN THE DARK AGES* Faber 1971 324 p £2.75.

Before the reforms of the mid-eleventh century the Papacy was in fact, as well as in name, a Roman institution: the Pope was normally chosen from among the priests and deacons of the city; the members of the curia were mostly Roman born; the greater part of the papal revenues were drawn from the States of the Church; and consequently papal history in that period cannot be divorced from its Roman context. This subject is therefore of some relevance to most people who are interested in the history of the Christian West in the early Middle Ages in which the Holy See played so important a part. Hitherto the only easily accessible study which covers the whole period and is not designed solely for the specialist reader has been Ferdinand Gregorovius' "History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages". Although this remains eminently readable it is badly out of date. It was written almost a century ago, and much new work has been done since then.

Mr Llewellyn's book covers much of the early mediaeval period: it begins with the reign of Theodoric in the late fifth century and it ends with the coronation of Otto I in 962. This choice of dates is a very judicious one. Under Ostrogothic rule imperial Rome enjoyed its Indian Summer which was brought to an end in the next generation by Justinian's wars of reconquest from which it never recovered. The surviving population of Rome, led by the Papacy, sought to preserve some of the traditions of the ancient world in the barbarian kingdoms of the Christian West. On the whole the Carolingians respected those traditions and the real break came, where Mr Llewellyn has placed it, with the accession of Otto the Great, who sought to integrate Rome and the Papacy into a north European pattern of society which was alien to them. The violent reaction which this provoked in Rome is outside the scope of this book.

Mr Llewellyn states with commendable honesty in his prefatory remarks: "My aim has been to provide a general account of Rome's history through this period at the expense, perhaps, of detailed discussion of many points of controversy". This is not a book for the specialist reader, but for that wide public whose existence historians too often overlook, people with no specialist knowledge, but with a general scholarly interest in the field. Mr Llewellyn writes well; he supplies general background material which such readers would need; and, while not holding up his narrative to discuss controversial issues, he gives detailed bibliographical references at such points to enable the interested reader to investigate these problems further. It seems regrettable, however, that the author does not indicate on at least some occasions that he holds a minority viewpoint on a very controversial topic. How many scholars would accept without qualification

the explanation of the Coronation of Charlemagne given on p. 250 (even though it is based on Einhard):

"While in prayer before the *confessio* of St Peter he was startled when Leo suddenly appeared to place a crown on his head, and he was acclaimed by Pope and Romans as Emperor of the Romans."

One possible criticism of this book is that it has a misleading title. There is some substance in this, for "Rome in the Dark Ages" suggests a new version of the early volumes of Gregorovius, whereas the scope of the work is much more general. Nevertheless, such a criticism ignores the central problem facing anybody who wants to write the history of Rome in this period: sometimes one is dealing simply with the history of the city, at others with the history of the entire Christian world. Mr Llewellyn has attempted to solve this problem by devoting part of his work specifically to the life of the city. I find the two chapters on "The Roman Church and Clergy" and "Rome of the Pilgrims" the most satisfactory and interesting parts of the book, since they provide the kinds of information about the papal administration and about Rome as a pilgrimage centre which is not otherwise at all easily accessible. Although it may seem an ungracious comment I regret that more of the book is not devoted to discussions of this kind about which the author is obviously knowledgeable, rather than being concerned, as it is, with the retailing of information about the Gothic Wars, and the Christological controversies of the seventh century which have been adequately covered elsewhere and about which he has very little that is new to say.

The weakest chapter in the book is undoubtedly the last, "Rome and the Dynasts". In extenuation it should be said that this is one of the worst documented periods in the city's history, but precisely for that reason Mr Llewellyn's lack of detailed discussion of controversial points causes him to make erroneous assertions. Thus there is no evidence for the statement on p. 303 that the Marquess Alberic of Spoleto "perhaps tried to seize the patriciate of the Romans by summoning the Hungarians to his aid, and was lynched by the outraged Romans"; nor is there a shred of evidence for the claim, twice repeated, that Alberic of Rome held the office of Marquess of Spoleto (pp. 304, 306), indeed, there is a good deal of evidence that he did not; nor is there any valid reason for assigning all the children of the Senatrix Marozia to her first marriage (p. 304), or for assuming that Pope Leo VII had been a monk before his elevation to the Holy See (p. 310). To describe the Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus as "regent" for Constantine VII in 932 (p. 307) is to misunderstand the position of co-Emperors in the Byzantine constitution; while to translate Flodoard of Rheims' description of Pope John XI, *splendore carens*, as "caring only for splendour" (p. 304)¹ suggests a very hasty revision of this final section.

These slips can be corrected or qualified in a subsequent edition. The author would also be well advised to make radical changes to his first

¹ *De Christi triumphis apud Italiam* XIII, 12, P.L. 135, 832.

map, that of the City of Rome. Not all the gates of the city are marked, the principle on which the churches have been selected is far from clear, since some of those which are marked (e.g. St Apollinaris) seldom receive mention in the text, while others, like the monastery of SS Silvester and Stephen, which is important in the book, does not figure on the map. But undoubtedly the greatest *desideratum* in a new edition would be an appendix containing some discussion of the sources. It must be very difficult for any reader who is not already cognisant with the source material for this period to evaluate the sources which Mr Llewellyn has used. This is particularly the case with his chief source, the "Liber Pontificalis", which is a composite work, not all parts of which are of equal value: the reader should be given a clear indication of the relative weight which the author attaches to different parts of this work.

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The reviewer has himself written on Rome as follows: "The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the Tenth Century", "Orientalia Christiana Periodica" XXVII (1961); "The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome", "Studia Monastica" IV (1962), 35-68; "The Monastery of S Alessio & the Religious & Intellectual Renaissance in Tenth Century Rome", "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History" II (1965), 265-310; "The House of Theophylact and the Promotion of the Religious Life among Women in Tenth Century Rome", "Studia Monastica" XII (1970), 195-217.

THE DEVELOPING PETRINE OFFICE AND THOMAS CRANMER

by

EDWARD P. ECHLIN, S.J.

Since the opening of the Second Vatican Council, two clear and strongly held views on ecclesiology have been publicly contending for the mastery (or at least parity); and the advent of the curial document known as the *Lex Fundamentalis* together with the debate which has blown up around it have brought the issue a stage further in time, if not in enlightenment. The truth inevitably lies between extremes, as the more responsible contenders would be swift to affirm; for each view draws on theories and practices which cannot hope to embody all truth.

This being the principal living issue for the Church in the present time, its discussion must drive historical theologians back to uncover the roots of development and division, to where distinctions began to be made which canalised subsequent processes of thought and action. Into that pattern of investigation falls this enquiry. The task of rebuilding unity calls for a precise knowledge of how disunity came about, and how it has been augmented by further misconstruction, albeit not deliberate.

The author writes regularly on ecumenical subjects. In 1968 he published at the Seabury Press "The Anglican Eucharist in Ecumenical Perspective". His current book on "The Deacon in the Church" is to be reviewed in the next issue. He is at present a lecturer at John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE role of the Petrine office in a reunited Church remains a formidable problem as Anglicans and Roman Catholics strive to heal the divisions of four centuries. Encouraging and practical steps towards reunion have been taken in the years since Vatican II—and the problem of the Petrine office has been discussed with refreshing candour.

During 1967 the Anglican/Roman Catholic Joint Preparatory Commission held three intensive meetings before submitting their detailed report to Canterbury and Rome. The report stated candidly that "real or apparent differences between us come to the surface in such matters as the unity and indefectibility of the Church in its teaching authority, the Petrine primacy, infallibility and Mariological definitions".¹ In Rome's reply to the report in 1968, Cardinal Bea agreed that further studies were necessary "on the nature of authority in the Church and its concrete form in the teaching authority, in the Petrine primacy, etc."²

The 1968 Lambeth Conference took note of the Joint Preparatory Commission's report and Cardinal Bea's reply. Lambeth discussed two significant drafts on the role of the Petrine office, one drawn up before and one after the promulgation of *Humanae Vitae*. The first draft went so far as to accord the Pope a primacy of love, implying both honour and service.

¹ The Commission's Report, *Herder Correspondence*, Dec. 1968, p. 374.

² Cardinal Bea's Letter, *ibid.*, p. 373.

At the same time this key paragraph on the papacy confessed difficulty with Roman claims to infallibility and immediate and universal jurisdiction "as we understand them at present":

"The Papacy is an historic reality whose claims must be carefully weighed in any scheme for the reunion of Christendom. Within the whole College of Bishops and Ecumenical Councils, it is evident that there must be a president whose office involves a personal concern for the affairs of the whole church. This president might most fittingly be the occupant of the historic see of Rome. Although as we understand them at present, we are unable to accept the claims of the Papacy to infallibility and immediate and universal jurisdiction, we believe that a considerable majority of Anglicans would be prepared to accept the Pope as having a primacy of love, implying both honour and service in a renewed and reunited Church as would seem right on both historical and pragmatic grounds."³

Clearly this paragraph went a long way toward accepting a true Petrine primacy as Roman Catholics understand it. Theological *periti* at Lambeth were well aware how extensive are such terms as "primacy of love" and "service". But then came the shock of *Humanae Vitae* and subsequent Anglican dismay at what they considered a non-collegial exercise of authority. A final draft on the Petrine office was drawn up which still recognized the papacy as a historic reality but professed inability to accept Vatican I's teaching on infallibility and jurisdiction "as it is commonly understood today":

"As a result of the emphasis placed on collegiality at the second Vatican Council, the status of Bishops in the Roman Catholic Church was in great measure enhanced. But the teaching of the first Vatican Council on infallibility and immediate and universal jurisdiction of the Pope was unaffected. We are unable to accept this teaching as it is commonly understood today. The relationship between the Pope and the episcopal college, of which he is a member, are, however, still being clarified and are subject to development. We recall the statement made in the Lambeth Conference of 1908 and repeated in 1920 and 1930, 'that there can be no fulfilment of the Divine purpose in any scheme of reunion which does not ultimately include the great Latin Church of the West with which our history has been so closely associated in the past, and to which we are still bound by many ties of common faith and tradition'. We recognize the Papacy as an historic reality whose developing role requires deep reflection and joint study by all concerned for the unity of the body of Christ."⁴

In the opinion of Lambeth '68 the developing role of Rome demands reflection and joint study by all concerned for unity. Since Lambeth such joint study has continued. The Westminster-London group of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Roman Catholic Relations

³ "Lambeth in Retrospect", *Herder Correspondence*, Jan. 1969, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*

held its first meeting at Ware on 27th May 1969. The following points were listed as demanding further study: the position of the papacy, Marian dogmas, Eucharistic sacrifice, intercommunion. Significantly, the papacy was listed first.⁵

Thereafter in 1971 the international Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission published its working paper on Church and Authority. Important for our purposes is the Roman Catholic acknowledgment that "it is the Roman Catholic faith that the bishop of Rome enjoys a special function of service and guidance in the collegiality of the episcopate", and the Anglican statement which, after admitting difficulties still exist, said, "if there are substantial Anglican hesitations about the papacy as such, it would not be unreasonable to say that these generally have far more to do with the actual exercise of papal authority (at various periods in history) than with the papacy itself or the subtleties of definition".⁶

Meanwhile the uniate model for Anglican/Roman Catholic reunion, which had been quite dormant since the Malines conversations,⁷ had been suggested by Cardinal Willebrands⁸ and Bishop Christopher Butler,⁹ and was being discussed by Anglicans themselves.¹⁰ According to this model the Archbishop of Canterbury would be analogous to a western patriarch in communion with a pastoral Petrine office. By far the most dramatic moment in this development was the remarkable peroration of Pope Paul VI at the canonisation of the Forty Martyrs. The Pope seemed to be encouraging the model of unity in diversity, with both Churches retaining their distinctive patrimonies, which had been proposed by Cardinal Willebrands and Bishop Butler.

"May the blood of these martyrs be able to heal the great wound inflicted upon God's Church by reason of the separation of the Anglican Church from the Catholic Church. Is it not one—these martyrs say to us—the Church founded by Christ? Is not this their witness? Their devotion to their nation gives us the assurance that on the day when—God willing—the unity of the faith and of Christian life is restored, no offence will be inflicted on the honour and sovereignty of a great country such as England. There will be no seeking to lessen the legitimate prestige and the worthy patrimony of piety and usage proper to the

⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Roman Catholic Relations, "The Westminster-London Group", London, 1969, p. 5.

⁶ Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, "Church and Authority", *The Catholic Mind*, April 1971, pp. 40-41; cf. also text in *One in Christ*, Spring 1971.

⁷ Lord Halifax, "Conversations at Malines", London, 1927.

⁸ Cardinal Jan Willebrands, "Moving Towards a Typology of Churches", *The Catholic Mind*, April 1970, p. 40.

⁹ Bishop Christopher Butler, "United Not Absorbed", *The Tablet*, 7th March 1970, p. 21; "Bishop Butler Proposes a Model for Reunion of Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches", *The Listener*, 2nd April 1970, pp. 441-442; Radio Address, *One in Christ*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 172.

¹⁰ John Macquarrie, "Is Organic Union Desirable?", *Theology*, Oct. 1970, pp. 437-444; John Macquarrie, George Yule, "Is Organic Union Desirable?" *Theology*, Feb. 1971, pp. 75-77; Lord Fisher of Lambeth, "Organic Union", *Theology*, Mar. 1971, pp. 124-125.

Anglican Church when the Roman Catholic Church—this humble 'Servant of the Servants of God'—is able to embrace her ever beloved Sister in the one authentic communion of the family of Christ: a communion of origin and of faith, a communion of priesthood and of rule, a communion of the Saints in the freedom and love of the Spirit of Jesus."¹¹

The reaction of Bishop Butler and of Archbishop Ramsey himself to the Pope's "important offer" (Mascall) was positive. They too envisaged a model for reunion in which these sister Churches would retain their distinctive patrimonies.¹² If the uniate model, as a practical plan for reunion, is to be pursued it will be necessary for the Petrine office to develop as a pastoral primacy of service and love which Anglicans can and will accept.¹³

We suggest that further joint study of past historical developments which have influenced the present may assist understanding the present developing role of the papacy.¹⁴ Reflection on the teachings of Thomas Cranmer on the Roman primacy may prove enlightening. While Anglicanism claims no magisterial reformer, Cranmer exercised great influence in Henry VIII's break with Rome and, after 1533, on the whole Church of England of which he was primate.

The historical circumstances and understanding of Roman primacy or supremacy were radically different in Cranmer's day than in our own. For this reason alone, his arguments for royal supremacy and a break with Rome may prove less compelling today than they did in the sixteenth century. Today's different circumstances and the developing pastoral role of the Pope may lead us to question the wisdom of making Cranmer's fears our own. Moreover, it is noteworthy in Cranmer's case that he lived in a time of polemics. A reformer (or a reforming Council) does not emphasize important doctrinal issues which, in different historical circumstances, he (or a reforming Council) would be willing to teach openly. In Cranmer's times, as in all troubled times, the emphasis was on what was attacked. Cranmer felt the royal supremacy of the king in his realm was under Roman attack. Therefore, he was hardly inclined to stress even a pastoral primacy for Rome. But this does not mean he denied what he did not stress. At a minimum, even if we conclude Cranmer has little to teach us

about our problems today and the developing role of the papacy, we can still learn from him about the origins of our unhappy division. No one can understand himself without knowledge of his origins. No one can understand even a schism within God's people without some understanding of the ideas which helped create it.

While Lambeth, the Joint Preparatory Commission, and more recently the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission and the Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission, all express difficulty with infallibility as presently understood, we will learn from Cranmer that in the sixteenth century infallibility was not the paramount issue it is today. As the 42, and later the 39, Articles make clear, Cranmer believed the Church even in general council can and does err. His writings indicate a fear on his part that to admit inerrancy was, sooner or later, to admit papal "supremacy". He believed that Church teaching from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries alleged a sweeping Roman supremacy that held sway in temporal as well as spiritual affairs, in purgatory as well as this earth. This was the temporal supremacy associated with the names of Gregory VII, Innocent III and Boniface VIII. The theory was not totally dead even in Cranmer's time that all temporal power came from the Pope, who was God's vicar on earth, and that temporal rulers were instituted, judged, and if necessary, deposed by the Pope. He believed the Church taught that anyone who denied this extensive supremacy was a heretic doomed to the everlasting bonfire. This papal supremacy clearly conflicted with scripture and the jurisdiction of the king of England. Cranmer wrote to Henry VIII in 1536 explaining his reasons for denying the inerrancy of the Church. Just where official Church teaching taught such Roman supremacy Cranmer did not say, although he was perhaps referring to the "two swords" teaching made famous by Boniface VIII.

"Whosoever saith that the Church never erred, maintaineth the bishop of Rome his power. For if that were not erroneous that was taught of his power, that he is Christ's vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal; and that all people must believe that '*de necessitate salutis*,' and that whosoever doeth any thing against the see of Rome is an heretic; and that he hath authority also in purgatory; with such other many false things, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith: if these things were not erroneous, yea, and errors in the faith, then must needs your grace's laws be erroneous, that pronounce the bishop of Rome to be of no more power by God's law than other bishops, and them to be traitors that defend the contrary. This is certain, that whosoever saith that the Church never erred, must either deny that the Church ever taught any such errors of the bishop of Rome his power, and then they speak against that which all the world knoweth, and all books written of that matter these three or four hundred years do testify; or else they must say, that the said errors be none errors, but truths."¹⁵

¹¹ Pope Paul VI, "In solemn canonization", AAS, LXII, Nov.-Dec. 1970, pp. 752-753; cf. "The Forty Martyrs", *One in Christ*, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 113.

¹² Butler, "An Approach to Anglicans", *The Tablet*, 14th Nov. 1970, pp. 1098-1099; Archbishop Michael Ramsey, Christmas Sermon, quoted in *One in Christ*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 2-3, p. 255.

¹³ And of course Roman recognition of Anglican ordering in the uniting Church. Cf. my articles "The Uniate Analogy and Anglican Ministry", *New Blackfriars*, Sept. 1971; and "Anglican Orders, a Case for Validity", *The Anglican Theological Review*, April 1970, pp. 67-76.

¹⁴ James Hennessey, "Papacy and Episcopacy in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America", in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Sept. 1966, pp. 175-191. Cf. also Hans Küng, "Structures of the Church", London, 1964, pp. 206-223; 314-336.

¹⁵ To King Henry VIII, 1536, in "Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer", ed. John Cox, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846, pp. 327-328.

For Cranmer the main issue was not inerrancy or infallibility, but the supremacy or authority of the Pope. He found no evidence in scripture for the authority described above. For him scripture itself was the ultimate authority. The Pope, too, was under scripture. He believed that Rome suppressed vernacular bibles precisely so it could maintain this supremacy which was usurped against the final authority of scripture. Widespread reading of scripture would expose Rome's false claims: "The old popish bottles must needs burst when the new wine of God's holy word is poured into them"¹⁶. Papal supremacy was a human invention, a "new" learning that contravened the "old" learning of scripture. Cranmer urged hesitant justice in Kent to open the bible to the people so as to expose false Roman claims:

"I pray you, what other ways was there at any time invented better to maintain, continue, or uphold the bishop of Rome's usurped authority and other superstitiousness, than to banish and suppress the word of God and the knowledge thereof specially from the simple and common people, and to restrain the same to the knowledge of a certain few persons? yes, this thing hath been universally the only decay of our faith. And why then may not men think of you to be a special favourer covertly of his authority, when you bear the people such a hatred for favouring of God's word, which word hath uttered unto all the world his crafty inventions?"¹⁷

From Cranmer we can learn that papal primacy must be based on scripture, that in the Pope we must find the humble fisherman of Galilee, a pastoral Petrine office. We can also learn from Cranmer that the primitive Church has something to teach us about the primacy. His words at his degradation in 1555 make interesting, even surprising, reading. Although he is often accused of vacillation, there is here no watering down of his oft-expressed distinction between the "old" learning of scripture and the primitive Church and the "new" learning that places human laws and human accretions above scripture. In a surprising admission, Cranmer granted that the primitive Roman Church was "mother" of all Churches not only in witness but even by nourishing with sound doctrine. When the Roman Church corrupted, so did all the other Churches which looked to Rome for guidance. At his degradation Cranmer was not far from admitting what our own day might call a primacy of love including both honour and service:

"Christian religion by the preaching of the apostles began to be spread very far abroad and to flourish, insomuch that their sound went out into all the world; innumerable people, which walked in darkness, saw a great light; God's glory, everywhere published, did flourish; the only care of the ministers of the Church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ, the people, to embrace and follow Christ's doctrine. Then

¹⁶ Answer to Gardiner in "Writings and Disputation of Thomas Cranmer Relative to the Lord's Supper", ed. John Cox, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846, p. 18.

¹⁷ To a Justice in "Miscellaneous Writings", p. 350.

the Church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily, the mother of other Churches; forasmuch as then she first begat to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable, she rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then, by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of all miseries, was laughed to scorn, whiles, through the example of Romish martyrs, men did everywhere press forward to the life to come. But afterward, the ungraciousness of damnable ambition never satisfied, avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the see of Rome; there followed everywhere almost the deformities of all Churches, growing out of kind, into manners of the Church, their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and heinous usages."¹⁸

But such a primacy—of love including honour and service—was not the primacy at issue in Cranmer's writings. To use the distinction popularised by Döllinger in the nineteenth century, Cranmer was speaking of the papacy, not the primacy. His words at his degradation are a reminder to us that what he did not stress he did not necessarily deny. What he *did* deny was a papacy tantamount to medieval monarchy. When provision to bishoprics resembled the appointment of vassals and when church courts resembled temporal courts, Cranmer saw interference in temporal jurisdiction and a harsh exploitation of England's wealth. Few Roman Catholics would disagree with Cranmer that *this*, while perhaps necessary in the middle ages, was hardly a pastoral primacy based on scripture. We can learn from his reaction to Roman claims to England's wealth that accretions to the Petrine office bring the office itself into disrepute.

"That heinous and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishopricks, provisions, annuities, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other cursed merchandise of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this realm; all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped authority, unto the unmeasurable loss of this realm."¹⁹

When he attacked *this* authority, Cranmer was not necessarily denying *all* authority to Rome. But at a time when accretions were added to a true, scriptural authority, Cranmer was not apt to stress the latter. That he admitted a true, scriptural authority was made clear at Oxford: "I did not acknowledge his (the Pope's) authority any further than it agree with the express word of God"²⁰. Clearly a *monarchical* papacy that taxed England did not agree with the express word of God.

¹⁸ Appeal at his Degradation, *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Examination Before Brokes, *Ibid.*, p. 224.

Nor did Cranmer grant divine status to papal decrees and canons. He thought that good papal laws, even when not expressly based on scripture, should be observed as long as they were good. Good papal laws and good ceremonies should be admitted, not because they were divine or expressly based on scripture or remitted sins, but simply because they were good.

"And some of them which were good and laudable, yet they were not of such holiness as he would make them; that is, to be taken as God's laws, or to have remission of sins by observing of them. And here I said, that so many of his laws as were good, men ought not to contemn and despise them, and willfully to break them; for those that be good your grace had received as laws of your realm, until such time as others should be made. And therefore as laws of your realm they must be observed, and not contemned. And here I spake as well of the ceremonies of the Church as of the foresaid laws; that they ought neither to be rejected or despised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion, that they of themselves make men holy, or that they remit sin."²¹

The final disputations at Oxford clearly demonstrate the confusion that arises when the Pope is confused with a monarchical ruler. Cranmer flatly denied that the Pope was vicar of Christ or head of the Church. Christ was head of the Church and the temporal ruler was supreme head in his dominion, that is, over the "temporal bodies of men". Unfortunately Dr Martin, the Queen's representative, did not ask Cranmer what for us is the all-important question: whether or not the Pope has a primacy of love in the Church. Cranmer was left with the dilemma of either equating the Pope with a temporal ruler or making the temporal ruler head of the Church. In trying to escape this dilemma he admitted no veridical primacy, beyond that of Christ, in the Church:

"Martin:—Now, sir, as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the pope's holiness was supreme head of the Church of Christ.

Cranmer:—I did so.

Martin:—Who say you then is supreme head?

Cranmer:—Christ.

Martin:—But whom hath Christ left here in earth his vicar and head of his Church?

Cranmer:—Nobody.

Martin:—Ah! why told you not king Henry this, when you made him supreme head? and now nobody is. This is treason against his own person, as you then made him.

Cranmer:—I mean not but every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head, and so was he supreme head of the Church of Christ in England.

Martin:—Is this always true? and was it ever so in Christ's Church?

Cranmer:—It was so.

²¹ To King Henry VIII, 1536, *Ibid.*, p. 326.

Martin:—Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest prince of the earth, after Christ ascended. Was he head of Christ's Church?

Cranmer:—Nero was Peter's head.

Martin:—I ask, whether Nero was head of the Church, or no? If he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were, heads of the Church within their realms.

Cranmer:—Nay, it is true, for Nero was head of the Church, that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so be beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turk too is head of the Church of Turkey."²²

In this same interrogation Cranmer was reluctant to grant the king supremacy in "faith or religion". The king was head of the *visible Church*, head of the temporal and ecclesiastical members of the Church; but at his trial Cranmer saw the perils of granting royal supremacy in doctrinal matters. Once again in these different historical circumstances the question of a *pastoral* Petrine office did not arise. We can agree with Cranmer that the Pope is not temporal head of the Church and that the king has no supremacy in "faith or religion". The key question for us—and the way out of Cranmer's dilemma—was not raised: does the Pope have a *pastoral* primacy of love including both honour and service?

"After this, doctor Martin demanded of him, who was supreme head of the Church of England? 'Marry', quoth my lord of Canterbury, 'Christ is the head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church'. 'Why', quoth doctor Martin, 'you made king Henry the eighth supreme head of the Church'. 'Yea', said the archbishop, 'of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal'. 'And not of the Church?' said Martin. 'No', said he, 'for Christ is only head of his Church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible Church.'²³

Cranmer saw the same difficulty and used the same caution in a letter to Philip Melancthon about the possibilities of a council. Cranmer promised the assistance of the king, Edward VI, but carefully avoided including the king among the council delegates. "I have therefore consulted with the king's majesty who places his kingdom of England at your disposal, and most generously promises not only a place of security and quiet, but also his aid and assistance toward these godly endeavours."²⁴

Cranmer had not always been so circumspect. In less cautious moments he had gone so far as to call the king God's vice-gerent and even vicar of Christ. On occasion of such extravagance was his coronation sermon for Edward VI. In his famous "young Josiah" sermon Cranmer urged the king to take a hand in the superintendence of worship, the destruction of idolatry and the removal of images. Cranmer was in fact, if not in

²² Examination Before Brokes, *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁴ Cranmer to Melancthon, Lambeth, 27th Mar. 1552, in "Original Letters", Parker Society, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1846, Vol. I, p. 26.

theory, preaching royal supremacy in something more than temporal or visible things. Here as in the disputes between Popes and emperors we see what happens when the papacy becomes a temporal ruler. The inevitable result is that the *real* temporal ruler interferes in doctrinal affairs:

"Your majesty is God's vice-gerent and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josiah, who reformed the Church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to produce peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms."²⁶

Cranmer's main concern was to re-establish royal supremacy in all temporal matters in England. He opposed papal interference in coronations, provisions, annates, litigation, taxes and, in brief, all "temporal" affairs. The Pope's alleged jurisdiction in these temporal things was usurped against the laws and customs of England. Since there was no basis for such temporal jurisdiction in scripture, Cranmer hoped to abolish these papal accretions.

"I knew the authority of the bishop of Rome, which he usurpeth, to be against the crown, customs and laws of this realm of England; insomuch that neither the king can be crowned in this realm without the most grievous crime of perjury, nor may bishops enjoy their bishopricks, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this realm, except by the bishop of Rome's authority be accused both the king and queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and customs, with all that consent to them."²⁶

Repeatedly Cranmer attacked papal exploitation of England's wealth. We can learn from vehemence of his protests that when the Petrine office confuses pastoral primacy within the apostolic college with temporal jurisdiction the primacy itself is endangered:

"That heinous and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishopricks, provisions, annuities, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other cursed merchandise of Rome, was won't exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this realm; and all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped authority, unto the unmeasurable loss of this realm."²⁷

Even the Pope, as Cranmer saw, is under the apostolic witness in scripture. The *how* of the Petrine office must be measured against the criterion of scripture. The Petrine office has a claim on the obedience of all faithful only when, as centre and focus of unity, it witnesses to the

²⁶ Speech at the Coronation of Edward VI, 20th Feb, 1547, in "Miscellaneous Writings", p. 127.

²⁶ Appeal at His Degradation, *Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

authentic voice of scripture. Cranmer thought the papacy of his time set itself above scripture, distorted scripture, and made papal whim and greed into the supreme law. For this reason he opposed papal "supremacy" in England.

"The very papacy and the see of Rome, which hath by their laws suppressed Christ, and set up the bishop of that see as a God of this world. And where the word of God was adversary and against his authority, pomp, covetousness, idolatry, and superstitious doctrine, he spying this became adversary unto the word of God, falsifying it, extorting it out of the true sense, and (as much as he might) suppressing it by policy, craft, bye-laws and doctrines, contrary to the word of God, by power of himself and aid to other princes, and by divers other ways and means. And this is the chief thing to be detested in that see, that it hath brought the professors of Christ into such an ignorance of Christ. And besides this he hath consumed and wasted innumerable goods of all Christendom for the maintenance of that estate, to the intolerable impoverishment of all christian realms."²⁸

Justification by faith in Christ's unique sacrifice was basic to Cranmer's thought. Cranmer thought, not without reason, that Rome had profited financially by "works" which detracted from the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice. Once again we can learn from Cranmer that when the papacy profits or seems to profit from the quest of all men for redemption, the Petrine office itself is called into question.

"The Romish antichrist, to deface this great benefit of Christ, hath that his sacrifice upon the cross is not sufficient hereunto, without any other sacrifice devised by him, and made by the priest, or else without indulgences, beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other pelfray, to supply Christ's imperfection: and that christian people cannot apply to themselves the benefits of Christ's passion, but that the same is in the distribution of the bishop of Rome; or else that by Christ we have no full remission, but he delivered only from sin, and yet remaineth temporal pain in purgatory due for the same, to be remitted after this life by the Romish anti-christ and his ministers, who take upon them to do for us that thing, which Christ either would or could not do."²⁸

Cranmer summarized his position on royal supremacy in a letter to Queen Mary in 1555. He believed that temporal jurisdiction came from God to the ruler and not from the Pope to the ruler. Therefore the monarch, not the Pope, was temporal ruler of the realm. Finally, the Pope substituted his own human laws for the law of God as found in scripture. For this reason too, Cranmer denied papal authority in England:

"His authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same, which every true subject is bounden to defend. First, for that the pope saith, that all manner

²⁸ To Lord Lisle, 1536, *Ibid.*, p. 322. Cf. also Cranmer's collection of canons which he used to illustrate his arguments, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-75.

²⁹ A Preface to the Realm, in "Writings Relative to the Lord's Supper", p. 5.

of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his commandment and beck. But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject unto none but to God alone . . . Another cause I alleged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this, that by his authority he subverteth not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God: so that whosoever be under his authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command.³⁰

Conclusion.

What then, if anything, does Cranmer have to teach us about what Cardinal Bea called "the nature of authority in the Church and its concrete form in the teaching authority, in the Petrine primacy, etc."³¹

While he has little to teach us about infallibility in the circumscribed sense in which it was defined in Vatican I,³² he does offer us ideas for reflection even on this important doctrine. For example he realized and admitted that "the Church" over a period of centuries had taught a primacy, albeit in exaggerated form, of the Church of Rome. It was because he *did* realize this and because he thought this and other Roman teachings added to scripture, that Cranmer was reluctant to admit that a human society could not err. His sweeping dismissal of an equally sweeping "inerrancy" should be a reminder to us of the narrow and nuanced sense in which Vatican I defined "infallibility".³³

Cranmer, even within the limited Patristic scholarship of the sixteenth century, admitted a true "motherhood" of the see of Rome in the primitive Church, a motherhood or nourishment that extended even to doctrine. Cranmer was distressingly vague as to when or where corruption of this true and scriptural primacy began. We can ask ourselves where accretions began and what accretions still exist to prevent unity with one shepherd. More important, we can ask ourselves whether or not an abuse—and there *was* abuse of the Roman primacy—should take away all use. That is,

³⁰ To Queen Mary, 1555, in "Miscellaneous Writings", pp. 447-448; 449.

³¹ Cardinal Bea's Letter, *Herder Correspondence*, Dec. 1968, p. 373.

³² *Denzinger*, 1859. Pace Hans Küng, I contend that the Roman Catholic theologian is committed, and serenely so, to the doctrine of Infallibility. Moreover it is not Catholic teaching that propositions in which the Church confesses her belief and teaching are true because they conform to a neo-scholastic or rationalistic theory of truth. The Church's confession is true not because it is expressed in propositions which exhaust the truth at issue; that confession is true because it is expressed in propositions at a particular time and place to revealed truth. For a good account of the initial reactions of Yves Congar and Karl Rahner to Hans Küng's broadside, "Infallible?" see J. J. Hughes, "Infallible? An Inquiry Considered", *Theological Studies* 32.2, June 1971, 192-207.

³³ Gustave Thils, "L'Infaillibilité: Source-Conditions-Limite", Gembloux, 1969.

should abuse on the part of the Petrine office, which has happened in the past and may well happen again, compel us to deny *all* primacy to Rome?

We can learn from the experience of Cranmer that when abuse takes away use, even greater confusion results. We can admit a primacy of love in the Petrine office and strive, in loyalty to this primacy, to remove all accretions to the Petrine office. We believe the issue today is a pastoral Petrine office, what we might call a primacy of guidance, what Lambeth's first draft called a primacy of love including both honour and service. Temporal authority, monarchical jurisdiction, placing ecclesiastical laws over scripture, approximating the papacy to a civil ruler, coercive taxation, interference in civil courts and civil government—this was not the "motherhood" of early Rome. Nor is it the pastoral primacy at issue today. Cranmer's experience clearly demonstrates that the Pope cannot be a temporal ruler. When the Pope interferes in civil affairs, the civil government will interfere in the ecclesiastical sphere.

In conclusion, further joint study of the role of the Petrine office is now under way. We submit that Thomas Cranmer's experience can contribute to present understanding of the developing role of the Petrine office. The issue as he saw it was either papal supremacy or royal supremacy. He opted for the latter to the exclusion of the former.

We can make a similar option. The Pope is no civil ruler. But within the apostolic college, of which he is a member, the Pope has a pastoral primacy. Lambeth's final draft and the Anglican/Roman Catholic statements on the papacy refer to the *collegial* exercise of authority. Collegiality including a pastoral primacy of the Pope introduces a dimension to the question of the Petrine office that Cranmer hardly considered. The developing collegiality in Rome's exercise of authority may result in a pastoral primacy of love that even Thomas Cranmer could accept as consonant with scripture and the early Church.

The author has provided other articles designed to resolve doctrinal difficulties between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, as follows:

- "The Validity of Anglican Orders", *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Spring 1970, 266-81.
 - "Anglican Orders, a Case for Validity", *Anglican Theological Rev*, April 1970, 67-76.
 - "The Uniate Model and Anglican Ministry", *New Blackfriars*, September 1971, 386-96.
- These are further to his 1968 book on the Anglican Eucharist, reviewed in the Spring 1970 JOURNAL, p. 100. [Ed.]*

SYDNEY SMITH AND CATHOLIC TOLERATION

by

T. M. HIGHAM

*"I rejoice in the Temple which has been reared to Toleration;
and I am proud that I worked as a bricklayer's labourer at it."*

We have come a long way in the ecumenical movement from the time of the recusancy penal laws, and we forget that the idea of religious toleration—allowing a man to hold religious convictions with which society does not hold—is new to man's history. Till 1829 to confess Catholicism was an offence against the realm, for instance, that in the most tolerant of societies; and to this day the Lord Chancellor may not be a Catholic (though this principle may very soon be challenged by an Old Gregorian's appointment to the Woolsack). The steady progress towards religious toleration was in its time as painstaking a process as is the present progress towards religious re-integration; and it is well that we should remember it, as giving the ecumenical movement its proper perspective. The right of private conscience extolled at the Vatican Council, was something that even Newman in his day had to argue for.

One of the English champions of religious toleration, Sydney Smith, was born two hundred years ago this year; and he deserves to be remembered for his contribution (and by Ampleforth for his connection with the present York chaplaincy, More House). Mr Higham first became interested in him on reading Hesketh Pearson's "Smith of Smiths" in 1956. His interest was largely as a Yorkshireman (though he has published a paper on Sydney Smith as a psychologist): Smith bought his groceries from the old Rowntree shop in The Pavement.

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SYDNEY SMITH, Rector of Foston, Canon both of Bristol and St Pauls "fearless advocate of civil and religious freedom"¹ was born 200 years ago on 3rd June 1771. He died in 1845, and his life, as W. H. Auden² has pointed out, spans the years which separate the invention of the steam engine from Engel's "The state of the working classes in England" and the reception of Newman into the Catholic Church; years which included the Napoleonic wars, and saw the beginning of the revolutionary struggles for liberation; years too, of religious revival—a period in fact, not unlike our own.

He spent twenty years in Yorkshire, five of them at Heslington in the house which is now the Catholic Chaplaincy for the University of York, More House; a circumstance which would doubtless have amused him, and which is in a sense a fitting outcome of his struggles on behalf

¹ From the memorial plaque in Foston Church, designed by David McGill and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1889. It was unveiled at Foston on 20th December 1914. It is one of only two memorials to Sydney Smith—the other is in Bristol Cathedral. There is no memorial in St Paul's.

² "Selected Writings of Sydney Smith", ed W. H. Auden (Faber, 1957), vii



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SYDNEY SMITH
1771-1845

Bricklayer's labourer in the Temple of Toleration.



THE NEW UPPER SCHOOL BUILDING
ST. LOUIS PRIORY



THE COLUMBA CARY-ELEWES LIBRARY
Note the Lounge-and-Learn area in the centre of the library.

of the Catholics—struggles which he began in the Peter Plymley letters, and kept up in articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, speeches in Yorkshire and sermons at Bristol. He fought not only for Catholics in this country and in Ireland, but also against injustice or oppression in other forms. As he wrote in the preface to his "Collected Works":

"To appreciate the value of the *Edinburgh Review*, the state of England at the period when the journal began should be had in remembrance. The Catholics were not emancipated—the Corporation and Test Acts were unrepealed—the Game Laws were horribly oppressive—Steel Traps and Spring Guns were set all over the country—Prisoners tried for their Lives could have no Counsel—Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily upon mankind—Libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonments—the principles of Political Economy were little understood—the Law of Debt and of Conspiracy were upon the worst possible footing—the enormous wickedness of the Slave Trade was tolerated—a thousand evils were in existence, which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed; and these effects have been not a little assisted by the honest boldness of the *Edinburgh Review*."

Looking back, shortly before he died, he wrote:

"What I have said *ought* to be done, generally *has* been done, but always twenty or thirty years too late; done, not, of course, because I have said it, but because it was no longer *possible* to avoid doing it. Human beings cling to their delicious tyrannies, and to their exquisite nonsense like a drunkard to his bottle, and go on "till death stares them in the face."³

The "*Peter Plymley*" letters were his first plea for justice for the Catholics. His last published work, found after his death, was a plea for the establishment of the Irish Catholic clergy. Nearly forty years separates the two but the style—simple, direct and heartfelt—has not changed. He felt deeply, thought clearly and so wrote forcefully.

Yet he had no sympathy for the Catholic faith, nor for its theology or liturgy. When Daniel O'Connell introduced him to a group of Catholics as "The ancient and amusing defender of our faith" Sydney broke in to say "Of your cause if you please, *not* of your faith". He fought for religious equality not for oecumenicity; his goal was "toleration not brotherhood".⁴ While arguing for toleration he could be scathing about Catholic practices. He spoke and wrote often of "the Catholic nonsense" but by that he very likely "meant the nonsense generally and traditionally imputed to Catholics in his day without agreeing for a moment that it was part of Catholic dogma".⁵

³ "A fragment on the Irish Roman Catholic Church". "Collected Works" (1850), Longmans, Brown, Green & Longmans, p. 687. All extracts quoted are taken from this edition.

⁴ "Sydney Smith", Sheldon Halpern (1966), New York, Twayne Publishers Inc., p. 66.

⁵ "The Letters of Peter Plymley", ed. G. C. Heseltine (1926), London. J. M. Dent Introduction, p. vi.

But his standpoint was clear enough. He expressed it quite simply in the preface to his "Collected Works":

"The Catholic faith is a misfortune to the world, but those whose faith it conscientiously is, are quite right in professing it boldly, and in promoting it by all means which the law allows."

That was the view he consistently held all his life.

His first attack on the disqualifying laws was made in "The letters of Peter Plymley to his brother Abraham who lives in the country"—a series of ten pamphlets published anonymously between 1807 and 1808. By the end of the latter year, the collected letters had "run through at least eleven and possibly as many as sixteen editions".⁶ A twenty first edition was published in 1838—and the following year Sydney published the letters in his collected works, blandly admitting authorship—"The government of the day took great pains to find out the author . . . somehow or other it came to be conjectured that I was their author: I have always denied it; but finding that I deny it in vain, I have thought it might be as well to include the letters in this collection".

Abraham Plymley, to whom the letters are addressed is a country parson. His brother Peter addresses him thus:—

"A worthier and better man than yourself does not exist; but I have always told you from the time of our boyhood, that you were a bit of a goose."

After a short tribute to his brother's ministry ("nor do I know any church where the faces and smock-frocks of the congregation are so clean, or their eyes so uniformly directed to the preacher") he goes on "to explain to you my opinions about the Catholics, and to reply to yours".

If Abraham is described as "a bit of a goose" it is because Sydney Smith realised that those he wished to win over to his side were not malevolent so much as woolly headed and ill informed. His arguments to them—usually a compound of incongruous imagery—are very different from those he uses in attacking "mean and paltry" men holding high office. The folly and ineptitude of the government brings out savage satire, reminiscent perhaps of Swift, but with an undercurrent of geniality Swift lacked.

The main themes of the letters are few but often repeated. They were written during the Napoleonic wars, when invasion from France was thought to be imminent. Then, as later in our history, the Irish were hostile neighbours on our western flank; neighbours steadily growing stronger and richer, who had been made enemies by centuries of persecution. Sydney's main argument is that "if Bonaparte lives, and a great deal is not immediately done for the conciliation of the Catholics, it does seem to me absolutely impossible but that we must perish". National

⁶ Halpern op. cit., p. 59. Halpern notes that Archibald Constable, the publisher estimated the chances of commercial success for a pamphlet at that time as one in a thousand. Sydney Smith calculated that over 20,000 copies were sold.

security is his chief weapon. His chief targets were George Canning, Foreign Secretary, and Spencer Perceval,⁷ Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Portland Government which had come into office on a policy of religious persecution:

"I cannot describe the horror and disgust which I felt at hearing Mr Perceval call upon the then ministry for measures of vigour in Ireland. If I lived at Hampstead upon stewed meats and claret; if I walked to church every Sunday before eleven young gentlemen of my own begetting, with their faces washed and their hair pleasingly combed: if the Almighty had blessed me with every earthly comfort—how awfully would I pause before I sent forth the flame and the sword over the cabins of the poor, brave, generous, open-hearted peasants of Ireland."⁸

Later in the same letter he contrasts the vigour of the government with what it should be:

"But what do men call vigour? To let loose hussars and to bring up artillery, to govern with lighted matches and to cut, and push, and prime—I call this, not vigour, but the *sloth and cruelty and ignorance*. The vigour I love consists in finding out wherein subjects are aggrieved, in relieving them, in studying the temper and genius of a people, in consulting their prejudices, in selecting proper persons to lead and manage them, in the laborious watchful and difficult task of increasing public happiness by allaying each particular discontent."

His second main, and often repeated, argument is that to deny to Catholics the right to sit in parliament, to hold office in the Law, in the Armed Forces, in the Universities or in local government was an affront to national justice. In short, he wanted all the restrictions swept away. Brother Abraham though, feared that this would lead to the destruction of the Established Church. He is dealt with more gently than Spencer Perceval, and reminded that "Whatever you think of the Catholics, there they are—you cannot get rid of them; your alternative is to give them a lawful place for stating their grievances, or an unlawful one: if you do not admit them to the House of Commons, they will hold their parliament in Potato-place Dublin, and be ten times as violent and inflammatory as they would be in Westminster".

He then strikes nearer home:

"You may not be aware of it yourself, most Reverend Abraham, but you deny their freedom to the Catholics upon the same principle that Sarah your wife refuses to give the receipt for a ham or a gooseberry dumpling: she values her receipts, not because they secure to her a certain flavour, but because they remind her that her neighbours want

⁷ He described them respectively as "a pert London joker and a second rate lawyer". Of Perceval, he wrote that he had "the head of a country parson, and the tongue of an Old Bailey Lawyer". Perceval also tried (unsuccessfully) to get the Navy to drink coffee rather than rum—but that took another 160 years.

⁸ Letter IX, "Collected Works," p. 525.

it—a feeling laughable in a priestess, shameful in a priest: venial when it withholds the blessing of a ham, tyrannical and execrable when it narrows the boon of religious freedom.”

Abraham is imagined to raise various objections. Peter writes “I found in your letter the usual remarks about fire, fagot and bloody Mary. Are you aware, my dear Priest, that there were as many persons put to death under the mild Elizabeth as under the bloody Mary. The reign of the former was, to be sure, ten times as long; but I only mention the fact to show you that something depends upon the age in which men live, as well as on their religious opinions.”

Again, Abraham suggests that a Catholic does not respect an oath. Why not? answers Peter “What on earth has kept him out of Parliament or excluded him from all the offices whence he is excluded but his respect for oaths?”

“The Catholic is excluded from Parliament because he will not swear that he disbelieves the leading doctrines of his religion! The Catholic asks you to abolish some oaths which oppress him; your answer is, that he does not respect oaths. Then why subject him to the test of oaths? The oaths keep him out of Parliament; why, then, he respects them. Turn which way you will, either your laws are nugatory, or the Catholic is bound by religious obligations as you are: but no eel in the well-sanded fist of a cook-maid upon the eve of being skinned, ever twisted and writhed as an orthodox parson does when he is compelled by the gripe of reason to admit any thing in favour of a dissenter.”

What effect did the Peter Plymley letters have? Despite their popularity, they brought about no immediate change. Catholic Emancipation did not come about for a further twenty-one years.¹⁰ Possibly the appeal to national security was mistimed: an appeal to the fear of Bonaparte served only to increase the intense patriotism and loyalty, to Church and King which was the mainspring of the restrictive laws against the Catholics. But to quote Halpern:¹¹

“Where Smith’s logic failed his wit succeeded. The *Peter Plymley Letters* helped to keep the question of Catholic emancipation alive for many years, giving the Whigs an issue to rally round and encouraging supporters of toleration to join in a general denunciation of the stupidity, bigotry and hypocrisy that Smith had ridiculed. He could not win over the opposition but he helped unify the liberals; and in the final analysis such is the major purpose of political polemic.”

Once the Napoleonic wars were over, Sydney Smith no longer relied so heavily on the argument of national security. But he believed it was

⁹ Cf. *Ampleforth Journal*, Autumn 1970, p. 332. Sydney Smith elaborated this in more detail in his “Letter to the Electors on the Catholic Question” (1826).

¹⁰ The Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in 1828 after bitter opposition from Lord Eldon and the extreme Protestant Tories. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill was passed in 1829.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

still necessary to make concessions in Ireland, not least to “fortify England and Protestantism”.¹² To him, “the Catholic question (was) not an English question but an Irish one” and he hammered away at that rock which was to be a stumbling stone to successive English Parliaments over the next hundred years.

His argument, frequently repeated, was simple: emancipate the Catholics and so make them your allies. As usual, he was told that the time was not yet ripe for such a step. His views on that were much the same as those expressed by F. M. Cornford nearly a century later.¹³ But in his “*Letter to the Electors on the Catholic Question*” published in York in 1826, he gave two answers which are as valid now in other situations and circumstances as they were then in the crisis about which he wrote:

“If you think the thing must be done at some time or another, do it when you are calm and powerful and when you need not do it.”¹⁴ and

“My firm belief is that England will be compelled to grant ignominiously what she now refuses haughtily.”¹⁵

It may be asked “Is there any point in raking over the ashes of controversies now long past, and evils now happily corrected?” The answer must still be “Yes.” Civilisation is a thin veneer, and intolerance lies just below the surface: liable to erupt and blister if the layer above wears thin or cracks. We have seen, all too often in the last few years, outbursts of intolerance, religious as well as political. It is helpful, as well as humbling, to look back and see how others handled similar eruptions in the past.

Statesmen are not the only people who should read the *Peter Plymley Letters*, nor Vice Chancellors only those who could profitably study the *Letters to Archdeacon Singleton*. Managers embroiled in industrial negotiations or bargaining could well heed his advice, and so, for that matter, might Union leaders:

“The only true way to make the men of mankind see the beauty of justice, is by showing them in pretty plain terms the consequence of injustice.”¹⁶

“There is only one principle of public conduct — Do what you think right and take place and power as an accident.”¹⁷

¹² The Catholic Association, founded in 1823 under the leadership of Daniel O’Connell was by 1825 so powerful that the English Parliament passed an act to suppress it. O’Connell was elected M.P. for Clare in 1828, but, as a Catholic, could not take his seat. The possibility that every county in Ireland would elect a Catholic M.P. at the next election helped to speed the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act.

¹³ “The principle of Unripe Time is that people should not do at the present moment what they think right at that moment because the moment at which they think it right has not yet arrived.” *Microcosmographia Academica* (1908), Bowes & Bowes, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Collected Works*, p. 578.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 578.

¹⁶ *Letter VI Collected Works*, p. 513.

¹⁷ Footnote to Speech at the Taunton Reform Meeting. *Collected Works*, p. 557.

Sydney Smith's main claim to be remembered—apart from his wit and humour—is that

"He is never utopian or given to large generalizations but always attacks a specific abuse, and the reform he proposes is equally specific and always possible to realise. Further, he assumes that, though most people are selfish and many people are stupid, few are either lunatics or scoundrels impervious to rational argument."¹⁸

Thus he can attack the laws forbidding Catholics to vote or hold office, realising that when they were passed they may have had some point, but seeing that there was little to be said for keeping them in being once the dangers which prompted their enactment had long since passed. He believed that most people who unthinkingly oppose the repeal of those laws are still capable of seeing both that they are unjust and that no risk is incurred by doing away with them.

If he opposes a conservative outlook in *Peter Plymley* he can equally attack the over-hasty progressive views which call for reform without proper consultation beforehand. In his *Letters to Archdeacon Singleton* he objects not so much to Church reform, which he believed to be necessary, but to the manner in which it was proposed to implement those reforms.¹⁹ He felt strongly that the Bishops had no right to make changes without consulting the lower clergy—who, after all, were the ones most likely to be affected by the changes, and who also had immediate experience of parish life, and so were entitled to be consulted.

Here, as elsewhere, Sydney Smith's comments can be extended to a wider and essentially contemporary setting. The "entitlement to be heard by virtue of special knowledge or expertness," termed sapiential authority²⁰ is a right often overlooked in industry and elsewhere, sometimes with

¹⁸ Auden *Op cit* p. xvii. The few he regarded as lunatics included almost all dissenters (apart from Quakers) who, in his view, were "in one general conspiracy against common sense, and rational orthodox Christianity." Despite that, he still argued that restrictions on them should be removed, and that they should be allowed to worship as they pleased—and indeed marry according to their own beliefs: "Cupid cares not for creeds; the same passion which fills the parsonage house with chubby children, beats in the breast of the Baptist—animates the Arminian—melts the Unitarian maid—and stirs up the moody Methodist to declare himself the victim of human loves." (Dissenters Marrings, *Edinburgh Review*, 1821). He thought their views preposterous but he advocated civic equality for Catholics and dissenters alike.

¹⁹ The distinction between opposing reform and opposing the manner in which it is carried out, appears to have been overlooked by Bishop Stephen Neill, who in his book on *Anglicanism* (Penguin Books), p. 234 speaks of Sydney Smith as being "in favour of reform everywhere except in the Church." The Bishop is sadly misinformed. He is also inaccurate in his chronology. He writes, for example, of Sydney's "cruel and cynical contempt" for the Baptist William Carey who was "sweating and steaming in the steam bath of Bengal while the Canon was enjoying his comfortable pluralities in England." Sydney's attack on Carey was written in 1808, when he was 37; his "comfortable pluralities"? Let him speak for himself: "Till thirty years of age I never received a farthing from the Church; then £50 per annum for two years—then nothing for ten years—then £500 per annum..." Bishop Neill's comment justifies Sydney's remark "It is a maxim to me that a Bishop must always be in the wrong."

²⁰ Cf. T. T. Paterson *Glasgow Limited* (1960), p. 157.

disastrous consequences. If the Bishops discuss diocesan and parish reform, let them consult the parish clergy first²¹; if a manager is concerned about factory hygiene, let him ask the shop floor cleaner for his views.

Sydney Smith's methods of controversy certainly deserve studying in an age which has exalted "satire" and "knocking the establishment" into a lucrative profession. Few modern practitioners (excepting the almost anonymous *Mercurius Oxoniensis*²²) seem able to avoid being either splenetic or obscure, but are frequently both. They lack Sydney's command of comic effects, his capacity for "treating analogical situations as identical," or his ability to create images in the ludicrous baroque style:

"Old wheat and beans blazing for twenty miles round; cart mares shot; sows of Lord Somerville's breed running wild over the country; the minister of the parish wounded sorely in his hinder parts; Mrs Plymley in fits; all these scenes of war an Austrian or a Russian has seen three or four times over; but it is now three centuries since an English pig has fallen in fair battle upon English ground, or a farmhouse been rifled, or a clergyman's wife been subjected to any other proposals of love than the connubial endearments of her sleek and orthodox mate."²³

Rather than attribute wickedness to his opponents, he points out that they are ignorant—chiefly because they have never experienced or felt the privations which produce in others the behaviour they now seek to suppress or condemn:

"That the common people are really enjoying themselves is now beyond all doubt: and away rush Secretary, President, and Committee (sc. of the Society for the Suppression of Vice) to clap the cotillon into the Computer, and to bring back the life of the poor to its regular standard of decorous gloom. The gambling-houses of St James's remain untouched."²⁴

So whether it is the method or the maxim, which we may seek to rediscover, it is worth raking over the embers of those old but not wholly forgotten conflicts. A farmer may burn an old gate or gate posts—but he goes through the ashes to pick up the hinges and the pintles which have survived the flames, to use them again.

