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TWENTY-ONE YEARS A QUEEN
6th February 1952-73

Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith.

On 11th May 1973, a millennium will have elapsed since the first recorded coronation, of King Edgar the Peaceful, celebrated at Bath. The

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EDITORIAL: A NEW DARK AGE?

The society or culture which has lost its spiritual roots is a dying culture, however prosperous it may appear externally. Consequently, the problem of social survival is not only a political or economic one; it is above all things religious, since it is in religion that the ultimate spiritual roots both of society and the individual are to be found.

Christopher Dawson, *Enquiries* vi.

Is the Church beginning to live through a new Dark Age; and, if so, what will be the place of the monasteries in the recovery from it? Let us be clear about the former Dark Age, when the superbly energetic hordes of barbarians swept across the civilised Mediterranean empire to batter at the gates of the cities of the West, reaching the gates of Hippo as St Augustine completed his *City of God* and died in 430. Europe became a desert of pagan culture as the winter of the Franks and Goths and Vandals closed in, bringing in its wake a collapse of communication in trade, in knowledge and in peoples. Sealed off from the Barbary coast and the caravans of the Sahara, from the riches of Byzantium material and spiritual, from the silks of Trebizond and spices of the Far East, Europe became a brooding self-subsistent economy, a rigid social structure surmounted by a military hierarchy consuming but unable to add to the heritage of a civilised and largely Christianised past. What lifted Europe out of this gloom were the castles that brought safety and secular organisation; and the monasteries (spiritual castles) that brought new life for the spirit, liturgical and cultural life, and humane care for the less fortunate. Later they provided clerks and bishops to administer society, and the men of letters to restore the traditions of literature. Only when that task grew beyond their reach, when the monastic cloister was overtaken by the academic, did they cease to be a restorative influence in society.

History never quite repeats itself. A new Dark Age will be of a different character, and its solution also. The monasteries will surely never be called to play so central a part in the recovery from it; but they will as surely have some part to play. The signs are there already that the Church is to face another winter and of course the magnitude of the problem will be enormously greater, for the world in terms of people in it and co-ordinative wholeness is far larger. For one thing, Africa and the Americas, almost half of the world today, were *terra incognita* then. Today, in a world expanding in population at an unprecedented rate, the

main problem arises not from the destruction of the Church from without or within, but from its own incapacity to keep up with the missionary demand put upon it if it is to go out and baptise all men. The Church, under God's grace, is made by men externalising their own inner faith and transmitting it to others who come to accept and then to join some sort of objectivised ecclesial structure, which then has its fruition in sanctifying further the present generation and drawing in the future to itself: it is a continuous process of going out and bringing in so as to lift up—of externalising and internalising.[1] That process needs grace and human energy enough to envelop society; and what if the grace and human energy grow weaker as society expands progressively faster? That is the beginning of the crisis.

Society, as we know, is expanding alarmingly in this century. It took until the seventeenth century for the world's population to reach five hundred million, and yet during the 1960s alone a further five hundred million have been added to the people of the world. Ever since 1650 the rate of growth has been accelerating, until in some regions—for example, in Latin America—it is now 3% per annum, which will double the population in the remaining years of this century in that region, with a continued acceleration of growth beyond that.[2] It is estimated that the population of Asia at the end of the century will be more than that of the whole world today, the population in the towns of Asia tripling in thirty years. Already the average monthly population increase in the subcontinent of India is a million. Thailand's population increase in the 1960s was equal to its population increase in the preceding half century, which gives some sense to the word "acceleration". The Philippines have a present growth rate which is calculated to double its population in the next twenty years.[3] With this growth rate the Catholic Church, even though it composes a sixth of the people of the world at 653 millions strong, cannot keep up. During the twenty-year period 1949-69 the number of Catholics in Africa (for example) increased from 11 millions to 33 millions, and in Asia from 6 millions to 14 millions: yet on both continents this increase kept the proportion of Catholics virtually unchanged, because of the sharp rise in population over the period. Faced with a massive task of evangelisation, the Church has made a massive response and by it has just held her own. In Latin America that has not been so.

While the demands are steadily increasing, the response from within the Church, in terms of priests and missioners able to go out to preach and sanctify, is alarmingly decreasing. It is true that during the period 1949-69 the number of priests, brothers, sisters and missioners in Africa and Asia

[1] Cf. James A. Ecks, "The Changing Church: Contributions from Sociology", *American Benedictine Review* XXIII.3 (September 1972), 385-96.

[2] Arthur McCormack, "Population Explosion: myth or reality?", JOURNAL LXXVII.1 (Spring 1972), 24-49.

[3] Second Asian Population Conference, Tokyo, November 1972; reported by Fr McCormack in *Tablet*, 25th November, 1117f. Thailand's population rose as follows: 8 millions in 1911, 16 millions in 1943, 24 millions in 1958, 32 millions in 1967. The Philippines rose from 33 millions in 1967 to 40 millions in 1972.

has doubled, that local priests in Africa have increased from 1,080 to 3,600 and in Asia from 3,450 to 9,800, and that in missionary seminaries ordinations have increased in the last decade from 400 to 600 per annum: all this is most encouraging.[4] But against it must be put some very harsh figures from the non-missionary areas of the Church. There the priesthood has suffered from a collapse of vocations in the ranks of the clergy, many of them leaving the priesthood and fewer coming to it. The Central Statistics Bureau in Rome has published figures for the whole Church during the period 1964-71: during that time 13,400 priests left the ministry (relatively more, it should be said, from the religious Orders than from the secular clergy). Now in Europe alone almost a quarter of the parishes and most pastoral centres have no resident priest at all, and the number of world-wide ordinations is not keeping the priesthood up to strength—by a ratio of almost exactly three ordinations to four deaths or departures, based on the 1969 figures (the last available). If we look at the most recent figures, which come from France (from the annual Bishops' Conference at Lourdes last October), we are told that in the decade 1963-72 students in French seminaries have dropped by almost 50%, ordinations have dropped by almost 60% and the number of deaths exceeding ordinations have risen considerably. In 1965 there were 41,000 diocesan priests in France; by 1975 it is expected that there will be only a little more than 31,000.[5]

The effect on the missions, where the task is greatest, seems so far to be the least alarming until we remind ourselves that the core of the Church's missionary effort has long been from those priests drawn into the Third World out of Europe. Recruitment in Holland and Belgium is now less than 10% of what it was some years ago. There are now in the developing countries 2,800 Irish priests and a further 4,000 of Irish descent, but that missionary response has recently shrunk to half what it was. The effect on the parishes of the non-missionary countries will certainly be that Masses and other services become overcrowded, and the sacraments—even the anointing of the seriously sick in hospital—harder to come by; preaching will become less common and less carefully done, so that those who habitually rely on the pulpit for the fostering or furtherance of their faith may slide back into ignorance and then superstition unless they are willing to take to lay sermons and spiritual reading; house visiting and other particular personal contact between clergy and laity will become inevitably curtailed however hard the clergy work at it; and a sense of alienation, even so much as anti-clericalism, may tend to grow up, which in turn will come to prejudice further vocations to the religious life. It is, unfortunately, a vicious circle, though there are those who interpret the same signs more favourably; and to add to it, more and more

[4] Report of the Fifth Plenary Assembly of the Sacred Congregation for Evangelisation, Rome, October 1972.

[5] Report by the auxiliary bishop of Bordeaux, Mgr François Fretelière, on priestly education to the Annual Episcopal Conference. Cf. *Tablet*, 4th November, 1060. In 1963 there were 5,280 seminary students and 573 ordinations, whereas in 1971 there were 2,840 seminary students and 237 ordinations.

priests will surely show the symptoms of overwork, which do not attract vocations to the life. In the Orders, the traditional apostolic tasks of teaching the humanities and the faith will be cut back, perhaps severely so as schools and theological centres perforce are semi-secularised; lectures, courses, retreats, holy days and conferences will dwindle in number and in number of directing personnel; hospitals, schools and seminaries will cease to be manned;[6] and particular missionary ventures at home and abroad will be adversely affected, the missionary monasteries no longer being kept replete from the parent monasteries[7] (for example). In fine, the laity, whose families of late have not been refreshing the ranks of the secular and regular clergy—virtually all of them celibate and so called from outside their own ranks—with their sons and daughters, can expect only to find themselves ever shorter of the ministrations of the clergy on whom they have properly come to rely so much, especially in the field of education. What will it become in future, a more predominantly lay Church, run in ever greater measure by lay men and women? Or will the vocational crisis bring forth its own reaction, a flowering of new vocations in a newer form?

At the root of this drying up of vocations lie two phenomena, a change of sociological nature in the Church as a whole (not that the inner nature of the Church will ever change, founded as it is by Christ); and a change of moral attitudes in the world. The Church of the first half of the century was one which attracted such descriptive adjectives as "monolithic", "closed", *semper eadem*, "rigid as a rock". It rested on a spirituality which stressed asceticism, sanctified suffering and expected unswerving—not to say uncritical—obedience. It was seen to be hierarchically structured, led by a Shepherd, relying on long-standing law codified finally in the little *codex juris canonici* provided by Cardinal Gasparri in 1915. Its liturgy was orientated to a loving submission to the Creator by men who eschewed the world and its ways and were content to see themselves as God's holy instruments. The Church of the second half of the century is more incarnational, searching not for certainty in rational dogmas and a final heaven, but understanding through the discovery of God in the wholeness of life now. It seeks not to overcome but transform the world,

[6] The famous American Jesuit seminary, Woodstock College, Maryland, the oldest theologate in the United States (founded in 1869), one time home of Gustave Weigel, S.J., and John Courtney Murray, S.J., has been closed by the Jesuit General. Three others remain: Weston College, Cambridge; Bellarmine School of Theology, Chicago; and the Jesuit School of Theology, Berkeley. The Jesuit theologate at St Louis University is to be turned into a theological graduate school and non-Jesuit seminary. The reason for all this is that the number of those coming forward for Jesuit training has so severely dropped that it is estimated that by 1978 only 120 students will require theological training. (The Jesuit quarterly, *Theological Studies*, edited by a member of the Papal Theological Commission, W. J. Burghardt, S.J., is currently published from Woodstock.) Cf. *Time*, 22nd January, 30-1.

[7] The Benedictines are as affected by loss of vocations as the other Orders; and the English Congregation no less than others. While the numbers of priests have remained steady around 450 in the last five years, the numbers of juniors and novices have dropped from 143 to 83. The Order has increased steadily since 1880 (2,765 strong), reaching 5,000 in 1900 and 10,000 in the early 1930s. In 1965 it had topped 12,000 but has decreased by ten per cent in the last half-decade and is still decreasing inordinately fast.

by participation rather than reservation—and this is especially evident in the tone of the conciliar decree *Gaudium et Spes* which offers joy and hope, recognising man's dignity and his aspirations in today's world. In a sense the Church is no longer elitist, for it accepts the values of other religions, the richness of ecumenical pluralism, the need for cultural diversity in teaching and worship, and the full compass of the brotherhood of man. Its liturgy has become flexible, more expressively relevant to the mundane needs of present men, more charged with contemporary symbolism and altogether more personal (personal towards God and inter-personal among people). There is a new responsibility among the laity, who were once content with the public teaching of the faith and are now more concerned with their private interpretation in conscience, which they regard as the working of responsible love: the "sheep" and "shepherd" parable is no longer so attractive. With the stress on personal responsibility in one's spiritual life has come a stress on spontaneity, on self-fulfilment (through giving as much as receiving), on the search for life more abundantly in God's graced earth. The stress has led to a secularity and an added poetry in the voicing of man's encounter with God, a belief that the Spirit is at work everywhere. This has been immensely encouraged by the new Pentecostalism, by charismatic prayer movements and by the vogue that swept across the 1960s of the writings of Jesuit Père Teilhard, silenced in his own time, but become eloquent from the grave soon after it. His work is shot through with the sanctification of all creation and the spiritualising activity of all men under grace. "Le Milieu Divin" proved the tract for the 1960s, as "The Hymn of the Universe" is proving the tract for the 1970s. Two passages which epitomise this doctrine are these:

> "Without any doubt there is *something* which links material energy and spiritual energy together and makes them a continuity. In the last resort there must *somehow* be but one single energy active in the world. And the first idea that suggests itself to us is that the soul must be a centre of transformation at which, through all the channels of nature, corporeal energies come together in order to attain inwardness and be sublimated in beauty and in truth."[8]

> "What paralyses life is lack of faith and lack of courage. The difficulties lie not in solving problems but in expressing them correctly; and we can now see that it is biologically undeniable that unless we harness passion to the service of spirit there can be no progress . . . The day will come when, after mastering the ether, the winds, the tides, gravity, we shall master the energies of love, for God. And then, for the second time in the history of the world, man will have made fire his servant."[9]

Of late the world has come to beckon more strongly to many people as the place of man's sanctification; and the seminaries and cloisters, missionary houses and religious hospitals are the losers.[10]

[8] Pensée 13 from "Hymn of the Universe" (Collins 1965), 87.

[9] From an unpublished writing, "The Evolution of Chastity", quoted in "On Love" (Collins 1972); transl. René Hague.

[10] Ecks, art. cit.

In the modern world there has been a profound change of moral standards, which have left their mark on the Church and on the religious calling. What may be seen as a moral collapse has been brought about by the changes of lifestyle in the communities of the affluent societies. Where values were once set by family behaviour and class mores, by the traditions of the past and inner convictions of the person, they are now too often set by a society which has grown less traditional and more competitive, more receptive to "other" orientation rather than objective values, to what is expected by the medium or the firm or the group one lives among.[11] This shift comes at a time when the imperial ethic of service of the underprivileged has been overtaken, and when the stability of the old middle-class professions, which brought their own distinctive way of life, is no longer so prevalent. The overall effect is that a plurality of values has arisen where there are too few recognised norms of moral behaviour set by transcendental criteria (God's laws) or social agreement (national custom).[12] Now all values may compete in a free market, the dominant for the moment imposing the pattern for the moment: for values are being brought down to the level of fashion. Perhaps this is most the case with the human body, where the dignity of male and female and respect for the life functions have both been prejudiced. Vastly increased knowledge in the biological and medical fields have brought familiarity and contempt. Nakedness in public, birth control, abortion, sterilisation are subjects of our time;[13] and limitation of families has caused new and surely impoverished forms of family life.

In the missionary world, the Church has come to realise that its flirtation with colonial regimes and even undemocratic regimes developed within countries has done it more harm than good. It sees now how much Christian missionary activity has been a divisive influence, denominations

[11] "We are pressured to chatter at cocktail parties with strangers as though they were intimates; we are tempted to use 'in' words—like 'linguistics' when we mean language—lest we appear not to know them; we are assailed by the use of mass media whether by politicians or pedlars, and expected by our reactions to match the predictions of market research; we are presumed to want to project a self-image in keeping with the patterns of advertising and fashion." T. C. O'Brien, quoted in *Tablet*, 28th October 1972, 1027.

[12] Cf. William C. McCready and Andrew M. Greeley, "The End of American Catholicism?", *America*, 28th October 1972, 334-8. Using the figures of the National Opinion Research Centre, Chicago, and others the authors make three tests: they show that there has been a major decline in church-going affecting the under forties only; that there has been a strong shift towards sexual permissiveness; and that both Catholic and Protestant opinion has shifted in the last decade about 20% towards favouring legal abortion, especially where it involved "involuntary pregnancy" (rape, defective foetus, etc.). Young Catholics, the writers conclude, are becoming indistinguishable from Protestants in their mores.

[13] Cf. "Social Trends", HMSO publication, a 200 pp. compendium of social statistics covering 1970-1. More than half the women of Britain are pregnant at their marriage. The illegitimate birthrate has risen by 44% in a decade. Abortions rose during 1969-71 by 265%. Professor Ivor Mills, Head of the Department of Investigative Medicine at Cambridge University, in a London lecture at the headquarters of the Family Planning Association on 29th November, said that, because teenagers are not instructed in contraceptives, there are now more than a thousand teenage abortions per year. His study of several hundred people between the ages of 16 and 23 showed that 30% of unmarried girls had had intercourse before reaching 21.

vying on a national basis—as English Protestants and French Catholics in East Africa—for the allegiance of the indigenous population; and this even happening within denominations but between missionary Orders or national missionary groups. Christianity, in its proselytising methods, has often appealed more to reason and less to custom than was prudent, desacralising old faiths instead of building on them and baptising them; and in so doing it has opened the way to disillusionment and rationalism, not to faith at all—it has created a contained self-reliance which undermines proper contributive community dependence. By its refusal to countenance either Marxist materialism or to foster the old customs and arts and religious myths of developing societies, it has been a force inhibiting social progress, breaking down but not sufficiently replacing old habit with new hope. So, faced by such factors, groups of developing societies break free from the thrall of western man's religion, eclectically selecting what they judge most suitable from all religions, old or new.[14] The signs of it are there already in the "exploding" Church of Africa. One of the curious responses of western man has been to begin to be interested in the ancient religions of the East, not with a missionary eye, but in themselves as though they carried a value no less than that of the one revealed religion, Christianity.

These are the symptoms of what the Church is to become, in the world as it is. What is it to become, a world of anarchic religions where no authority beyond conscience and private interpretation is recognised? A world of Catholicism thinly spread, propagated and kept alive very much by lay participation and local leadership? A world where the denominational lines between Catholic and Protestant, even between Christian and other ancient religions and modern religious expressions, are smudged by tolerance and indifference? A world of humanist values and confessional permissiveness? A world slackened in its belief in the transcendental dimension, the imperative God beyond? A world absorbed more with the concerns of present human personality than the call to a life of perfection *sub specie aeternitatis*? How may the Orders, and particularly the monasteries, make their contribution in face of all this?

Two lines of response seem especially needed. One is for certain centres to retain the old perfections while adapting sufficiently, but no more than sufficiently, to new needs. The Church, or at least some part of it, should be slow to adopt new ways and chary of losing what is good from the past, testing innovations rigorously in the safe confines of the known and the trusted. Monasteries should perhaps become more overtly centres of orthodoxy, of peace, of traditional continuity, of social and religious stability. They should not reduce but increase their energies in learning, being open to new learning and new experiment; but within the context of tried understanding, and, of course, close obedience to the

[14] Cf. Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C.R., "Patterns of Christian Acceptance: Individual response to the missionary impact, 1550-1950" (Oxford 1972), the Wider Lens; Adrian Hastings, "Africa, the Church and the Ministry", *Clergy Review*, Jan.-Feb.-Mar 1973, an important article not available at the time of writing this.

hierarchy of the Church who are entrusted with the Apostolic duty of handing on (*tradere*). Here there is evident room for generous pluralism of expression; and indeed the deeper the stability of monastic communities within the Christian tradition, the more open they can afford to become to the varying kinds of crucible-transformations of spiritual attitudes. As the role of a monk develops in a Catholic ethos of increasing sophistication (at the psychological-intellectual level, at least, if not the spiritual) so monasteries should be expected to develop more divergently, both as to one another and sometimes within themselves, reflecting in microcosm the convolutions of the worldwide Church, but with some special safety from their inbuilt mutual checks upon their orthodoxy.

The other response concerns community making, group fostering, ecclesial assembly building—the business of gathering small Christian Churches together. There are already coalescing (it is one of the emerging fruits from the symptoms we have seen) what the French call *Communautés de base*, which reorder the individual and collective life of their members in all domains, feeling for a new kind of collective faith, a new coherence less secure and "more in touch with reality". There is something of a search for Shangri-la in these communities, which hope to revolutionise society by creating a model religious society in microcosm, asking from each according to his means, giving to each according to his needs. These communities face the same tensions that monasteries do, the pull of the apostolate and of contemplation, the ways of the extrovert and of the introspective, and so forth. Monasteries do not, of course, experience that "total democracy" which descends to "sociogamy"—untrammelled sharing, marital as much as material; and because of that, they have something to teach of discipline, of individuality and privacy before God. And they have much to teach about ceremony, symbolic gesture, liturgical prayer and the celebration of the highest community function, the eucharistic action before God.[16] If there is to be a new Dark Age, it will be for eucharistic community making that the monasteries will again be most needed, for that and for the rejuvenation of the old culture, the perennial philosophy.

[16] Clem Gorman, "Making Communes" (1970); Fergus Kerr, O.P., "Communes and Communities", *New Blackfriars*, September 1972, 388-98; Julian Walter, A.A., "Grass Roots Communities in France", *The Month*, January 1973, 15-18.

There has been a change of Secretary. During the last financially difficult five years, when printing costs have risen steeply, Fr Leo Chamberlain has met increasing costs in considerable measure by increasing sales and advertising. His work has allowed the JOURNAL *to continue at its present level.*

HOLY RUSTICITY AND LEARNED RIGHTEOUSNESS

by

DEREK BAKER, M.A., B.LITT., F.R.HIST.S.

It has never been entirely clear to any generation after St Benedict's time just what is fit work for a monk, and where the limits should be drawn. The *Regula Magistri* suggests that, where garden work is fit for a monk, field work is fit only for hired labour; and that it is nobler to write than to plant vines. The *Regula Benedicti* suggests that they are truly monks if they are driven to labour as ordinary men at harvest time, with the inference that this is not normal, for it takes the monk from his hours of liturgy and *lectio divina*. Should a monk, then, study at depth, knowing that today at least he will find himself drawn out of his cloister certainly for short periods regularly to consult others and to pursue documents? Should he give himself formally to teaching, so that the world comes to his cloister and transforms it? Should he write, so that he finds himself drawn into a circle of secular scholars and conferenciers? Pope St Gregory, in his Prologue to "Dialogues II" told of St Benedict's experience: "He was sent to the schools of Rome. But when he saw many of the scholars pursuing the deadly paths of vice . . . he despised his studies, abandoned his home and his father's wealth, and desiring to please God alone sought for the habit of holy religion. Thus did he leave the world, being knowingly unknowing and wisely unlearned." But in our generation can we afford to be *scienter nesciens* or to be *sapienter indoctus*? Has learning not so invaded the cloister that the ancient desire for intellectual insulation is beyond present possibility or indeed present intention?

At the winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society in January, Dr Christopher Holdsworth examined the white monk endeavour to return to the glorification of manual labour, in a paper entitled "The Blessings of Work, the Cistercian View". This paper by the editorial secretary of that Society examines that other process, the black monk movement away from field labour towards the labours of the intellect.

In the memoir attached to the end of his "Ecclesiastical History" Bede remarked of his life as a monk "I . . . . devoted myself entirely to the study of the scriptures. And while I have observed the regular discipline and sung the choir offices daily in church, my chief delight has always been in study, teaching and writing". The sentiment is entirely opposed to St Bernard's dictum that "a monk's duty is not to teach, but to lament", and yet both men inhabited a world to which the monastic involvement in learning was vital. In Bernard's lifetime, it is true, scholarship and enquiry were moving away from the monasteries, but even in the mid-twelfth century monastic scholars made important contributions to the store of western learning, and they could claim with Bede that "I have worked both for my own benefit and that of my brethren". It is not without its significance that the decrees of the third Lateran Council should look to the resumption of teaching in monastic as well as in secular schools where it had lapsed. By 1215, however, all had changed. The fourth Lateran Council made no mention of monastic schools: they had no significant contributions to make to the programmes of Innocent III, and were irrelevant to the intellectual developments of the time. Already, by the

thirteenth century, the monasteries were submerged in that *sancta rusticitas* which the Evesham monk and Oxford scholar, Robert Joseph, writing two centuries later, abhorred, and far removed from the *docta iusticia* of the university which he loved. It was not an isolation which was lightly accepted, and as Dom Ursmer Berlière pointed out, the later Middle Ages produced a new type of monk, the *moine universitaire* in response to it. Important though this development was, however, it must remain in question whether it was either necessary or wise for monks to seek to share in the intellectual developments of the later Middle Ages, and by so doing to compromise the essential principles of the life which they professed.

Educational Development in the later Medieval Church

> After praying often to God for Divine guidance, and after numerous deliberations with the cardinals and other wise men I decided, following the example of the ancient Fathers, to summon a general council which shall exterminate vice, foster virtues, redress wrongs, reform morals, stamp out heresies, fortify the faith, put an end to discord, establish peace, overthrow oppression, protect liberty, gain to the Holy Land Christian princes and peoples, and make wise laws for the higher and lower clergy.[1]

There could scarcely be a better indication of the problems and temper of the age of Innocent III than this extract from the letter of summons to the Lateran Council of 1215. The thirteenth century was marked by great activity in reform and organisation, and, as the most recent historian[2] of the later medieval Church in England has stressed, it is against the background of thirteenth century initiative and aspiration that the achievements and failures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must be judged.

The decrees of the fourth Lateran Council are miscellaneous in character, ranging from the opening profession of faith, and the condemnation of Joachim of Fiore, to the regulation of the number of horses that might be included in an archdeacon's retinue on visitation.[3] Not the least important amongst them are those concerned with the education of the clergy. Decree XI laid down that every larger church should possess a master for the free instruction of the clergy in grammar, and every metropolitan church a lecturer in theology.[4] Decree XXVII emphasised the responsibility of the bishop for the education and learning of candidates for ordination,[5] while Decree XXX stressed that provincial synods should

1 Abbreviated and translated in [M.] Gibbs and [J.] Lang, [*Bishops and Reform 1215-1272*], Oxford Historical Series IV (Oxford 1934), 96. See [J. D.] Mansi, [*Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*], XXII (Paris/Leipzig 1903) cols 953-1086.

2 [W. A.] Pantin, [*The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*] (Cambridge 1955, repr. University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1963).

3 For a recent account of archdeacons' activities see J. Scammell, "The rural chapter in England from the eleventh to the fourteenth century", *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[eview]*, LXXXVI, No. 338 (London 1971), 1-21.

4 Mansi, XXII, col 999. See Appendix A and B.

5 Mansi, XXII, col 1015. See Appendix C.

keep an eye on episcopal and capitular appointments, in order to ensure that only decent, educated candidates were installed.[6] Such concern for the provision of a literate, trained clergy was not, of course, new,[7] and there is no reason to think that Innocent III's legislation had any immediate effect either on episcopal policies or on the standards of clerical education.[8] Of the Lateran decrees as a whole it has been remarked that the constitutions of the thirteenth-century English bishops "fall very short of a determined campaign on the part of the bishops as a body to exterminate the evils which corroded the Church and to arouse a spirit of enthusiasm and reform",[9] and the lack of reference to educational matters in these constitutions goes far to confirm this general judgment in this particular respect.[10]

The problems of clerical education and training were deep-seated, and not to be resolved by any particular act of reforming legislation. It required in the thirteenth century, as in any other, continuous visitation and painstaking supervision if standards were simply to be maintained, let alone raised.[11] Yet if the problem was the same there was one important respect in which the thirteenth century differed from those which preceded it, and offered greater hope of success. The rise of the universities created a new organ in the Church, and it was one "to which ecclesiastical reformers looked for the transformation of the Church".[12] Just how much

6 Mansi, XXII, col 1018. See Appendix D.

7 Attention has already been drawn to the connection between Lateran III and Lateran IV. See also the comments in Pantin, 110. An earlier example of papal concern for the instruction of the clergy can be found in the pontificate of Gregory the Great; see the comments of P. Llewellyn, "Rome in the Dark Ages" (London 1970), 103.

8 "There is no evidence in all this to show that the Lateran Decree [XI] had any effect at all", Gibbs and Lang, 156. For the circulation of the Lateran decrees in England in the thirteenth century, and their republication by English bishops, see Gibbs and Lang, 105-130, 154-157, 162-164. See, however, the judgment of Knowles, David Knowles, *[The] R[eligious] O[rders in England]*, I (Cambridge 1948), 4.

9 *Ibid.*, 130.

10 Gibbs and Lang concluded that so little attention was apparently paid to Decree XI by the English bishops "because the bishops considered that there were already sufficient educational centres" (p. 157), but this leaves in question the efficacy of such schools as existed, and should be contrasted with continuous contemporary complaints of the illiteracy of the clergy, and with the remark of Aquinas in 1257 that theologians had not been provided in metropolitan churches "through lack of letters" (*ibid.*, 156). On cathedral schools see K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester 1949), 187-208.

11 See, for example, the references given by Gibbs and Lang, 162-164. It should be noted, however, that these range from the clerk *fere totaliter illiteratus*, who needed instruction in the basic *morum honestas* and *litterarum scientia*, to those clergy granted licences for lengthy periods of non-residence in order to proceed to higher studies at the universities.

12 Pantin, 105. "The outstanding features of the episcopate of this time were . . . the presence in it of experienced scholars, churchmen thoroughly grounded in theology and canon law, trained in the newly-risen secular schools where, if anywhere, the needs of the Church as a whole and the ideal of Innocent III would be understood and discussed", Gibbs and Lang, 176.
In the thirteenth century . . . there was a solid body (often a majority) of men formed in a single school, devoted to a single policy, and bound by common interests to each other and to Rome. To these university-trained professional seculars the one interest was the administration of their dioceses according to the norm of councils and decretals, and in close dependence on Rome, *RO* I (1948), 4.

use was made of the opportunities afforded by the universities can be seen in the number of licences granted by active and reforming bishops to their clergy for leave of absence to study. Simon of Ghent, for example, scholar, former Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and "a man with a strong sense of pastoral duty",[13] granted 308 such licences during the seventeen and a half years for which he ruled the see of Salisbury (1297-1315). Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester from 1268 to 1302, granted thirty-one licences during the first three years of his episcopate.[14] Of these, seventeen give an indication of the subjects to be studied—one is to study the liberal arts, another "a lawful science", one "the holy scriptures and canons", one canon law and thirteen theology and canon law. This was not basic education, and these were not the men to raise the general level of clerical competence by their return from the schools to the ranks of the parochial clergy. These were able men destined, by and large, for careers in the academic centres and administration of the Church. Their place was in the ranks of those "sublime and lettered persons" to whom the twenty-ninth decree of the fourth Lateran Council referred.[15] As a recent account of the English parochial clergy in the early sixteenth century has emphasised, though graduates may have comprised between a third and a sixth of the parochial clergy at that period "they rarely looked after their parishes in person . . . A university education . . . acted as an insurance against having to spend one's days in the humdrum, bucolic round of parochial life".[16]

Yet it would be wrong to suggest that the educational developments of the later medieval centuries were entirely without effect on standards of observance, instruction and administration within the dioceses. The influence of the schools might be limited, the legislation and reforming activity of popes and bishops slow to come to fruition, but they were not entirely barren. Dr Pantin may comment "in the twelfth and early thirteenth century the cathedral schools were still a reality, but they subsequently declined, partly perhaps because of the rise of the universities",[17] but this should not be taken to indicate an absolute eclipse. As he himself points out, "at some cathedrals at least scholastic activity appears or reappears in the early fourteenth century",[18] and the fluctuation in the fortunes of these schools can be seen as an indication of a change in educational values rather than of decline. Where, initially, curricular standards and local academic practices had seemed outdated, and had led clerical scholars to look and to study elsewhere, subsequent developments ensured the staff and the expertise for the resurrection of the cathedral

[13] Pantin, 112. For Simon of Ghent and his contemporaries see *ibid.*, 16-18, 111-113.