²¹ Cf. The recently published Adair report on the Archdiocese of York: also the article by the Bishop of St Andrews "Reconciling God and Mammon," *Church Times*, 1st January, 1971.

²² *The Letters of Mercurius* (1970), John Murray. These letters first appeared, and are continuing to appear, in *The Spectator*; there are those who believe that their author is Professor Hugh Trevor Roper, who took it upon himself to review this book.

²³ Letter V *Collected Works*, p. 505.

²⁴ Proceedings of the Society for the Suppression of Vice (*Edinburgh Review*, 1809), *Collected Works*, p. 133.

Shortly after the *Peter Plymley* letters were published, Sydney Smith moved to Yorkshire, where he was to stay for the next twenty years. He had been given the living of Foston in 1806, but did not take up residence for another three years. The Rectory at Foston consisted of a brick floored kitchen with one room above it, so he was allowed to live in Heslington and serve his parish from there. He still had hopes of an exchange of livings, but these came to nothing, so in 1813 he began to build a rectory,²⁵ at Thornton le Clay, the adjoining hamlet to Foston. As he put it:

"A diner-out, a wit and a popular preacher I was suddenly caught up by the Archbishop of York²⁶ and transported to my living in the country, where there had not been a resident clergyman for 150 years. Fresh from London, not knowing a turnip from a carrot, I was compelled to farm 300 acres and without capital to build a parsonage house... It made me a very poor man for many years."

He had no relish for a country living—he described Foston as "so far out of the way that it was actually twelve miles from a lemon"; and he dismissed the country as "a kind of healthy grave." He was happier in London, among the intimates of Holland House. But when he heard that Lady Holland was amused at his being happy in the country he wrote her a characteristic rebuke:

"... whether one lives or dies I hold and have always held to be infinitely less moment than is generally supposed; but if life is the choice then it is common sense to amuse yourself with the best you can find where you happen to be placed... If the chances of life ever enable me to emerge I will show you that I have not been wholly occupied with small and sordid pursuits. If (as the greater probability is) I am come to the end of my career, I give myself quietly up to horticulture and the annual augmentation of my family. In short if my lot be to

²⁵ This rectory, virtually unaltered, though certainly enlarged, was burnt down in 1962 and almost totally destroyed. It was restored, with the aid of a grant from the Historic Buildings Council, in 1964 to its original plans. It is occasionally open to the public.

²⁶ Edward Vernon, later Vernon Harcourt, who became a close friend of Sydney's. In 1808 the Archbishop enforced the Clergy Residence Act of some five years earlier. Sydney Smith's appointment to Foston came about through the help of Lady Holland. According to Samuel Rogers "When Erskine was made Lord Chancellor, Lady Holland never rested till she prevailed on him to give Sydney Smith a living. Smith went to thank him for the appointment. "Oh," said Erskine, "Don't thank me Mr Smith. I gave you the living because Lady Holland insisted on my doing so; and if she had desired me to give it to the devil, he must have had it." (*Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers* ed Morchard Bishop (1952), The Richards Press).

crawl I will crawl contentedly; if to fly I will fly with alacrity; but as long as I can possibly avoid it, I will never be unhappy."²⁷

He was able to show that he was not "wholly occupied with small and sordid pursuits"; for the fight for Catholic emancipation he had begun in the *Edinburgh Review*, and carried on in the *Peter Plymley Letters*, he continued in Yorkshire. In the *Edinburgh Review* he applauded the Duke of Sussex's speech in the Lords pleading for justice for the Catholics; he attacked the Bishop of Lincoln, who maintained that keeping Catholics out of public office was not persecution, but a means of avoiding a threat to the Establishment! To the Irish question he returned again and again—in 1820, 1821 and 1827, urging reforms to allay the unhappy differences which have afflicted that country ever since. But he was a prophet in his own country, and suffered the fate reserved for them.

For it was dangerous to plead either for parliamentary reform or for tolerance for the Catholics. A previous Archbishop of York, Markham, had warned his clergy in 1781 that if they joined parliamentary reform association it would be "foreign to their clerical functions and not the road to preferment." And when, in 1823 and in 1825 there were meetings of the clergy at Thirsk and Beverley called to petition Parliament against Catholic emancipation, Sydney Smith spoke out against it. At Thirsk, his counter-petition received only two signatures—those of Archdeacon Wrangham and the Archbishop's son, Canon William Vernon. "To get an Archdeacon and the son of an Archbishop" wrote Sydney to a friend, "to appeal in favour of the Catholics is worth while." He was no more successful at Beverley—he was in a minority of one—but his speech there contains this passage:

"My excellent and respectable curate, Mr Milestones, alarmed at the effect of the Pope upon the East Riding has come here to oppose me, and there he stands, breathing war and vengeance on the Vatican... Mr Milestones, indeed, with that delicacy and propriety which belongs to his character, expressed some scruples upon the propriety of voting against his rector, but I insisted he should come and vote against me. I assured him nothing would give me more pain than to think I had prevented in any man the free assertion of honest opinions."²⁸

²⁷ Letter 158 from *The Letters of Sydney Smith*. Ed Nowell C. Smith (1953), 2 Volumes, Clarendon Press. All letters quoted are from that edition. In fact he was far from the end of his career. Lord Lyndhurst in the Coalition Government of 1827 nominated him to a prebendal stall at Bristol which he took up in 1829. In 1831 Lord Grey offered him a Residential Canonry of St Pauls Cathedral which he accepted, and was installed a few weeks later. He hoped to be made a bishop by the Whigs: but that was not to be. Lord Melbourne said he regretted nothing so much as his failure to make him one—but Melbourne also wrote to Lady Holland in 1837 "Do not dream of making Sydney Smith anything. It would offend every party in the Country (*Chronicles of Holland House*, p. 84).

²⁸ Characteristic, too, was his letter to D. Davenport MP written a few days later. "I slept at the Tiger Inn the night before, and asked the servants of the inn what they thought of the Catholics and Protestants. I must inform you of the result. The chambermaid was decidedly for the Church of England. Boots was for the Catholics. The waiter said he had often (God forgive him) wished them both confounded together." (Letter 445).

When, in 1827, Sydney Smith became Canon of Bristol Cathedral, he stopped writing for the *Edinburgh Review*—his contributions, like all others to that magazine had been anonymous and he felt that in future he should put his name to his articles.²⁹ But he did not stop his fight for Catholic emancipation. He was chosen to preach the annual sermon before the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol on 5th November, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot.³⁰ This was normally an occasion for anti Catholic abuse. Sydney's daughter writes of the Civic party:

"They came expecting to hear the usual attacks on Catholics made on these occasions, and were much startled and astonished at having religious toleration preached from the pulpit of their cathedral and from the lips of a dignitary of the Church."³¹

While Sydney himself described what happened, in a letter to Lady Holland:

"Today I have preached an honest sermon—before the Mayor and Corporation, in the Cathedral—the most Protestant Corporation in England! They stared at me with all their eyes. Several of them could not keep the turtle on their stomachs."³²

Six months afterwards, the Catholic Emancipation Act was finally passed. In one sense, it brought little joy to Sydney Smith at that time; he heard the news as he sat by the bedside of his eldest son, Douglas, who died two days later.

Having been promoted to the Prebendal stall at Bristol, Sydney had to resign his living at Foston and settle in Somerset. Lord Lyndhurst made it possible for him to move to Combe Florey, near Taunton.³³

Just over a year later he wrote to Henry Howard of Corby Castle, Cumberland, the Catholic Whig and antiquary, whose son had just been elected MP for Carlisle.

"It is a pure pleasure to me to see honourable men of ancient family restored to their birthright. I rejoice in the Temple which has been reared to Toleration; and I am proud that I worked as a bricklayer's labourer at it—without pay, and with the enmity and abuse of those who were unfavourable to its construction."³⁴

²⁹ The last article he wrote—on the Catholic question, ended with these words: "To the Catholics. Wait. Do not add to your miseries by a mad and desperate rebellion. Persevere in civil exertions, and concede all you can concede. All great alterations in human affairs are produced by compromise."

³⁰ The Book of Common Prayer, until late in Queen Victoria's reign, contained "A form of prayer with thanksgiving to be used yearly upon the fifth day of November". If no sermon was preached one of the six Homilies against Rebellion was read in its place.

³¹ *Memoir and Letters of the Rev Sydney Smith*. Lady Holland 1855. Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, p. 266.

³² Letter 521.

³³ It is here that Evelyn Waugh is buried, in a simple tomb inscribed "Evelyn Waugh—writer," which lies partly in the churchyard, but partly in the grounds of the Hall in which he was living at the time of his death.

³⁴ Letter 520.

Nor did Sydney give himself "quietly up to horticulture," whether at Foston or Combe Florey. He was one of the most hard working and conscientious country parsons on record. He was parish priest, school-master, farmer, apothecary and doctor too. He started allotments in Foston at a low rent for his poorer parishioners (they were still known as "Sydney's Gardens" years later); he experimented to find diets which were nourishing and cheap; he provided medicines for the sick, and, as a magistrate saved many poachers from the terrors of the nineteenth century gaols.³⁵

His concern for the poor and the sick was more than a dutiful carrying out of the apostolic injunction. He believed it was not only a duty, but a regular aspect of a clergyman's education. In one of his sermons he said "He who only knows the misfortunes of mankind at second hand and by description has but a faint idea of what is really suffered in the world."

He knew those misfortunes well enough, and from the earliest days of his ministry. As Heseltine has put it³⁶:

"A curate of twenty-three going from New College to the bleak and destitute village of Netheravon on Salisbury Plain could hardly be expected to see the hidden beauties of human nature in the samples he found there. He has left us a catalogue of those samples and a more pitiable collection of human beings it would be difficult to find. A few centuries of dispossession and the recent incidence of industrial prosperity were too much for an emasculated Christianity to cope with. The degradation was well nigh complete. Sydney Smith never recovered from the shock of it."³⁷

Certainly, in his sermons, reviews and lectures he refers constantly to the poor—to farm labourers, to the Irish peasants, to the destitute of the London slums. As Heseltine says "he never concealed his poor opinion of them—their weakness of intellect and morals: but he never made any mistake about the responsibility for their condition."

It was perhaps those early experiences, backed by his first hand knowledge of the poor in his parishes, that made him dislike and attack what he called "the plousiocracy."³⁸

"It is always considered as a piece of impertinence in England, if a man of less than two or three thousand a year has any opinions at all upon important subjects. . . . To say a word against . . . any abuse

³⁵ The Magistrates room at Malton preserves a memento of his period as a JP. Sydney believed that prisons should be "a terror to evil doers, places of hard incessant irksome and eternal labour." He was on the building committee which surrounded York Castle with the vast castellated griststone walls which were finally demolished in 1935. They were known as Sydney Smith's hardest joke.

³⁶ *Op cit*, Introduction p. xii.

³⁷ Cf. the effect on Joseph Rowntree of a visit to Ireland during the Great Famine. His biographer notes "The memory of that three weeks' journey remained in Joseph's mind until he died. It was his first encounter with destitution and it was a landmark in his life." Anne Vernon *A Quaker Business Man* (1958), Allen & Unwin, p. 22.

³⁸ This was one of his better neologisms. I am less happy at his use of "pneumatology" (despite its respectable eighteenth century theological ancestry) as the science of those who breathe, ie psychology.

which a rich man inflicted or a poor man suffered, was treason against the plousiocracy, and was bitterly and steadily resented."³⁰

But despite that, Sydney Smith loved society and was never happier than in the company of the Holland House circle. Yet, though he mixed with the wealthy and the nobility, who relished his company, he never hid his views about them. Heseltine⁴⁰ comments:

"He did not hesitate to make unto himself friends of the mammon of iniquity, but he would never call it anything else or bend his mind or his pen in submission to it. . . He never concealed his views, whatever the company. Therefore he could safely hate the plutocracy and yet dine with it. He saw no reason, as he says, for any puritanical feeling against eating Tory dinners because he was an inveterate Whig

Tory and Whig in turn shall be my host
I taste no politics in boiled and roast."

Hospitality between those of opposing views was still possible—the "puritanical feeling" or exclusiveness along party lines was a later development.⁴¹ Besides, in those days "influence" was the strongest factor in getting things done, either for yourself or for others. People are usually more ready to help those they know and like, and more willing to listen to them too. Sydney's vast correspondence⁴² is witness to his wide circle of powerful friends, of all parties and of name, Catholics as well as Protestants. Typically, perhaps, is his comment in his last and posthumous article. He pleads in it for paying the Irish Catholic clergy, contrasting the comfort and wealth of an Anglican bishop with his Catholic counterpart. "What a blessing to this country would a real Bishop be!" he wrote "A man who thought it the first duty of Christianity to allay the bad passions of mankind and to reconcile contending sects with each other" . . . It was a pity that the then Bishop of London⁴³ had not wanted to lessen the hatred between Protestants and Catholics, nor dedicated his powerful understanding to promote religious peace in the two countries. But, he continued:

"Scarcely any Bishop is sufficiently a man of the world to deal with fanatics. The way is not to reason with them, but to ask them to dinner. They are armed against logic and remonstrance, but they are puzzled in a labyrinth of wines, disarmed by facilities and concessions and introduced to a new world."

³⁰ *Collected Works, Preface* p. v.

⁴⁰ Introduction p. xvi.

⁴¹ Even so, it probably existed then too, even if in a less severe form. But Sydney could make fun of it. In a letter to Mr Popham (in my possession) he writes

"The story runs that the first person who offered to pull you and Henry Warre out of the water was a Whigg and that you both preferred remaining in the pond to be assisted by him."

⁴² Nowell Smith edited over a thousand of Sydney Smith's letters for his two volume edition of them. Many further additions have since been found by Mr Alan Bell of the National Library of Scotland, who is preparing a new edition.

⁴³ Bishop Blomfield (1786-1857), described by Sydney as having "an ungovernable passion for business." They did not like each other. Blomfield was to have dined at a party where Sydney Smith was a guest, but sent a note to say he could not come as a dog had bitten him in the leg. Sydney's comment was "I should like to hear the dog's version of that story."

As so often, what he wrote then seems strangely apposite today. Sydney Smith was certainly enough of a man of the world to deal with them—and with his opponents too—and disarm them whether by dinner or by his wit. But as so often, his humour was his undoing. As an anonymous reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* wrote⁴⁴ "Sydney Smith, who every time he opened his mouth, spoke more good sense than a whole convocation of bishops, wrecked all chances of preferment by his inability to be dull in conversation and writing." Sydney himself once referred to his brother, Bobus, and himself as exceptions to the laws of nature "You have risen by your gravity, and I have sunk by my levity." Yet we learn better if we are amused as we do so and retain the lesson longer: "Mankind" said Sydney, in his early lectures on moral philosophy, "are always happier for having been happy; so that if you make them happy now, you make them happy twenty years hence, by the memory of it . . . The pleasures of the body are favourable to all the benevolent virtues." And when Bishop Blomfield referred to him slightly as "his facetious friend," Sydney rebuked him gently "You and I must not run into commonplace errors; you must not think me necessarily foolish because I am facetious, nor will I consider you necessarily wise because you are grave." But as G. W. E. Russell wrote⁴⁵ "His playful speech was the vehicle of a passionate purpose."

Occasionally an age produces two men whose lives despite some common ground run in contrasting directions, touching each other rarely, but serving the same purpose in the end. Sydney Smith had little sympathy with the founders of the Oxford Movement, but there are curious parallels between him and John Henry Newman. Both were born of Huguenot-bred mothers; both had a great passion for the truth—but that passion was expressed differently, even if its inspiration was Christian and its subject Catholicism. Heseltine⁴⁶ (who first made this comparison) points out:

"Both wrote only to give expression to that passion as it was moulded in their minds: Newman metaphysically and mystically in the *Apologia* and *Gerontius*, Sydney Smith logically and practically with the *argumentum ad hominem* in the letters to his "Brother Abraham" and his speeches and sermons. Both rendered inestimable service to the cause in which they fought, and Newman directly but Sydney Smith incidentally to Catholicism."

Can one hope that in this, the bi-centenary year of Sydney Smith's birth, some small memorial may be placed in More House at Heslington, to commemorate one who, while living there, wrote

"It has ever been our object, and (in spite of misrepresentation and abuse) ever shall be our object . . . to protect the true interests, and to diffuse the true spirit of toleration."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ In a review of Sir Alan Herbert's *Autobiography*, 189.70, p. 1057.

⁴⁵ *Sydney Smith* (1904), p. 225.

⁴⁶ Introduction, p. VI.

⁴⁷ "Toleration" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1811) *Collected Works*, p. 202.

NEWMAN'S IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY RECONSIDERED

by

LORD JAMES OF RUSHOLME

Trinity had never been unkind to me. There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence. . .

Newman, 1864.

The world, not least the educational world, has severely changed since snap-dragon grew on the walls of Trinity (Oxford that is, not Dublin); and even the man who wrote "The Idea of a University" in 1852 would scarcely recognise the world about which he was theorising as it has turned out today. For in a century and more we have seen an ideological revolution marked by the decay of formal religion and the rise of humanism, Christian and secular humanism side by side; and with that we have seen a technological revolution characterised by a fiercely materialistic neo-utilitarianism, where time is money and every thought has its price; and above all a social revolution impregnated with the prime principle of mediocrity, the denial of selection or of the emergence of an elite. By this triple change, authority emanating from past experience and from present excellence and from the primacy of the spiritual are sapped till their effect is too weak to be formative; and a new world is born ever in search of values. In such a world universities, repositories of wisdom and test-beds of theory, have a more contributive part to play in the community than ever before, though this may not seem at all apparent.

The founder Vice-Chancellor of York University here reflects upon Newman's understanding in the light of his own problems as a university builder. He looks back across the gulf to a calmer age when moderation was a ruling virtue.

Ours is a century which has seen and is to see a far greater number and variety of universities than would have seemed conceivable in Newman's time. Those who founded them were in most cases actuated by ideas completely alien from those which Newman held. The conception of primarily local institutions, of places where science and technology should be major if not dominant elements in the curriculum, and which should increasingly look to the State for their support, to mention but three characteristics of the modern university, was one that Newman could not envisage. Of what help, then, can a discussion of Newman be to us? What relevance is there in an account of the views of one who attempted to create a university, and failed? Further, I must admit that there are barriers which prevent me from being as fair to Newman as one should be to talk about him. It is not simply that he was a Catholic, and so started from pre-suppositions different from my own, nor is it simply the difficulties of ignorance and incompetence that one faces when trying to understand a great and complex man. I must confess to temperamental barriers that make it very hard for me sometimes to grasp the real significance of what he is saying.

Nevertheless, Newman did, after all, write the best-known and almost certainly the best book on university education. Even that, I must confess, until I re-read it more than once during the period of gestation of this university, I had always regarded as an over-praised book, over-praised because there have, in fact, been so very few even tolerably good books about universities. I am now convinced, however, that we shall understand better many of the problems that we shall be discussing in the next few years if we see them in the light of Newman's thought. Even if we disagree with him, even though his whole framework of presuppositions is different from our own, he forces us to ask many of the questions which have profound relevance during a time of growth and change in the university world, and compel us to attempt the task of establishing criteria by which we can judge institutions radically different from that which he wished to create. His was one of those failures more influential than most successes. His writings, often misunderstood, have influenced those who have never read them.

I think it will be helpful to remind ourselves very briefly of the facts about Newman's attempt to found a university, for much can be learned from its complete failure. It is just over 100 years ago that in 1851 Newman was asked to be Rector of a new Catholic university in Ireland. The request came from Dr Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh and later Dublin, a man with great influence at Rome, and destined to become an uncompromising opponent of Newman. It is now abundantly clear that Newman should never have accepted the appointment. But one can see why he did. The headship of the small Birmingham Oratory was not the position of which he knew himself to be capable. Distracted by a misconceived piece of litigation, the Achilli trial, feeling himself unappreciated and unused by the Church to which he had been converted, the founding of a university was a task worthy of his steel. For above all things Newman regarded a university as among the greatest of secular institutions. He still loved Oxford, and apart from the Cardinal's hat, the event which helped to make his last years so much brighter than any that had gone before was probably his election as an honorary Fellow of his old college, Trinity, heretical though he was bound in conscience to regard that society. In so far as his aims in 1851 can be summed up in a sentence, one would say that he wanted to create a reformed and Catholic Oxford. The fundamental difficulty was that Cullen and the other Irish bishops had no such idea. They wished to create a cheap university for Irish Catholics, in opposition to the Queen's Colleges that were being founded in Belfast, Cork and Galway by an alien and Protestant government.

The actual motives which prompt different groups of men to found universities are always worth analysis. In this case they were less educational than religious and political. Newman, had he been forced to be absolutely honest, an operation which his enemies would have said was difficult in itself, would have said that he did not believe in an exclusively Catholic university, that he would have rejoiced to see the

Catholic youth of the upper classes go to Oxford, but, failing that, he would create a university not for the Irish only or even mainly, but for the Catholic gentry of both countries, a university that should not be a place of protection from error, but of exposure to truth

With the promoters of the scheme in such diametrical opposition to the executive head, the university was doomed from the start. I need not go into the history of the next seven years. The unanswered letters, the weary pilgrimages across the Irish Sea, the promised Bishopric in partibus, which mysteriously never materialised, that should have given the Rector a greater status, are parts of a story that is frustrating and sometimes squalid. It can be read in Ward's good life of Newman and Meriel Trevor's bad one. Newman himself was not entirely blameless. "A Rector ought to be a more showy bustling man than I am, in order to impress the world we are great people", he told a friend. "... I ought to dine out every day, and of course I don't dine out at all. I ought to mix in literary society and talk about new gases and the price of labour, whereas I can't recollect what once I knew, much less get up a whole lot of new subjects—I ought to behave condescendingly to others, whereas they are condescending to me—And I ought above all to be twenty years younger and take it up as the work of my life. But since my qualities are not these, all I can do is to attempt to get together a number of clever men, and set them to do what is not in my own line."

Hypersensitivity, ill-health, the lack of administrative ability are inauspicious qualities for one who seeks to found a new university. One would have liked to see Cullen and his friends opposed by a mind less subtle and tortuous, by a man less brilliant and more competent, by one less ready to substitute petulance for ruthlessness, and who would have enjoyed the kind of tough in-fighting that too often distinguishes and disfigures academic institutions. From our point of view the story of Newman's failure is of interest for the light which it sheds on more general propositions and questions. The first is that those responsible for creating a new university, or, indeed, for maintaining an old one, must clearly choose a head whose views as to the nature of a university are similar to their own. That is a fairly easy task. But beneath it lies a much more difficult question. What really is the function of the head of a university? In the United States he is often the only link between the entirely non-academic governing body and the academic staff, and in addition he has important duties as a fund-raiser. In this country he is more often thought of as a good chairman. An analogy that is sanctified by common use is that of an oil-can, his duty being not to initiate ideas but to see that the wheels run smoothly. But if one has a Newman or a Hutchins or even a Lindsay, this purely oleaginous and uncreative role is not enough, and the problem arises as to how much authority or even influence one is to give them so that they may realise their own personal vision, for without the hope of such realisation men of the highest calibre will increasingly not be prepared to undertake the task.



THE BIG STUDY WITH DESKS



THE BIG STUDY WITH CARRELS, BEFORE THE NEW GRUCHEUX WAS INSTALLED



Top Left: The Band in its new uniform at the Inspection
Top Right: Major General the Hon Sir Michael Fitzalan Howard presenting the Stewart Cup to his son Richard.
Bottom Left: Norway camp.
Bottom Right: Pennine Way camp.



CRICKET XI

Standing left to right: M. Faulkner, C. Murray-Brown, T. G. Marshall, J. Potez, C. Ainscough, M. T. Stapleton, F. B. Skehan.

Sitting left to right: R. J. Twohig, Hon F. M. Fitzherbert, W. A. Moore, T. E. Lintin, A. D. Wenham.



ATHLETICS TEAM

Standing left to right: P. Corbutt, M. Guiver, R. Willbourn, D. Unwin, A. Fitzgerald, R. Guthrie, J. Burford, N. Woodhead, R. Plowden.

Sitting left to right: S. Clayton, J. Ruck Keene, B. C. de Guingand, M. M. Forsythe, T. White, C. Oppe, R. Fane-Hervey.

Newman's university never got off the ground at all, partly because he was at the mercy of the Irish Bishops. He himself believed that if only he could associate influential laymen with the management of the university all would be well, but he found them uninterested, a state of affairs quite unlike that in the English civic universities.

Today there are many academics who would think that Newman was looking for help in completely the wrong direction, since they reject the idea of any lay control, and believe that a university should either be an oligarchy of professors, or a more or less democratic assembly of academics running every aspect of the university's life. But can any single or coherent vision of a university be realised in an atmosphere where every decision is a committee decision, and what is the effect on teaching or scholarship when a professor can explain his failure to have had an original thought for 20 years by his membership of 34 committees about the business of 33 of which he has no special knowledge? What, in the long run, will be the effect of such a system on academic authority? Newman's lectures omit almost entirely any reference to the proper structure of university government, although it was one of the rocks on which his university foundered almost before it was launched. One feels, indeed, that he never even considered the need for an administrative framework, and that any government would have chafed his autocratic spirit. It was to be *his* university. And although one may reject his implied autocracy as undesirable, and in any case impossible, one must recognise that there is no more important question for universities today than to decide how far necessary checks on autocracy or oligarchy, or gerontocracy can be reconciled with the realisation of a coherent view of education and in particular of university education. It is a question that we are not, I think, within a very long way of solving. It is particularly important when one of the elements in the nexus of power is the State.

Another factor underlying Newman's failure is still more important, and concerns the whole nature of education. Education, and particularly higher education, has among its many functions two which in their nature are conflicting. One is conservative. It is to pass on to a new generation a tradition of values, of attitudes and of behaviour, together with a corpus of accepted knowledge. The other is liberal, if not revolutionary, and involves the creation of new knowledge and the questioning of accepted conclusions. It is the attempt to reconcile these two elements which makes teaching, particularly the teaching of the very able, one of the most exacting as it is one of the most rewarding of occupations. It is possible for a teacher to evade either responsibility. He may, through indifference or an exaggerated fear of indoctrination, fail to indicate to his pupils that traditions of value have any validity at all. On the other hand he may ignore his responsibility to stimulate, either by interpreting his revolutionary function as merely the accumulation of fresh knowledge of no particular relevance, or by an over-authoritarian approach or an arid method of teaching. Newman was in a particularly difficult position in combining these attitudes because he was a Catholic, and hence was

committed to a body of revealed truth (as, indeed, the convinced Protestant is also), and to the acceptance of authority in certain fields as final, though not at the time of which we are speaking, infallible. But although the reconciliation of the conservative and revolutionary sides of education presents the committed religious teacher with special problems, it is far from easy for *any* teacher to know how far he can allow the desire to experiment and to question to erode moral norms in which he may firmly believe, even without a religious justification. It was clearly over the revolutionary function of education that the complete failure of the Bishops and Newman to understand each other at all became apparent, a failure that contributed to the aroma of heresy that was so long and so painfully associated with Newman's name. As Miss Trevor writes: "Newman appointed laymen as lecturers and professors, and what was more, clever and unpredictable laymen, and some who had been associated with the Young Irelanders, or who were said to be rebels and liberals, though there was often more gossip than truth in these assertions. Newman was friends with these dangerous people, used to go and have tea with them and ask them to dinner, and listen to heaven knew what opinions; and they, of course, were devoted to him and rushed for his assistance in any emergency. But then, even his educational views were startlingly revolutionary, for instead of sticking conservatively to the classics, he seemed to have a special preference for the sciences—new scientific faculties, and professors, a new medical college with a teaching staff sprang one after another into being, and some of his best lectures were to be in defence of scientific research. All this was too agitating for the Irish ecclesiastical authorities. Instead of a pious Catholic College on Roman lines, here was Minerva, small but fully armed, born out of one extraordinary and obstinate mind."

A great part of Newman's lectures on university education, which he gave very shortly after his appointment as Rector, are devoted to reconciling his Catholic orthodoxy with the belief that one of the functions of education was the pursuit of truth, following the argument wherever it might lead. But as I have said, this is not simply a Catholic problem: it is one that has implications for us all.

Let us look at these lectures in a little more detail, quite obviously being primarily concerned with their relevance for the modern universities in general. First, however, let us consider for a moment the pressures which have been at work on universities as they were created over the past century, and are particularly evident today, so that we have a framework against which to put Newman's contribution. The problem that is, or should be, in the mind of anyone concerned with the foundation of a university is that it has not one but several functions, two of which I have mentioned. It has a duty to educate, and few phrases could be more ambiguous. For within that word "educate" we always include to a greater or less extent the different idea of training. Nor can we afford to be too purist about this. If to reach its proper aims of human welfare the community needs more doctors, or metallurgists or social workers, then in

so far as the kind of preparation they need is appropriate to a university, it is one of the duties of the university to provide it. And this, of course, is no new idea foisted on the universities by the expenditure of public money; it goes back to their origins. But the acceptance of social obligation, an obligation reinforced by the needs and desires of individuals, at once raises two difficulties. The first is to decide, if we are able, what we mean when we assert that certain studies are appropriate to a university, while others are better carried out in other institutions. Thus, in this country, though not in the United States, we believe that it is inappropriate that all nurses and most teachers should be members of a university. Why? Because we have an idea, usually altogether imprecise, of what constitutes a university. This idea normally finds its expression in statements about standards. The history of new universities both at home and abroad over the past century is a record of various devices to safeguard standards in nascent institutions. In our own time a great deal of the controversy about the Robbins report rested on the assumption that there are standards of intellectual ability appropriate to universities which are in some way absolute, and which differentiate universities from other places of higher education. I do myself, let me hasten to add, believe this to be true, but I also believe that most of our discussions on this topic are more muddled than we usually admit. The second difficulty of admitting the vocational element in much university work is that we believe, or should believe, that it must be used as a vehicle for a more general kind of education that we usually define as "training people to think". Whatever the particular nature of our studies, they must include an element of rigour, developing quite general capacities of the mind, and this generality is a distinguishing character of university work.

But if universities have this educational function, linked with obligations both to society and to the individual, most people would say that it is but part of their reason for existence. Their other function is to add to knowledge, and this duty, a realisation of which is recent in this country, has now become so important that research is generally reckoned, for purposes of crude arithmetic, as occupying half the time of the university teacher. It is their success in this aspect of their work that has been partly responsible for the almost incredible growth of knowledge over the past half-century, a growth that is, moreover, exponential. This modern devotion of the universities to research can be justified on several grounds, economic, social and philosophical. But I must express my own view that its triumphs, with the accompanying prestige that attaches to the very word "research", bring with them dangers and distortions. However, if we leave that line of thought unexplored we can now ask what help Newman can give us in attempting a reconciliation between the various aims which we have identified as existing in universities, aims which are in varying degree vocational, educational and cultural, concerned at once with the community, the individual and the idea of truth. What guidance can he give us in the task, which is today certainly not a purely theoretical exercise, but which has very important practical results, of deciding what

are those marks which distinguish a university from other kinds of place for higher education and instruction?

In his very preface Newman throws us into the heart of controversy, "The view," he writes, "which these Discourses take of a university is of the following kind: that it is a place of teaching universal *knowledge*. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral, and on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a university should have students; if religious training, I do not see how it can be the seat of literature and science." What a broadside that is! What a challenge to opinions more widely accepted today than when Newman wrote it! It is, for instance, an article of faith that research enriches teaching and teaching research. This may well be true: I think on the whole it probably is. But there is a great deal of evidence against it. The scientific discoveries that have in the last century most radically altered our ways of thought (those of Darwin, Freud and Einstein) were all made by research workers who at the relevant times had no teaching commitments at all. Conversely we could all name great teachers whose published work was non-existent, starting with the two greatest, Jesus and Socrates. It is an interesting thought that Socrates would have obtained an assistant lectureship in few British universities, a chair probably in none. Here at any rate is a case to answer. And in the short paragraph I have quoted there is a quite different assertion of considerable interest. As one re-reads it one feels that Newman has pulled a fast one. For the word "moral" in the second sentence he substitutes the word "religious" in the last. But are the two synonymous? Is a university concerned with morality or is it not? Certainly not in the opinion of many members of our universities today, and in this passage it appears superficially that Newman is lending them his authority. The passage that I have quoted illustrates one of the services that Newman can render us. Completely though I disagree with what is at any rate the obvious meaning of what he says, it does at any rate goad me into thought, and forces me to ask exactly what authority one can produce for any norms of morality that can be imposed on a university. Thus even in the first paragraph of his preface he raises two of the most interesting questions concerning universities, i.e., what is the relation between their teaching and research functions, and what justification have universities for imposing certain moral standards on their members. To underline the former of these questions he unequivocally states a little later: "To discover and to teach are distinct functions; they are also distinct gifts and are not commonly found united in the same person".

The statement that the duty of the university is purely intellectual and not moral in any way, Newman modifies almost at once. He writes, "When the intellect has once been properly trained and formed to have a connected view or grasp of things, it will display its powers with more or less effect according to its particular quality and measure in the individual. In the case of most men it makes itself felt in the good sense,

sobriety of thought, reasonableness, candour, self-command and steadiness of view which characterises it". The line between some of these qualities and moral ones is surely very tenuous indeed. Newman is approaching very close to the Platonic view of insight into goodness following intellectual development, and one feels that in his anxiety to emphasise that he is not trespassing on the proper field of religion he has really been led into inconsistency. He is naturally aware of the difficulty, for he returns to it again and again. "Knowledge is one thing, virtue is another: good sense is not conscience, refinement is not nobility, nor is largeness and justness of view faith. . . . Liberal education makes not the Christian, not the Catholic, but the gentleman."

If the university is not primarily concerned either with purely vocational training or with religious education, what is its specific function? The answer for Newman is in the phrase "Liberal Education" and it is this conception which is at the heart of Newman's idea of a university, and it is through this idea, which is not, of course, in any way original, that he has influenced a great deal of thinking about higher education, often by people who have never actually read him. There is one particular element in this idea of liberal education which has often been misconceived, and through misconception has done much harm. There are phrases which he uses (and I am not one of those who regard Newman as a great stylist, for I do not believe that a good style leads as easily as does Newman's to misunderstanding), which give the impression that he believed in "knowledge for its own sake", and that the simple accumulation of knowledge is its own justification, a self-evidently good activity. It is interesting how widely spread this doctrine is, considering that it is palpably absurd. It would be interesting to investigate its history. It does not, I need not say, spring from Newman, although as I say misunderstanding of Newman has given it support. It may well have its roots in far richer soil, in Plato. At its most extreme the doctrine will not only defend useless knowledge, but make its very uselessness a badge of respectability. To distinguish the liberal from the technical, the practical, the banal, uselessness becomes a criterion of superiority. I have sometimes asked candidates for university appointments why my tobacco should cost more so that they can pursue their studies into medieval Rutland, or the theory of numbers or linear B, all of which studies I am sure have value, but whose relevance for my own life and society is not as immediately obvious as with some other studies. The answers are sometimes interesting, but seldom satisfactory. The scientist can and often does take refuge in the undeniable fact that one can never be sure what discoveries will be "useful" in some practical sense, in making rockets, for example. The arts man has no such immediate refuge, and both scientists and arts men are often capable of saying that knowledge is an end in itself. Newman, when he says "I am prepared to maintain that there is a knowledge worth possessing for what it is, and not merely for what it does" can to the superficial reader seem to be defending the ideal of uselessness, and overlooking the increasingly vital conception of a hierarchy of im-

portance in knowledge. But whatever authority there may be for defending the counting of bricks, it is not Newman's. "It is simply unmeaning to say that we seek knowledge for its own sake, and for nothing else", he says. When one asks for what ends one pursues liberal knowledge, he replies: "If it is directed to secular objects, it is called useful knowledge, if to eternal, Religious or Christian knowledge. But what does liberal knowledge do? . . . A habit of mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are, freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom; or what in a former discourse I have ventured to call a philosophical habit. This then I would assign as the special fruit of the education furnished at a university, as contrasted with other places of teaching, or modes of teaching. This is the main purpose of a university in its treatment of its students." The function of liberal education, that education which a university should give, is "To open the mind, to correct it, to refine it, to enable it to know and to digest, master, rule, and use its knowledge, to give it power over its own faculties, application, flexibility, method, critical exactness, sagacity, resource, address, eloquent expression, is an object as intelligible . . . as the cultivation of virtue, while at the same time, it is absolutely distinct from it". Let us be bold and put this in other and more contemporary terms: the essence of the liberal education which a university should provide lies in a high degree of transferability; its aim is to inculcate the power to think effectively in general terms rather than to be exclusively concerned with a corpus of particular knowledge, and such an education so far from being useless is, indeed, supremely useful. In Newman's own words again: "I say, let us take 'useful' to mean, not what is simply good, but what *tends* to good, or is the *instrument* of good and in this sense also I will show you how a liberal education is truly and fully a useful though it be not a professional education. 'Good' indeed means one thing; and 'useful' means another; but I lay it down as a principle which will save us a great deal of anxiety, that, though the useful is not always good, the good is always useful".

Now you may well ask what has all this somewhat nebulous playing with words got to do with what in fact goes on in universities? Did it have any impact on those who were going to found new civic universities in the century after Newman wrote? How are we to reconcile his idea of education, in so far as one emerges clearly at all, with the plain duty to produce professionals—engineers, doctors, civil servants, what you will? It is all very well for Newman, with memories of Trinity and Oriol Colleges, Oxford, behind him to talk about liberal education as the education of gentlemen. The social and technological revolutions of which Newman was so sublimely unaware (or was he?)—for he did curiously enough appoint a professor of engineering) have produced universities in which young men and women of every class, coming from every social and cultural background, have to be trained when all is said and done, to earn a living, and, moreover, to be encouraged to study subjects which will increase the prosperity without which no universities of any kind at all can be financed. How, moreover, do these speculations, these ambiguous

sentences, these tortuous reconciliations, help us to answer one of the most difficult questions of a society becoming increasingly equalitarian, the question as to the ways in which universities can be differentiated from other institutions of further education? If they seek truth do colleges of education pursue error? If they produce liberal minds, is it the duty of technical colleges to foster illiberal ones? What help can Newman give to the headmaster who writes on an UCCA form "I doubt whether this boy is suitable for a university" to understand what he means?

The first way in which we can directly learn from Newman concerns our actual methods of teaching. If our aim is to produce in students not simply an examinable body of knowledge but also a quality of mind applicable to many occupations and capable of being brought to bear on very diverse questions, then much of the instruction described most recently in the Hale report on university teaching will simply not do. The mass lecture, the dictated notes, the frequent regurgitations with the threat of expulsion hanging over the head of the examinee, these too often have really little to do with the growth of that critical and reflective spirit about which Newman cared. Let him speak for himself: ". . . if I had to choose between a so-called university which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which had no professors and no examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years . . . I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that university which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun". Let us discount the oratorical exaggeration; let us admit that he over-estimates the influence for good which young minds have on each other, for, uninspired, many of them are more likely to talk about "birds" or the Rolling Stones than the nature of truth. But even allowing for these defects, Newman is reminding us that if we are too idle to give tutorials, and too parsimonious to provide residence, we are running a risk that our universities may not be true universities at all, and that mass lectures, necessary though they are for certain purposes, are no substitute for the systematic discipline of personal confrontation between teacher and taught. It is a view which has been, except at very few universities indeed, rejected in favour of a Teutonic model, and is even now precarious in its wider acceptance and its growth.

Secondly, he is providing us, though characteristically not with the unambiguous clarity that one would wish, with two criteria which a true university should satisfy. Those two criteria are the depth of their studies, and their general stimulation of the intellectual life. He writes: "I will tell you what has been the practical error of the past twenty years . . . to attempt so much that nothing has been really effected, to teach so many things that nothing has been properly learned at all. It has been the error of distracting and enfeebling the mind by an unmeaning profusion of subjects . . . All things now are to be learned at once, not first one thing, then another, not one well, but many badly. Learning is to

be without exertion, without attention, without toil . . . A thorough knowledge of one science and a superficial acquaintance with many are not the same thing; a smattering of a hundred things or a memory for detail is not a philosophical or comprehensive view. Recreations are not education; accomplishments are not education . . . Stuffing birds or playing stringed instruments is an elegant pastime, and a resource to the idle, but it is not education; it does not form or cultivate the intellect".

If it is true that the best way of cultivating the mental powers, to use one of those ambiguous phrases that Newman used, is by a really intensive study of one field and relating that study to other kinds of learning; if, moreover, we expect some of our students to reach the frontiers of knowledge so that they may appreciate the nature of original thinking and sometimes contribute to it, certain vital conditions follow. The first is that a university is a place only for the most able. We can, and in my view should, regard the provision of higher education as like a spectrum in which we make no attempts to mark off too rigidly the territories of differing institutions. But we must combine with this conception the conviction that universities stand at one end of that spectrum, characterised by the difficulty and often the originality of the ideas which are examined and created within them. Secondly, in our curricula, we must only include those subjects which are capable of exemplifying general principles and general ideas. Even if studies are vocational, they must be taught in such a way that relationships wider than those of a particular profession can be established, and directed towards those vocations which demand the highest intellectual capacities. Thus it is right that a university should be concerned with the training and education of engineers but not of plumbers. Thirdly, if Newman is right, we must beware that in the pursuit of breadth of interest we do not become entirely superficial. His warning is particularly apposite to our own time, for the pressures on the contemporary curriculum are far greater than they were in his day. The explosive growth of knowledge imposes an ever greater specialisation upon us. Yet social and political change and the development of whole new areas of study make it necessary for the educated man, if he is to be effective in administration, in politics, in business, or even simply as a responsible citizen, to be much broader in his knowledge than at any previous time. It is this direct clash between rival needs that makes the educator's task, as regards the curriculum, far more difficult than in Newman's day, and which leads many educators to abandon the principle of knowing one thing well in favour of attractive synthetic courses, or combinations of subjects chosen simply because they are unrelated. I believe myself that we only altogether abandon Newman's idea at our peril. However much we may and should give our pupils the stimulus to pursue knowledge outside their own fields at an admittedly superficial level, an education that does not contain a central hard core of genuine, difficult and demanding expertness is not a university education at all.

Let me now say a few words about one element in Newman's exposition to which I have very briefly referred. I find it difficult to do so,

because it raises in our minds very fundamental questions about the function of the universities in promoting free inquiry. The element to which I refer is the difficulty which he found in reconciling his idea of a university with his religious orthodoxy. It was a difficulty that he really failed to surmount, so that to many of his Catholic contemporaries he appeared to be a heretic, while to a Protestant or agnostic critic he is apt to appear at worst disingenuous and at best muddled. How is he to overcome the difficulty that sometimes there may arise a conflict of revealed truth with the study of science and of literature? He is frank in saying that one cannot have a purely Christian study of literature, purged of dangerous elements, at any rate at a university. There we see the dangerous liberalism that must have made Cullen regret that the name of Newman had ever been mentioned to him. And then back he swings and writes: "Hence a direct and active jurisdiction of the Church over it and in it is necessary, lest it should become the rival of the Church with the community at large in those theological matters acting as the representative of the intellect as the Church is the representative of the religious principle". In the undelivered lecture on Christianity and scientific investigation he comes, in that progress along his razor edge that it is almost physically painful to follow, very near to the proposition that his professors must be allowed to discover truths which apparently conflict with revelation but must think twice about actually teaching them. ". . . there must be great care taken to avoid scandal, or of shocking the popular mind, or of unsettling the weak. . . If then there is the chance of any current religious opinion being in any way compromised in the course of a scientific investigation, this would be a reason for conducting it, not in light ephemeral publications, which come into the hands of the careless or ignorant, but in works of a grave and business-like character, answering to the medieval schools of philosophical disputation—removed as they were from the region of popular thought and feeling". How much simpler is the clear position of Newman's enemy Manning, which forbids Catholics to go to a Protestant university, for fear of what they might hear there! How easy for one of us with no firm religious belief to say: "The very nature of a university is that its members shall be free to propagate what views they like, to think what thoughts they will, to be free from all dogma, or revelation, or uniformity of moral code, beyond what the law lays down". It is easy to say, and I would be prepared to say it, and to defend it, or some of it. But I must be aware that if Newman's position is ambiguous and difficult to maintain, my own is not altogether easy. Can the university exist without some common basis of belief? If it cannot, what is the minimum basis of consensus to make it viable, and what is the justification for it? Can humanism, for example, provide a firm enough basis for helping immature minds, or are the present excesses of organised student opinion in some countries a superficial symptom of a deeper ill that follows inevitably from the absence of a generally agreed ethic, resting in turn upon a generally accepted authority?

Those are questions to which we must find answers, before we can dismiss Newman too light-heartedly.

In conclusion, I must look for a moment at what Newman has to say about the relationship between the university and the community. The circumstances of our own time are so different from those in his that one may feel that anything he says is completely irrelevant. A century ago the State played virtually no part in education of any kind, least of all in university education, except in Ireland itself. Today not only do British universities receive over 90% of their total income from State sources, but they have recently and reluctantly come within the area of responsibility of a Secretary of State. In Newman's day it was sufficient to think of an education which produced gentlemen, although it is fair to remember that the word had overtones which it is doubtful if it now possesses. Today, at any rate in some fields, we attempt to assess our man-power needs in various fields for years ahead, and in a somewhat half-hearted and amateurish way see that our system of higher education bears some relation to them. Newman's approach was clearly conceived in a totally different social context. He writes: "If then a practical end must be assigned to a university, I say it is that of training good members of society . . . a university training is the great ordinary means to a great ordinary end: it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the natural taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power and refining the intercourse of private life".

Here we have a picture of the university's place in the world which supplements and expands its narrower functions as we normally interpret them. In addition to providing further education for the ablest minority, to producing specialists of certain necessary and valuable kinds, and to furnishing the means for those research activities which are necessary to meet the economic and cultural demands of the community, the university exists to embody, to discover and to proclaim the standards by which society should ultimately judge its activities. This is the conception for which Coleridge used the word "clerisy", by which he meant the body of people whose greater intelligence and keener perception lays upon them the responsibility of judgment. It finds both its origin and its greatest expression in the Republic. That any such high-faluting vision has been present in the minds of many of those who have founded universities may well be doubted. Yet for at least two reasons it is more important that something like it should be captured today than in Newman's time. The first is that the decay of religious belief has deprived us of a source of spiritual authority, though that the university or any human institution could supply that need, Newman himself would, of course, never have accepted. Secondly, the rise of democracy, particularly in its more equalitarian interpretations, presents us with certain cultural dangers, analysed with incomparable skill just before Newman wrote, by Tocqueville. If one man's view is as good as another's, if we are to move to a greater

equality of judgment, of taste and of esteem, how are we to preserve that sense of value without which mediocrity must triumph? In a society that is both humanist and democratic, the universities have the kind of function, among their others, which Newman indicates, but with an even greater urgency. It has been discussed with immense wisdom in a too little read book by one who is now a member of this university—I refer, of course, to Professor Leavis's "English and the University". Whether they can discharge this function, whether they are even aware of it, whether it will not be submerged by the tide of other less nebulous obligations we do not yet know. But it is right that we should be reminded of this deeper vision of what universities are ultimately for, and within the limitations of his own temperament and his own philosophy Newman did this as have few others. His own attempt at founding a university was a failure: his exposition is marred by limitations of vision, for he was in the last resort unaware of the social, ideological and technical revolutions that were transforming the world in which the university must exist: his religious position, torn as he was between obligation to be a loyal Catholic and a liberal scholar, led him often to ambiguity and sometimes to contradiction. All this, I think, is true. Yet it is also true that our own answers to the questions "What is a university for, and what should it be like?" are usually far less clear even than his, and it is also true that by studying him we may still hope to infuse into our own creations some of the insight and some of the faith in our own high professions without which we may create institutions of research and homes of efficient instruction, but will never attain the idea of a university in its highest sense. They will never be what Plato would have thought they might be, places where the eye of the soul could be turned towards the light.

A University is a place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral; and, on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a University should have students; if religious training, I do not see how it can be the seat of literature and science.

Such is a University in its essence, and independently of its relation to the Church. But, practically speaking, it cannot fulfil its object duty, such as I have described it, without the Church's assistance; or, to use the theological term, the Church is necessary for its integrity. Not that its main characters are changed by this incorporation: it still has the office of intellectual education; but the Church steadies it in the performance of that office.

J. H. Newman, November 1852.

TEST-TUBE BABIES

THE MORALITY OF IN-VITRO FERTILIZATION OF HUMAN OVA

by

BENEDICT WEBB, O.S.B., M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

*Human life is sacred—all men must recognise that fact;
from its very inception it betrays the creating hand of God.*

John XXIII

It does not need saying that we live in a time when the Church's theology and practice are developing more rapidly than ever before; and in a time when the sciences, the science of human functions no less than others, are developing with the same rapidity. It does need saying that Christian morality draws upon both principles, divine and secular, and that when such a series of advances is made on both fronts, the harmony that makes up the teaching magisterium will often be left behind or even lost. It needs the work of experts in both fields of "may" and "can" (particularly in both fields together, as priest-doctors are) to recover the synthesis which constitutes Christian morality, as advances continue. Here is a case in point.

This paper is an enlargement of a talk given last May at the Annual General Meeting of the Guild of St Luke, SS Cosmas and Damian (the association of Catholic doctors), held in Newcastle. The Guild committee's invitation to give this address was deliberately made to a priest-doctor, whose calling spans two worlds.

From time to time, advances in technology produce dilemmas of conscience which require enlightenment, so far as this is possible. When a solution cannot be obtained by appeal to reason, then the authority of the teaching Church is usually invoked. During his pontificate, Pius XII frequently gave rulings on questions resulting from medical research; artificial insemination is one obvious example.

The practice of obtaining live human ova or oocytes and successfully fertilizing them with spermatozoa outside the normal environment of the uterus is a new problem, and this article is an attempt to examine the facts as at present known and to give an opinion on the morality of the procedure. To anyone not caught up in the enthralling world of medical research, the whole idea of it is rather repulsive. But the motives of those employing it are truly altruistic; they are aimed at discovering more about the earliest stages of human development, at attempting to learn how to prevent some foetal abnormalities and at promoting successful live births in previously sterile women by implanting such a fertilized egg in a healthy endometrium (lining of the uterus).

In humans, as in all mammals, fertilization of the oocyte normally takes place in the oviduct and during the next seven days, it travels down to the uterus where it becomes embedded in the endometrium. The difficulties of simulating artificially this "journey" are legion and it is outside the scope of this article to consider them. Suffice it to say that ordinarily ejaculated sperms seem incapable of achieving fertilization without first

remaining in the woman's genital tract for some time; they need to undergo a change in their cell membrane, called "capacitation", which is brought about by the normal secretions of the vagina.

One of the fruits of this research so far has been to shed some new light on whether an embryo is destined to become a boy or a girl. This depends entirely on the sperm which may be one of two kinds, usually about equally represented in number. It is now known that there is no "attraction" between egg and sperm and that penetration of the egg cell wall by the successful sperm is a purely random event. It is not hard to imagine the consequences should this research lead to the ability to predetermine the sex of the offspring; at least two governments have put up large sums of money in order to promote this aspect of it. This reason alone merits a careful look at the morality of these advances, but it is important to emphasise that what follows is obviously only opinion and not an authoritative statement which could only be given by the Holy See.

The right approach seems to me to be to divide this analysis into two parts: first, to examine at what point in our human existence—embryonic, foetal or infant—the body is animated by a soul; if the experimental material is not a human being with a soul, then the problems are not so great. Secondly, and only after the first, can a moral judgment on artificial fertilization be sought.

The problem of knowing when a human being becomes animated by a supernatural soul is as old as moral theology. No authoritative statement has ever been made by the Church, for the simple reason that there is as yet no substantial evidence, no revelation, that has been made to guide us. As you probably know, St Thomas Aquinas held the view, current in his time, that a boy received his soul forty days after fertilization, and a girl eighty. Obviously this was an arbitrary judgment which does not bear scrutiny in these days of more advanced knowledge of human embryology.

If one takes the term "fertilization" to mean the moment of union of sperm and ovum to form a zygote, and the term "conception" to mean the moment of infusion of an immortal soul into that zygote, the Church has always advised us to assume that the moment of fertilization is identical with that of conception.

If the zygote has an immortal soul, it follows that any device which prevents the implantation of it or which prevents its further development must be considered suspect from the moral point of view; this assumption is both prudent and convenient, and so far as I know, it is pretty widely held. But is the problem as simple as this? You will realise that it is not if you have read the three articles recently published in the *Tablet* by Professor Glenister,¹ an expert embryologist. In addition to his own researches, he bases his arguments for shedding some doubt on the assumption by referring to a recent work of great depth edited by John T.

¹ Prof T. W. Glenister, "The Perception of Humanity"—the third of three articles on Abortion and the Unborn Child. *Tablet*, 10th April 1971.

Noonan, Jr.,² entitled "The Morality of Abortion—Legal & Historical Perspectives". He states that certain facts make the embryologist wary of making too definite an assertion; he discusses the possibility of animation at each stage of development and I will now give a summary of what he says:

(1) Although at fertilization the correct genetic constitution or genotype is established, nevertheless it is still possible, during the first two weeks or so of development, for the embryo to divide and so form twins. Is there, in fact, a soul in the zygote which is later going to become two persons? On the other hand, it might well be that such formation of twins is already determined on a genetic basis and that at fertilization, the informing principle governing the formation of twins is already present.

(2) If there is a moment subsequent to fertilization at which it is reasonable to believe that life begins, then that moment can be argued to be most likely when segmentation into twins may or may not take place. But the genetic evidence seems to point to the individual, being whoever he is going to be, right from the moment of fertilization. It also teaches us that we are essentially, in every cell, what we were from the very beginning.

(3) Another criterion of animation has been the establishment of the correct number of chromosomes which normally takes place at fertilization. There are a number of human abnormalities in which the chromosome count can vary and some of these are associated with mental defects. It would not be wise to categorise all individuals who have more than a correct number of chromosomes as less than human.

(4) If the process of implantation has any bearing on identifying the moment of animation, it is only because twinning can occur just as the blastocyst is becoming implanted. The attachment of the embryo to the endometrium does not make it any more or less of a human; ectopic sites of gestation occur and as success with animal cultures in-vitro increases, it will probably be possible to develop their embryos beyond this stage. On the other hand, the very high wastage of fertilized ova in humans before or during implantation suggest that the soul is only received into a human being well after the stage of implantation.