[14] Gibbs and Lang, 164.

[15] *sublimes tamen et literatas personas.*

[16] Review of [P.] Heath, [*The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*], in *EHR* LXXXVI, No. 338 (1971), 127.

[17] Pantin, 110-111. See [A. L.] Poole, [*Medieval England*], 2 vols. (Oxford 1958), 521-3.

[18] *Ibid.*, 111.

schools. John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter (1327-1369) makes the fourteenth-century position clear. In 1331 he wrote to the pope:

> Owing to the slenderness and smallness of the income of the ministers of the said church [of Exeter], there is a very small number of canons in comparison with the other cathedral churches of England; wherefore persons notably literate and useful for the edification of souls and for the defence of the rights of the said church have been wont to be appointed by the bishop's predecessors by ordinary right; and now he has been unable to appoint and promote any theologian or anyone of his own family.[19]

The trouble, apparently, was excessive papal provision, and Grandisson returns to this theme in a letter of 1349 to Edward III.

> I have been so burdened and charged with provisors of the court of Rome, until this pestilence, that . . . I have been unable to advance any of my men . . . and now, dearest Lord, with your leave, as God wills that I live and am able to advance those to whom I have been for a long time past bound and obliged, and also Masters of Divinity, who can preach and lecture, to the honour of God, in the church of Exeter, of whom there is now great lack, for there is no one residing here; I have by God's grace firmly in purpose to deliver myself to fill up the said church, before any more provisors come . . .[20]

It is plain that for Grandisson, who had himself studied at Paris, the problem was not lack of masters and theologians prepared to come to Exeter, but the difficulty of beneficing them in the face of royal and papal provision. Nor was Exeter unique in this respect: London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells all demonstrate the influence exercised by scholar-bishops in their dioceses,[21] while even the curialist archbishop of Canterbury Walter Reynolds (1313-27) can be found displaying a practical interest in the schools of his see.[22]

That this growth of education outside the universities affected more than the episcopal and capitular schools, and was not without its effect on the rank and file of Christian society can be clearly seen in the proliferation of local grammar schools, a subject still best approached through the pioneering works of A. F. Leach.[23] The very quarrels that

[19] Quoted Pantin, 116.

[20] *Ibid.*, 115.

[21] For a full discussion of this whole matter see Pantin, 105-122.

[22] In 1324 Reynolds can be found advising the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, to give their monk-lecturer a study, an assistant, and a stipend, like the lecturers in other churches, *ibid.*, 118.

[23] A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* (London 1896); *The Schools of Medieval England* (London 1915). See Poole, 531, 537-8, for the grammar schools in the fourteenth and fifteenth century—"the grammar schools of the country soon came to depend largely upon the universities for their better qualified schoolmasters, and the grammar schools of Oxford to be noted for their masters". See also [K. L.] Wood-Legh, [*Perpetual Chantries in Britain*] (Cambridge 1965), 269, "the usual reason for desiring that a chantry priest should be a learned man was . . . in order that he might also serve as a schoolmaster. This was an ideal way of employing his leisure . . . and, fortunately, a considerable number of founders, mainly in the two centuries prior to the Reformation, required their priests to instruct the youth". Not more than one chantry priest in eleven, however, is likely to have been a schoolmaster.

arose between different schools established in the same town are an indication of the vitality of the development, and demonstrate that, at least in that age, schoolmastering was a profitable occupation. The most significant example, however, of the diffusion of education amongst the lower clergy and the laity is to be found in the instructional and devotional literature of the later Middle Ages.[24] The multiplication and elaboration in the fourteenth century of the manuals of instruction for parish priests, mainly in Latin, of which the "Oculus Sacerdotis" (c. 1320-1328) of William of Pagula may be taken as representative, and of the vernacular treatises on morals and religion like "Handling Sin" (1303), demonstrate the constant concern amongst educated men for the improvement of the parochial clergy, while the popularity of mystical literature like "The Cloud of Unknowing", amongst the devout laity is an indication not simply of lay literacy, but also

> presupposes a thorough grounding in dogmatic and moral instruction, through the pulpit and the confessional as well as through reading. Such a state of affairs would have been impossible with a completely disorganized and ignorant clergy and laity, and it represents the final outcome, on however limited a scale, of what Innocent III and the bishops had been working for.[25]

It remains true, of course, that the availability of manuals and treatises does not necessarily mean that they were read, and it is impossible to say how many priests and laymen made use of them. It is important, nonetheless, that they were available, and, in at least one case, available at first hand. William of Pagula (died c. 1332) was a noted scholar, perhaps Doctor of Canon Law at Oxford, certainly "one of the few outstanding canonist writers that later medieval England produced".[26] He was also a working parish priest—vicar of Winkfield, near Windsor, in the diocese of Salisbury, from 1314, and penitentiary for the deanery of Reading in 1322: possibly, he was a protégé of Bishop Simon of Ghent.[27] No doubt William of Pagula is an exception to the normal run of parochial clergy, but there may have been others like him, less eminent, but just as well trained. At all events, it is worth bearing him in mind when the later medieval parochial clergy are dismissed as "scarcely . . . intellectually alert, or at all abreast of the moving currents in the world of thought".[28] In similar fashion the nineteen editions, between 1483 and 1532, of Mirk's "Festiall", itself a product of fourteenth century zeal, may exemplify the failure of parochial clergy to think or write for themselves, equally they may be index of renewed and extended pastoral activity in however circumscribed a form. The work may have gained some popularity, too, from Mirk's advice, singularly appropriate in early sixteenth-century circumstances, on

[24] A detailed account of this literature is given by Pantin, 189-262.

[25] *Ibid.*, 191.

[26] *Ibid.*, 196, see pp. 195-202 for discussion of the *Oculus Sacerdotis*.

[27] Not Henry of Ghent. The name is given wrongly twice on p. 195.

[28] See the review of Heath, *EHR* LXXXVI, No. 338 (1971), 127.

how to cope with tiresome laymen who ask difficult questions about the liturgy of Holy Week.

The faults which afflict the medieval clergy are persistent; they continue to plague the reformation churches and are not easily or quickly eradicated by tridentine decrees,[29] protestant academies[30] or archidiaconal inquisition.[31] Sixteenth-century bishops might be inclined to echo John Jewel's despair in the early 1560's—"alas, are we able to make learned men upon the sudden"[32]—but they were in a significantly better position than men like Grosseteste. Their clergy might be

> unable to answer . . . to questions moved to them in the Lattyn tongue of the principles of Religion, and able very meanely to satisfy questions . . . in . . . English[33]

but this is a far cry from those priests whom Roger Bacon castigated—*officium divinum de quo parvum aut nihil intelligunt sicut besta*.[34] The difference is the measure of the success, incomplete and hard-won though it might be, of those educational reforms and initiatives given new impetus and direction in the thirteenth century.

The Mendicant Orders and Education

This brief résumé of educational developments within the later medieval Church has inevitably focused on the part played by the secular clergy, from pope to penitentiary, but this should not be taken to imply that regulars had nothing to contribute. Indeed, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century the mendicants were probably the most dynamic influence both in the universities and the dioceses.[35] The Dominican Order, as its Constitutions stress, was concerned from its foundation with "preaching and the salvation of souls";[36] every convent was a school and there could be no foundation without a doctor of theology.[37] For the Dominicans "ignorance and intellectual error were the direct objects of attack, to be confronted with all the resources of a trained mind",[38] and it

[29] See L. E. Halkin, "La formation du clergé catholique après le concile de Trente", in *M[iscellanea] H[istoriae] E[cclesiasticae]* III, ed. Derek Baker (Louvain 1970), 109-125.

[30] See H. Meylan, "Le recrutement et la formation des pasteurs dans les églises reformées du XVIéme siècle", *MHE* III (1970), 127-150.

[31] See R. Peters, "The training of the 'Unlearned' clergy in England during the 1580's: a regional study", *MHE* III (1970), 184-197.

[32] *Ibid.*, 184.

[33] Quoted from the returns of the archdeacon of St Albans in 1586, *ibid.*, 193.

[34] Quoted Gibbs and Lang, 164.

[35] See *RO* I (1948), 150-152. "the convents of the Preachers became centres of dynamic power, extinguishing or at least eclipsing for the time all other founts of philosophical and theological light, and serving as sources whence all Europe drew the waters of doctrine", *ibid.*, 152.

[36] Preface to Dist I, "cum ordo noster specialiter ad predicationem et animarum salutem ab initio noscatur institutus fuisse".

[37] *Constitutions* Dist II, cap 1, "Conventus . . . absque priore et doctore non mittatur".

[38] *RO* I (1948), 151.

comes as no surprise to find the early establishment of *studia generalia* at the universities as the culmination of the Dominican educational system —Paris in 1228, Oxford, Cologne, Montpellier and Bologna twenty years later.[39] Where the Dominicans had led the Friars Minor soon followed. Three years after the arrival of the Dominicans the Franciscan mission arrived in England, and like its predecessor pushed on rapidly to London and Oxford.[40] In spite of Francis's own renunciation of learning, the background and interest of the first English minister provincial, Agnello of Pisa,[41] coupled with the rapid recruitment of university-trained masters, of whom Adam Marsh[42] was the most eminent, soon gave an intellectual slant to the activities of the English Franciscans. This development was consolidated when, between 1227 and 1229, Robert Grosseteste, first Chancellor of the University of Oxford and *Magister Scholarum*, began to lecture in the friars' new school in St Ebbe's. Grosseteste's encouragement of study amongst the Minors is well known. Without it, he said, "it will certainly be with you as with religious of other orders who, as we see with such sadness, walk in the darkness of ignorance".[43] Such was not to be the fate of the Franciscans. With the Dominicans they comprised, in Roger Bacon's words, the "two student orders".[44] The opportunities for extended residence in order to study afforded them by their houses at the universities placed secular masters and scholars at a great disadvantage in relation to them. Until the proliferation of colleges in the fourteenth century[45] provided seculars with comparable opportunities the friars dominated university teaching. At Oxford, for example, in the twenty years between 1282 and 1302, two-thirds of the theologians were religious, only one-third seculars.[46] It required the new collegiate foundations, small though they might be, to redress this balance.[47]

[39] Cambridge only became a *studium generale* in c. 1350.

[40] The Minors landed at Dover on 10th September 1224; before 1st November they were in Oxford, and a week later had hired a house of their own in St Ebbe's. See *RO* I (1948), 130-133.

[41] Bartholomew of Pisa remarks of Agnello "sollicitus fuit de studio", though this judgment is qualified, "postea doluit, quando videbat quod fratres studebant in vanis, necessariis pretermissis", see *RO* I (1948), 135, n. 3.

[42] He entered the Order at Worcester between 1226 and 1232.

[43] Quoted *RO* I (1948), 136.

[44] See *RO* I (1948), 205, n. 1.

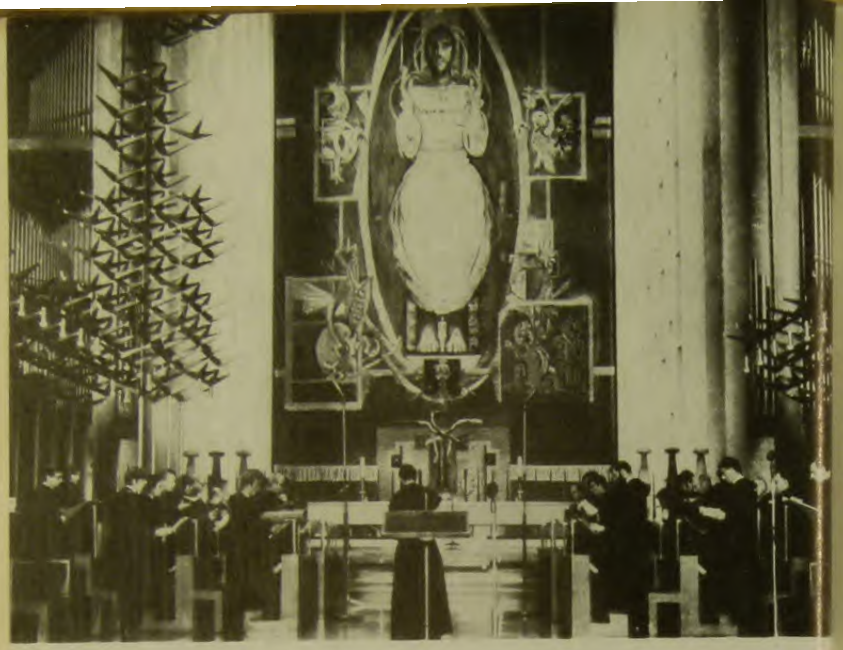
[45] At Oxford, University, Balliol and Merton were thirteenth century foundations. To these were added Exeter (1314), Oriel (1324/6), Queen's (1341) and New College (1379). At Cambridge, only Peterhouse was founded in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century seven more foundations were made—King's Hall (c. 1316), Michaelhouse (1324), Clare (1326), Pembroke (1347), Gonville Hall (1349), Trinity Hall (1350) and Corpus Christi (1352). There were no further foundations at Cambridge until God's-house in 1439.

[46] See Pantin, 108, referring to A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford theology and theologians c. 1280-1300, O[xford] H[istorical] S[ociety]* XCVI (Oxford 1932).

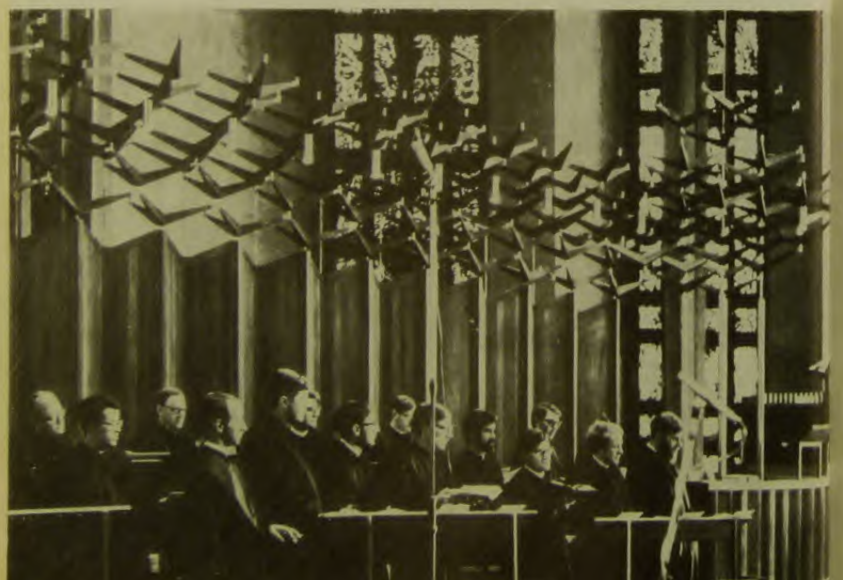
[47] H. E. Salter, *Medieval Oxford, OHS*, C (1936), 97, estimates that in c. 1360 the six Oxford colleges only contained, in total, 40 MAs, 23 BAs and ten undergraduates, but "the fourteenth-century colleges had an importance out of all proportion to their size", Pantin, 108.

By courtesy of the York City Art Gallery

THE MINSTER, THE WEST FRONT
by an unknown artist, circa 1840.



English Benedictines at Coventry Cathedral
See Community Notes.



The Monks and the Universities

The participation of the friars in university life and scholarship is striking, and their studies were directly related to an omnipresent teaching and preaching activity. Yet it would be wrong to see the mendicants as the only regular clergy involved in the life of the schools: not all religious, as Grosseteste complained, "walked in the darkness of ignorance". This point is plainly made by the decrees of the Chapter of the English black monk abbots of the province of Canterbury in 1277.[48] Following the fourth Lateran Council's decree (XII) *In singulis regnis* the English black monk abbots had begun to co-operate in triennial Chapters in the administration and reform of their order. True, the new policy got off to a most uncertain start,[49] and there were notable and persistent absentees amongst the abbots,[50] but by the reign of Edward I Chapters were capable of vigorous and sustained action. In 1277, under the presidency of Nicholas de Spina, Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury (1273-83), and John of Taunton, Abbot of Glastonbury (1274-90), the forty-five abbots present agreed a full set of constitutions for the reform of the monastic life—*Statum monastici ordinis ad suam excellenciam primitivam . . . reducere . . . impellamur*. Amongst their aims was the pruning of the monastic timetable to permit study, and the establishment of a common house of studies at Oxford. Until its inauguration such houses as were able were to provide a public lecturer in theology. This, of course, was simply a reaffirmation of the tentative decree of the Chapter of 1247, that selected monks should be given a daily lecture on theology or canon law by a lecturer who might be either a religious or a secular. Neither in 1247 nor 1277, however, was spectacular success achieved. The wording of the decrees allowed houses to opt out, and without a house of studies at the university systematic study at a lower level lacked purpose. There was episcopal opposition to the changes, too, notably from the Franciscan Archbishop of Canterbury, Pecham, who may have seen the black monk initiatives as an attempt to trespass in mendicant pastures, and who certainly had a poor opinion of monks—"idlers, barrack-room lawyers, fools and dunces" Walter of Wenlock reports that he termed them.[51] In the event it was not until 1283 that the first hesitant steps were taken to found Gloucester College. Its future was not assured until 1320/1; it was never to be a true college and never became a common house of studies for all English black monks, or even for those of the southern province.[52]

[48] For discussion of the institution and development of these Chapters see *RO* I (1948), 9-27. The legislation of the Chapter of 1277 is dealt with on pp. 12-16, 20-27, particularly pp. 21-27. For the Chapters see [W. A. Pantin], *Chapters [of the English Black Monks 1215-1540]*, Camden Series, 3rd Series, vols. XLV, XLVIII, LIV (London 1931-7).

[49] At the Chapter of 1222 one of the presidents failed to appear. At that of 1225 neither the presidents nor their deputies attended.

[50] Notably the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.

[51] "musardos, brevitores, fatuos et bollardos", see *RO* I (1948), 26.

[52] For Gloucester College see the references in Pantin, *Chapters;* W. A. Pantin, "Gloucester College", *Oxoniensia*, XI-XII (Oxford 1945-7), 65-74; [H.] Aveling and [W. A.] Pantin, *[The Letter-Book of Robert Joseph]*, *OHS*, new series XIX (1967); *RO* I (1948), 26-7; *RO* II (1955), 14-19, 28 note; V. H. Galbraith, "New Documents about Gloucester College", in *Snappe's Formulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, *OHS* LXXX (1924), 336-386b.

While the northern province had never attempted to establish a common house at Oxford, the cathedral priory of Durham had begun to send monks there before the end of the thirteenth century,[53] and with the death of Bishop Hatfield of Durham (1345-81) in 1381 his legacy made possible the completion of a project which had begun with the first purchase of land at Oxford in 1286, almost a century earlier.[54] The third black monk house[55] at Oxford was the creation of Christ Church, Canterbury, a house which played no part in the activities of the black monk Chapters. In 1331 it owned a hall at Oxford, and maintained three monks there, but it was not until twenty years later, on the initiative of Archbishop Islip, that Canterbury Hall was founded, and it took another twenty years for the monks to be left in peace, and in possession.[56]

The difficulties experienced by the English black monks in establishing their houses of study is an indication of the weakness of the provincial Chapters.[57] It took fifty years for the decree of 1277 to be given real effect; the union of the two provinces by the Constitutions of Benedict XII (1336)[58] seems to have had no influence on the independent development of Durham College, and the establishment of Canterbury College is a demonstration of the ultimate success of the priors of Christ Church in denying the jurisdiction of even the most powerful of capitular presidents.[59] Such divisions, too, made it difficult to give full effect to the reforming constitutions of the Cistercian Pope Benedict XII, which had laid down regulations for the ordering and maintenance of the common house of studies; decreed that one monk in twenty from each community should attend an approved university to graduate in theology or canon law, though the legists were never to outnumber the theologians, and ordered all monasteries to have a master in grammar, logic and philosophy. Evidence is abundant that these decrees were never put into full effect.[60] Outside the greater monasteries there were few lecturers *in primitivis scientiis;* many houses defaulted on their quota of monk-scholars, as well as on their monetary contributions, and few houses could spare their ablest monks for the nine years it took to proceed to a doctorate in theology, even if they had already been excused the preliminary eight-year course in arts and philosophy.[61]

[53] Between 1290 and 1296.

[54] Bishop Hatfield's legacy established Durham College as a house for eight monks, with eight secular students in grammar and philosophy as general servants to the monks. See *RO* II (1955), 19-20.

[55] For Canterbury College see W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College, OHS,* new series VI-VIII (1947-50); *RO* II (1955), 20-21, particularly p. 20, n. 3.

[56] It was established in its final form, and furnished with statutes, by Archbishop Courtenay in 1384.

[57] See *RO* I (1948), 15-16.

[58] For Benedict XII see *RO* II (1955), 2-5. His constitutions are printed in D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae,* 4 vols. (London 1737) II, 588 seq.

[59] For the attempt by Thomas de la Mare, Abbot of St Albans, to exercise presidential authority over Christ Church see *RO* II (1955), 43-45.

[60] See *ibid.,* 15-24.

[61] See Aveling and Pantin, pp. xx-xxi; *RO* II (1955), 17-19, 21-22.

University studies were time-consuming and disruptive of the normal pattern of the monastic life. For friars, it has been said, "conversion meant an intensification of the life of the schools":[62] there could be no such identification for true monks, and, in the twelfth century, the white monks had gone out of their way to emphasise the non-intellectual character of the regular life.[63] It comes as something of a surprise, therefore, to find that it was the Cistercians who first established permanent monastic relations with the new intellectual centres.

At this point in Cistercian history, as at the beginning, an Englishman is prominent. Stephen of Lexington,[64] who was converted to the Cistercian life while studying theology under Edmund of Abingdon at Oxford in 1221, had a meteoric rise in the Order. Abbot of Stanley in 1223, he was in charge, at the direction of the General Chapter, of the visitation and reformation of the Irish houses of the Order in 1227.[65] Two years later he was Abbot of Savigny, and in 1243 he became Abbot of Clairvaux. His own background of study at Paris and Oxford, and his realisation of the necessity to encourage learning within the Order,[66] made him the prime mover in the establishment of a house of studies at Paris. Such a project had been considered by one of his predecessors at Clairvaux, but there is no doubt that Stephen was responsible for its achievement. In 1245 the General Chapter "for the first time imposed on the Order a co-ordinated system of studies".[67] The capitular statutes instructed every abbot who was willing and able to establish a school (*studium*) in his house; decreed the institution of a *studium theologiae* in each province, and allowed abbots to send to these provincial *studia* those monks whom they thought most suitable.[68] The same Chapter had approved the establishment of the house at Paris. Development was rapid, and by 1250, after a change of site, the new, enlarged college had received its first student monks, already by that date drawn from a number of houses. Though under the jurisdiction of Clairvaux, the Chardonnet was a house of studies for the whole Order,

[62] *RO* II (1955), 150.

[63] "Nulli liceat abbati, nec monacho, nec novitio, libros facere, nisi forte cuiquam in generali capitulo concessum fuerit", [J. M.] Canivez, *[Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786],* 8 vols. (Louvain 1933-1941), I, p. 26, 1134, No. LVIII.

[64] For Stephen of Lexington see [C. H.] Lawrence, ["Stephen of Lexington and Cistercian University Studies in the Thirteenth Century"], *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* XI, No. 2 (London 1960), 164-178; B. Griesser, "Registrum Epistolarum Stephani de Lexinton", *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* II (Rome 1946), 1-118, VIII (1952), 181-378; [J. A.] Watt, *[The Church and the two Nations in medieval Ireland]* (Cambridge 1970), 85-107.

[65] See Watt, n. 64 above.

[66] See below, p. 30.

[67] Lawrence, 173.

[68] "Ut in singulis abbatiis Ordinis nostri, in quibus abbates habere potuerint vel voluerint, habeatur studium, ita quod ad minus in singulis provinciis provideatur abbatia una in qua habeatur studium theologiae . . . Ad dictas abbatias mittere poterunt de monachis suis quos ad hoc magis idoneos viderint, ita tamen quod ad id compelli non poterunt quibus facultas deerit vel voluntas . . . Canivez II, p. 289-290, 1245, Nos. III, IV; see *ibid.,* p. 120, 1237, No. IX.

and its constitution was regulated by a series of capitular decrees.[69] This rapid development, comparable with that of the mendicants themselves, was not achieved without opposition. There must have been many in the Order who would have agreed with the Abbot of Villers, Arnulf of Louvain (1240-8), when he replied to a request from Stephen of Lexington for a contribution towards the support of the new house at Paris that he would give nothing, for "it hath not been the custom hitherto for monks to leave their claustral exercises, which most befit their profession, in order to give themselves over to the study of letters",[70] and it seems likely that it was this opposition which engineered Stephen's controversial deposition in 1256, two years before his death.[71]

Stephen's deposition, however, did nothing to check the developments he had inaugurated. He had influential friends at the papal curia, and powerful support for his policies. Further *studia generalia* were established at Montpellier (1262), Toulouse (1281/3) and Oxford (1282), all modelled on the Chardonnet, and in 1287 the General Chapter decreed that each house should support one in twenty of its monks at university. It is interesting to speculate on how rapidly Cistercian studies in England might have developed had Stephen of Lexington lived to be provided to the archbishopric of York in 1258.[72] Even without him, however, things moved apace, and Cistercian vigour in the foundation of Rewley provided a strong contrast to black monk inactivity.[73] The intention of the white monks had been to establish at Oxford a college modelled on that at Paris,[74] but the patronage of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, made of Rewley an abbey from the moment of its foundation in late 1281,[75] and its inauguration as a house of studies for the Order probably occurred in 1282. Various houses built accommodation for their monk-students within its precincts, and in 1292 it was decreed that houses in the province of Canterbury should send one monk in twenty there. By 1315 its population would seem to have consisted largely of student monks,[76] and the decree of Benedict XII in

[69] See Canivez II, p. 327, 1248, No. III; II, p. 348, 1250, No. IX; II, p. 399, 1254, II; III, p. 2, 1262, No. VI; III, pp. 188-9, 1279, No. XXXIII; III, p. 200, 1280, No. XXVI; III, p. 209, 1281, No. XIX; III, pp. 212-3, 1281, No. XL; III, p. 217, 1282, No. II; III, p. 238, 1287, No. VI; III, pp. 242-3, 1289, No. III; III, p. 246, 1290, No. VI.

[70] Quoted Lawrence, 176.

[71] See Lawrence, 170-178.

[72] *Ibid.*, 177 and n. 2.

[73] See *RO* II (1955), 26 and n. 5.

[74] "In moribus autem et modo studendi et etiam in gratia libertatum scolaribus apud sanctum Bernardum Parisius studentibus sint conformes", Canivez, III, p. 217.

[75] Authorised by the General Chapter in 1280 in response to a petition from Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (see Canivez, III, p. 200, No. 26), founded on 11/12/1281 as a community of fifteen monks.

[76] See *RO* II (1955), 25.

1335[77] that all British abbeys should send their student quotas to Oxford for "primary education and theological study"[78] seems to have made little difference to an already flourishing situation. To this, however, the events of the middle and later fourteenth century set a term. In this period the number of monks fell at one point to five; in 1381 the abbey and its associated buildings were in the king's hands, and when it was restored the student quarters were conferred on Rewley.[79] The abbey had, in fact, ceased to be a house of studies. In this decline the Black Death, no doubt, played a decisive part, but there are indications that the process was more complex, and not to be explained simply in terms of a drastic reduction in the student population. In 1398, when the Cistercian scholars at Oxford petitioned the English Chapter, there was an appreciable number of white monks at the university, and in 1400 the Chapter agreed to levy contributions for new buildings. Of this enterprise nothing came, and it was not until Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, took the initiative in 1437 that a new house of studies was instituted. By 1446 the college of St Bernard was in existence, and in that year it received its statutes.[80]

Though the Cistercians had lacked a common house of studies at Oxford for some sixty years there is no doubt that they had continued to frequent the university, and the clearest indication of this, and of the level of study achieved, is to be found in the President Book of Fountains Abbey. This embodies a brief chronicle of the abbots which was composed during the abbacy of John Greenwell (1442-71),[81] and of him it remarks

> Master John Greenwell, professor of theology, who was professed and educated at Fountains, was elected Abbot of Vaudey, but he refused to accept, preferring rather to stay at Oxford in order to study. Later [probably c. 1440] he was elected Abbot of Waverley, but for forty days he refused, not wishing to be parted from his Fountains brothers . . . .[82]

His resistance was overborne, however, by the persuasion, it would seem, of king, magnates and abbots. He became Abbot of Waverley, and two

[77] *Fulgens sicut terra* (12/7/1335) decreed (Cap 33) that houses of forty or more should send two monks to Paris, of thirty to forty, one to Paris, of eighteen to thirty, one to the regional house of studies or to Paris to study theology—canon law was forbidden. It should be noted that as early as 1228 Stephen of Lexington had ordered Irish abbots to send their postulants to Oxford, Paris or "other famous cities" to study, see Watt, 96-97 and Lawrence, 173. For Benedict XII and the Cistercians see J-B. Mahn, *Le Pape Benoit XII et les Cisterciens* (Paris 1944). *Fulgens sicut stella* is printed in Canivez, III, pp. 410-36; eleven out of forty-two clauses are concerned with the organisation of Cistercian studies.

[78] See *RO* II (1955), 25.

[79] *Ibid.*, 26.

[80] [W. Dugdale], *M[onasticon] A[nglicanum]*, re-ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London 1817-30), V, 745-7.