(5) The next feature that needs to be considered is that a very large proportion of the embryos and foetuses lost in spontaneous abortions or miscarriages are abnormal. About one-third have malformations or chromosome aberrations or both, and their expulsion from the uterus seems to be a biological rejection of unsatisfactory offspring. We are treading on pretty thin ice here; if we deny the existence of a soul in such offspring, it could be argued by the moralist that any such embryo or foetus, in which it is certain that there is a definite serious defect, could be removed without committing a grave sin of abortion!

² John T. Noonan, Editor of the Symposium on "The Morality of Abortion—legal and historical perspectives". Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 14.25.

(6) The next stage in development at which it might seem possible to say that a soul is infused is the appearance in the embryo of the central nervous system, and of the cerebral part of the brain in particular. This begins at four weeks, and by the eighth week, electrical activity is detectable; but it is five months before the brain acquires full human characteristics. At what stage can it be said to behave in a human manner? This is too wide a span of time to posit a moment when a soul is infused.

(7) Another suggestion is the moment when the foetus develops the ability to communicate. This is not really possible until after birth; but inside the uterus, there is communication at a biological level with its mother, by a number of physiological processes; but here again, this seems too arbitrary a line to draw.

(8) Is the time of viability the moment of animation, when dependence on the mother theoretically ceases? This seems to have some snags for denying full human status to the foetus. As the possibilities of artificial incubation increase, so does the foetus become viable at progressively earlier stages. Animal experiments even suggest the possibility, eventually, of artificially sustaining most, if not all, the stages of pregnancy. Also it is known that foetuses of different racial groups reach viability at different rates. Negro foetuses may mature more rapidly than white ones. So viability is an unsatisfactory basis because it probably varies with environment and race.

(9) Finally, the moment of birth is widely held as the moment of achieving full human status and this is to presume that all foetal life is sub-human. Recently, I attended a lecture at York University on "Human Sexuality" given by Dr J. A. T. Robinson, the late Bishop of Woolwich, and the author of the book "Honest to God". He stated quite categorically that he believed that an infant only became animated at birth and this justified in his mind the practice of abortion; he was not, in fact, in favour of abortion for other reasons but his view reflects the opinion widely held to justify abortion. If this view was correct, then we would have fewer problems to discuss today.

It seems perfectly clear to me that there can be no specific definition of the moment of conception until there have been further advances in human developmental biology. All that we can say at this present time is that right from the moment of fertilization, there is in the human oocyte a dynamic principle that determines the organised development of this zygote. Eventually it will become an integrated whole human being—a person. Surely it is right and prudent to assume that the moment of fertilization is the moment of conception too. Therefore it follows that we must assume that all attempts at human incubation outside the uterus are experiments on a human being with a soul, and so I think that we must base our moral judgments on this assumption.

We are now in a better position to scrutinise, more closely, the moral implications of these in-vitro experiments. It seems to me that two views

are possible—the traditional one and the more liberal one. Let me take the traditional one first.

In all legislative uncertainties, it is common practice to appeal to past judgments as a guide; this is particularly common in the law courts. But in this case we are breaking new ground and there is little from the past to help us. However, in the Church's pronouncements on artificial insemination, the reasons given for condemning A.I.H. (artificial insemination using the husband's semen) are relevant. They are summed up by Dr John Marshall³ as follows:—

(1) In the marriage contract, the right to sexual intercourse between husband and wife is exchanged on a permanent, exclusive and inalienable basis. This right is not to children, as such, but to the natural act which is the first step to the begetting of a child. Equally, the consequences of the act, whilst omitting the act itself, may not be sought. Hence artificial fertilization infringes the marriage contract.

(2) The anatomy and physiology of the reproductive organs indicate their mode of use, namely in sexual intercourse. It is clearly intended by the design of things, that the begetting of children is to be achieved by means of sexual intercourse. To achieve the end by means other than sexual intercourse is to vitiate the order of nature and is against the natural law.

(3) In carrying out artificial fertilization, to employ gametes which have been obtained from a man and a woman who are not husband and wife would be to promote an adulterous union. The offspring conceived in this way would be *ipso facto* illegitimate.

(4) The method by which the gametes are obtained *could* have no moral objection; but if the semen is obtained as a result of masturbation, then it is obviously wrong. Whether the method of obtaining ova is wrong is very doubtful—I suspect not.

These four statements may be further substantiated by a quotation from a papal allocution, given in 1949 by Pius XII, where he says: "We must never forget this: only when it is carried out according to the will and plan of the Creator does the act of procreating a new life truly achieve, and in so wonderfully perfect a way, the ends sought by it. For then at one and the same time it is true to and satisfies the physical and spiritual nature of man and wife, their dignity as persons, and the normal and happy development of the child".

Taken by themselves, these arguments demand the conclusion that artificial fertilization of the human ovum is immoral. On the other hand, artificial insemination must be distinguished from "assisted insemination", a procedure which follows natural intercourse so that the essential features of the marriage act are present. Sperms are aspirated into a syringe and then injected into the cervix of the uterus, thereby helping them on their

³ Dr John Marshall, F.R.C.P. (Ed.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), D.P.M., Reader in Clinical Neurology in the University of London. "The Ethics of Medical Practice". Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960.

way. This course of action has no moral objection because it promotes a successful fertilization without infringing the marriage contract and the gametes are obtained in a natural way. If artificial fertilization of an ovum is performed in a way analogous to assisted insemination, following natural intercourse, then presumably the same moral arguments may be employed to justify it. This is more likely to be the method used because sperms exposed to the natural secretions of the vagina are better prepared to be successful in fertilizing since the process of capacitation has begun. But, as Dr Bevis⁴ has pointed out, before this procedure is likely to be successful, many technical problems have yet to be solved.

That is the traditional view based on the teaching of the Church from past dogmatic statements. There is another view which I want to put forward in an attempt to bridge the gap between the rigid dogmatism of the Church in the past and the sincere attempt of those now engaged in medical research to promote the good of humanity, even if their methods are not always in tune with our more traditional attitudes.

One of the results of the Second Vatican Council has been to encourage us to take the less familiar attitude of open-endedness towards the moral problems of today. It is a reaction against the line taken at the Council of Trent when the Church, faced with a revolution in scientific thought, rejected out-of-hand some of the practices of the day. From then on, there was a tendency for Catholics to have to "double-think", to do one thing because the Church says so, when another course of action seemed the more wise and prudent to the individual. Ever since Trent, the Church has developed a more and more casuistic attitude to morality which we have imbibed and which has given us a "book of rules" to follow, irrespective of what effect our consequent attitude will have on our non-Catholic brethren.

This attitude of the Church, frowning on liberalism, has put a strain on individual consciences, often an intolerable one, which has made it difficult to be truly Christian in the modern world. The individual may desire to be open towards the modern changes in society and yet finds himself obliged in faith to be closed to them.

It is also true that in many instances in the past two centuries, the Church has backed the wrong horse and done herself immense harm by having to climb down; this was true of Darwin and Freud, and it will may be that the future will see a similar situation regarding the Church's attitude to sexual morality, to sterilization and even to abortion. Please do not misunderstand me. I am not stating that her moral attitudes are wrong; what I am trying to say is that we should not be too ready to condemn the thinking of the modern world, we should not be too jejune in our own attitudes; but rather we should be prepared to accept the

⁴ Dr D. C. A. Bevis, Dept. of Obstetrics, University of Sheffield, "In-Vitro Fertilisation of Human Oocytes"—*Catholic Medical Quarterly*, the Journal of the Guild of St Luke, SS Cosmas and Damian. Vol. XXIII, No. 6, April 1971.

possibility that further break-throughs from our traditional attitudes may be on the way.

It is extremely difficult to come down firmly with clear moral judgments and at the same time recognise the real difficulties of individual consciences. And yet this is what, so often, we are expected to do today. Such dogmatism is ineffective. People just do not respond unquestioningly to papal pronouncements any longer, nor do they accept dogmatic moral judgments, when it is quite clear that the Church has not the scientific wherewithal to make such judgments.

This is not an invitation to reject all the teachings of the Church, an invitation to make whoopee! Obviously it is incumbent on each individual to inform his own conscience and to act upon it. No! It is surely more prudent to recognise the possibility of future developments, to leave some of these problems open-ended, to place the emphasis much more on the individual conscience and to leave room for the help of the Holy Spirit. No longer can the Church make black-and-white decisions and say that if you do not obey, you will go to hell.

If you want further clarification of this line of thought regarding marriage, read Jack Dominian's⁶ four articles in the *Tablet*; they are excellent!

So I would say, regarding these in-vitro cultures of human ova, that we should not be too dogmatic and condemn out-of-hand those who are honestly researching into the truth. If we do, we may be backing the wrong horse! Rather we should make it our task to remind others, at every appropriate moment, of the sacredness of human life, to persuade them of the fact and to prevail upon them always to act in accordance with it.

⁶ Jack Dominian, "The Challenge to Christian Marriage", *Tablet*, 20th September 1969
 "Marriage as a Relationship", *Tablet*, 27th September 1969
 "Marital Breakdown", *Tablet*, 4th October 1969
 "Modern Marriage within the Church", *Tablet*, 11th October 1969.

Editor's Note: A further seven *Tablet* articles by Dr Dominian, and an eighth added on children, written in the autumn of 1970, have been republished as a DLT *Libra* book entitled "The Church and the Sexual Revolution", 50p. The first is the title essay, then "The Nature of Sexuality", "Growing Towards Marriage", "Sexuality in Marriage", "Children", "Sexual Deviations", "The Single State", "The Power of Positive Love".

GLOSSARY

BLASTOCYST: A hollow sphere of cells resulting from cleavage of the original ovum; it is the first recognisable stage of development.

CHROMOSOME: A thread-shaped body found in the nucleus of every animal or plant cell. Each species normally has a fixed number of chromosomes per nucleus; in them are the genes or character bearers.

GAMETE: A reproductive cell. Male animal gametes are called spermatozoa and female animal gametes ova.

ZYGOTE: The fertilised ovum before it undergoes further development.

NO SURRENDER

A review of Bethge's biography of Pastor Dietrich Bonhöffer (1906-45)

by

PHILIP HOLDSWORTH, O.S.B.

In every generation the Lord raises up a few powerfully charismatic figures to remind us of the primacy of the spiritual. Sometimes they speak louder to their generation from out of the grave than they ever did alive. Two such have come to colour our lives in this last decade, one from the heart of the Catholic Church, the Jesuit Fr Teilhard de Chardin; and one from the German Confessional Church, the theologian pastor Dietrich Bonhöffer. (Did we need one from outside any formal Church, it would surely be Simone Weil.)

The key to Bonhöffer's mind is Barthian "crisis theology", which drew on St John's *crisis* = judgment/separation/division. Sometimes known as the *via dialectica*, it embraces the paradox of affirmation and counter-affirmation—finite/infinite, time/eternity, wrath/grace—held at one by the response of God-given faith, which transcends dogmatic formulation and even rational comprehension, leaving all written theology behind. Such theology allowed the Confessing Church to purify itself in face of Nazi racist ideology (cf. 1934 Barmen Declaration). The great flower of this movement, if it was not the life and death of the writer himself, was Bonhöffer's posthumous "Letters & Papers from Prison".

"I FEAR that Christians who stand with only one leg upon earth also stand with only one leg in heaven." Thus wrote Dietrich Bonhöffer from his prison cell to his fiancée, Maria von Wedemeyer, in 1943. His influence was not quenched when, a year and a half later, he paid the death penalty for participation in the political resistance to Hitler and his system, an act chosen by him as an authentic Christian response in the need of the hour. The definitive biography of Bonhöffer by his nephew-in-law, Eberhard Bethge, was published in Munich in 1967 and a slightly shortened English translation appeared last year on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death.¹ The continued interest in Bonhöffer as a man and as a thinker thus received an added impetus and a generous access of material. For it is a long biography of over 800 pages of text (something over 1,000 pages in the German) and essays to trace comprehensively Bonhöffer's development, intellectual, moral, spiritual, from his earliest days to the period of the "Letters and Papers from Prison"² that have given rise to so much discussion and commentary. The author mingles narrative and analysis of intellectual development, with overwhelming predominance of the latter, as he moves through the various stages of Bonhöffer's thirty-nine years of life. The result is a work of careful scholarship and one that demands a like care in the reading but which also is not without its moments of crisis that deeply move the reader and, as one finishes the last page, there seems but one appropriate reaction—prayer. In suffering persecution for the sake of justice Dietrich was joined by other members of his family, even to

¹ Eberhard Bethge, "Dietrich Bonhöffer, A Biography", Collins, 1970, 866 p., £4.50.

² Revised and illustrated ed., 1967.

paying the death penalty. Dietrich, at least, knew that hope lay just around the corner, hope that is of an end to the Nazi tyranny, but that it would not arrive in time to save his life. He said "This is the end . . . for me the beginning of life", as he bade goodbye to his friends when the summons to the final summary trial came. He knew, too, that from a Christian point of view his part in the Resistance seemed ambiguous and controversial and that he could lay no clear-cut claim to martyrdom in the theological sense. In terms of the Catholic Church he would not therefore be eligible for canonisation in spite of personal integrity and heroic sacrifice; but just precisely in this we may consider him to stand for the many others of like situation "whose faith is known to God alone", whose actions are so inextricably entangled with politics that it is hard for those who come after to be sure of their essential sanctity. Yet Thomas Becket was rapidly and Joan of Arc ultimately canonised by the Church and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Dietrich Bonhöffer, Lutheran as he was, might eventually together with other noble resisters of the Nazi evil reach the same destiny. At all events his influence comes to us as much in terms of holiness as of theological insight: indeed with him the two are completely integrated.

Students of Bonhöffer's thought will find in this biography much to give them guidance, written as it is by the man with whom he shared his profoundest reflections. From the condensed and difficult argument of the "Act of Being" of the early days to the much clearer though unfinished "Ethics" right on to the tantalisingly broken illumination of the "Letters and Papers from Prison" Bethge leads us through Bonhöffer's intellectual progress, situating each of the writings in the context of his life and work and providing valuable keys to interpretation at every stage. Of particular interest are the pages where Bonhöffer's work is compared with Barth's and also those where it is compared with Bultmann's, the latter comparison being pursued more fully than the former. One would have liked an extensive confrontation of Barth's and Bonhöffer's final thinking.³ Bonhöffer would seem to have turned out the more realist of the two: he certainly appears to have been more realist than Bultmann, and was *ex professo* more radical.

A number of pictures remain in the memory from this life story . . . musical evenings in the family home in pre-1914 Berlin; Bonhöffer's encounters with American activist Christianity and with British lack of central heating; the preacher's apostolate in the backwoods of Pomerania; alternations between the Guest House at Ettal and counter-espionage work for the *Abwehr*; life in Tegel military prison; experience of the Gestapo cellars—yet even S.S. interrogators had moments of humanity; Maria von Wedemeyer's forlorn and vain struggle with her case to Flossenbürg to see him;⁴ the serenity of the final scene.

³ But see the author's contribution to "World Come of Age" (A Symposium on Dietrich Bonhöffer, Collins, 1967), especially pp. 35-38.

⁴ After the war she settled in the United States. Dietrich's letters to her from prison are now at Harvard, to be published only after her death. A photograph of her in 1967 in *Time* magazine portrayed a still very attractive woman.

There is a question how Bonhöffer's work is to be approached in these days. When it first appeared it made no great impact, and none at all outside the rather closed Lutheran circles in which he moved. Later, when he began to be acclaimed far more widely, interest was often aroused indirectly through his influence on other writers such as John A. T. Robinson. Even then attention to his thought proved to be much less extensive in his own country than elsewhere. Perhaps the time has come when a balanced approach can be made. With the "Death of God" movement now itself well dead (and buried—if not cremated) Bonhöffer's work, which no doubt in a certain sense prepared for that movement while never being a part of it, can be seen in a less prejudiced light and evaluated for its own sake. Catholic interest in it has been considerable and may prove to be in depth. We must, however, be careful to remember always how closely Bonhöffer thought and wrote to his time and place and that the world has moved on vastly in the quarter of a century since he left it. It is true that his struggle with National Socialism did not blind him even at the time to the outer world and wider issues, he always saw that too in context, but he was naturally unaware of our Third World problems, still less of those of pollution and the disintegrating environment. If we are facing these, however, we may find him more than ever an apt and invaluable guide. Ever more and more insistently he occupied himself with the place of the Church in the world, in the world as it is, with its problems as they are. There always seems to be a draught blowing through the Church that blows everything into the sacristy. Bonhöffer proposed to shut the door, but not remain on one side of it only. He was aware of the need for contemplation (though he would never have called it by this name) but he was equally aware of the need for full participation in the life of the world, however crucifying that might be, indeed because it would be crucifying. Such an attitude can hardly be said to disqualify him from speaking to our generation. We may find that preoccupation with his problem may turn out to be very much a case of preoccupation with our own problem too.

Towards the end of the book Bethge makes a careful study of Bonhöffer's latest thinking—the themes of the "Letters and Papers from Prison". He analyses these under the three headings: "World come of age", "Non-religious interpretation", and "Arcane Discipline", they being the key concepts to that thinking. But he insists very firmly that these formulae "would fall apart, become stunted or superficial" if considered in isolation, apart from an overriding theme which governs Bonhöffer's dialogue and preserves the formulae in the right relation and proportion. What is this "overriding theme" which has perhaps been insufficiently remarked by Bonhöffer's commentators? It can be stated in the form of a simple question, but one whose very simplicity demands further explanation. "Who is Christ for us today?" By this Bonhöffer does not mean "how can we present Christ today?" or even, "what can we believe about Christ today?" Bonhöffer assumes the classical Christology and has no intention of going back on it. As in his own earlier lectures on this subject

he still considers that the proper way to frame the question about Jesus is not "what is he?" but "who is he?". But he now asks it in the context of the world as it is at the time. He assumes that Jesus is Lord, and moreover Lord always and solely through powerlessness, service and the Cross. But he now wants to "learn to understand anew how the suffering and powerless Christ becomes the defining, liberating and creative centre of this world; and of the world in all its features, its triumphs and successes as well as its disasters and failures. For Bonhöffer Christ is present in all of these but the question is how to understand that presence. He wishes to engage in the search for the presence of Christ in the world. The Christology of the past is not false but it is no longer fresh; what is now sought will be in continuity with it but will go further and the quest for it will amount to an adventure. Bethge writes: "His venture is, as it were, part of a journey out of a past commitment into a new one". One must declare oneself for Jesus of Nazareth as much as ever before, but there will be great difficulty in spelling out fully what this will necessitate. It must, however, be kept in mind all the time as the governing factor over all the other matters that follow. To these we can now turn.

The first of them is "World come of age" and here again it is necessary to be on one's guard against misconceptions. One of these is that Bonhöffer was by this expression referring to a moral evolution and an idea that the world had grown better. He did not mean this—it would have been a singularly unlikely thing for him to have thought in the Germany of his time—but something rather different. This is the growing up of man, with the accompanying responsibilities that can never thereafter be evaded. Bethge supposes that in this Bonhöffer had Kant in mind where the latter wrote: "The Enlightenment is the emergence of man from immaturity, something that he himself is responsible for. Immaturity is the incapacity to use one's own intelligence without the guidance of another person". Bonhöffer, however, sees this maturing of mankind as a part of his Christology, "it was the crucified Christ who, for him, makes possible 'true worldliness', 'genuine this-worldliness' and 'coming of age', judging and renewing it. For him, therefore, the category of 'coming of age' has a theological quality, so that the recognition of the world's coming of age is theology, that is to say a knowledge that seeks to follow God where he has already gone before us". This is expressed most sharply in a famous passage: "... that we have to live in this world *etsi deus non daretur*. And this is just what we do recognise—before God! God himself compels us to recognise it. So our coming of age leads us to a true recognition of our situation before God. God would have us know that we must live as men who manage their lives without him. The God who is with us is the God who forsakes us (Mark 15:34). The God who lets us live in the world without the working hypothesis of God is the God before whom we stand continually. Before God and with God we live without God..." The reference to Christ's cry from the Cross is essential. Bonhöffer continues: "God lets himself be pushed out of the world on to the Cross. He is weak and powerless in the world, and that is precisely the way, the

only way, in which he is with us and helps us". He thinks that the development of the world's coming of age brings with it the abandonment of false conceptions of God and so opens up the way to the recognition of the God of the Bible "who wins power and space in the world by his weakness". He could put this in a quite provocative way: "The world that has come of age is more godless, and perhaps for that very reason nearer to God, than the world before its coming of age". He was, however, aware that his idea of "this-worldliness" could easily be misinterpreted: "I don't mean the shallow and banal this-worldliness of the enlightened, the busy, the comfortable, or the lascivious, but the profound this-worldliness, characterised by discipline and the constant knowledge of death and resurrection". In this the Christian will be saved from a purely "other worldly" attitude and he will himself be able to save the world from its undue optimism and pessimisms, into either of which it is only too easily ready to fall.

The concept of "non-religious interpretation" arises at this stage of the dialogue. Again we must guard against misinterpretation, especially when handling so notoriously imprecise a notion as that of religion, which could be called by Marx "the opium of the people" and by Whitehead "what a man does with his solitude". Bonhöffer's intentions here need closely defining. He believed, reasonably enough, that the world was ceasing to have religion, which in any case he considered to have been a specifically "Western" phenomenon. The "religion" that was thus disappearing had a number of characteristics. It was metaphysical, in the sense that it provided God as the superstructure of existence and a heavenly domain as the goal to religious longing. It was individualistic as tending to make people concern themselves with private salvation at the expense of the needs of the world, with God relegated to the secrets of a man's heart. It was, therefore, partial, in that God was left to deal only with those areas of human experience for which man had not yet found a scientific solution. It involved a *deus ex machina*, making the Christian religion a "spiritual chemist's shop". It became privileged, in that its devotees are seen, or see themselves, as specially favoured, and acquire special status and qualifications not available to those outside. There have ensued numerous instances in which religion has divided and lacerated society and caused men to attack and persecute each other. Especially is it "tutelary", keeping men in a state of dependence and delaying their progress in growing up which they are all the more reluctant to do because of the ensuing lack of re-assurance. Bonhöffer, however, believes that religion is dispensable and indeed must go if faith is to enter properly into its own. In so far as religion has the aforesaid characteristics it fails to recognise both the presence and the person of Jesus. For he, Jesus (according to Bethge), does "not call for any acceptance of preliminary systems of thought and behaviour; he is anti-individualist, and, in a totally exposed way, the man for others; he does not pray as if he made part payment by instalments, but with his life; he turns away from the temptation of the *deus ex machina*; he turns away from the privileged classes and

sits down with the outcasts; and he liberates men to find their own responsible answer to life through his own powerlessness, which is both shaming and utterly convincing". We can see how radical Bonhöffer's thinking is at this point and how thoroughly he carries out his appraisal of at any rate religion as it has commonly been understood and practised in the Christian tradition. One question immediately comes to mind—what place is the Church to have? But this will begin to answer itself as we pursue the next element of his reflections, the question of the Arcane Discipline.

Bonhöffer took this expression from the early discipline of the Church, whereby the uninitiated were excluded from the actual eucharistic celebration, and used it to refer to those special and withdrawn acts of believers that would persist in a world come of age in which religion was evaporating: prayer, Bible reading, eucharistic celebration and so on. He did not reach a satisfactory solution about these but he was not anticipating that they would disappear. The problem was their relation to the life of the world at large. Again the Church would not give up its meditation on redemption and repentance, resurrection and eternal life but in so far as it has progressive difficulty in making them eloquent and effective within the life and experience of the world it must learn to preserve a discreet and tactful silence. It amounts to recognising that while evangelisation remains a constant duty it never dispenses one from the necessity of going through the process of preparing one's listeners for it. On the one hand the sacred mysteries have to be preserved from profanation, on the other the world has to be protected from the re-imposition of religion. But Bonhöffer's ideas on this theme remained even more inchoate than they did on the others. He conceived worldliness and the arcane discipline as correlative, and Bethge puts it thus: "Arcane discipline without worldliness is a ghetto, and worldliness without arcane discipline is no more than the streets". Bonhöffer wanted to ensure that the inwardness of the Christian life was a furtherance, not an avoidance, of involvement in the life of the world. He had written in his "Ethics": "There is no real possibility of being a Christian outside the reality of the world" and he stood by that.

Bethge's presentation of Bonhöffer's later thought might be summed up by quoting the title the latter gave to Jesus as naming who he is for us today: "the man for others", this being read as a theological statement, revealing truth, shaming us and raising us. It is a statement about reality, but also has an ethical significance, countering escape from the world and avoiding ecclesiastical domination. It states Jesus for who he really is. The great omission here is in ecclesiology: for Bonhöffer still has to tell us what the Church is in this case. This is an omission that Bethge does not try to hide and is quite explicit in acknowledging.

What are we to make of all this? At the outset one might congratulate Bethge on his thorough investigation, one that repays further study and reflection, into this last and difficult, but ever stimulating, Bonhöffer. If nothing else he has shown how all of a piece this later thought was. He has

also grounded it fully in the life and in the previous thinking of Bonhöffer. He has shown both how it grew out of these and how it hangs together itself. Nor has he shirked the difficulties and where there is something to query he has openly said as much. We have then a very sound basis for investigation and commentary. This will no doubt continue to be done for some time. Here there is occasion for only a few general remarks. On Bonhöffer's basic Christological concern—"who, for us today, is Jesus?"—it seems impossible to say anything but that perhaps we have not yet sufficiently become aware of the need, the urgent need, to ask the question. As early as his lectures on Christology Bonhöffer declared that Christ was the centre of existence, understanding this as a statement of ontological and theological character, not psychological. From this he never departed and whatever sense we are to try make of him it must be in the light of this. What we have to credit him with is the attempt to carry the fulness of classical Christology into the contemporary world and, without in any way watering down the reality of either of them, asking what the consequence was. We may debate whether or how far he was successful in answering the question. We must acknowledge the rightness of his asking it.

Coming to the idea of the "world of age" what should we now say about it? In the quarter century that has elapsed since Bonhöffer's death can we say that the idea has been substantiated or discredited? It should be recalled that we are not asking whether the world has become any wiser, a highly debatable point, but whether the autonomy of man has been accepted. It would seem that it has, in so far as there has been a growing, even if often wholly tacit, acceptance of man as the measure, if not of all things, at least of man. This has become true even in the Church, where there is now a notable tendency to justify even the most ultimate matters by reference to human exigencies. A good example of this is the famous papal ruling about birth-prevention which engaged in elaborate review of the human issues and current evaluations of them. It did not agree always but it was careful to consider. Bonhöffer might indeed have been surprised how far the world has in some respects matured since his time—there can hardly ever have been a so widespread tendency to look appraisingly at authority. Yet he might also have been struck by some new childishnesses, a readiness to respond to the adverts, addiction to television, general consent to the rat-race. It may be retorted that these are instances of unwisdom rather than immaturity. Nevertheless they may be due to it. However we might concede him substantial correctness in his diagnosis of the way the world is going and that, granted that maturity is for man always a relative thing, yet this is in fact what is coming about and is likely to go on doing so. On the question of the non-religious interpretation there seem to be a number of qualifications to be made. First it would be necessary to enquire whether the serious criticisms that Bonhöffer makes about religion should apply to religion as such or to its perversions and if to religion as such whether there is a place for a purified form of religion or not. We may agree with him that religion is in decline and even that this is a desirable phenomenon. There is need, however, of an investigation

into the fundamental needs of man that religion has been held to satisfy and a raising of the question whether, if and when religion dies, these needs will be met by anything, and if by something, will it be a better or a worse state of affairs? There is some truth, however, in the suggestion of Bonhöffer that religion is a peculiarly Western thing and, with the opening up of the world to itself far more fully than occurred in his time, this has become more evident and the relative character of religion become much more appreciated. Because of the incompleteness of his handling of the theme of the "arcane discipline" it would be unfair, if indeed at all possible, to criticise him on this. Again we should salute his willingness to embark with honesty on a matter that is still giving us much difficulty and take some comfort from the thought that even he found it daunting. But here as in the other themes Bethge's treatment has been of great value even where it has shown us where the incompleteness lies. It pinpoints very exactly how far Bonhöffer had reached and thereby enables us if we so will to take the matter up with accuracy.

In pursuing the thought of the later Bonhöffer it is a very fortunate circumstance to receive the assurance of his Christology being the foundation of it all, and a very firm one at that. We can start with the affirmation concerning Jesus and rely on it remaining permanently behind all that follows. In this we are at once in the domain of faith, reflecting as believers and preparing to act as believers. And if we recall that the classical Christology is the fruit of centuries of Catholic life and prayer and meditation, not to say struggle, and that in this area there is, theoretically at least and very considerably in practice too, no issue of principle between Catholic and Protestant, then we can acclaim Bonhöffer as at least so far in the mainstream of the Christian tradition. Giving then with him full assent to the lordship of Jesus, we have to try to ask his question anew: "Who is Jesus for us today?" We ask it, remembering the fact, so far as it is yet a fact, of the maturing of the world. On the one hand we have to explore the notion that this maturing is meaningful only when viewed in the light of Christ, on the other that this light of Christ illuminates ever more extensively in so far as the maturing proceeds. They are convergent phenomena. But the following out of these lines of reflection will lead to an ever fuller evolution of the significance of the Incarnation, since which nothing else important has happened, as Arnold Toynbee remarked once, or which it might be more accurate to say is still happening, but in the world of course, not just in the Church. Jesus was born in a stable: it was later on that he was confined to a crib. But if Christology is to get back into the marketplace there will have to be a coming to terms with the non-religious development that Bonhöffer has envisaged. How far will this leave Jesus as a cultic figure? Only for the believer, which is the case already. But there will be the question of the relation between the Jesus of the believer, fully accorded the titles of Chalcedon, etc., and the Jesus of the world in so far as it does not believe but nevertheless strives towards the reality that has been founded in Christ Jesus. Where there will be a place left for religion it is hard to see. It has great capacity

for survival and many find it hard to credit that it will not survive. It seems likely at any rate that it will have to develop more and more its voluntary character and that in the end it may be the only influence promoting freedom. This evidently is some way ahead. Perhaps by now, however, we can begin to see the point of Bonhöffer's revival of the idea of the Arcane Discipline. The current movement back from churches to houses for the eucharist may well help to bring it about.

Bonhöffer stands out for us as a hope as well as a warning. The warning is that unless we keep our faith as something that is concerned with the actual needs of men at each epoch then it will grow into a superstition and nothing else. It is inconceivable that Jesus would have been crucified if his aim had simply been the promotion of private piety. Similarly the practice of the faith if genuine is bound to cause trouble. But therein lies also the hope for which Bonhöffer stands. His theology in the final analysis calls for no surrender of either the Word of God in its wholeness or of the reality of the world as it is. And if his words speak the language of no surrender his deeds too speak nothing less.

* * *

I discovered and am still discovering up to this very moment that it is only by living completely in this world that one learns to believe. One must abandon every attempt to make something of oneself, whether it be a saint, a converted sinner, a churchman (the priestly type, so called!) a righteous man or an unrighteous one, a sick man or a healthy one. This is what I mean by worldliness—taking life in one's stride, with all its duties and problems, its successes and failures, its experiences and helplessness. It is in such a life that we throw ourselves utterly into the arms of God and participate in his sufferings in the world and watch with Christ in Gethisemane. That is faith, that is metanoia, and that is what makes a man and a Christian (cf. Jeremiah 45). How can success make us arrogant or failure lead us astray, when we participate in the sufferings of God by living in this world?

Bonhöffer, "Letters & Papers from Prison".

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: the Absolute End; Search for God; the Church's History; the Christian Medieval Renaissance; Eastern Mediterranean Christendom; Borthwick Institute Papers.

I. THE ABSOLUTE END

Aelred Graham *THE END OF RELIGION* Harcourt Bruce Jovanovich Inc. New York & London 1971 xii + 292 p £2.75

Until I reached the last chapter of this book I was in two minds about it. Obviously it was written by a man who is wholly sincere, who is concerned with the human problem in what seems to me the right way and with whose particular judgments I often find myself in the closest sympathy (in particular, on moralism, on biblicism, on historicism and on the present state of the liturgy). But was it in fact (and not only in intention) written in the spirit of that Christian tradition which I came to accept more than forty years ago or was it at least tending to a syncretism which rejects the definitive character of the Christian revelation? The insistence on "experience" is, I am sure, most important, and what Dom Aelred has to say about it should be most valuable. But we point to the specifically human experience, I would say, in referring to it not only in terms of knowledge and love (Dom Aelred's "compassion") but also as a union of subject and object; and it is a part of this experience, when fully adverted to, that we recognise, nevertheless, the *distinctness* of subject and object. There is a good deal of talk in this book about "dualism" and "nondualism". Certainly there are dualisms which ought to be abolished. One of them simply opposes God and his creatures. Christians have too often forgotten that all God's creatures are "images" or "reflections" of him. They owe their existence, that is, everything about them, to him; they *derive* from him; but they are also distinguished from him in an absolutely fundamental way. Christianity is bound up with that sort of dualism. Even in the last chapters of this book, although it does (taken as a whole) remove my anxieties, the language is often ambiguous: "Religion in the ultimate sense lies in man's responding to the Existence in virtue of which he himself exists" (p. 263). Yes, indeed, but it seems to me that, if we are going to use "existence" of ourselves, we had better speak of God as the Source of existence.

There are many other passages on which I should like to comment, and I pick out a few of them. I take "noncommitment" (as on p. 26) to mean a certain agnosticism about the real import of doctrinal formulations and a concentration on the heart of religion, which *pace* Dom Aelred, I think we must call "mysticism". I wish he had not described "what Christians call faith" as "belief in the unseen without any real knowledge of it" (p. 140); our theology of faith is giving up that nonsense. What does it mean to say that the "enlightened man . . . must be in sympathy and sometimes in deed a sinner as well as a saint—or rather, he must resolve in his own person the antithesis between the two?" (p. 238). I can guess, but I wish it had been made clear. Dom Aelred in many passages (e.g., p. 239, no. 21) holds that the Church has never properly abandoned its original eschatology with the result that it still fails properly to appreciate our life in this present world. This may be so, but it is a pity, I think, that he shows little interest here in the next one. However, he has put the right question: "Could it be that institutional Christianity as it now exists is not enough, is still incomplete in terms of *inwardness*?" (p. 101).

ILLYD TRETOWAN, O.S.B.

Downside Abbey,
Stratton on Fosse, Bath.

Illyd Tretowan *ABSOLUTE VALUE: A STUDY IN CHRISTIAN THEISM* Allen & Unwin 1970 255 p 60/-

This book presents in four chapters the first half of a course of lectures delivered at Brown University, Rhode Island. A second volume is promised to cover the rest of the series. Dom Illyd puts his claims for theism in terms of metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics in the first two chapters, and devotes the other two to an all-in debate with contemporary writers on theism and ethics.

He begins with commendable courage by asserting that the general tendency of English-speaking philosophers to fight shy of metaphysics is based on prejudice. Dom Illyd himself is not the least of a very respectable and I think an increasing body of scholars whose continued vitality is evidence enough that the abolition of metaphysics always proves to be a temporary phenomenon. However, I am less impressed by his reading of the content of metaphysics, which is heavily biased towards epistemology. His theory of knowledge in turn depends much on his notion of certainty, which this book proceeds to extrapolate into the field of ethics, arriving at a theory of an obligation to pursue the absolute value which is identified with God.

The discussion of certainty is interesting—certainly—but after reading it I remain unconvinced that absolute certainty is attainable in our knowledge. I would not care to assume the sceptical position proposed as one alternative. As the author says, "The only way of settling the matter is to exhibit the fact of absolute certainty. If anyone is unwilling to look at it, that is his affair". Your reviewer would disclaim any unwillingness to look, but must confess that he has not seen here or elsewhere any fact of absolute certainty. As a realist, I am quite prepared to acknowledge the self-guaranteeing character of experience, but I do not see that this commits me to anything more than relative certainty.

It is similarly disconcerting to be ruled out of court in the field of moral certainty. The connection between value and obligation, we are told, is something "which has to be seen—it cannot be proved by a coercive argument starting from premises which everyone will accept. But it is not possible to deny it, I should wish to say, without making nonsense of human living". Again the reader is hoist on the horns of a peculiarly uncomfortable dilemma. I would hope to avoid making nonsense by saying that though I cannot see the connection between value and obligation, I can see a very clear connection between value and desire. So instead of the author's conclusion that "the awareness of obligation is an awareness of God from which, unless we reject it, happiness derives," I would want to say that the desire for anything that is seen as good is a desire for God from which happiness will follow. Better still, it is a desire for what the theist would interpret as God. The author is wary of the prevalent tendency among certain theologians to brand all their opponents as anonymous Christians, but he is prepared to treat them as anonymous theists. I find this position incredible when it goes so far as to say that "in following or not following one's conscience one is accepting or rejecting God and surely one cannot accept or reject God without being in conscious contact with God himself". And I find it very nearly offensive when expressed in the form of yet another dilemma: "A secular humanist, if he is not an egoistic hedonist in disguise, is really a theist in disguise".

There are, however, some very welcome statements on the ultimate autonomy of the human conscience. After explaining that a Catholic may legitimately decide to accept the rulings of authority, Dom Illyd goes on: "If he has decided that he ought always to obey this authority, that it is always reliable, then *that* was what his conscience told him to do, what he thought was right. . . . But in all cases it must be what he thinks is right—his conscience, as we say—which must be the final arbiter, whether or not it leads him to accept an authority, and whether or not he, so to speak, gets his sums right." This of course harmonises beautifully with the sound Catholic tradition of a *desiderium naturale* for God. The elaboration of this theme with reference to Blondel and Prof H. H. Price is perhaps the book's most valuable piece of assistance to the student in search of God. It culminates in the quotation from Pascal: "Thou couldst not seek me unless thou hadst already found me."

But this is a far cry from the central thesis that we are to find God "in the fact of certainty, especially in the certainty of moral obligation". And it is doubly regrettable that this latter view should be canonised into a definitive criterion for human being: "If I am right, the awareness of moral responsibility, which is also the awareness of God, is what constitutes the human being as such."

The argument of the book is almost entirely in a dialectic form that does not make for easy reading. When he is not disputing with some Aunt Sally set up by himself, Dom Iltyd proceeds generally by short exchanges of three or four pages' length with an incredible number and variety of recent writers. This technique commands the admiration, but not the confidence, of a reader who is prevented from keeping up with the author's voluminous reading.

PLACID SPEARRITT, *S.B.

Donald P. Gray THE ONE AND THE MANY: TEILHARD DE CHARDIN'S VISION OF UNITY
Burns & Oates 1970 183 p 45/-

This book is keel built. It takes a position about Teilhard and then builds around it. Most would agree with this approach since the theory of creative union, which is the main subject, is the key concept to an understanding of Teilhard's work. Tackling the subject in this way is a great help to the reader for it gives a backbone to Teilhard's world view which, as it is based on a position of faith, is hard to clothe with the normal apparatus of science or logic.

The flyleaf implies that the book deals with the period up to 1926 and the publishing of the "Milieu Divin"; in fact the coverage is more complete as many of the later essays are considered, and even Teilhard's thinking in his seventies is used to illuminate the earlier writing. It is certainly a book about the mature Teilhard. While the writer has sometimes the theologian's difficulty in getting his point over simply the treatment is original and complete, pursuing each issue in patience and to a conclusion.

Those interested in the subject will therefore find here a well constructed vehicle in which to explore the major contributions Teilhard has made to our understanding of the world around us. Two areas emerge with particular clarity. Firstly Teilhard puts back within our reach the spirit that animated the early Christians—the joy people—by his vision of the second coming, and of Christ active in the visible world about us. Secondly he brings us out of the static Grecian universe, against which St Paul saw his vision of the pleroma, into a dynamic universe. A universe whose life is one of continuous development, and whose centre is the fullest potential of life realised.

To state these ideas now is to see how much they have lost the flush of newness, and to be reminded how widely Teilhard's views have percolated and gained implicit acceptance. Although many writers from Spinoza to Goethe have shared similar feelings about the natural world, no one has lived it so deeply and consistently and from within a profound and pious catholicism. It is a major commendation of Dr Gray's treatment of his subject that Teilhard's ordinary holiness may be seen as the source from which his ideas flowed.

The originality of Teilhard's view presents problems, and these also are thrown into clear relief by the central theme that creation proceeds, and is proceeding, through the unification of multiplicity. The act of creation, in Teilhard's view, becomes one of a process over time, and the account in Genesis of an external act of God at a particular moment in time is not immediately reconcilable. Teilhard seems to allow that there may have been a time when entropy in the universe was unity, but while he does not speculate about the form of matter then, he does seem to assume its pre-existence. For Teilhard matter appears a prerequisite for the existence of spirit, and this leads to further difficulties, for if evolution is a soul-making process what of pure spirit—of angels? The problem of original sin is also explored. It emerges as the price of consciousness; evil becomes a necessary and growing presence as consciousness develops, rather than something that broke upon the world at a moment in time. All

these difficulties with Teilhard's view have been dealt with before, but they emerge here as a consistent and essential part of the central vision.

The book provides a view of Teilhard from the inside: he emerges coherent and complete. It is the situation of the fact of Teilhard into the organic whole of the Church that will give us a final measure of Teilhard's greatness, and this will take more time and other viewpoints.

JOHN GORMLEY.

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II. SEARCH FOR GOD

Constantino Sarmiento Nieva THIS TRANSCENDING GOD Mitre Press 1971 xxiv and 274 p 45/-

This book is a study of the 14th century English treatise *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a spiritual classic which has attracted much attention during the present century, and about which a considerable literature has grown up. The present volume gives a painstaking examination of the text, not in order, but in selected passages chosen to illustrate particular themes. Nearly the whole work and everything that has been said about it is brought in. The book is intended as an introduction to the *Cloud* for a reader with no previous knowledge of it, or of the type of literature to which it belongs. Unfortunately such a reader is likely to be confused by the mass of quotations from the *Cloud* itself and from the recent commentators on it, and indeed on the spiritual life in general. All the questions which have interested scholars, such as the use the author made of his sources, are introduced and authorities who have written on them quoted, but although a preference for one or another is given, the questions are not taken any further. This will not satisfy the scholar and it will confuse the issue for the newcomer. But the latter, if he perseveres, will get a good idea of the approach to prayer which the *Cloud* makes, of the relation of the cloud of forgetting to the cloud of unknowing, something of the nature of the transcending God.

Fr Nieva is wise in not committing himself on many points, for example on the identification of the states of prayer which the *Cloud* author is inculcating with any of the states described by St John of the Cross. He does interestingly enough commit himself to the view that on evidence of his known writings Hilton was not himself a mystic and could not have written the *Cloud*, but that is not to say that he could not have disclosed a further aspect of himself by writing the *Cloud* nevertheless, which is perhaps a more accurate way of saying, as Fr Nieva does, that Hilton could not have written the *Cloud* but the author of the *Cloud* could have written the works of Hilton. But we are no nearer settling the much debated question as to whether the two men are to be identified. It is a pity that a useful introduction to this type of literature is overloaded for those who could benefit from it.

Fr Sandreau is referred to several times and always as Fr Sandreau.

GERARD SITWELL, O.S.B.

Anthony Low AUGUSTINE BAKER Twayne Publishers Inc. New York 1970 170 p £4.50

A man of peace and a cause of dissension, a Benedictine monk imbued with St Benedict's spirit of moderation, whose fellow monks were driven to excess in their opposition to his teaching, a man who won the gratitude and affection of many and the bitter hostility of a few, Fr Baker aroused strong feeling in his lifetime and appears to do the same today. Regarded as a great mystical theologian by some who are well

qualified to pass judgment on such a subject he is derided by others who think him odd. Probably few seventeenth century lives are so well documented as Baker's and it seems unlikely that his own output of words is quantitatively surpassed by any other writer of his time. With verbosity that is likely to repel modern readers he gives clear directions on the first stages of the interior life to any who will take the trouble to read them.

It might be thought that so much has been written about Baker that there could be no room for another book on the subject. However, modern followers of Augustine Baker will find much to delight them in Mr. Low's well-balanced study of him and they will be justified in hoping that it will do something to dispel the misconceptions of some who, knowing little about him, dislike the little they know. The author of this book presents an extremely well documented and sympathetic account of this seventeenth century Welsh speaking Welshman and founder member of the restored English Benedictine Congregation. Acclaimed by Abbot Cuthbert Butler as contemplative in the highest sense of the word he left behind him a body of teaching considered by Dom B. Weld Blundell to be: "the deliberate, permanent official expression of the spirit of his Congregation."

Writing with a wealth of background knowledge, Mr Low (of the Department of English in the University of New York) provides his readers with a brief but nonetheless interesting account of Baker's life before and after he became a Catholic. It seems possible, however, that the author is unaware of the difference of culture and thought existing between the English and the Welsh. The Welsh tend to the logic of the Celts and to a bent towards contemplation so recognisable that even today a Welsh Non-conformist can see in Baker's teaching what can still be heard in any Welsh Congregational chapel. It should be remembered that Baker's first language was Welsh; when at the age of twelve he went to his London boarding school he was quite unable to express himself clearly in English.

Mr Low appears to think that old Mr Baker showed affection to his second son, the baby of the family of thirteen, only when the elder son died. Those who know anything of the warmth of familial feeling existing amongst the Welsh will regard this as improbable. Moreover, Pritchard records numerous incidents which show the loving care displayed by William Baker for his youngest child from his earliest days.

Mr Low's examination of Baker's *via media* in regard to mortification is especially welcome in view of criticisms on this subject made by Dom Paul Renaudin and others. It would be difficult to find a clearer exposition of the way of prayer set out in *Sancta Sophia*. The difference between the prayer of forced acts and that of aspirations is given very careful consideration. The author shows that the first two stages of prayer are produced by the efforts of the person who prays, although of course such efforts would be of no avail without the assistance of God's grace. The third stage, that of pure contemplation, cannot be achieved by any human effort and is only dealt with briefly by Baker for he was concerned with the guidance of those who were setting out on the ascent of Mr Carmel and those who, during this lifetime, might do no more than rest contented in the foothills of the holy mountain. Mr Low believes him to be unsurpassed as a guide in these first stages of mysticism. The account given in this book of Baker's teaching on personal inspirations and the safeguards with which he surrounded it is particularly well done. The description of the teaching of the Quietists and the vagaries and excesses of some of the stranger sects current at the time help to explain the fears that existed in regard to this teaching. Readers can understand more clearly why it was that leaders of the Counter-Reformation and their devout followers were so suspicious of contemplation, so keen on rigid spiritual direction and on the observance of the letter rather than the spirit of the law of Christ. Vocal prayer, meditation and good works carried out under the constant and detailed instructions of a spiritual director were the accepted rule and liberty of spirit. The adaptation of personal rules to suit the personality for whom they were intended appeared as dangerous innovations to many confessors of the day. Mr Low shows that Baker's doctrine of divine inspirations has nothing in common with the passivity of the

Quietists or the oddities of the Ranters. It is simply the pure teaching of the Scriptures and the Benedictine Rule.

The account of the quarrel between Fr Barlow and Fr Baker at Douay throws light on one matter that may have puzzled many readers of Pritchard's life. Given the choice of going to Dieulouard or returning to England why did he choose the latter? He knew well the dangers that awaited him in London if indeed he survived the hazards and discomforts of the journey. Mr Low shows that this was no choice between peace and security on the one hand and danger and probable death on the other; for owing to the wars carried on in the neighbourhood of Dieulouard some of the monks there had died and others had fled to Douay as refugees.

The book contains an assessment of Baker's influence on the literature and the spiritual life of his period. It is scarcely surprising that the first could be said to be non-existent. It is a very different story where his influence on the spiritual life of his own and succeeding generations is concerned. The influence he exerted on the English Benedictine nuns during the nine years he spent at Cambrai is well known, as are the many conversions and vocations to religion for which he was responsible in England. We know, too, of the many young monks and seminary students who flocked to his room to drink in his teaching at Douay. Mr Low reminds us that in 1638 the Carmelites at Antwerp asked Fr Baker to become their spiritual director and the Abbess of the English Community of Poor Clares at Aire possessed a manuscript composed for her by Baker. His teaching was spread by Abbess Catherine Gascoigne and two companions when they went to help the French nuns of St Lazaire at Cambrai to reform their Community. In England *Sancta Sophia* was known, at least in part, to the Quaker Robert Barclay; and, although the author does not mention the fact, we know that in 1684 the Benedictines at Lamspring in Germany were left £400 by Penelope Plowden. This bequest was made for the upkeep of an English student who should be carefully instructed in mental prayer, and, in case he become religious, particularly applied to the reading and practice of Fr Augustine Baker's books and instructions. The author tells us that Dom James Lawrence Shepherd, who became novice master at Ampleforth in 1852, epitomised *Sancta Sophia* and passed on its teaching to his novices. It would be impossible to say how many lay people have been guided on Baker's lines by these monks and their successors in Benedictine parishes in England and Wales. Persisting until recent times, that teaching has brought light and peace to many; it will be sad indeed if in these days of bustle it were neglected and then forgotten.

Fr Baker believed that only contemplative monks should be sent on the English Mission. He believed in prayer rather than discussion although as a Welshman and a one-time lawyer there is no doubt that he could have held his own in any argument. His converts were numerous and remained faithful to the Church and to their prayer. Fr Baker, as Mr Low shows, lived at a time that was similar in many ways to our own: the guidance that he offered is no less valuable to the anxious, storm-tossed Christian of today than it was to those who lived in the adventurous and eminently progressive years of the early seventeenth century.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Low's chronology and his valuable bibliography will encourage some to read the contemporary life and the near-contemporary lives of Baker and to sample the delights of the works of the Medieval English Mystics.

FRANCES MEREDITH.

Holme Hall,
Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorks.

ed. Daniel Callahan GOD, JESUS, AND SPIRIT Chapman 1969 42/-

This is a book written in the hope of "contemporaneity" and "oecumenism." It is a book, too, which makes it manifest how difficult it is to realise these wonders.

Despite an anxiety to be modern T. E. Clarke, writing on "the Humanity of Jesus," has not set down so radical a discussion of the *Quicumque* analogies in Christology as R. D. Hampden managed in his Bampton Lectures of 1832. David Burrell's essay on our words for the transcendent seems not to reach the central difficulties disputed by Mansel and Maurice in 1858. And Avery Dulles' consideration of "Jesus of History and Christ of Faith" does not really get any further than reversing the title of Strauss' 1865 response to Schleiermacher. And, such are the hazards of modern publishing, Fr Raymond E. Brown thinks that Mr J. M. Allegro is associated in our minds with nothing more fungoid than the Teacher of Righteousness.

Even Fr F. E. Crowe, assaying "Christology and Contemporary Philosophy" burdens his pack with some further championing of Lonergan and a concept of person which starts not at the Transfiguration but at Augustine.

The essays of all these earnest folk have a common assumption that order is about to be restored in their disciplines. Fr Bruce Vawter has a happier time contrasting Israel's relation with the Lord who does the unexpected with the tame systems of Babylonish religion, and J. Massingberd Ford, in his essay on "The Spirit in the New Testament" makes it clear that Paul alternated between an impersonal and a personal use of *Spirit*, and that the evangelists were sometimes unsure whether Christ was not an incarnation of the Shekinah, and that in Acts we see the primitive confusions of the Spirit and the Spirit of Jesus; while Kilian MacDonnell writes most interestingly about the Pentecostal Churches and the breaking out of old forms in the Catholic Pentecostals—though there is perhaps in this essay too much for English readers of Oral Roberts and not enough of the new African Churches. These authors have a sense of the higgledy-piggledy of the divine action among us. And Professor J. M. Cameron, in the best piece in the book, writing of the relation between Jesus and the Church, and pointing out that chattel slavery was thought for centuries to be in accord with the mind of Christ, makes it plain that we may not even today be seeing the important things.

And if "relevance" has to be rethought then so too has "oecumenism," for it is Professor Cameron's indication of the Church as the sign of redemption and of the Lordship of Jesus that Professor Hamilton finds horrifying.

HAMISH F. G. SWANSTON.

Boston Theological Institute,
Massachusetts.

Josef Pieper HOPE AND HISTORY Burns & Oates 1969. 106 p 22/-

This small book possesses a value out of all proportion to its size. It could be read in an hour and meditated upon for a decade. The fact of hope could be made an argument for the existence of God; after all, the great mediaeval theologians never recognised that the fact of moral consciousness might provide an argument stronger than their three (or five) traditional arguments. For all men hope. But we must distinguish between their hopes. There are their worldly hopes: we speak of these in the plural. But they also have hope, which we speak of in the singular; this is called "the fundamental hope." It persists when all worldly hopes are extinguished. Pieper tellingly cites the testimony of the Heidelberg physician Herbert Plügge, who in his clinic recognised (perhaps to his surprise) the existence of fundamental hope in persons who knew that they were incurably ill. He notes with approval Gabriel Marcel's important distinction between the absolute statement "I hope" and the relative statements "I hope that . . ." He reflects upon the distinction between Christian hope and the active hope of good non-Christians who strive for a better society; perhaps there is a *spes implicita* (an implicit hope) corresponding to *fides implicita*: "whoever stakes all the force of his personal hope on the future of a perfected human society . . . participates in the hope of Christendom." But this does not mean that

such a hope is identical with Christian hope. Pieper acutely analyses the various forms of secular hope which have attracted people since the eighteenth century. There is the optimism of idealist philosophy, of which the spokesman was Kant. There is the evolutionary optimism of Teilhard de Chardin (Chardin addicts had better not read this book if they do not wish to be cured). There is the Marxist utopian optimism of Ernst Bloch's great work *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, which is devastatingly criticised. Konrad Lorenz's *On Aggression* holds out the wishful fancy that "evolution" can yet bring about a mutation in human nature that will prevent a greater Hiroshima. With an abundance of well-chosen and memorable quotations, with urbanity and wit, Pieper points out the shallowness of so much modern thought which offers only an illusory hope. With profundity and yet with clarity he shows how the Christian understanding of man's historical predicament leads to a true appreciation of our existence in hope.

ALAN RICHARDSON.

The Deanery,
York.

III. THE CHURCH'S HISTORY

R. W. Southern WESTERN SOCIETY AND THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES *Pelican History of the Church* II 1970 376 p 8/- (40p); also Hodder & Stoughton 1971 £2.50.