[81] Printed in *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains*, I, ed. J. R. Walbran, Surtees Society XLII for 1862 (Durham 1863), 130-153. The work was clearly compiled before Greenwell's death. At the beginning of the entry the space left after the year (1442) for the day and month has been filled with the word "Magister" in a later hand, and at the end of the entry the words in brackets have been added . . . Fontanensi ecclesiae [29] annis praefuit [laudabiliter].

[82] "nolens a fratribus Fontanensibus vitam separare".

years later, on the death of abbot John Martin,[83] succeeded to Fountains itself, ruling the house for almost thirty years. However much he might have preferred the life of a scholar, Greenwell's ability marked him out for promotion within his Order. He was soon employed on a wide range of business within the English provinces, and in 1448 the Abbot of Cîteaux can be found delegating extensive powers to him, remarking that he has high hopes of the zeal of the Abbot of Fountains, "whose mature wisdom had been commended to me by so many people and on so many occasions".[84] Amongst the matters delegated to him, and presumably closest to his heart, was the supervision of the Oxford house of studies. The issuing of statutes in 1446 had not guaranteed its future, and in 1448 Greenwell can be seen busied on matters which were to concern his successors for the rest of the century and beyond. Contributions were not being made; money collected was being misapplied; houses were not fulfilling their quotas; discipline was lax and projected building was not being undertaken. The complaints echo through the letters to Cîteaux.[85] In 1479 the accounts of the Provisor of the house show that expenses had exceeded income by £6.6.1, in a total income of £67.3.4.[86] Small wonder that in 1482 the Provisor and scholars of the college should petition for help,[87] and that the English abbots should seek to divert all their financial contributions for five years to the completion of the project, because of the scandal it was causing—

> On this account the murmuring of the people breaks forth; on this account we are questioned without cease; on this account the whole order is held up to shame. "Behold," they say, "these men began to build sixty years ago, and they are not able to finish, or else, led astray by false desire, they do not wish to."[88]

[83] Martin seems only to have ruled for one month, 14/9/1442-26/10/1442, see *MA*, V, 288.

[84] [C. H.] Talbot, *Letters [from the English Abbots to the Chapter at Cîteaux, 1442-1521]*, Camden Series, 4 Series, IV (London 1967), No. 1, 18; "utriusque provincie reformatorii plenariam habuerit potestatem secundum tenorem commissionis et diffinitionis antescripte", *ibid.*, No. 1, 21.

[85] *Ibid.*, No. 1 (1448); No. 5 (1456); Nos. 11, 16 (1479); Nos. 26, 29 (1480); Nos. 33, 34 (1482); Nos. 36, 37 (1484); No. 50 (1488); Nos. 53, 54, 59 (1489); Nos. 61, 64 (1490); Nos. 71, 74 (1491); No. 78 (1492); Nos. 83, 84 (1493); Nos. 86, 88, 89 (1495); Nos. 92, 94, 95 (1496); No. 101 (1497); Nos. 104, 105 (1498); No. 109 (1500); No. 114 (1503); Nos. 121, 123, 125, 126 (1517).

[86] *Ibid.*, No. 17 (1479). The total expenses roughly equalled the English houses' national annual contribution to Cîteaux, see *RO* III (1959), 31.

[87] *Ibid.*, No. 33 (1482).

[88] *Ibid.*, No. 34 (1482). "Hinc clamor plebis extollatur. Hinc questiones fiant innumere, hinc extenso monstratur digito tocius ordinis in obprobium: ecce hii retroactos sexaginta per annos edificare ceperunt et consummare non possunt aut perversa ducti voluntate minime volunt". See, too, No. 95 (1496). "Mendicancium fratres plura et grandia in diversis locis erigunt edificia et hi omnes Cistercienses, multis ditati facultatibus, segnes, tardi, et ad opus ociosi, non potuerunt unum edificium consummare".

Even in 1489 only about a third of the building was complete,[89] and it was left to Marmaduke Huby, the last great English Cistercian, Abbot of Fountains from 1494 to 1526, to push the work forward to completion, barely twenty years before the Dissolution.[90]

It is in the official correspondence of the abbot commissioners, and the statutes of the General Chapter, that this struggle to re-establish the Cistercian house of studies at Oxford, to build worthy buildings and to endow it adequately, is recorded. It is, in consequence, only rarely, as with the Abbot of Rievaulx's eulogy of Marmaduke Huby in 1517,[91] that personal views emerge. Professor Knowles has remarked that for this period "there is a deplorable lack of any intimate or personal record of the lives and fortunes of the white monks . . . there is no domestic chronicler or annalist, and no Cistercian has left familiar letters or biographical material".[92] With the black monks, however, it is different. Thanks to the fine edition of the "Letter Book" of the Evesham monk and Oxford scholar Robert Joseph,[93] it is possible to sense something of the atmosphere of the scholarly life in the twilight years of English monasticism, and to become the companion, for three brief years, of a run of the mill scholar—"literate" but not "sublime".

Robert Joseph of Evesham

Robert Joseph was born at, or near, Evesham[94] in about 1500. His early education was at a grammar school, possibly the almonry school at Evesham,[95] and he entered the monastery at Evesham in about 1517. Probably from 1523 to early 1529 he was at Gloucester College, and then for about three years (1529-1532) he was in residence at Evesham, first as abbot's chaplain and then as instructor of the novices. It is to these three years that the "Letter Book" belongs. In 1532 he was able to get back to Oxford, becoming a Bachelor of Divinity in 1535[96] and appearing

[89] *Ibid.*, No. 54 (1489). "Inter cetera quoque, que in Regno isto commune omnium segnicie et inevitabile deputatur negligencie, id unum singulare, pro multis aliis, obicitur a cunctis, ignominie et torporis exemplum, non sine ordinis opprobrio et indecore, ut plane loquamur, quod collegium Sancti Bernardi Oxoniensis studio situatum a prioribus annis, per annos circiter octoginta inceptum, et adhuc sub tanto temporis spacio in terciam partem vix advectum communi omnium nostrorum ere non valuit consummari. Quorumque defectui huiusmodi negligencia esset merito imputandum nos non discutimus sed unum scimus, quod, si contribuciones annuales satis exacte collecte sub tanto temporis spacio, fuissent ad dicta edificia bene et fideliter applicate, non iam collegium sed grande castrum effecissent."

[90] *Ibid.*, No. 125 (1517). "Et, ut verum fateamur, predictus reverendus pater de fontibus in causis ordinis multas penas et labores pertulit, atque in collegio Sancti Bernardi Oxonie, ut expertus loquamur, aulam, capellam cum vitro ad fenestras multum sumptuose edificavit, et quarte partis et ultime dicti collegii muros usque ad tegmenta erexit. Preterea calices, libros, vestimenta, capas ac alia ornamenta pro honore dei ad eiusdem collegii capellam destinavit".

[91] See Talbot, *Letters*, No. 125.

[92] *RO* III (1959), 28.

[93] See above, n. 52.

[94] Possibly at Alcester.

[95] See Aveling and Pantin, xiv.

[96] 23rd April.

as Prior of Gloucester College in 1537. It is not absolutely clear where he was in the last couple of years before the Dissolution, but it is probable that he had returned to Evesham in 1538.[97] After the Dissolution there seems to have been the minimum change possible in his life. He appears as a secular priest attached to All Saints', Evesham, in 1542; was admitted to the benefice in 1546, and was presented to the vicarage of Cropthorne near Evesham in 1559, remaining there till his death ten years later.[98]

The course of Joseph's life in religion is an admirable illustration of the way in which academic studies served both to modify the normal monastic curriculum, and to condition the attitude of the monk-scholar to it. Joseph spent about twenty-two years in religion before the Dissolution. Of these, as he himself tells us in his supplication for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, nine years were spent in the study of logic, philosophy and theology, all of it probably at Oxford,[99] and he was in residence at Gloucester College for another three years after that. He was, in fact, only at Evesham itself for his first five years, for the three years recorded in the "Letter Book", and for two unchronicled years before the Dissolution.

It is true, of course, that this comparison is distorted by the Dissolution, but it remains true that for the average monk-scholar the greater part of his early years would be spent in study away from his cloister, and, perhaps more important, the emphasis would be on study rather than the monastic observance. Included amongst the reforms proposed by the black monk Chapter of 1277 had been a curtailment of liturgical observance in order that time should be found for study, and that the intelligent and studious should not be repelled from the monastic life.[100] In Joseph, two and a half centuries later, this legislation is exemplified. Joseph was "a monk-scholar who was captivated by two things, Oxford and the study of humane letters".[101] In two letters written in 1530 he complained of being confined at Evesham where "potius regnat sancta rusticitas quam docta iusticia",[102] and declared that he would prefer Oxford to the richest office, "*pinguissimum officium*".[103] Joseph was no monastic misfit,

[97] See Aveling and Pantin, xv.

[98] His will is dated 28th June 1569. For a full discussion of the chronology of his life, and of his position at Evesham, see Aveling and Pantin, xiv-xvii.

[99] See Aveling and Pantin, xv.

[100] *Chapters*, I, p. 64-5; I, 3. Quod eciam per prolixitatem officii preter regulam ampliati que fastidium generans devocionem extinguit pocius quam accendit, studium quod retroactis temporibus in nostra religione strenue floruit proth dolor emarcescat: Insuper quod propter occupacionem plurimum fatigantem cordetenus reddendi servicii tam prolixi, perplures dignitate, litteratura et moribus insigniti nostram religionem formidantes ingredi refugiant et contempnant: nocumentis nostro ordini tam infestis remedium adhibere curantes, de tocius capituli antedicti consensu expresso, statutis venerabilium patrum presidencium predecessorum nostrorum lucidius declaratis, statuta in eodem capitulo approbata auctoritate qua fungimur in hac parte interserere duximus hoc tenore . . . See also p. 75; IX, 3, De studio.

[101] Aveling and Pantin, xi.

[102] *Ibid.*, No. 54, p. 76.

[103] *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 33. See also No. 52.

but there is no doubt about his predilection for study, and his distaste for the fragmented timetable of the monastic day, so unsuited to scholarly activity. In 1530 he wrote to his friend Thomas Tucke, a monk of Gloucester, "take care to get back to Oxford and leave behind the claustral ceremonies that distract your mind".[104] In a letter of mid-1531 he complained to a correspondent that his letter-writing was curtailed by "the ceremonies of our religion",[105] ceremonies which, as he made plain elsewhere, had to be punctiliously performed if the monks were not to make their usual complaint to the subprior that the Oxford men were undermining monastic discipline.[106] Joseph's attitude, in fact, as his editor remarks, was "not unlike that of a don who regards teaching and administrative duties as regrettable though necessary interruptions in the work of research".[107]

This, however, is not a parallel which should be pushed too far. There is no evidence for any "research" by Joseph, and though in the absence of evidence it is not impossible that his later theological studies led him on to weightier matters, the temper of his mind, his attitudes and interests make this unlikely. As a man of religion Joseph seems to be unconcerned with the major issues of his time. Middle of the road, conformist, conservative, even the Dissolution, so far as we can tell, seems to cause little disturbance in his life, and it is noteworthy that he seems to have made no attempt to join his friends Feckenham and Ethelstan in the Marian restoration of Westminster. In his studies it appears to have been much the same. He displays little interest in philosophy; shows no signs of being attracted to historical, biographical or antiquarian studies, like his older contemporary Kidderminster, and in general seems to have had little intellectual curiosity, "Drop Scotus and unfruitful disputes" he tells one correspondent,[108] "Theology has made you spurn the humbler arts" another.[109] His main aim, in fact, seems to have been to become "a humanist in the manner of Erasmus",[110] to cultivate a correct, elegant latinity in himself, and to propagate it through the medium of the familiar letter in others. His friends are urged to devote a little time each day to writing, and to write to him at least once a week. To those who were reluctant to commit an uncertain style to paper he promised to be a kindly critic, and assured them that they would improve with the exercise. To a protégé at Oxford he wrote advising him to "steal from

[104] *Ibid.*, No. 51, p. 67.

[105] *Ibid.*, No. 96, p. 146. See Nos. 11, 49, 61 for letters written in the dormitory after Matins, pp. 12-14, 61-64, 86-88.

[106] *Ibid.*, No. 49, p. 63. "Perpende nostre religionis ceremoniolas, quam sunt in limitate sibi momento supplende, pensita claustrariorum murmura atque tumultus sicubi suas prepositi nostri non egerint partes, cogita quomodo solitum illud canticum ad aures subprioris obganniissent Oxoniensium culpa religionis nostre vimina periclitari . . . ."

[107] Aveling and Pantin, liii.

[108] *Ibid.*, No. 112, p. 166-168.

[109] *Ibid.*, No. 157, p. 233-234.

[110] *Ibid.*, xxviii.

your daily studies one short hour a day, which you may devote to the Latin muse, so that you may be ready to express yourself both acutely and elegantly. . . .",[111] and for himself, he declared, "I would not sell for any price the readiness in Latin that I have derived from frequent letter-writing to my friends".[112] This same letter makes it plain that to be at Evesham was to be in exile for Joseph, and that, in the final analysis, not even a voluminous correspondence could replace direct contact with his friends. "Nothing is sweeter to me", he declared to the schoolmaster Richard Eslond, "than the company of learned men". To the Vicar of Ombersley, Robert Dorning, whose acquaintance he had made while residing there to escape the pestilence, he remarked, "how pleasant, how delightful, how sweet a time we had together",[113] and the words may be taken to characterise his view of Oxford, where with his friends he had devoted himself to the discussion and study of the "humane and polite letters" then becoming established at the university. It was not, perhaps, without cause that he felt obliged to defend himself against the good-humoured charge by one of his correspondents that he had frittered away his time at Oxford on "the trifles of the grammarians and the fables of the poets".[114]

University Monks

The emergence of the "moine universitaire" has been seen as the most significant development in later medieval monasticism, and the establishment of higher monastic studies by the black monks compared with the earlier achievements of Cluny and Citeaux.[115] It is, however, doubtful whether the monastic involvement in the universities produced any significant or worthwhile results, or, even, whether there was any need for such involvement in a period when "both abbot and monastery had passed into the background of public life".[116] In the later Middle Ages, with few exceptions, monks were not pre-eminent in the counsels of Church or State. As institutions, the monasteries had tended to become more and more assimilated to their social and economic environment;[117] they attracted few able recruits, and, as Huby's career demonstrates, the energies of their best men were entirely absorbed in buttressing the crumbling fabric of their order. "Of the spiritual life of the older orders we know next to nothing in this period",[118] and to the pastoral life of

111 *Ibid.*, No. 135, p. 205-206.

112 *Ibid.*, Nos. 35, 66, p. 43-45, 92-94.

113 *Ibid.*, No. 63, p. 89-90.

114 *Ibid.*, No. 81, p. 120. See also p. xxxi-xxxiii for the establishment of humanist studies at Oxford.

115 Pantin, *Chapters*, III, ix.

116 *RO* II (1955), 280.

117 "All these and similar contacts, which tended to become less spiritual and more social and economic as the years passed, wove the monasteries, and especially the lesser monasteries, more and more into the social fabric and rural pattern of the countryside", *RO* II (1955), 287. Joseph's own career is a particular example of this process.

118 *RO* II (1955), 219.

the Church they had nothing to contribute. Intellectually the monastic contribution is insignificant: it is possible to point to an Uthred of Boldon (1315/25-1397) or an Adam Easton (c. 1325-1397) in the fourteenth century, but they stand out by their rarity, and once the controversies of the century had died down the monk-scholar "becomes silent and remains unknown".[119] When Abbot Kidderminster of Winchcombe enthuses over his "young university" and declares that "theology may be as fruitfully studied in the cloister as at the university",[120] he is describing a development which is irrelevant to the course of English intellectual life. That "deplorable infertility" to which the Prior of Norwich referred in refusing to allow Adam Easton to return to Gloucester College in the mid-fourteenth century,[121] can be taken to characterise the whole of higher monastic studies in the later Middle Ages.

If it is difficult to justify the recourse of monks to the university in terms of academic and intellectual achievement, it is equally difficult to do so in terms of the requirements of the monastic life itself. Professor Knowles has said that "from the private monk's point of view a university education had the drawback that it failed to train him for any kind of claustral work. Unless the university monk remained at Oxford to teach, he could do little with his learning".[122] He might have added that the presence of scholar-monks in the cloister could, as both Huby's and Joseph's letters show, be dangerously divisive.[123] Joseph's continual attempts to get back to Oxford, the frustration he felt at Evesham, are eloquent testimony to the difficulty of reconciling the academic and monastic lives, and to the unmonastic nature of the scholar. Indeed, when Joseph's career is considered in detail it may be doubted whether in essentials he was a monk at all.

Whatever may be said about monastic studies in general, however, it cannot be denied that in certain particular respects there was a need for university-trained men in monastic communities. At the local level it was important that good order should be maintained, and a sound, basic theological training given. It was these needs which Stephen of Lexington had in mind when, in 1228, he decreed that Irish monks should be sent to Oxford or Paris, remarking "how can a man be a lover of the cloister or of books if he knows nothing but Irish",[124] and pressed in c. 1236 for good theological teaching to combat heresy within the Order, and to counter, the threat of inquisition by the Friars Preachers.[125] In each house, too, there was a need for some men trained in canon law to conduct the

119 *Ibid.*, 355.

120 See *RO* III (1959), 92.

121 See Pantin, 175. "What they studied and what came of it all, who could say?" *RO* II (1955), 363.

122 *RO* II (1955), 355.

123 See Talbot, *Letters*, No. 131, p. 259; Aveling and Pantin, No. 49, p. 61-64.

124 See Watt, 96.

125 See Lawrence, 173.

126 See *RO* I (1948), 271; *RO* II (1955), 281-5.

business of their community in secular and ecclesiastical courts, and to serve on the abbot's council.[126] As at fourteenth-century Durham some monks might be sent to Oxford to learn to preach,[127] and potential obedientiaries and abbots might be sent to the university to obtain a better education than they could get locally

When all is said and done, however, there was nothing in this situation which demanded a general monastic commitment to university studies. Set against actual monastic requirements, the action of Stephen of Lexington in forcing a common house of studies on his Order, the decrees of the English black monk Chapters, and the legislation of Benedict XII seem singularly inappropriate, and it is significant that such measures found no place in the legislation of Innocent III. Even where monasteries did require trained men there was seldom any necessity for them to be monks: abbots were advised, monastic administration conducted, by seculars, even by laymen; friars could and did preach in monastic churches; and Benedict XII had specifically allowed for masters in monastic schools to be either seculars or religious. In these circumstances it is not difficult to concur in the Abbot of Villers' protest to Stephen of Lexington, nor to agree with de Rancé when he wrote to Mabillon in 1693 "on my side are St Benedict and the whole of antiquity, and what is called study has only been instituted when discipline has been lax".[128] Laxity, however, is not the explanation for the appearance of the "moine universitaire". In the thirteenth century the decrees of the English black monk Chapters make it plain that the monks were seeking to maintain their position in the Church and in society by emulating the friars, and two and a half centuries later the comparison was still being made by Huby when, in 1496, he drew attention to the deplorable state of the Cistercian College of St Bernard at Oxford.[129]

In seeking to model themselves on the friars by creating educational systems culminating in *studia generalia*, and by proceeding to university degrees, the monks of the later Middle Ages missed the point of the educational developments within the Western Church. The monuments of these developments might be universities and colleges, their most striking products men dedicated to the life of scholarship and research, but the inspiration and justification for them was entirely practical. Bishop Grandisson put his finger on it when he referred to "persons notably literate and useful for the edification of souls and for the defence of the rights of the Church",[130] and at a more local level William Lovel had the same object in mind when he stipulated that the two chaplains at his chantry at Oxford should be Bachelors of Theology, or at least Masters of

127 See *RO* II (1955), 22-4.

128 Quoted Lawrence, 164.

129 Medicancium fratres plura et grandia in diversis locis erigunt edificia et hi omnes Cistercienses, multis ditati facultatibus, segnes, tardi, et ad opus ociosi, non potuerunt unum consummare. Ymmo vix ultra medietatem perficere. Talbot, *Letters*, No. 95, p. 192.

130 See above, p. 13.

Arts, so that they could "preach the word of God in relief of simple curates and edification of Christian souls".[131] For the friars, learning was an aid to the improvement and development of pastoral technique;[132] for monks there was no such connection. "Save for a small number of churches served by the canons and in particular by the Premonstratensians, the religious orders took no part in the cure of souls",[133] and even at the charitable almonry schools it is probable that far more of the pupils became monks than the records suggest.[134]

For the monk-scholar like Robert Joseph, attractive though he is as a person, there seems little justification. His passion for humane and polite letters had little relation to the regular life; the demands of the monastic timetable and the distractions of community life militated against study within the cloister, and he could only pursue his scholarly interests by residence at Oxford. Joseph contributed little to monastic life and required little of it, and in this he may be regarded as typical of the monk-scholar of his time. With him in mind it is impossible to feel any real sense of intellectual loss in the passing of English monasticism,[135] deplorable though it was in other respects, and yet, paradoxically his years at Evesham demonstrate that even at this late date the English monastic order could make a unique contribution to the life of the English Church. Amongst Joseph's correspondents was a group of schoolmasters and country clergy,[136] and with men like Richard Eslond, Edmund Fyld, the master of the grammar school at Evesham, and Robert Dorning, the vicar of Ombersley, he displays an easy familiarity and ready sympathy. That these contacts meant much to his correspondents is clear even from his own letters. Richard Eslond, for example, wrote to thank him for encouraging him to write, and said of Joseph's letters that they pleased him "as willow leaves please goats, as bees love clover, as a bear loves honey".[137] To men like Dorning Joseph's friendship and letters meant contact with centres of learning remote from parochial responsibilities, and, perhaps more important, reassurance about the high nature of their calling. A vicar, he told Dorning, should shine with innocence "since he is called by Christ the salt of the earth, a city set on a hill".[138] This respect for the priestly office is reiterated in his letters. To Feckenham he wrote in 1530 of "the great dignity of the priesthood, never so much vilified and trampled on as now".[139] Two years later he was writing to his Cistercian friend Humphrey Chester about his brother Edward

131 Wood-Legh, 269.

132 See Pantin, 150.

133 *RO* II (1955), 294.

134 *Ibid.*, 295-6.

135 See Aveling and Pantin, xxvii, and, on p. lv, the final assessment of Joseph: "love of his friends, love of good letters, love of Oxford, love of his countryside" characterise him, not love of the monastic life.

136 See Aveling and Pantin, xxv-xxvii.

137 *Ibid.*, Nos. 66-70, pp. 92-100.

138 *Ibid.*, No. 77, p. 111.

139 *Ibid.*, No. 75, p. 108.

I take good care of Edward. I have good hopes that all will go as we wish. He will be a secular priest not bound by monastic vows. I do not doubt that he will be a mirror to the common people that he lives among. I do not know of a more tranquil life than that of these so-called secular priests, if they live chaste, holy and kindly lives.[140]

In Joseph can be seen an unexpected consequence of monastic education. Such contact with and influence on local schoolmasters and parochial clergy is not, it is true, strictly monastic, but this cultivation of a love of letters, of a high regard for the priestly office, is important whatever the circumstances, and it assumes a particular significance in a monastic context. Joseph's "Letter Book", and the resultant insight into the mind and attitudes of an ordinary scholar-monk, is unique, but Joseph himself may be taken as representative rather than exceptional. In a county like Worcestershire where seven out of the twelve hundreds were in monastic hands,[141] in an England where about thirty-seven per cent of all rectories were appropriated to the religious on the eve of the Dissolution,[142] Evesham is unlikely to have been wholly exceptional in its local connections and influence. Though the extent of monastic influence on, and involvement with, the English parochial clergy in general can only be a matter of speculation, it can at least be said that, whatever their faults, and perhaps because of them, the English monasteries were in a position to contribute to the life of the English Church at the point where it mattered most. Secular scholars might not reside in the cures to which they were presented; monk-scholars, once away from the university, were localised and could provide intellectual and spiritual stimulus throughout the land. The "Letter Book" of Robert Joseph makes it plain that in at least one instance such influence was exercised, and demonstrates that sound Christian principles underlay the scholar's learning. In a letter composed in early 1532 he wrote "if I find anything that accords with good morals I try to imitate it in my life; and things to the contrary I abhor".[143] It is small wonder that he found it so easy to accommodate himself to the parochial life he had extolled—"chaste, holy and kindly"—"and to be a mirror to the common people that he lived among".

APPENDICES (see footnotes 4-6)

A. *Mansi, XXII, col 999. De magistris scholasticis.*

Quia nonnullis propter inopiam, et legendi studium et opportunitas proficiendi subtrahitur, in Lateranensi consilio pia fuit institutione provisum, ut per unamquamque cathedralem ecclesiam magistro, qui clericos eiusdem ecclesiae, aliosque scholares pauperes gratis instrueret, aliquod competens beneficium praeberetur, quo et docentis relevaretur necessitas, et via pateret discentibus ad doctrinam. Verum quoniam in multis ecclesiis id minime observatur: nos praedictum roborantes statutum, adiicimus, ut non solum in qualibet cathedrali ecclesia, sed etiam in aliis, quarum sufficere poterunt facultates, constituatur magister idoneus a praelato cum capitulo, seu maiori ac saniori parte capituli, eligendus, qui clericos ecclesiarum ipsarum, et aliarum, gratis in grammaticae facultate ac aliis instruat iuxta posse. This should be compared with cap. 18, "Ut praelati provideant magistris scholarum necessaria", of Lateran III, which it repeats word for word as far as "doctrinam". Lateran III added that such instruction was to be restored in "other churches and monasteries" where it had existed before, and stipulated that no fee should be exacted for the licence to teach, but that it should be granted free to suitable applicants. See Mansi, XXII, cols 227-8.

B. *Ibid., col 999, cap. cit.*

Sane metropolitana ecclesia theologum nihilo minus habeat, qui sacerdotes et alios in sacra pagina doceat, et in his praesertim informet quae ad curam animarum spectare noscuntur. Assignetur autem cuilibet magistrorum a capitulo unius praebendae proventus, et pro theologo a metropolitano tantumden: non quod propter hoc efficiatur canonicus, sed tamdiu reditus ipsius percipiat, quamdiu perstiterit in docendo. Quod si forte de duobus magistris metropolitana ecclesia gravetur, theologo iuxta modum praedictum ipsa provideat: grammatico vero in alia ecclesia suae civitatis sive dioecesis, quod sufficere valeat, faciat provideri.

C. *Mansi, XXII, col 1015. De instructione ordinandorum.*

Cum sit ars artium regimen animarum, districte praecipimus, ut episcopi promovendos in sacerdotes diligenter instruant et informent, vel per seipsos, vel per alios viros idoneos, super Divinis officiis, et ecclesiasticis sacramentis, qualiter ea rite valeant celebrare: quoniam si ignaros et rudes de cetero ordinare praesumpserint (quod quidem facile poterit deprehendi) et ordinatores et ordinatos gravi decrevimus subiacere ultioni. Satius est enim, maxime in ordinatione sacerdotum, paucos bonos quam multos malos habere ministros: quia si caecus caecum duxerit, ambo in foveam dilabuntur.

D. *Mansi, XXII, col 1018. De idoneitate instituendorum in ecclesiis.*

Grave nimis est et absurdum, quod quidam praelati ecclesiarum, cum possint viros idoneos ad ecclesiastica beneficia promovere, assumere non verentur indignos, quibus nec morum honestas, nec litterarum scientia suffragatur, carnalitatis sequentes affectum, non iudicium rationis. Unde quanta ecclesiis damna proveniant, nemo sanae mentis ignorat. Volentes igitur huic morbo mederi, praecipimus ut praetermissis indignis assumant idoneos, qui Deo et ecclesiis velint et valeant gratum impendere famulatum, fiatque de hoc in provinciali concilio diligens inquisitio annuatim: ita quod qui post primam et secundam correctionem fuerit repertus culpabilis, a conferendis beneficiis per ipsum concilium suspendatur; instituta in eodem consilio persona provida et honesta, quae suppleat suspensi defectum in beneficiis conferendis: et hoc ipsum circa Capitula quae in his deliquerint observetur. Metropolitani vero delictum, superioris iudicio relinquatur ex parte nunciandum. Ut autem haec salubris provisio pleniorem consequatur effectum: huiusmodi suspensionis sententia, praeter Romani pontificis authoritatem, aut proprii patriarchae, minime relaxetur: ut in hoc quoque quatuor patriarchales sedes specialiter honorentur.

[140] *Ibid.*, No. 163, pp. liv, 240-241.
[141] See *ibid.*, xvii.
[142] *RO* II (1955), 289-91.
[143] Aveling and Pantin, No. 141, pp. 213-4.

MRH (2 ed, 1971) and HRH (1 ed, 1972)

Two Catalogues of Medieval English and Welsh Religious Houses

A Review Article

by

Alberic Stacpoole, o.s.b.

The closing years of the 1920s were seminal for English monastic studies. In Germany, Dom F. S. Schmitt was at work on his text studies for the *Omnia Opera Anselmi* which were to find completion forty years later. In Oxford, R. W. Southern was also beginning his work on Anselmiana, which was to issue in various important historical studies culminating in a late collaboration with Dom Schmitt. So it was that these two scholars, unknown to one another, began their work on the selfsame study. By a curious coincidence two other scholars were doing the same thing at the same time: Dr R. N. Hadcock working with the Ordnance Survey, and Dom David Knowles, then editor of the *Downside Review*, were separately at work on a catalogue of the religious houses of England and Wales from the late Saxon times to the Dissolution. Both pairs of scholars ultimately combined to produce joint books, Dom Schmitt and Professor Southern with their "Memorials of St Anselm" (1970), and Professor Knowles and Dr Hadcock with their "Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales" (1953), now radically revised and augumented.[1] Those were fair seeds sown.

A further seed sown in 1929 at Downside now blossoms in "The Heads of Religious Houses".[2] When Dom David Knowles began to study as a monastic historian, leaving behind him his classical training, he adopted the practice, for his own interest and information, of noticing in the records any contemporary reference to an abbot or prior during the years between the Conquest and the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215-6, when the friars first came on the scene. The Conquest proved a false division and Fr Knowles found himself, in both his note-taking and in the great book he was beginning to plan,[3] being driven back to the beginning of the Tenth Century Reform Movement at Glastonbury in 940 when Dunstan became abbot—for that has increasingly emerged as the *fundamentum* for the monastic tradition in England in the ensuing centuries. All the great black monk abbeys were Saxon founded—Abingdon, Bury, the two

[1] David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, "Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales", revised edition, Longman Group Ltd., 1971, 565 p. £11. The 1953 first edition of 387 p. cost only two guineas.