This is the last of the six volumes to appear in this series. Henry Chadwick's "The Early Church" gives a careful treatment of the internal development of Christian society, East and West, up to the death of St Gregory the Great. Owen Chadwick (the general editor) gives a closely reasoned account of the Reformation period. Professor Southern is boxed in by the prodigious and pluralistic Chadwick brothers. He is boxed in in another sense too, for his work comes in close competition with the equivalent works in other such surveys of Church history. The ten mediaeval volumes of Fliche and Martin are still incomplete, the penultimate having appeared in 1964. The two mediaeval volumes of Jedin's "Handbook of Church History" were published in 1966 and 1968, showing all the signs of the most modern scholarship especially in the parts on Byzantium and canon law. Lastly, Dom David Knowles and Professor Dmitri Obolensky have published their volume "The Middle Ages" in the Rogier/Aubert/Knowles survey "The Christian Centuries" (1969), what the Nijmegen historians described as forty-two short, sometimes very clever, stories in essay form, each dealing with one aspect, using data that is chronologically disparate. It is a series of prudently selected foci, which do finally achieve an internal integration (cf Spring 1970 JOURNAL, p. 97). So on our bookshelves the 1960s have given us, in French and English, four separate surveys of the history of the Church. E. Kempf and H. Wolter in the Jedin series and Professor Knowles in "The Christian Centuries" have done the lion's share in the mediaeval field; and to them we must now add Professor Southern. There is no longer room for Philip Hughes, now left far behind. Never before have we been so well provided with such high quality of work in this field at such a relatively low cost: we are heirs to great labour.

Professor Southern began by adopting the same method as Professor Knowles, the "focus" method perfected by himself in his 1953 study, "The Making of the Middle Ages." Then, as he tells us, the relations between ecclesiastical development and social change took so strong a hold on the work that the plan had to be altered—and with it presumably the title. Something of the author's omissions are made good in his concurrently published book "Medieval Humanism and Other Studies"; while more may be made up by a further Pelican volume covering the same ground. What is notably missing in the Southern history and notably present in the Knowles one (for these two inevitably attract comparison, however odious comparisons are said to be,

in that they come from the pens of the two foremost English medievalists of this generation) is the dimension of philosophy and spirituality and the theology that springs from such motivation; and with these the issues which were the cauldron of their development—the Gregorian reform policies, the Abelardian revolution of thought and other such movements centring on a single brilliant man and his disciples. This is not to say that "Western Society" is not a major contribution to medieval Church history; it is to say that it is not what "The Middle Ages" is, a satisfyingly complete picture emanating from the mind of a historian who is deeply studied in theology (as a priest), in spirituality (as a monk) and in the art forms of the Church (as a humanist). Behind the Knowles volume lies a reading of Hauck, Caspar, Amann, the seven *Studi Gregoriana* volumes, several Spoleto, Todi and Milan symposia and suchlike, undertaken specifically for the writing of that history. Its intention was to give to a general public a consensus of the judgments of Church historians in our time, of course with the added insights of a lifetime of study in the field: any major issue or person in the period who has escaped the Knowles net has been unlucky to do so. That cannot be said of the Southern net, which is highly selective, so much so that it cannot hope to convey to his readers, for all its breath of learning, any sort of conception of the whole history of his period.

Professor Southern has structured his book rather like a graph. The time coordinate is dealt with in three phases, the primitive age (700-1050), the age of the claims of *vicarius Petri* and the Donation of Constantine; then the age of growth (1050-1300) from the beginning of the Gregorian Reform until the aftermath of Aquinas, the age of the claim of *vicarius Christi*, of the growth of papal organisation, power and justice in the hands of the canonists; and finally the age of unrest (1300-1500) when the ultimate sanctions of power were reversed in men's minds from God and his vicar (Ullman's "descending theory") to man and his representatives (Ullman's "ascending theory"), when conciliarism, benefice provision and indulgence trading emerged to replace the *plenitudo potestatis papae*.

The place coordinate is taken up with East-West division and subsequent search for reunion; the progressive subordination of bishops to popes; and the religious orders. The tale of byzantine theology and western crusades is a woeful unfolding of misconceptions and misdirections of energy. It began in 700 when Islam was overrunning the eastern patriarchates, at the time when the Roman pontiff was making his last visit to Byzantium. Thereafter followed by degrees political separation, differences about doctrinal and ecclesiastical authority, and then the disastrous break marked retrospectively by the fateful day of 1054. The attempts at reunion were conducted at the military level, at the political level and then at the level of erenic mutual appreciation, till a Greek scholar was moved to write in his copy of the *Summa*, "O Thomas, would that you had been born in the East and not in the West."

The tale of the bishops is no less woeful. Gregory in his *Regula Pastoralis* exhorted them "to be a minister, not a master," as Benedict had exhorted his abbot; but they became instead administrators drawn from the families of the masters. As the masters lost power, the administrators gathered it up, till prince-bishops counted themselves among the rulers of Europe, and the lay administrators among those who appointed bishops. Inevitably bishops, to preserve their rights, began turning to the popes at Rome as the sole court of appeal above the monarchs who were leaning too heavily upon them. Inevitably popes, to extend their jurisdiction, began leaning upon such bishops till the episcopal order was squeezed to small significance between the aspirations of pontiffs and princes (or podesta). The bishops were the ground of the challenge of Church and state, and being the ground they were also the casualties. Nevertheless some of them did not cease managing very well for themselves.

The book ends with a characteristic study of the religious orders, stamped, says the author, by those features found in every part of medieval life: a strong grasp on the things of this world, and an ardent desire for the rewards of eternity. This surely is the tale of all mankind and the root of tragedy: "if I had served my King as I have served my king . . ." It illustrates the central intention of Professor Southern, to study Church history as an aspect of secular history.

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

August Franzen A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH Revised and edited by J. P. Dolan Burns & Oates/Herder & Herder 1969 xii + 461 p £3.25

One's immediate question upon first handling this book is bound to be: Is this what Church historians have been waiting for since Philip Hughes published his "A Short History of the Catholic Church" in 1939, namely, a reputable and much more up-to-date single volume of Church history? The answer, shortly, is: Yes, in most respects. Professor Franzen here presents in a space of some 450 pages a survey of the Church's history from the time of Christ to the year 1965; no small undertaking. The work was first written in German in 1965 under the title of "Kleine Kirchengeschichte." In general, he presents an account which is well informed by recent research, as witness for example, the way he takes into account recent scholarship on such subjects as the origin of the Christian School at Alexandria, the nature of Gnosticism, the conversion of Constantine, the Clunian reform movement, the 1378 election of Urban VI, John Huss, the development of Luther's early views and the date of his Tower experience, the Council of Trent, and the manoeuvres of Vatican I.

The book is not translated at all badly, in fact it is quite readable, though there are lapses occasionally such as, "he succeeded to the professorship in Bible" (p. 267), "Philipp" for "Philip," and Hippolytus is credited with having written an "Apostolic Transmission" (p. 33). However, there are one or two adverse comments which might justly be made: First, the book is very defective in its presentation of English Church history. This, to a certain extent is understandable in a book by a German writer. After all, wouldn't a German find a similar account by an English writer defective in German Church history? We are all used to concentrating on our own little patches and special periods. Nevertheless, it is probably justifiable to regret that a volume on Church history contains no reference at all to either Thomas Becket, Oliver Cromwell, or John Wesley, and that a reference in the index to "Henry Cromwell" turns out to refer to Henry VIII! In fact, other than rather ordinary accounts of the Conversion of England and the progress of the English Reformation to 1558, English Church history gets very little showing. Secondly, Franzen's survey of the eighteenth century is unbelievably brief. The section titles in fact seem to omit it altogether, going from "1st Epoch, 1500-1700" to "2nd Epoch, 1789-1914"! Less than ten pages are devoted to the events of this all-important, but frequently neglected, century, in which changes in philosophical attitudes more far reaching than those of Renaissance Humanism took place in Europe. Thirdly, on the other hand, the work seems strangely full and more detailed on other surely less significant topics, such as the spread of Christianity to Greenland in the eleventh century. This latter, however, is a most fascinating story, drawing as it does on the interesting archeological finds of our own century.

In general though, this volume is surely to be warmly welcomed by the student, or even professor, who wishes to turn to a short, but informed and up-to-the-minute, account in English of almost any major episode in the Church's history. The space now occupied on our shelves by Funk or Hughes ought sooner or later to give place to Franzen.

ALFRED BURROWS, O.S.B.

J. A. Watt THE CHURCH AND THE TWO NATIONS IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, vol 3 1970 xvi + 251 p £4.25

To anyone working in the field of English and European ecclesiastical history from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries Dr Watt's book will be most welcome. In spite of its title it is not simply of significance in Irish history, but provides additional and illuminating perspectives to more familiar matters. The struggle between the two English metropolitans over the primatial claims of the see of Canterbury is well-known, and Dr Nicholl in his study of Archbishop Thurstan of York has recently supplied a

Scottish supplement to the English dispute. It is instructive now to be able to add an Irish perspective too, and to see from Dr Watt's account successive post-Conquest archbishops of Canterbury exercising an undisputed primacy in Ireland. Of considerable interest too for this period of English ecclesiastical history are the contacts which existed between English monasteries and the Irish Church. Malchus, the first bishop of Waterford (1096-1135), had been a monk at Winchester, and three successive bishops of Dublin between 1074 and 1121 had trained in English monasteries. It was with Lanfranc and his successors that the links were most close, but it is worth remarking that Patrick, second bishop of Dublin, had been one of Wulfstan's monks at the great Anglo-Saxon house of Worcester. The links were not entirely with the English Church reinvigorated by Lanfranc, and the possibility that the see of Dublin itself was founded c.1028 as the result of Anglo-Saxon initiatives supplies a further dimension to the much better chronicled missionary and organisational activity of Anglo-Saxon churchmen in Scandinavia in the same period.

In a wider context, the narrative of the troubles of the thirteenth-century Irish Cistercians adds substantially to the discussion of the difficulties experienced by centralised, and relatively sophisticated, religious orders in the marches of medieval Christendom. As Dr Watts stresses, the divisions between "the two nations" were root causes of the trouble, but his discussion shows that there were other factors operating as well. If the Irish crisis is set beside the criticisms recorded in successive Cistercian General Chapters of the endemic drunkenness of English Cistercians, particularly in the houses on the Welsh marches, and the obscure but persistent difficulties with the Norwegian house of Lyssa in the early thirteenth century, it might seem that the centralised discipline of Cîteaux was ill suited to areas where a strong political authority was lacking, and where society was dominated by the localised influence of family and kin.

In his discussion of the development of the Irish Church itself Dr Watt's account is no less useful. The picture he gives of the situation in Ireland before the English invasion is a valuable corrective to the usual summary judgments of writers on English history. Where the Oxford History of England can declare "while other countries were progressing, Ireland regressed. Religion, such as it was, was seated in the monasteries without any central control. Organisation and discipline were, it seems, wholly wanting", Dr Watt can demonstrate the vigorous reforming activity which preceded the arrival of the English, and conclude that under leaders like St Malachy "there is no suggestion [here] that the Church in Ireland was incapable of reforming itself."

The arrival of the English was, in fact, a tragedy both for the Irish Church and for the Irish nation, introducing political and national complications into an already complex society which, at least in its ecclesiastical aspect, was showing strong signs of achieving a unified and cooperative purpose. It is with the complexities of these resultant inter-relationships that the book is principally concerned—"This book attempts to tell something of the story of how Crown, clergy and papacy conducted themselves towards each other in the English colony in Ireland in the first two centuries or so of its history." Dr Watt examines the policies of English kings towards their church in Ireland, demonstrating a degree of impartiality in the treatment of the races which is at first sight surprising, and indicating a remarkably unfettered freedom of canonical election to bishoprics. He distinguishes the general attitude of the episcopate towards the English government, however divergent the views of its individual members, from that of religious. He emphasises the consistent support of the papacy for the English kings and traces the evolution of racially discriminatory policies towards the Statute of Kilkenny (1366), "the latest instalment of various processes whose history goes back to the earliest days of the colony." That legislation has as its background the dislocation of order and government in the wake of the invasion of Edward Bruce in 1315, and the inability of the English monarch to reassert his power, preoccupied as he was with Scotland and with France, "a fairer mark to shoot at than Ireland." There was, in consequence, no consolidation and extension of the conquest, no integration of the peoples, and these are major factors in the division, rivalries and decadence of the fourteenth-century Irish Church.

The condition of the Irish Church in the later Middle Ages is a far cry from the vigour and hope of the twelfth century, and as Dr Watt emphasises in his opening chapter and his concluding remarks his book has an essentially tragic theme. If this is a theme which is not always sufficiently stressed, if the book seems to be a collection of separate studies in loose association, this is largely the fault of the evidence. The sources for Irish history in this period are few and incomplete, and native Irish sources virtually non-existent. Such contemporary documents as do survive are largely administrative and judicial, impersonal, leading Dr Watt to remark of Edward's bishops, for example, that "we can never see them as religious leaders". Elsewhere he comments "fragmentary and difficult source material makes insistence on firm conclusions imprudent". While admitting these difficulties, this reviewer would still have preferred a more strongly integrated structure, a greater awareness of the relation of the parts to the whole argument. When all is said and done, however, this is a small criticism of a valuable and instructive book.

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University of Edinburgh.

DEREK BAKER.

IV. THE CHRISTIAN MEDIEVAL RENAISSANCE

H. E. J. Cowdrey: *THE CLUNIACS AND THE GREGORIAN REFORM*. Clarendon Press: OUP 1970 xxvii + 289 p 75/-

It used to be thought that Cluny initiated the Gregorian Reform. Later historians distinguished, and some contrasted, monastic and papal reform. Recently Cluny has been seen as a "third force" in the papal-episcopal struggle; others stress Cluny's neutrality. Now we move back to square one with a clearly stated thesis: Cluny was committed to the Apostolic See and dependent on papal support for its liberty. In return, Cluny provided the papacy with the "quintessential example of the liberty it aspired to realise in the Church" and disseminated Gregorian ideas.

Cluny's liberty and papal help are meticulously analysed. Twenty dependencies are scrutinised to show how variously they participated in the freedom of the mother house. Finally, the aims of Abbot Hugh and the papacy are compared and their relations examined. Evidence is copiously but never tediously presented and sources are treated with rare insight. The commentary on *remissio peccatorum*, for example, is a summary of the spiritual needs of the time, to which Cluny responded uniquely, as a fine passage (p. 121). (It also highlights the complexity of Cluny's expansion and shows how deep-seated lie the foundations of institutional success.)

My disagreements with some conclusions are of a kind illustrated by the late Miss Leys' account of how instructive it was for her as a historian to act as a witness in a car accident case. She and a mechanic placed different emphases on the same facts. He stressed the skilled use of brakes despite high speed; she stressed the speed. A debatable example from this book is the case of Saint-Flour (pp 83 ff) cited as showing "effective papal intervention". Because anarchy was rife between 998 and 1025 I think it is a splendid example of papal impotence. Similarly I query the attribution of *active vigilance* and *active oversight* to the papacy, when the initiative lay with Cluny: the author is impressed with the row of papal dispensations whereas I note the pertinacity with which the abbots sought them. Such differences of opinion do not diminish the value of this scholarly work: indeed, one of its merits is the way evidence is presented so that the reader may judge for himself the validity of the author's conclusions.

We are promised further work on Pope Gregory VII. One hopes the author will also return to work on monastic exemption. His treatment of it here is thought-

provoking. It is difficult to believe that episcopal exemption was sought in order to substitute a demanding papal commitment. The author himself refers to the "prudent reserve" of the Cluniacs before the "more extreme . . . elements of Gregory VII's own attempts to enforce the hierarchical lordship of the papacy upon the Church . . ." (p. 151). We are reminded that the Rule gave no encouragement to a quest for exemption. Neither did it assume the concepts and practices of ecclesiastical authority characteristic of subsequent ages! Clearly the development of exemption must be examined alongside the changing concepts of authority and liberty in Church and society. Does the term "privilege" used of monastic liberty obscure the question of whether anything more was sought than reasonable freedom to pursue the monastic life? Was Cluny merely standing for a liberty that men had become increasingly loathe to allow?

NOREEN HUNT

The reviewer is the author of "Cluny Under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109" (1967), and is currently engaged in editing a collection of articles on Cluny by continental scholars, translated into English.

R. W. Southern: *MEDIEVAL HUMANISM AND OTHER STUDIES* Basil Blackwell 1970
£3.25

The title of this book is taken from the fourth essay which defines humanism as an outlook on the universe and man's place in it in which the elements of dignity, order, reason and intelligibility are prominent. It is argued that before about 1050 these elements did not play an important part in medieval experience but that from the middle of the eleventh century to the early part of the fourteenth century they are prominent. First in monastic and scholastic circles culminating in the theology of Thomas Aquinas of whom Professor Southern writes: "It is probably true that man has never appeared so important a being in so well-ordered and intelligible a universe as in his works." Then, in the theory and practice of government where the effects of a belief in the autonomy of government where the effects of a belief in the autonomy of the natural order are traced out in the work of lawyers discussing private property, the just price and the just war. Dante's *De Monarchia* is quoted and its concluding pages summarized as follows: "Here we have a statement of the autonomy of the natural order, which is the essence of medieval humanism. Here reason rules: it makes the universe intelligible; it makes man free. It also makes him seek his eternal satisfaction in something beyond reason. By reason we can see at once the autonomy of nature and the necessity for that which is above nature."

Of the other essays in the book two lie at the temporal extremes of the period. The first of them, which is also the first in the book, is a broadcast talk on Bede. Professor Southern is a Tynesider and this essay is a remarkable example of how an historical study may be illuminated by the author's sense of community with his subject. The defence of its inclusion is contained in the last sentence where it is said of Bede's works that for four centuries after his death they played a conspicuous part in bringing order into the intellectual life of Europe.

The second is the third of three broadcast talks and is on Meister Eckhart. He comes at the end of the two and a half centuries of "medieval humanism". At first sight and first reading what is said about him would suggest that he was more an agent of destruction than of order, but we must turn again to the fourth essay and look at Professor Southern's analysis of the causes of the reaction against medieval humanism. In the early fourteenth century, he argues, Europe entered a period when the optimism which had buoyed up the efforts of the previous two centuries was abruptly destroyed. "The flow of new intellectual materials came to an end; the forward movement in settlement and expansion came to a halt; the area of disorder

in the world was everywhere increasing; everything began to seem insecure". That this is so a study of the reign of King Edward II of England will quickly confirm. That Eckhart brings us into the tumult of the modern world, Professor Southern admits and strongly asserts, but he also notes that "into the intellectual confusion and deepening despair of the fourteenth century Eckhart and his followers infused an optimism about the destiny of man and the extent to which even the least privileged could realize that destiny", and this is a fundamental element in humanism.

The rest of the book consists of studies, made over a long period of years, which in various ways illustrate the central theme. Near the end are two chapters which reprint two of the author's principal contributions to English "political" history—the Alexander Prize Essay of 1932 on Ranulph Flambard and the Raleigh Lecture of 1962 on King Henry I. The first has been extensively revised for this book and the second slightly modified. There is a short study of St Anselm, whose experience in 1079 is taken as one of the most significant moments in the restoration of the dignity of man. There is the famous lecture which dissolves the theory of a "School of Chartres" as at once an institution and a way of thought, and there are studies of other twelfth century figures—Abelard and Heloise, Peter of Blois, and Pope Adrian IV. Two chapters, grouped under the title "Europe and the 'other world'" are of particular interest for their emphasis upon and illustration of the theme that "Culturally the most obvious thing about England in the twelfth century is its dependence on France". It is salutary to be reminded that at the beginning of the thirteenth century no one thought of England as the home of freedom, reason and joy but that the whole world knew that these things were French. England was the home of strong and increasingly centralised government, France of a type which historians have generally regarded as weak and diffuse.

One of the big questions raised by this fascinating and unique book is whether the humanism which it describes does not consist of elements which are in the long run so incompatible as to be the seeds of its destruction.

The Deanery,
Worcester.

ERIC KEMP

Christopher Brooke: *THE TWELFTH CENTURY RENAISSANCE* Thames and Hudson 1969
216 p 35/- paper 21/-

"The title of this book will appear to many to contain a flagrant contradiction. A renaissance in the twelfth century!" Thus C. H. Haskins, in the preface to his *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, hardly more than forty years ago. He refers a little later to "the absence of any other work on this general theme", and adds "the reminder that in most subjects there is still room for further research". This research has been vigorously pursued since 1927 by a series of distinguished scholars, and the picture here offered to the general reader by Professor Brooke is in many ways far richer than that of Haskins.

It is inevitably a small book, its limitations dictated by the series to which it belongs. Small, but luminous, thanks to two characteristics: it deals with individuals, and detail, with that loving attention which the age in architecture and sculpture, in every turn by the visual achievements of the period claims; and it is illuminated at every turn by the visual achievements of the age in architecture and sculpture, in ivory and illuminated MSS. Text and illustration reinforce each other: the latter not segregated for economy's sake but closely integrated with the text. Talk of the devil, and he is there before you, in four manifestations; of the suffering Jesus, and another four confront you: in short, 20th century technique is put at the disposal of the 12th century artist.

There is another important difference. Haskins discusses certain general topics such as Books and Libraries or Revival of Latin Classics, then introduces individuals

to illustrate them. Professor Brooke is in the first instance biographical—tendencies and principles derive from persons; and after a short Prologue his chapter headings are Heloise and Abelard, John of Salisbury, Gilbert (the master-sculptor of Autun) and Suger, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and so on. The scale of the book precludes depth, but not breadth, and it illuminates a wide range of themes: the Holy Grail and the Latin lyric, canon law and courtly love, the relationship of Moslem and Christian, of "prayers and cash". There is a full bibliography, short notes on text and illustrations, a map, and a fine chronological table.

Two further characteristics call for mention: Brooke's repeated emphasis on the "creative" nature of the period, and his absence of dogmatism. He does not impose a pattern, or come up with all the answers: "I am absolutely out of my depth here . . .". "We cannot hope to know how this range was reflected in mankind at large . . ." But the book as a whole is vital and positive: the liveliest and most compact of audio-visual aids to the study of this exciting period.

Brasenose College,
Oxford.

FRANK HARRISON.

V. EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CHRISTENDOM

John Beckwith EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART—Pelican History of Art Penguin Books 1970 xxi + 211 p 304 illustrations £7

Ten years ago John Beckwith published a masterpiece "The Art of Constantinople" which gave him an international position as an art historian. A year later he brought out a monograph "The Veroli Casket", which might serve as a model for all monographs and is the best introduction to the classical Greek elements that meant so much in Byzantine civilization. Now he has achieved the best history of Byzantine art to have been written in any language. It is not of course the best book on early Christian art, that has often nearly been written by Professor Grabar. Mr Beckwith treats of early Christian in so far as it was a prelude to Byzantine. The early Christian Art that was a prelude to Byzantine Art is that of the fourth century empire. Christian art before the time of Constantine seems from the fragments that remain to be essentially sacramental; visible signs conveying hidden mysteries. Once the Empire was christianized the iconography of the Emperor, his Household and his attributes provide an iconography for Christ, His Mother and His Angels. It is characteristic that the subject Parthians on the arch of Galerius at Salonica are the fore-runners of the Magi and that the Christ in San Vitale is the climax of the representations of *maiestas*. Byzantine art came into being through the integration of the two traditions. But it was a slow integration—The silver dish of Theodosius, the Sariguzel sarcophagus and the mausoleum of Galla Placidia can be felt as Byzantine but not the fifth century mosaics in Rome which follow them in time. Perhaps the proportions in the two syntheses are different or perhaps they reflect two different approaches in aesthetics. There is a most perceptive and illuminating chapter on the synthesis of the secular and religious image.

This is essentially an historian's book, the history of a culture as well as of an art and it ends on 29th May 1453 when the last Eastern Emperor Constantine XI was killed by the Turks. But while "The Art of Constantinople" deals with the art of the capital, "Byzantine Art" includes the art forms of the whole Byzantine sphere: Norman Sicily and early Venice and medieval Serbia and Russia and the strange amalgam of Armenia. It is a great book, greatly conceived. It is incomparably well illustrated, the 304 photographs include many rarities.

Blackfriars,
Oxford.

GERVASE MATHEW, O.F.

A. P. Vlasto THE ENTRY OF THE SLAVS INTO CHRISTENDOM An introduction to the Medieval history of the Slavs CUP 1970 435 p £6.50

The title of this book is deceptively matter-of-fact and straightforward for a work that must have involved Dr Vlasto in an enormous amount of scholarly, difficult and at times laborious research.

Any study of European history covering roughly the period AD 500-1200, with all the confusion and turbulence surrounding the Byzantine Empire on the one hand, and the gradual emergence from barbarism of the Frankish world on the other, is complicated enough. But in this context to set out to trace the ever-changing pattern of the development of the Slav races into an accepted and recognizable part of the medieval Christian picture is a very formidable task indeed.

In his preface Dr Vlasto tells us of the difficulties caused by the scarcity and unreliability of many of the sources, and the most uninformed reader (amongst whom I myself am probably outstanding) can easily calculate that to use these sources at all, one must be familiar with several different alphabets and many more languages. Add to these at least seven widely varying systems of chronology, often considerably intermingled, and one can realise that when Dr Vlasto says "I have tried to avoid being tedious without being unscrupulous", he was tackling a problem which, to the general reader at least, he appears to have solved remarkably well.

The book divides the development of the Slavs in European society into four main streams. First, in the Byzantine Empire, where they grew from early and insignificant settlements in Greece and Asia Minor, until by the ninth century they were fully recognized as part of the Imperial establishment. At the same time this development is shown to have been accompanied by increasing hellenization, until by the end of the ninth century the Slav language was virtually extinct.

The second area, that of Central Europe—Salzburg, Carantania, and Moravia—is linked with the first by the missionary work of SS Cyril and Methodios, whose wide influence probably contributed more than any other single factor to the integration of the Slav people into the Christian world. Here the author's knowledge of the many languages involved in contemporary sources gives us an intricate picture of the interweaving at that time of Greek, Latin and Slav liturgies.

From Central Europe we are led westward from Moravia to Bohemia and to the ensuing struggle between Latin and Byzantine influences, which resulted in the eventual triumph of the Latinists in Bohemia, and at the same time a gradual increase in Western pressure towards the East, with the consequent division of Europe into Western or Latin, and Eastern or Slavonic spheres of influence.

Dr Vlasto goes on to consider these divisions in two chapters, dealing first with Bulgaria, in her role of a bone of contention between East and West, until her final emergence in 893 with an established Bulgarian Slav Church, using the Slav language. From here we are led on to the divisions which eventually came about between Croatia and Serbia, Hungary and Romania, and finally Poland and Russia, which, the author concludes, "brought it about that the use of the Slav liturgical language became almost coincident with Orthodoxy and membership of the Eastern world."

Before the conclusion there is a short chapter on the beginnings of monasticism among Orthodox Slavs which makes one hope that one day Dr Vlasto may feel tempted to expand this theme into a volume of its own. He has a gift for tactful scholarship which makes his present book of equal interest to the expert and to the ordinary reader, which on a subject of this complexity is rare indeed.

P. J. M. HIGHAM.

Grayke Castle,
York.

John Julius Norwich *THE KINGDOM IN THE SUN* Longman 1970 xiv + 426 p. £3.50

Lord Norwich is a writer rather than a historian: he has of late been writing about the Maya Indians of Central America, and has no plans to return to the medieval field. This is a sequel to "The Normans in the South," which took the story of the other Norman Conquest (i.e. of Southern Italy and Sicily) up to the death of Roger I of Sicily in 1130. This volume, taking up with the coronation of Roger II, ends the endeavour in 1194 when Sicilian sovereignty passed from the Hautevilles of France to the Hohenstaufen of Germany. It has been a valuable pioneer undertaking which lifts the writer to the level of historian, albeit one who is short on administrative and social influences. The maps and genealogies are good, the photographs are liberal, the bibliography is fully professional and the sources have been carefully studied and judiciously used. To add to this, the author has a grace of style which is sometimes amusing, sometimes distinguished, always engaging. A valuable appendix is given listing all the known extant Norman monuments in Sicily, many of them discussed in the body of the book. Lord Norwich selects for special mention Monreale and Cefalù cathedrals, the Palermo royal palace (the Palatine Chapel and *Sala di Ruggero*—which provides the jacket design by Lady Norwich) and S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio in Palermo. It was a time of brilliance of architecture, as of art and scholarship.

The king in the sun was clearly Roger II, who reigned for a quarter of a century and had as his three wives the daughter of King Alphonso VI of Castile, Sibyl of Burgundy and Beatrice of Rethel. Not content with fathering a line of dukes of Apulia and kings of Sicily, and another line which produced the *stupor mundi*, Frederick II, he fathered the illegitimate Simon Prince of Taranto. His biographer Alexander tells us: "he would never, in public or in private, allow himself to become too affable or jovial or intimate, lest people should cease to fear him." Fear was achieved by ceremony, diplomacy and judicious bribery, never by unnecessary brute force. Leadership extended to the things of the mind, beauty, splendour and cultural riches. Money he used to best advantage, checking his collection and expenditure, enjoying luxury only after his commitments had been paid. As a friend said of him, "he accomplished more in his sleep than others did in their waking day." Prince of the Orient he may have been, but he had the blood of the Normans ever in his veins.

Another Hauteville ruled the Kingdom of Sicily almost as long, William II the Good (1166-89), whose wife was Joanna daughter of Henry II of England. Bridging the two were the twelve winters of William the Bad, powerful of physique and temper, savage of main, indecisive of will, lazy of temperament. "He found it hard ever to leave his palace," wrote the chronicler. His son was anointed and crowned in Palermo cathedral in the innocence of his thirteenth year, forgiven the tyrannies of his father, loved for his beauty and respected for his religious zeal. His was a reign of secure peace, an Indian summer for the Sicilian realm. The great tragedy was that that kingdom was ever shackled to the quarrelling states of southern Italy; the lesser tragedy was that the Hauteville Norman blood ran thin under the Sicilian sun.

Surveying the two volumes now together on the bookshelf, we must grudgingly admit that they do amount to a first-rate piece of historical literature in the best English tradition of amateur letters. Lord Norwich has surpassed his father, and most medievalists.

ALBERIC STACPOOLE, O.S.B.

VI. BORTHWICK INSTITUTE PAPERS

Janet M. Cooper *THE LAST FOUR ANGLO-SAXON ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK* Borthwick Paper No 38 St Anthony's Press, York 1970 29 p

Perhaps no period of northern English history is so intriguing and at the same time so mysterious as that which separates the extinction of the Norse kingdom of York

in 954 from the Norman Conquest more than a century later. In the latest addition to the series of Borthwick Papers, Dr Cooper carefully discusses the fragmentary evidence which survives for the careers of Archbishops Wulfstan, Aelfric, Cynesige and Ealdred, the four prelates who ruled the northern Province between 1002 and 1069. This is the first detailed study of these four archbishops to appear since the younger James Raine published the first (and only) volume of *Fasti Eboracenses* as long ago as 1863. Needless to say Dr Cooper's analysis is much more sophisticated than that of her predecessor and she moves with an admirable degree of judicious circumspection through a notoriously intricate sequence of technical problems. In addition she has been able to use the results of modern research in the late Anglo-Saxon period, notably her own doctoral thesis as well as Professor Whitelock's articles on Archbishop Wulfstan as homilist and compiler of legal codes, to throw genuinely new and revealing light upon the role of these enigmatic prelates in the north and in England as a whole.

Inevitably Dr Cooper's study raises more problems than it solves: the scarcity of contemporary evidence for conditions in the north during this period will always make it much easier to put forward sweeping hypotheses than to prove them. But certainly Dr Cooper's work does much to confirm the assumption that all four archbishops, and in particular Wulfstan and Ealdred, were figures of very great national significance. Virtually nothing at all is known of the pressures which led to their promotion to York. At least three and possibly all four of these prelates were monks, but not one was a native of Northumbria. There can indeed be little doubt that the English monarchs' desire to combat "Northumbrian separatism" by means of a powerful representative in the north was a critical factor in their elevation or translation to the see of York. Florence of Worcester described Cynesige, on his succession to the archdiocese in 1041, as one of Edward the Confessor's chaplains, a remark which reminds us that late Anglo-Saxon kings, like contemporary emperors of Germany, used their control over episcopal appointments as weapons of political warfare. But it may be even more important to stress that the archbishops of York, once appointed, appear to have acted as forces for stability and "law-abidingness" in an often chaotic and anarchic secular world. Although the detailed circumstances are lost to us for ever, the readiness of Wulfstan to co-operate with Cnut after 1016 and of Ealdred to crown William the Conqueror fifty years later, probably did as much as anything to make the two alien occupations of England in the eleventh century politically respectable. But whether the last four Anglo-Saxon archbishops of York exercised effective control within their diocese—in either the political or ecclesiastical spheres—is another and more difficult question. As Dr Cooper shows, there is some evidence that at least they patronised the communities of secular canons at York, Beverley and Southwell; but of the exact extent of their authority in the north and their no doubt all important relationship with the earls of Northumbria, we know extremely little. In the last resort one suspects that they were not powerful enough: when Ealdred died in the autumn of 1069 he did so at the time of a general northern rebellion he had failed to avert and on the eve of a reorganisation of the Church of York which was to provide his Norman successors with a strength he and the earlier Anglo-Saxon archbishops had probably lacked. To take an example appropriate to this *Journal*, the period when "monasticism seems to have made no appeal to the Northumbrians" was soon to come to a very abrupt halt indeed.

R. B. DOBSON.

University of York,
Heslington, York.

David Robinson *BENEFICED CLERGY IN CLEVELAND AND THE EAST RIDING 1306-1340* Borthwick Paper No 37 St Anthony's Press 1969 50 pp 30p

In this work Dr Robinson has sandwiched between a quotation from George Herbert and an allusion to Richard Rolle the filling meat of documentary and statistical

analysis. It is meat that nourishes long before the taste buds are excited, but its nutritional value is high and greatly needed. After so much historical writing about the fourteenth century parish clergy that is jejune and anecdotal, Dr Robinson's treatise leaves one with the satisfying feeling of having learnt something precise about them. He is not always considerate to his readers (for example, on p. 7 he gives the value of livings in pounds sterling and the pensions from them in marks!), but he has provided a useful map and revealing illustrations. If he restricts his study severely to the archiepiscopal registers, he does so with a thoroughness and alertness which almost exonerates the scholar from bothering with those manuscripts again.

Dr Robinson deals with all the essential aspects of the benefited clergy: their ordination; their titles (which changed from being largely lay to being almost wholly religious about 1347—probably as a result of episcopal decision); patronal exploitation of benefices and their incumbents; provisions and aliens (both negligible); exchange of benefices; residence, which was usual—as the law required—among vicars; and absenteeism, which was general among the graduate rectors, though the few who did reside were much in demand to fill the offices of rural dean, penitentiary and sequestrator. It is even more difficult to speak confidently about clerical learning and competence in the fourteenth century than in the sixteenth, but Master Philip Beverley, an Oxford regent master who served, and won the affection and esteem of, his parishioners at Keyingham from 1311 to 1325, is distinctly worth noting. For the clergy's economic circumstances Dr Robinson relies heavily on tax lists, which reflect—in reduced assessments—the ravages of the Scots as far south as Huggate; but he has nothing to say about the famine years and the vexed question of a rising or falling population. These are matters which would have required attention to a wider range of sources and some regard to the imminent Black Death, but they are matters of critical importance to the ecclesiastical, as much as to the social, historian and Dr Robinson's skilful analysis of the episcopal registers makes one regret all the more that he decided not to tackle the other sources with equal zeal. Within the range of his self imposed "tunnel vision" Dr Robinson's powers of observation are remarkably acute and comprehensive, and what he has written is a valuable contribution to knowledge which will make the task of other historians much the easier.

PETER HEATH.

The University,
Hull.

A. J. PEACOCK BRADFORD CHARTISM, 1838-1840 Borthwick Papers No 36 1969 53 p 5-

Ever since the publication of Briggs' *Chartist Studies*, articles and papers have appeared on Chartist activities "at the grass-roots." Mr Peacock's essay is a valuable addition to their number. He is primarily concerned with a rising in 1840 which was alleged to be the beginning of a major rebellion. When it collapsed, the rioters were arrested and subsequently received stiff sentences. At the time of the trials, it became evident that police spies had been active and the Chartists professed to believe that the whole affair had been the work of *agents-provocateurs*. Mr Peacock shows that spies were busy, but that the Bradford rising was in fact the last of a series planned after the 1839 Chartist Convention was dissolved. In order to establish his case, he has delved deeply into local newspapers and supplemented them by Home Office and Lord-Lieutenancy Papers. He has also set the scene for the rising with an intelligent introduction describing class-relations in newly industrial Bradford. He illuminates the confusing connections between the various groups pressing for electoral, sanitary, trade union and factory reform. The detail which this paper provides will be useful to historians, but at times the author's enthusiasm for his sources leads him to lessen the impact of the intriguing story by including too much material.

KEITH ROBBINS.

Department of History,
University of York.

CORRESPONDENCE

FALLIBLE EDITORIAL

17th September 1971.

St Hildegard, O.S.B.

SIR,

May I explain why I believe that your editorial on "Infallibility" rests upon confusion? I appreciate your fear of "creeping infallibility". Indeed, one of my reasons for being grateful for the First Vatican Council's definition of papal infallibility is that it does define the papal power to declare infallible dogma. I suggest, however, that the way in which you have expounded your doubts may encourage confusion rather than clarity. In the recent history of Christianity creeping doubt has been a greater danger than "creeping infallibility".

You maintain that the influence of historical circumstances upon human thought and language implies that we should not give full assent to any statement of doctrine, but only the reality which the statement is attempting to express. This, in turn, implies that any definition of doctrine, however authoritative, may be found wanting by a later generation on the grounds that, for them, the concepts by which it is expressed lack meaning.

Your position seems, at first sight, reasonable. Its implications, however, are destructive of the very idea of faith. It is true that in believing a doctrine we give no special allegiance to the words by which it is expressed. A man may say the Nicene Creed in English, French or Latin, but it is the same faith which he declares in each. When a man declares his belief, it is a belief, not in words, but in the truth of a statement. If, then, this were all that you were suggesting, you would merely be reiterating an undoubted truth. Your argument, however, goes further than this, by introducing a distinction between a proposition and reality as objects of belief, and a further distinction between faith in a doctrine and faith in God as *veritas prima*.

At this point we are confronted with a cluster of ambiguities. We must distinguish between belief in something and belief about something or of something. Belief in a person may itself have two different senses: trust in his veracity and belief in his existence. The trouble is that all these different types of belief form part of what we mean by faith. A Catholic believes in the existence of God, he trusts the veracity of the revelation which God has granted to men and he believes many things to be true about God: that He loves us, that He is three persons in one nature and so forth.

Your distinction between belief in a proposition and belief in reality is a dangerous one when applied to the third type of belief: belief about God. A Catholic believes that God loves all men because (1) this truth was revealed by Our Lord, (2) the fact of its revelation by Our Lord has

been guaranteed by the teaching Church, and (3) the teaching Church has preached the doctrine through its human ministers to this particular Catholic. We may consider this process in the light of your distinction between human language and reality. The first thing that must strike us is that each stage of the process involves the use of human language; and the second thing is that direct experience of a loving God is only present at the first stage. It is not guaranteed to the ordinary Catholic that in this world he will directly experience the love of God: he recognises it by signs. The second and third stages by which a Catholic comes to believe about God that He loves all men are effected by human language. This is true both of the guaranteed transmission by the Church of the truths of revelation and of the preaching of these truths. To invite a believer to distrust human language and rest his faith simply on reality is asking him to distrust what he knows and to trust that which he cannot directly experience. You invite us to forget that dark glass which divides us from the God in whom we believe.

It is, then, reasonable to distinguish between the dogma which is taught by an authoritative Church and the particular form of words by which it is expressed at a particular time. What is not reasonable is to say that the doctrine can be superseded by "newer thought-processes" (to borrow your phrase), while reality or "the ground truth" is permanent: for this implies uncertainty in all the teaching of the Church, and so removes the rock upon which our faith rests.

Papal infallibility is one element, well defined and so less liable to "creep", in the teaching authority of the Church. The long series of rhetorical questions in your editorial about the grounds for believing in an infallible teaching authority within the Church can only insinuate doubt. Creeping doubt in the authority of the teaching Church has gone far towards undermining the faith of the contemporary Catholic. It is a trend which the JOURNAL should avoid encouraging.

Your truly,

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS.

The Editor replies: *I appreciate your main point, which in fact stems from a frame of mind very different from the one assumed in the last editorial, one that would place the search for security where I would place the search for truth: it is the point of view not of the enquiring fisherman but of the anxious shepherd, essentially defensive and conservative (and that has its strength, of course). There are particular disagreements which I must state:*

1. You appear to discount the reality of "creeping infallibility" in the Church today, suggesting that the Definition of 1871 has made the matter clear beyond doubt. To that I answer with these words from one of the more theologically sensitive of our bishops, Bishop B. C. Butler: "the view is widely held, and I share it, that the condemnation of Anglican Orders by Leo XIII was not an infallible act" (Tablet, 18th Sept., p. 899). Well, was it—or was it not—or is there room for opinion? The concluding wording of the 1896 Apostolic Letter reads: "We decree that the present Letter and the whole of its contents shall not be liable at any time to be attacked or

impugned on the ground of obreption, subreption or defect in our intention, or any defect whatsoever; but that it shall be now and for ever in the future valid and in force, and that it is to be inviolably observed both juridically and extra juridically by all persons of whatsoever degree or pre-eminence; and we declare null and void any attempt to the contrary. . . . Does such an admonition make it infallible? And if not, then "near infallible"? And if that, what does that mean, and what else is of that order? And may Bishop Butler then register doubt in public? And if he, perhaps the whole Church collectively? And if that, what then is unassailably infallible? And what of those who have labelled Apostolicae Curae and like documents infallible, and caused doubt as to where the lines of the 1871 Definition should properly be drawn? Might those lines not creep back to vanishing point as much as forward to imprisoning point? And where stands the truth amidst this juridical farrago?

2. You speak as a historian, and yet you whittle your own craft to nothing. Is it not the task of historians, whose main evidence is necessarily documentary, to go behind the words to the realities, piecing together by reference to many kinds of evidence (the tangible checking the verbal, the verbal of one kind the verbal of another) the inner reality? Is that not why a mathematician can speak at twenty, while a wise historian has nothing to say until he is thirty-five, when his thought processes are ripely tuned to the realities of his chosen period? Words are but the instruments for communicating concepts, and concepts but the intellectual instruments by which we reach the quidditas and haecceitas of ground truth; and we do not remember the words—the idiom of sermons or the longueurs of lecturing—but the intellectual presentation of reality which they have communicated. To recapture that reality and recommunicate it, we recoin our words with fair ease, and without using the original phrases. (Incidentally a creed in three languages is still but the one formula; your illustration is invalid). You say that the ordinary Catholic "recognises (the love of God) by signs . . . effected by human language": yes exactly, he recognises, through a certain instrumentality which is not basically interesting, the love of God which is fascinating.

3. I would remind you of the tone of the ultramontanists of the 1870s, quoting Cardinal Manning's *Religio Viatoris*, p. 78: "The Church knows its own history, both by natural light and by supernatural illumination. It rejects and condemns those who appeal from its definitions to human history and human interpretations, precisely because it knows them to be false. It declares all such appeals to be both treason and heresy: treason because, to appeal from its teaching to any other teacher is an act of contumacy against its authority, which is supreme; and heresy, because its authority is divine." Would you ever want to return to that climate of thought; for that is what propositional theology leads to?

KNOCKING & ROCKING

11th September 1971.

DEAR EDITOR,

While one applauds and reads with gratitude these articles of such scholarly excellence and impeccable style since you assumed the direction of the JOURNAL; and, while one marvels at the way the material published is "up to the minute", is judicious and apposite, there remains one matter that alone is somewhat lacking. It is this: an equally balanced view of Authority in the Church.

No one with discernment would disagree with the thesis that the top-heavy superstructure of Church government, more especially the central government, needs dismantling; yet, at the same time, it would be of great assistance to the Church if those doing the dismantling would also, with equal weight, analyse and substantiate the necessity and reality of due,

unshakable and sure authority in the Church, beginning with the supreme position of the Holy See (with its humble and loving rule) towards which the English in the past have shown so many signs of loyalty.

Yours faithfully,

Ampleforth Abbey,
York.

COLUMBA GARY-ELWES, O.S.B.

The Editor replies: *It has been our constant intension to follow the principle abusus non tollit usum, to scrape off the barnacles that the boat may swim better, to test all in order to find the good to hold to. This is specially so in matters of authority, where misrule can never be opposed by anarchy (no rule at all) but only by right rule. We have always tried, under the Spirit, to expose one in order to strengthen the other. In our protracted discussions on the nature of papal power and episcopal authority; on the phenomenon of Modernism in this century; on the debate about marital morality, and on the biblical, liturgical and ecumenical movements, in all of these we have always stood on this principle. The current Editorial, I submit, exactly makes this point. By characterising and categorising, by clarifying and delineating, one accords immense strength to what has properly stood the analysis: the good is fortified, even left purified, and the bad is sifted. Authority in the Church—what is here characterised as Spiritual Power—has always received our unqualified loyalty. But, as you say, now may be the time to cease plucking up and to begin building up.*

BIRTH OF AN IDEA

11th August, 1971.

DEAR REVEREND FATHER,

I do not think that examination of the text of *Humanae Vitae* supports Sir Alec Randall's impression (Summer issue, p. 91) that "having stated lofty principles, (it) left the decision to the consciences of Catholics". In paragraph 14 of the encyclical, contraception is firmly bracketed with abortion and sterilisation as "absolutely excluded as licit means of regulating birth". It is the recommendation of the Papal Commission, made after exhaustive studies of the relevant disciplines, that corresponds most closely with Sir Alec's impression. If this had been the ruling, there would have been no need to question it.

Prudent reserve on medical grounds is of course common ground to all, and so cannot be used to justify the decision.

Yours sincerely,

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

P. E. HODGSON.

TOLERABLE TREASON

20th September, 1971.

SIR,

Since I wrote my article (published in this JOURNAL) a further sidelight has been provided by a hitherto unpublished letter of Sydney Smith, now in the possession of Mr Peter Wenham of St John's College, York, from

which he has kindly allowed me to quote. The Rev James Tate (1771-1843) Master of Richmond Grammar School from 1796-1833 was asked to preach the Assize Sermon in York in March 1825. He supported Catholic emancipation, and wrote to Sydney for advice. Sydney was able to tell him—from his own experience the previous year—exactly what was expected of him, both at the service and at the subsequent High Sheriff's dinners ("At a certain time after dinner when the conversation became too secular as to border on impropriety you retire and return (if you choose to return) out of Canonicals"). His letter concludes: "Always remember that of what you say in the Minster not one syllable can be heard. Do not let your sermon be the less treasonable on that account. The consideration did not at all weigh with me". Tate heeded Sydney's advice, and his sermon, from the text Matthew vii 12, caused a furore. Catholic emancipation was still a dangerous cause, especially if preached by one of the Established Church.

Yours faithfully,

T. M. HIGHAM.

Crayke Castle,
York.

A LESS DUSTY ANSWER

12th September 1971.

DEAR SIR,

About the year 1601, when Father John Mush was sent with three other priests to Rome to present the case for the Appellants (T. G. Law, "The Archpriest controversy", ii (Camden Society, 1898), 1-28) a testimonial to his good character was drawn up and signed by eighteen of his fellow priests. It failed to reach the Pope, to whom it was addressed, and is now in Lambeth Palace Library (Lambeth MS. 2006, f.271). By one of the ironies of history, it stands today as evidence for the defence of Fr Mush against the recent attack by yet another of his enemies within the household of the Faith.

Yours faithfully,

KATHARINE M. LONGLEY.

Holme Hall,
Holme-on-Spalding Moor,
York.

A reproduction of the testimonial, together with Miss Longley's translation from the Latin, are given below. The library has a second testimonial to Fr Mush dated August 1601 (Recent Acquisitions A, f.276; cf. J. C. H. Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791", CRS 1970, 76 and 75, n 27).

[Acknowledgment: Trustees, Lambeth Palace Library].

This describes, from the point of view of a not wholly sympathetic onlooker, the development that began here too in the second decade of the century; and anyone who knew the full vigour of Abbot Edmund and Abbot Herbert, of Fr Ambrose Byrne, Fr Placid Dolan and Fr Paul Nevill, Fr Sebastian Lambert, Fr Stephen Marwood and Fr Bernard McElligott, will understand what an engaging community it was that was then girding itself to pile Pelion upon Ossa, under the rule, perhaps more charismatic than constructive, of Abbot Oswald Smith: by no means in agreement with one another, but enthusiastic for an almost unattainable (and quite unquestioned) educational and apostolic ideal; linked with the outer world only by the trap that met the trains at Gilling station; hard-working, yet strangely leisured, cultured yet not muscle-bound with scholarship, well-read yet wholly insular, deeply Christian but unperplexed about the social status of the community, the social aspirations of the school or their economic and educational relations with the society of the time; men of prayer, but in a tradition only slowly on the move from the Mechlin chant and devotions of the nineteenth century to the plainsong and polyphony, the sacrificial stone altars, the intellectual and aesthetic standards of the early liturgical movement in this country.

The undergraduate who came upon all this at the age of twenty-one was the second son of Sir Charles Price, a member of an ancient family originally from Cardiganshire but resident for three generations at Haverfordwest. Sir Charles was Conservative M.P. for Pembrokeshire from 1924 to 1929, defeating no less an adversary than Major Gwilym Lloyd George; a lawyer of note and a member of the Forestry Commission. On his mother's side too there was a Welsh connection, and a Catholic tradition through which the Mass was not entirely unfamiliar to him as a boy.

His life offers so many points of comparison with that of Fr Augustine Baker over three hundred years before that it is perhaps worth while to note the coincidences: his Welsh origin and training in the law, his education at Oxford and return to the old faith, his great services to the Congregation and especially to the nuns, even his father's public service and interest in forestry are a reflection of his predecessor; for Fr Leander Prichard records of William Baker, Justice of the Peace and Sheriff of Monmouthshire, that "he sowed some growndes in the lordshipe of Abergvevny, which may now be seen tall oaks. He planted and grafted all manner of choise fruit in his own orchards, and drew in others by his example and admision to do the like. For before his time our country knew no fruit but crabbes, and the apple called jennet". He was however entirely free from the eccentricities and controversies that distinguished his great predecessor.

Fr William had been educated at Radley, where he went as a scholar from a Preparatory School founded by a remarkable Old Radleian called Roper Spyers; Mr Spyers had had a varied career as a barrister, an actor and a theological student at Cuddesdon before he founded this school, to which he gave the name of "Wallop" in memory of his home in Hamp-

shire where the Wallops abound. At Radley perhaps William owed most to his history tutor, Walter Smale, who remained his close friend and gave him his strong historical interest; and the High Church liturgical tradition of the school did something to smooth his way on the path to Rome.

It was as a boy at Radley that he first saw Oxford, though only an Oxford evacuated by the War; for in the First War, in this point too so unlike the second, the junior numbers of the University consisted almost only of women (still second-class citizens of the University) and representatives of the Third World (still mostly members of the British Empire). In one of those delightful and brilliant speeches that so often provided the best entertainment, and much more than entertainment, at the Oxford Dinners at York, he once gave an amusing and moving description of that first visit; those autumnal stones had clearly said more to him in the glory of the springtime than can ordinarily be conveyed to a boy in the middle school. And yet the occasion of the visit was no more than a swimming test at the Merton Baths—*blattaria illa balnea*—which had to be passed before he could take up rowing.

From Radley he received a commission in the Queen's Royal Regiment, in which his father also served, and saw the last and most disorganized months of the fighting; a copy of Marcus Aurelius that he had taken with him proved less readable and less of a support than he had hoped. After the collapse of the German spring offensive and the surrender at Compiègne, he served for some months in the occupation of the Rhine Bridgehead at Cologne, quartered at the Hotel Zur Ewigen Lampe and slowly becoming aware of the economic consequences of the peace, on which he formed views that were later to be unpopular among his fellow undergraduates at Oxford.

When he went up to Corpus in 1919 he found it an intimate society of some eighty undergraduates under the genial and energetic presidency of the Aristotelian, Thomas Case, who was then facing defeat in his two great university battles—each of them a Thirty Year War—one for the exclusion of women and the other for the retention of compulsory Greek. Under these auspices and tutored by R. B. Mowat he read for a Second in Modern History and thereafter for a First in the School of Jurisprudence.

Many of his undergraduate friends were to be friends of a lifetime, or at least of a large part of it: W. A. Pantin and Hugh Montgomery, Guy Sich, Darrell Blackburn, Vere Somerset and especially Christopher Williams, known to junior members of Corpus as "Price's Jesuit", but in fact a monk at Ampleforth and the means of Fr William's introduction to St Benet's Hall. Fr Christopher's family in Monmouthshire was already known to him at home, and as three of the brothers were monks of Ampleforth it was natural that he should soon make a stay there as their guest.

Meanwhile Fr William was storing his capacious memory with the wide and perceptive reading that so often surprised with an apt quotation remembered verbatim—or sometimes slightly improved—after an interval

of decades. This was the background that made him capable of vivid historical presentation, for history was to him a matter of real people, not of impersonal tendencies and waves. In his lawyer's mood, when struggling to express the inexpressible in the draft of some statement or agreement, or when insisting to the ignorant that "the plural does not import the singular", he sometimes seemed to bury himself in subordinate clauses and to lose the vision of the whole. But he had an historian's sympathetic understanding of the past, a barrister's power of marshalling his ideas and a Celtic magic in the use of words. "What lights of learning hath Wales sent forth for your schools," wrote Ben Jonson to James I, "what industrious students of your laws, what able ministers of your justice"; and so, in the case of Fr William too, an after-dinner speech or a sermon to the school, a paper read to a Sixth Form society, or even a speech for the prosecution in a mock trial before the Senior Debating Society—any of these might astonish with its insight and its brilliance, without ever losing itself in mere virtuosity or wit.

During these years at Corpus he received instruction from Fr Martindale, then at the height of his apostolate at Campion Hall in St Giles, and was received into the Church at Ampleforth; for the tradition of his family and school were favourable to his return to the faith; and indeed in his suspicion of enthusiasm he made rather the impression of one who had always been there than of one in any need of return. He was already much attracted to monastic life, but deferring to his father's hopes he was called to the Bar in 1923 and served for two years on the South Wales Circuit.

In 1926 he took up an appointment as Assistant Legal Adviser, and later as a Director, of the British American Tobacco Company in China, and served for seven years in Shanghai, travelling much in the interior and acquiring a wide and varied experience of men and cities. A man who has appeared successfully in the Mixed Court, with its mysterious oriental ways, who was awarded a decoration as an officer in the Shanghai Volunteers, and who rendered the important service of establishing the Foreign Club at Moukden in Manchuria, the headquarters of the "Old" Marshal Chang Tso-lin, on a sound footing as an incorporated company owning the land on which it was built, has not only acquired experience: he has shown a courage and determination of an unusual degree. These, moreover, were the days of the Marshals and War Lords, marching and counter-marching across that flat, dusty and interminable landscape, of capture by bandits and of anxious waiting for ransom by foreign missionaries and officials. But he saw much more than this, as is shown by his friendship with learned Chinese colleagues and his collection of Chinese ceramics. Indeed his deep regard for Chinese culture made these years a notable enrichment for him, from his first sight of the junks sailing on the China Sea, of a fisherman at work with his cormorant, or of the Forbidden City of Peking, to such details of daily life as the proper management of "squeeze" and the relations of a foreign householder with his Number One Boy.

The social life of the foreign community, too, was more than an education in itself: the China ponies and the race-meetings (for riding was his great recreation at this time), the artificial society of men and women emancipated from the sanctions of home, the casual and inconsequent drifting through a round of pointless pleasures—it was a certain emptiness in all this that brought back the interest in monastic life felt so strongly ten years before.

So it was that he made application to Abbot Edmund Matthews and was clothed with Br Bede Burge in October 1933, some weeks late for the opening of the novitiate. The Novicemaster, Fr Laurence Buggins, a good deal put out by this unpunctuality and perhaps unaware that it was due only to consideration for his brother, whom he was inducting as his successor in the post of Legal Adviser, arranged that he, though the older man by a dozen years, should be clothed in the second place and so succeed to the less attractive positions and more laborious jobs for the first few years of his monastic life. But Br Bede was a man of remarkable, though often inarticulate, insight: at the last moment he pushed William forward, so that, unaware what was happening, he was given the first place; and it was Br Bede who rang the bells and lit the fires in the months to come.

However, it cannot always have been easy for this rather distinguished young man of thirty-four to live in the narrow circle and undistinguished circumstances of the novitiate, with its petty rules, its limited conversation and its unexciting tasks. Yet the shedding of professional cares and the company of men of undergraduate age sometimes brings a renewal of youth; and certainly Br William was at home from the afternoon of his arrival and slid into the stream of monastic life with astonishing ease: a delightful companion at manual labour, in a cross-country run or in the production of a Christmas pantomime; affectionate but reserved, observant yet always kindly (did he ever lose his temper?), witty but always at the service of others; short-sighted and slightly deaf; curiously clumsy in the management of such mechanical contrivances as a typewriter or a motor car, and willing to drive rapidly through a fog on the wrong side of the road on the ground that it was easier to see where one was going (what a loss to us all that more is not known of that occasion when he and Fr Hubert ran over a pig in Ireland), yet always a figure of such distinction that he never at any time felt a need to stand upon his dignity.

In his first two years he followed the novitiate studies, such as they were, helped others with their defective Latin and in his private reading studied especially Gratian's *Decretum*. In 1935, with no pause for serious theological study, he began the laborious work of teaching and administration that was to last until his death half a lifetime later. Through all these thirty-five years he maintained an astonishing industry, in spite of much ill health and many sleepless nights, in every sector of his work: Church History, Moral Theology and Canon Law in the monastery, Modern History in the school (he was Senior History Master for twenty-five years), and boxing in the gymnasium, to say nothing of innumerable

papers read to school societies or tutorials for young monks in preparation for university work. There never was a harder worker among us, nor a more competent teacher, but administrative problems were sometimes intractable to him: he could forget appointments or confuse his statistics, and there was an embarrassing occasion when he took a boxing team to another school and found that the weights he had assigned to the boys were serious understatements. But all boys had the deepest respect for him (it is the first thing they mention in their reminiscences), there was never any doubt about discipline and it is impossible to recall anyone, young or old, who took a dislike to him. His kindness had literally no limits: thus he could win a warm response from improbable characters and stimulate thought in unaccustomed minds; he was so much more than a schoolmaster that no one could fail to respond.

In 1951, when Fr Columba became Prior, he took over St Wilfrid's House as Housemaster. He undertook this without enthusiasm at the age of fifty-two, but was in fact very happy for the seven terms that he spent there. His talks to the House were amusing—and most effective: the boys were constantly surprised to discover how little was missed by his apparently short-sighted glance, and his authority was never in question. And then in January 1954, on the death of Fr Paul, he became Headmaster and was to rule the school for almost eleven years.

Fr Edmund had ruled for twenty years and Fr Paul for thirty; they had made the school what it was: the house system, the buildings and the staff; the monitors, the library, the relations between masters and boys; the position of the school in the educational world, the ideal of "liberty and responsibility for boys", of educating an élite, of Englishry, of gentility and of Catholicity—all this had been conceived and brought to life on the foundation of a heart-felt traditional piety, of honourable and responsible conduct, of monastic austerity, simplicity and obedience. "The day should begin with the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass or, if a long sleep has been granted, by a visit to the Blessed Sacrament whenever this is possible"—such is the first sentence of *The School Rules*, reprinted as lately as 1960. It was a wise and humane ideal, immensely fruitful as an apostolate; not everyone could give absolute assent to all its implications, but each was aware of the reservations of the other and all could co-operate within so wide a formula.

It needed no little courage to succeed to this empire at the age of fifty-four and in the first few weeks, overwhelmed by the labour of picking up the threads (and sorting out certain tangles), he had something of a trial of strength with certain of the older boys. But after this first engagement there was no question of his authority with either staff or boys. Yet he was most unobtrusive, and a prospecting parent once reported of his first visit to us that he had not met the Headmaster, but had been most kindly shown round by a delightful monk called Fr William.

So for nearly eleven years he ruled the school, increasing its numbers by over a hundred, withstanding the loss of staff caused by the foundation

at St Louis, and in other respects following closely at first in Fr Paul's formula and tradition. Perhaps the Headmasters' Conference meant less to him than to his predecessor, for his experience was of a wider world; perhaps too he was more interested in the education of individual persons and less fascinated by the task of administering a large establishment; he lacked Fr Paul's imaginative gift for planning houses and furnishings; but he was more interested in humanity, in persons who would fit into no conceivable project or plan; hence the unexpected devotion of improbable characters that so often surprised his colleagues. His advice to boys, too, could take a surprising turn, as when he said as his parting counsel to a boy going to the University, "Never stay alone with a woman when you are drunk".

Shyness was a constant difficulty for him; at times it was a real embarrassment to parents and occasionally gave an odd harshness to his manner when addressing the school, for instance at Gornire. Perhaps this shyness also explains an uncharacteristic vehemence of advocacy into which he would occasionally fall in Chapter or in Council: a point of view would be so outrageously over-stated that the case was weakened, or the position was later abandoned with surprising equanimity and unconcern. Both masters and boys knew him too well to misunderstand his manner, but both were aware that a rapier might flash out if he thought it necessary. He had time for everybody, in spite of his long hours of work, and he was always able to relax in his room or in the calefactory over a paper, a conversation or an idle reverie. For many years he went for an hour's walk two or three times a week, but after he became Headmaster he was generally content with a tour of the houses and grounds, delivering letters, making the acquaintance of boys and observing the activities of the school.

What a solid and peaceful world it seems in retrospect! For it was only in the mid-sixties when his years of office came to an end that a new mood of permissiveness spread among generations of boys brought up in a different way. It is not easy to guess how he would have dealt with it, for it questioned some of his first assumptions. It must have been with some feeling of relief that he said in his Exhibition speech of 1964 how glad he was to hand over to a younger man, who could offer "wise and imaginative answers to the problems of the times".

In the same speech he listed a remarkable series of achievements for "an interim Headmaster" who had held office for little more than ten years: the completion of the Abbey Church, the addition of two further houses to the school, the maintenance of academic standards, for five old boys had in that year been awarded First Class Honours in their Final Schools at Oxford or Cambridge.

But it must indeed have been with relief as well as with regret that he went off on a long holiday to his brother in Portugal and to the community at St Louis, before he returned to spend his last years as Headmaster of Gilling, where he deeply endeared himself—not too strong a word—to the boys, to their parents, and to the staff, who made new

discoveries about one they already, as they thought, knew so well. No one could have guessed that he would show such tenderness and understanding for the eight-year-olds, or win such gratitude and admiration from their parents. He was happy there, in spite of recurrent ill health and occasional anxieties; he enjoyed the gardens, the entertainment of his brethren from the other side of the valley, his holidays with his sister in Pembrokeshire, his brother in Portugal or with Fr Hubert in Ireland. Retirement to the monastery was attractive to him, for he hoped to be given time (as he said) to make his soul; but he was somewhat fearful of unemployment and hesitant to abandon his charge, which however was to have come to an end in the year of his death.

He was a true monk, a *vir Dei* after St Benedict's heart; not given to long hours of prayer but giving absolute priority to the things of the spirit, "an internal liver" in the central Benedictine tradition. As is recorded of Fr Baker too, "he was a man of deep judgment, wise, of a sound head, without any crotchets . . . of a nature affable, courteous and faithfully constant to his friends . . . and every way grateful and acceptable to all people that knew him". He was mistrustful of Enthusiasm, whether of the past or of the present, and would quote Bishop Butler's words to Wesley, "Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing". But he was most constant in the observance of the choir, of the customs of the house, of the common burden of work; and felt his absences from the public Office as a deprivation.

His contribution to the monastery and to the Congregation was immense. It was here that his skill in jurisprudence and understanding of finance did their greatest service; the incorporation of the Abbey as a Charitable Trust, the recent revision of the Constitutions or the drafting of a statement on temporalities at General Chapter were matters in which our debt to him is deep and abiding. He often saved us from imprudences and left many things a great deal better than he found them. When the Constitutions were criticized as "legalistic", he would answer with a quotation—slightly improved—from *A Man for all Seasons*, "The wind will blow very cold, Son Roper, when you have cut down all the laws of England". For he had all St Thomas More's devotion to the idea of law and a deep understanding of its use in the service of freedom and of life.

In addition he was for thirty years a member of the Abbot's Council, for twenty the financial adviser at General Chapter, and at all times his wise advice was anxiously sought and generously given in the affairs of the monastery, the Congregation, the school and a host of friends and clients; he was particularly helpful to the nuns of the Congregation, and represented one of their houses at General Chapter. These services found fitting recognition in his nomination to the Cathedral Priory of Durham in 1964 and to the Abbacy of St Mary's, York, five years later.

His great reserve makes it difficult to write of his friends. There were many who loved him deeply and owed him much. His unusual experience

of men and cities enabled him to see both sides of a question and to feel the tension between them; thus he wrote to a friend not three years ago, after a discussion in which that tension emerged, "I hope I didn't seem too horribly worldly, cynical or Laodicean in my conversation. Of course, I do understand and do sympathize with your wish to work out a true philosophy of life: it is what we all have to do in our own way and in our own sphere. The difficulty is to reconcile the 'biggling of the market' with the spirit of the Beatitudes".

In the last few months of his life his health had at times caused alarm, but no one felt any anxiety when he went, as so often before, to spend Christmas with his great friends the McEwens in Ayrshire. However in the last days of the year his heart showed signs of failure and he was moved into hospital, first at Duns and then at St Gabriel's Nursing Home in Edinburgh. Under the care of the nuns, in great peace and content and with Fr Abbot for two days by his bedside, his life slowly failed and he died on 2nd January in his 72nd year. May he share in full measure in the life of the Resurrection, for he fulfilled as few others St Benedict's injunction to the Abbot: "*sciat sibi oportere prodesse magis quam praesse; semper superexaltet misericordiam iudicio; et studeat plus amari quam timeri*"—he is to be of service to others rather than preside over them; let him always set mercy before justice; and let him try rather to be loved than to be feared.

J.B.S.

At the Conventual Chapter in August the Community voted to proceed with the construction of a new Double House, sited in the area of the car park, and the first wing of a new Classroom Block which is planned to run due east from the north end of the Science Block. Also included in the building decisions was a project to enlarge the Grange (the house just north of the monastery, at present used as a hostel for students and guests) so as to cater for the increasing demand for visits by students and others. All of the above is part of the first stage in a development scheme for Ampleforth which has been the subject of much work and discussion by the Community and the architects, ARUP Associates.

ABBOT HERBERT celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood this year. He was present for one evening during the Chapter and thanked the Fathers for all their good wishes in his own inimitable manner. Fathers Gregory Swann and Denis Marshall celebrated sixty years in the Habit, and Fr Gabriel McNally his Golden Jubilee in the Habit.

On 4th July Bishop McClean ordained to the priesthood Fathers David Morland, Jeremy Nixey, Jonathan Cotton and Felix Stephens. Brothers Matthew Burns and Timothy Wright were ordained Deacon on the same occasion. On 31st August Br Richard field was ordained Subdeacon by Bishop Hagan, C.S.Sp. Br Francis Dobson made his Solemn Vows before

Fr Abbot on Saturday, 18th September. To all of them we offer our congratulations and best wishes.

FR LEONARD JACKSON has returned from St Louis and is now assisting Fr Charles Forbes at Lostock Hall. He takes the place of Fr George Forbes who has returned to the abbey. Fr Denis Marshall is retiring from his post as parish priest of Knaresborough and will be going to Abergavenny to help Fr Aidan Cunningham. The new parish priest of Knaresborough has not yet been named.

SAINT LOUIS PRIORY

SEVERAL changes have taken place in the monastic community. Fr Nicholas Walford and Fr Leonard Jackson have returned to England after long periods of service in the development of the Priory and School. They will both be missed: each was extremely versatile and had skills which are not easy to replace in a comparatively small community. In their places Fr Ralph Wright and Fr Finbarr Dowling have arrived. The former has already involved himself in inner-city work for the negro community of St Henry's parish and in chaplaincy work at Washington University in addition to his teaching assignments.

Fr Finbarr not only inherited from Fr Leonard the responsibility for the school discipline but also the organisation of the annual summer school. This year's school was the first under his direction and it was successful, thirty-one negro boys completing the course in spite of the temptations many of them have to follow the short term policy of finding a more lucrative summer job. Federal funds were available for food and transportation, all other educational and financial necessities were taken care of by the community and our benefactors. Among these must be numbered our new neighbours the Brothers of St John of God who made their swimming pool available to the students, an amenity not to be undervalued by anyone familiar with St Louis' summer weather. This year's activities received wide radio and TV coverage which should be a help in organising next year's school, and perhaps in inspiring others to initiate similar programmes which are sorely needed in the cities of the United States. This year, for the first time, we can see how successful the alumni of our summer school have been in their high school careers since our first graduating class has just graduated from high school. The results are certainly encouraging, and highlighted by the achievement of one of them who was co-captain of the school basketball team which won the State championship and has been awarded a scholarship to the University of Arizona.

Several members of the community have been busy in new areas. Fr Ian spent six months living with four priests in the Detroit area studying the Charismatic Movement which is spreading in this country. He also travelled about with them giving workshops on faith renewal and prayer to interested groups of priests, and he has spent the last two months

helping to plan and open a centre in Detroit where priests can go to learn more about the charismatic renewal. Fr Benedict has been working with the chaplains at the University of Missouri at St Louis in the hope that this work may establish contacts for vocations in addition to its more general apostolic value. He has also arranged for many students to spend a few days with the community for prayer and reflection, and it is clear that this service has been greatly appreciated. During the summer Fr Thomas was able to couple up some apostolic work with a scientific expedition into the Arctic Circle by helping a Jesuit missionary in the care of his 40,000 square mile parish in Alaska.

Despite the delays caused by strikes the Upper School building and library were ready for occupancy in September 1970. Now at the end of the first full year of use it is the opinion of the faculty and students alike that we have a facility ideally suited to the purposes for which it was built. The time and effort spent in the preliminary planning are paying handsome dividends and should continue to do so for many years to come. The library has been named for Fr Columba, our first prior, and a formal blessing and dedication took place later in the year. Fr Columba returned here to be present on the occasion and to meet again his, and our, many friends and benefactors. Bishop McNicholas represented the Cardinal at the ceremonies and graced the occasion with an inspiring and congratulatory address. The Cardinal unfortunately had to go to Boston for the funeral of Cardinal Cushing and so was unable to attend.

The achievements of our last two graduating classes have been watched with more than usual interest to assess the effect of the difficult decision made years ago to enrol all our students at the seventh grade level, that is to have them in our care for six years rather than the normal four years of high school. By any standard it appears to have been a wise decision, and a rich harvest is already being reaped. Almost half the students in the last two graduating classes have been finalists or have received letters of commendation in the National Merit Scholarship competition, which means that they are in the top three per cent of all the college-bound students in the nation. Acceptances for college were also very satisfactory including our first alumni to enter Johns Hopkins University.

The list of awards won by the two classes would need a special report to itself, but the achievements of two of the students must be mentioned. Having won every Science competition at the local and regional level both were invited to exhibit their projects at the International Science Fair held in Baltimore. Both won first awards in their disciplines, one in Chemistry, the other in Zoology, this being the only occasion in the history of the fair that one school has provided two first award winners in one year. These successes did not go unnoticed and they undoubtedly had a lot to do with the award by the Science Teachers of Missouri of their Missouri Science Educator Award for 1970 to Fr Thomas. He was also invited by the National Science Teachers' Association to act as chairman of the Arkansas-Missouri Youth Science Congress held at the Marshall Space Flight Centre at Huntsville, Alabama.

The city of St Louis had a series of celebrations for the centenary of its saintly patron and the Priory was invited to act as host for one of them. A special Mass was sung in the Priory church at which M Druon, a member of the Académie Française, delivered an eloquent panegyric. Accompanied by the other distinguished guests he was entertained at lunch and afterwards addressed the assembled school.

ON HIS RETURN VISIT TO AUSTRALIA this summer, after many years' absence, Fr Gilbert Whitfeld found numerous traces of the work of the English Benedictines in the early history of the Church in Australia. The first two archbishops of Sydney, Bede Polding and Roger Vaughan, were Benedictines and their portraits in pontificalia now dominate the dining hall of St John's College in the University of Sydney. This was one of Archbishop Polding's foundations, aimed at presenting Catholic culture in a secular penal settlement. Then there is the Convent of Benedictine nuns at Pennant Hills, not far from Sydney. Here thirty sisters are living the enclosed life, yet full of interest in the wider Benedictine world—and that includes Ampleforth. This community was founded by Archbishop Polding in Sydney in 1849 with the help of nuns from Stanbrook and Princethorpe. At Hamilton in Victoria, he met a house of Sisters of the Good Samaritan of the Order of St Benedict. They teach in schools and today number over 700 in Australia and the Pacific. They were founded by Archbishop Polding in 1857 to work in the diocese. Research into Benedictines in Australia has been done and is still going on among some of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. Sister Shanahan has recently published a critical account of their achievements called "Out of Time, Out of Place".


The *Times* of 26th August recounted Mrs Mary Whitehouse's visit to the Holy Father, where he told her that her work as an opponent of the permissiveness pervading Britain "is very important and we give it our blessing". She said afterwards that she did not show the Pope copies of "Oz" or "The Little Red School Book"—"I would not dream of insulting any cleric by showing him such a pornographic book". It might be worth recording in the light of her words that a review copy of the little book was sent to the Editor of the *JOURNAL*; and it soon found its way onto the Headmaster's desk, where it serves as a salutary warning of anarchic tactics.

FETE CHAMPETRE

REVIEWING Peter Brown's "The World of Late Antiquity" in the *Tablet* recently, an Augustinian rose to these heights of exuberance:

"In Aquitaine it was members of the landed families who peopled the monasteries, leaving their family name behind to be borne to this very day by the villages where they had lived. Their mentality was rather more sophisticated. They took into the cloister frank memories of good dinners, of martyrs' vigils that had ended in the cool of the morning with a fête champêtre . . . So an undergraduate from the House might pass on after Eights Week to the noviciate at Ampleforth."

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OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died: K. V. Lander (1920) on 2nd February; J. T. Yates, an old friend of Abbot William and a long-standing member of the Society, on 11th July; Dr Claude Bradley; and Peter Boyd (O 65) who died of cancer on 17th April.

JOHN OSWALD CLARKE (1912) and his wife Emily (*née* Nuttall) celebrated their Golden Wedding Anniversary on 2nd July. Both Mr Clarke's parents had brothers as Monks of Ampleforth; Fr Bede Polding and Fr Aelred Cooper Clarke.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE AMPLEFORTH SUNDAY

5TH DECEMBER 1971

THIS will take place as usual at *Netherhall House, Nutley Terrace, N.W.3*, on the theme "*What is the Church up to now?*" Fr Patrick will give the Discourses at 11 a.m. and 12 noon. After lunch a panel composed of Fr Abbot, Fr Patrick, Mrs Julia Wadham and Patrick O'Donovan will answer questions. Fr Abbot will give the final talk at 4.45.

Tickets are obtainable from B. V. Henderson, P. C. Henderson Ltd., Romford, Essex, RM3 8UL and cost £1.75 each. Please write direct marking the envelope "Personal". Please include Questions for the afternoon session with the ticket application.

EASTER RETREAT AND WEEKEND 1972

THURSDAY, 30TH MARCH—MONDAY, 3RD APRIL

Please contact Fr Denis Waddilove as early in the new year as possible and not later than 26th March.

BIRMINGHAM AREA ONE-DAY LENTEN RETREAT 1972

ARRANGEMENTS are being made for a one-day Retreat to be held—it is hoped—in the Birmingham University Catholic Chaplaincy on Sunday, 19th March 1972, from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Fr Abbot has agreed to be present and details can be obtained from R. H. Dunn, Lawn Farm, Tibberton, Nr. Droitwich Spa, Worcs., Tel.: Spetchley 619. It is being arranged for Old Amplefordians and their wives, parents and friends of Ampleforth.

LONDON DINNER

THIS will take place on MONDAY, 10TH JANUARY, in the CONNAUGHT ROOMS, and is being arranged for Old Amplefordians and their wives, parents and friends of Ampleforth. It is hoped that the price of the dinner will work out at not more than £2.50 exclusive of drinks. JOHN REID (8a Symons St., Sloane Sq., S.W.3, Tel.: 01-730 0137) has very kindly agreed to organise this dinner which is an important function. Would those living in and around London whose permanent address in the Society's Books is elsewhere, please contact John Reid directly.

MARRIAGES

- David Atherton (D 67) to Anne Dawson at St Mary's, Little Abington, on 11th September.
- Richard M. Davey (E 66) to Pamela Hayes at Fleet, Hampshire, on 23rd October.
- John Feilding (A 63) to Veronica Noel Georgina Mary Farmer at the Church of Our Lady of Victories, Kensington, on 24th April.
- Anthony Garnett (O 49) to Lucie Cable Palmer at St Louis Priory on 9th October.
- John Hickman (A 60) to Catherine Charles at Ampleforth Abbey on 4th September.
- Peter Knapton (J 63) to Barbro Richter at Tyska Kyrkan, Helsingfors, on 25th June.
- Timothy Knight (A 65) to Charmian Cretney at the Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Tettenhall, on 17th July.
- Timothy Lewis (A 61) to Veronique Mary Hall at St Luke's Church, Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar, on 11th September.
- Peter Llewellyn (C 55) to Frances Lynch at Ampleforth Abbey on 8th September.
- John Anthony Lorrinan (H 65) to Jill Elliot at Holy Souls' Church, Scunthorpe, on 11th September.
- Michael Mathias (C 65) to Gillian Mary Fletcher at Holy Trinity Church, Meole Brace, Shrewsbury, on 18th September.
- John Miller (J 66) to Sally Ann Margaret Sharrard on 17th April.
- Jonathan Powell (O 65) to Stephanie Shann at Worth Abbey on 15th May.
- John Anthony Sargent (W 61) to Victoria Mary Hards at Hampton Court on 2nd August.
- Keith Studer (D 63) to Jane Margaret Hayton at St Patrick's, Birstall, on 19th June.

- Edward Sturup (D 58) to Susan Fleming at St Paul's, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A., on 16th April.
- Michael Vosser (J 63) to Susan Margaret Greenwood at the Church of St Edward the Confessor, Guildford, on 22nd August.
- John Watson (E 50) to Elizabeth Sedman on 28th May.

ENGAGEMENTS

- Richard Birchnell (O 61) to Betina Else.
- Dr Justin Blake-James (H 64) to Linda Sullivan.
- Adrian Brennan (W 58) to Caroline Bunkall.
- David Bulleid (E 63) to Robina Valentine.
- Christopher Coverdale (O 64) to Vanessa Williams.
- Robin Gerard (C 60) to Sarah Howkins.
- Michael Gilbey (T 67) to Linda Gilbey.
- Jan Laury (H 68) to Elizabeth Anne Rowbottom.
- Peter Leach (T 64) to Stephanie Pike.
- Michael Lukas (E 65) to Fiona Ogilvie.
- Conar Magill (D 69) to Finola Marie Pierre Holland.
- Timothy Marks (D 65) to Mary Grace Porter.
- Peter Mayne (O 67) to Lois Maguire.
- Thomas Mroczkowski (J 67) to Joanna Petry.
- Dr John Marlin (JH 55) to Alice Tepper.
- D. W. Tarleton (T 62) to Miss H. C. Southworth.
- David West (T 65) to Birgitte Hansen.
- Charles Young (B 64) to Alison Mary Thomson.

BIRTHS

- Mary and Tim Birch (T 55), a son.
- Norman (O 60) and Mrs Corbett, a son, Richard Trevor Timothy.
- Christine and John Cunliffe (A 63), a son, Benjamin.
- Mark (D 68) and Mrs Ezra, a son, Mark.
- John (J 62) and Mrs Hartley, a daughter, Teresa Mary.
- Gina and Tony Huskinson (O 61), a daughter, Francesca Maria Mudwina.
- Julius (D 57) and Mrs Komarnicki, a daughter, Catherine Hanna.
- Brenda and Duncan Johnston (J 61), a son, Richard Patrick.
- Dr Roderick (D 46) and Mrs Macaulay, triplets, Elizabeth Jane, Henry John and Peter James.
- Victoria and Ralph Pattison (C 61), a son, Walter Rupert Patrick.
- Peter (B 54) and Mrs Watkins, a daughter, Julia Rachel.
- Adele and John Wayman (E 59), a son, James.

JAMES C. RAPP (A 70) was awarded the Queen's Telescope for the outstanding Cadet of the year at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, by Earl Mountbatten of Burma at the passing out parade on 2nd August. This is the third such award to be made to an Old Amplefordian in the last 7 years. Previous holders of the Telescope have been MICHAEL GRETTON (B 63) in 1964 and NICHOLAS WRIGHT (T 68) in 1969.

FR TIMOTHY FIRTH (A 57) is Lecturer in Fundamental Theology and Church History at St Edmund's College, Ware.

FR JOHN DALRYMPLE (O 46) is Catholic Chaplain at St Andrew's University and has published two books: "Theology and Spirituality" and "The Christian Affirmation". He gave the 8-day Monastic Retreat to the Community in August 1970. Other priests holding the post of Catholic Chaplain at Universities are: FR GEORGE HAY (C 49) at Exeter, FR DAMIAN WEBB at Cardiff and FR FABIAN COWPER at York.

NEVILLE MORAY (D 53) has been appointed Associate Professor of Psychology, Scarborough College, University of Toronto. He has published: "Attention: Selective Processes in Vision and Hearing".

DAVID NOTON (B 56) has been appointed Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering at the University of Colorado. He regularly publishes scientific papers—his latest concerns "Eye Movement and Visual Perception" and was published earlier this year in *Scientific American*. His main research interests lie in the area of brain research and its "intersection" with computer science.

DR PETER WATKINS (B 54) is Consultant Physician in General Medicine and Diabetes at King's College Hospital, London.

JEROME JEPHCOIT (H 61) has been awarded the Margaret Rankin Prize (Ophthalmology) at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

JOHN GIBBS (T 60) is a partner in Anderson Thomas Frankel, Chartered Accountants, the largest private teaching organisation concerned with examination coaching for chartered accountants.

BENJAMIN RUCK KEENE (E 67) has been called to the Bar at Gray's Inn.

DENNIS MOYLAN (D 48) has been appointed Queen's Counsel.

A. H. M. WHITE (E 62) has been elected to the Institute of Chartered Accountants.

DESMOND FENNEL (A 52) is Deputy Chairman, Bedfordshire Quarter Sessions.

GEORGE SWIFT (E 51) has been appointed Assistant Clerk (Planning and Transportation), Kent County Council.

DR ROBERT BLAKE JAMES (D 57) has become a Member of the Royal College of Physicians.

SIMON SARMIENTO (B 57) is Senior Consultant with Logica Ltd., a consultancy firm in computer and management sciences.

COMMANDER ANDRÉ BOYD (B 37) is Vice-President and Managing Director of Merck, Sharp and Dohme (International) Ltd., Bermuda, and holds these same posts with International Indemnity Ltd., Bermuda.

PETER SLATTERY (D 44) is Managing Director of Williams and Glyn's, Insurance Consultants Ltd.

PETER DEWAR (E 60) is Head of Organisation Department, National Farmers' Union.

H. J. MORLAND (B 52) has been appointed Personnel Manager of the Gas Council.

JULIUS KOMARNICKI (D 57) has an agency for 50 British Publishers in S. Europe and a firm of Printing Brokers.

BARRY WHITEHALL (D 54) has been appointed Appointments Officer, B.B.C. Television, returning to the U.K. after a 3½-year secondment as Head of Broadcasting in the British Solomon Islands.

KEITH STUDER (D 63) is Container Manager in the Unit Load Department of Lep Transport Ltd., London.

ALAN ODDIE (O 43) has joined Pyramid Films in Santa Monica, California, after 13 years with Pflaum Publishing Co. in Dayton, Ohio.

CHARLES CARY-ELWES (W 57) owns Paragon Films Ltd. His recent successes include "Memorial". "Memorial" was Britain's brilliant short film entry at the Cannes Film Festival and was widely publicised as such. "Memorial" is a brilliant evocation of the futility of the battle of the Somme and all such human carnage. Hence the film, produced by Paragon Films Ltd., will be Britain's official entry at Cork and will then have theatrical distribution in this country before coming onto 16 mm.

MARK EZRA (D 68) has started his own film company, Ferrestone Films. In 1971 the company won the Gold Medallion at the Krakow Film Festival for the best European short film, and the Grand Prix at the Southampton Film Festival as well as the top Documentary award for 1970 and 1971.

JOHN HORN (B 58) is working for I.B.M. in Paris.

SIDNEY FLAVEL (D 60) has been working for the past 6 years for The International Synthetic Rubber Co. in Southampton.

W. J. (PIP) RYAN (A 58) has returned to his father's farm in Wexford after 10 years in Kenya where the family farm was adjudged the best farm in Kenya and awarded the Agricultural Society Gold Medal. It is now in the hands of the Kenya Government as a National Stud Farm.

DR JOHN MARLIN (JH 55) joined Baruch College University as Assistant Professor of Economics in 1969, after gaining a Ph.D. in Economics at George Washington University. Previously he has spent 5 years as a government economist with the Federal Reserve Board, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Co. He contributed to the Ralph Nader study of the Interstate Commerce Commission and has led studies on housing and the budgetary process in New York City.

EDWARD STURRUP (D 58) has been elected a member of L'Union des Associations Europeennes de Football, and is authorised to arrange tours and matches for all Football League Clubs in Europe. He acted as an interpreter for the England World Cup party in Mexico and is U.K. representative for leading Spanish Clubs.

W. J. WARD (O 51) has been elected Chairman of the British Pistol Club and on the Council of the National Rifle Association.

COL F. J. JEFFERSON (A 40) has been appointed Commandant of the Royal Military School of Music.

CDR C. J. WARD (E 53) is second in command of the Polaris Submarine Squadron.

DR JEROME TWOMEY (B 51) has been appointed Surgeon Commander and Senior Specialist in Obstetrics and Gynaecology, R.N.

RICHARD DAVEY (E 66) has been promoted Lieutenant R.N. and has begun Flying Training. R. J. POTEZ (H 67) is serving as Helicopter Control Officer on *H.M.S. Whitby*.

DAVID BULLEID (E 63) is with 22 S.A.S. Regiment.

DAVID CUMMING (W 71) has entered the Royal College of Science at Shrivensham to read Engineering.

O.A.C.C. REPORT, 1971

THE CRICKETER CUP

ONE cannot help feeling that Fr William would have been pleased with Radley's victory by 10 runs. The local weather forecast notwithstanding, we were able to get off to a fairly prompt start. It was a good toss to lose because the dampness in the wicket made life difficult for the batsmen and runs were hard to come by. Radley elected to bat and found the going difficult against some accurate bowling by Stephens, Savill, Morton and Huskinson, all of whom collected 2 wickets. By lunch they were 90 for 6 and only the steadfastness of Bass and Gardner prevented them being all out for under 50. Out of their total of 142 they contributed between them 98 runs. The O.A. fielding was good without being brilliant but was to be put totally in the shade by some superlative Radley catching and stopping of the ball.

Set to make just under three runs an over the Club began cautiously but immediately lost wickets. With the score 19 both Spencer and Morton were back in the pavilion. Wright and Stephens took the score to 51 before the former was out for 36. Stephens soon followed. Wynne, King and Perry brought some semblance of purpose into the proceedings and the score moved towards the 100 mark. Tim Perry was really the only batsman to put bat to ball and while he stayed hopes remained very much alive. We were entertained to some beautiful strokes through the covers which even the Radleians found they were unable to stop. However, at

112 he was out caught at the wicket and our hopes now rested on Peter Savill and Adrian Brennan. The former was unluckily run out soon after going in and with the score 126 we were sitting on a knife edge with Adrian Brennan being the only person likely to see us to victory. It was a situation which, from Radley's point of view, required that every small chance should be taken. They were not found lacking. Brennan and with him our hopes fell to one of the most astonishing catches seen at Ampleforth. While everybody looked to the long off boundary for what must have been a certain four there was the bowler holding and throwing the ball into the air. It was certainly the catch of the match. For us the battle was over and we were all out for 132. We had lost the match to superior fielding and if thereby hangs a lesson let all learn from it.

THE TOUR

AFTER a bad set of figures for the mid-season fixtures we were looking forward to a good tour. Five wins, one defeat, two draws and one match abandoned is evidence of one of the best weeks, results wise, for some years. The massive support which the Tour had from all ages showed that interest in the week is being maintained if not growing. To illustrate this a small point is worth mentioning. On the first day of the Tour the average age of the XI was 33 while that of the side representing the Club against Middleton was 20. There were over 14 players for each day on the available list, a situation which made the managers' task easier. The infusion of new blood from the School 1st and 2nd XIs and other younger players who had suddenly "discovered" that the Club existed caused the standard of cricket to rise enormously and nowhere was this more apparent than in the fielding. It was a tonic to see 90% of the catches held and to see the energy with which the ball was stopped and chased. There is no lack of talent coming into the Club which augurs well both for our continued participation in the Cricketer Cup—a competition which we are determined to win—and the future success of the Club.

The results on Tour speak for themselves and there is no need to dwell at length on individual matches. We defeated all comers bar the first match against the Cryptics when we were possibly at our weakest and they were certainly very strong. We narrowly drew the second game with them and nearly lost the annual battle against the Old Rossallians yet again. In all the matches teamwork was the outstanding feature although there were some good individual performances. John Kirby collected two 50s in succession. Peter Savill, Willoughby Wynne and Miles Wright all scored over 50 once while the batting performance of the week was certainly Ray Twohig's 84 not out against the Northants Bedouins which enabled us to win by 9 wickets under difficult conditions. David Lees Millais contributed an aggressive 30 to make sure that no collapse materialised. Of the bowlers by far the most impressive performance was David Evans' 5/28 against the Sussex Martlets which effectively demolished any resistance they might have been willing to put up. Other good performances came from Peter Savill, who bowled 20 overs with a bad

back and took 5/43 against Middleton. Kevin Lomax took 4/36 against the Bedouins and Willie Moore, who took 4/27 against the Cryptics, bowled intelligently throughout the week and with effect. Behind the stumps Simon Tyrrell put in some good performances notably against the Martlets where he claimed 4 victims.

Special thanks must go to the wives who so valiantly fed hungry mouths and quenched some very avid thirsts. Judy Dick, Eileen Crossley, Caroline Perry, Fiona Gray and Morag Stafford all kindly "had us to dinner" during the season. To the officers of the Club go the thanks of the members for arranging the administration. To Tim Perry for his efforts as Captain of the Cricketer Cup side and finally to all those who played. Seven new members have been elected—Willie Moore Antony Wenham, David Lees Millais, Ray Twohig, Kevin Lomax, Charles Berry and Raymond Wright.

N.B.—FIRST ROUND CRICKETER CUP, 1972

O.A.C.C. versus Old Brightonians at Brighton, 28th May 1972.

M. F. M. WRIGHT,
Hon. Sec.

O.A.C.C. RESULTS, 1971

MID-SEASON FIXTURES

- | | |
|--|--|
| v. Radley Rangers. Lost by 10 runs. R.R. 142. O.A.C.C. 132 (Wright 36, Perry 31). | v. Send. Lost by 7 wks. Send 82 for 5. O.A.C.C. 81. |
| v. Yorkshire Gents. Drawn. Y.G.s 121 for 6. O.A.C.C. 202 for 9 (O'Kelly 61, Andrews 48). | v. Old Cliftonians. Lost by 2 wks. Old C.s 160 for 8 (Morton 5-47). O.A.C.C. 158 (Morton 76). |
| v. Periwinkles. Won by 1 wk. Periwinkles 153. O.A.C.C. 154 for 9. | v. Grannies. Drawn. O.A.C.C. 227 for 7 (Morton 93). Grannies 143 for 9. |
| v. Old Georgians. Lost by 26 runs. O.G.s 240 for 7. O.A.C.C. 214 (Wright 45, Morton 36). | v. Hurlingham Club. Won by 107 runs. O.A.C.C. 236 for 9 (Kirby 76, Spencer 59). H.C. 129 (Lorimer 5-41). |

THE TOUR

- | | |
|--|---|
| v. Privateers. Privateers 166 (Sparling 3-33, Lorimer 3-16). O.A.C.C. 167 for 8 (Kirby 52). | v. Northants Bedouins. Bedouins 163 (Lomax 4-36). O.A.C.C. 165 for 1 (Twohig 84). |
| v. Emeriti. Emeriti 136 (Corbould 4-15). O.A.C.C. 137 for 4 (Kirby 52, Stephens 41). | v. Middleton. O.A.C.C. 114 (Moore 33), Middleton 103 (Savill 5-43). |
| v. Cryptics. O.A.C.C. 175 (Savill 60), Cryptics 178 for 7 (Savill 3-48). | v. Cryptics. Cryptics 164 for 7 (Moore 4-67). O.A.C.C. 161 for 9. |
| v. Sussex Martlets. O.A.C.C. 179 for 8 (Wynne 60), Martlets 83 (Evans 5-28, Fitzherbert 34). | v. Old Rossallians. O.A.C.C. 215 for 8 dec. (Wright 55, Spencer 33), O.R.s 212 for 5. |

SCHOOL NOTES

THE SCHOOL OFFICIALS were:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Head Monitor | R. J. Twohig |
| School Monitors | T. A. Doyle, T. G. Marshall, G. R. Gretton, W. A. Moore, R. G. P. Plowden, C. C. Andrae, R. P. Burdell, J. Harrison, H. G. Kirby, R. S. Willbourn, J. D. Dowling, C. B. Brennan, J. S. Burford, P. B. Duguid, D. W. R. Spence, T. J. Berner, N. Lewen, R. A. Fitzalan Howard, C. A. Campbell, J. H. Dagnall, M. M. Forsythe, A. B. N. Phillips. |
| Captain of Cricket | W. A. Moore |
| Captain of Athletics | M. M. Forsythe |
| Captain of Tennis | R. P. Fane-Hervey |
| Captain of Swimming | G. R. Gretton |
| Captain of Shooting | R. A. Fitzalan Howard |
| Captain of Squash | G. W. Daly |
| Captain of Golf | C. R. Lochrane |
| Captain of Hockey | C. V. Harries |
| Office Men | G. R. Gretton, R. A. Fitzalan-Howard, M. J. Harrison, J. M. Newsam, C. M. Bowie, G. W. Daly, J. C. Mounsey, M. H. Tweedy, R. M. S. Chapman, N. D. Entwisle, P. B. Quigley, R. F. Francis. |
| Librarians | E. P. S. Clarence-Smith, S. N. Higgins, A. J. Purves, J. C. Rigby, H. M. Duckworth, L. J. Dowley, J. G. Heathcote, M. J. Moorehouse, M. J. Bourke, B. G. Tabor, N. I. Coghlan, M. J. Parker, J. P. Craig, N. Herdon. |
| Bookroom | J. A. Durkin, M. A. Campbell, R. G. Killingbeck, |
| Officials | C. M. Durkin, S. J. Doyle, L. M. Ciechanowski. |
| Bookshop | R. A. Hunter Gordon, T. P. Macfarlane, J. V. Smythe, C. V. Barker-Benfield, M. R. T. Lowe, M. R. Stavely-Taylor, S. J. Trowbridge, M. A. Nolan. |

THE following boys entered the School in April:

R. D. Edmonds (E), G. J. V. Lardner (O), J. S. R. Moylan (H), M. J. Railing (O), E. J. I. Stourton (H), M. A. Walker (O), P. D. B. Ward (W).

THE following boys left the School in July:

St Aidan's: T. A. Doyle, H. S. T. Spender, A. D. Wenham.
St Bede's: S. L. Cassidy, A. J. Duncan, A. J. Leonard, T. A. M. Myles, T. G. Marshall, N. Owen, P. M. Purves, A. M. J. S. Reid, Visct. Tamworth, R. D. C. Vaughan.
St Cuthbert's: F. N. Gilbey, R. G. Graham, D. J. G. Lees-Millais, C. R. Lochrane, W. A. Moore, T. D. S. Morris, Hon. G. E. J. Noel, R. G. P. Plowden, M. H. Ryan, N. H. van Zeller.

St Dunstan's: R. P. Burdell, C. V. Harries, M. J. Harrison, J. P. Marmion, A. G. Pinkney, R. M. Sharrard, F. B. C. Skehan, J. B. Turnbull.

St Edward's: R. J. Curtis, P. D. Hiscocks, L. Jennings, D. K. J. Lloyd, F. G. McEwen, A. B. M. Phillips, J. T. Prendiville, M. P. J. Solly.

St Hugh's: A. N. G. Bird, J. A. Compton, N. A. Compton, M. F. Comyn, J. R. Dawson, J. D. Dowling, T. O. Dowling, R. B. H. Francis, P. J. Howell, G. T. D. Sandeman.

St John's: C. M. Brennan, J. S. Burford, M. S. Callow.

St Oswald's: M. J. Blake, J. F. Bourke, S. M. Craston, T. Eckhoff, P. P. Keohane, C. M. B. Ratcliffe, J. E. Spence.

St Thomas's: E. H. Briscoe, C. A. Campbell, N. R. Cape, M. S. Gallway, M. D. Guiver, M. M. Forsythe, R. P. C. Hooke, D. A. McCraith, J. G. Ruck Keene.

St Wilfrid's: P. O'K. Craven, A. D. Cumming, C. N. P. Entwisle, J. S. Feilding, F. O. A. Flynn, C. J. Fraser, N. P. V. Lewen, J. B. Lewis, J. F. B. Ward.

Junior House: P. H. M. Houghton.

AMPLEFORTH SCHOLARSHIPS 1971

MAJOR

| | |
|---|------|
| M. G. D. Giedroye—St Richard's | £300 |
| J. T. Gaisford St Lawrence—Farleigh House and Ampleforth | £300 |
| H. R. Willbourn—Aldwickbury | £300 |
| C. J. Poyser (Randolph Scholarship)—Junior House and Ampleforth | £300 |
| R. Fraser—St Philip's | £300 |
| G. E. Vincenti—St Bede's | £201 |
| E. S. Cumming-Bruce—Heatherdown | £201 |
| J. P. Scott—Holmewood House | £201 |
| T. G. Cooper (Hugh Dormer Scholarship)—Avisford | £201 |

MINOR

| | |
|--|------|
| R. D. Edmonds—Winterfold House | £102 |
| D. A. Humphrey—St Richard's | £102 |
| E. J. I. Stourton—Avisford | £102 |
| J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple—Farleigh House and Ampleforth | £75 |
| A. D. H. Lochhead—Carlekemp | £75 |
| D. J. Lonsdale—Moorlands | £75 |
| I. D. Macfarlane—Junior House, Ampleforth | £75 |
| C. N. Hunter Gordon—St Martin's | £75 |
| G. J. Knight—Holmewood House | £75 |
| J. A. Dundas—Junior House, Ampleforth | £51 |
| S. J. Hay—St Martin's | £51 |

HORACE PERRY

In January 1924 there were 180 boys in the school—250 if you count the Preparatory School as well. The Big Passage was the easternmost limit of the buildings. The present Junior House was occupied by the Preparatory School. The Junior House—then called Lower School—was tucked away modestly in part of the region now occupied by St Aidan's and St Dunstan's

The site of the Upper Building was a kitchen garden—of the Science and Classroom Block an orchard. The site of St Cuthbert's was some sort of paddock.

Fr Edmund Mathews—later Abbot Mathews—was Headmaster and he appointed a new music master, Horace Perry. Mr Perry, as he was known by generations of boys, arrived by train at Gilling and proceeded by a horse drawn vehicle to Oswaldkirk. He has lived there for the last 47 years. The village itself probably experienced less change in its way of life in the 400 years before his arrival than in the 47 years since. The school he came to work in has grown fourfold, which means that barely a quarter of what is here now was built when Horace Perry arrived. It is not suggested that his arrival unleashed the forces of change and development, but the bare facts of his period of service on the School staff emphasise what an interesting period he lived through at Ampleforth. He has always looked so much younger than his age that one could easily forget what a link he was with the past. Moreover, although he was never suspected of being revolutionary, he seemed to welcome change and adapted easily to new situations. He served under four Headmasters and was equally loyal to each in turn.

He has now retired to live in his house in Oswaldkirk and to continue teaching at Mrs Perry's Academy—his wife's school for young children which, as everyone knows, is no less renowned in the neighbourhood than the College. He teaches French and Music, so he will still have a formative influence on at least some future Amplefordians.

During all his 47 years on the staff at Ampleforth there was no boy who learnt music who did not owe something to Horace Perry. In spite of his formidable qualifications, patience and cheerful forbearance in the face of his pupils' sometimes appalling musicianship were his most memorable characteristics. He had been a Music Scholar of his college at Oxford and distinguished himself at the Royal Academy—where he used to accompany a fellow student, later Sir John Barbirolli, at concerts. At Ampleforth he taught piano and singing and occasionally had the added interest of an organ pupil, for he was a Fellow of the Royal College of Organists as well. To all who got to know him and to appreciate his gentleness and the reassuring optimism of his approach to life the most surprising fact about his previous experience was that he had served in the trenches in the Royal Fusiliers from 1916 to the end of the War. His were not the qualities one would naturally expect to survive so hideous an experience, but we were reminded that he had been through it all when he became an important figure in the local Home Guard in 1940.

The best thing about Horace Perry's retirement from one of his teaching posts is that he remains a near neighbour in Oswaldkirk. When the demands of the other post in Mrs Perry's Academy are not too heavy we hope to see him regularly for years to come, for he will always be remembered with affection at Ampleforth and by many generations of Old Boys.

CLIFFORD BLAKSTAD has also retired from the Staff. For fourteen years he proved himself a loyal and conscientious member of the Mathematics department, teaching at most levels in the School. Mr Blakstad was also a devoted servant of the Common Room, holding the onerous office of Steward for two years and serving on the Steering Committee. He will be much missed as a colleague, and our very best wishes go with him and Mrs Blakstad for a long and happy retirement.

Mr Edward Miller has left after teaching Mathematics for the past two terms. We shall particularly miss his erudite and illuminating dramatic reviews for the JOURNAL. We were also fortunate in securing (for the term) the services of Mr Stuart Griffiths, a former Lecturer in English at the University of Nottingham. Our thanks and good wishes go to both these gentlemen, and to Mr Philip Hines, a post-graduate at St John's College, York, who assisted the English department for two months during the term.

OUR congratulations to . . .

Mr and Mrs Dammann on the birth of a daughter, Sophie, on 15th May.

Mr and Mrs Gilbert on the birth of a boy, William, on 16th May.

Mr Hudson on his marriage to Miss Susan Jackson on 17th July.

CONGRATULATIONS also to . . .

M. W. B. Faulkner, who has been awarded a Reserved Cadetship for the Royal Navy.

N. O. Fresson and P. D. W. Garbutt, who have been awarded Army Scholarships.

PARENTS' MEETINGS

It was in January 1969 that the pioneer gathering of a few Ampleforth parents met with the Headmaster and the Housemaster of St Wilfrid's, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Judd. Many of those present that first day would probably confess to a certain feeling of reservation—a slight doubt that there was anything to be gained from such a "trendy" innovation. After all had not Ampleforth been doing a good job for a very long time without parental involvement of this sort?

Since then, nearly three years and fourteen other similar meetings have passed and perhaps it is time to examine what, in fact, has resulted from this scheme. Has it been of benefit to the parents? Has it been of any use to the Headmaster and staff? Last but not necessarily least, what do our sons think of it all?

That it has met a need where parents are concerned seems beyond dispute. At the fourteen meetings so far arranged, there has been an average of thirty parents at each gathering. This high response (it represents something near a 70 per cent acceptance rate), came as a surprise to the organisers, who had based their forecast on the cocktail party hope "50

per cent are sure to refuse." Adjustments had to be made after one inclement winter meeting found itself with over sixty guests—encouraging, but a trifle unwieldy.

That Fr Patrick should consider the idea of sufficient importance to commit himself to a regular two meetings a term, in spite of his heavily loaded schedule, seems to speak for itself. The Housemasters so far involved have expressed themselves as being in favour of the idea, which they have found helpful.

What, in clear terms, has this Parent/Staff liaison achieved? Most obvious, and also most important, must be the creating of new channels of communication and the removal of those inhibitions which existed as a result of little direct contact. From those who attended a meeting in the informal atmosphere of a parents' home, the general comment seems to be that no one will ever feel apprehensive of approaching Fr Patrick again. The "figurehead" has given place to the man and contact has been made.

Though this is less of a problem with the Housemaster, it is still an ordeal to many parents to initiate the first meeting when visiting their first year sons. To these, the knowledge that parent/monk gatherings do take place and are considered important, is a help in approaching the staff over those inevitable teething troubles that seem so embarrassingly trivial.

This might be the moment to mention that various area groups are seriously considering holding annual meetings with a Housemaster present to introduce such new parents as would care to come, so that routine questions could be answered and contact and perhaps friendships could be made early in a boy's school career. Since Fr Patrick cannot hope to cover the whole country in less than a three year cycle, it could well be that a boy was near leaving, before a meeting was available in his parents' locality. If the only result of these meetings was that successive generations of new boys could be saved the misery of arriving for the school train embarrassingly clad in suit and black tie, then such meetings would have justified their existence.

From the Housemasters' point of view, it must be a consolation to have real evidence that parents are aware of the difficulties of the job they give over to them and anxious to be intelligently involved in the many problems that arise. The more parents can discover about the strengths and limitations implicit in an institutional life such as that of a public school, and equally, the more the monks can become familiar with the stresses, pressures and standards of present day family life, the more co-operation between home and school will become a reality, to the obvious benefit of that third group, the boys around whom all this is structured.

The "grapevine" reports that the concept has met with some approval in the school, despite the inescapable disadvantage that "informed" parents are less receptive to their boys' unfounded complaints!

For the future, there will be three autumn meetings, in Edinburgh, Co. Durham and Yorkshire. Fr Patrick and a Housemaster will be present at each.

For parents' convenience, two lists have been compiled and will be kept up to date. One covers the accommodation available in the Ampleforth area, with information as to type—hotel, boarding house, etc, its cost and the distance from the school. The other is a list of London parents who are willing to meet, house and look after boys in transit or up in Town for interviews or exams.

Contributions to either of these lists may be sent to Mrs Judd, Fairways, Miles Lane, Cobham, Surrey, who will be most grateful.

The response has now reached the point where it seems a good idea to appoint area "contacts" to co-ordinate the various activities in their localities and to initiate gatherings at which old and new parents can meet to their mutual pleasure and both can enjoy closer contact with the school.

The names and addresses of these secretaries are listed at the end of this article. Between them they cover a large slice of the country, but the coverage is by no means total and there is room for many more volunteers.

The pioneer days of the scheme are over. If we want it to continue and expand to meet new needs as they arise, then many more people will be needed to contribute their time and talents. The school has done more than its share in terms of encouragement and help. It is for parents to recognise that the future is in their hands.

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| Yorkshire (except North) | } | Mrs D. J. L. Moorhouse | Darren House, Aberford, Yorks. |
| Durham | | | |
| Northumberland | } | Mrs J. F. Quigley | 2 Cottingvale, Morpeth, Northumberland. |
| North Yorkshire | | | |
| Midlands | } | Mrs R. P. Lister | 35 Warwick Avenue, Coventry. |
| Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lines. | | | |
| Bucks., Herts., Oxon, Beds. | } | Mrs J. G. L. Spence | Hassalls, Higham, Colchester, Essex. |
| | | | |
| Kent, East Sussex | } | Mrs J. G. Cramer | Ethorpe House, Packhorse Road, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks. |
| | | | |
| London | } | Mrs James Dawson | Searles, Langton Green, Tunbridge Wells, Kent. |
| | | | |
| Surrey, Herts., West Sussex | } | Mrs P. J. Gaynor | 24 Edwardes Square, London, W.8. |
| Scotland | | | |
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| | } | Mrs F. Bishop | 4 West Shore, Pittenweem, Fife. |
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THE BIG STUDY AND ALL THAT

The large Victorian school room known to generations of Amplefordians as The Big Study was a fine and far-sighted concept when it was built in 1860. It provided work space for prep for the whole school at that time in conditions which were probably considered to be lavish. It is a very

Both actors started off diffidently—(probably first-night "nerves" on each occasion)—but then, gaining confidence, both warmed to the part and achieved excellent performances, culminating in the *scène à faire* of the deposition, which is the play's real climax. Here I thought both players showed too much deliberation. The deposed monarch appeared to be too ratiocinative, whereas Richard (a connoisseur in emotions) should have luxuriated in his griefs—but this, I would add, is purely a personal opinion, which others might not share and which they might, indeed, regard as hypercriticism. However, to judge their performances by the most stringent standards of criticism is, in fact, to pay the highest compliment to the acting of two very promising young players.