[2] Ed. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London, "The Heads of Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216", Cambridge University Press, 1972, 278 p. £8.

[3] "The Monastic Order in England", Cambridge University Press, 1940 (2nd ed., 1963).

Canterburys, Chester, Crowland, Durham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Peterborough, Ramsay, Reading, St Albans, Tewkesbury, Winchester, Worcester and York (the last a borderline).

In the early 1930s the young monk brought his well filled notebook to Zachary Brooke at Caius (whom he was destined to succeed in 1947 as Cambridge Professor of Medieval History), and found him "courteous and helpful", but with no special interest in the lists. Dr Brooke nevertheless began feeding him with notes concerning abbots he had come across in his own reading; and so the compiler's list continued to grow.[4] When Zachary Brooke died in October 1946 his son Christopher (now Professor C. N. L. Brooke), also a Cambridge medieval historian, took over the collaboration from his father. In the middle fifties both of the compilers assumed heavy professorial responsibilities (the first having been a lesser professor already since 1947), and their work on "The Heads of Religious Houses" was put to fitful rest. The advent of Vera London of the University of Liverpool in 1962, a mature student older than her supervisor (Professor Brooke), and a scholar of unusual talent for such work, brought new life, proper system and final shape to the plan; and the sifting of those documentary areas still left uncovered was begun. What was initiated as a Knowles project, and was taken on as a Brooke enterprise, came to term as a Brooke-London work—"but the collaboration has been close throughout, and information has been thrown into the pool by all three when it came to hand". In a letter on the subject, Dom David writes: "That is a co-operative effort implying 42 (mine), 29 (Christopher's) and 9 (full time by Vera London) = 80 years' work on and off; and when you see the thirty pages of MSS and printed sources that have been combed I think you will appreciate the time spent".

These two endeavours, both in themselves and in the details that their pages contain, show how profoundly a historian's craft is contributive to a massive single mosaic. Men do select corners of history—movements, institutions or persons—and take possession of them for half a lifetime to become reigning experts; and a good example of this was Dr A. G. Little, who took possession of the English friars,[5] writing *inter alia* their entries in the Victoria County History for Lincolnshire and Worcestershire in 1906, Oxfordshire in 1907, Dorset in 1908, Yorkshire in 1913 and Kent in 1926. But the really considerable historians are drawn to wider fields and ultimately to a number of necessary collaborations, often induced by the crossfeed of old wisdom, new expertise and fresh evidence. It is not surprising then to find that these author-compilers are as experienced in team

[4] "At last in May 1942 a formal suggestion of collaboration was made by M.D.K. and accepted by Dr Brooke. This was followed by a meeting in London, which was attended by C.N.L.B., still a schoolboy, but already interested in problems of chronology. The Brookes carried off the notebooks to transcribe them, and C.N.L.B. left them on top of a bus. Fortunately, a swift pursuit on foot led to their recovery; and the pursuit has continued ever since, though rarely at the original pace or with the same hazard." Preface, p. vii.

[5] Cf. bibliography of John Moorman, "A History of the Franciscan Order" (1968), 595, 597, 599, 604, 606, 608.

enterprises as they are in massive synthetic surveys on their own account. The nexus of the two teams is England's doyen of the history of the religious Orders, who in the year that he brought out his greatest monument to the monks also brought out his initial catalogue of "The Religious Houses of Medieval England" (1940), a list of monks, regular canons and nuns.

Dom David Knowles' collaborator in 1953, and now again in the 1971 revision of his 1940 catalogue, has been Richard Neville Hadcock, who is himself no mean collaborator. His teamwork with Dr David Easson (Scotland), Professor William Rees (Wales) and Rev Professor Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. (Ireland) resulted in his map coverage of the British Isles in three sheets—

Map of Monastic Britain: South, including Wales and Isle of Man. Ordnance Survey 1950, 2nd ed. 1953.

Map of Monastic Britain: North, including Scotland. Ordnance Survey 1950, 2nd ed. 1953.

Map of Monastic Ireland. Ordnance Survey, Dublin 1960, 2nd ed. 1964.

It further resulted in Dr Easson compiling "Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland" (1957); and Dr Hadcock and Fr Gwynn together compiling "Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland" (1970). There is a satisfying completeness about their work together, the fruits of admirable perseverance.

Of Dom David Knowles' collaborators in the 1972 book, "The Heads of Religious Houses", Professor Brooke is known already for his teamwork alongside another monk from Downside. He and Dom Adrian Morey together brought out their two volumes on the Cluniac abbot of Gloucester and bishop of Hereford and London, "Gilbert Foliot and his Letters" (1965) and "The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot" (1967).

The tale of the construction of these two catalogues begins in effect in c. 1200 when the chronicler Gervase of Canterbury (it seems it was him, or one of his brethren) compiled his lists of professedly all the conventual establishments in the country.[6] He was eventually taken up by other chroniclers and compilers, all of whom made a poor job of it; until on the eve of the Reformation the king's antiquary, John Leland, began his own round of visitations to ascertain and record the truth before the guttering wicks were quenched.[7] He was neither accurate nor complete by modern standards, but with the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (the king's receivers' reports) as a check, it was a valuable beginning. Stow and Burton and Speed, then Dodsworth and Dugdale with their *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655, 1661, 1673), and then bishop Tanner with his *Notitia Monastica* (1695), all added to the edifice. Thereafter a few regional studies—one of which we should perhaps remark on, Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense* (1758)—and a revision of the *Monasticon* during 1817-30 were all that heralded our

[6] W. Stubbs, Rolls Series LXXIII.2, 414-9.

[7] John Leland (1505-52), chaplain and librarian to Henry VIII, asked that the books from the monastic libraries after the Dissolution should be preserved in the king's library, to bring "great profit to students and honour to this nation". It was not so: they were for the most part scattered.

new age of specialist studies. The scholars who undertook them were regional historians, clerics with a flair for antiquities, gentlemen of leisured student persuasion. They were to be replaced in the late nineteenth century by the more exhaustive professionals. Nevertheless, with the exception of Janauschek's work on the Cistercians,[8] no comprehensive synthesis was attempted. In this century the main stimulus has come from the Victoria County History enterprise. Of the forty counties to be covered, volumes which include sections on the religious houses have appeared for thirty-three of them, and these have replaced the articles, though not the documents, of the *Monasticon*. Abbot F. A. (later Cardinal) Gasquet prepared a list of English houses in 1904, and though it was neither accurate nor complete and though it was drawn almost entirely from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, it stood till 1940 when the beginnings of the work under review appeared.

We may best perceive the growth of the project over the years by the table that follows:

1940	Knowles	Catalogue of houses of monks, canons, friars, aliens and nuns.	943-1539	5 maps
1953	Knowles & Hadcock	Catalogue of houses of all above, plus the military orders, colleges, hospitals.	943-1539	6 maps
1971	Knowles & Hadcock	Catalogue of houses of all above (those of the Carmelites and Austin friars being radically revised in the light of recent research[9]), plus religious houses existing at periods before 1066. Throughout the names of the founders have been added, where ascertainable.	940-1540	6 maps
1972	Knowles, Brooke & London	Catalogues of heads of houses of the monks, canons and nuns.	1066-1216	no maps

Clear as it is how much went into MRH (ii) and how it may be useful, HRH does not so easily yield its inward quality. In the first place it is extraordinarily exhaustive (and in that, a gift to us all): 8 pages of "manuscripts referred to" are listed, and 29 pages of "printed books and articles cited". This is not the end of it, for one of the editors systematically combed every accessible cartulary listed in the catalogue of Dr Godfrey Davis of the British Museum, "Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain" (1958); and

[8] L. Janauschek, O.C.R., "*Originum Cisterciensium . . . Tomus I*" (1877), a list of white monk houses and dates of foundation, taking account of all printed material available.

[9] Very Rev Keith Egan, O.Carm., "Medieval Carmelite Houses, England and Wales", *Carmelus* XVI (1969); Rev Francis Roth, O.S.A., "The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538", 2 vols. (1961/1966).

where no name was discovered, a cartulary was not listed and no trace of the labour appears—so more manuscripts were searched than have given cause for listing. Likewise the writings of previous scholars have been combed, though of course the assertions of secondary literature have properly been traced as often as possible to root in primary sources. Of all those pioneers that these masters have synthesised, perhaps the one who should be singled out to speak for the rest is Sir Charles Clay, whose unremitting work on the Yorkshire houses since 1940 in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* and elsewhere was redoubled by his providing draft lists of almost all the other houses he had not already dealt with in print, and by his checking his own former work. In the second place HRH will stand now as a permanent tool for dating all sorts of other people in the period 940-1216, acting as a cross-check, for instance, upon monks involved with other houses or in the Norman and French houses connected with Britain.

Each volume contains the revisions and corrections that the scholarship of the intervening years has made necessary, as greater exactitude is achieved by study and further discovery. "Every year sees the publication of new matter which may give precision to the history of this house or the other", writes Professor Knowles; "these lists are, therefore, capable of improvement to an indefinite degree. Already the previous edition has elicited from scholars and others interested in the matter a very large number of corrections and additions. It is hoped that this book in its turn, which offers a still wider target for criticism, will attract many suggestions and contributions of value."[10] So it is that the work begun in 1929 has flowered in the early 1970s.

* * *

The essential data of the whole great panorama of medieval monasticism in the British Isles is here in the 800 pages of two books. It began on the Celtic fringes of Cornwall, Wales, Ireland and Scotland; and if we were to select a single monastery to bear the burden of that early history, it would be *Glastonbury* in the west country. Legend gives it its beginning in 63 as founded by Joseph of Arimathea, legend further bringing to it the names of King Lucius, St Patrick, St Benignus and the king of the Arthurian romance.[11] It is said to have been visited by St David and St Dyfrig in the sixth century, men prominent among the monastic and school founders of the west country. When St Augustine brought his Roman monks to Canterbury in 597, the Welsh and Cornish bishops remained aloof, and Glastonbury declined from lack of contact with the new Roman monasticism. Sunk to the level of a "clas" for canons, it was refounded by King Ine of Wessex in c. 705. It came to full prominence in 940 when St Dunstan became abbot there, introducing the *Regula Benedicti*, making it the cornerstone of his reform movement under the patronage of the

[10] M.R.H. (ii), p. 7.

[11] Cf. William of Malmesbury, *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* (c. 1135), PL. 169, 1681-1734.

monarch. After Dunstan of Canterbury, Glastonbury's most remarkable abbot was the pluralist Henry of Blois, grandson of the Conqueror and brother of King Stephen, monk of Cluny and prior of the Cluniac priory in Somerset, Montacute before becoming abbot of Glastonbury in 1126 until his death 45 years later as bishop of Winchester while retaining his abbacy (a notorious case of pluralism of office).[12] The rule of the tactless Thurstan during 1078-96 and of Henry of Blois during 1126-71 were in fact spiritually devastating for Glastonbury, for the community periods of blank life. Nevertheless the abbey throve until 1184, there being some 70 monks in the community; but in that dire year the church and conventual buildings were burned to the ground. Following this, Bishop Savaric of Bath succeeded in engrossing the abbey for his cathedral, calling himself bishop of Bath and Glastonbury.[13] Thereafter the community dropped to a steady number around 50, the abbot and 51 subscribing to the Act of Supremacy in 1534. Glastonbury's end was as illustrious as its beginnings were mysterious, for its last abbot, Richard Whyting, possibly achieved sanctity by being martyred on St Michael's Tor with two of his monks in the closing days of 1539.[14] The net income at that time was £3,311, a huge figure exceeded only by that of Westminster's £3,470. There were at Glastonbury a hospital for poor men and another for poor women under the care of the abbey almoner, and a pilgrim hospice.

To return to beginnings, gradually the Rule of St Benedict and Roman monasticism prevailed over the various forms of Celtic custom, until finally at the Synod of Cloveshoe in 747 it was decreed that all monks should adhere to the austere regular life presented by the Rule. This resulted in the breakup of mixed houses into separate communities of monks and canons. It is hard to select a monastery representative of that period, even after combing Appendix I, "Religious houses existing at periods before 1066" (p. 463-87). Abingdon (675), Bath (676), Beverley, Bury St Edmunds (633), Canterbury (598), Ely (673), Gloucester (679), Hereford cathedral (669), Jarrow (681), Lindisfarne (635), Malmesbury (637),

[12] H.R.H. 121, 51. Cf. M D. Knowles, "The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket" (1951), 34ff. John Beckwith of the Victoria & Albert Museum is preparing an illustrated book on Henry of Blois as a connoisseur and collector of antiques at which he was certainly the foremost of his generation.

[13] H.R.H. 3, 52; J. A. Robinson, "Somerset Historical Essays" (British Academy 1921), 68ff, 142ff.

[14] The tale is told with some feeling in "The Religious Orders of England", III, 379-82, where at the end the siren voice of romanticism is not absent: "No other landscape in all England carried so great a weight of legend. To the island valley at (Abbot Whyting's) feet the dying Arthur had been ferried. Through the sedges from the Parrett had come Joseph of Arimathea bearing the Grail. On the pleasant pastures of Mendip had shone the countenance of the Child Jesus. Below him lay now the majestic pile of his abbey, desolate, solitary, and about to crumble into ruins." But see *RO* III, 488-91, where all evidence from "The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII" bearing on the point are quoted, save two generally laudatory letters from Layton and Leland: they show that Whyting had already sworn to the Supremacy more than once, and that at the gallows he confessed his fault towards the king. Brutal and iniquitous as his trial may have been, he had undoubtedly secreted the abbey plate and may well have played with fire by sympathy with the Reading abbey group. Gasquet judged Whyting a saint, Knowles not.

Monkwearmouth (674), Muchelney (693), Much Wenlock (680), Pershore (689), Peterborough (655), Repton, Ripon (654), Rochester (604), Sherborne (672), South Malling (686), Thorney (675), Whitby (657), Winchester (648) and Worcester (680) all began long and varied traditions in the seventh century, which, though broken by Danes and others, had the resilience to revive and reach the Tudor period in flourishing form. Perhaps of these the most interesting and not least representative was *Ely* in East Anglia, whose ground was first hallowed by the presence of nuns, and whose span of history reaches thirteen centuries this year.

Anna, King of the East Angles (d. 654) had four daughters, one of whom became foundress abbess of Ely as a queen, another of whom followed her as a queen too, another becoming a nun in the monastery, and the fourth becoming abbess of Faremoutier in Gaul. Queen Etheldreda became Bede's "virgin mother of many virgins vowed to God",[15] who thereafter continued on the Isle of Ely till the Danes obliterated their house in 870. Refounded exactly a century later by Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester as a monastery for monks, it came to attract men like Archbishop Wulfstan of York, and Edward the Confessor who was educated in its cloisters. It was involved in Hereward the Wake's rebellion of 1071 and was made to pay dearly by the Normans, who took over the abbacy and began building a large church there. The central figure was Simon, brother of Bishop Wakelin of Winchester, who came from being prior of Winchester to rule the long vacant abbey in 1082. Of the monastic cathedral chapters established by the Normans—Durham, Norwich,[16] Bath, Coventry and Rochester—Ely after 1108 was far the most successful. The most remarkable of its early priors was Richard, brother of William de Longchamp (Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England), who in 1197 was removed to be abbot of the great St Mary's Abbey, York, till he died in 1239.[17] Of its later priors, three became bishops of Ely and Salmon became both Bishop of Norwich and Chancellor of England. Ely grew famous for its church, after Peterborough the best of the Norman style with its smooth Romanesque-Gothic transitional design. When the cathedral tower eventually collapsed, as was the wont of Norman towers, in 1322, a monk trained as a goldsmith replaced it with the present exquisite octagonal structure of breathtaking lightness, unique in Gothic architecture, rib vaulted and supporting a wooden lantern; at the same time replacing the destroyed

[15] In "Historia Ecclesiae" IV, 20. Bede devoted a chapter to a hymn in honour of Abbess Etheldreda (d. 679). Bishop Ethelwold so revered her that he had her included in his Benedictional. Cf. Francis Wormald, "The Benedictional of Ethelwold", plate 6.

[16] Norwich, founded from Norman Fécamp via Thetford by Bishop Herbert Losinga, had interesting beginnings after 1095. By 1101 it was habitable for 60 monks. The Bishop, whose father Robert Losinga became Abbot of New Minster, Winchester, was a considerable man of letters and spirituality. He it was who preached at Ely at the Translation of St Etheldreda in 1106. Cf. my entry under "Herbert" in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* VII, 265-8.

[17] H.R.H., 46, 84. A third brother, Henry de Lonchamp, a monk of Caen and Evesham, was Abbot of Crowland in Lincolnshire for 46 years from 1190; his episcopal brother seemingly tried to intrude him into Westminster—a promotion, so to say—the year after his election. H.R.H., 42, 46, 77.

west bays of the choir with others of the richest decorated style. Meanwhile another monk built the free standing Lady chapel, more advanced in grace and design than any late Gothic at home or abroad.

Ely, fourth in wealth, may serve also to represent the ten cathedral priories[18] which were a characteristic of English but not continental monasticism. Of these priories, the richest, with annual incomes of around £3,000, were Canterbury, Durham and Winchester. The next well endowed was Ely with an annual income of £2,000, which was matched by those of three secular cathedrals, Lincoln, York and Wells (which came to incorporate monastic Bath). Eleven Benedictine churches became secular cathedrals after the Dissolution: Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, Westminster (till 1550), Winchester and Worcester. And likewise three Augustinian churches: Bristol, Carlisle, Osney/Oxford. The cathedral priors, be it noted, were less secure in their office than the abbots, whose rule in the twelfth century averaged a dozen years each—bishops at the same time averaging half as long again. Priories were more liable to revolt or to episcopal acts of power, so that resignations and depositions were less rare. And moreover, priors were ready to hand when abbeys were in search of a superior—Winchester in particular losing several priors this way.[19] It was because the solemn abbatial blessing came to give an abbot a status hardly less than that of a bishop, quite wrongly.

The Tenth Century Monastic Reform of SS Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald looked in considerable measure to Abingdon and Ramsey for its propagation; but none can deny that *Winchester* in the south was at the heart of that auspicious revival of English monasticism.[20] The Old Minster there dated back to 643, becoming a separate see in 662 when Wini became its first bishop. The monastery seems to have withstood the depredations of the Danes during 860-79 and in 964 welcomed the reforms of Ethelwold, who brought in new monks from Abingdon, at the same time reforming the New Minster (901) as a Benedictine house. The Old remained the cathedral priory, while in 1101 the New Minster community moved out to Hyde Abbey. Both flourished till the Dissolution, the cathedral priory being the third richest in the country with an income of £2,873.[21] Winchester was, over the centuries, much more than the home of two black monk monasteries. It was the home of an abbey of nuns—Nunnaminster—founded by Alfred and his queen in 900, his last year alive: indeed his granddaughter died there as abbess. Ethelwold reformed it in 963 and it survived well till the riots of 1141 when it was burned down. Supported

[18] M.R.H. (ii), 447-8.

[19] H.R.H., 4, 52, 80. The Abbot of Glastonbury, who succeeded Henry of Blois of Winchester/Glastonbury, was Robert, Prior of Winchester, in 1173. Winchester also lost its priors to Ely, Burton, Abingdon, Westminster; and one went to be a Carthusian at Witham.

[20] Cf. "*Regularis Concordia* Millennium Conference", Ampleforth Journal LXXVI.1 (Spring 1971), 30-53.

[21] As in the *Liber Regis;* omitted in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

by attached secular canons, it continued in some financial difficulties till after the Dissolution, when Elizabeth Shelley, the last abbess persisted with her vowed life within the dismantled enclosure till she died in 1547. The friars came in c. 1234, Dominicans followed by Franciscans, and later Carmelites (1238) and Austin friars (1300). Among the larger hospitals of England the Knights Hospitallers' St Cross, founded by Bishop Henry of Blois in the 1130s for about 200 poor men to be given free meals and a dozen full lodging, survived to the end, as did St John's hospital and St Mary's. The Sustern Spital or Sisters' hospital, outside the cathedral priory enclosure, was accommodated to take Commoners of Winchester College, slightly changing its role at the Dissolution. There were also three secular colleges, St Elizabeth's (1301-1536) with about twenty clerks, Holy Trinity (1317-1536), and the famous St Mary's College, 10 fellows and 70 scholars strong, founded by Bishop William of Wykeham to give preparatory education to those destined for New College, Oxford, where by 1376 he was maintaining some 60 scholars.

Winchester was one centre of many religious foundations. There were others of comparable merit, and it is significant to see where they were. One would expect them to be in capital cities, and indeed London had some 26[22] and York 16; in the academic centres, and indeed Oxford had 19 and Cambridge 16; in the port cities, and indeed Bristol had 18 and Newcastle 13; and in the cathedral and large monastic towns, and indeed Carlisle had 8, Canterbury 16, Chester 11, Coventry 11, Exeter 10, Gloucester 11, Hereford 8, Lincoln 15, Norwich 15 and Worcester 11. Stamford, which does not fit into these categories, had 16. Of all these centres of English religious life, surely the most representatively typical must have been *York* in the north.

York, a cathedral city, could boast one of the greatest of the black monk abbeys within its embattlements, one of the foremost half dozen in the realm. For if we accept as a criterion the numbers and wealth of the houses at the Dissolution, only Canterbury and Glastonbury were decidedly superior to St Mary's, York.[23] It was an abbey not created by the Normans but rooted in the Saxon past, in that rich monastic seed bed, the Vale of Evesham; and it was a direct flowering of that late Saxon return to the north which produced also Whitby and the Durham tradition that proved so fertile.[24] It fathered dependencies in Cumberland, Lincolnshire and Suffolk, some of which later provided St Mary's with their abbots.[25] The abbey in turn provided the English episcopal bench with Thomas Spofforth,

[22] In Westminster 7, Southwark 5, Bermondsey, Kilburn and Stratford-at-Bow 2 each, and in the remaining village areas (Hackney, Hammersmith, Highgate, Holborn, etc.) one each.

[23] Canterbury Cathedral = 58 monks, £2,349 annual income; Glastonbury = 50 monks, £3,311; St Mary's, York = 51 monks, £1,650.

[24] "The Religious Orders" III, 129-37 on *The Rites of Durham*.

[25] H.R.H., 84, stops with Robert of Longchamps (d. 1239). Cf. Alberic Stacpoole *et al.*, "The Noble City of York", 676-8, for an accurate list of the 29 abbots during 1084-1539, 5 of whom had been former priors of St Bees and 3 of Wetheral in Cumberland.

who was Henry V's ambassador to the Council of Constance (where during 1414-18 there were a hundred abbots present) and was from 1422 to 1448 Bishop of Hereford; William Wells, who attended the Council of Basel, becoming Bishop of Rochester from 1437 to 1444; and William Senhouse, who successively became Bishop of Carlisle and of Durham (1495-1502-1505). From this abbey the twelve founder monks of Skeldale, Fountains Abbey, went out in 1132—inspired by the first monks of Rievaulx passing through their streets out to the Rye valley—to become the second Cistercian house in the north, a house whose third abbot became Archbishop of York.[26] The walled city too could boast an alien priory in Holy Trinity,[27] founded from the celebrated St Martin's, Marmoutier (the *majus monasterium* of France) which had colonised the Conqueror's own monastery, Battle. When the alien priories were abolished at the beginning of the fifteenth century Holy Trinity shook free of its dependence and remained to the end, taking Tickford in Buckinghamshire as its dependency. When Archbishop Thomas Wolsey of York began a limited dissolution of small houses for his own purposes, one of those suppressed in 1528 was the St Mary's cell in Suffolk, a sign of more to come. In York there was a cell at Fishergate belonging to the Whitby community. There were also the nuns of Clementhorpe from 1130 to 1536, founded by the saintly Archbishop Thurstan (who died a Cluniac), to which were attached the Gilbertine canons of St Andrew's priory, Fishergate. All of this composed a considerable monastic presence both in numbers and in kind.

However, York was more widely represented still. When the friars came to England, the Dominicans in 1221 and the Franciscans in 1224, they divided up into four administrative Visitations/Custodies—London, York, Oxford, Cambridge. The Preachers had their house at York from 1227 to 1538, their last prior, John Pickering, being executed for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Friars Minor had their house under the lea of the Castle for the same length of time, the king and court sometimes using it as their base during the Scottish wars, Parliament meeting there. The Carmelite friars also had a house in York, from 1253 to 1538, as did the Friars of the Sack (c. 1260-1300) and the Austin friars (1272-1538), whose four Limits or provincial districts were Oxford, Cambridge, Lincoln and York. So the friars, too, were widely represented at York. And the hospitals likewise: there were more than twenty hospitals in the city, some sponsored by the gilds, ministering to the poor, to travellers and to the sick (including invalids and lepers of both sexes). Of these hospitals we should single out one, St Peter's (c. 936-1135), re-established as St Leonard's[28] (1135-1540), a mixed community under the Augustinian rule founded by King Athelstan and rejuvenated by Stephen of Blois. It became

[26] It is hoped that Derek Baker, whose Oxford B.Litt. thesis was on the subject (examined by Professor Knowles), will give an account of that epic foundation in these pages. Cf. "The Noble City of York", 619-23, esp. n. 19.

[27] H.R.H., 113; M.R.H. (ii), 82, seems insufficient in the light of John Solloway, "The Alien Benedictines of York" (1910), which shows the Marmoutier connection.

[28] M.R.H. (ii), 407; "The Noble City of York", 636-8.

perhaps England's greatest hospital with a staff of chaplains, choristers and sisters administering to over 200 poor sick, poor, prisoners and children. Its masters became bishops, and sometimes bishops became its masters. With all this in mind, it may be claimed for York that the aggregate of its religious houses was more representative of the religious Orders in existence in the Middle Ages than those of any other city. Only the canons remained insufficiently represented, there being no Augustinians or Premonstratensians in the environs, though the Gilbertine canons did have a presence there. Secular colleges were securely represented by the Minster school, Vicar's College (forbear of St Peter's Grammar School), St William's College (still in use), St Sepulchre and St Anthony's gild house.[29] Such as the Carthusians and Grandmontines would never find their way to a populous area, though not too far from York were Mount Grace and Grosmont. York, then, might stand for all.[30]

In "Medieval Religious Houses", Professor Knowles suggests that "every student of medieval history will have sought at one time or another an answer to the question: what was the total number of religious houses and of the religious themselves?" He and Dr Hadcock can answer the first with some accuracy, and do so in their Appendix II (p. 488-95): Tables showing the increase and decrease in the various Orders;[31] and I have used these tables to construct the four graphs herewith, which show more strikingly than columns of figures can the fluctuating relationships of the Orders down the late medieval years. They also show with some clarity the effect of major events on the monasteries and houses; and where they do not, the estimated number of religious (in the same Tables) or the lists of superiors in HRH give some further evidence.

English monasticism's first flowering in the time of Bede was cut back to root by the depredations of the Danes and Norsemen. Lindisfarne in the Northumbrian north, for instance, founded by St Oswald in 635 and built up over two centuries till it was struck from the sea (as the Chronicle tells us) and then deserted by its community in 875, driven as they were to wander England with the body of their saint, Cuthbert—that is the symbol of the period. The second spring of English monasticism came with the Dunstan-Ethelwold reform movement; and the data underpinning these two springs is set out in MRH (ii), Appendix I.

The Conquest brought new reforms, new buildings, new abbots from the Norman monasteries across the water. Glastonbury, for example, finds itself ruled not by Aelfstan, Brihtwig or Ethelweard, but by monks from Caen and Séez; and Ely by monks from Jumièges and Bec, Winchester by

[29] M.R.H. (ii), 445-6.

[30] It is worth noting that the initial appearance of the *Regula Benedicti* north of the Alps—by what evidence has survived to us—was at Ripon twenty-five miles from York, in 660. Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi* XIV and XLVII. Cf. D. H. Farmer, "Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile XV. The Rule of St Benedict" (1968).

[31] These tables differ considerably from their equivalent in M.R.H. (i) after the amendments of scholars. Professor J. C. Russell published his calculations in *Traditio* (1944), 177-212.

a monk of St Ouen and a monk from Cambrai. Peterborough indeed provides a better illustration: in the years 1069-1155, its abbots were the warlike Turold from Fécamp, Matthew from Mont St Michel, Ernulf from Beauvais, John from Séez, Henry of Poitou who had been grand prior of Cluny, and Martin of Bec. The bare recitation of the names—Herluin, Robert, Richard and the rest instead of Aelfric, Leofric or Wulfric—tell their own tale of change, showing how conclusively the Norman and French houses were providing rulers for the English. We should ponder the psychological effect of such a period of alien rule on an indigenous community, Englishmen having perforce to take their troubles to an abbot foreign to their conventus in a double sense: it cannot have been easy, especially when successively repeated.

The reigns of Henry I and Stephen saw the astonishing rise of the Austin and Premonstratensian canons; and with them the intrusion of alien houses of the Cluniac Order, some 31 in all of which the most influential were Lewes, Thetford and Bermondsey—which gave superiors to so many other abbeys (Faversham in 1148, St Ouen in 1157, Evesham in 1161, Abingdon in 1175, Faversham again in 1178, and so on: Lewes was inclined similarly to provide abbots for Reading).[32] The reign of Henry II saw the flourishing of the canons, in the north especially at Hexham, Bridlington and Nostell; and the sudden emergence of the white monks to their full heyday all over the wilder, more inaccessible valleys of England and Scotland. They found their abbots not from overseas but from their own or other Cistercian houses, when they felt the need of new blood. The Augustinians had reached 2000 in number by 1154, and the Cistercians topped that figure before the end of the century, while the Austin canons continued to grow.

We are told much of the twelfth century by the data of HRH. It was said to have been a century of short life expectation, and yet the long rule of prelates belies that judgment; the average tenure of the superiors of the larger houses was a dozen years, and that of the bishops eighteen years. The lists show the habitual movement of superiors not only within their Order but across the various Orders. It seemed more the custom than the exception—despite the clear legislation of St Benedict—that communities searched beyond their own ranks for new superiors, many of whom appear to have had little or no previous connexion with their new charges. This was especially so of Cluniac houses, which were constantly providing abbots for non-Cluniac English houses in the century when they were supposed to be on the decline, eclipsed by the white monks who were beginning to provide those bishops that came from the monastic ranks. And England in turn twice provided the mother house of Cluny with its grand abbot, from Ramsey (William Anglicus, elected 1177) and from Reading. Reading abbey, subject of special patronage by the monarchs of England, more so even than Battle or Westminster, is worth examining as a particular illustration of this process. Until early in the next century it had an ill-defined

[32] H.R.H., 114-6, 119-20.

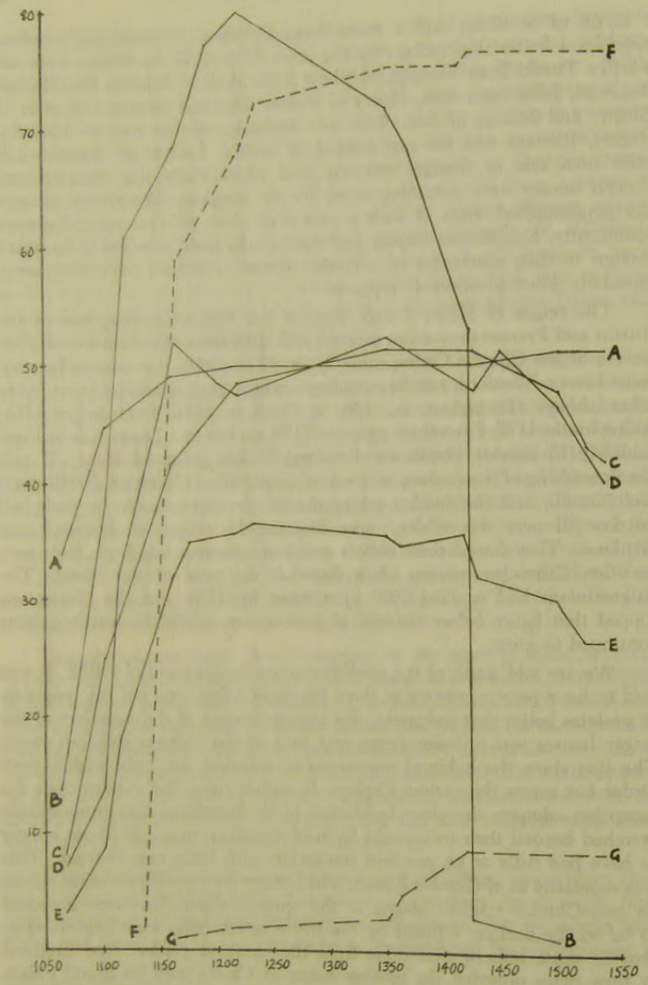


TABLE I: ABBEYS AND PRIORIES OF THE BENEDICTINE MONKS

A. Abbeys and Cathedral Priories (10 Benedictine).
B. Alien Priories (suppressed after the Act of 1414).
C. Ex-Abbeys and large Priories.
D. Lesser Priories and Cells.
E. Priories of the Cluniac Order.
F. Cistercian Abbeys (including Savignac Houses).
G. Carthusian Priories.

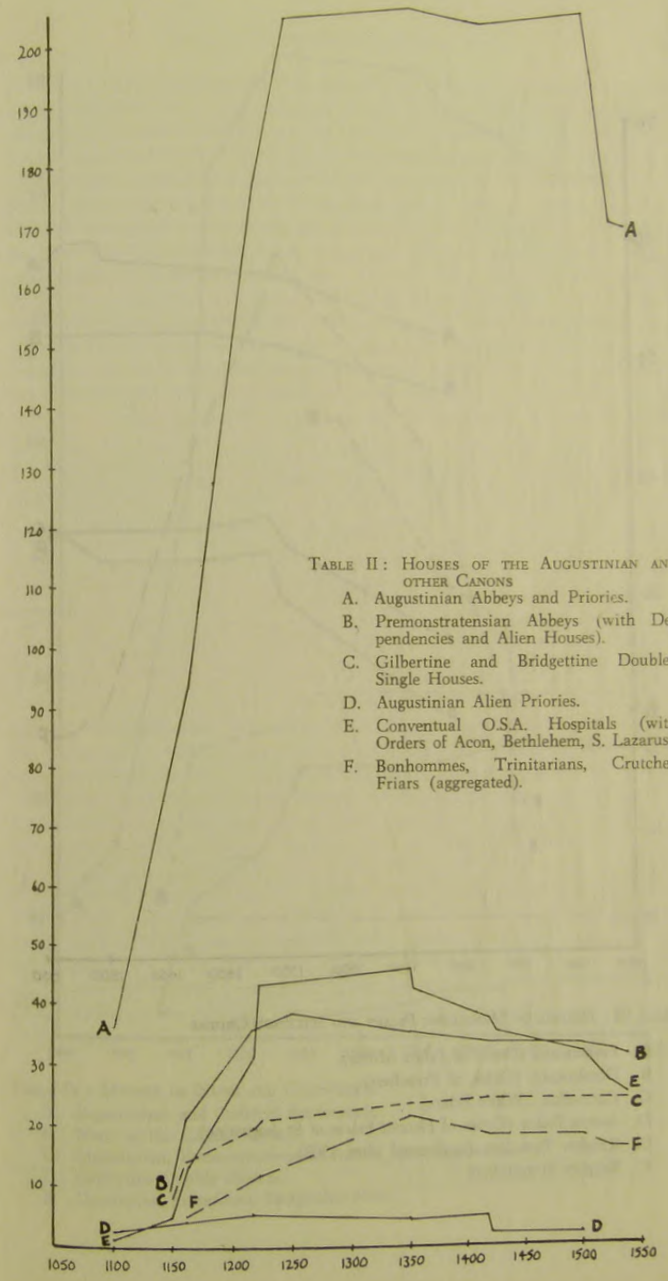


TABLE II: HOUSES OF THE AUGUSTINIAN AND OTHER CANONS

A. Augustinian Abbeys and Priories.
B. Premonstratensian Abbeys (with Dependencies and Alien Houses).
C. Gilbertine and Bridgettine Double/Single Houses.
D. Augustinian Alien Priories.
E. Conventual O.S.A. Hospitals (with Orders of Acon, Bethlehem, S. Lazarus).
F. Bonhommes, Trinitarians, Crutched Friars (aggregated).

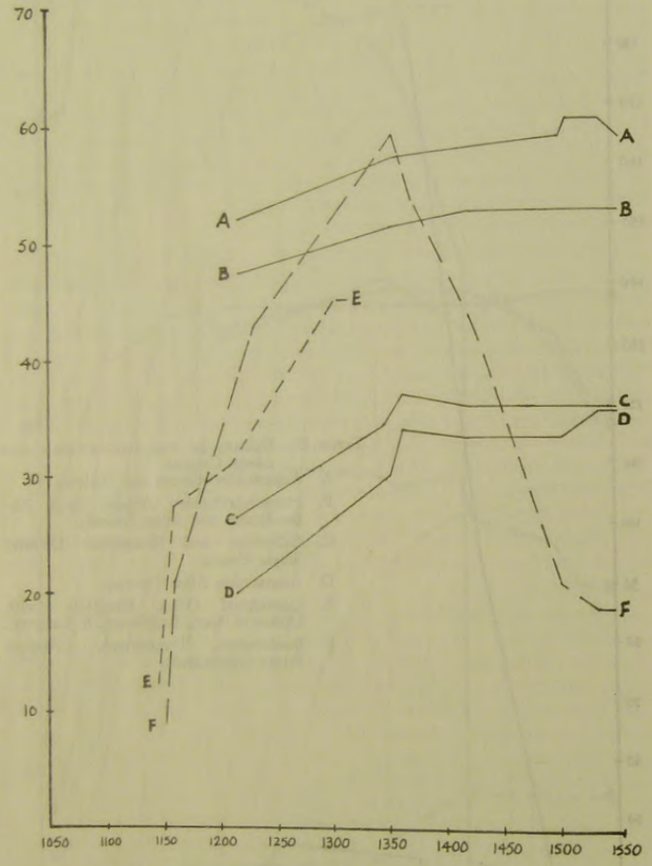


TABLE III: HOUSES OF MENDICANT FRIARS AND MILITARY ORDERS

A. Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor).
B. Dominicans (Order of Preachers).
C. Carmelites (White Friars).
D. Austin Friars (Order of Hermit Friars of St Augustine).
E. Knights Templars (suppressed after 1308).
F. Knights Hospitallers.

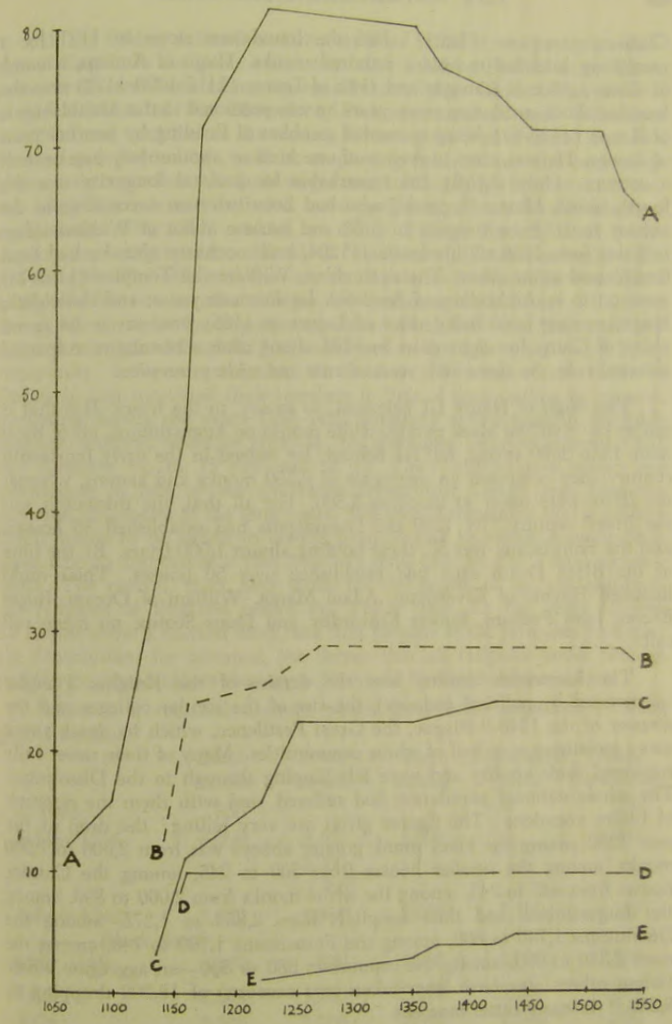


TABLE IV: HOUSES OF NUNS AND CANONESSES

A. Benedictines and Order of Fontevrault.
B. Nuns of the Cluniac Order.
C. Augustinian, Premonstratensian and St John Canonesses.
D. Gilbertine Double Houses.
E. Dominican, Franciscan, Bridgettine Nuns.

Cluniac connexion. Henry I laid the foundation stone in 1121 for a monastery intended to hold a hundred monks. Hugh of Amiens, a monk of Cluny, prior of Limoges and then of Lewes (1115-1120-1123) was the founder abbot, until after seven years he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Rouen (1130-64), being succeeded as abbot of Reading by another prior of Lewes. He was, then, a prelate of one kind or another for close on half a century. Only slightly less remarkable for prelatal longevity was the fourth abbot, Master Reginald, who had been prior on succeeding to the abbacy in 1154; he resigned in 1158 and became abbot of Walden abbey in Essex from 1166 till his death in 1204, half a century after he had been first blessed as an abbot. The sixth abbot, William the Templar (1165-73) went on to be Archbishop of Bordeaux for fourteen years; and the eighth, Hugh, coming from being prior of Lewes in 1186, went on to be grand abbot of Cluny for eight years in 1199, dying after a twenty year span of abbatial rule. So then, long years of rule and wide promotion.

The reign of Henry III belonged, so to say, to the friars. But that is not to say that the black monks, white monks or Augustinians, all of them more than 2000 strong, fell far behind; for indeed in the early fourteenth century they composed an aggregate of 9,350 monks and canons, whereas the friars were never so much as 5,500. For all that, the thirteenth was the friars' century. By 1260 the Dominicans had established 35 houses, and the Franciscans over 50, these holding almost 1,000 friars. By the time of the Black Death each had established over 50 houses. Their ranks included Haymo of Faversham, Adam Marsh, William of Occam, Roger Bacon, John Pecham, Robert Kilwardby and Duns Scotus, no mean roll call.

The fourteenth century saw the demise of the Knights Templar (suppressed by political jealousy), the rise of the secular colleges and the disaster of the 1348-9 Plague, the Great Pestilence, which by death swept away sometimes over half of whole communities. Many of them never fully recovered their vitality and were left limping through to the Dissolution. The whole national population had suffered, and with them the reservoir of future vocations. The figures given are very telling: the drop at the year 1350 among the black monk greater abbeys was from 2,000 to 1,000 monks, among the smaller houses from 500 to 245, among the Cluniac houses from 445 to 245, among the white monks from 2,000 to 890, among the Augustinians and their hospitals from 2,850 to 1,375, among the Dominicans 1,740 to 600, among the Franciscans 1,700 to 740, among the nuns 2,350 to 990, among the canonesses 980 to 500—an aggregate whole (when others also have been taken into account) of 18,000 dropping to 8,240.[33] It was a bitter moment.

[33] These aggregates are remarkable by modern standards. In England before the Black Death the total number of monks, black and white, indigenous and alien, including Carthusians, reached an estimated excess of 6,000 in 350 houses. Today, with a Christian population far larger to draw from, the world contains less than double that number of black monks (10,950).

All the Orders suffered a retraction after 1350: it was partly a reflection of England's economic exhaustion after the long French wars. There were not 20 new foundations among all the religious Orders. The *conversi* or lay brothers of the Cistercians, Premonstratensians and Gilbertines dwindled and vanished as the monks, following the lead of some Cistercian houses from their outset, took to employing field labour—the beginnings of monastic capitalism. As farm wages rose, inhibiting lay brother vocations, the white monks came to find it more profitable to lease their lands than work them. The alien priories, so many of them French, came under displeasure, being seized or forced to "denisation" (naturalisation) by the Act of 1414. The cells and the very small priories in the 1520s were closed to provide for new secular colleges. Nevertheless when Henry VIII came to cast his eye upon the monasteries, almost all of the 900 of them scattered down the length of England had continued to the end to harbour a living community, however attenuated in number. By some curious law the Orders in fact recovered their numbers in face of their decline in impetus, increasing during the years 1360-1422, attaining a new peak in the mid-fifteenth century, never so great as the maximum achieved around 1300, but certainly up to 75 per cent of it. Their recuperative power was astonishing in face of the challenges from other Orders and from the economic exigencies of the long years. We should remember that a celibate family needs to be added to always from outside its ranks, drawing from those who so approve of it that they will send their sons to a total commitment. The revival, then, says much for the health of the spirituality of the religious of England before the Tudor time. In the years 1534-40 all houses show a marked drop, and that because of the pressures presaging the Dissolution; for instance, the decree that all religious under the age of 24 or professed before they were 20 should be dismissed the cloister.

Below is a rounded abstract which gives some substance to these generalisations:

	Black monks	*White monks*	*Reg canons*	*Mendicant friars*	*Nuns/ Canonesses*
c. 1066:	850				250
before 1216:	*4,000*	*2,100* + 3,200 lay br[34]	3,500		3,000
before 1348:	3,500	1,950	*3,900*	*5,300*	*3,300*
Black death					
after 1350:	1,800	890	1,800	2,200	1,500
1422:	2,500	1,200	3,000	3,000	2,300
1534:	2,300	1,200	2,800	2,600[35]	1,950

[34] Lay brothers were numerous in the twelfth century, reaching their zenith in the mid-thirteenth. But by 1300 they had considerably decreased because of new social and economic mores. After the Plague in the mid-fourteenth century they became virtually extinct. H.R.H. (ii), 47n.

[35] Table H, M.R.H. (ii), 492, contains a misprint. For 1,596, read 2,596. H.R.H. Index contains mistakes: for instance, the four entries under York should read 113, 205-6, 224, 84 (not as printed).

The estimates for nuns do not include the 400 Gilbertine lay sisters, reduced to 100 by the Plague. The Knights Templar had about 135 members, the Knights Hospitaller about 200 plus 70 secular chaplains. It is hard to give any exact account of the members of the hospitals, there being about a thousand of many differing kinds during the period.

* * *

These are a magnificent pair of volumes, fit to put beside the four on the monastic and religious Orders, and assuredly indispensable (even at £19 the pair) to the serious student of the subject. They are the records of the fibres of a massive movement covering almost a millennium of detailed religious history (better documented than any other in the world for the time) profoundly affecting the whole way of life of the British people. These catalogues encapsulate that history.

We may fittingly end with some words drafted by Dom David Knowles to be a conclusion of his fourfold work, but never in the event used for it. They come at the end of a survey of the monastic buildings of England, and suggest that, for all the stolid rhythm of their life, few monks will live free of the masons' scaffold or be deprived of "watching the sailing clouds through gaps in the unfinished vaulting". While numbers fluctuated, buildings continued to be erected ceaselessly through the centuries, "tending ever towards a greater complexity of detail and a more advanced degree of material convenience and comfort".

"One who has spent hours and days among the records and the ruins of monastic houses, great and small, is aware at last of a sense of direct contact with the material life of the past. The rounded stairs and thresholds, the cracked hearths, the stone worn smooth by hand or bell-rope, the socket of the towel's holdfast by the frater door, the maze of passages, the personal names given by a succession of inhabitants to this or that part of the buildings—Traill at Bury, Le Spendiment at Durham, The Gallery at Ely, Bell Harry at Canterbury—all these recall a life that continued for five centuries or more, and which must have seemed to those who lived it as enduring and changeless as the natural life of the woods and fields. How many generations of monks or canons gazed upon the Tor at Glastonbury, or the hurrying Wharfe at Bolton, or the unharvested waves at Whitby. How many, in the cool morning of life, when the beauty of the external world strikes so suddenly and deeply into the mind as a revelation and an anguish, must have paused in the cloister to regard the silence and glory of the December stars."

BARE RUINED CHOIRS REMADE

by

Stuart Harrison

Yorkshire is full of fruitful ruins, there to be revivified by the draftsman's craft. In the City, where the stone was plundered for another generation's edifices, there is not much left and so plenty of room for interpretative ingenuity. In the smaller towns there is more, for the aura of respect for the living stones of dead tradition remained. In the valleys, unless the farmers have visited for wall making, there is still more. The author is a young draftsman bent on recreating the living past. His illustrations of St Mary's Abbey were drawn for "The Noble City of York", just published, and we thank the publisher for the use of his blocks.

My first visits to the ruined abbeys of Yorkshire kindled an interest in the subject which has grown with the passage of time. Then, as a child, I hadn't the capability of visualising the structures when complete and it was not until I came to study architecture at school that I was able to clothe the buildings and see them complete for myself. Kirkstall Abbey was my first real attempt at reconstruction when I made a study and built a small model. This I followed with a larger scale model of Rievaulx which involved the reconstruction on paper of various parts of the Abbey. I was also made aware of the drawings made by A. E. Henderson's 1930's illustrations and by Alan Sorrel's in more recent years. At first I accepted what was depicted without question, but very soon I realised that in many cases there may be several ways of reconstructing a feature of a building. I soon set about producing reconstructions on paper of my own.

The actual drawing itself takes much less time than the research which precedes it. Every source of information about the subject under study must be checked; this is usually contained in the many monographs published by the County Archæological Societies, the guide books of the Department of the Environment and the standard reference works on the subject generally. Engravings and paintings can sometimes prove useful in that they may show parts of a building which has since collapsed and disappeared. They must be viewed with suspicion, as the incidence of artistic licence is high. I also make a photographic record and obtain as many guide books as possible as they usually contain good photographs and an aerial view. Buildings of a similar date and style must be studied as well to enable comparisons to be made and the most likely reconstruction drawn.

The main subject of my studies have been the abbeys of Yorkshire, and here I offer three sets of drawings.

St Mary's Abbey, York

My first drawing (plate I) shows the Abbey from the south-west with the great church to the north of the cloister around which are set the main

buildings of the monastery. This is the traditional Benedictine plan with the chapter house on the east cloister walk extending south from the south transept with the dormitory on the upper floor of the range. The vestibule of the chapter house was found to be *in situ* when the excavation[1] took place and it can be seen in the Yorkshire Museum built over the site. On the south cloister walk which runs almost parallel to the church is the refectory and calefactory, whose great fireplace can also be seen in the Yorkshire Museum basement. Of the western range little is known and its purpose obscure; in a Cistercian House it would have formed the quarters of the lay brothers but the Benedictines at York did not enlist lay brothers so the building probably served as storage and gave entry to the cloister. Adjoining the refectory is the kitchen block and running south-west from the end of the dormitory range is a large series of buildings whose purpose is unknown but it is possible they formed the infirmary.

The buildings round the cloister were discovered when the Yorkshire Philosophical Society acquired the Abbey precinct in the 1820's and commenced to clear the site in order to build a museum. They immediately unearthed many hundreds of carved stones, fragments which had been of no use as building material upon the destruction of the church and had apparently been cast aside or used as rubble foundation fill for the walls of the Royal palace, which was constructed after the Dissolution, for Henry VIII. Many of the finest of these stones are to be found in the Yorkshire Museum and the rest are used in the rockeries of the Abbey gardens. At the time of their discovery nobody knew how to conduct an archæological investigation of the type we would see today, so the data which the investigators recorded is not informative as to the dates and usage of the buildings. A plan was produced and several engravings of the "dig" in progress by Wellbeloved.[2] Not all the precinct was investigated and many buildings must remain to be excavated and recorded to complete the Abbey plan. The plan of the original Norman church was discovered under the present church built in the 1270's.[3]

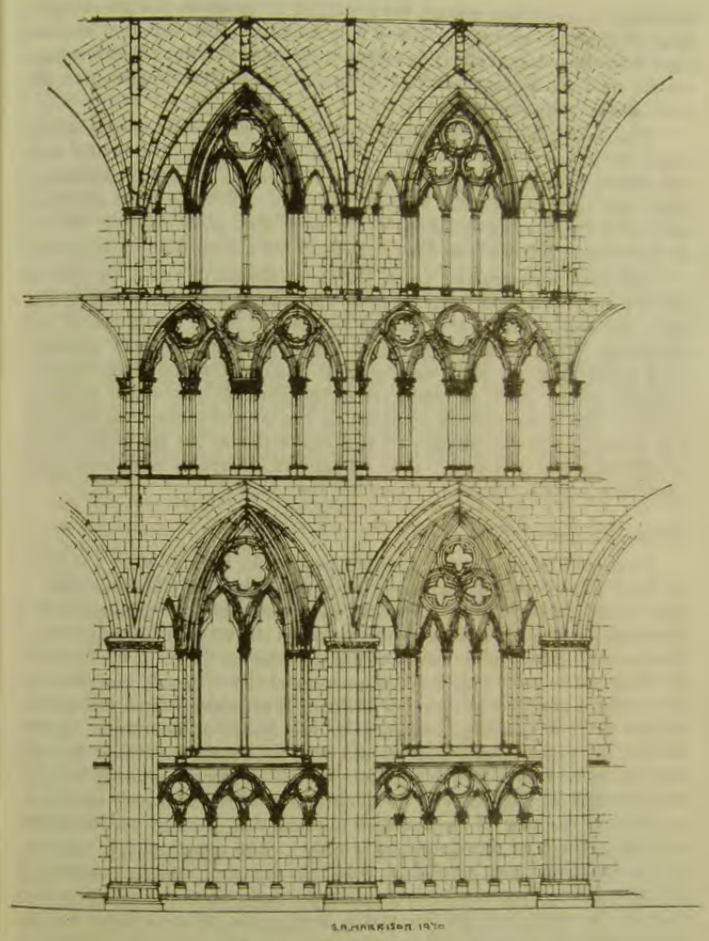
This first church was started in the late 1080's when the monks, who had not been established at York for long, obtained the patronage of the King, William Rufus.[4] The Abbey prospered and its possessions and wealth grew immensely, the great Abbey church and most of the buildings of the monastery must have been built in the late years of the eleventh and the start of the twelfth centuries. In the late twelfth century the vestibule of the chapter house appears to have been built in a most elaborate style of the transitional period of architecture. The great church was reconstructed from 1270 under the abbacy of Simon de Warwick, the Norman building having become decayed and in an unsafe condition. The whole building was rebuilt in the most sumptuous manner: it took only seven years before

[1] In 1828-9.

[2] Rev C. Wellbeloved, in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

[3] Dated plan by E. Ridsdale-Tate in the *Archæological Journal*, 1934.

[4] Ed. A. Stacpoole *et al.*, "The Noble City of York" (1972), 618.



THE MAIN BAY DESIGN, ST. MARY'S NAVE

A single bay of the west side of the north transept still stands intact to the top of the triforium. From this and other evidence (such as the affinity between St. Mary's and York Minster nave), these two bays, slightly different from one another, have been conjecturally reconstructed. The existing aisle windows are shown with two kinds of tracery design: the clerestory windows, though conjectural, are in keeping with the known window designs.

the choir was complete enough for a start to be made on the tower and a total of 22 years to complete the whole building. The expense incurred must have been enormous. The architect designed a church 350 feet long on the style of the Angel choir of Lincoln with a choir longer than the nave, stone vaulted throughout.[5]

The second drawing (plate II) shows the west front of the Abbey based on the surviving structure together with comparisons made with contemporary buildings, the east ends of Ripon, Lincoln, Guisborough, Selby and the west front of Howden Minster. All these great churches were in the process of building at the same time as St Mary's. In the window I have followed the design of Ripon more than that of the others.

The third reconstruction (plate III) shows the north side of the church and the north aisle doorway. Much of the aisle wall is still standing and forms the main part of the existing remains. I have reconstructed the buttressing in part and the pinnacles atop them, the clerestory windows being based upon the aisle windows still existing and the large transept windows on the jamb, sill and part of the head of one which partially survives. The tower and the spire which I show are conjectural but that they existed is without question for it is recorded that the spire was struck by lightning and collapsed.[6] It is not known if repairs were ever fully completed, but it is reasonable to assume they were.

Fountains Abbey

Founded 1132 by a group of dissatisfied monks from St Mary's at York the new abbey was accepted as a daughter house of Clairvaux and a monk of that abbey came to supervise the erection of the buildings to the Cistercian pattern and to instruct the monks in the ways of Cistercian rule. Work on the church must have been under way by 1135, it was built in the Burgundian style with local adaptations and was nearly complete by 1147 when a group of followers of William Fitzherbert, whose election to the see of York had been contested by the Abbot of Fountains, Henry Murdac, descended upon the abbey and fired the buildings. Much damage must have been done to the structure of the claustral buildings for the cellarium and the dormitory of the choir monks were extensively modified, in the latter the core of the damaged building was retained and extended with the insertion of new floors and windows. The cellarium was widened by the demolition and rebuilding of its western wall and its subsequent extension to the river on the south. In these early years the refectory was built in the usual way parallel to the south walk of the cloister but so little remains of it today that it is impossible to determine any feature of the building. The church was speedily repaired and completed; built in a very simple style it was one of the first churches to employ the pointed arch in this country.[7] Much of this church survives today in a very

[5] The remains of the choir have recently been cleared and conserved.

[6] In 1377, and still under reconstruction in 1410. Angelo Raine, "Medieval York: a topographical survey based on original sources" (1955), 267-8.

[7] Rievaulx preceded Fountains in the introduction of the pointed arch, in 1140-45.

complete state consisting of the nave and transepts. The short aisleless presbytery of the first building was demolished in the early thirteenth century and the church extended by a large presbytery of five aisled bays and the great eastern transept known as the chapel of the nine altars. This was not the only rebuilding or extensions the abbey undertook, from its foundation to the end of its life some part of the building appears to have been under reconstruction. The extent of the monastery was huge, its western range now stands virtually complete, lacking only its roof, the cellarium on its ground floor is renowned for its vaulted roof of 22 double bays. Turning westward from the south end of the western range is the reredorter and the lay brothers' infirmary built over the river on a series of tunnels, only the north wall of the infirmary is in good condition. The original refectory aligned on the east-west axis of the south cloister walk was completely rebuilt at the end of the twelfth century, the new building being realigned on a north-south axis with the kitchen on the west and the calefactory on the east. On the east of the eastern range, occupied by the choir monks, extended their reredorter building and attached to this the abbot's lodging.[8] One of the most remarkable buildings at Fountains was the great infirmary hall which stood over the river on five long tunnels: today little remains save the tunnels of what was one of the largest medieval halls in England. Built in the Early English style it was 180 feet in length by nearly 80 wide and had an aisle running round the whole building. On the east side was the kitchen and chapel which served the infirmary.

My first drawing (plate IV) shows the whole of the main abbey buildings from the north-west, particularly prominent is the huge tower built in the early sixteenth century at the instigation of Abbot Marmaduke Huby after whom the tower is now named. The outer court of the monastery looks vastly different from its appearance today: the large west wall of the western range is partially hidden by the clutter of pentise roofs against it and the large walls of the cellarer's yards stand where today there is an open expanse of grass. The form of these walls is known from an engraving made when they and the tracery of the great west window of the church were still complete[9] and their plan is also known from excavation.[10]

The small gabled roofs against the west range are indicated by the lines they have left against the wall and the number of arches in the Galilee porch are calculated from the few which survive. The cloister arcades are copied from those of the Galilee. In the roof of the eastern range were a series of lofts, the floor levels of which can be determined by studying the entrances to them from the south transept, this was how I

[8] By the strict Cistercian customary, the abbot was to sleep in the dormitory: by having his lodging at the end of the reredorter, he was technically keeping the rule.

[9] R. Gilyard-Beer, "Fountains Abbey" (HMSO 1970), 10-11.

[10] *Ibid.* for the latest plan of the abbey. See also W. H. St John Hope, "Fountains Abbey", *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* XV (1900), 269-402 with 28 illustr., a plan of the precincts and a plan of the abbey buildings.

deduced that there was only one row of dormer windows in the roof to light the loft. The guest houses in bottom right corner of the drawing are in a very good state of preservation. The height of the various pentise buildings and the garderobes are deduced from the corbel brackets which supported them and the stringcourses to which they abutted. Throughout the buildings there are the remains of many of these pentise roof corbels and the incised lines where the lead flashing attached.