Excellent supporting performances came from Peter Willis as Bolingbroke, who, his star ascendant, very properly dominated the final scenes; from Sebastian Roberts and Michael Walker, as the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury respectively—with especially clear articulation, both were very natural throughout; and in a smaller part, from Cyril Kinsky as the Bishop of Carlisle, combining in a fine cameo portrait dignity with integrity. As Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Anthony Bird gave one of the best performances of the evening, so that one regretted that his part concluded so early in the play; to a very confident ease of manner, he brought the clearest of enunciation and variety of vocal tone. (I should, indeed, have very much liked to have seen him in the rôle of Richard—but it would have been asking too much of the director to have him rehearse yet another actor in the part.)

Exigencies of space permit reference to only a few of the other parts. Robin Schlee made a very gallant attempt at the part of John of Gaunt, the ageing Duke of Lancaster—(an old man's part is always very difficult for a boy)—but in his most famous speech he did not sufficiently suggest either the inspired, though embittered, patriot, or a man almost in *extremis*, struggling for breath. (It was, I thought, a mistake to have a microphone for this speech; the use of a microphone, though concealed, was immediately obvious to the ear, and, at one of the performances I attended, the flex, unfortunately, patent to the eye.) Very competent performances came from Mark Fitzgeorge-Parker as the Duke of Aumerle and from Ned Clarence-Smith as Edmund, Duke of York, although I felt that the latter did not fully give the impression of incompetent fussiness which is an essential part of York's make-up, and tended to break up the rhythm of his speeches with pauses at the end of each clause.

Among the smallest parts, notable performances came from James Jennings in the doubled parts of Messenger and Groom, and from Simon Hall and Andrew Duncan as the gardeners in a scene that proved highly diverting—and satisfying—to the groundlings. On the distaff side, Giles Collins as the Queen was very moving, and John Bruce-Jones and Dominic Pearce both acted well. All of them showed a good ear for the rhythms of their speeches, but all three showed some deficiency in gesture—always a difficult matter for boys playing female parts, even, I suspect, for the boy-actors of Elizabethan days.

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A famous hotel recently extended by the addition of a new bedroom wing. There are now 37 rooms and many have a private bath.

THIRSK. Golden Fleece Hotel, Market Place, Telephone 23108.
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long time now since it became inadequate numerically and other rooms had to be provided to give similar prep accommodation to the Houses as the school expanded. It was not however possible to find room for all the desks required and since the War an increasing number of boys have existed without either a desk or a room. They had a locker in the passage and lived a peripatetic life finding a different desk each time or a space in the Library for their private work.

The problem was not only one of space and the provision of desks. The desks themselves were not large enough to provide room for the increasing number of books and files which a boy—even quite low down in the school—needs for his work and also for the development of his private interests.

These two problems have been solved by the provision of carrells for all the boys in the school who do not have a sixth form room. By extensive re-organisation and the provision of extra space in the temporary building on the range room has been found for these carrells within easy reach of the classrooms.

The two photographs—before and after—show the impact of this change in the Big Study. Instead of 170 desks it is now furnished with 103 carrells and is no longer used as a passage-way.

The carrells were designed by Arup Associates to our specifications. They provide each boy with ample working space and bookshelves together with a drawer and a cupboard which he can lock with his own padlock. Not only does it provide him with a good space for his work—in sharp contrast to the old desks—but also gives him an acceptable base for his own private reading and the development of his interests.

The effect of this change on the school is not confined to the Big Study and other studies which have been provided. The Big Study is now carpeted in carpet tiles and the Library below it also. This has reduced the noise level in the School Library dramatically to the great advantage of those working there. Moreover, since the boys in the lower part of the school have all been given carrells to work in, the Library has once again been restored to the exclusive use of the Sixth Form who are working for A levels or University Entrance. It has thus been restored to its role as the "workshop" of the Sixth Form. Others who need to use the Library for their work can obtain permission from the master involved.

The whole development has certainly given the School at every level incomparably better working conditions and one hopes to see the effect of this increasingly as time goes on.

N.P.B.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee in the summer term was composed of Fr Brendan, Fr Leo (Secretary), Mr Moreton, Mr Newton, R. Twohig, N. Clarence Smith and S. Clayton. The Committee discussed a number of points of wide interest, including Goremire Day, economy in the school, availability

of public telephones, and absenteeism from class through sickness or school matches. The urge to re-establish Goremire Day was met with arguments founded on the imminence of public examinations, the high cost, well-founded doubts about its popularity, dangers involved through accidents on roads and elsewhere and the difficulty of having hundreds of boys walking through other people's farms. Economy raised many difficult issues, and the Committee felt unable to make detailed proposals, but pointed to a number of areas where further examination might be profitable. These included the college beagles, the golf course, and the issue of exercise books. The Steering Committee asked other bodies to consider a number of other matters, and promoted an Open Meeting for the staff on the subject of Communication, at which various suggestions were made; notably that staff meetings should be held more frequently, so that there would be either a full staff meeting or else faculty meetings each Saturday. Publication of sick lists was asked for, but in this, as in a number of other areas on which the Steering Committee touched, there is a danger of Ampleforth establishing bureaucratic procedures which we are unable to maintain.

G.F.L.C.

AMPLEFORTH MUSICAL SOCIETY

Sunday, 9th May, 1971

IMOGEN COOPER (piano)

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. Three Posthumous Pieces | Shubert |
| 2. Sonata in C minor Op. 13 (Pathétique) | Beethoven |
| 3. Hungarian Rhapsody No 8 in F sharp minor | Liszt |
| 4. Oiseaux Tristes Une Barque sur l'océan | } from "Miroirs" Ravel |
| 5. Reminiscences from Donizetti's "Lucia di Lammermoor" | |

It was a great pleasure to have Imogen Cooper back with us at Ampleforth. Her playing has lost nothing of its distinction; her poise and assurance in everything she performed made up for a rather conservative programme, while she brought to Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody an aristocratic brilliance that commanded belief. Equally sincere and moving was her playing of the famous *Adagio* in Beethoven's *Pathétique* sonata, and the three posthumous pieces of Schubert with which she opened her recital. Individually these unpretentious pieces are delightful to listen to, but all three together with their somewhat lengthy repeats are not an ideal programme ingredient. I wish we could hear some of Schubert's Dances occasionally: some are among his finest inspirations (as are the Mazurkas among Chopin's works), yet they are very rarely heard on the concert platform. Miss Cooper's cool, translucent playing of two pieces from Ravel's "Miroirs" encourages me to hope that I may persuade her to bring one of Hindemith's fine sonatas with her on her next visit (may it be soon!); they are shamefully neglected by our pianists, though his organ sonatas have long become staple fare in the organ loft. They need someone

as persuasive as Miss Cooper to display their fine writing for the keyboard and make them more widely known.

It must be first the dedication of an artist to the highest standards that commands our respect, and there is no question but that Miss Cooper is such an artist. But in addition to this we were aware of a most charming and delightful personality behind the professionalism of the pianist, an ability to communicate that evoked a ready response from her attentive and enthusiastic audience.

This recital was the first to be given on the renovated concert grand that Ampleforth has just purchased from two gifts of money (see Mr Dowling's article in the last *Journal*). I join with him in thanking the donors, though I wish I could summon more enthusiasm for the instrument we have bought. The weakness of its treble register is a great pity. Let us hope it will improve in time.

Lastly, a word of thanks to Mr Best for his expert lighting of the platform on this occasion. It probably went unnoticed by the audience, but nevertheless contributed in no small degree to making this concert so enjoyable, as did the complete absence of noise in the galleries—a record, surely, for this concert-hall.

B.V.

THE LIBRARY

SEVERAL aspects of the Library have developed recently. Cecil Hunt, who for years innumerable tended the floor and furniture of the Library with loving care, retired at the beginning of 1970, and so far as the care of the floor was concerned, proved irreplaceable. As a result of this, and of developments elsewhere, the entire floor is now carpeted, which solves not only the polish problem but also in great measure the noise problem, as well as greatly improving the appearances. The furniture has been re-arranged, as much to support the new look as to better conditions of study: this is supported by the improved House studies, which make it possible to restrict use of the Library to those for whom it is really meant, the VI Form.

The old bookshop—opposite the Games Room—has been acquired as a bookstack, and has been fitted with shelves on both sides. This gives room for about three thousand volumes but is already about half full. The design and working drawings were the work of one of the then junior librarians, G. Gretton; the shelves were fabricated in the Joiners Shop and erected and finished by the other librarians. When the printers moved from under the Theatre, we were able to acquire this space as a Library workroom. Though awkward in wet weather, it is otherwise very helpful, since it gives a separate space for office, store and new book processing. A fourth development has been slow but continuous work on catalogue revision and improvement made possible by part time help from Mrs Hartless, who lives locally but used to work in the Public Library system in Leeds. When complete, the Catalogue will be a great deal more use.

This is an opportunity to pay public thanks to two considerable benefactors, Mr Kenneth Greenlees and Mr P. A. M. Hughes, whose gifts have enabled us to buy a number of substantial works which we could not otherwise have afforded, or afforded to duplicate (now very necessary), and to add to our resources a typewriter, which greatly aids the production of legible catalogue cards. Here also we should like to thank all those who have given us material of various kinds in recent months: all who give books are recorded in the Benefactors Book, which may be seen on request. Further, we would like to thank Mr R. A. Goodman, Senior Chemistry Master 1926-68, and the Salters Company for substantial gifts to the Science Library.

The Library continues to grow in extent and complexity. It would not be possible to maintain it without the generous and freely given help of the boys who work, and have in the past worked, as Librarians. (Fr Anselm is forcibly reminded of this every holidays, when he has to do all the jobs himself.) It is one of the older forms of service in the school, and one less glamorous, perhaps, and less noticed, than others not so central to the School's function: and it is sad to have to admit that as standards of social behaviour decline more of the Librarians' energy is turned aside to the clearing of debris. This may be one reason why Librarians, although every bit as good as yesterday's men, are harder to come by. Nevertheless, we are greatly indebted to the Librarians for their hard work.

AN AMPLEFORTH HISTORIAN

We were delighted to see that Christopher Weaver of St Hugh's, a second-year Sixth Former, has had an article published in the October issue of *History Today*. His subject was "Ramon Mercader and the Assassination of Leon Trotsky" and this was originally written as a Prize Thesis, for which he received an Alpha Award. It achieved wider circulation when it was printed last term in the fifth issue of *Grid*.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE FILM SOCIETY

The Society has seen a diverse selection of films in the last two terms and Fr Stephen is to be thanked for his tireless work. It is important, I think, to maintain a certain continuity in selecting films for the A.F.S.; where this has been recently attempted the interest of the Society has undoubtedly been greater. Directors and actors change their ideas and style as much as writers: to have seen Fellini's "La Strada" after '81" the previous term was a remarkable revelation of the development of his art. Similarly "Bofors Gun" and "The Reckoning" were both produced by the same team and included two subtly different personalities, both superbly portrayed by Nicol Williamson. Bergmann's "So Close to Life" was a masterpiece of sensitivity and insight into the minds and emotions of three women in a maternity ward. For those who have seen "Easy Rider" the 1950's counterpart, "Exterminating Angel", while drawing interesting thematic comparisons, also represented ideas with contemporary relevance. "Adalen '31" was concerned with human tenderness and the camera moved through every sphere of human life with acute sensitivity; it was hard not to be sympathetic with the strikers of Adalen, the soldiers and the rich at the same time. The film showed both the inevitable general social conflict and the human relationships involved at a closer level. Finally we had the well-known love story "Hiroshima Mon Amour".

The films were greatly appreciated by very receptive audiences. Many thanks are due to the Cinema staff, and to the Committee, Julian Dawson and Charles Lochrane.

(President: Fr Stephen)

TIM BERNER, Hon. Sec.

THE JUDO CLUB

The Club was started in the summer of 1970, with P. Baxter as Captain, and has prospered.

We attended our first grading session in November and the following gained their yellow belts: P. Baxter, H. Kirby, A. FitzGerald, T. Bidie, P. Carrington, A. Gray, T. Fitzherbert, S. Heywood, C. Rigby, F. Callen.

Training every week, and with some new members we were soon eager for another grading.

We attended the Ryedale Judo Club Championships this May and A. FitzGerald won the Intermediate class and S. Heywood was the runner-up in the Junior class. As a result of the competition the following now have their orange belts: H. Kirby, A. FitzGerald, A. Gray, T. Fitzherbert, S. Heywood, C. Rigby, and the following have attained their yellow belts: A. Hamilton, M. Donnelly, A. Ashbrooke, A. Corkery.

It is necessary at this point to mention that the Club owes its success purely to the President and to Mr Otterburn, who runs the Ryedale Judo Club and helps us train, and we are very grateful to them both.

(President: Mr Callaghan)

H. KIRBY, Captain.

THE JUNIOR SOCIETY

THE year has not so much been one of great new achievements, radical reforms or the trying out of original new ideas, but more, one of consolidation and improvement of various aspects of the Society already fairly well established. The most obvious improvement has been that of the J.S. room itself.

The fortnightly socials were a greater success than ever before. Many guests were invited including lay masters, monks, school monitors and some matrons, and, more important, a large percentage attended and appeared to enjoy themselves. It is here that we have gained most ground. An average of 30 boys were invited to each social and most of these did not, as used to be the case, indulge in violent scrambles for food, but, as the year progressed, they started to converse with the guests. In the Easter Term there was a social for all the matrons, some of whom helped with the "Bring and Buy" which, under Gervaise Hood's supervision, gained £27 for the Society. We are indebted to them all for their help, especially to Mrs Mackay and Mrs Davis, and also to those who so generously donated goods for the "Bring and Buy". And there is yet another person who deserves special mention: Mrs Skehan. She went to the trouble to organise a Garden Fête, the proceeds of which (more than £100), she donated to the Society. Words cannot fully express the gratitude we feel towards her.

Great improvement has been made to the J.S. cottage near Hawbnby and it is now not just habitable but extremely pleasant. For this our thanks are due to Mrs Fitzgeorge-Parker, Steve Doyle, and most of all to the tireless Mr Hawksworth.

In the Summer Term a trip to Burton Constable Hall was arranged on one of the whole-holidays. Another event at the very beginning of the year was the sponsored cycle ride on which Anthony Foll and Simon Finlow cycled 330 miles from Liphook in Hampshire to Ampleforth. We must thank all the sponsors for their great generosity (though perhaps those who donated 1/- per mile were being more generous than they suspected). From this the Society gained a further £100.

Another addition to the Society's finances has been the sale of crisps in the room. Mr Dawkins keeps a careful watch on our accounts and expects that we should make a reasonable profit. For his work he deserves our gratitude as does Mrs Dawkins.

One thing which ran rather less smoothly was the organisation of the individual societies such as football, water-polo, chess and a few

others. These plodded on as always but were low in number and, with the possible exception of water-polo, low in membership. There were, however, some successful tournaments. Stephen Mahony was responsible for a couple of chess tournaments and Michael Martin organised a table-tennis competition. Stephen Mahony also produced a number of News-letters to explain developments to members; and at Exhibition a magazine was produced by Peter Rylands, an achievement with which he and his helpers may be well pleased. Another event at Exhibition was a Sherry Party which, contrary to many expectations, was a tremendous success and was attended by an almost unbelievable number of parents. There was another social on the following day given for all those who helped the society throughout the year. This, too, was enjoyed by those who came.

The Society has achieved more on the social side than on the activities side. Almost every job that was undertaken was done enthusiastically and well. There were, as always, the few who did none of the work and all the complaining, but it is perhaps indicative of the strength of the Society that they made very little impression. It was those who put most into the Society who got most out of it, e.g. John Rochford and his Bar Committee.

The Society itself was run by a committee consisting of Simon Finlow, Gervaise Hood, "Buffer" Durkin and Philip Marsden, who all put in their share of hard work. To this number were added Nick Plummer, Charles Ellingworth and Simon Lintin who will take over next term. Next year's Bar Committee will include John White, Paddy Daly and Mark Norvid who joined it this term. Richard Gorst will take over the running of the cottage from Steve Doyle who proved himself very capable. Finally, I am sure that all those who know Fr Ignatius will agree that without him the Junior Society would not be quite the same. His endless work, patience and personality have carried it through all its black spots and it is to a large extent due to him that it has got so far. For this we can only thank him.

S. R. FINLOW.

VISIT TO MESSRS FERRANTI LTD. AT WYTHENSHAW

ON Ascension Day, 20th May, a party of eight masters and boys visited the Information Systems Group, part of the Electronic and Display Equipment Division of Messrs Ferranti Ltd. In his introductory remarks Mr Colin Roberts, leader of the group, congratulated us on our efforts to bridge the gulf between academic education and modern technology. He said that although a large part of our equipment might be old, yet the education gained in making it work and then using it will still be useful in a more modern context. (Colin Roberts is particularly well placed to know how old our equipment is, most of it has been consigned to the scrap-heap by his own research and development teams and saved by him on our behalf.) He went on to stress his industry's interest in the systems

analyst as a person able to see a complex industrial or other system as a whole, both the men and the machines involved, rather than one with a more narrow and academic vision of one topic which, however important in itself, could seldom be the whole story in any practical application.

We were then shown a tape/slide show of the Automation Systems Division, the other major division in this factory, which we were unable to visit in the time available. The show covered, *inter alia*, the BOADICEA system of computer controlled aircraft ticket booking from any BOAC office for any BOAC aircraft, developed by Ferrantis, and tape controlled machine tools. The taped commentary controlled two automatic slide projectors to show us pictures or diagrams relevant to the subject under discussion.

We were then taken on a tour of four development projects, in each of which the person in charge of the project explained his work and demonstrated the equipment to us.

The first equipment, demonstrated by Mr Colin Roberts and Mr John Bottomley, was the latest hybrid computer, being built under Government contract. This combines the usual analogue advantage of ease of programming to simulate continuous systems with all three hybrid facilities—use of digital logic to control the analogue machine, use of digital arithmetic to supplement the inferior accuracy of the analogue machine and use of the digital machine to analyse the results. When the system is complete it will be able to simulate systems as disparate as a guided missile and an oil refinery. For our benefit it was required only to draw ellipses on a large graph plotter, a beautiful instrument which drew solicitous enquiries about its likely date of obsolescence.

The second system, demonstrated by Mr I. S. Lund, was a command and control centre under development for the Birmingham police force. Here we saw a simulated 999 call followed by the direction of patrol and panda cars which were in the area and not already engaged on other calls to deal with "our" call. We also saw how existing procedures were used as far as possible in the computer display system, to ease the transition of operators from earlier systems to the new one.

We had an excellent lunch at La Bonne Auberge and the necessary stimulus to thought processes after it was supplied by Mr R. Jones on a display system which can be linked to any computer and can then be used in the assessment of tactical or strategical war game problems or in the design of an integrated electronic circuit.

Finally we saw a Home Office contract involving research on the problems of speeding up the present extremely laborious process of fingerprint comparison and identification. Here the demonstrators were Mrs J. Elliott and Mr M. R. Peace.

After these demonstrations we saw a film showing the whole span of Ferranti interests in this country and in Europe, America and Australia. A lasting impression gained not only from the film but from the people we met was of an obviously contented work force, from senior management who had mostly been with the company twenty years and more to

over two thousand employees who have received awards for forty years' continuous service in the company. With the industrial troubles of 1971 in mind, and a recent statistic quoted by one author that fifty per cent of the country's work force changes jobs in less than two years, this made a pleasant change. With the company's technical achievements in mind—first to make a viable electrical power station, first in the world to make a commercial electronic digital computer, among the leaders in the country in several other electrical and electronic engineering fields, this makes a record of which any company could justly be proud.

One has known other companies with equally good records who were less generous to visitors, but to crown their hospitality Mr John Bottomley, a senior electrical engineer, piloted us through Manchester's traffic for the last hour of our arrival and the first hour of our departure, having first helped us load the bus with enough of his cast-off electronic equipment for us to make three excellent instructional analogue computers. Not content with this he personally found and copied circuit diagrams, or drew them again for us where the drawings had been destroyed.

All of us who were on this thoroughly interesting, enjoyable and profitable visit would like to express our sincere thanks to Ferrantis, and especially to Colin Roberts, John Bottomley, and all those who demonstrated equipment to us. We hope that as many as possible of them will come to Ampleforth in September, where only those of them who are interested in industrial archaeology are likely to recognise much of the equipment, but we hope that the weather and the valley will make up for that.

A.I.D.S.

THE PENNINE WAY

8th-21st JULY 1971

As a break from the normal type of C.C.F. camp, it was decided this year to try the Pennine Way, a public right of way from Edale, Derbyshire, to Kirk Yetholm, Scotland. The plan was that boys should walk from Edale to Hadrian's Wall, about 200 miles, and then choose whether to continue. It was hoped that we would be able to complete the whole walk in 14 days, getting to the Wall in 11.

The party consisted of 26 boys and five adults; Fr Stephen and Martin Harrison formed a long-suffering and indispensable support party, and the walkers were divided into five groups. Preliminary training consisted of a map-reading exercise over the Moors and the Lyke Wake Walk, a 40-mile path from Osmotherley to Ravenscar.

The expedition left at 11.30 on Thursday, 8th July, arrived in Edale at 2.45, and set off immediately in bright sunshine to get to Crowden before dark, a distance of 15 miles over Kinder Scout and Bleaklow. Luckily the ground was dry and the visibility good and so this difficult section was satisfactorily negotiated; all arrived by 10.00 p.m. at a mosquito-infested camp site. It was easy to see how the featureless top, the monotonous peat hags and the size of the Peak plateau make navigation difficult in bad weather.

After an almost sleepless night the groups set off early on the long second day to Mankinholes, near Hebden Bridge. After a tiring walk up Black Hill, whose summit was aptly named, we headed for the Standedge Cutting where the support party provided lunch. Afterwards there was a difficult crossing of Featherbed Moss, a very soft peat bog, and then several miles of dull featureless moorland whose monotony was alleviated by two sights, the magnificent new footbridge on the M62 motorway and the view from Blackstone Edge. After this, there was another monotonous walk

along several miles of waterway roads, which link the numerous reservoirs of the region. The day ended when we caught sight of our orange H.Q. tent in the valley below and we descended gratefully to Mankinholes. This tent was ideal for raising spirits for the last few miles of a journey and, on occasion, acted as a beacon.

The following day was hot and muggy, which combined with the dull scenery made walking difficult. For the Brontë enthusiasts, however, it was far from dull because the route passed Withins Heights, the farmhouse associated with "Wuthering Heights". After lunch, just beyond Withins, we crossed Ickornshaw Moor and descended through pleasant fields to arrive at Lothersdale, our third camp site, 60 miles from Edale.

The next day the weather was really too hot for walking and our route was mainly through farmland in boiling sun with hardly a breath of wind. The ascent of Pinhaw Beacon provided the best views of the day and the most pleasant walk was along the Leeds-Liverpool canal. In the afternoon we completed the journey along the Airedale Railway. In the evening an outing was made to Gordale Scar, where some managed to climb to the top and refresh themselves under the waterfall.

The combined effect of sun and exhaustion began to be felt the next morning when two of the party felt weak and sick. Unfortunately they were the first of several, but 24 hours' rest was usually enough to recuperate. On this day, the Duke of Edinburgh Award group set off on their silver expedition and rejoined the main party three days later at Thwaite. In addition to walking this section of the Pennine Way, they had to carry all their kit, and they did very well to complete their expedition in such hot weather.

The walk from Malham to Horton in Ribblesdale was one of the finest of the whole Way. The route started with the ascent of Malham Cove, a massive limestone cliff, then crossed the limestone pavement on the top and followed a dry valley up to Malham Tarn, a large lake situated incongruously in a waterless limestone landscape. The walk up Fountains Fell was made easier by a cool breeze and the summit was memorable for its curiously shaped cairns and mining relics. The ascent of Penyghent formed the climax of the day because of its magnificent views and during the descent to Horton in Ribblesdale a visit was made to two impressive potholes, Hunt pot exposed as a narrow slit and Hull pot which appears as a massive hole in the ground.

The two days from Horton to Bowes were marked by a similar pattern, some very hard work, but always rewarded with fine views. On the way up Cam Fell several potholes were passed and some made a detour to Browgill Cave and ventured up it as far as natural light would allow. The climb over Cam Fell and round Dodd Fell was rewarded by fine views down Ribblesdale and Wensleydale, and the walking was made easier by the old packhorse routes, still well marked as "green roads". At Hawes, that evening a trip was made to Hardrow Force, the highest waterfall in England, which at this season presented only a disappointing trickle of water. The next day a determined effort was made to reach Tan Hill Inn, the highest public house in England, before closing time. The route up Great Shunner Fell was long and tedious, but there was a fine view from the top down Swaledale. After passing through Thwaite, a delightful village at the head of that dale, we took a difficult high level route round Kidson, with commanding views over the valley. The final exhausting trudge up to Tan Hill was admirably rewarded by the cool pint at the inn, together with lunch. That night we camped beside the A66, three miles west of Bowes, 131 miles from Edale, and the following day crossed the moors to Teesdale.

The route from Middleton in Teesdale to Dufton is another memorable stretch of the Pennine Way. The Tees is a broad, fast-flowing and lively river, whose course tumbles over several spectacular features, notably the small series of waterfalls called Low Force, the high waterfall of High Force and the mountain torrent of Cauldron Snout. Each of which was made to appear more impressive by the quantity of water and the blue skies. We camped the night in Upper Teesdale and the following day went due west. The route passed by High Cup Nick, a steep-sided valley cut into the Whin Sill with a commanding view over the Eden valley. This layer of volcanic rock outcrops at several places along the Pennine Way, notably as crags in Teesdale and along Hadrian's Wall.

We camped at Dufton, another village of character, and were inspected by Brigadier Dyball and Major Astle. The latter provided us with transport to go to Warcop for showers. We are grateful to both of them for finding time to visit us, the former from his responsibilities as Deputy Commander, Northumbrian District, and the latter from heavy work involved in running the C.C.F. camps at Warcop Training Centre. On the following day we climbed to the highest point on the Pennine Way, Cross Fell (2,930 ft.) and were lucky to have superb all-round views—southwards to Ingleborough, westwards to the Lake District and northwards to the Cheviots. On the descent we passed the remnants of former lead mining activities and followed their access road to Garrigill.

Sunday was the final "compulsory" day and proved to be one of the most difficult. The route from Alston to Hadrian's Wall had little to offer of the scenic beauty or spectacular features which had been the reward for hard work on previous days; even the Wall, admittedly coming at the end of a long, hot day, was a disappointment. In the end, of the original 25 boys, 11 were successful in reaching the Wall without having a day off; eight boys opted to complete the walk.

After clearing up the camp site and rearranging the equipment, the reduced party continued the Way. A further section of the Wall was followed by forest which was made unpleasant by swarms of flies. We camped that night in the grounds of Brown Rigg Camp School at Bellingham and were refreshed by a good shower. The next day we took the detour to Hareshaw Linn, an attractive waterfall set in a wooded glen, and then an alternative route to avoid Redesdale Forest and the flies. This diversion proved more costly than was anticipated for there was hardly a track and at one moment we found ourselves confined by a military firing range on one side and a recently felled forest on the other.

The final day was the longest of the whole walk, 27 miles along the Cheviot Hills. We followed the border fence for some 15 miles and admired the views over Scotland and England. After lunch, the detour to the Cheviot was made as the clouds gathered, and two miles from the end it started to rain—the only heavy rain of the expedition, itself an indication of our good fortune. We arrived at Kirk Yetholm exhausted but cheerful, and those who had walked the full 270 miles claimed a free pint of Wainwright, whose guide is an essential document for anyone contemplating the walk.

It was a tough camp. The daily footslogging, the constant change of camp site, the very hot weather, not to mention the flies, provided a continual challenge. As a walk, there is an inbuilt rhythm of hard slog followed by a magnificent view or a spectacular sight, which relieves any prolonged sense of boredom. There is a great sense of achievement at the end, and a good lesson in geography has incidentally been taught, not to mention other lessons in camping, walking and cooking.

A permanent record of the expedition on film was made by Fr Stephen, assisted by two camera crews (Jeremy Deedes and John Durkin up to the Wall, and Richard Skinner and Richard Killingbeck after it). Although not a chronological account, it does bring out some of the sights and stresses of such an expedition.

I should like to thank Mr John Stewart, Mr Paul Russell, Fr Edmund and Fr Osmond for giving up their holiday to help on the expedition; their assistance was invaluable. Finally a special word of thanks to the support party whose efficiency and competence ensured the smooth running of the camp.

THE PARTY

| | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Br Timothy* | Fr Edmund | Mr Russell* | Mr Stewart | P. Westmacott* |
| J. Durkin | N. Fresson | P. Langdale | A. Haughton | A. Hamilton |
| J. Deedes | J. Petit | S. Mathews | R. Skinner* | J. Rochford |
| J. Barber* | W. Doherty | I. Gregory | R. Killingbeck | P. Rylands* |
| A. Bates | | P. Roche | W. Braithwaite | C. Francis |
| M. Cooper | | J. Lochrane | M. Staveley- | P. Viner |
| | | M. Heath | Taylor | |

* Completed the whole Pennine Way.

BR TIMOTHY.

THE ROVERS

The Rover year was interesting in the variety of additional opportunities offered to the members. The number of Rovers went down to around fifty but there were enough boys willing to take part in the activities proposed outside the regular commitments to make them worthwhile. Among these were visits to families in Leyland and to the Middlesbrough Secondary School which turned out to be very valuable eye-openers for everyone to different ideas and ways of living.

The organisational capacity of the Committee was taxed to the full, and at times it made heavy weather of its work. In the Autumn Term it took on the job of planning the School Retreat. This has its drawbacks, since, however the event is approached, it cannot please everybody. Nonetheless, as far as Retreats can be judged, this one was acceptable. A bonfire party was arranged for that term in order to raise money for an ambulance for Alne Hall. The event was a financial success and very entertaining—it included fireworks, a raffle and a guess-the-weight-of-the-pigs competition, sponsored by the Young Farmers.

The co-operation called for in such extra-curricular activities, more so in the busy Summer Term, is very great. Considering the small number of Rovers, it was encouraging, but I feel there could have been more. Behind this problem is the fact that the Rovers is no longer a real social unit within the School, and this appears to be a problem in more than one other Society. The members are more individualistic in their approach to the work than as part of a body, in itself this is no bad thing, but it results in a loss of corporate energy (or "umph", to quote Father Kieran). The Rover Room is empty except at beer socials three times a term, whereas before it has been a regular meeting place several times a week. Creating a Rover Room nearer to the centre of the School would certainly help as the present one is very much on the periphery, but the response must come to a greater extent from the boys themselves if the spirit of the Society is to revive.

However, the busiest time, the Summer Term, was on the whole a success. The visits to Leyland and Middlesbrough were returned. The families from Leyland enjoyed themselves enormously at the lakes, and were well nourished by the excellent catering of Mrs Davies; the Middlesbrough boys and girls must have beaten us in every conceivable sport. The Cheshire Homes Day, involving more than half of the Sixth Form, was blessed with a pleasant day and a very good tea made by the Lay Masters' wives. At Exhibition the parents were plagued by thousands of raffle tickets to raise money, for the Handicapped Children's Holiday, which brought in a profit of £130. Earl Ferrers kindly gave the first cash prize to his son, although alcohol and other oddsments went to the other lucky winners. For those not involved in Public Examination activities went on after Exhibition. A visit of Deaf Children, arranged by Mrs Charles-Edwards and organised by Simon Hall, came off successfully. Various games were played, and it was refreshing to see such evidently appreciative and unassuming children. The annual Cheshire Homes Fête for Alne Hall was held at Shack this year, a very grand affair in which the Rovers were asked to see to the side-shows, in conjunction with the boys from Wetherby Borstal.

Very many thanks are due to many willing people who have supported the Society during the year.

BORSTAL CAMP

As usual, eight senior Rovers joined forces with eight trainees from Wetherby Borstal for a week's work camp at Redcar Farm from 9th July. On the working days half of us went to the Cheshire Home at Alne Hall to paint the Occupational Therapy Room under the gentle guidance of Mrs. Maclean. While there we were amply supplied with meals—for which, many thanks. The other half of the party stayed at Redcar to lay a concrete path around the N.E. perimeter of the house. This we completed, thanks to the loan of Alan Dowkes' cement mixer. Meanwhile the organiser of the camp

Dermot McKibbin of St Cuthbert's House, was in the garden on the opposite side of the house, sleeping in the long grass between short spurts with a hoe on a small area of soil.

Taking its example from the organiser, this year's camp was perhaps more relaxed than usual. The weather was very hot, and most evenings were spent either in and around the lake, or at *The Fairfax Arms* with Pete Standish, the officer from Wetherby.

We enjoyed a brief visit from Mr Meach, the Governor at Wetherby.

THE HANDICAPPED CHILDREN'S HOLIDAY

There were less children this year as it had been felt that there were too many on previous camps. There were lots of old friends for some of us though, from the years before.

On Saturday afternoon, 17th July, they all arrived, and on Sunday families living in the area kindly had various children and helpers to tea, which was very much appreciated and helped a lot to break the ice at the beginning of the week.

When they weren't doing anything special, everyone amused themselves in the Junior House. The boy I was looking after was a champion snooker player and able tennis player in spite of being in a wheelchair, as I soon found out to my cost! This in addition to winning the Junior Archery Championship at the Paraplegic Olympic Games the day before he arrived! Most of the children were very similar in their outlook, even a couple of boys who usually stayed in wheelchairs going swimming in the lakes on the two days we went there—a feat which some of the less courageous helpers did not emulate! The rest spent most of their time on these days rowing in the boats, halting only for meals prepared by Audrey Milestone who I think is a culinary genius and kept up a superb standard in food for the whole week.

We had a much-appreciated visit to Flamingo Park Zoo and came away laden with large inflatable dolphins and the like. Mary Ackroyd and Conrad Martin entertained us to tea on the way back, which was very enjoyable indeed.

The second big outing of the holiday was to the seaside at Filey. We were blessed with good weather as usual. Unlike the previous experiences of the other camps we received no stares from passers-by and everyone was very nice. Again we stopped on the way back at the house of Sir Oscar and Lady Morland who produced another delicious tea.

The same evening Mr Lally gave us an entertaining and suitably mystifying conjuring performance and we were able to repay him and everyone else who had contributed to the success of the holiday by a film show followed by a short concert by Gerry and Judy Spence, both of which were very much enjoyed.

Besides the Ampleforth helpers there were also Miss Mackay, Father Kieran and Brother Paul. We are very grateful to Mary Ackroyd, Conrad Martin, Sir Oscar and Lady Morland, the various families and friends who took children out to tea and Gerry and Judy Spence for playing the guitar and singing for us on all occasions.

The children left on 24th July, all of them wishing they could stay, which was most gratifying for everyone concerned. We had to say goodbye for good to some of the older ones—no longer children—but look forward to seeing the others again next year.

SIMON O'MAHONY.

THE EXHIBITION

THIS year's Exhibition was held over the weekend beginning 5th June, when over a thousand of our parents and friends attended the various activities. Unfortunately, the weather also lived up to its Exhibition reputation and was distinctly cool during the whole weekend. Performances of Shakespeare's *Richard II* and Haydn's *Nelson Mass* were memorable highlights.

PRIZEWINNERS 1971

ALPHA

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|-----------------------------|--|
| Badenoch C. K. | Thai Buddhism |
| Buxton J. F. | Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle |
| Codrington R. J. | A Study in Complacency—Pearl Harbour |
| Cramer P. J. | Prisons and Prison Reform |
| Cronin J. A. J. | A Village in Normandy |
| Durkin J. A. | Paris Revolts, 1871 |
| Edmonds C. G. | Tragedy of Woman in three plays by Lorca |
| Flynn F. O. A. | Ethiopia |
| Fraser S. J. R. | <i>Art project</i> —Morocco |
| Gaisford St. Lawrence J. T. | <i>Art project</i> —Lord of the Rings |
| Gilbey F. N. | <i>Art folio</i> |
| Hamilton-Dalrymple H. R. | The Advanced Passenger Train and Inter-City Travel |
| Hamilton-Dalrymple J. J. | Sir J. B. Hobbs and Sir L. Hutton |
| Langdale P. M. F. | The Marquis de Montcalm |
| McDonnell J. G. | A Survey of Early Mine Workings in Upper Ryedale and Bilsdale, 1150-1650 |
| McKibbin D. A. | Thesis on the General Election, 1970 |
| Ritchie M. T. | <i>Art folio</i> |
| Roberts C. A. | Harvey and the circulation of the blood |
| Rothwell M. R. G. P. | The Last Days of the Romanovs, 15th March to 16th July |
| Staveley-Taylor M. R. | Richard III |
| Viner P. T. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Blanket Chest in Oak and Small Dinghy |
| Weaver M. C. | Ramon Mercader and the Assassination of Leon Trotsky |

TYPE C

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| Guthrie R. D. C. | The Planning, Organisation and Construction of a Maintenance Building 35 ft x 11 ft for the Golf Course |
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BETA I

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| Ainscough C. H. | The Brewing Process |
| Bidie T. C. | The Initial Bout—an analysis of the Battle of Britain |
| Bishop R. J. | <i>Art folio</i> |
| Bowie C. M. | Doncaster—A Study of Local Manufacture |
| Brodrick A. S. | Digital Computers |
| Callaghan S. G. | Oxford University—The Establishment |
| Coghlan N. I. | Napoleon on Elba, 1814-15 |
| Coghlan R. W. H. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Furniture for a Study |
| Compton J. A. | Guns and their development in early Europe |
| Dawson J. R. | <i>Art</i> —Posters 1970-71 |
| du Boulay T. R. H. | The Minnesingers |
| Entwisle C. N. P. | Yeaton Airport |
| Faber R. H. G. | British Farming, Past, Present and Future |

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| Faulkner H. E. B. | The Harmonic Series and its relatives |
| Faulkner M. W. B. | The Knights of Malta |
| Fitzalan Howard E. W. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Bedside Table |
| Fitzalan Howard H. J. N. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Nest of Tables in Mahogany and Oak Log Scuttle |
| Fraser S. J. R. | Morocco, Past and Present |
| Fuller T. G. | The Western Front |
| Henley M. E. D. | Lip Instruments |
| Hornvold-Strickland R. F. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Oak Dining Room Chair |
| Hubbard M. P. T. | Saint in Society |
| Laptev C. J. | Roumanian Monasteries |
| Lister M. E. | <i>Art folio</i> |
| McCarthy K. D. | Goddess of the Harvests—Annapurna Expedition |
| Nelson P. N. | The Whitby and Pickering Railway |
| Nosworthy L. F. H. | Two Journeys in France |
| Pearce J. P. | The Venerable Bede, his life and works and the monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth |
| | The First Triumvirate |
| Poyser D. G. | (1) <i>Art folio</i> |
| Roberts H. M. L. | (2) Three Great Confederate Cavalry Commanders |
| Roberts H. M. L. | Lundy |
| Slattery N. A. | D. H. Lawrence |
| Smyth J. V. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Lectern in Oak and a Jewel Cabinet |
| Sommer P. J. | The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536 |
| Spence D. W. R. | Lasers |
| Spencer J. F. | The Salmon |
| Townsend J. P. | The growth and development of Royal Tunbridge Wells |
| Treherne T. E. | The Assyrian Empire |
| Trowbridge S. J. | Industry in Rosedale |
| van Zeller N. H. | Review of Japan |
| Weaver P. G. K. | Garibaldi and the Risorgimento |
| Wettern T. H. | |

BETA II

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| Blake M. J. | Irish Farming |
| Codrington R. J. | Ernest Miller Hemingway |
| Comyn M. F. | Glaciation in the Ampleforth area |
| Cullinan T. P. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Jewel Cabinet in Mahogany |
| Deedes J. H. | Zionism |
| Feilding J. S. | Warwickshire Farming |
| Francis C. E. H. | $X^2 + Y^2 = 1$ — a family of curves |
| Garbutt P. D. W. | Bielefeld—a survey of a town |
| Geddes S. D. W. | The Prussian Army and the Unification of Germany |
| Glaister J. K. | The Industrial Revolution (including the socio-cultural aspects) |
| Hastings S. B. W. | Heraldry |
| Heywood S. | Aristotle's Theory of Motion |
| Holroyd C. J. A. | The Battle of Trafalgar |
| Mellon J. | The Common Market |
| Moorhouse J. M. | Germanicus Caesar |
| Oppe A. P. | Posters—Essay |
| Plummer R. M. F. | <i>Carpentry</i> —Oak Long John Table |
| Reilly D. G. J. | The Spanish Inquisition |
| Rigby J. C. H. | Canals of South East England |
| Rylands H. J. J. | Gordon and the British Government |
| Skinner R. H. | Gallipoli, 1915 |
| Stringer C. J. | Jack Tar, 1793-1815 |
| Tanworth Visct. | Norwich |
| Weaver P. G. K. | The Principles and Functions of the House of Commons |

SPECIAL PRIZES

| | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Quirke Debating Prize</i> | — No award | |
| <i>Music</i> | Senior — M. J. McDonald | |
| | 2nd Year — S. R. Finlow | |
| | 1st Year — A. B. Rose | |
| <i>Special Prizes</i> | — J. S. Burford | } Cinema Box |
| | — M. S. Callow | |

RICHARD II

THE theatrical programme for the Exhibition of 1971 was dauntingly ambitious, for not only were there to be five performances of the play selected, but the eponymous character was to be played at alternate performances by two different actors. Here was "prospect terribly dismaying" for the director, Mr Ian Davie, and for the cast, but they both boldly accepted the challenge, and the result was triumphantly successful.

I regret I saw only the first two performances—(after all, it is traditional for dramatic critics to attend the first performance and not the final ones)—but judging from the high level of achievement shown in the opening performances, I am convinced that the final ones must have been outstandingly good, and this opinion, I am glad to say, was confirmed by reports which I received from spectators of later performances. For in the course of a run of five nights, a company gains confidence and secures cohesion; first-night dubieties are forgotten; audience-reaction can be more accurately gauged, pace and timing suitably adapted.

At the outset I should like to pay tribute to one quality shared in common by the cast. The one impression, stronger than all others, that I took away from the two performances I attended, was of the excellence of the speaking of the verse throughout. There was nothing of that Victorian declamation which survives today in the type of acting popularly known as "ham," nor were there any instances of the failing of more modern times (the mark of badly-trained actors and of modernistic "with it" productions) which consists in the wilful throwing-away of lines, so that the auditor is left guessing as to what has been said. Here, instead, was dramatic verse spoken naturally, flexibly, rhythmically, with a due feeling for cadence and a proper respect for the rhyme which are characteristic of Shakespeare's early verse. It was a pleasure to hear poetry so intelligently spoken, and I hope that the production was recorded on "tape," for it would be a pity to have no permanent record of an occasion which provided so excellent a demonstration of how Shakespearean verse should be spoken. Lucky (and skilful) the director who can coax such diction from his players.

The two actors, Simon Clayton and Paul Collard, who on alternate nights portrayed the King, both exemplified this admirable speaking of the verse, and both gave outstandingly good interpretations of the rôle. While Clayton, I felt, displayed in his bearing more of what we mean by "regal", Collard (despite the misfortune of a very poor make-up on the night I saw him) better expressed the petulance which is an essential part of Richard's nature—both are, of course, important facets of the character.

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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.

Both actors started off diffidently—(probably first-night “nerves” on each occasion)—but then, gaining confidence, both warmed to the part and achieved excellent performances, culminating in the *scène à faire* of the deposition, which is the play’s real climax. Here I thought both players showed too much deliberation. The deposed monarch appeared to be too ratiocinative, whereas Richard (a connoisseur in emotions) should have *luxuriated* in his griefs—but this, I would add, is purely a personal opinion, which others might not share and which they might, indeed, regard as hypercriticism. However, to judge their performances by the most stringent standards of criticism is, in fact, to pay the highest compliment to the acting of two very promising young players.

Excellent supporting performances came from Peter Willis as Bolingbroke, who, his star ascendant, very properly dominated the final scenes; from Sebastian Roberts and Michael Walker, as the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury respectively—with especially clear articulation, both were very natural throughout; and in a smaller part, from Cyril Kinsky as the Bishop of Carlisle, combining in a fine cameo portrait dignity with integrity. As Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Anthony Bird gave one of the best performances of the evening, so that one regretted that his part concluded so early in the play; to a very confident ease of manner, he brought the clearest of enunciation and variety of vocal tone. (I should, indeed, have very much liked to have seen him in the rôle of Richard—but it would have been asking too much of the director to have him rehearse yet another actor in the part.)

Exigencies of space permit reference to only a few of the other parts. Robin Schlee made a very gallant attempt at the part of John of Gaunt, the ageing Duke of Lancaster—(an old man’s part is always very difficult for a boy)—but in his most famous speech he did not sufficiently suggest either the inspired, though embittered, patriot, or a man almost *in extremis*, struggling for breath. (It was, I thought, a mistake to have a microphone for this speech; the use of a microphone, though concealed, was immediately obvious to the ear, and, at one of the performances I attended, the flex, unfortunately, patent to the eye.) Very competent performances came from Mark Fitzgeorge-Parker as the Duke of Aumerle and from Ned Clarence-Smith as Edmund, Duke of York, although I felt that the latter did not fully give the impression of incompetent fussiness which is an essential part of York’s make-up, and tended to break up the rhythm of his speeches with pauses at the end of each clause.

Among the smallest parts, notable performances came from James Jennings in the doubled parts of Messenger and Groom, and from Simon Hall and Andrew Duncan as the gardeners in a scene that proved highly diverting—and satisfying—to the groundlings. On the distaff side, Giles Collins as the Queen was very moving, and John Bruce-Jones and Dominic Pearce both acted well. All of them showed a good ear for the rhythms of their speeches, but all three showed some deficiency in gesture—always a difficult matter for boys playing female parts, even, I suspect, for the boy-actors of Elizabethan days.

The programme gave no indication of the designer of the set, which, very competently built by the Stage Works Group under Fr Henry, was of the composite variety, allowing an uninterrupted sequence of the scenes. I could, however, have willingly dispensed with the presence of Berkeley Castle throughout Part I; it was not very elegant, and was required for only one scene in Act II; a very little contrivance could have disguised it during the rest of the play.

The lighting throughout was excellent, with very satisfactory use made of the panorama in helping to create atmosphere during the course of the play. It was a pity, though, that some of the actors, even among the principals, did not take full advantage of the spot-lighting; quite often an actor stood in gloom, his face unlit, "out, out [of the] damned spot", when a small step would have brought him within its focus. Under the direction of Mr Best, the Lighting and Sound Group (especially when one considers the handicap of the present switch-board) did a very fine job of work. To him, too, with the assistance of the Corps of Drums, were due the very valuable sound effects, both during the course of the action of the play and between individual scenes, when one group of actors was dispersing and another assembling. The latter, especially, greatly helped in the creation of atmosphere, and succeeded in giving a sense of urgency and of inevitability to the tragedy.

The costumes, devised by Rosemary Haughton, were more than adequate; many of them were outstandingly beautiful, with materials and hues excellently matched or contrasted, and all showed how much care and thought had been expended upon making the production a suitably colourful one. Make-up was good, but I felt that a general weakness was that the actors still appeared juveniles. And why (especially in the light of the superlative programme and poster—design of Julian Dawson) such an absence of beards? A beard, for example, would, I feel, have considerably helped Gaunt in the playing of the part.

It is, of course, only the cast who can really appreciate all that the success of the production owes to the director, Mr Davie. His, throughout, the guiding mind, the skilful hand and omniscient eye, that ensured such a high standard throughout and shaped so satisfactorily the inevitability of the tragedy. The audience can only suspect what his contribution was, for with only one exception was his direction obtrusive—and this, of course, was as it should be, for *ars est celare artem*.

In only one case do I find occasion to question his judgment. I cannot but feel that it was a mistake to introduce the figure of Bolingbroke into the scene of Richard's murder. I can see his reason for doing so, viz. that the vision of Bolingbroke is a manifestation of the concluding thought of Richard's soliloquy. However, up to this point, the production had been an entirely naturalistic one. The appearance of Bolingbroke departs abruptly, monstrosly, from such naturalism. To me it was a "gimmick" that was out-of-place in a production happily (glory be!) free from gimmicks up to this point. Had Shakespeare really wanted a visual appearance of Bolingbroke at this point, he would have done so (witness

Caesar's appearance in the tent of Brutus); a stage direction: "Bolingbroke appears in a vision" would have been sufficient.

Moreover, on essentially practical grounds it was inexpedient. The scene of Richard's murder is a confined dungeon, dark, sinister, fit place for "a deed without a name". Some lighting, of course, there must be; an initial spot, focused on Richard, is sufficient—though this, it must be remembered, will pass beyond Richard and light up the wall behind. The entry of the groom requires a second spot—this time from a greater distance, inevitably lighting up more of the stage area. Finally the figure of Bolingbroke requires a third spot—and the murk of the dungeon no longer exists. The little cell, which should have been lit only by stabs of light, across which the figures pass, has been replaced by the huge cavernity of the front of the Ampleforth theatre. This, to me, after the excellence of the deposition scene, was anticlimax.

I regret having to end on this note. I can only conclude:

"A friendly eye could never see such faults"—

"A flatterer's would not, though they do appear as huge as high Olympus".

E.J.M.

THE CAST was as follows:—

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| KING RICHARD THE SECOND | Simon Clayton |
| | Paul Collard |
| JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER | Robin Schlee |
| EDMUND, DUKE OF YORK | Ned Clarence-Smith |
| HENRY BOLINGBROKE, DUKE OF HEREFORD son to John of Gaunt; future Henry IV | Peter Willis |
| DUKE OF AUMERLE son to the Duke of York | Mark Fitzgeorge-Parker |
| THOMAS MOWBRAY, DUKE OF NORFOLK | Anthony Bird |
| DUKE OF SURREY | David McCarthy |
| EARL OF SALISBURY | Michael Walker |
| LORD BERKELEY | Guy Boursot |
| BUSBY | Roderick Pratt |
| BAGOT | Mark Henderson |
| GREEN | Mark Lister |
| EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND | Sebastian Roberts |
| HENRY PERCY 'Hotspur', his son | Phillip Marsden |
| LORD ROSS | Chris Slawinski |
| LORD WILLOUGHBY | Luke Jennings |
| LORD FITZWATER | Joseph Simpson |
| BISHOP OF CARLISLE | Cyril Kinsky |
| LORD MARSHAL | Simon Hall |
| SIR STEPHEN SCROOP | Ted Willis |
| SIR PIERCE OF EXTON | Mark Lister |
| QUEEN TO KING RICHARD | Giles Collins |
| LADY ATTENDING ON THE QUEEN | John Bruce-Jones |
| DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER | Dominic Pearce |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| SOLDIERS | David Unwin Chris Sandeman Mark Haughton Andrew Haughton Sam Thomasson Steve Willis |
| CAPTAIN | John Durkin |
| MESSENGER | James Jennings |
| KEEPER | Ivan Gregory |
| GROOM | James Jennings |
| HERALDS | John Durkin Thomas du Boulay |
| GARDENERS | Simon Hall Andrew Duncan |

Lighting and Sound: Bill Best, Francis Lukas, Harry Hatfield, Ken Cobb

Stage Works Group: Fr Henry, John Stillard, Mark Haughton, Tom Dowling, James Turnbull, Tom Eckhoff, Julian Dawson

Make-up: John Davies, Gillian Nelson, David Nelson, Fr Henry, Mark Clough, Tim Berner

Stage Manager: John Stillard

Posters and Designs: Julian Dawson

Costumes: Rosemary Haughton

Assistant Producers: Paul Collard and Ian Campbell

Acknowledgments: Kate Davies, Sue Dammann and Julie Cuming for help with costumes; Dominic McCreanor and the Corps of Drums for sound-effects; John Bruce-Jones for advice on Heraldry; George Yeomans for stage-furnishings.

The Sword of State used in this production was a replica of the Sword of Sigismund which belonged to Richard II and is now the Civic Sword of York

RICHARD II AT AMPLEFORTH

THE greatest virtue of school Shakespeare is the single-minded and energetic earnestness it brings to bear on those 38 endlessly reshuffled plays. For sheer exuberance and purposeful determination Ampleforth's RICHARD II sets York an example.

This "Richard II" has impetus enough to carry it well beyond the inevitable simplifications of schoolboy interpretation.

It has in Simon Clayton a young actor of undoubted promise, who knows the divinity of kingship and concerns himself with re-creating in grandiloquence of gesture the primary reactions to his tragedy. This Richard rarely moves and when he does it is to affirm the aristocratic principle in heavy stylization. For the rest he is a mesmerised, a somnambulist monarch treading the inexorable steps down to death, isolated in a lonely reverie of intoxication with his rôle as God's anointed.

Of course the shadow of Mckellan falls across the realm as it was bound to do, and this Byronic idealist is at total odds with a court composed exclusively of men who look as if they are going to do very well out of armaments and who know the price of steel.

Still, despite the incurable pouting Simon Clayton's king is a memorable and integrated accomplishment, well worth the journey to encounter, and in one important aspect a welcome departure from tradition.

Gone at last is your pale hermaphroditic prince with a lily in his mediaeval hand, and in his place we have a virile madman delirious with the poetry of power. We cannot condemn him on the basis of a French accent alone.

Yet Peter Willis as the implacable pragmatist Bolingbroke is the undisputed hero of this conflict, a square-jawed English hearty with no trace of moral squeamishness. When in Richard's dungeon scene he rises as a golden apparition pronouncing silent doom, the effect is not so much to implicate him in the murder as to confirm his fitness to the throne.

Throughout the evening Willis stares out as if he had seen a wraith himself, and the final image is of a man strangling conscience in pursuit of an irresistible destiny. He is expeditiously seconded by his henchman, the saturnine Northumberland (Sebastian Roberts).