My second drawing shows the exterior of the great refectory depicted shortly after its completion in the early thirteenth century. This is one of the most well preserved buildings and in another drawing to be used in a later issue I have restored the arcade which divided the room into two aisles, the pulpit, wall decoration and the tables. Only one of the column bases still survives and the responds of the arcade, of the pulpit there is the corbel which supported it and sufficient of the mouldings to project the superstructure. Stone bases of the table legs survive around the room. In later years the roof of the refectory was lowered and the new roof line cut across the rose windows making them useless so they were blocked up, all that remains of these are the very lowest parts, still with the blocking stones in position but this is sufficient to reconstruct their original size and that of the gables. The whole room was covered by a white plaster upon which was painted a stonework pattern in red, parts of which still survive. Plate VII shows the exterior of the refectory about the same date, the early thirteenth century. That the small pentise existed is certain as the abutment line of its roof is visible today, the purpose of the pentise was to give covered access to the wooden bridge spanning the river. Water ran under the end bay of the building in a specially built tunnel. At this time the roof would be covered with tiles

Fountains is a remarkably complete building and as such has been the subject of many architectural and archæological studies during the last hundred years. When making my drawings I made special use of the monograph by J. A. Reeve[11] who produced scale drawings of almost every wall of the abbey. These have enabled me to reconstruct to scale various parts of the buildings before I made my drawings, thus ensuring the most accuracy. I have tried to depict not only what existed and has disappeared but also the existing structure accurately because it is so large and well preserved it is easy to miss points of detail.[12]

Malton Priory and Ripon Cathedral

Malton Priory was built in the second half of the twelfth century. A Gilbertine house, it was for canons only and not of the double house (nuns and canons) type like the better known Yorkshire priory at Watton. The church was built in the transitional style, employing both round and pointed arches in the design. When the builders reached the west front

[11] J. A. Reeve, "A Monograph on the Abbey of St Mary at Fountains" (1892).

[12] The official Department of the Environment reconstruction drawing by Alan Sorrel appears to miss several existing features.

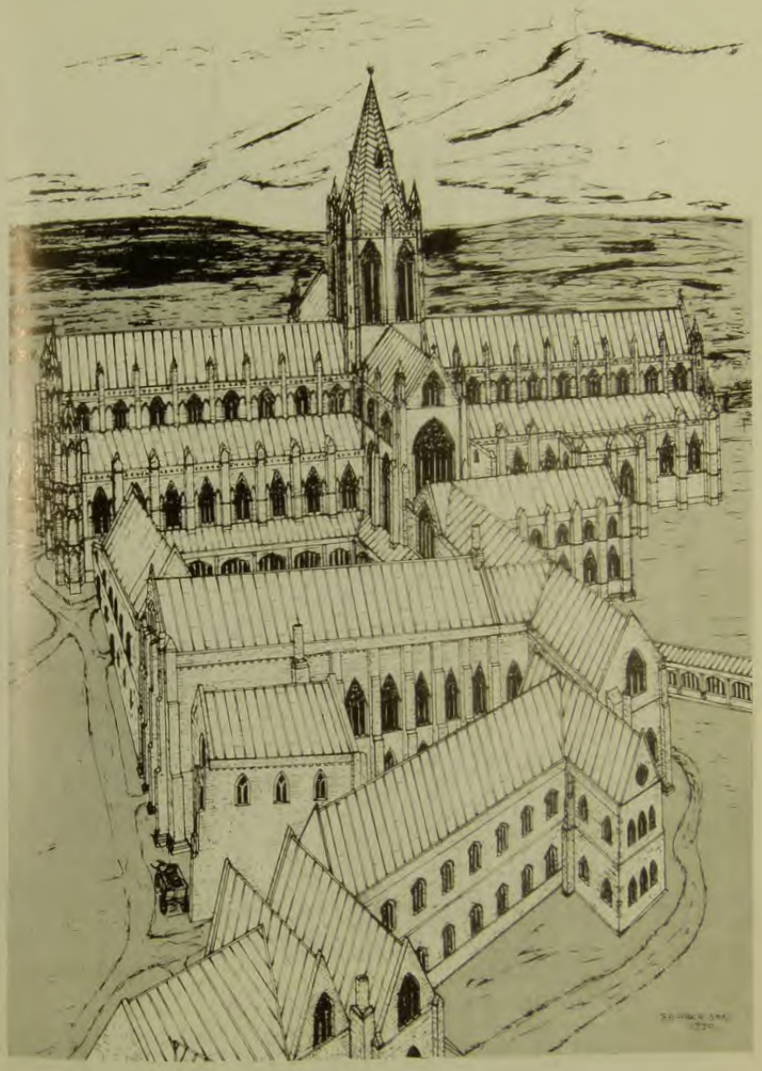


Plate I: View of the Abbey Church and Monastery Buildings from the South-West
This artist's impression gives an idea of what the buildings surrounding the cloister must have been like.

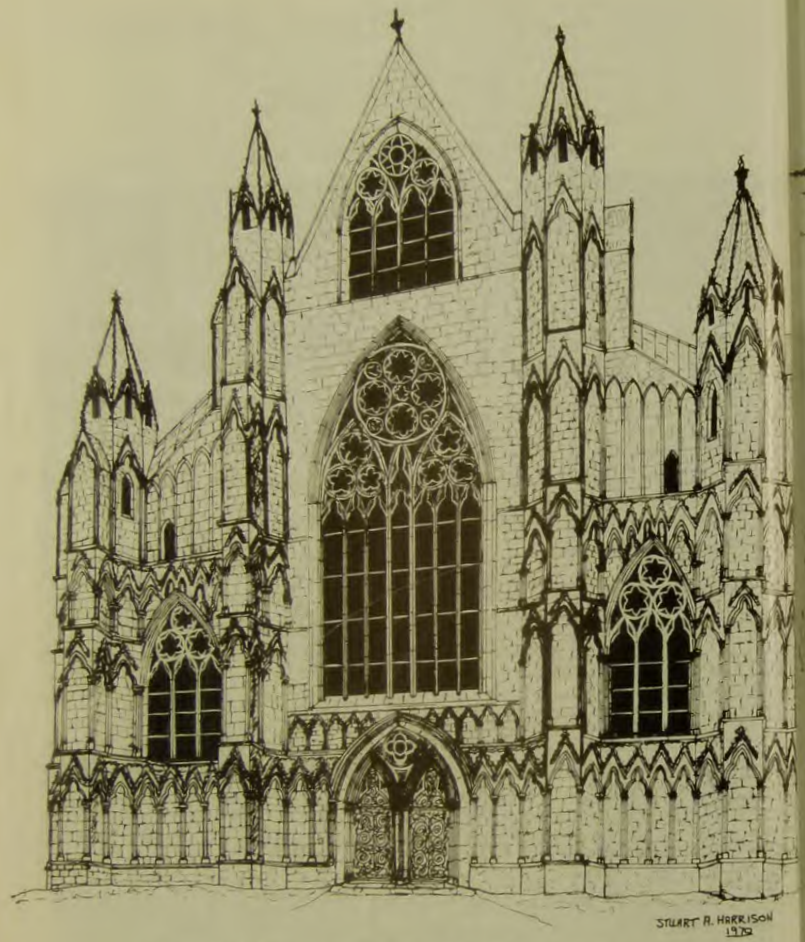


PLATE II: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WEST FRONT OF THE CHURCH

This is a good example of Decorated west fronts, judging from what little remains standing. It had a large window surmounted and flanked by smaller windows following a tracery pattern similar to the east window of Ripon Cathedral. The foliage in the stonework is of a late kind like that of the choir parapets at Selby, and the turrets are similar to those of Selby.

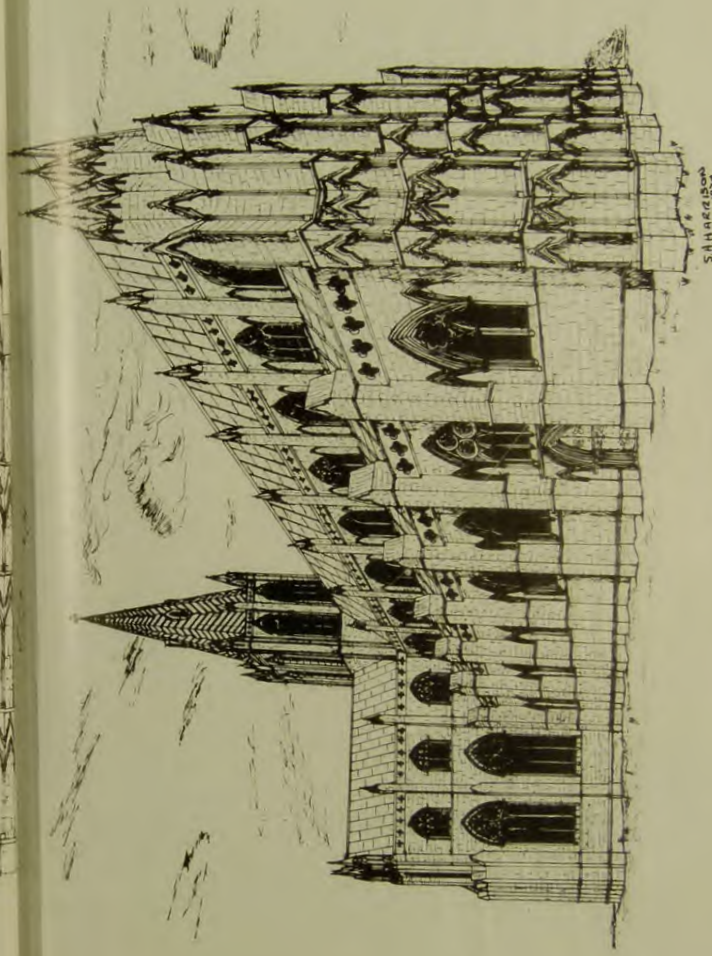


PLATE III: THE NORTH-WEST VIEW OF THE ABBEY CHURCH

This is an artist's impression of what may have been, too little remaining for more than that. Shown here is the north side of the church, the north transept and the tower crowned by a wood-and-lead spire. Against the church was the processional north walk.

PLATE IV: GENERAL VIEW OF [illegible] ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-WEST

It shows the 170-foot tower erected by Abbot Marmaduke Huby (1495-1526), pro[illegible] highest ever put up by Cistercians. The Burgundian "Galilee" porch on the west end of the church is a feature characteristic of Cistercian churches. The cloiste[illegible]nastic buildings lie to the south of the church, the refectory being off the south ambulatory of the cloister. The famous cellarium, largest of its kind in existence, [illegible]300 feet long, runs southwards from the west end of the church to the lay brothers' infirmary, and has the lay brothers' dor[illegible]ve it. In the foreground are guest houses.

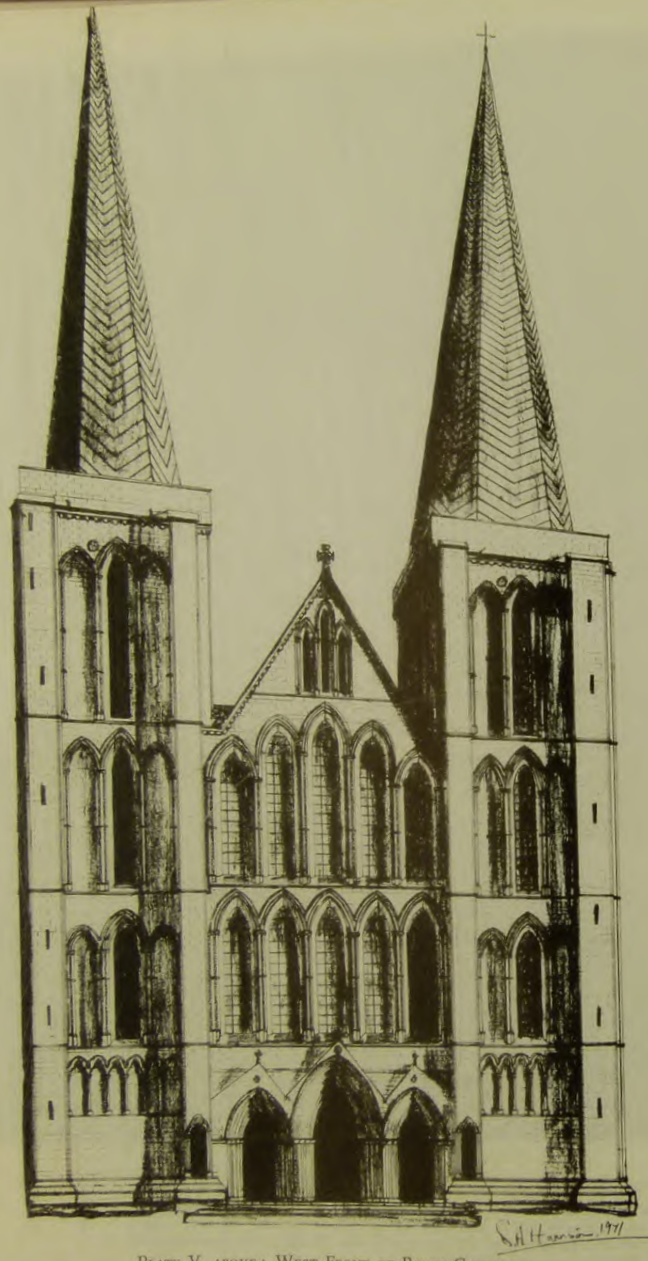


PLATE V, ABOVE: WEST FRONT OF RIPON CATHEDRAL

Ripon Cathedral is 40 feet shorter than the cellarium at Fountains Abbey. As it is today without the two west front spires, removed in 1664 after the spire of the central tower had collapsed, it shows up well its likeness to the west front of the Gilbertine priory at Malton. Both are thirteenth century, the Ripon Early English, built by Archbishop

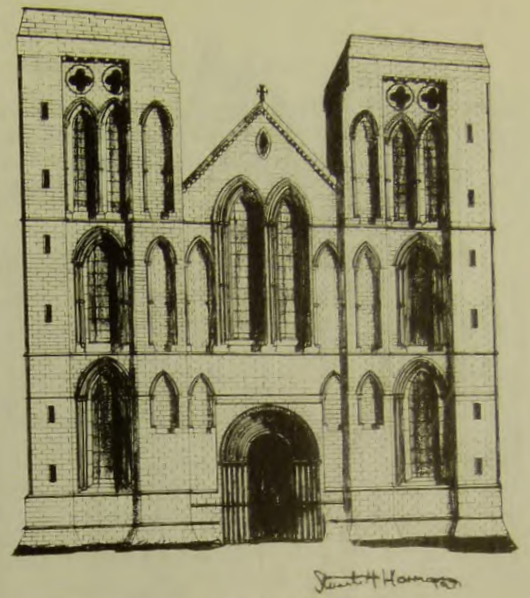


PLATE VI: WEST FRONT OF OLD MALTON PRIORY

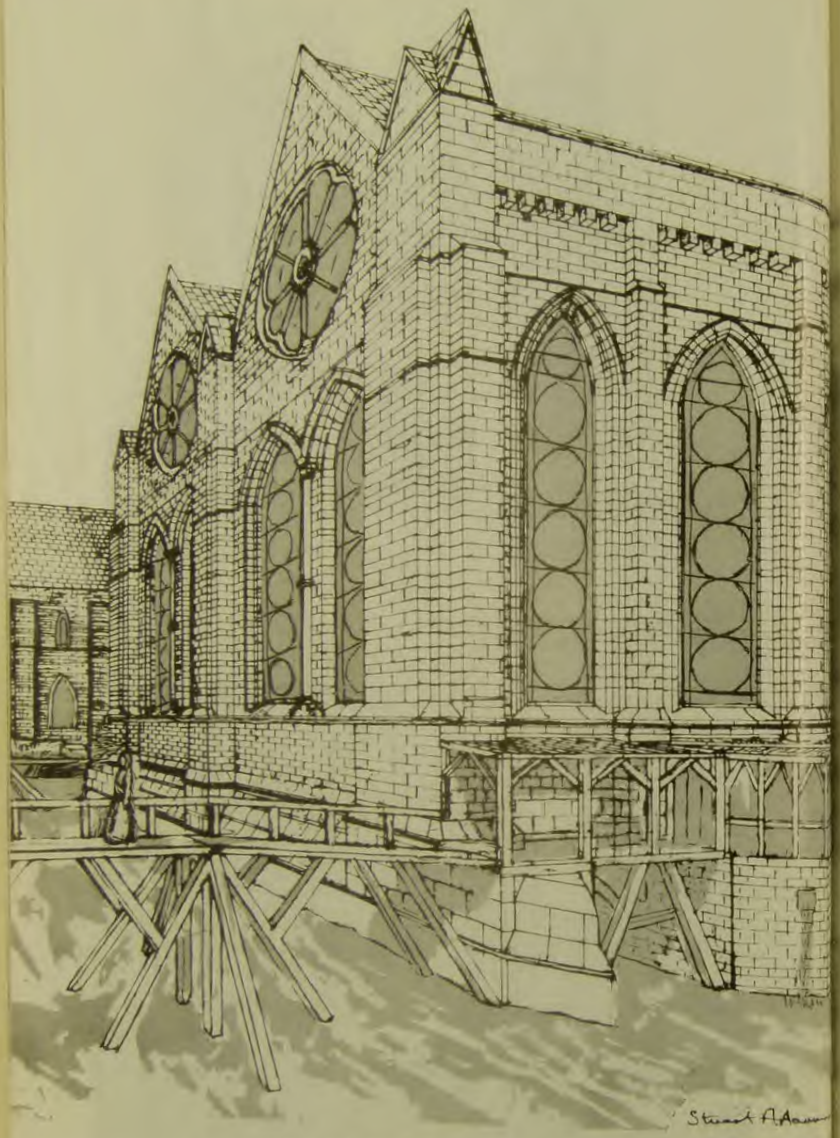


PLATE VII: SOUTH END OF THE REFECTORY
The River Skell once flowed up against its walls, but the bed of the river on the north side has now silted up.

the pointed arch was the prevalent type, the transition had "flowered" to become Early English. The main bay design is remarkable in its similarity to that of the choir in Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Evêque's rebuilding at Ripon; particularly similar is the triforium stage. What remains today of the west front is shown in the photograph below the reconstruction drawing (plate VI). The north-west tower was damaged in a fire and probably dismantled as being in a dangerous state, shortly before the dissolution of the priory in 1539. The most likely date was when the present west window was inserted in 1510.[13] All that remains of the tower is the base plinth, part of its south-west buttress and the jamb of one of its windows. These are, however, sufficient to show that it matched the surviving tower (see photo.). In the centre of the façade there existed the two lancet windows shown in my drawing; the evidence for them is very good. The jambs of the present window are partly those of these original lancets, their bases stopping at the stringcourse which extended across the front. Inside the church a passage was carried across the front at this window level from one tower to the other. The entrance remains in the existing tower, blocked up when the walk across the front was destroyed by the insertion of the present window. Further evidence is the inner jambs of the lancets which rise above the head of the present window. These can only be seen on the church roof where there is also visible the pitch of the original roof incised on the tower buttress and the few remains of the clerestory. From these it is possible to reconstruct the clerestory design with some certainty. The shaftings which survive show that the main span of the nave was never vaulted in stone. At the base of the belfry stage is a well pronounced stringcourse which appears to extend no further than the width of the tower, a closer study revealed that at one time it extended across to the lancets in the middle as shown in the drawing. Fragments of this stringcourse extension still remain.

Malton front was built as the original termination of design but Ripon was a rebuilding of an existing west front (plate V). It was purely an architectural tour de force involving the addition of the towers and façade to the church built by Archbishop Roger only fifty years earlier in the 1170's. Roger's church had an aisleless nave so the towers were not a truly integral part of the structure in the way that they were at Malton. The work at Ripon appears to have taken a long time[14] and was started in 1220 by Archbishop Walter de Gray who was responsible for the reconstruction of the transepts at York Minster at the same time. In the early sixteenth century Roger's old and decaying nave was demolished and the present one with aisles constructed. The front had become in a state of decay by the nineteenth century and in 1862 a restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott was started. Scott, the great Gothick revivalist, found the three doorways in such a decayed state that he had to renew most of them. In 1379 the lancet windows were divided by the insertion of a mullion in each with a quatrefoil at the head of the windows. Scott

[13] G. G. Pace, "St Mary's Priory Church, Old Malton" (1971).
[14] C. Hallet, "The Cathedral Church of Ripon" (1901).

removed these on the grounds that they had become much decayed and they were never renewed. Since then his action has brought a steady stream of condemnation from the expert opinion of the day. Judging from the windows in the Cathedral which received similar dividing mullions and still survive, the quatrefoils would not have been very harmonious with the heads of the lancets and would probably have appeared rather clumsy. Several drawings exist which show the front before restoration and the disappearance of the mullions appears to be no great loss. Both these towers and the central one carried spires, that on the latter reputedly 150 feet in height from the tower parapets. In 1660 the spire on the central tower collapsed and crashed through the choir roof and those on the western towers were removed as a precautionary measure in 1664. In the drawing I show the front with the spires restored and prior to the insertion of the mullions in the windows. This drawing is scaled to that of Malton to show their comparative sizes and the overall feeling of similarity conveyed by them.

Malton was probably the most typical of this type of front of which there were nine in Yorkshire. Selby was probably one of the first to start building a front with twin towers but took so long in building that the style of architecture had changed greatly by the time that they reached clerestory level and proceeded no further. The unfinished front formed more of a screen, lacking its belfry stages[15] and gave a horizontal instead of the intended vertical effect. Kirkham Priory was also building a pair of towers on to an existing church at the same time as Malton and the two designs must have been similar.[16] Little remains of the front at Kirkham, the north-west tower has disappeared completely and the south-west remains only in a fragmentary form. The nave was aisleless like that of Ripon and there appears to have been an unusual arrangement in the centre of the façade, a series of what look like steps run between the two towers and the centre is set back from the towers at the sides. The main doorway appears to be in the basement of the south-west tower and the centre is too ruined to tell if there ever was a doorway there. At Scarborough the large parish church was built with a pair of towers again about the same time as Malton; only the basement storeys survive but an engraving of 1590 of the town shows the church as having towers with five storeys and spires, which would make the design look very similar to Ripon. The church was tied to the Cistercians for two hundred years from 1189 which makes its twin towers the more remarkable because the Cistercian Rule forbade the building of towers. The church was badly damaged in the civil war and lost its large choir at that time, therefore it is most probable the towers were lost then also. Guisborough Priory constructed a pair of large western towers in the mid-thirteenth century: between them was a porch which took up the full width between the buttresses and was divided down the middle into double doors. This

[15] C. C. Hodges, "The Architectural History of Selby Abbey" (1893).
[16] C. Peers, "Kirkham"; R. Gilyard-Beer, "Guisborough", official HMSO guides.

façade which was of comparable size to Ripon, was damaged in the fire of 1289 which destroyed most of the priory church[16] and it is probable that the design was altered in the subsequent rebuilding. Little remains today save the base plinths of the towers. Bridlington Priory started to build a pair of towers but like Selby they never finished them: the towers are in fact, odd and were not built at the same time—that on the north is the older, having been begun in the thirteenth century. The central façade and the south-west tower are contemporary, in the perpendicular style. Both belfry stages are nineteenth century, by Sir Gilbert Scott.

The two remaining fronts, York[17] and Beverley, are both well known. York was the result of a long period of building which started in 1291 at the transept and progressed to the west front. The feature which draws the eye is the large west window of flowing tracery and the panelled stonework. The butressing steps back gradually as the towers increase in height, finally terminating in gabled pinnacles which, combined with the parapets and corbelled stringcourse below, gives the effect of a huge multi-legged table turned upside down. The south-west tower was completed in 1456 and the north-west in 1472—which shows how long construction took. Recently the foundations of the whole west end have been consolidated and reinforced. This entailed the excavation of the interior of the church, when the west end of the original Norman Minster was discovered. Abutting up to it was what appeared to be the foundation of a pair of western towers. This early front was added to the west end of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux's Norman cathedral[18] during the time of Archbishop Roger[19], and the plan of the Minster at that time would have been very similar to that of Ripon and Kirkham, i.e. aisled choir, transepts, aisleless nave and twin western towers. The shear cracks in this foundation, however, suggest that the main weight was distributed upon the inner walls, which means that the structure could have been similar to Ely with a single central tower and flanking western transepts. This would be unusual in that the tower would be rectangular in plan.

Beverley was begun in the late fourteenth century and is entirely in the perpendicular style. The emphasis on the vertical is immense, here the towers are carried up with stepped and panelled butressing topped by gabled pinnacles similar to those at York, but the stepping is not as pronounced and the butresses are more slender. The parapets are subservient to the butresses: this succeeds in increasing the verticality and loses the tabletop effect of York.

If one discounts the Cistercians from the number of large churches built in the county, as despite Abbot Marmaduke Huby's eight-bell campanile, they were not allowed towers anyway, then the proportion with twin towers is over 50% of known church plans.

[17] Illustrated in colour elsewhere in this issue.
[18] B. Hope-Taylor, "Under York Minster: Archæological discoveries 1966-71" (Dean & Chapter 1971).
[19] Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Buildings of England: York and the East Riding" (1972).

CREATIVITY AND THE SPIRIT

by

ABBOT REMBERT WEAKLAND, O.S.B.
The Abbot Primate of the Order

When two summers ago Mount Angel Abbey (Oregon) in America opened its ambitious new library, the librarian, to mark the event and give colour to the opening ceremonies, commissioned two addresses, one by an eminent scholar of medieval monastic learning, the other by a scholar from the modern monastic world. Professor R. W. Southern (President of St John's College, Oxford) chose to speak on early monastic book making, and his paper is to be published in the *Downside Review*. The Abbot Primate, who has travelled the world in pursuit of his duties, turned his paper to the future.

This paper has not been published before except in the journal of the Abbot Primate's own abbey, St Vincent Latrobe, *Benedictine Confluence* (Fall 1972). We acknowledge the permission of the Editor of that journal.

THE nagging process of secularization has forced into the open again the theological problem of dualism, causing it to come forth from its hibernation that had lasted for centuries to torment the Christian view of the here and the hereafter. Whether we talk of transcendence and immanence, or of vertical and horizontal, or of incarnational and eschatological, or simply of the secular and the sacred, it is all the same: we are posing again the problem of the relationship between matter and spirit, between the divine and the human, between this life, this earth, this world, and God. Secularization, however, poses the problem differently because, before beginning the debate, it gives to this world inalienable rights and values of its own. It is not a sterile debate—if theology is to do justice to these earthly values and not minimize their importance nor give them an end outside salvific history.

It is a platitude to say that this dualism must resolve itself in a unity of end. Karl Rahner seldom rises to moving rhetoric nor passionate clarity in his writings, yet his statement on this unity of end is an exception. Despite its length, I quote here:

"Christianity professes belief in the resurrection of the body and means by this that in the last analysis there is only *one* history and *one* end of *everything*, and that everything reaches its end once it has taken possession of God himself. Christianity, indeed, only conceives and knows a matter which is different from spirit and out of which the spirit cannot simply develop as the very product proper to that matter as is taught by dialectical materialism. Yet Christianity knows only a matter which is created and exists from the very start *by* the Spirit who is called God and *for* the spirit called man, in order to make spiritual, personal life possible and to act as a basis for such a life. The spirit is not a stranger in a spiritless world which follows its own paths quite unconcerned about the spirit, but rather this material world is the corporeal presence of the spirit, the extended being of man, and has therefore ultimately the same end and destiny as man. Even in eternity—when the spirit will be fully achieved—the material world will be the expression of this achieved spirit and hence will participate in the final state of this spirit in—as we say—a 'glorified' manner. Hence we profess that the end will be a new earth and a new heaven."

Although this explanation which terminates in the unity of an ultimate end is clear and satisfying, it does not solve the basic problem of the relationships that compose the present moment, how, in other words, "the spirit is not a stranger in a spiritless world which follows its own paths quite unconcerned about this spirit." It is this question of the unity of action and not of end that the phenomenon of secularization is posing anew. Rahner rightly sees Christianity as the "achieved synthesis on each occasion of the message of the gospel and of the grace of Christ, on the one hand, and the concrete situation in which the gospel is to be lived, on the other." But does not one give the impression, by talking in this way, that the spirit arrives on the scene as a kind of "Johnny-come-lately" to make an existing something Christian, or to adapt Christianity to that existing something? Perhaps the most unchristian word in our vocabulary today is adaptation. We have a kind of frustrating image of a world moving rapidly ahead and of a frantic Christianity that is breathlessly trying to grasp its arm to give it an injection of the spirit.

One might think that the process of secularization would in all instances reach its ultimate end in secularism when dualism would resolve itself by the denial of one of its parts—namely spirit—so that man could continue his progress unperturbed. But a new dualism is entering into the secularization process itself that cannot be ignored by the theologian, for it may well correspond to man's basic drive toward a synthesis. The dualism I refer to is not that of the old secular and sacred, but it does share its overtones. Perhaps Theodore Roszak in his book "The Making of a Counter Culture" is its clearest contemporary exponent. In his terminology, two ways—uncompromisingly irreconcilable—of viewing the world are placed in opposition: one is scientific objectivity or technocracy, the other is, as he describes it, a shamanistic world view: one is the rationality of objective consciousness, the other is the poetic experience. " . . . there are eyes which see the world not as commonplace sight or scientific scrutiny sees it, but see it transformed, made lustrous beyond measure, and in seeing the world so, see it as it really is." In spite of his many lucid and valid criticisms of the technological mental straight-jacket, Roszak in emphasizing this dichotomy and its impossible reconciliation does not convince. To equate the totality of life with the poetic experience is just as false as to equate the totality of life and its world vision with scientific objectivity. Secularization does not in this case deny spirit, but it ends by ignoring matter.

Roszak is perhaps right, though, in his harsh criticism of institutionalized religion which has fallen victim to scientific objectivity in its attempt to be up-to-date, to adjust to the secular world. Institutionalized religion has lost its sense of the mysterious, wondrous element in life through the

influence of secularization; but perhaps this loss is religion's ultimate gain, since she can accept wholeheartedly scientific objectivity without clinging to a false mysterious obscurantism. It is too easy to accept Roszak's solution of cutting off the scientific mind for the poetic experience, in spite of the merits of his arguments for the importance of the much-neglected latter phenomenon. Science should not be confused with poetic experience, but the first does not negate the second. The problem Roszak poses, however, is whether man, by trying to retain both, is really trying the impossible, namely, to move forward simultaneously on two divergent tracks and fluctuate between them, or must he perforce neglect one and accept the other.

Theology today is not oblivious to this twofold view of man's being in action. The market is now flooded with theologies of festivity to balance Christianity's affirmation of the secular. But if festivity is to be more than a sterile, but enjoyable, escapism, we must continue to find the solution between festivity and science and avoid identifying the spirit or "religion" with one or the other. Having written "The Secular City" and now "The Feast of Fools", Cox must write the third book of a single and unified view of how man must live.

From the very opening passages of Genesis the word *spirit* is intimately connected with the word *creation*. It is in the act of creating that the relationship between spirit and matter becomes clear. We need today a theology of creativity. Festivity without creativity cannot exist. We search to balance the rigidity of rational planning with spontaneity, but spontaneity without creativity is empty and wasted motion. Romano Guardini was one of the first to see the importance of a theology of creativity and its relationship to man's freedom and to explore the relationship between the creative act and grace (or the movement of the spirit). But his concern for freedom in that postwar period prevented him from developing his thoughts to the fullest on grace and creativity.

I would prefer to say that we need today in this moment of a changing culture a theology of art, but I have used the word "creativity" instead, since art carries with it so many prejudices. Art is snobbish, a luxury for the elite, an ornamental pastime and is not seen as it really is: a means of communicating feelings and realities and giving them sense and meaning above themselves by the conjunct of their diverse elements. But creativity and art belong together and belong to the whole process of life and not to its periphery.

Institutional religion has no place in man's future if it seeks to confirm prescientific mysterious categories, but the spirit has a place, if it is truly concerned with creating a future out of the present. In fact, the secularization process has made this moment in history the most receptive to creation and thus to the Spirit. Rahner is right in stating that man today has become his own creator and has begun to realize the possibilities of this assertion. "The man of the unified, planetary living-space which is to be extended even beyond the earth—the man who does not simply accept the world around him but creates it and who regards himself as merely

the starting point and raw material for what he wants to make of himself in accordance with his own plans—has for these very reasons the impression of standing at a beginning, of being the beginning of a new man . . ." This process of creating is not contradictory to the process of discovering the many possibilities that are open to man. The scientific process of discovery of possibilities is but the further incentive to the creative process. It is the duty of creativity to make a future out of the multiple possibilities. It is the awakening of the spirit that is needed to make each moment creative. Even in the scientific process the vision of the creator must be present. If one is selective in the creative act, he must know the special possibilities open to him. Scientist and artist must become one in the next culture. Man, awakened by the Spirit, creates out of—not just existing materials—but existing possibilities that his scientific mind has opened up to him. He does this, however, by always being in the present. He does not, however, seek to make but a scientific synthesis of all possibilities by composing closed logical categories. Man creates out of present possibilities by giving to them a reality that communicates more than their physical presence or scientific analysis. The whole of man—including his emotions and fears and hopes and joy—are a part of the communication.

Creativity does not ignore facts; however, it does not see them as ends in themselves but as constructive possibilities for deeper communication. Creativity must be selective. It never denies reality, but it must always be in the process of choosing among possibilities. It does this unabashedly and without apology. It must also reject in its selectivity. Art if ascetical: it must deny itself to be. Camus most aptly expressed this when he said: "Art is the activity that exalts and denies simultaneously. 'No artist tolerates reality,' says Nietzsche. That is true, but no artist can get along without reality. Artistic creation is a demand for unity and a rejection of the world. But it rejects the world on account of what it lacks and in the name of what it sometimes is. Rebellion can be observed here in its pure state and in its original complexities. Thus art should give us a final perspective on the content of rebellion."

Creativity does not ignore logic, but it does not exhaust itself in causal relationships. Its gamut of relationships is as infinite as its material. Creativity does not ignore emotion and passion, but it does not identify itself with them. They too are its material. Creativity always seeks unity, not out of all conceivable elements by a synthesis that ultimately consumes and annihilates weaker elements. Its unity is found in multiple relationships of balance and contrast among and within the elements selected; thus creativity gives to each element, by reason of its relationship to each other element and to the whole, meaning and reality beyond itself.

Creativity does not ignore action, but it should not be confused with it. At times its interest rests on the act itself—the act of begetting, of selecting, of forming, of transforming, of communicating. At times its interest reposes on art products that it creates, receives, contemplates, experiences, lives. It becomes a habit of doing as well as receiving. It becomes

a way of living. It delights in the multiplicity of possibilities the scientific part of its being opens up to it and never ceases to wonder at its own creative realizations. Creativity is a fearless mental attitude that rests on the inner drive to express itself in the Spirit.

I have had a difficulty at times knowing whether the word *Spirit* in the above contexts should be capitalized or not. That hesitation when I wrote came from the fact that I too have had a dualistic upbringing. If my being is emerged in the gospel message, if that fullness of Christ that Paul speaks of is a part of my whole being, then it will enter into my creative process as an inevitable result and I should capitalize the word Spirit every time I create, for it is *the* Spirit that serves as the unitive force of my creations. Christian creativity means that the Christian creator lives and operates in the Spirit.

One may wonder why this theme should be of interest in a particular way to those who belong to the Benedictine tradition. The reason may not, at first glance, be too obvious. However, in thinking over the elements presented thus far, I was suddenly reminded of John Henry Newman's famous essay, "The Mission of Saint Benedict," which appeared in the *Atlantis* of January, 1858. The Benedictines of his day were not flattered by the way in which Newman characterized the Benedictine spirit, especially as it had become embodied in the Benedictine schools. He identified the history of Christian education with its three outstanding figures; namely, Benedict, Dominic, and Ignatius. To the first spirit, that of Benedict, he gave the quality "poetic"; to the second, that of Dominic, he gave the quality "scientific"; and to the third, that of Ignatius, he gave the quality "practice". Newman further tried to give body to these terms, which he realized were somewhat vague, by treating in greater detail the Benedictine poetic quality in its relationship to the Dominican scientific approach to life. Although he asserted that he did not consider the Benedictines "dreamy sentimentalists," but that "their poetry was the poetry of hard work and hard fare, unselfish hearts and charitable hands," it did not soothe the wounded Benedictine pride at that time. Perhaps today Benedictines would be more likely to accept Newman's qualifying adjective.

In rereading Newman's essay I was struck by his descriptive adjectives in demonstrating the difference between the Benedictine spirit and the Dominican; these passages could have been written by Theodore Roszak in his descriptions of the two world views—poetic or shamanistic, on one hand, and scientific, on the other. Newman, too, states that poetry is the antagonist of science, that they cannot stand together, that they are two modes of viewing things that are contradictory of each other. "Science," he writes, "results in system, which is complex unity: poetry delights in the indefinite and various as contrasted with unity, and in the simple as contrasted with system." Newman does not see the Ignatian system as a synthesis of the poetic Benedictine and the logical Dominican, but rather as a system resulting from and imbued with worldly wisdom and worldly experience. Newman was, quite naturally, limited greatly by the concept of science in his day. Taking into account, however, these limitations, one can still find much truth in his basic and very general classification of the differences of spirit between Benedictine and Dominican or between Benedictine and Jesuit. The adjective "poetic" has a relationship to a way of looking at life as found in Benedictines' spirit—"poetic", naturally, must be taken in Newman's sense as in contrast with Scholastic categories, logic, and methodology. In this regard it is also worth noting that Newman marshalled the attitude of Mabillon, the precise Benedictine scholar, in his favour by quoting Mabillon's harsh treatment of Scholastic methodology as unbenedictine.

In his analysis of the poetic quality of Benedictine monasticism, Newman introduced the element of *fuga mundi* (flight from the world). One might find in this regard that Newman is indeed too poetical himself, but certain phrases in his description resound strongly in our ears today because they too could come from the pen of Roszak. Newman states that the monks turned their backs on the *pantechnicon* of trades. This sounds much like the Roszak pejorative term *technocracy*. Newman sees the results of the *fuga mundi* as an attitude of total being and bearing that necessarily demands selectivity in choosing and the turning of one's back on the elements left behind. His description of this rejection—although in religious terms—resembles the description of the selectivity, of the rebellion of art that I quoted from Camus. *Fuga mundi* is a limitation of possibilities, freely accepted by the monk, out of which he carves his life. This *fuga mundi*, as Newman rightly asserted, resulted, not in new and logical structures, nor in planned social nor religious reforms, but simply in a style of living the gospel that permitted various forms of growth. In describing this growth of Benedictinism, Newman stated:

> "Instead of progressing on plan and system and from the will of a superior, it has shot forth and run out as if spontaneously, and has shaped itself according to events from an irrepressible fulness of life within, and from the energetic self-action of its parts, like those symbolical creatures in the prophet's vision, which 'went every one of them straight forward, whither the impulse of the spirit was to go'. It has been poured out over the earth, rather than been sent, with a silent mysterious operation . . ."

It should be clear now that I feel we Benedictines should take seriously today Newman's vision of us, because this very poetic quality he noticed in Benedict's spirit might be of help to us in creating a future.

Creativity, we stated, was a way of living; it does not exhaust itself in individual art objects. The most interesting question we should ask ouselves concerns the possibility of collective creativity. Medieval monastic music, art, and architecture have about them a quality that supersedes individual achievements and became the results of collective creativity. Collective creativity should result in the expression and communication of collective feeling, of collective passion, of collective hope, of collective anguish, of collective sorrow, of collective joy, of collective love. What Newman was asserting was that Benedict, without being totally conscious of the fact, was laying the foundations of a society that could

be collectively creative. The monastic community was not organized to accomplish a logical, practical end; it was not structured in order to function in a given way to produce an efficient product. Its scope was simply Christian living in the Spirit. The inner organization that Benedict describes is simply the way in which Christians, as human beings, must relate to God and to each other. His Rule dissolves in a description of Christian relationships; it does not create a system. It is true that the Rule has much more to say about the relationship between the individual monk and the abbot than it does about the horizontal relationships in the community, but the few extended passages where Benedict does treat these latter questions are most important, for example, when he describes the relationships of respect between the different age groups, the relationship of love and care for the children and the sick, the concern for the guests, and so on. Benedict describes an organism, not an organization, as one would say in modern jargon. Although he laid the basis for a creative community that would be so in a totally Christian way, it does not follow that all Benedictine communities are or were thereby creative. It happened often in history that they were uncreative and fell from the lists of significant historical achievements.

The question we might ask ourselves on this day is how we might remain in the creative tradition that has characterized our Order in the past, what positive characteristics we should search for, what negative and sterile characteristics we should avoid. The remarks that follow, then, are an attempt to state in a brief and synthetic way the general trends that would characterize the spirit of a creative Benedictine group today. For them to be in the Benedictine tradition, they must not be, let me repeat, the result of false dualism on one hand, nor an unchristian or unevangelical perspective, on the other.

First of all, there is nothing in the description of the relationships between the monks as bound in the Rule that is artificial or theatrical. In this sense, the human element is not neglected; the weakness of one monk or the strength of another are all accepted equally. Slave or free in origin be of no importance. What is of importance is that the light of the gospel shine through these relationships. The abbot, the sick, the guests, the other monks—all are seen in relationship to Christ. The relationships in the Rule must be evangelical. The basis of the monk's spirituality, the source of his view on life, the anchor of his stability always have reference to the Scriptures. He is constantly in touch with the living Spirit of the Gospels in his own day, not just with their academic and literal meaning. His creativity will also be based on, find its source in, and be anchored to the living gospel message and events of Christ's kenosis.

Moreover, he will be constantly sensitive to the working of the creative spirit in his confreres if he is truly Benedictine and evangelical. His response to the other will be creative, not a sterile acceptance or rejection. By developing this sensitivity to the other he makes collective creativity possible. His own creating becomes the product of his responses as well as

of his actions. Collective creativity is the product of individual sensitivity. It will be Christian if it is genuine, if it is sympathetically tuned to the inaudible vibrations of the Spirit Christ left with us.

Benedict mentions also in his Rule that the services one renders to the community should be done so as to edify. It touches all areas; the way one reads to his brothers—whether in the refectory or in choir—the way one handles and treats the physical property of the monastery, the way one handles people. The criterion is always one of doing well, that is, of respecting the sensitivities of the other, "to edify". These simple descriptions in the Rule on what we might call public services were the basis for the development of Benedictine agriculture, schools, architecture, and music. Doing-well means that the act must be significant to my brother; he must be edified, that is, built up by it and grow through it. Such a concept, then, does not result in sterile aestheticism, but in meaningful communication that is the result of my sensitivity towards others. In this, Newman is correct: a Benedictine is not a man of polemics; he would make a poor inquisitor.

Perhaps today we have diverted a bit from this significant aestheticism of the Rule into a kind of arid pseudo-objectivism. We search for aesthetic means that seem "objective" but they are really bodiless and empty. We recite long hours of Office on monotonous tones that are in no way collectively creative, nor objectively aesthetic, but simply emotionally sterile. One should not try to express himself collectively nor objectively, but simply to express himself to and for this group, being open to its collective and individual responses. In this way the false aestheticism of objectivity will be avoided and a truly collective expression will be obtained. I reject the entire aesthetics of objectivity as described by Stravinsky. In our anti-Romanticism today we should not try to turn ourselves into machines. I prefer a collective to an objective aesthetic theory.

Earlier we referred to Mabillon's anti-Scholastic attitudes. But today we must also avoid Mabillon's fear of natural science which he felt to be unbenedictine. As a man of his age, he could see nothing but spiritual dangers in a knowledge of this physical universe. Such a dualism is past. All knowledge must and can be a part of the monk's creativity, not just the literary and historical. Investigation into nature is as much a part of man as historical criticism; both help create the future. The collective creativity of a community must start from the present and its possibilities. But knowledge for the monk will not be for its own sake but serve as a means of edifying his brothers to whom he is attuned.

Last, but not least in importance, the Benedictine will be selective in his creativity. We are entering a period of history when the number of possibilities open to the individual man and community seem limitless. No one is able to absorb and sustain it all. The concept of the Renaissance man is dead. For survival, control is necessary. The monk must be ascetical. He cannot be and do all things, not even all things Christian. All that is monastic must be Christian, but not all that is Christian is monastic.

The discipline required of old of the monk in his selectivity will not be altered or diminished, but to this now he must add a new kind of asceticism that all modern men, and the monk *a fortiori*, must acquire. He must learn to limit his own experiences if he is to lead a creative life in a given community. There is a need not only for individual but also for community asceticism in the selectivity of material for creating a new way of life. Just as specialization seems necessary in scientific research, so too, life in the future for all, and especially for the monk, will require control and boundaries. His flight from the world will not be a physical spatial concept, but an ascetical necessity for fuller living within certain limits. These limits, such as celibacy, life in this particular community, with this particular group of men, with this particular locality, will remain valid. New expansions of experiences that modern techniques permit must each time be weighed and judged if they can be creatively integrated or must be rejected.

In sum, Benedictinism must remain creative, or poetic, as Newman describes it. Benedictines today must retain the characteristics discovered in the first flourishing of the Order but add to these experiences a broader scientific basis for creating, and an asceticism that is not based on a dualistic withdrawal from the world, but on a necessary individual and collective selectivity and free and voluntary limitation of the means of creating; by recapturing the qualities that characterized its early history, but by adding a maturity that comes from experience and that faces the needs of the day. Benedictinism may again be a formative force in Christianity and in the world.

THE UNIVERSITIES' CATHOLIC EDUCATION BOARD AND THE CHAPLAINS, 1895-1939

THE HISTORY OF A TROUBLED RELATIONSHIP

by

VINCENT ALAN MCCLELLAND, M.A., PH.D.

Professor McClelland has recently published a work entitled "English Roman Catholics and Higher Education, 1830-1903" (OUP), where he shows the Catholic community of the nineteenth century making its effort to come to terms with English society—by withdrawal and dogged self-help, by modification and endeavours to found a Catholic university, and by gradual assimilation while retaining a recognisable community identity. This paper stands as an account of what came next, the acceptance by the Catholic community that it could not hope to live insulated in its own educational system, and that for its own health and in deference to the society within which it belonged it had to make use of the great universities of England. Here is traced the move of Catholics to Oxford and Cambridge, and the safeguards to their faith that were made at the time.

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THE accession of Francis Bourne to the see of Westminster in September 1903 did not effect any immediate or radical change in the climate of Catholic opinion concerning the attendance of Catholic laymen at Oxford and Cambridge. Such attendance had in fact been officially tolerated by the Church since the issue of the letter of *Propaganda* on 17th April 1895 following the death of Cardinal Manning, and in the decade which immediately followed a steady and constant trickle of Catholic youths into most of the old established colleges of Oxford and Cambridge had been noticeable. In 1906, however, there was still some criticism and concern among ecclesiastics. Bishop Hedley of Newport and Menevia, for instance, who had previously been enthusiastic for a more liberal episcopal policy towards the ancient universities, grew increasingly cautious in his enthusiasm and appeared reluctant to forecast what the ultimate effect of attendance at Oxford and Cambridge might be. In 1906 there were between fifty and sixty Catholic lay undergraduates at Oxford alone and these were joined by about twenty Benedictines and Jesuits reading for degrees at their respective University halls.[1] Catholic lay undergraduates at Oxford numbered, then, about 3 per cent of the total

[1] For these statistics see Abbot D. Oswald Hunter-Blair: "Catholics At The National Universities" (1906), pp. 103 *et seq.*

undergraduate population and numbers were even less at Cambridge. This small number was scattered in isolated pockets among the various colleges. The future Abbot of Fort Augustus, Sir David Oswald Hunter-Blair, Bt., who had been an early but cautious protagonist on behalf of the universities, began to voice, in 1906, a series of doubts and reservations. He published in that year an account of "Catholics At The National Universities" in which he pinpointed some "of the pitfalls and quicksands which open before the feet of the newly-emancipated freshman as he starts on his University course, and which constitute a real moral risk to the young Catholic coming straight from a Catholic school or a Catholic home".[2] These pitfalls were "a different and a lower standard of morals, a widespread indifference to religion, both among his companions and frequently among his tutors and teachers, that is often indistinguishable from professed agnosticism, a systematic self-indulgence and absolute contempt of the ascetic spirit which the Catholic religion has taught him is inseparable from the practice of true Christianity, an exaggerated admiration of physical powers and athletic achievement, a tendency towards what I may call sentimental aestheticism".[3] But worst of all was "the ever-present danger, indeed, of coming down himself by imperceptible degrees to a lower level, and obscuring or losing altogether those high ideals of what is right and what is wrong which are the necessary fruit of Catholic teaching".[4] There were, moreover, serious intellectual dangers, and philosophy was still a bogey. "I consider it would be a grave responsibility," Hunter-Blair wrote, "to advise a Catholic youth to take this school (i.e., Literae Humaniores—philosophy and ancient history) at Oxford, unless he had either already studied philosophy from a Catholic standpoint, or had someone at Oxford to refer to who knows both points of view. The teaching of philosophy at Oxford is not so much anti-religious, as it is inclined to suggest that a man may and can with advantage dispense with religion. . . The point of view of the Catholic philosopher is not so much opposed as entirely neglected. . . (A Catholic youth) may learn to do without religion in practice as well as in theory: that religion may cease to occupy the all-important place, to have the vital hold upon him, that it has had all his life hitherto."[5] Similarly, there were drawbacks "to a young Catholic entering on a prolonged course of historical study under the direction of men who look at and treat the whole subject from an absolutely non-Catholic standpoint".[6] It was *Propaganda's* intention to offset such dangers by the provision in Oxford and Cambridge of Catholic lectures in particular fields of study. It was never *Propaganda's* intention that such lectures should rapidly degenerate into an instruction delivered at the Catholic chaplaincy once a week and that during Sunday Mass. This was, however, what soon happened.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 108.
[3] *Ibidem*.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 109.
[5] *Ibidem*, p. 111.
[6] *Ibidem*, pp. 113-114

In the *Report* of the work of the Catholic Education Board for the Universities in 1897, considerable stress was laid upon the provision of lectures. "Courses of Catholic lectures, or conferences, in which Philosophy, History and Religion, shall be treated with such amplitude and solidity," it declared, "as to furnish effectual protection against false and erroneous teaching," would be provided, and it added that such provision was "definitely ordered by the Holy See and by the English Hierarchy".[7] It justified the early separate provision for the offices of lecturer and chaplain in both the ancient universities: "That this Lectureship should be distinct from the Chaplaincy has given rise to criticism; but the qualifications required for the two posts are of a distinct nature, and are not necessarily to be found combined in the same individual. Moreover, to excite and feed the attention and interests of the students, variety, both in style and subjects of the lectures provided, may often be desirable; whereas it is most important that the Chaplain should have that intimate acquaintance with the University and its life which permanence alone can give."[8]

Although the Board was not favourable to the idea that Catholic undergraduates should be compelled *sub gravi* to attend the lectures provided at the chaplaincies, it did emphasize that pastors and parents should see to it that pressures were exerted to ensure good attendances.[9] The latter were reasonably good, as the annual reports of the first chaplains show. In the year from Easter 1898 to Easter 1899, for instance, Canon Arthur Kennard, the first Catholic chaplain at Oxford, was able to report that at Oxford there was an average attendance of twenty-two out of twenty-four for Dom Aidan Hamilton's seven lectures on "The Acts of the Apostles" given during the Trinity Term 1898, that there was an average attendance of 37.6 out of the 48 undergraduates in residence for Bishop Hedley's eight lectures on "The Incarnation" during the Michaelmas Term 1898, and that the attendance figures were 35.5 out of a possible 46 for the eight lectures on "The Extension of the Incarnation in the Church and in the Individual" given in the Hilary Term 1899 by the Jesuit Fr George Tyrrell. The figures for Cambridge for the same period did not provide quite such a favourable average. The first chaplain, Fr Nolan, reported that in the Trinity Term 1898, fourteen students out of a possible twenty-two attended Dom E. C. Butler's course of seven lectures. In the Michaelmas Term, Fr Joseph Rickaby, S.J., had an average attendance of fifteen out of twenty-two for a course of seven lectures on "The Ideal of the Christian Man", and in the Hilary Term 1899 Fr Rickaby found an average of sixteen out of a possible twenty-five at the eight lectures he gave on various subjects.[10] One of the real difficulties in keeping up the practice

[7] Northampton Diocesan Archives. "Universities' Catholic Education Board. A Report of Its Work from 1895-97" (London, 1897), p. 14.
[8] *Ibidem*.
[9] Pamphlet in Northampton Diocesan Archives: "The Universities' Catholic Education Board", n.d., pp. 2 *et seq.*
[10] Statistics from Northampton Diocesan Archives.

of formally appointing a lecturer was one of expense and with the passing of time the Board came to rely more and more on the chaplain himself to provide the regular weekly conference and to engage "guest speakers". This helped to transform the lectures into homilies delivered at Sunday Mass.

The Catholic Education Board for the Universities had a three-fold function. It possessed a corporate character in the choice and nomination of chaplains to Oxford and Cambridge and the nominations were only subject to formal episcopal approval. It was to the Board that the chaplains made the Annual Reports on their work, and it was the Board, through its trustees, which had the ownership and the administration of funds for the support of the chaplaincies.[11] The Board was particularly resentful of episcopal interference and many of the chaplains suffered considerably from its vagaries, its inability to provide an adequate income, and its frequent discourtesy and injustice to its "employees".

The first change in the personnel of the chaplaincies occurred in 1902 with the resignation of Fr Edmond Nolan at Cambridge. Writing to Anatole von Hügel in April 1901, he declared his inability to make ends meet and said that provided a suitable man could be found in his place he would be willing to leave Cambridge. Furthermore, Cardinal Vaughan was reluctant to spare Nolan from his native diocese for any longer period than five years. The Cardinal had had a long talk with Nolan "in which he mentioned the need of priests in Hertfordshire for the new missions there and also the needs of Old Hall".[12] Vaughan's Auxiliary Bishop told Nolan that "it would give comfort to the Cardinal if (he) would go to Old Hall",[13] especially now that the Vice-President of St Edmund's had announced his retirement on account of ill health. Nolan declared: "I am very much attached to Old Hall and to Ward (the President)"; he added that if he knew that "it made things easier for the Cardinal in any way that would be a motive".[14] It was also true that he would prefer someone else "to try what can be done to improve the religious side of the undergraduate course".[15] In Nolan's resignation we see operating the two chief elements which were to worry his successors, money, and effectiveness in attracting undergraduates to the chaplaincy and to the lectures.

The Board appointed as Nolan's successor at Cambridge in 1902, Arthur Stapylton Barnes, an M.A. of University College, Oxford (like Kennard), and a wealthy priest. He was later to be appointed a Domestic Prelate to Pius XI and was to be incorporated as an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was also to have the unique experience (until a few years ago) of serving as Catholic chaplain in both Cambridge and

[11] "Memorandum Submitted to the Chairman of the Oxford and Cambridge Catholic Education Board" by H. O. Evennett, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1959.

[12] A. von Hügel Papers, Cambridge. E. Nolan to A. von Hügel, 15.4.1901.

[13] *Ibidem.*

[14] *Ibidem.*

[15] *Ibidem.*

Oxford, transferring to the latter post in 1915. Cambridge, in particular, was fortunate in securing both Barnes and James Bernard Marshall who succeeded him after a brief period when the chaplaincy affairs were looked after by part-timers. Both men were able to contribute substantially to the expenses of the chaplaincy which became increasingly dependent upon the private resources of the chaplains. Marshall was the son of Sir James Marshall, a Chief Justice of the Gold Coast who died in 1889. He had been educated at Stonyhurst and Brasenose College, Oxford, where he gained his M.A. degree before being called to the Bar in 1903. As a layman he practised law at Birmingham and on the Midland Circuit and served the Catholic cause well as a member of Birmingham Education Committee. He was thirty-three years of age before he decided to study for the priesthood, entering the Beda College for Late Vocations in Rome. Following his Ordination for the Northampton Diocese in 1915, he became a chaplain to the Forces, and was mentioned in despatches and gained the Military Cross. He took over the Cambridge chaplaincy when its resources and work were at a low ebb and for the first time, as a priest of the Northampton Diocese, he was able to interest the local Diocesan authorities in the work of the chaplaincy. In 1919, he was incorporated as an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. His connection with the chaplaincy ceased in 1922 when he was named Rector of the parish in Cambridge.

Financial and other difficulties with the Board came to a head during the six-year service of Marshall's successor at the Cambridge chaplaincy, Fr John Lopes, M.A., and during the period of Mgr Barnes's chaplaincy at Oxford. One of the episcopal representatives on the Oxford and Cambridge Education Board in 1924 was the then Bishop of Northampton, Dudley Charles Cary-Elwes. It fell to the latter to inform Barnes that the Board considered the costs of the Oxford chaplaincy to be too great and that it was refusing to pay the expenses of some of the lecturers chosen by Barnes. There had been criticism that the lectures had been scantily attended and some members of the Board had questioned the need for anything more than the now customary Sunday conferences. The Chaplain was both hurt and indignant at the cavalier way he had been treated. His reply is worth quoting *in extenso* because it illustrates the weaknesses at work in the joint lay-clerical management. He wrote to Bishop Cary-Elwes on 7th May 1924:

"Thank you for your letter of the 3rd inst. informing me of the decision of the Board to disallow payment for the Conferences given here last term by the Dominican Fathers. I quite admit that I ought not to have assumed their consent, and apologise for having done so. And that being so, I suppose it is only just that I should be neglected in costs and left to find the money out of my own pocket. I am quite willing to do so.

"Having said this, perhaps, I may be allowed further to say that I regret that the Board should have thought it right to come to this decision without any communication of any kind with myself, and acting apparently upon information which was quite inaccurate. I have had it impressed

upon me so often by Cardinal Vaughan and Bishop Hedley in the past, and by Cardinal Bourne in the present, that the system of Sunday Conferences was a mere makeshift, and not at all what Pope Leo XIII really had in mind, and that we should always work towards systematised instruction on the Catholic religion available for non-Catholics as well as Catholics that I, no doubt rashly, assumed that the Board would be with me, when at last the moment seemed to have come when some step of this kind were possible. I did speak to the Archbishop of Birmingham [John McIntyre] on the subject and he was warmly in favour of what was done. At the same time, I don't think I can truthfully say that the specific issue was formally present to his mind or that I had his actual permission.

"The phrase you use, that the Catholic undergraduates 'either could not or would not attend them' is I think quite unfounded. We had as many as 300 present at the later lectures and among them certainly as many Catholics as could have attended a Sunday Conference in Chapel. Moreover much of the questioning afterwards was from Catholic undergraduates and I have no hesitation in saying that much more effect was produced in just those Catholics who needed it than by any course of Conferences given in the 22 years for which I have been responsible for work of this kind. The attitude of the Board on this occasion is very typical. I have served it, if that is the right expression, now for nearly a quarter of a century—a long period of time. During all that time, never once have I been interviewed, never once has my advice been asked, never once has my opinion been taken into consideration. At rare intervals—*tanquam de coelis*—an order is transmitted through the Secretary. For the first three years I made a practice of attending at Archbishop's House when the Board met in case they should wish to ask anything. When, on each occasion, I only received a curt itimation that my presence was not required, I gave up the practice and came no more.

"If the Board exercises the right of supervising the work of the chaplains and dictating the way in which that work is to be done, it seems to me that the Chaplain—being, as he normally will be, a priest of age, experience, and position (I am myself your Lordship's senior, by some years at least, in age)—should have some right and opportunity of expressing his views and aims before decisions are arrived at which affect his work."[16]

The Bishop replied that no personal offence was meant and that he trusted none was taken.[17] This vague reply led Barnes to develop his point still further. "My grouch was and is," he wrote, "that the Board habitually make any decisions that they may care to, without troubling to ask the opinions of the chaplains, who after all are the people chiefly concerned, on the points in question. And it seemed to me that after twenty-five years in the University my opinion on such questions is probably worth something. No Bishop, I imagine, ever decides a point affecting the parish and work of one of his senior priests, without taking

[16] Northampton Diocesan Archives. Arthur S. Barnes to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 7.5.1924.
[17] *Ibidem*, letter endorsed to that effect.

an opportunity of finding out what the priest himself thinks of it. Very likely he may judge that opinion wrong and not act on it—but at least he asks for it. My grouch is that in the course of twenty-three years' work for the Board my opinion has never been asked for on any point. If any criticism is made on a Chaplain at the Board, he has no knowledge of what has been said, nor any opportunity of answering. If he has schemes for improving the work, he has no opportunity of laying them before the Board and explaining them. At any meeting of the Board he is faced with the possibility of a letter telling him he is dismissed; that being possibly, as was the case with Fr Lang,[18] the first intimation he had received that he was not pleasing the Board. I never felt that it is a satisfactory position, though in my own case, I have nothing, beyond what I have said to complain of."[19] Barnes had other reasons for being pleased with the effectiveness of his own ministry. In the years 1923, 1924 and 1925 no fewer than seventeen students who had completed their university courses at Oxford had become students for the priesthood.