RICHARD WILSON

(Reprinted by permission of the Editor of *Nouse*, the York University Newspaper)

EXHIBITION CONCERT, 1971

Saturday, 5th June in the Abbey Church

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Farnham Festival Overture | The Orchestra | Richard Rodney Bennett |
| Five Motets | | |
| 1. Caelos ascendit hodie | | C. V. Stanford |
| 2. Ave Verum Corpus | | W. A. Mozart |
| 3. Non vos relinquam orphanos | | William Byrd |
| 4. Prayer to Jesus | | George Oldroyd |
| 5. Alleluia, I heard a voice | | Thomas Woelke |
| | The Schola Cantorum | |
| String Quartet Op. 1, No. 6 in C | | Joseph Haydn |
| | The String Quartet | |
| Antiphony No. 1 for Double Wind Quartet | | Heinrich Schütz |
| | The Wind Ensemble | |
| Missa in Angustiis "The Nelson" | | Joseph Haydn |
| Soloists: Honor Sheppard (Soprano) | Elizabeth Ainsworth (Contralto) | |
| Edwin Twigg (Tenor) | Charles Hetherington (Bass) | |

For his first Exhibition concert (held, like the Christmas concert, in the Abbey Church) David Bowman chose an ambitious programme, rightly giving pride of place to the Choral Society, which now plays such a big part in the life of the School. Haydn's Nelson Mass, preceded by Schütz' Antiphony for Double Wind Quartet, made up a very well-balanced second half of the concert. The first half was less satisfying in its arrangement: the three works—a modern orchestral overture, five polyphonic choral motets and a string quartet—had nothing in common, and made it difficult for the audience (and I should imagine the performers) to adjust themselves to such contrasting moods.

The hardest task of all fell to the String Quartet (M. J. McDonald, M. D. Guiver, J. M. Pickin, M. H. Tweedy). As in a previous concert, they had chosen a deplorably uninteresting work (in this case an early quartet of Haydn), and their intonation was cruelly exposed in such a resonant building as the Abbey Church. I wish they had followed the excellent example of the orchestra and played something modern (e.g. by Frank Bridge): perhaps they would then have been stimulated to more inspired playing. They must surely have been happier taking part in Richard Rodney Bennett's Farnham Festival Overture which opened the concert. Impossible not to like the broad sweep of the melody which the composer gives to the strings here, and the smiling optimism of the whole work. The orchestra was augmented by about twenty visiting artists: a good idea, this, since it must give the weaker players confidence to have a body of more experienced musicians among them. For the other instrumental item, Schutz' Antiphony, the double wind quartet made use of the two galleries at opposite ends of the church and produced some very good playing in this impressive work.

I hope another year a more suitable time for a performance by the Schola Cantorum will be found, though it is hard to see where else it can be fitted in during the few days of Exhibition (perhaps on the Sunday evening?). These motets are not concert pieces; out of their proper setting in a church service, and performed together with secular pieces, it is impossible to listen to them in the proper frame of mind. A more satisfactory arrangement would be to keep them for concerts of mixed choral and organ music, especially now that we have in our young new organist, Simon Wright, a player of such sensitivity, as he showed in his accompaniment to Mozart's "Ave Verum" and in the Nelson Mass.

The motets were superbly sung; it is only a pity that the polyphony of the quicker and more complicated five-part writing of the Byrd and Weelkes motets was inevitably distorted in the over-resonant church. The most effective pieces were Mozart's "Ave Verum" (the long line of the *esto nobis* to the end was finely controlled) and a modern motet by George Oldroyd, distinguished by two very fine soloists, B. D. J. Hooke (treble) and R. D. Dalglish (bass), in both of which the slow tempo allowed the simpler part-writing to come across clearly. By the way, on a lighter note, I hope David Bowman will not give up his project of performing Britten's "Golden Vanity" with the vivacious trebles he has in his choir. It would be an ideal work to do some time in the Theatre, immensely enjoyable for both singers and audience.

Haydn's Nelson Mass, the main work in this concert, has of course nothing more to do with the spirit of the Catholic Mass than has Verdi's Requiem: both are equally secular, and if ever they were performed in a church service, have long ago been reserved for their proper place in the concert hall. It is a most curious setting of the Latin text, in which the music has even less relevance than other Masses by Haydn and Beethoven. In fact these composers seem to have used the text simply as a convenient peg on which to hang a large-scale symphonic work, a text which in their

hands then becomes devoid of all meaning. I cannot refrain here from condemning whole-heartedly what seems to be the policy of the Catholic Church in abandoning its glorious heritage of the Latin plainsong setting of its liturgical texts. It is an astonishing failure to acknowledge the power that such music has had in preserving the spirit of the early Christian church through the perfection of its simple musical line.

In the case of the Nelson Mass, absurdity runs riot with the martial setting of the *Kyrie Eleison* ("Lord have mercy"), the last two pages of the *Benedictus qui venit* ("Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord") (the loud, reiterated triplets with which the timpani accompanies the full chorus surely heralds a procession of gun-carriages proceeding up the Mall), and the *Dona nobis pacem* ("Give us peace") at the end of the work—a blatant invitation to war.

Though I find a setting of the Mass in this fashion repellent in the extreme, increasingly few people probably understand the text anyway. Taken simply as a symphonic work there is much to admire in it, and those who wish to purchase a fine recording of this performance made by Mr Livesey may obtain it from Mr Bowman. It was certainly given an outstanding performance. Among the soloists one must single out Honor Sheppard's magnificent voice, which she used to superb effect in soaring over the loudest choral ensembles. But our thanks are no less due to Elizabeth Ainsworth, Edwin Twigg (replacing at short notice another soloist) and Charles Hetherington, all of whom sang with real musicianship and sensibility in their less spectacular roles.

What made this a performance that really puts Ampleforth on the musical map was the incisive attack of the chorus: as a body of singers they are now really exciting. I hope they will soon have a worthier work to sing. If the money for so many soloists could be found, what greater challenge could they have than Monteverdi's *Vespers*? To judge by the performance he elicited from them at this Exhibition concert, David Bowman could give an outstanding account of the work.

One last point. Fr Abbot reminded us beforehand that this was an Abbey Church in which applause would be inappropriate. I hope he will agree with me that evening dress in the Abbey Church is equally inappropriate, and that he will drop the customary printed request to dress in this fashion on future invitations to the Exhibition concert when it is held here again.

B.V.

CHORAL SOCIETY

Trebles

N. A. J. Benies
T. B. Boulton
M. J. Craston
C. de Larrinaga
J. Dick
D. S. C. Dobson
B. J. Dore
B. H. Finlow
S. P. Finlow
A. H. J. Fraser

R. D. Grant
J. D. Harrison
C. W. J. Hattrell
B. D. J. Hooke
D. A. Houlton
T. L. Judd
Lord Ralph Kerr
L. A. Lindsay
S. L. Livesey
M. G. R. May

D. J. K. Moir
M. J. P. Moir
P. R. Moore
C. P. Myers
S. D. Nuttall
S. P. S. Reid
M. S. Thompson
S. P. Treherne
J. Wilson

Altos

M. U. A. Allen-Buckley
S. J. Berner
L. M. J. Ciechanowski
C. V. Ellingworth

J. V. R. Gosling
S. B. W. Hastings
C. G. E. Heath
R. M. Langley

N. T. Peers
A. B. Rose
W. R. A. Wells

Tenors

R. J. Bishop
Fr Cyril
Br Felix
Fr Henry
Br Jonathan

P. M. F. Langdale
N. P. V. Lewen
M. J. McDonald
Fr Placid
C. J. V. Ryan

H. J. J. Rylands
D. W. R. Spence
Mr A. L. Tupman

Basses

Fr Adrian
Fr Andrew
M. H. Armour
R. D. Dalglish
Mr G. Dowling
P. B. Duguid
Mr K. Elliot

S. R. Finlow
Fr Gervase
Mr P. Hawksworth
R. A. A. Holroyd
Fr Ignatius
S. P. James
Fr Leo

S. McCarthy
Mr R. Rohan
P. F. B. Rylands
F. B. C. Skehan
M. B. Spencer
A. J. A. Tate
P. G. Westmacott

ORCHESTRA

1st Violins

Mr N. Mortimer
(leader)
Mr W. Best
*Mr P. Chatburn
*Miss C. Dickinson
M. D. Guiver
Fr Henry
J. M. Pickin
*Dr A. Nugent
*Mr H. Spencer
*Mr G. Stevens

Violoncellos

Mr D. Bentley
J. P. Guiver
*Miss J. Howard
M. B. Spencer
M. H. Tweedy
*Mr C. Teale

Double-Basses

*Mr A. Burgan
*Mr J. Porter

2nd Violins

Fr Aelred
E. P. Bennett
*Mr R. Gilbert
*Miss K. Henry
*Mr E. Horsley
M. J. McDonald
*Miss P. Sadler
*Mr C. Sandercock
*Mr G. Simpson

Flutes

S. G. Callaghan
S. P. James
R. J. G. Raynar

Oboe

*Mr L. Momchilovich

Clarinets

B. P. Lister
A. P. J. Haughton
D. W. R. Spence

Bassoons

Mr G. Dowling
A. J. A. Tate

Violas

*Lady Read
Fr Adrian
*Mrs P. Chatburn
*Mrs G. McDonald
*Mrs C. Sandercock
*Mrs G. Stevens

Horns

N. Gruenfeld
Fr Ignatius

Trumpets

*Mr D. Gray
M. E. D. Henley
J. F. Spencer

Trombones

J. F. Anderson
Mr D. Kershaw

Timpani

S. R. Finlow

Percussion

S. B. W. Hastings
P. King
M. J. Riley

Piano

R. D. Dalglish

Organ

Mr S. Wright

We should like to express our thanks to the visiting artists who are indicated by an asterisk.

CARPENTRY

The carpentry exhibition never disappoints. Every year the shop produces numerous articles of a very high quality and some of a professional finish that is truly remarkable. This year's collection of 84 pieces—and 25 photographs of absent masterpieces—maintained this tradition, and admirably so.

In an account of this type one cannot obviously point to every article in the exhibition but only single out the main exhibits for comment. P. T. Viner's work held the centre of the stage this year, with a coracle rowing dinghy of impeccable finish and style and a blanket chest in oak completed at the end of last year. This latter was a remarkable effort for a boy in his first year and the extent of his achievement was seen by comparing his chest with another of similar size, but very much more simplified in design, where the panels were artificially contrived and the lid less elaborate. His dinghy was probably the best finished article in the exhibition and showed truly accurate techniques in this difficult field. It was pleasant to see in this day of outboard motors a sculling crutch inserted in the transom and the very practical touch of movable thwart.

Two other boats were exhibited, one by A. J. Duncan, only partly completed, but looking as if it would finish well, and the other entry being a canoe by M. P. Gretton—a craft of beautiful lines and excellent finish.

R. W. H. Coghlan again produced a quantity of work, the largest of which was a desk in varnished Parana pine which looked much better in the photographs, when its superstructure of bookshelves was absent, than in its finished state. As in previous years, his standard of work merited a prize. H. J. N. Fitzalan Howard's nest of tables and Hon. E. W. Fitzalan Howard's bedside table and Backgammon board (strangely un-square) kept up the family tradition of craftsmanship.

Of the many other pieces in the exhibition, R. F. Hornyold-Strickland's diningroom chair, Ryland's oak gate-leg table, and P. B. Ryan's desk stand out particularly. The latter was a very well-designed and executed piece, the drawers moving very easily and fitting well. Also among the prize-winning articles were P. J. Sommer's lectern (commented on last year) and jewel cabinet; T. P. Cullinan's jewel cabinet (a fine piece of work for a boy in his first year); R. M. F. Plummer's oak Long John table; and R. D. C. Guthrie's shed for the golf course (Class C award).

Altogether the exhibition was a credit to all concerned and is a measure of the strength of the craft tradition which has been built up in the Shop over the past years. In this connection it is sad to learn that Fr Ambrose will be leaving the Carpentry Shop staff when he takes up his appointment as Procurator in January 1972. His contribution to the development of carpentry in the school has been very great, and this year's exhibition is a fitting tribute to his enthusiasm and the expertise of his tuition.

CRICKET

THE FIRST ELEVEN

Played 16 Won 4 Lost 8 Drawn 4

School Matches Played 11 Won 4 Lost 5 Drawn 2

When W. A. Moore, the Captain, broke a finger on Ordination Sunday with six School matches in the next ten days, this XI was faced with a challenge they had not been prepared for. Full of talent and personal qualities, it was a side which had never learned to fight back or struggle forward; so its standards sank steadily. Its 14 run-outs show that, uncovering faulty judgment and poor culling. Yet at its best it was a fine fielding side, showing aggression, skill and enthusiasm, enough to win four School matches (which has been excelled by only two other Ampleforth teams).

At the outset, the batting looked strong but the bowling woefully thin. Moore's contribution was to gather this varied potential into an effective working team. He himself bowled better than ever before, exploiting opponents' weaknesses and taking 27 wickets in half a season at small cost. With him were C. Murray-Brown and C. H. Ainscough, whose unobtrusive bowling proved more effective than had been hoped for, and with another season here before them. Alas, though, F. M. Fitzherbert had a long dark night of a season batting and bowling, when the team had hoped much of him. R. J. Twohig's task, as Captain for the last six matches on beautiful wickets without an accurate spinner, was unenviable.

Under Moore's captaincy, the catching was poor but the fielding could be excellent, especially in the hands of Moore and Twohig, whose throwing was fine. The same goes for Stapleton when he was on form; and Fitzherbert progressed throughout the season well enough, and Murray-Brown very well indeed till he was put alongside the other three. H. Cooper looks promising for the future. Indeed in terms of ground fielding alone, this XI could have stood on terms with any side. Would it were so also of catching, which lost us the Sedbergh match—a crucial loss when we needed a fourth win to confirm the team's confidence. Behind the stumps the highly talented J. Potez kept till the exams, when F. B. Skehan, last year's keeper—a rugged player turned cricketer by will more than skill—came back and proved quietly effective through his general tidiness.

1971 like 1970 saw no match interrupted by rain. Some wickets were slow, all were easy paced, and some at the end were outstanding for batting. All the batsmen were in their second season in the XI; and this makes the batting failure so hard to comprehend. What was achieved by Moore and Twohig against the Foresters, by Wenham against Denstone, by Wenham and Lintin against Bootham and Sedbergh, and most conspicuously by Twohig against Uppingham (all of these innings by players of real talent), only make it the harder to comprehend. The root of the problem may have been 1969, when these players had their season flooded out by rain at a time when a colt's coach should lay the ground of style and application of mind. Or it may have been that we at Ampleforth commit ourselves to the front foot too early, letting the bowler bowl short without dominating him, so putting a premium on a batsman's concentration. A sure sign of this was the undue amount of suicidal batting.

In the first half, Moore scored 314 runs, showing his fullest range of strokes in the Foresters match, where he demolished the bowling. When he broke his bone, he had almost corrected that air-shot to extra cover, which cost him his wicket four times in six innings. Had he had the other half of the season, he would surely have doubled his runs. His contribution as batsman, bowler and captain show how much he was missed after his injury. But there were others with talent to bring to replace him, such as M. T. Stapleton, whose slowness was matched with a patience which brought him runs; and Wenham and Lintin, who, while never either of them able to build big innings, both built small ones of real note. Fred Trueman judged Lintin

our best player, and one good to have around Yorkshire. His footwork off both feet and his straightness of bat give him all the pre-requisites. Though he never made more than 36, he reached double figures in eleven innings, showing class in all of them. By contrast Fitzherbert, who was able to take the team out of trouble more than once last year, made seven ducks and only two double figure scores in sixteen innings: a bad season for a hopeful bat. Two newcomers, M. Faulkner and C. H. Ainscough did well, especially the latter, whose improvement rivalled that of Murray-Brown's bowling. Ainscough came from 9 to 3 when Moore left, ending with a 50 against Uppingham in 40 minutes with a wide spectrum of strokes and a thoughtful approach.

We must end by mourning Moore's injury, which permanently affected the record. Not only did he handle his team well on the field, but won the respect and friendship of those he was playing at home or away. His side never quite gathered impetus without him.

AMPLEFORTH v. WORKSOP

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 8th May.

Ampleforth won by 3 wickets.

This was a very good match and throughout their innings the XI sensed victory. Confidence had replaced the tentative suspicious look of the 1970 side and with good reason for this XI will score a stack of runs. Nor will the XI face such speed and class of bowling as that produced by Good. Even on a slow pitch, Twohig and Lintin received devastating deliveries. Moore however opened with an innings of high quality, twice hooking Good for 6 and batting with authority. For the rest, an untried bowling attack was tidy, none more so than Ainscough, and was supported well in the field with some excellent catches.

| WORKSOP | | AMPLEFORTH | |
|---|----|--------------------------------------|----|
| W. Cheer, c Potez b Murray-Brown | 7 | R. J. Twohig, c Johnson b Good | 6 |
| J. Paton-Williams, c Marshall b Ainscough | 33 | M. Faulkner, b Good | 2 |
| J. Kettlewell, c Lintin b Fitzherbert | 4 | M. Stapleton, run out | 8 |
| J. Johnson, c and b Moore | 5 | W. A. Moore, c Tudor b Foster | 52 |
| J. Jackson, c and b Ainscough | 16 | A. D. Wenham, b Foster | 17 |
| C. Johnson, c Moore b Ainscough | 3 | F. M. Fitzherbert, c Thomas b Foster | 4 |
| R. Thomas, c Marshall b Ainscough | 0 | T. E. Lintin, b Good | 1 |
| A. Good, lbw b Ainscough | 14 | C. Ainscough, not out | 3 |
| R. Bassnett, b Fitzherbert | 1 | T. G. Marshall, not out | 1 |
| A. Tudor, not out | 10 | C. Murray-Brown } did not bat | |
| A. Foster, c Lintin b Murray-Brown | 1 | J. Potez | |
| Extras | 3 | Extras | 4 |
| Total | 97 | Total (for 7 wks) | 98 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|--|
| Fitzherbert | 16.4.29.2 | Murray-Brown | Good 16.4.38.3; Jackson 5.1.22.0; Foster 7.2.17.2; Moore 12.7.13.1; Ainscough 16.3.35.5; Marshall 2.2.0.0. |

AMPLEFORTH v. DURHAM

Played at Ampleforth on Wednesday, 12th May.

Ampleforth won by 4 wickets.

A superb run out by Stapleton and some sensible and attractive batting by Twohig and Moore were the only gains in a poor match which did justice to neither the weather nor the talents of this XI. They went through the motions but were casual

and lacked bite. Their bowling was, frankly, bad; the fielding reasonable only at times and Durham made 106 mostly through mid-wicket where no fielder existed. For the most part the boys treated Durham's bowling with respect.

| DURHAM | | AMPLEFORTH | |
|------------------------------------|-----|---|-----|
| J. Westbury, lbw b Murray-Brown | 10 | R. J. Twohig, c Crossdell b Davis | 32 |
| A. Thompson, c Potez b Fitzherbert | 3 | M. Faulkner, b Davis | 0 |
| J. Crossdell, c Potez b Moore | 39 | M. Stapleton, c and b Davis | 0 |
| J. Newton, b Murray-Brown | 2 | W. A. Moore, c Crossdell b Oszlak | 22 |
| C. Mather, b Fitzherbert | 27 | T. E. Lintin, c Armstrong b Mearns | 19 |
| G. Armstrong, lbw b Moore | 0 | A. D. Wenham, not out | 16 |
| J. Oszlak, b Fitzherbert | 11 | F. M. Fitzherbert, c Crossdell b Mearns | 0 |
| A. Scott, c Wenham b Marshall | 1 | C. Ainscough, not out | 6 |
| A. Harland, run out | 2 | C. Murray-Brown | 3 |
| P. Davis, not out | 3 | T. G. Marshall | 2 |
| C. Mearns, b Murray-Brown | 2 | J. Potez | 2 |
| Extras | 6 | Extras | 13 |
| Total | 106 | Total (for 6 wks) | 108 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Fitzherbert 16.7.32.3; | Murray-Brown 13.6.25.3; | Moore 11.4.24.2; | Ainscough 4.1.15.0; |
| Marshall 3.1.4.1. | Mearns 13.6.16.2; | Davis 15.6.28.3; | Oszlak 7.1.32.1; |
| | Harland 3.0.20.0. | | |

AMPLEFORTH v. BOOTHAM

Played at Bootham on Wednesday, 19th May.

Ampleforth won by 78 runs.

Consistent and splendid batting, and superb running between the wickets by everyone led by the example of Faulkner allowed Moore to declare after 2½ hours leaving Bootham 3½ hours' batting. The highlight was a partnership of 78 in 33 minutes between Wenham and Lintin, neither of whom has batted so well before. The achievement of the XI really ended there for it was only a matter of time before Bootham were all out, but the end was delayed by a good deal of rubbish from the bowlers.

| AMPLEFORTH | | BOOTHAM | |
|------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| R. J. Twohig, c Waller b Bibby | 10 | N. Hutchinson, c Wenham b Murray-Brown | 9 |
| M. Faulkner, c Maufe b Dickinson | 48 | T. Firth, c Wenham b Marshall | 13 |
| M. Stapleton, c Maufe b Langstaffe | 32 | D. Waller, lbw b Moore | 17 |
| W. A. Moore, lbw b Dickinson | 29 | C. Maufe, c Murray-Brown b Marshall | 48 |
| T. E. Lintin, not out | 36 | S. Bibby, c Twohig b Moore | 5 |
| A. D. Wenham, b Langstaffe | 45 | N. Langstaffe, b Moore | 22 |
| F. M. Fitzherbert, not out | 6 | G. Smith, b Stapleton | 0 |
| C. Ainscough | 6 | I. Dickinson, b Stapleton | 0 |
| C. Murray-Brown | 0 | J. Saxby, b Ainscough | 6 |
| T. G. Marshall | 0 | R. Wilks, not out | 8 |
| J. Potez | 0 | A. Janmohamed, b Fitzherbert | 0 |
| Extras | 6 | Extras | 6 |
| Total (for 5 wks dec.) | 212 | Total | 134 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Langstaffe 21.3.54.2; | Bibby 16.2.53.1; | Fitzherbert 9.2.0.26.1; | Murray-Brown 8.2.20.1; |
| Dickinson 12.0.48.2; | Maufe 8.0.39.0; | Wilks 1.0.4.0; | Saxby 1.0.8.0. |
| | | Fitzherbert 9.2.0.26.1; | Murray-Brown 8.2.20.1; |
| | | Marshall 8.2.28.2; | Moore 15.4.29.3; |
| | | Stapleton 7.3.18.2; | Ainscough 7.3.7.1. |

AMPLEFORTH v. SEDBERGH

Played at Sedbergh on Saturday, 22nd May.

Sedbergh won by 31 runs.

Six catches dropped to none. No other explanation is necessary for this reverse which came at the right time against the right school and which will make the season for the XI if they will learn the art of fighting back from an impossible situation. The XI had been a little casual against Durham and Bootham and after keeping Sedbergh to 55 for 7 in 2 hours before lunch, they would only be human if they left a fourth easy win on the way. But it was a false score: the ground fielding had been excellent, the pressure high, the batting terrible, and 4 catches had been dropped. Sedbergh's tight-back was a model and a great example of "will to win". In the 3rd hour they made 76 and by tea on a difficult wicket, which the XI's slender bowling resources were quite unable to use to their advantage, the good Sedbergh attack had caused a collapse. There followed 30 minutes of the best cricket for a long time: Wenham and Lintin played superbly—Wenham in tremendous form—and their running a joy. But Sedbergh's fielding was of the highest class and once Wenham lifted his head, there was little resistance.

| SEDBERGH | | AMPLEFORTH | |
|----------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Hodgson, lbw b Moore | 20 | R. J. Twohig, b Rogers | 13 |
| Minns, c Faulkner b Murray-Brown | 4 | M. Faulkner, c Walsh b Coupland | 0 |
| Alexander, b Moore | 18 | M. Stapleton, c Maxwell b Weston | 9 |
| Walsh, c Moore, b Ainscough | 6 | W. A. Moore, c Hodgson b Rogers | 5 |
| Allen, c Potez b Moore | 0 | T. E. Lintin, b Weston | 15 |
| Noble, c Fitzherbert b Moore | 1 | A. D. Wenham, st Maxwell b Noble | 40 |
| Webb, c Murray-Brown b Ainscough | 0 | F. M. Fitzherbert, c Maxwell b Noble | 0 |
| Maxwell, c Marshall b Moore | 23 | C. Ainscough, lbw b Rogers | 4 |
| Weston, c Potez b Murray-Brown | 37 | T. G. Marshall, c Coupland b Noble | 1 |
| Coupland, c Murray-Brown b Moore | 10 | C. Murray-Brown, lbw b Webb | 7 |
| Rogers, not out | 1 | J. Potez, not out | 7 |
| Extras | 11 | Extras | 5 |
| Total | 131 | Total | 100 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Fitzherbert 12.3.20.0; | Murray-Brown 15.7.27.2; | Ainscough 16.5.22.2; | Moore 9.3.1.35.4; |
| Weston 11.1.20.2; | Noble 6.1.19.2. | Webb 7.1.12.1; | Coupland 5.1.10.1; |
| | | Rogers 24.2.8.51.6. | |

Matches against the M.C.C., O.A.C.C., and Free Foresters followed the Sedbergh defeat. It should have been, and nearly was, a time for the XI to perfect their play and reduce the errors. The MCC brought Freddie Trueman as well as the usual battery of League speed and to their credit the XI played Trueman well. But they were uninterested in playing against the "joke" slows and showed their immaturity by getting out instead of getting runs. The OACC proved too strong thanks to Tony Huskinson's leg spin and an innings from Willoughby Wynne. Mark Stapleton actually carried his bat for 3½ hours through the innings in a great display of concentration while Anthony Wenham revealed his strokes for an hour in his best innings. But the batting was still frail. This was true once again against a very poor Foresters side. After Moore and Twohig had added 130, the remaining batting collapsed and the XI struggled to 272 instead of charging after 350. Moore's innings was a gem but the bowling poor. Finally the Foresters were set a target but once two batsmen had gone, no one was capable of winning them the match and so they played out time. A better Foresters side would certainly have gone all out for victory and this would have provided better entertainment, better quality cricket, and probably a win for the School, so well did they field and catch.

AMPLEFORTH v. M.C.C.

Played at Ampleforth on 26th May.

M.C.C. won by 7 wickets.

| AMPLEFORTH | | M.C.C. | |
|---|-----|---|---------------|
| R. J. Twohig, b Hunt | 19 | A. Cobham, c Potez b Moore | 47 |
| M. Stapleton, run out | 39 | R. Hinchcliffe, b Fitzherbert | 8 |
| W. A. Moore, c Hunt b Cobham | 1 | J. Rennard, c Fitzherbert b Moore | 8 |
| D. Lees-Millais, c Brennan b Cobham | 0 | J. Hunt, not out | 19 |
| T. E. Lintin, c Heath b Hunt | 12 | B. Rix, not out | 21 |
| A. D. Wenham, c Cobham b Rennard | 4 | F. S. Trueman | } did not bat |
| F. M. Fitzherbert, lbw b Trueman | 8 | D. Bailey | |
| C. Ainscough, b Trueman | 2 | D. Hay | |
| T. G. Marshall, b Hunt | 9 | D. V. Brennan | |
| C. Murray-Brown, not out | 5 | R. Platt | |
| J. Potez, c Trueman b Rix | 1 | M. Heath | } did not bat |
| Extras | 2 | Extras | |
| Total | 102 | Total (for 3 wks) | 103 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|---|--|---|--|
| Trueman 10.3.20.2; Heath 6.0.17.0; Platt 3.1.9.0; Cobham 6.1.15.2; Hunt 16.8.21.3; Rennard 5.0.19.1; Rix 0.5.0.0.1. | | Fitzherbert 13.4.1.59.1; Moore 4.0.22.0; Murray-Brown 9.2.21.2. | |

D. O.A.C.C. O.A.C.C. won by 5 wks.

Ampleforth 189 (M. T. Stapleton 77*, A. D. Wenham 58).
O.A.C.C. 190 for 5 (W. Wynne 68*).

D. Free Foresters. Match drawn.

Ampleforth 272 (W. A. Moore 131, R. J. Twohig 72); 119 for 8 dec.
Free Foresters 175 for 8 dec. and 163 for 7.

AMPLEFORTH v. ST PETER'S, YORK

Played at St Peter's on Saturday, 12th June.

Match drawn.

Both sides endeavoured to hand this match to their opponents. Apart from Twohig, nobody in the XI was sufficiently concentrated in their mind to take control and build on a score of 116 for 1. St Peter's had therefore 3 hours to score 166 and in the most incomprehensible display of batting scored at less than a run a minute throughout their innings. Good batsmen who two weeks before had the most thrilling win against Sedbergh scoring 206 against the clock now dreamily moved to 102 for 1 and 140 for 3. With even ten minutes remaining there were 5 wickets in hand to score 10 runs. But by then Moore's captaincy had moved from weary acceptance of defeat to the heights of tactical brilliance as he sensed a turn of the tide. Last minute panic by St Peter's brought a straight 6 and three wickets, and in the end either side could have pulled off a victory neither really deserved. There was one saving feature: the Ampleforth fielding was excellent, Fitzherbert saving at least 20 certain runs, and Wenham's catching in the gully reached a new sureness. Two catches were brilliant, one being plucked out of the air at close range, and the third was made to look easy.

AMPLEFORTH

ST PETER'S

| | | | |
|--|-----|--|-----|
| M. Stapleton, lbw b Jones | 34 | A. Kernish, c Potez b Ainscough | 49 |
| F. M. Fitzherbert, run out | 8 | E. Walmsley, c Wenham b Moore | 10 |
| R. J. Twohig, c Coverdale b Walmsley | 68 | S. Coverdale, c Wenham b Moore | 48 |
| W. A. Moore, c and b Walmsley | 3 | P. Hall, c Potez b Ainscough | 24 |
| T. E. Lintin, st Coverdale b Walmsley | 17 | M. Hepworth, c Wenham b Ainscough | 11 |
| A. D. Wenham, c Young b Walmsley | 8 | P. Wilkinson, b Ainscough | 7 |
| T. G. Marshall, run out | 3 | D. B-Williams, c Fitzherbert b Moore | 5 |
| M. Faulkner, c Hepworth b Walmsley | 12 | M. Jones, st Potez b Moore | 0 |
| C. Ainscough, not out | 5 | P. Brumfield, not out | 3 |
| C. Murray-Brown, c Hepworth b Walmsley | 0 | J. Lightowler, not out | 1 |
| J. Potez, c Jones b Walmsley | 2 | R. Young did not bat | |
| Extras | 5 | Extras | 6 |
| Total | 165 | Total (for 8 wks) | 164 |

BOWLING

BOWLING

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Jones 20.7.26.1; Brumfield 19.3.45.0; Walmsley 20.4.3.62.7; Wilkinson 2.0.16.0; B-Williams 2.0.10.0. | | Fitzherbert 8.2.14.0; Murray-Brown 9.0.18.0; Moore 23.7.54.4; Ainscough 22.5.52.4; Wenham 7.0.20.0. |
|--|--|---|

Two more club matches followed:

Ampleforth 143 (R. J. Twohig 50) lost to Yorkshire Gentlemen 147 for 6, by 4 wickets.

Ampleforth 190 for 9 dec. (M. Stapleton 51, W. A. Moore 43, F. M. Fitzherbert 35) drew with I. Zingari 143 for 9 (Murray-Brown 4.34).

AMPLEFORTH v. STONYHURST

Played at Ampleforth on Wednesday, 7th July.

Stonyhurst won by 1 wicket.

Within ten minutes of the end of Sunday's game with I. Zingari, W. A. Moore, the Captain, broke a finger while fielding. Can this side do without him? On the basis of today, certainly not. It was a dismal batting performance against an ordinary bowling side. Murray-Brown again showed how much he has improved but Hornsby, though limited, played the most sensible and competent innings yet against this XI who never deserved to win.

AMPLEFORTH

STONYHURST

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|-----|
| R. J. Twohig, c MacDonaugh b O'Driscoll | 13 | R. King, lbw b Fitzherbert | 2 |
| M. T. Stapleton, lbw b O'Driscoll | 11 | T. Owen, lbw b Fitzherbert | 11 |
| C. Ainscough, c Watson b O'Driscoll | 7 | S. Hornsby, b Murray-Brown | 54 |
| T. E. Lintin, b Holt | 16 | P. Anderson, b Ainscough | 0 |
| A. D. Wenham, b O'Driscoll | 5 | R. Maher, ht wkt b Ainscough | 0 |
| F. M. Fitzherbert, c MacDonaugh b Anderson | 30 | F. Holt, c Skehan b Faulkner | 20 |
| D. Lees-Millais, c Watson b O'Driscoll | 2 | J. O'Driscoll, not out | 10 |
| M. Faulkner, b Maher | 5 | A. Bidwell, c Twohig b Faulkner | 0 |
| T. G. Marshall, lbw b O'Driscoll | 2 | C. Watson, b Murray-Brown | 1 |
| C. Murray-Brown, b O'Driscoll | 4 | S. MacDonaugh, lbw b Murray-Brown | 0 |
| F. B. Skehan, not out | 4 | J. Rainsford, not out | 5 |
| Extras | 8 | Extras | 7 |
| Total | 107 | Total (for 9 wks) | 110 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|---|--|---------|--|
| O'Driscoll 15.5.3.36.7; Anderson 9.1.33.1; Holt 4.1.13.1; Maher 6.1.16.1; MacDonaugh 4.1.5.0. | Fitzherbert 6.3.4.2; Murray-Brown 12.4.4.21.3; Marshall 4.0.22.0; Faulkner 17.5.32.2; Ainscough 10.3.21.2. | | |

AMPLEFORTH v. COMBINED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Played at Northallerton on Friday, 9th July.

Grammar Schools won by 6 wickets.

86 for 1 and 102 for 8: rather pathetic, and indeed, it was. Twohig and Ainscough, permanently promoted in place of Moore, batted with skill and good judgment against fast but fairly inaccurate bowling, but the middle order collapsed. Lintin ran out Ainscough needlessly and then ignored a straight ball which was less fast or good than he thought it would be. It was left to the youngsters Faulkner and Cooper to show their concentration and determination—a good sign for 1973. The Grammar Schools are not good against slow bowling but the risk of bowling Cooper in his first match backfired for this was the first wicket of the season fast enough for Fitzherbert to be dangerous. Arnold Sunley, from the Village, played most beautifully—a model innings for the XI to learn from.

| AMPLEFORTH | | COMBINED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS | |
|--|--|--------------------------|--|
| R. J. Twohig, b Hartley 48 | D. Airy, c Skehan b Murray-Brown 4 | | |
| M. Stapleton, c sub. b Poskitt 3 | Douglas, lbw b Cooper 19 | | |
| C. Ainscough, run out 30 | Eirconrey, c Murray-Brown b Ainscough 19 | | |
| T. E. Lintin, b Hartley 2 | A. Sunley, not out 86 | | |
| A. D. Wenham, b Hartley 1 | Glaives, b Fitzherbert 2 | | |
| F. M. Fitzherbert, b Hartley 0 | Hartley, not out 2 | | |
| M. Faulkner, not out 23 | Remainder did not bat | | |
| T. G. Marshall, lbw b Hartley 1 | | | |
| C. Murray-Brown, c and b Poskitt 1 | | | |
| H. Cooper, run out 16 | | | |
| F. B. Skehan, lbw b Poskitt 0 | | | |
| Extras 7 | Extras 1 | | |
| Total 132 | Total (for 4 wkts) 133 | | |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|--|---|---------|--|
| Hartley 18.10.29.5; Poskitt 20.2.45.3; Glaives 10.1.33.0; Sunley 5.1.11.0; Howden 3.0.5.0. | Murray-Brown 12.5.25.1; Cooper 4.0.24.1; Faulkner 8.1.44.0; Ainscough 6.2.22.1; Fitzherbert 5.2.17.1. | | |

AMPLEFORTH v. DENSTONE

Played at Ampleforth on Saturday, 10th July.

Match drawn.

This was a good match against the best school side of the season. Denstone batted extremely well, Hignell and Morgan especially, and the eldest de Belder took 26 off the 6 balls he received from Ainscough who bowled well as did the others. The fielding was first rate and one sensed that the XI had overcome the loss of Moore. But that was premature. The batting was miserable and it was left to Wenham to play a gem of an innings. He has everything and a square cover drive and full blooded sweep will linger in the memory. Now, at last, perhaps he can do himself justice and give the XI a lead. The Denstone fielding was superb and their bowling above the ordinary.

| DENSTONE | | AMPLEFORTH | |
|---|--|------------|--|
| W. Huxan, c and b Marshall 24 | R. J. Twohig, b S. de Belder 13 | | |
| J. Bailey, c Skehan b Ainscough 14 | M. T. Stapleton, b Bailey 7 | | |
| A. Hignell, c Skehan b Murray-Brown 32 | C. Ainscough, b de Belder 7 | | |
| M. Morgan, b Murray-Brown 55 | D. Lees-Millais, b C. de Belder 0 | | |
| B. Ollier, lbw b Fitzherbert 8 | M. Faulkner, b C. de Belder 3 | | |
| C. Cranmer, not out 24 | A. Wenham, not out 64 | | |
| J. Welch, c Skehan b Ainscough 16 | F. M. Fitzherbert, c Ollier b S. de Belder 2 | | |
| K. Partridge, c Lees-Millais b Ainscough 0 | C. Murray-Brown, lbw b S. de Belder 17 | | |
| C. de Belder, c Lees-Millais b Fitzherbert 26 | H. Cooper, b S. de Belder 0 | | |
| S. de Belder, not out 0 | T. G. Marshall, not out 1 | | |
| A. Parker did not bat | F. B. Skehan did not bat | | |
| Extras 3 | Extras 15 | | |
| Total (for 8 wkts dec.) 202 | Total (for 8 wkts) 120 | | |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|--|--|---------|--|
| Fitzherbert 21.10.36.1; Murray-Brown 18.2.8.38.2; Ainscough 18.5.71.3; Marshall 5.2.31.1; Faulkner 4.0.16.0. | Bailey 5.1.17.1; de Belder 17.8.31.3; de Belder 17.7.19.4; Hignell 11.1.28.0; Ollier 4.1.16.0; Morgan 4.1.2.0. | | |

THE FESTIVAL

Played at Ampleforth on 12th-14th July.

E. W. Swanton wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* on Friday, 15th July—

"To end on an altogether lighter note it was a joy last week-end to attend in the heart of the North Riding, the Abbot of Ampleforth's party, welcoming the three other school teams about to take part in the festival there. The three days' cricket, as was the case with several similar and simultaneous school festivals, was perfect, and the occasion rated a vast success, even if the quality of the play was not remarkable. It is part of the function of these festivals, of course, as of the increasing holiday cricket arranged for boys by other bodies, to make good some part of the cricket time of other days, now lost to exams."

"Uppingham beat Oundle and Blundells and were adjudged the best side. Blundells and Oundle both beat Ampleforth and drew with one another. However, in a final turn-up for the book Ampleforth, the hosts, demolished Uppingham, thanks to 126 from R. J. Twohig who, going in first, actually reached his first 50 out of 57 in six overs and one ball. Alan Watkins, that great Glamorgan stalwart, now coach at Oundle, is reported as saying he had never seen better hatting from a boy. J. Stewart (Uppingham), as a batsman, and C. Murray-Brown (Ampleforth), as a fast bowler, also attracted favourable notice, but young Twohig outshone all. It is nice to know that he is a *Kentishman*."

What stood out above all else, including the long-awaited heat-wave, were the personal qualities of the boys whose rapport with each other could not have been bettered. If one mentions only Charlie Colquhoun of Blundells and John Boyd of Uppingham it is because the XI had the greatest contact with them but from all the boys there was a friendly rivalry, a lack of suspicion, the emergence of great respect, and a warmth and obvious gratitude for what was arranged for them. The hosts could not have been faulted for their selflessness and eagerness to please. Everybody was delighted at their final success.

Fr Abbot and Fr Patrick entertained all the team to supper and drinks in the Theatre on Sunday night and this was also attended by Jim Swanton and the Director of Coaching, Peter Sutcliffe, who travelled up from Lord's for the occasion. On Monday

night Fr Justin allowed the Elizabethan Chamber at Gilling to be used for the Festival dinner. On the Tuesday night Miss Hurley in Aumit House, where the boys stayed, entertained the teams to a final dinner.

Apart from all the above, this is the right place to thank Albert Gaskell for arranging all the umpiring and adding both a touch of professionalism and considerable gaiety to the term, all the masters of the schools who were present, the parents, and last and most important May Fox whom we welcomed back after a period of eight years. Her enthusiasm is infectious.

AMPLEFORTH v. BLUNDELLS

Blundells won by 7 wickets.

Everything was perfect for scoring many runs fast. 113 for 3 by lunch was fair but a basis for attack, and Ainscough was justifying his promotion in Moore's absence. After lunch the XI scored only 17 in 75 minutes for 7 wickets. Blundells had no difficulty against the weak bowling of the XI, now unsupported by fielding of quality. After the match Charlie Colquhoun and some of his Blundells XI assisted the XI in a rigorous work-out in the nets and the middle. The run out ratio of the XI is 14 for 3 against them: that tells its own tale.

| AMPLEFORTH | | BLUNDELLS | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|---------------|
| R. J. Twohig, b Lloyds | 11 | C. Grounds, lbw b Fitzherbert | 10 |
| M. T. Stapleton, b Lloyds | 14 | E. Swafield, b Cooper | 11 |
| C. Ainscough, b Lloyds | 39 | V. Marks, not out | 56 |
| T. E. Lintin, run out | 18 | J. Lloyds, c Cooper b Ainscough | 28 |
| A. D. Wenham, b Lloyds | 33 | M. Seymour, not out | 29 |
| M. Faulkner, st Seymour b Colquhoun | 3 | W. Atkinson | } did not bat |
| F. M. Fitzherbert, run out | 0 | C. Colquhoun | |
| C. Murray-Brown, b Colquhoun | 0 | G. Poulton | |
| H. Cooper, not out | 8 | C. Walker | |
| T. G. Marshall, lbw b Lloyds | 2 | W. Marshall | } did not bat |
| F. B. Skehan, c Seymour b Colquhoun | 1 | S. Wright | |
| Extras | 5 | Extras | 3 |
| Total | 134 | Total (for 3 wks) | 137 |

BOWLING
Lloyds 25.7.48.5; Wright 6.1.24.0; Colquhoun 21.4.6.34.3; Atkinson 10.3.25.0; Marks 1.0.0.0.

BOWLING
Fitzherbert 10.6.12.1; Murray-Brown 5.0.15.0; Cooper 6.1.27.1; Ainscough 8.1.40.1; Marshall 4.0.23.0; Faulkner 3.3.1.17.0.

AMPLEFORTH v. OUNDLE

Oundle won by 7 wickets.

Some actually believed that 188 was a good score. 320 would have been closer to the XI's potential in heat wave conditions on a fast wicket. Twohig started well and then bogged the innings down by poking against the spinners. Lintin, who has played beautifully for ten minutes in most innings this year, again failed to build on the foundation set up. Oundle were never in difficulty and the XI reached the nadir of its fortunes. For two months the XI has been told to hit the ball hard and often and have not seen the point.

| AMPLEFORTH | | OUNDLE | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|-----|
| R. J. Twohig c Gilthorpe b Newport | 37 | R. Wood lbw b Cooper | 42 |
| M. T. Stapleton c Coupland b Padley | 25 | P. Simeons st Skehan b Marshall | 44 |
| C. Ainscough c Simeons b Padley | 12 | A. Marrion not out | 52 |
| T. E. Lintin st Coupland b Newport | 24 | J. Hinde c Marshall b Faulkner | 23 |
| F. M. Fitzherbert c Coupland b Padley | 17 | I. Gilthorpe not out | 20 |
| M. Faulkner b Padley | 1 | Remainder did not bat | |
| A. D. Wenham b Newport | 4 | | |
| C. Murray-Brown c & b Newport | 15 | | |
| H. Cooper b Newport | 12 | | |
| T. G. Marshall lbw b Turner | 8 | | |
| F. B. Skehan not out | 21 | | |
| Extras | 12 | Extras | 8 |
| Total | 188 | Total (for 3 wks) | 189 |

| BOWLING | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---|
| Turner 11.3.1.47.1; Morley 11.1.23.0; | Fitzherbert 3.0.19.0; | Murray-Brown 8.2.17.0; | Ainscough 11.3.38.0; Marshall 12.4.29.1; Wenham 5.2.8.0; Cooper 10.1.34.1; Faulkner 9.0.35.1. |
| Padley 13.3.38.4; Newport 20.4.69.5. | | | |

AMPLEFORTH v. UPPINGHAM

Ampleforth won by 97 runs.

If a season is judged by the standard to which an XI has reached in its last match, then a disappointing year, despite the absence of Moore, has been redeemed. An innings was played today such as has rarely been played at Ampleforth. Twohig at last revealed his full talent in front of an admiring gathering, enlarged by the Blundells XI awaiting their turn to bat on the top ground.

In 25 minutes and 37 balls into the innings Twohig had made 52 out of 57. In 95 minutes he had made 100 out of 132 and with Stapleton put on 155 for the first wicket, the second highest opening partnership. By lunch the score was 178-2 and in 35 minutes after lunch Ainscough led the XI to a further 70 runs. What is impressive about Ainscough is his self-confidence, his intelligence, and his willingness to learn. Moreover he has abundant talent and three strokes mark him out as a player of the future: the usual cover drive, a beautifully balanced on- and mid-wicket drive and a back foot drive and cut full of ease and grace.

But it was Twohig who provided Ainscough with his opportunity. Twohig only hits when pulling; for the rest, there is a gentle full swing of the bat in perfect harmony with the movement of his body. Spectators ceased to comment after 10 off cover and square drives and turned their appreciation to the developed leg-side play, the speed of turn into the hook, the hit over the top, and, finally and at long last, the balanced footwork down the wicket to the spin which brought two successive boundaries which will long be remembered. A great innings.

The Uppingham bowling and fielding remained good to the end—they were a good side and undefeated. But Ampleforth were not to be denied victory. Murray-Brown, on this perfect wicket, found just a little movement and kept a good length for an hour. Uppingham had to chase, they hit well, but the fielding and catching withstood the early barrage, none more so than Skehan behind the stumps who has excelled this week, and it was fitting that Murray-Brown, brought back after a rest, should claim the final wicket.

| AMPLEFORTH | | UPPINGHAM | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-----|
| R. J. Twohig c Riley b Boyd | 126 | P. Alder b Murray-Brown | 17 |
| M. T. Stapleton c Turner b Boyd | 35 | J. Ather c Stapleton b Murray-Brown | 25 |
| C. Ainscough not out | 52 | D. Stuart c Faulkner b Murray-Brown | 33 |
| T. E. Lintin c Stuart b Lumsden | 16 | C. Turner b Murray-Brown | 25 |
| A. D. Wenham c Mills b Hutton | 0 | M. Lumsden c Skehan | |
| F. M. Fitzherbert c Andrew b Lumsden | 4 | b Murray-Brown | 3 |
| M. Faulkner not out | 0 | A. Riley c Cooper b Murray-Brown | 2 |
| C. Murray-Brown | | J. Boyd b Ainscough | 14 |
| H. Cooper | | P. Andrew c Fitzherbert | |
| T. G. Marshall | } did not bat | b Murray-Brown | 13 |
| F. B. Skehan | | N. Mills c Skehan b Ainscough | 0 |
| | | H. Stroud b Murray-Brown | 4 |
| | | N. Hutton not out | 2 |
| Extras | 15 | Extras | 13 |
| Total (for 5 dec) | 248 | Total | 151 |

| BOWLING | | BOWLING | |
|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Hutton 8.0.49.1; | Lumsden 8.3.0.48.2; | Fitzherbert 4.1.20.0; | Murray-Brown 17.3.7.56.8; |
| Andrew 2.1.65.0; | Boyd 18.3.53.2; | Ainscough 17.5.32.2; | Wenham 4.3.9.0; |
| Alder 4.0.18.0. | | Marshall 2.0.16.0; | Faulkner 3.2.2.0; |
| | | Cooper 4.3.4.0. | |

BATTING AVERAGES

| | No. of Innings | Not Out | Runs | Highest Score | Average |
|------------------------|----------------|---------|------|---------------|---------|
| R. J. Twohig | 16 | — | 549 | 126 | 34.3 |
| W. A. Moore | 11 | — | 314 | 131 | 28.6 |
| M. T. Stapleton | 17 | 1 | 418 | 77 n.o. | 26.1 |
| A. D. Wenham | 17 | 2 | 349 | 68 n.o. | 23.2 |
| C. H. Ainscough | 15 | 4 | 188 | 52 n.o. | 16.8 |
| T. E. Lintin | 16 | 1 | 220 | 36 n.o. | 14.1 |
| M. Faulkner | 16 | 2 | 141 | 48 | 10.0 |
| Hon. F. M. Fitzherbert | 16 | 1 | 114 | 35 | 7.0 |

BOWLING AVERAGES

| | Overs | Maidens | Runs | Wickets | Average |
|------------------------|-------|---------|------|---------|---------|
| W. A. Moore | 152 | 46 | 364 | 27 | 13.5 |
| C. Murray-Brown | 186 | 56 | 466 | 32 | 14.6 |
| C. H. Ainscough | 182 | 46 | 539 | 24 | 22.5 |
| Hon. F. M. Fitzherbert | 165 | 44 | 421 | 16 | 26.3 |

THE SECOND ELEVEN

The success of this 2nd XI reflects the strength of the School cricket this season. The XI won three of their six school matches, drew one and lost one, the final game against Newcastle being washed away in the June downpour. The batting was strong, at times very good, and the bowling turned out to be much better than expected. But the team was extremely weak in fielding. At a conservative estimate, 20 catches, some easier to take than to drop, were put down in the first four matches: only in the fifth match was this high average not maintained: in the last the XI did not field. Their relative lack of ability in this department added many runs to their opponents' totals and subtracted many years from the coach's life.

The team was ably led for the second year by A. Campbell, and he was repaid by having at his command a very willing, keen and pleasant side. Always cheerful

himself, he set a notable example in enthusiasm, sportsmanship and tolerance, and was probably the best batsman in the team. He was ably supported in this by D. Lees-Millais, who came into the side from the 3rd XI, and S. Callaghan, an old colour, M. Comyn, T. Powell, and M. Liddell. The Cooper twins too developed as batsmen while H. Cooper was a notable exception to the idiosyncrasies of the fielding. M. Cooper did well behind the wicket where his keen edge in competition stood him in good stead, but he was rather slapdash and careless there at other times. The bowling rested largely in the capable hands of T. Bidie and C. Kinsky. At times the former bowled too short but both were accurate and frequently made the early breakthrough. H. Cooper was the off-spinner and turned the ball more than anybody in the School, but accuracy and flight were difficulties which he finds hard to overcome. Liddell and Moorhouse were the two who made most improvement; both moved the ball in the air and Liddell's height gave a steep trajectory and rising bounce which made him an awkward proposition. These two won the match against St. Peter's for the School.

RESULTS

- v. Sir William Turner's School 1st XI. Won by 4 wks.
Sir William Turner's 150 for 5 dec. Ampleforth 151 for 6.
- v. Durham. Won by 2 wks.
Durham 135. Ampleforth 136 for 8.
- v. Ripon G.S. 1st XI. Lost by 25 runs.
Ripon 136 for 7 dec. Ampleforth 111.
- v. St. Michael's College 1st XI. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 176 for 2 dec. St. Michael's 145 for 8.
- v. St. Peter's. Won by 8 wks.
St. Peter's 66. Ampleforth 69 for 2.
- v. Newcastle. Match abandoned.
Ampleforth 95 for 4.
- The Captain of Cricket awarded colours to: M. Comyn, D. Lees-Millais, M. Liddell, T. Bidie and C. Kinsky.

THE THIRD ELEVEN

The Third XI again had a successful season.

The new age arrangement meant an influx of several younger boys who in previous years would have gone straightaway into Set 1 after another year in the Colts, but the fact that they blended in with the older members of the set shows the totally relaxed atmosphere which existed. This and the large number of people electing to play cricket meant that several of last year's team were unable to find a place in the side, but here again there was no trace of jealousy. For the same reasons there were more matches arranged—six in all.

The first, against Coatham, started badly. A dropped chance in the slips enabled the visitors to reach 65 for the loss of two wickets but with G. Pinkney returning to the attack they were eventually dismissed by tea for 104 with Pinkney taking 6—55. J. Mounsey with 28 started the pursuit of victory confidently enough but with D. Lees-Millais back in the pavilion after a foolish run out, the Ampleforth middle order men had no answer to the Coatham spinners and it was left to the last pair, Connolly (33) and Newton (12), to scramble in by one wicket in a thrilling finish.

The next game, away at Scarborough, was won by 110 runs. Put in to bat, Ampleforth reached 155 with Connolly 33 and Lees-Millais 66. Newton, helped by Pinkney, had no difficulty in skittling out the opponents. A fine win against a 2nd XI.

Our next game against Bootham 2nd XI resulted in victory by an even larger margin. Winning the toss and electing to bat, Ampleforth raced to 231—9 declared at tea with Myles knocking up 71 and Newton and Pinkney putting on an undefeated 40. Again the attack of these two stalwarts, with Spence and Tweedy getting one apiece, proved too much for Bootham, who struggled to reach 50. Lees-Millais was by now

playing for the Seconds and on occasion the First—it is pleasing to note that it was he and M. Cornyn, who is another former 3rd XI player, that were first to get their 2nd XI colours.

Barnard Castle 3rd XI, despite our poor batting (King's 29 excepted), were beaten easily enough. This time it was Connolly and Tweedy who got the bulk of the wickets. Newton, being injured, R. Nelson came into the side, and reminding most of us of Osric in Shakespeare's Hamlet, did well to get a couple of wickets. Myles also got one.

The last school match, against Pocklington, was a far closer affair, the final wicket falling on the last ball of the last over as the church clock struck in the distance. Our batting again was disappointing, only Myles (55), Dowley (20) and Newton (22) mastering the blustery conditions. However, the score of 131 proved adequate, with Pinkney, Tweedy and Spence sharing the bowling honours. Three wickets fell in the last two overs with wicketkeeper Dowley taking a fine one-handed catch.

Not only was our batting indifferent in the final match against club side Newburgh but every other aspect of our game, which was unfortunate; for we were well beaten by eight wickets. Apart from Myles' 20 and Dowley's 19, Tweedy's two wickets, the only two, the only memorable event was the fall of Nelson's wicket. Anxious to avoid the vice of stepping away to leg he took a guard of off stump and was promptly bowled middle stump round his legs. It was not the first time that the captain ran out of partners.

The results were good (won 5, lost 1), but the fact that the cricket was enjoyed is far more important and in this respect Fr Alberic deserves large praise and thanks. A fine cricket ball was presented to the side's wicketkeeper, J. Dowley, at the end of a season dinner. Not that Justin was outstanding as a player but his cricket and spirit seemed representative of the whole side.

The following played: J. Mounsey, P. King, A. Leonard, T. Myles, A. Allen, D. Lees-Millais, M. Tweedy, T. du Boulay, J. Dowley, N. Hall (capt.), G. Pinkney, J. Connolly, S. Newton, R. Nelson and D. Spence.

THE UNDER 15 COLTS

THIS age qualification of the senior Colts cricket side was changed this year. It now stands at under-15 on the preceding 1st September instead of the former arrangement of under-16 on the current 1st May.

The side had another very successful season and was unbeaten for the third year in succession, winning four of its matches and drawing the other four. The talent available was a little uneven: this was especially true of the batting. A. R. F. Mangeot, C. J. Satterthwaite, J. P. Pickin and D. A. G. Asquith had to be relied upon to make almost all the runs and it was fortunate that on no occasion did they all fail. However, the sight of the score-board reading 100 for two or three gave no assurance that the side would make over 120 runs! In the field the side looked a better one: there was great depth in the bowling and the fielding was always keen and usually tidy. A. P. Marsden, P. G. de Zulueta, J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple and A. R. F. Mangeot provided an accurate pace attack and A. G. Yates and J. Murray-Brown supplied the spin.

In the opening match against Durham we managed to win in the last over thanks to an impressive innings by Mangeot of 58 not out. A draw against Pocklington was followed by an easy victory over Barnard Castle, the main feature of which was another good innings by Mangeot. The match against Sedbergh at Aysgarth in many ways typified the performance of the side. Having been 101 for 2 after about an hour's play, we were all out for 117. When Sedbergh went in to bat the story was reversed. At one time they were 13 for 6 and then managed to make 49. De Zulueta on this occasion bowled extremely accurately and took 6 wickets for 9 runs. Against St. Peter's we had another collapse. Chasing a total of 125 we were 94 for 2 due to a good stand between Satterthwaite and Asquith, and were fortunate in playing out the last over to draw the match with our total at 106 for 9. The match against Newcastle

R.G.S. was unfortunately rained off after we had made a promising start; and in the final match against Ashville we did not leave ourselves quite enough time to bowl out the opposition after Satterthwaite had played a fine undefeated innings of 72.

The following were awarded their Colts colours: A. R. F. Mangeot, C. J. Satterthwaite, J. P. Pickin, Hon. D. A. G. Asquith, A. P. Marsden, P. G. de Zulueta and A. G. Yates.

RESULTS

- v. Durham. Won by 4 wickets.
Durham 109 for 6 dec. Ampleforth 112 for 6 (Mangeot 58 not out).
- v. Pocklington. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 121 for 6 dec. (Asquith 44). Pocklington 76 for 7 (Murray-Brown 4 for 11).
- v. Barnard Castle. Won by 6 wickets.
Barnard Castle 86. Ampleforth 88 for 4 (Mangeot 40).
- v. Bootham. Won by 52 runs.
Ampleforth 128 (Pickin 44). Bootham 76 (Marsden 4 for 19, Yates 3 for 14).
- v. Sedbergh. Won by 68 runs.
Ampleforth 117 (Pickin 42). Sedbergh 49 (de Zulueta 6 for 9).
- v. St. Peter's. Match drawn.
St. Peter's 125 (Mangeot 3 for 17). Ampleforth 106 for 9 (Satterthwaite 48, Asquith 30).
- v. Newcastle R.G.S. Match abandoned because of rain.
Ampleforth 92 for 2 (Mangeot 52 not out).
- v. Ashville. Match drawn.
Ampleforth 147 for 6 dec. (Satterthwaite 72 not out). Ashville 84 for 7 (de Zulueta 3 for 14).

THE UNDER 14 COLTS

LITTLE was known of the side when the season commenced, and after the first practice, not too much was expected of it, for talent did not appear to be abundant.

Plummer led the side intelligently, and by good example and encouragement, achieved much more success than was ever hoped for. It was most gratifying to see the side, striving to play good cricket, keen and interested, both in practice and in matches, attain a very high standard in fielding and throwing. Especially shall we remember Plummer's inspiring example at St. Peter's when he took two excellent catches close to the wicket and then made a superb stop and throw in to run out one of the opponents.

Our batting tended to be rather brittle, and if this is belied by some of the totals, it was well to mention that Plummer (239) and Berendt (223) scored the bulk of the runs. The former is not as gifted as Berendt, but he always gave us a good start along with Beardmore Gray, which is all important at this level of cricket. It is amazing the improvement Berendt has made since last year; he has assurance, good command of strokes, and his innings against Pocklington, Scarborough and Barnard Castle proved his ability, whatever the opposition. Ainscough, Pearce, Lintin and Scott gave us rare glimpses of what they can do, but their concentration then lapsed, and they would be out to some impudent stroke, or failure to get into the line of the ball.

Our bowling hinged round the slow left arm spin of Pearce, who, without doubt, has a very bright future—he will be an even better prospect if and when he resorts to more flight variance. His uncanny accuracy and spin earned him 31 wickets in the six games he played in, and he was sadly missed during his illness, especially at St. Peter's, where his presence could have made all the difference. Lintin should have completed the spearhead with Pearce, but his pace bowling lacked direction and length—very necessary factors to be remembered by aspiring bowlers. Scott turned in an

Fane-Hervey, who joined us at Wakefield, where the sprints were dominated by Wood of Uppingham, who also rescued the relay in a fantastic last leg. At Ratcliffe Fane-Hervey was unable to cope with McClashan, but Ruck Keene made a surprise first appearance in the 200; however against Sedbergh Fane-Hervey won both 100 and 200 comfortably. It was pleasing that on that day of the opening of the track we secured ten out of 13 first places.

In the jumps we had a chequered history. White, who was expected to be the high jumper, still had his arm in plaster, and though this did not deter him from doing sterling work in the hurdles and even having a somewhat unbalanced shot at the triple jump, we had to do without him in the high jump. So this was at first dominated for us by Woodhead, still under 16, who cleared a fine 5 ft 3 in at Wakefield. Later in the season he was overtaken by Guthrie; Mr Will Paish, the A.A.A. National Coach, on one of the flying visits for which we are so grateful, introduced Guthrie to the straddle, which put several inches on to his jump, though the only time he in fact won was at Denstone, where the wind and rain brought the winning height down to 5 ft 0 in. In the long jump Ruck Keene was unpredictable, chiefly through difficulty over his run-up, but in the end he succeeded in clearing 20 ft a couple of times. Gallwey's 40 ft 6 in in the triple jump was encouraging at Wakefield, but he never improved on this.

Throwing events were not our strongest point, but then all the athletes will be in the school for at least one more year, during which a lot of work can be done in technique and strength training. At Ratcliffe things went quite well: Garbutt's superb 139 ft 3 in beat the best throw of his first string throughout the season, and Clayton's 107 ft with the discus began to promise respectability, while we had to rely then and later on a guest-artist, Duguid, for the shot.

The Under 17/16 teams were small—too small, as we discovered at Denstone, when it was gently pointed out that competitors in a senior team could not compete for another event in the junior! Woodhead came down from the heights of the senior to the horizontal of the junior, where he paired with Finlow. Finlow's performances in 200 and 800 were outstanding (especially at Leeds, where both senior 200 runners, Guiver and Willbourn, also achieved personal bests). At 400 Doherty ran pluckily, steadily improving, while Ryan did a performance at Worksop which was outstanding for his age. Again in the middle distance there was promise; Murphy and Gaynor both ran excellently at Ratcliffe, and Gaynor's finish against Sedbergh provided one of the most thrilling races of the season. Hornyold-Strickland, dogged by a bad heel, did some good work in the long jump (also for the seniors occasionally) and latterly some excellent sprinting. Promising performances were also given by Hamilton in the javelin, though he never equalled his winning throw at Worksop, and Marsden in the hurdles. Macfarlane's plucky mile at Worksop, at a few minutes' notice, should not be forgotten, for he is still under 15.

After the hectic month of matches a pentathlon was arranged. This was narrowly won by Bowie (examination candidates did not compete). But perhaps the most interesting result was the performances of Oppe, who had done well in the hurdles team a few times, and also performed in the high jump; at the end of the season he gave promise of development in other directions too.

The following boys represented the School:

Seniors: M. M. Forsythe (captain), J. T. Prendiville, C. M. Bowie, B. C. de Guingand (colours), T. M. White (vice-captain), C. Oppe (half colours), J. Burford, S. Clayton, J. Dawson, P. Duguid, A. FitzGerald, R. Fane-Hervey, S. Gallwey, P. Gaynor, P. Garbutt, R. Guthrie, M. Guiver, R. Hornyold-Strickland, R. Plowden, J. Ruck Keene, R. Twobig, D. Unwin, R. Willbourn, N. Woodhead.

Under 17/16: S. Murphy, W. Doherty, S. Finlow, S. Gallwey, P. Gaynor, R. Hornyold-Strickland, N. Woodhead (junior colours), C. Clarke, N. Fresson, A. Gray, A. Hamilton, H. Hamilton-Dalrymple, M. Heath, P. Macfarlane, P. Marsden, J. Pickin, J. Ryan, C. Sandeman, C. Simpson, G. Vincenti.

TENNIS

DURING the term the 1st VI played nine matches and only lost two of them. However, they somehow contrived to draw four; it would be pleasing to report that they should have won all of these but the truth is that on three occasions they came from behind to equal the scores.

The first pair was Fane-Hervey, an altogether admirable captain of tennis, and Chapman; their play was a little uneven and only at Wimbledon did they reach the high standard of tennis of which they were capable. The second pair, Flynn and Moroney, were our most successful combination. At best their play was brilliant, at worst erratic. The third pair varied from match to match, Daly, McCraith and Cramer were the players involved. Daly and McCraith had flashes of brilliance but were too erratic, Cramer was steadier but failed to dominate the play to the extent one would have expected of him. The most exciting match was against Sedbergh when the result of the match depended upon the final set—and we needed to win it to draw the match. The best tennis was played in the match against Leeds G.S., when for once the team realised its full potential.

The second six varied enormously from match to match but the final team of Stainton, Westmacott, Bird, Curtis and Seiler finished the season with a flourish, beating Newcastle and Pocklington 8—1 in successive matches.

The Cambridge tour once again proved a great success, giving several second six players the opportunity of gaining first team experience. At Wimbledon the following week we played admirably, eventually going out in the third round to Harrow, losing the deciding singles match.

During the season the Captain awarded colours to Daly, Flynn and Moroney and re-awarded them to himself and Chapman.

RESULTS

FIRST SIX

- v. Roundhay. Drew 4½—4½.
- v. Coatham. Won 8—1.
- v. Bootham. Lost 1—8.
- v. Sedbergh. Drew 4½—4½.
- v. York University. Drew 4½—4½.
- v. Leeds G.S. Won 6½—2½.
- v. Newcastle R.G.S. Drew 4½—4½.
- v. Pocklington. Won 6½—2½.
- v. Stonyhurst. Lost 3—6.

SECOND SIX

- v. Roundhay. Lost 3½—5.
- v. Coatham. Won 5½—3½.
- v. Bootham. Lost 4—5.
- v. Leeds G.S. Lost 3½—5½.
- v. Scarborough 1st VI. Won 5½—3½.
- v. St Peter's 1st VI. Lost 4—5.
- v. Newcastle R.G.S. Won 8—1.
- v. Pocklington. Won 8—1.

CAMBRIDGE TOUR

- v. Perse School. Won 8—1.
- v. Cambridge H.S. Won 7—2.
- v. R.G.S. High Wycombe. Lost 2½—6½.

- v. Jesus College, Cambridge. Lost 4—5.

YOULL CUP AT WIMBLEDON

- v. Tonbridge. Won 2—0.

- v. Harrow. Lost 1—2.

TOURNAMENT RESULTS: Final Rounds

- Open Singles: Chapman beat Cramer 6—1, 6—1.
- Open Doubles: Chapman and Fane-Hervey beat Daly and Moroney 6—1, 6—3.
- Under 16 Singles: Mangleot beat Norton 6—0, 6—4.
- Under 16 Doubles: Dowley and Norton beat Mangleot and Mahoney 2—6, 6—4, 8—6.
- First Year Singles: Plummer beat Holroyd 6—3, 6—3.
- First Year Doubles: Leonard and Plummer beat Dalrymple and Asquith 6—3, 7—5.
- Handicap: T. L. Newton Esq. (scratch) beat J. G. Wilcox Esq. (owe 30) 6—3.

HOUSE COMPETITION

- Final Round: St Thomas's beat St Wilfrid's 2½—1.

SWIMMING

LAST Autumn the Swimming Club was revived (based, as before, on the Standards) and travelled to York on Saturdays, where by the kindness of St John's College, we were able to use their 25 metre pool. By subscription, and by filling up with members of the VI Form wanting to go to York, we have managed to meet the costs of the bus. The result has been a sharp up-turn in our standard, with times improving—in some cases markedly so—and swimmers showing remarkable consistency in their times. Moreover, most seemed to be able to swim two or three events without affecting their times. In general, we have had some very useful experience, some of which will be most valuable when the indoor pool is built: and we have learnt quite a lot about how tough swimming can be as a competitive sport.

G. R. Gretton was a very good captain as well as our best swimmer: his particular quality lay in encouraging others to train as often and as hard as himself. But it was not so much a group of talented boys as consciously—more than in previous years—a team, probably because the same group worked together throughout the year. For this reason, and because everybody was good by former standards, there is no need to specify individual successes: but it is only right to mention S. J. Hampson and D. M. Wallis, without whom the Juniors would certainly not have been so successful. Indeed, for this reason we invented Junior colours, awarding them as well to D. P. Herdon and A. P. Graham. Full colours were awarded to J. S. Reid, P. Grace, M. T. Ritchie and N. Owen.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| MATCHES | | | |
| Spring Term | v. R.G.S. Newcastle Senior | lost 28—47 | Under 15 lost 25—28 |
| | v. St John's, York | lost 37—50 | — |
| Summer Term | v. Durham | lost 32—55 | won 39—37 |
| | v. Bootham | lost 32—55 | won 39—37 |
| | v. Pocklington | won 45—31 | drawn 38—38 |

Also, three-way match v. Sedbergh and Worksop: Senior A574, W544, S42, Junior A61, S45, W26

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| John Parry Relays, at Leeds G.S. | Senior Medley | 10th out of 12 |
| | Freestyle | 11th out of 13 |
| | Junior Medley | 9th out of 13 |
| | Freestyle | 5th out of 12 |

COMPETITION

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|---|---------|---------|
| Senior | Freestyle 100 metres | G. R. Gretton | B | 1m 8.0 |
| | Backstroke 100 | G. R. Gretton | B | 1m 21.4 |
| | Breast 100 | N. Owen | B | 1m 30.2 |
| | Butterfly 100 | M. T. Ritchie | A | 1m 30.2 |
| | 50 | M. T. Ritchie | A | 34.2 |
| | Freestyle 200 | G. R. Gretton | B | 2m 39.6 |
| | Breast 200 | N. Owen | B | 3m 18.0 |
| Under 15 | Freestyle 100 | D. M. Wallis | B | 1m 11.0 |
| | Backstroke 100 | S. J. Hampson | B | 1m 25.9 |
| | Breast 100 | J. J. Simpson | A | 1m 34.7 |
| | Butterfly 100 | D. M. Wallis | B | 1m 33.5 |
| | 50 | D. M. Wallis | B | 36.1 |
| | Freestyle 200 | S. J. Hampson | B | 2m 42.6 |
| | Breast 200 | J. P. Craig | B | 3m 36.9 |
| Relays | 3 x 100 metres | St Bede's | 3m 39.8 | |
| | 4 x 50 Medley | St Bede's | 2m 24.4 | |
| | 4 x 50 Freestyle | St Bede's | 2m 6.4 | |
| Also | Inter-House Cup | St Bede's 3574 points | | |
| | Runners-up | St Aidan's 197 points | | |
| | Best All-rounder Cup | G. R. Gretton (<i>Proxime accessit</i> J. S. Reid) | | |
| | Individual Diving | M. T. Ritchie | | |

GOLF

FR LEO continues to work wonders on the course and it is rapidly becoming one of which we can be very proud. His efforts and those of his very willing band of helpers are much appreciated. The Golf itself flourishes through their efforts and through the enthusiasm of Fr Martin, who has been a most welcome bonus in this respect. At last we have a golfer of calibre to show the boys the way, and the visits of a professional did much to help. A further bonus was the gift by S. Baillieu of a House Golf Challenge Cup which was won for the first time by St Oswald's in the persons of T. Powell and P. Duguid. C. Lochrane did much as Captain of the team and although we lost our match against Scarborough College, we are looking forward to the visit of the Old Boys next term.

HOCKEY

THE team was less successful than expected, in spite of a larger number of players from last season than ever before. Approach and positional play was good, but there was too much indecision in and around the circle. We lost 0—1 to Scarborough College, and 2—3 to the Masters. C. Harries continued as a hard-working captain, and was well supported by R. Ryan and C. J. Harris.

A House 6-a-side competition was held for the first time and was very successful. St Bede's were the first winners of the cup, kindly donated by Mr and Mrs Harries.

SHOOTING

THE Ashburton Meeting was a dismal failure. Not a prize was won and the nearest approach to success was the gaining of sixth place in the Public Schools Snap Competition.

Before the meeting the team gave the impression of being strong in ability, well balanced, and most capably led by R. A. Fitzalan Howard. In spite of too little practice it had shown to advantage in the Northern Public Schools Meeting at Altrich where the Aggregate Trophy had been won and in three other competitions was placed within the first three places. Ability to shoot had also been proved by excellent results from the *Country Life* Competition in which the first Eight came fourth and the second Eight tenth, the latter coming out top in their own class. These results were in great part due to the two leaders, J. E. Ryan and C. A. Campbell. In all fairness to members of the Bisley Team it should be recorded that the disastrous results were, in the opinion of a coach, mainly due to a remarkable coincidence of misfortunes and not of their own making.

By contrast the Old Boys (Veterans) brought good cheer. Through unstinted energy of Michael Pitel four teams lay on the firing points and results, though not brilliant, were distinctly satisfactory. Sixty-two schools competed and our "A" team finished high up the list. The same was true of teams "B" and "C" and the "D" team won. Keith Pugh won second place in the Veterans' Tankard with a score of 49/50, and his score—why not 50/50!—also won for him the Utley-Ainscough Cup. This was presented the same evening by Prince Ghika when we gathered at The Angel, Guildford, for a most congenial and splendid dinner party attended by more than 30.

INTRA-SCHOOL RESULTS

Stewart Cup: Won by R. A. Fitzalan Howard. Average score: 78.6/80.
 Anderson Cup: Won by J. G. Hutchinson. Score: 45/45.
 Stourton Cup: Won by R. G. Plowden. Score: 62/70.
 Cadet Pair Cup: Won by J. F. Spencer. Score: 62/70.
 Inter-House Cup: 1st St Bede's; 2nd St Oswald's; 3rd St Cuthbert's.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

THE C.C.F. training during the Summer Term had two aims beyond those of the previous terms. In the first place preparatory training was carried out for those attending the Norway and Pennine Way camps at the end of the term. Br Timothy included a weekend map-reading scheme and a Lyke Wake Walk to harden the feet of the Pennine Way group.

The second aim was directed at the bottom part of the C.C.F. It had become clear that the quality of instruction in the Basic Section was not good enough, so more adult instructors were mobilised to help. Fr Simon, Fr Andrew, C.S.M. Baxter, Sgt Goodchild (12 C.T.T.), assisted by Fr Thomas and Fr Jeremy, formed a regular training team in Drill, Battlercraft, Assault Course and Gym work, Camping and Sailing. U/O Plowden trained this term's new boys and succeeded in getting them all through the A.P.C. drill and most of them through the W.T.

Some second year cadets were trained by Major Norman (Strensall) and Fr Martin, and were all successful in passing the A.P.C. Night Patrol test. Captain Banbury (O.C. 12 C.T.T.) ran an instructors' course, and Orienteering, Rock Climbing, Signalling and R.E.M.E. all continued.

We were fortunate in having Lt-Col R. W. E. O'Kelly (St C. 1943 and Royal Irish Rangers) and Major M. Campbell-Lamerton (D.W.R. and Lions Rugby) to judge the Nulli Secundus competition. It was very closely contested and the judges had great difficulty in making their decision. U/O H. G. Kirby just beat U/O N. P. Lewen (both are R.N. Section) for the Nulli Secundus Cup; U/O R. G. Plowden and U/O T. C. Bidie won the Fusilier (Army Section) and Eden (R.A.F. Section) Cups respectively.

There was no official inspection this year, but the opportunity was taken of inviting Major-General the Hon Sir Michael Fitzalan Howard, K.C.B., C.B.E., M.C. (St Bede's, 1935), then G.O.C. London District and Major-General commanding the Household Division, to carry out an unofficial inspection. The day was sunny and pleasant and Sir Michael added to the fun of it by arranging that some cadets should be able to have helicopter flights during the afternoon. We are most grateful to him for spending a day with us and for showing such interest in all the minutiae of the training.

PROMOTIONS

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

To be *Under Officer*: L.S. Hughes J. D.

To be *Leading Seaman*: A.B.s Campbell I. A., Faulkner M. W. B., Lewis R. M. R., Moorhouse J. M., Stringer C. J., Fazackerley P. D. N.

ARMY SECTION

To be *Under Officer*: C.S.M. Blake M. J.

To be C.S.M.: C.Q.M.S. Cassidy S. L., Sgts Garbutt P. D., Quigley P. B.

To be C.Q.M.S.: Sgt Fitzalan Howard R. A.

To be *Sergeant*: Cpls. Baker N., Purves A. J., Riley M. J., Hartley J. P.

R.A.F. SECTION

To be *Under Officer*: W.O. Bidie T. C.

To be *Sergeant*: Cpls. Fresson N. O., Slattery N. A., Young E. J., Boursot G. R., Collins G. J.

NORWAY CAMP

FIVE officers and 21 cadets spent a most valuable, strenuous and enjoyable week at Evjemoen, a Norwegian Army camp 35 miles north of Kristiansand at the southern tip of the country. The training was of the Adventurous type and consisted of map and compass work and survival in the mountains. Every member of the party gained enormously in his ability to use a Silva compass and this proficiency was earned the hard way—by getting lost. When you can see hundreds of mountains or none (because you are in a dense pine forest) it becomes very difficult to find your way by map and you come to be entirely dependent on a compass to find your way. Even a bivouac site

becomes something of a needle in a haystack when hidden by mountains as at least one section discovered. Far from roads it becomes necessary to carry food, bedding, clothes, camping equipment and anything else on your back and the weight of all this was certainly 35 lbs.—some thought 40 lbs. was nearer the figure. All members of the party are now expert at making different sizes and shapes of tents using the adaptable Norwegian tent sheets. Norwegian food is not very attractive to an English palate but nothing is more deeply impressed on the memory of the party than that interesting item in the one man 24-hour pack than *Kakkerbløkker*.

Right at the end of the camp a 12-hour visit was paid to Oslo, so mountains were not all that was seen of Norway. Perhaps even more valuable and interesting was the opportunity which everyone had to take and get to know the Norwegians. Most of them speak English, and the camp was full of young National Servicemen anxious to practise their English, so the cadets were well entertained when they were off duty. When they were on duty 1st/Lt Kvalheim assisted by our own officers arranged their training and appeared capable of carrying about twice as much as any of us at about twice the speed. He set a high standard but a reasonable one so that everyone was stretched but no one was overwhelmed. We are most grateful to him and to Colonel Wuk, the Commandant, for an excellent camp.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

THE Section had a good term under the very able leadership of U/O N. P. V. Lewen. He gave a great deal of time and hard work to the Section and it is worth recording that in spite of his efforts, at the same time he obtained six "A" levels all with A or B grades. We congratulate him, too, on his Royal Navy University Cadetship and wish him well at university and in his subsequent career in the Service.

It is gratifying to record, too, that his predecessor in the Section as *Under Officer* passed out of Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, in first place and gained the Queen's Telescope for the outstanding cadet of the year. He is the second O.A. to achieve this distinction in three years, and we congratulate Cadet J. C. Rapp, Royal Navy, on his success.

U/O H. G. Kirby, who has done so much for the C.C.F. especially in the field of Orienteering, won the Nulli Secundus trophy as the best N.C.O. in the three service sections.

Annual Training during the summer holiday was in the form of a cruise in the minesweeper *H.M.S. Akeley* in the Western Channel Area. This type of training provides ample opportunities for practical seamanship and navigation and was most interesting and enjoyable.

With the C.C.F. now on a voluntary basis the Section is inevitably smaller but it is gratifying to note the number of Senior boys who have remained in the Section. There is the hard core of those who intend to make a career in the Royal Navy, but many others as well. It is hoped that the opportunities for training with the Royal Navy and the Reserve will be of greater benefit to the smaller numbers to whom the advantages are now available.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

THE Section had a somewhat scattered appearance this term owing to the proximity of the Annual Inspection. The U/O was T. C. Bidie who kept a guiding control over the central R.A.F. functions of the Section. The Primary glider was our chief exhibit for the Inspection and it was flown for the General by our local gliding ace, J. Heathcote. The R.A.F. Signals course, having had its usual brush up from R.A.F. Topcliffe, flew their imaginary aircraft round the country from the Pavilion with skill. Wing Cmdr C. Bidie, R.A.F., was our visiting R.A.F. officer with the General, and we much appreciated his presence and interest in our training. A gliding display (static) was held over Exhibition to attract new devotees; this was organised by J. Heathcote in co-operation with the Yorkshire Gliding Club. One hopes that this aspect of our enterprise will develop.

Our thanks go to the support we have had from Flt Lt Drummond of R.A.F. Topcliffe and Flt Sgt Collins, R.A.F.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

It was another good Summer Term and it seemed to split up into three sections: the sunny May period up to Exhibition, the cool middle June period when a lot of work was done but when chickenpox put in an appearance and the final ten days' spell in July when the good weather returned, the exams were survived and the builders arrived to start on our alterations.

The first notable event of the term was the fund-raising walk on 16th May which involved the whole House in the work of the Spastics Society. The boys responded with enthusiasm and made no fuss about their fifteen miles hike to Hovingham and back. The money came in rather slowly but we were able to send off a cheque for £345 by the end of term. Money is still coming in and the final figure ought to be about £500.

The scholarship examinations started soon afterwards. Five candidates from the House took part and two of them, I. D. Macfarlane and J. A. Dundas, gained two of the twenty scholarships awarded. One of last year's members of the House, C. J. Poyser, also got an award. Since competition was particularly hot this year our successful candidates are to be congratulated. Eight boys from the House also did well in the Remove examinations at the end of term and gained entry into the Middle Fifth in the Upper School. General opinion had it that the work of the House in general was very satisfactory. It is felt that the new library which sprang, carpeted, into existence at the end of the term must be a large asset to the studies of the House.

The Exhibition at the beginning of June naturally immersed the House in considerable activity. There was a parents cricket match on the Saturday as well as the concert in the Abbey Church. The schola trebles had worked hard for weeks on the five motets which were included in the first half of the programme. The Choral Society, too, had put in a lot of time and energy in the rehearsals for Haydn's "Nelson" Mass which formed the second half of the concert. The boys' singing was acclaimed by all and the

entire concert was an evident success. One particularly pleasing aspect of the House's music was the award of music bursaries to R. F. C. Kerr, C. W. J. Hattrell and B. D. J. Hooke.

On Exhibition Sunday Fr Abbot presented prizes in the theatre. A full list of prize-winners may be found at the end of this account. There were no form prizes this year and it is hoped that they are a thing of the past. Instead, as in the Upper School, prize-winners had to earn their rewards by submitting work which they had done in their spare time. Eight boys achieved Alpha awards, ten reached Beta 1 standard and six won Beta 2 prizes. Ten special prizes were also awarded. Exhibited in the Junior House during the weekend were numerous pieces of carpentry and some thirty paintings. The carpentry was of a particularly high standard this year, especially the work of R. T. StA. Harney and M. J. Brennan (2nd year), C. W. J. Hattrell and M. P. Peters (1st year) who won prizes at the end of the term. Many of the paintings too were quite excellent, the prize-winners being R. T. StA. Harney and M. G. R. May. An art room came into existence at the same time as the library and it could be that an art boom is on the way. The scouts, too, were on exhibition (their many activities are recounted below in a separate section of notes) so the main hobbies of the Junior House were all open to inspection by parents: music, painting, carpentry and scouting.

There was little to disrupt the life of the House in June and even the cold weather seemed to assist concentration on studies. It must, however, be recorded that two of our best singers, R. F. C. Kerr and B. D. J. Hooke, took part in a concert at Hovingham Hall in front of a large adult musical audience. Their two duets and a solo were much appreciated.

JULY brought the summer back in time for the holidays. Before the end of term we witnessed the confirmation of six boys in the Abbey Church by the Bishop of the diocese. The last event of note was the House punch. Fr Patrick, who had

managed to have lunch with us every three or four weeks, was unavoidably absent so Fr Denis was our guest of honour. There were speeches by C. H. W. Soden-Bird, Fr Cyril and Fr Denis who also presented sporting and carpentry prizes.

As soon as the term ended alterations started. An outside fire escape was installed, the last of the bunks came in and the last of the beds went out. This freed another classroom on the first floor and also gave us our new library room complete with carpet. Yet another classroom on the ground floor was turned into an art room. On the top floor the shower room got a new floor and some new lavatories appeared. The whole of the outside of the house was painted too.

SCOUTS

A GOOD Summer Term's scouting led up to the practical climax of the summer camp and to the symbolic climax of the presentation of some very worthwhile awards.

There were two weekend camps at Hasty Bank, Riccaldale, during the term, one for Patrol Leaders and the other open to all. In addition, each of the eight patrols held a weekend camp at the middle lake and the normal round of Sunday activities continued, including canoe training, canoe racing, raft building and racing, and an aerial runway.

We were visited in the course of the term by Mr Harry Peacock, Assistant County Commissioner, and Mr Hugh Fletcher, former Field Commissioner, who brought with him his successor, Mr Ron Schulze.

On Sunday, 27th June, our new County Commissioner, Dr William Bennett, came to present the Chief Scout's Award to nine members of the troop: Robin Duncan, Brendan Finlow, Stephen Glaister, Ian Macfarlane, Duncan McKechnie, Nicholas Millen, Malcolm Moir, Christopher Myers and Mark Tate. These nine are to be congratulated on an achievement which is very remarkable for scouts of their age. Congratulations, too, to Robin Burdell, Tim Boulton and Charles Maclaren who gained the Advanced Scout Standard.

Most of the first year members of the troop gained the Scout Standard in the course of the term and a good number of special proficiency badges was awarded. Among these latter the Pioneer Badge deserves special mention as the four who earned it, Robin Duncan, Brendan Finlow, Nicholas Millen and Dominic Dobson, put in a great deal of work; they built some ambitious projects including a large swing-boat in front of the Junior House at Exhibition which provided a lot of fun for the House and for visitors.

We had a very successful camp in North Northumberland at the end of term. Apart from one single but heavy shower which drenched the end of a night game, and a gale which blew the camp flat on the day before we left, the weather was very friendly indeed. The camp site, in the beautiful College Valley, made a good centrally placed base for widespread expeditions and was a delightful haven in the breaks between them. Two-thirds of the thirty-three scouts in camp elected to hike over Cheviot and the whole troop went on expeditions to Lindisfarne and to the Farne Islands bird sanctuary where we saw seals basking in the sun and were amazed at the number and variety of sea birds. We remembered the Christian history of these Northumbrian islands by celebrating Mass on Lindisfarne and on the Inner Farne Island.

Patrols took turns at canoe expeditions on the Tweed, starting at Sprouton in Roxburghshire, camping overnight at Goldstream in Berwickshire and ending at Norham in Northumberland—about sixteen miles in all. Every scout in camp completed this expedition.

A high standard of camping was maintained at the base camp site until the gale forced us to take refuge for our last night in a hall further up the valley. The camping competition was won by the Robin Patrol led by the Senior Patrol Leader, Robin Duncan.

The camp could not have been so successful without a very good spirit in the troop or without the generous efforts of the large staff of monks, old boys and sixth-form boys. We thank them very sincerely and bid farewell to those who are now leaving us.

SPORT

The House cricket team did not have a very good season even though the figures at the end of it were fairly respectable: 4 wins, 2 losses, 2 draws, 1 tie. In the first place we had little batting. D. A. J. McKechnie was the only one who played straight but he was not confident enough to make many runs. P. R. Moore was quickest at scoring and several others made a few runs from time to time, but none could be relied on. Bowling was better. J. A. Dundas was best but D. A. J. McKechnie, C. H. W. Soden-Bird, R. G. Burdell and M. J. Craston all did well sometimes. Fielding improved during the season and some good catches were held. The first year team had more natural talent for the game and could easily become a fair side next year; but the fundamentals will have to be studied first. Second set cricket was presided over by Mr Rohan and there were many enthusiastic games during the season. Indeed, enthusiasm for the game was perfectly evident both in the first set and in the second. Colours were awarded to D. A. J. McKechnie and J. A. Dundas.

Tennis flourished on the hard courts in the valley but we were unable to secure any coaching, and this was a real pity. There was a hotly contested tournament during the term with over 40 competitors. S. J. Bickerstaffe, R. G. Burdell, R. A. Duncan and D. J. Barton reached the semi-finals and it was Barton, in his first year, who beat Bickerstaffe in the final.

Hockey was regularly played during the term and got at least some coaching. It is obviously a popular sport.

Swimming was, as usual, well organised by Fr Anselm and Fr Alban but, alas, there were no matches during the term.

Golf, too, flourished and there was a successful course of lessons given by the assistant professional from Canton. P. A. J. Ritchie won the House competition, with R. G. Burdell second and C. G. E. Heath third.

In the athletics meeting at the end of the term M. W. A. Tate proved to be easily the best athlete with wins in the 400 and 800 metres and a second place in the 100 metres.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Fr Anor presented prizes at Exhibition to the following: M. J. Brennan, B. L. Bunting, C. M. Dunbar, J. A. Dundas, R. T. StA. Harney, S. D. Peers, M. E. N. Shipsey and C. H. W. Soden-Bird who all received Alpha awards; E. A. A. Beck, T. A. J. Carroll, J. F. J. Dunne, D. G. M. Griffiths, P. J. Lees-Millais, D. H. R. Lochrane, M. G. R. May, D. A. J. McKechnie, M. S. Thompson and C. A. Vaughan who received Beta 1 prizes; M. F. W. Baxter, S. J. Bickerstaffe, J. H. D. Misick, M. J. Pierce, P. D. Sandeman who received Beta 2 prizes. J. B. Horsley and B. D. J. Hooke won handwriting prizes. R. T. StA. Harney and M. G. R. May won art prizes. C. P. Myers and M. S. Thompson won special music prizes. D. H. R. Lochrane, D. G. M. Griffiths, J. A. Dundas and M. J. Morgan won special project prizes.

The following were confirmed in the Abbey Church on 3rd July: P. A. Martin, C. W. E. Graham, T. E. McAlindon, J. D. Page, M. J. Plummer, J. Wilson.

CARPENTRY prizes were presented by Fr Denis at the House punch to: R. T. StA. Harney and M. J. Brennan (2nd year), C. W. J. Hattrell and M. P. Peters (1st year). The work of C. de Larrinaga, M. R. F. Griffiths, R. W. Newton, E. C. Glaister and B. D. J. Hooke was highly commended.

FR DENIS presented prizes for sport to: D. A. J. McKechnie and J. A. Dundas (cricket), M. W. A. Tate (athletics), D. A. J. McKechnie (cross-country running), B. J. Dore (shooting), A. H. J. Fraser (boxing), D. J. Barton and S. J. Bickerstaffe (tennis), P. A. J. Ritchie and R. G. Burdell and C. G. E. Heath (golf).

The 1st XI consisted of: C. H. W. Soden-Bird (capt.), M. S. Thompson, D. A. J. McKechnie, S. J. Bickerstaffe, J. A. Dundas, M. J. Pierce, R. G. Burdell, M. J. P. Moit, S. N. Ainscough, M. J. Craston and P. R. Moore.

The first year cricket team was made up by: M. J. Craston (capt.), S. N. Ainscough, P. R. Moore, S. P. S. Reid, J. M. D. Murray, A. H. J. Fraser, B. D. J. Hooke, M. G. R. May, J. B. Horsley, J. Dick and B. P. Doherty.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: M. P. Trowbridge.

Captain of Cricket: J. C. B. Tate.

Captains: T. B. P. Hubbard, S. G. Durkin, P. K. Corkery, D. R. Ellingworth, C. C. Howard, J. F. Lennon.

Secretaries: M. J. Velarde, S. R. F. Hardy, B. J. M. Edwards, C. F. H. Clayton.

Sacristans: P. B. Myers, T. R. B. Fattorini, M. J. Blenkinsopp, D. C. Bradley.

Librarians: C. P. Watters, A. E. Duncan, P. J. A. Hall, J. F. Nowill.

Ante-Room: A. C. Burt, M. F. Russell.

Bookroom: D. McN. Craig, M. D. Sillars, A. P. Ryan, E. T. B. Charlton.

Chapel Books: A. R. Goodson, M. T. C. Madden, M. C. M. Pickthall, A. C. A. Quirke.

Art Room: S. J. Unwin, A. J. Nicoll, L. R. Dowling, I. Rodzianko.

Dispensary: I. C. S. Watts, P. S. Stokes.

Office Men: S. J. Dick, A. de Larrinaga.

Model Room: T. M. May, C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley.

Woodwork: M. S. Harrison, T. D. Beck.

THE Summer Term was a term of good weather, and consequently proved to be most enjoyable. The playing fields were kept in excellent condition by Tommy Welford and Trevor Robinson, and the gardens this year have been particularly beautiful, and a great credit to Jack Leng and his gardening staff. We were blessed with good weather for the Corpus Christi procession, and also for that highlight of the year, the outing to Sleightholmedale. We had a wonderful day there and are most grateful to Mrs Gordon Foster for allowing us to come. For this occasion, and for many others, Mrs Dowling, Miss Mannion and the staff provided delicious fare, and we would like them to know how we appreciate all that they have done for us this term.

On 3rd July in the Abbey Church, His Lordship the Bishop of Middlesbrough confirmed the following: R. S. J. P. Adams, E. J. Beale, P. A. Cardwell, M. J. Caulfield, F. J. Connolly, J. C. Doherty,

J. M. W. Dowse, D. H. Dundas, R. P. Ellingworth, R. G. Elwes, C. P. Gaynor, R. M. Glaister, P. M. Graves, D. W. R. Harrington, M. E. M. Hattrell, T. A. Herdon, E. T. Hornoyold-Strickland, P. W. Howard, H. N. B. Hunter, D. R. L. C. McKechnie, M. R. A. Martin, J. R. C. Meares, P. C. B. Millar, D. H. N. Ogden, C. E. Pagendam, C. E. B. Pickthall, A. M. G. Rattrie, D. P. B. Richardson, W. P. Rohan, G. C. J. Salvin, J. I. C. Stewart, M. H. Sutherland, C. J. Twomey, S. J. Unwin, C. M. Waterton, G. E. Weld-Blundell.

PRIZE-GIVING

The annual Prize-Giving and Speech Day took place on Thursday, 8th July. A few days previously Fr Abbot had announced the appointment of Fr Justin as the new Headmaster of Gilling. Fr Abbot came to preside and give the prizes, and Fr Patrick to report on the results of the Junior House Entrance Examination. The number of visitors present must have exceeded even previous records, and the occasion ended with a Garden Party Tea on the South Lawn.

When reporting on the year, Fr Justin emphasised how delighted we were that so many parents had been able to attend the Prize-Giving. He paid tribute to Fr William's achievements as Headmaster of Gilling, and the great loss his death had been to so many people. Gilling has much to be grateful for, and in particular for the loyalty, devotion and experience of the teaching staff and the domestic staff in all departments. After reporting on the work, games, and other activities on display in the various exhibitions throughout the School, he turned to his appointment as Headmaster, stressing how great an honour he considered this to be, his belief in the past, present and future of Gilling, and promising to do his utmost for the boys, for the parents, and for the staff in every department.

Fr Patrick expressed himself as very much satisfied with the showing made by the Gilling entrants to the Junior House. When announcing the results of the Junior House Entrance Examination he awarded three scholarships: a scholarship of £24 to A. E. Duncan, and two of £18 to C. P.

Watters and A. R. Goodson. We congratulate all three on their well-deserved success.

Fr Abbot explained how the appointment of a new Headmaster had been delayed by the fact that there had to be an Abbatial Election in April, and then by his wish to consult all concerned as fully as possible. He was confident that Fr Justin would give the kind of lead which Gilling needs at this moment in its history.

PRIZE-WINNERS

PREP. FORM

R.E. H. V. D. Elwes
Form Prize I C. B. Richardson
Form Prize II M. D. W. Mangham

FIRST FORM B

R.E. S. D. Lawson
Form Prize I A. J. Fawcett
Form Prize II G. L. Forbes

FIRST FORM A

R.E. P. Ainscough
Form Prize II R. Q. C. Lovegrove
Form Prize I A. J. Bean

FORM 2B

R.E. P. W. G. Griffiths
Latin T. J. Baxter
Mathematics W. P. Rohan
English J. R. C. Meares
French J. C. Doherty
Geography J. C. Doherty
History P. W. G. Griffiths
Carpentry W. P. Rohan

FORM 2A

R.E. M. E. M. Hattrell
Latin D. W. R. Harrington
Mathematics P. C. B. Millar
English P. C. B. Millar
French T. A. Herdon
Geography D. W. R. Harrington
History T. A. Herdon
Carpentry E. J. Beale

FORM 3B

R.E. M. D. Sillars
Latin S. R. F. Hardy
Mathematics M. T. C. Madden
English M. S. Harrison
French A. de Larrinaga
Science M. S. Harrison
Geography J. Lennon
History C. C. Howard
Carpentry C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley

FORM 3A

R.E. J. C. B. Tate
Latin A. R. Goodson

Mathematics . . . T. B. P. Hubbard & T. R. B. Fattorini
English S. J. Unwin
French C. P. Watters
Science S. G. Durkin
Geography A. E. Duncan
History A. E. Duncan
Carpentry A. J. Nicoll

SPECIAL PRIZES

ART

1st Form M. T. B. Fattorini
2nd Form P. M. Graves
3rd Form T. M. May

MUSIC

1st Form R. Q. C. Lovegrove
2nd Form T. A. Herdon
3rd Form A. R. Goodson & T. M. May

WRITING

1st Form W. M. Gladstone & J. A. Raynar
2nd Form P. M. Graves
3rd Form L. R. Dowling

PHYSICAL TRAINING

1st Form J. A. Raynar
2nd Form R. M. Glaister
3rd Form S. J. Unwin
THE P.T. CUP . . Spartans

THE ATHLETICS

CUP D. R. Ellingworth

CRICKET

5th Set J. T. Kevell
4th Set P. Ainscough
3rd Set J. M. W. Dowse
2nd Set I. C. S. Watts
1st XI J. C. B. Tate, T. B. P. Hubbard, D. H. Dundas

SWIMMING

Crawl Cup D. R. Ellingworth
Diving D. R. Ellingworth

BOXING

Junior Cup D. H. Dundas
Junior Best Loser . . P. M. Graves
Senior Cup C. P. Watters
Senior Best Loser . . A. C. A. Quirke

SHOOTING

Cup S. J. Dick

AEROMODELLING

Glider Team J. C. Doherty
Trophy C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley
Other Prizes C. T. Secondé-Kynnersley, F. Howard, W. P. Rohan

SPEECH DAY CONCERT

- The Queen
Two Czech Dances
The Recorders
Little Prelude *by J. S. Bach*
T. M. May
- Greensleeves *Traditional*
Basque Waltz
A. de Larrinaga
Für Elise *by Beethoven*
T. A. Herdon
Horatius *by T. B. Macaulay*
Form 1B
- Hornpipe *by Purcell*
J. C. B. Tate
Moto Perpetuo *by Bohm*
A. R. Goodson
- Flocks in Pastures Green *by J. S. Bach*
The Blacksmith *by J. Brahms*
Mowing the Barley *Folk Song*
The Gilling Singers

PRIZE DAY MUSIC

The traditional musical items provided welcome entr'actes between the distribution of the various sets of prizes, and consisted as usual of solos and singing. It was good, too, to hear the Harmonic Verse once again after a lapse of time. Of the instrumentalists, T. A. Herdon is clearly going to be a very competent pianist indeed, and surmounted the technical difficulties of Beethoven's *Für Elise* with considerable skill. J. C. B. Tate is another promising pianist, and A. de Larrinaga on the guitar and A. R. Goodson on the violin are both very able players of their respective instruments. The singing this year was perhaps a little disappointing; although the diction was very good, intonation was shaky and phrasing was spoiled by snatched breaths. But there was, as always, a splendid enthusiasm and admirable enterprise.

MUSIC

THREE informal concerts were held in the course of the term, and these served to provide incentive and encouragement to those studying instruments, and considerable pleasure to their audience. The recorder players had made creditable progress, and of the pianists, Tate, May, Hattrell, Herdon and Lovegrove were the most outstanding. The final concert was an eye-opener to all: Mr Mortimer and Mr Gruenfeld led the First Form Violinists

in a whole series of varied pieces which revealed how much progress had been going on quietly behind the scenes. We thank all concerned for these three enjoyable concerts.

ART

THIRD FORM

THE Summer Term brings the year's work of the art room to its conclusion and inevitably the summer exhibition. The extra artists have shown impressive enthusiasm and with attendances averaging over 20 there was no lack of work to select for showing. In the course of the school year each boy produces on average 25 pictures. As a result there are 400 pictures to choose from each class. From the total of some 800 pictures a mere three dozen pictures are needed. In a class of 20 this means combining a rigid policy of selection with a policy of widespread representation if each pupil is to have a picture hung. This was the aim that had to be achieved. The art prize won by T. May was well deserved. He was supported by A. Nicoll, T. Beck, M. Sillars, M. Pickthall and C. Howard who all produced work of conscientious and often promising high standard. They should all continue the tradition of Gilling art into the Junior House.

SECOND FORM

THE boys of the Second Form showed such talent and enthusiasm during art lessons this term that Fr Piers always looked forward to teaching them. The prize for the best artist went to P. M. Graves whose pencil drawings in the art exhibition at the end of the term won the admiration of everybody; one of the reasons why Graves is good at art is because he practises drawing in his spare time. Other successful artists during the year included R. S. J. P. Adams, P. A. Cardwell, J. C. Doherty who did an excellent drawing of a hare, J. M. W. Dowse, D. H. Dundas, R. G. Elwes, C. P. Gaynor, D. W. R. Harrington who did a good painting of the infirmary with the clock above it, M. E. M. Hattrell, F. Howard, M. R. A. Martin who is good with a pencil, P. Millar who painted a vivid picture of the front door to the infirmary, D. H. N. Ogdon whose work is always of a very high standard; D. Rodzianko and C. M. Waterton are going to be good at art; both had eight pictures in the art

exhibition, which was filled with 127 pictures by boys in the Second Form, leaving 227 pictures by boys from other sections of the School.

FIRST FORM

NEARLY every boy in the First Form had at least one picture in the art exhibition at the end of the term. M. T. B. Fattorini won the art prize for his paintings which are exceptionally vivid, colourful and imaginative. G. B. Fitzalan Howard did very well to have ten pictures in the art exhibition, which was more than any other boy in the School; J. G. Waterton worked hard to have nine in the exhibition; J. T. Kevill, R. K. B. Millar, W. M. Gladstone and J. A. Raynar should also be congratulated on having eight each. Other promising artists in the First Form include L. David, A. J. Fawcett, G. L. Forbes, A. M. Forsyth, J. G. Gruenfeld, S. D. Lawson, E. C. H. Lowe, R. J. Micklethwait, S. C. E. Moreton, C. B. Richardson, C. D. P. Steel and J. R. Treherne.

AEROMODELLING & GLIDING

At the end of the Spring Term last year Mr David Collins asked Fr Piers if he thought there might be a few boys in the School who would like to learn how to make model aeroplanes. Fr William encouraged Mr Collins to go ahead with his idea, which turned out to be very successful. About 70 boys in the School have been taught by Mr Collins how to use their minds and hands in the construction of model aeroplanes, which have now reached a total number of 129. This term the emphasis has been on flying rather than building; nevertheless 23 new models were constructed.

CRICKET

EXCEPT for the cancellation of four matches in the middle of the term, the Senior and Junior cricket teams have had an enjoyable and successful season. The success of the two teams is due to the talent and enthusiasm of the boys, the good leadership of the two captains, J. C. B. Tate and M. J. Caulfield, and probably most of all to the competence and hard work of their coaches: Mr T. Reeves in the nets, Mr C. Lorigan with the bolomatic in the Gymnasium, and Mr M. Lorigan on the playing fields. The Senior XI lost one match out of six, four of which were won,

and the other drawn. The Junior XI won a match, drew another, and lost the other.

In the Senior team most of the bowling was done by Tate, the captain; he did well to take 20 wickets in school matches, 48 in set games, score 49 runs in a home match against St Olave's, and to lead the Spartans to an easy victory in the T.A.R.S. matches at the end of the term. T. B. P. Hubbard's 253 runs in school matches was a fine achievement; his best scores were 77, 66 and 56. The best catch of the season was by S. R. F. Hardy on 8th June in a match against St Olave's in York. He was fielding at deep cover point when the St Olave's captain, Tait, was in the act of hitting his second six in succession, which would have taken his score to 63, when Hardy held the ball in a great leap, which was preceded by a fast sprint, and succeeded by several somersaults. After this fine piece of fielding St Olave's only managed to add one run to their score of 86, and Gilling went in to win the match with three wickets in hand; S. J. Dick did well to score 31 runs for which he was rewarded by being given his cricket colours. Other colours were given to J. C. B. Tate for being a good captain, T. B. P. Hubbard for knocking up 77 runs against St Martin's at the beginning of the term, P. K. Corkery and D. R. Ellingworth for being good all-round cricketers, and D. H. Dundas for doing very well keeping wicket and scoring 126 runs in school matches. The best batting of the term was in the home match against Glenbow when Corkery (32), Dundas (58), Hubbard (56) and Ellingworth (36) did some very hard hitting to help bring the score to 202 declared, seven wickets down by tea-time, which was an all-time record for the Gilling team; the highest earlier recorded score was 174 against the same school in 1970. In the last match of the season, which was drawn against St Martin's, both teams did very well to score 299 runs in about three hours of cricket (Gilling 162 all out, St Martin's 137 for 7).

In the Junior team Weld-Blundell batted well to score 44 runs against St Olave's, but Soden-Bird is probably the most promising cricketer in the team as an all-rounder; in two matches he took 9 wickets and scored 34 runs. The captain, Caulfield, did very well in the match against St Martin's which was an easy

victory for Gilling; he took 6 wickets and held 3 catches. P. Ainscough is another very promising cricketer.

SWIMMING

THE three most important events were the Competition, the match against St Olave's, and the Championships. Colours were awarded to D. Ellingworth, May, Harrison, Hardy, Quirke, Durkin and Tate. Swimming Badges were given to P. Millar, Herdon, Beale, Glaister, Hattrell, R. Ellingworth, Sutherland, Elwes, McKechnie and Pagendam.

On 2nd June the Swimming Style Competition was expertly judged by Fr Anselm. D. Ellingworth was awarded the Swimming Cup for being the best boy in the School at the front crawl, and he was also given first place in the diving event. May, Harrison and P. Millar did well to tie for second place in the front crawl, Hubbard and Quirke both tied for first place in the butterfly. May won the back crawl with Durkin and Craig tying for second place. The breast stroke was won by P. Millar, second place was a tie between Hardy and Harrison.

On 16th June for the first time in our history the School took part in an away swimming match against another school; it was our return match against St Olave's. They won by 17 points when they came to Gilling last year. This year they won again, but the gap between the two schools has been narrowed down to a mere two points. In a very exciting match the final scores were St Olave's 74 and Gilling 72. The Senior team won every event except the 25 yards butterfly in which Quirke in the record time of 17.2 seconds was just beaten by a touch in a very close finish. The captain, D. Ellingworth, in record times led his team to victory in both the relays; but his finest race was the 50 yards freestyle which he won in the record time of 33.8 seconds. Hardy was easily the winner of the 50 yards back crawl, his time of 40.6 seconds knocked off 3 seconds from the Gilling record. Tate did well to win the 50 yards breast stroke. Although the Junior team, captained by P. Millar, lost all six races, except for McKechnie, every boy in the team swam their distances in record times. The St Olave's Junior

team was so strong, that one could almost say that they were impossible to beat; they swam their relays in a faster time than their Senior team. Hattrell did well to swim 25 yards freestyle in 15.8 seconds which is 1½ seconds inside the Gilling record. R. Ellingworth and Beale did well to come second and third in the back stroke event, both in record time. It was a good match which was very much enjoyed by both teams.

On 4th July the fastest swimmers in the School competed in the Swimming Championships which were judged by Fr Julian; his task was a difficult one because there were several very close finishes in the swimming races. The most outstanding swimmer in the Championships was Quirke who had an easy win in the butterfly and only just failed to beat D. Ellingworth in the front crawl in what was a very close finish. May did well to win both the breast stroke and the survival which this year involved swimming in pyjamas that had to be taken off in the water and turned into a life-jacket. D. Ellingworth won the medley and Hardy the back crawl. In the Second Form Beale unexpectedly won the front crawl in a very close finish with Hattrell and Herdon. Beale also just managed to win the back crawl in another close finish with Glaister and R. Ellingworth. Sutherland just managed to beat Pagendam in the butterfly in the record time of 22.4 seconds. In the First Form R. Millar did well to win both the front crawl and the breast stroke; G. Forbes came second in both these events. The sub-aqua event was easily won by Hattrell with Pagendam second and Schulte third. In the T.A.R.S. relay May and Quirke managed to lead the Trojans to victory hotly pursued by D. Ellingworth's Romans who finished second less than one second behind them.

From the beginning of the year it was clear that the First Form were unusually proficient at swimming, though S. Bright and G. Forbes, both in their second year at Gilling, managed to keep ahead of the others in every Proficiency Test. Among the first year boys, R. Lovegrove, R. Millar, C. Richardson, J. Raynar, D. Forbes and M. Fattorini will very probably develop into excellent swimmers in the near future.