The complaints of Barnes, however, against the Board's manner of operating had little immediate effect. The Board was to betray an even yet more arrogant attitude in its treatment of the Cambridge chaplain, Fr Lopes, in the succeeding years. Lopes had complained against insecurity of tenure and against the fact that his appointment had been subjected to annual renewal. This latter condition had been imposed on the advice of the Secretary of the Board, A. J. Ellison.[20] When Mgr Barnes learned of Fr Lopes's difficulty, he had at once communicated with Ellison and pointed out that since 1901 the chaplains were permanent subject only to six months' notice on either side. "As regards annual re-election of the chaplains," he wrote, "I think it is an indignity to any priest of the desired standing to subject him to annual re-election. I personally should have refused the post on this ground twenty years ago had I known the practice. I can conceive of no plan better adapted to take all zeal and initiative out of a man's work."[21] Ellison, in reply, agreed he had blundered and undertook to put the matter right at the next meeting of the Board. The incident, however, did not endear Fr Lopes to the Board and there were also somewhat vague complaints that the numbers of undergraduates attending the Cambridge chaplaincy had declined. Other specific charges were made. Fr Lopes, however, had his defenders. One of them was Edward Bullough, sometime Professor of Italian and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, concerning whom Archbishop David Mathew ("Catholicism in England", p. 250) has

[18] Rev A. Lang, D.D., chaplain at Oxford, 1911-1913. He was succeeded by the Rev B. W. Maturin, who perished in 1915 in the "Lusitania". Barnes took over at Oxford in 1915.

[19] Northampton Diocesan Archives. Arthur S. Barnes to Bishop Cary-Elwes. 18.5.1924.

[20] A. J. Ellison, M.A., LL.M., of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was born in 1896 and was educated at Downside. A barrister in the Inner Temple, he was Secretary of the Universities' Catholic Education Board from 1922 to 1932.

[21] Copy in Northampton Diocesan Archives.

declared: "he was a convert, a Lancashireman with linguistic gifts, immense energy, great zeal, unselfish and God-seeking, a profound sense of the vocation of the laity and a devotion to Thomism". He wrote to Bishop Cary-Elwes: "I am convinced (a) that Fr Lopes has not had a fair run during the last year owing to extraneous difficulties not of his own making; (b) that several of the charges that have been raised against him are based on experiences made some years back but have no existence in *actual* fact, such is the charge of being unpunctual in saying Mass; (c) that his relation to the men is now as good as could be desired; (d) that—though this is a consideration of a different order—he has contributed in the form of presents to the new 'Fisher House', panelling, fittings, etc. to the value of anything between £500 and £700 and that to endanger his tenure at the present moment would have all the appearances of blackest ingratitude."[22]

Fr John Francis McNulty, the Rector of St Edmund's House, Cambridge, who six years later was to be Bishop of Nottingham, wrote in a like strain. He pointed out that "the Chaplaincy is working pretty well and improving" and that "the present chaplain is most devoted to the work".[23] He warned, however, "that certain members of the Board had already made up their minds to force the resignation of the present chaplain"[24] and he identified these as being "mainly Oxford men".[25] Lopes was not being given fair treatment and the financial difficulties were not the result of poor management. He could not see anybody "who could take the post without the same difficulty arising".[26] The action of the Oxford party on the Board in trying to dismiss a priest who was too outspoken and independent caused considerable consternation in Cambridge. By 1925, separate associations were in existence for Oxford and Cambridge, employed in raising money for the two chaplaincies, although these had no control over the chaplaincies or the actions of the Board. Edward Bullough felt the time had come when Cambridge ought to strike out on her own and resist any interference from the Oxford group of representatives on the Board, and he was himself treasurer of the Cambridge University Catholic Association. He wrote to the Bishop of Northampton that he was convinced there was "a wall of solid hostility against Fr Lopes"[27] among the members of the Board and that there was "unquestioned determination to get rid of him, by making use of the application he made some time ago for an increase in the sum paid to him by the Board, without which he asserted he could not carry on".[28] He went on: "The Board appears to have decided that this increase could not be given, which is tantamount to forcing him to resign. If this was the

[22] Northampton Diocesan Archives, Edward Bullough to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 10.12.1895.
[23] *Ibidem*. Rev J. F. McNulty to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 14.12.1925.
[24] *Ibidem*.
[25] *Ibidem*.
[26] *Ibidem*.
[27] *Ibidem*. Edward Bullough to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 14.12.1925.
[28] *Ibidem*.

intention of the Board or the decision reached, I wish to enter the strongest possible protest against both the decision and the manner in which it was reached. Owing to the absence of the Baron (i.e., Anatole von Hügel), Mr Norman and myself, it happened that the Board was overwhelmingly composed of Oxford members who seem to have played a prominent part in helping the Board to make up its mind, Mr Urquhart,† in particular, laying down the principle that the chaplaincy is a 'part-time job' and that the chaplain 'should make up for the inadequacy of the payment by taking on work outside'—a thoroughly unsound princple, the effects of which we have seen something of here (and I should have thought the Oxford representatives had by now seen also quite enough of it). Dr Rastall, I believe, was the only Cambridge representative who protested against this attack upon Fr Lopes, and the upshot was, as stated above, the refusal to increase his salary, leaving him no alternative but resignation".[29] What is more, the Board had set up a sub-committee to look out for a successor to Lopes. Bullough made the formal proposal to Cary-Elwes that "the Board be divided into an Oxford and a Cambridge committee, with separate accounts and finances and charged to deal with all local questions," and he added "it would be easy to maintain contact as far as this is desirable by an annual joint meeting of the full Board."[30]

R. H. Rastall of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had been present when Fr Lopes was discussed by the Board, also wrote to Bishop Cary-Elwes. "As your Lordship probably knows," he wrote, "I am rather deaf, and was not absolutely certain as to whether I had heard correctly the view laid down by one of the Oxford members that the chaplain should eke out his official stipend by other work. However, it appears that my impression was correct, and I wish to enter a most emphatic protest against this principle. When put into practice here during the years before the war it led to deplorable results, which have always been in mind when considering plans for the accommodation of the Cambridge chaplain. Above all, I was anxious to avoid a large house, with a possibility of taking boarders, or running a coaching establishment, or anything of that sort. . . In my opinion, the Cambridge chaplaincy is a whole time job *during term*, and I should absolutely refuse to have anything to do with a compromise on this point. Finally, I beg to say that I heartily support Mr Bullough's proposal for a division of the U.C.E.B. into committees for Oxford and Cambridge respectively, to deal with purely internal matters, and especially with finance, subject to the holding of a joint meeting once or twice a year, to deal with matters of general interest, and especially for the submission to the Hierarchy of suggestions of names for appointment as chaplains when vacancies occur."[31]

† Francis Fortescue Urquhart, from Stonyhurst, became the first Roman Catholic to hold a tutorial fellowship at Oxford after the repeal of the Tests. He was elected in 1894 and retained his Fellowship at Balliol for just short of forty years. He was known to his contemporaries as "Sligger".

[29] *Ibidem*.
[30] *Ibidem*.
[31] *Ibidem*. R. H. Rastall to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 15.12.1925.

Abbot E. C. Butler, however, was critical of Lopes and he had participated in the attack at the Board's meeting. He failed to see why the chaplaincy at Cambridge should cost £800 a year and he told Bishop Cary-Elwes that he could not help thinking "the people running Cambridge are extravagant in their ideas".[32] Bishop Cary-Elwes replied to this that he was simply not prepared "to accept everything that comes to you about Lopes as Gospel Truth".[33] He pointed out to Abbot Butler that the Cambridge University Catholic Association had been compelled to acquire suitable premises and that it was "most courageous and self-sacrificing", and "wants every encouragement".[34]

The campaign to vilify Fr Lopes, however, went on. In July 1926, Ellison wrote to Cary-Elwes to complain of Fr Lopes's list of conference fees. "Allowing for the actual fee of £1. 1. -d., do you not think the travelling expenses are far too high," he asked. He added: "I have mentioned it to him before, but without result: at present Fr Lopes pays the conference givers himself, so I have repaid to him the whole amount of £16. 5. -d. What shall I do in future? Should I pay each conference-giver myself direct, as I do in the case of Oxford? I think that would be best."[35] The letter was tantamount to accusing the chaplain of sharp-practice. The Bishop of Northampton, to his credit, simply replied that "Regulars are more expensive in Exs. than seculars".[36] Here the matter rested for two years until the financial position of the Cambridge chaplaincy became steadily worse. In June 1928, Fr Lopes asked to appear in person before the Board in order to impress upon them that it was impossible for him to go on living under such unsatisfactory conditions. His petition was supported by Bullough who considered an increase in salary to be a reasonable request.[37]

Bishop Cary-Elwes was ill and unable to attend the meeting which was held in the third week of June 1928. The other episcopal representative, Bishop Arthur Doubleday of Brentwood, presided at the gathering and treated Fr Lopes with courtesy and consideration. The meeting however was a stormy one and it was obvious that the feeling against Fr Lopes was running high. The Board absolutely refused to consider any increase in the chaplain's stipend of £220 a year, and after one and a half hours' discussion Fr Lopes confirmed his earlier offer of resignation. The offer was then promptly, almost eagerly, accepted.[38] Fr Edmond Nolan called it "a painful meeting" but acknowledged that "the Bishop of Brentwood exercised both patience and tact".[39] In his formal letter of

[32] *Ibidem*. Abbot E. C. Butler to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 9.4.1926.
[33] *Ibidem*. Endorsed by Bishop Cary-Elwes.
[34] *Ibidem*.
[35] *Ibidem*. A. J. Ellison to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 9.7.1926.
[36] *Ibidem*. Endorsed by Bishop Cary-Elwes.
[37] *Ibidem*. Bullough to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 13.6.1928.
[38] *Ibidem*. Letters of Arthur Doubleday, Bishop of Brentwood, to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 15.6.1928, and A. J. Ellison to Cary-Elwes, 23.6.1928.
[39] *Ibidem*. Edmond Nolan to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 5.7.1928.

resignation to Bishop Cary-Elwes, written at the same time, Fr Lopes laid clear the main issue of contention. "I beg to say that, following on your Lordship's communication informing me of the inability of the Universities' Catholic Education Board to guarantee any substantial increase of the stipend of £220 per annum paid by them towards the upkeep of the Cambridge University Catholic Chaplaincy, I regret that I have no alternative but to place my resignation of the post of chaplain in the hands of the Board as from 29th September 1928. The expenses of the chaplaincy have this last year amounted to just over £500, excluding the cost of the Long Vacation Term which cannot be less than another £30, making a total of approximately £550 per annum; and this represents the utmost care in reducing expenditure during the past year. Towards this total I am unable to find more than £100 from my private resources, in addition, of course, to foregoing any personal salary and also maintaining myself during vacations. As this leaves a sum of £200 to be provided and I cannot see my way to making myself responsible for this, my resignation seems the only possible solution of the difficulty. . . The neglect of the Board payments means also a neglect of the Board Conferences and a consequent general weakening of the Catholic body in each generation, and further the creation of a body of indifferent wealthy Catholics, who will not be of any assistance to the Church in the future."[40]

The financial situation at the Oxford Chaplaincy was little better than that at Cambridge, and in 1926 Mgr Barnes retired claiming that he could no longer afford the luxury of being chaplain to the undergraduates. "Sligger" Urquhart was charged with the chief responsibility of finding a suitable successor and with producing a short list of candidates. A *sine qua non* of the appointment was that the chaplain should possess substantial independent financial means. A favourite candidate for the position was the convert son of the Anglican Bishop of Manchester. Ronald Knox was thirty-eight years old, an Etonian, and a holder of a First-Class in Lit. Hum. of Balliol College, Oxford. He had all the necessary requisites for the appointment. A former President of the Oxford Union he had been Fellow and Chaplain at Trinity College, Oxford, before his conversion. He had been a Catholic priest for only seven years; the impression he had made on his ecclesiastical superiors, however, was not wholly favourable. Cardinal Bourne was doubtful that he would make a good university chaplain, as was Archbishop McIntyre of Birmingham. Urquhart tells the story. "I went to see the Cardinal yesterday," he writes. "He still thinks that Fr K(nox) is not the right man, that he will make a splash, that he is not sufficiently 'pastoral', and he also thinks that he could not do better than stay on at St Edmund's. On the other hand, he said quite definitely that he did not wish to interfere with the decision of the Board or the Archbishop of Birmingham. If they asked for Fr K. he will make no objection. Also he could think of no alternative except

[40] *Ibidem*. Letter of resignation of Rev J. Lopes, 21.6.1928, printed in "Annual Report U.C.E.B., 1928".

Fr A. Pollen[41] and Fr John Talbot (of the Oratory). . . I fear we must have a meeting of the Board, for I know there are some members of it who would prefer Fr Pollen—James Hope and probably Seagar[42]. . . They think Fr K. flippant and journalistic and not to be depended upon—or else likely to annoy Anglicans. . . His real power is in personal intercourse; and people who know him personally would not, I think, consider him flighty."[43] Meantime, Ellison was agitating for the appointment of another Etonian, Fr Reginald Bruce Fellows, a former barrister and, like Ellison, an M.A. and LL.M. of Trinity College, Cambridge.[44] In the end, Fellows declined to be a candidate for the post as also did Fr John Talbot who felt "it might endanger my vocation as a son of Saint Philip, to whom I have already given thirty years of my life, and who I hope will keep me until the end of it".[45] Talbot's fellow Oratorian, Pollen, did not feel quite so scrupulous and agreed to be a candidate. The choice was between Knox and Pollen and the former was selected after the previous occupant of the post had advised strongly in his favour.[46] Archbishop McIntyre was not very enthusiastic but he informed Bishop Cary-Elwes that the choice was "as good a one as is possible to us at present" and that "owing to the Religious Orders the chaplain at Oxford has a more delicate task than at Cambridge".[47]

During his thirteen years at Oxford, Fr Knox undertook the full liability of the building debt for the chaplaincy which amounted to over £1,000. The Newman Trust had provided a suitable site for the Oxford chaplaincy and the Oxford University Catholic Association, founded in 1903, contributed to the support of the work. Lord Lovat and Urquhart helped privately and Cardinal Bourne provided £1,000 from the Fitzgerald Bequest towards the building of a chapel and hall on the site of an old stable belonging to the Newman Trust and adjoining the Old Palace. Knox contributed substantially to the Building Fund, but by the time he retired from the chaplaincy less than £70 remained to be repaid to him. Knox accepted no stipend, however, and he regularly transferred to the Building Fund the balance from his chapel collections after running expenses had been paid. In addition, he subscribed £500 to the Building Fund and donated all his Mass stipends to the same Fund. Until 1934, he paid the rates as well as the taxes on his house. In 1934, the O.U.C.A. began to reimburse Knox for some of his more excessive losses. Comparatively little help was obtained from the Board during these years.

[41] Rev Anthony Hungerford Pollen, D.S.C., priest of the Birmingham Oratory, who had been a naval chaplain. He died aged 79 in October 1940.

[42] Robert Stanislaus Seagar, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and formerly Lecturer in Jurisprudence, Wadham. His father was Recorder of Oldham and his grandfather Recorder of Wigan and the first Catholic to receive a judicial appointment after the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities.

[43] Northampton Diocesan Archives. F. F. Urquhart to Bishop Cary-Elwes, n.d.

[44] *Ibidem*. Urquhart to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 18.5.1926.

[45] *Ibidem*. John Talbot of the Oratory to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 18.6.1926.

[46] *Ibidem*. Mgr Barnes to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 25.6.1926.

[47] *Ibidem*. Archbishop John McIntyre of Birmingham to Bishop Cary-Elwes, 25.6.1926.

Lopes was succeeded as chaplain at Cambridge by Fr George J. MacGillivray, who had a similar background in many ways to that of Knox. He was fifty-two years old at the time of his appointment and well known as an author. Educated at Edinburgh Academy, he was an M.A. of both Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities, having been a Theological Exhibitioner at Trinity College, Cambridge. Ordained to a curacy in the Church of England, he served at both Portsmouth and Croydon before joining the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission in 1910. He was to be Rector in Dundee and an Army Chaplain prior to his reception into the Catholic Church in 1919. After his studies at the Beda College, Rome, he was ordained for the Southwark diocese and served curacies at Tooting Bec and Brighton.

With the advent of both Fr Knox and Fr MacGillivray to the chaplaincies, the Board defined more clearly the duties of the chaplains. They were not simply bound to provide Mass for undergraduates each day and to provide a Conference (given by the chaplain or a visitor) at one of the Sunday Masses and to hear Confessions. They also had to keep a register of the Catholics who came up to the University, to get to know all of them individually, to be perpetually on hand for consultation, to keep a watchful eye on the regularity with which Catholics fulfilled their duties, and to act as an unofficial enquiry office for schoolmasters, parents, and visitors. They were also to remain in residence not only in term time but also "during those weeks immediately before and after term in which candidates come up for scholarships or entrance examinations"[48] and at Cambridge also during the "Long" Vacation term of five weeks. They were to keep open house "not only for undergraduates but for those who have gone down from the University and revisit it at intervals"[49] and were to assist with advice "the committees of the Catholic Societies and to provide in other ways, by means of lectures, etc., for the instruction of Catholics at the Universities on matters of religious and general interest".[50] These requirements have formed the staple ingredients of a university chaplain's work until today not only at Oxford and Cambridge but also in the provinces. The interesting fact is, however, that all the university chaplaincies, other than those at Oxford and Cambridge, have been purely diocesan undertakings. They have never been connected at all with the Board which still functions only for the ancient universities.

Mgr Ronald Knox was succeeded as chaplain at Oxford by the Reverend Alfonso Manuel de Zulueta in 1939, and he in turn by Fr Vernon Johnson. Fr Valentine Elwes became chaplain in 1946 and his appointment caused no little trouble because Cardinal Griffin personally selected and appointed Elwes without reference to the Board. The appointment was announced "at a moment when the Board had already initiated its customary procedure".[51] This was a serious break with precedent. The

[48] *Ibidem*. "Annual Report", Michaelmas, 1929, pp. 27 *et seq.*

[49] *Ibidem*.

[50] *Ibidem*.

[51] *Ibidem*. H. O. Evennett's account of the nomination, in MS.

nomination of Fr Elwes, a Christ Church man who had been private secretary to both Cardinals Hinsley and Griffin, coincided with the jubilee of the Board in 1946, and the address of the acting chairman of the Board on that occasion was not without significance. Bishop Thomas Leo Parker of Northampton declared that the chaplaincies were "our modest substitute for a Catholic University"[52] and he added "since we cannot have a Catholic University, let us make the national Universities, as far as possible, safe for Catholics".[53]

In recent years chaplains have still been harping on an old theme. Fr Michael Hollings became chaplain at Oxford in 1959 and eight years later he declared that it was a sad commentary on Catholic mental health "that no adequate provision was made or has since been made for the upkeep of the chaplains or chaplaincies at either of these ancient Universities".[54] Cambridge, in particular, was indeed fortunate in having the services of Mgr Alfred Newman Gilbey as chaplain from 1932 after the resignation of Fr MacGillivray (the latter having been appointed rector of Maidstone) until 1966. Without a chaplain possessing private means it would have been impossible for the Board to have kept the Cambridge chaplaincy open.

Monsignor Alfred Gilbey (Cambridge Chaplain, 1932-65) writes:

Professor McClelland has written a paper which is to me of the greatest interest. How far it will interest readers of the AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL or (as I would wish in an expanded form) a wider public is not for me to judge. His paper is an indictment of the Oxford and Cambridge Catholic Education Board principally on two grounds—that it has failed over the nearly eighty years of its existence to raise sufficient funds to maintain the chaplains which it has appointed and that it has treated them discourteously. In my long tenure of the Cambridge chaplaincy I had no experience of the second ground of criticism but I can certainly confirm the first. In support of both charges Professor McClelland adduces a great mass of documentary evidence from diocesan archives and other sources which is new to me and it is this which gives his paper authority and special interest.

Any criticism of the Board, we should surely consider, which makes no allowance for the built-in handicaps which made its work all but impossible from the beginning cannot help but be somewhat unfair and may endanger the work of the Board.

I would say that these handicaps were (and still are, perhaps) as follows.

The Board was charged with the establishment of courses of lectures at Oxford and Cambridge to counteract the adverse effects on the faith of Catholic undergraduates which it was feared would follow on their being

[52] *Ibidem.* Bishop Parker's declaration for the Jubilee of the Board, 20.6.1946.
[53] *Ibidem.*
[54] Quoted in George Scott: "The R.C.s" (London, 1967), p. 166.

educated at those universities. There used to be at Fisher House (and I hope there may be still) a collection of letters from Catholic dons and others who knew the ancient universities, pointing out:

(i) that the most powerful influences came from the leading of a common life, from discussion, tutorials and the like and comparatively little from lectures;

(ii) that not only would the proposed lectures be ineffective to counteract an influence which was primarily social and personal rather than formal but that there was no possibility of securing the attendance of undergraduates at them.

The second built-in handicap was the composition of the Board which, according to the Roman document, should consist of bishops, priests and laymen, acting presumably on terms of parity. The original bishops were not the diocesans of the universities but men like Hedley of Newport (a monk of Ampleforth) and Brownlow of Clifton (who was a Cambridge man). But our bishops have never been accustomed to work on terms of equality with laymen—or even with priests—and have never found it easy to take a national as distinct from a diocesan view of a pastoral problem. How soon the difficulty inherent in the composition of the Board became acute I do not know but certainly during the course of Cardinal Bourne's reign at Westminster (I think in 1921) a significant change was made and the Archbishop of Birmingham was appointed *ex-officio* chairman of the Board and the Bishop of Northampton vice-chairman. These two bishops were respectively the ordinaries of the dioceses in which Oxford and Cambridge are situated. After their appointment other bishops who were members of the Board tended less and less to attend Board meetings. It became increasingly difficult therefore for the Board to attempt to act as a body dealing with a national matter at a national level.

A further unreality inherent in the original concept of the Board is closely related to the diocesan outlook of bishops and to the tendency (greatly accelerated in recent years) to treat the secular clergy as religious and to act as though the relationship between a secular priest and his bishop was that between a religious subject and his superior. For underlying the original concept is the idea that there is a body of secular priests to whom the post of chaplain at Oxford or Cambridge could be offered by a Board which had a national outlook and could transcend diocesan boundaries. Whereas the reality, as anyone who has been familiar with the working of the Board will know, has been that the Board has had to try to persuade a bishop to spare a priest for a work for which that bishop may feel that he has himself no particular responsibility. It is perhaps significant that, of the priests appointed to the chaplaincies since their foundation, a large number have been ordained on their patrimony.

The last built-in handicap is that which colours the whole of Professor McClelland's paper—the Board had at the outset literally no money at all to fulfil the ambitious purpose it had been created to achieve and has never succeeded in acquiring sufficient funds to do so. This is no reflection

on the devoted secretaries who have struggled manfully with appeals to parents, to schools and to the general public to raise the necessary financial support. Their inability to do so cannot be attributed to lack of zeal. Many other things were reckoned by the Catholic body to be of more pressing importance, such as the building of churches and schools and the education of the clergy. And the fact has to be faced that the Catholic Church in this country has never in modern times put higher education in the forefront of its policy or had any interest in scholarship.

It is not surprising then that the Board should have failed to fulfil its purpose. What may seem surprising is that none the less I should immensely regret its disappearance and that I would wish everything possible to be done to continue and strengthen it. This is for two reasons. The first is that only the Board can give the chaplaincies in the ancient universities a national status. Only the Board can entertain some hope of selecting a chaplain from the whole body of the clergy of this country. If it were abolished the chaplaincies would come under the local ordinary, the chaplains would be appointed by him and would be answerable to him. Whatever qualifications have been looked for in selecting an Archbishop of Birmingham or a Bishop of Northampton in the past they have never been a familiarity with or an inside knowledge of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The second reason is that not only does the Board protect the chaplain from a bishop who may not have any informed interest in his work, it also protects him from the more immediate danger of having the work of the chaplaincy controlled by a local committee. Neither of these dangers is, as I know from experience, chimerical.

It is important that we should be sympathetic to the work of the Board. There have never been wanting those who would wish to see it resolved into two bodies concerned respectively with Oxford and Cambridge and there have always been some who have wished to charge it with the care of the chaplaincies in the modern universities.

The value of Professor McClelland's researches is such that I greatly hope he may be persuaded to continue and expand them to cover more fully the subject on which he has already thrown so much light.

BOOK REVIEWS

Barry Till THE CHURCHES SEARCH FOR UNITY Penguin Books 1972 556 p 80p

From his very considerable experience and wide-ranging reading the author has put together a rapid history of Christianity, of its divisions and subdivisions, and of its search for unity. One might question the distinction, in the first part, between the first four centuries and the last fifteen centuries as representing "the Church United" and "the Church Divided" respectively. For there were plenty of divisions in the first four centuries, and the fact that none of the dissident bodies of that time has survived till today is no basis for treating the Church then as being united in contrast with the following centuries. The author is no doubt following the example of certain standard works on the history of ecumenism, but ecumenism as we know it is a very modern phenomenon, and a superficial sketch of the early Church presents many pitfalls.

That being said, the account of the modern history of the movement is full of pertinent information, especially on the World Council of Churches, and faces up to the problems confronting the Council itself, its members actual and potential, its opponents and its critics. Mr Till writes in a pleasant, detached way, sometimes caustically of this or that Church, so that he cannot be accused of ecumenical eirenicism. Something of his own view comes out when he reflects on the English scene after 1668:

> The ideal of a country united religiously within a loose conformity to the Church of England had proved hopeless. Toleration of disunity was the only solution. In fact it took some further time yet, and a renewal of attempts at union, before the logic of events was recognized, so strong was the underlying belief that religious unity was an essential foundation of the life of a nation (p. 141).

This is a clear rejection of *cuius regio eius religio* (which, incidentally, the author never mentions), dealing as it does with the state's attitude to religion: it leaves us with "toleration of disunity" and does not lead us to unity at all. But it would be unjust to leave the matter there: there is a real urge towards unity manifest especially in his last chapter on "Inertia and Impatience". He is so aware of the problems and obstacles that he almost despairs—not quite, for his call to action because the time is short implies that there is just time yet.

Throughout, his treatment of the position of the Catholic Church is fair enough (except for the stupid, but important misprint on p. 19 which is implicitly corrected over the page). He has his caustic, commonplace gibes in the earlier part, but he is much more serious when he considers the absurdity of contemplating a unity of Christians that did not include the Catholic Church (p. 442). He goes into the relevant decrees of Vatican II in some detail and not unsympathetically, but omits some historically important antecedents: the *Monitum* of 1948, and the *Catholic Conference on Ecumenical Questions* which, on the initiative of Professor (later Cardinal) Willebrands met annually for some eight years before the Council. It provided the nucleus of the Secretariate for Promoting Christian Unity, which played such a part in the Council itself.

With regard to the question whether the R.C. Church should join up with the World Council of Churches, he sees the difficulties experienced on both sides, as manifested in the ongoing negotiations. But since it must come in the end if Christian unity is to mean anything, "it would seem better to face all the undoubted difficulties now, rather than do it later and again go through all the teething troubles which have followed the entrance of the Orthodox on the W.C.C. scene . . . Surely it would be better to take one bite at the cherry rather than two" (pp. 282-3). That, however, seems to ignore what the cherry thinks about it, and the doubts which the W.C.C. has about its own future development may explain some of the delay in the negotiations. In any case the fuller education about ecumenism all the way down to the grass-roots, which he rightly advocates, will take time, and by then the problem may, under the Spirit, present itself in a very different form.

On a number of points one may criticise. But as part of the fuller education, the book fulfils a need and everyone will somewhere find a cap that fits. The bibliography attached to each chapter offers the possibility of further guidance. But, as he implies, more important than thinking is doing, and friendly co-operation, wherever possible, will often promote the search for unity in quite unexpected ways.

MAURICE BEVENOT, S.J.
Heythrop College,
University of London.

John Macquarrie EXISTENTIALISM Hutchinson of London/Westminster of Philadelphia 1972 xiii + 252 p £5

Those who are familiar with the previous writings of Professor Macquarrie know that he is a sympathetic reader and a discerning critic of modern philosophies, capable of giving a brief, accurate and clear exposition of each without falling into over-simplification. *Existentialism* is characterised by these same qualities.

The contents of the book are drawn from a dozen or so existentialist thinkers but are arranged by theme rather than author. Thus the bulk of the book is a phenomenological analysis of the chief characteristics of the mode of being that is human existence: the relation to the environments of the body, the material world and other men; the intellectual elements of knowledge, thought, language and their limitations; the affective element of feeling and especially anxiety; the volitional elements of freedom, decision, self-engagement, action; the limiting factors of facticity and finitude, temporality and death, guilt and alienation; the positive quest, nevertheless, for authentic existence and selfhood; and lest this seem too individualistic and subjective, the place of history, society and ontology. This main section is preceded by three introductory chapters on the general nature of existence and existentialism, and the place of this style of philosophising in the history of thought and its relations with other philosophies. It is followed by a delineation of the influence of existentialism on other fields of endeavour and an evaluation and critique.

Professor Macquarrie indicates the various ways in which each theme has been developed, concentrating on a particular author when his treatment is especially good, pointing out the weaknesses and inconsistencies, and where possible showing the complementarity and co-ordination of various positions. The result is neither amalgam nor mere juxtaposition, but a unity in tension that reflects the dynamism of existence itself.

Three items especially impressed this reviewer. First, a wider than usual sketching of the history of the existential style of thought, its roots being discerned even in man's pre-philosophical mythological mentality. Second, the demonstration of the shortcomings of conceptual and abstract thought, the affirmation of truth and knowledge as a wider reality than mere notional truth and knowing, and the development of the cognitive and intentional character of feeling as revelatory of one's situation in the world or in relation to all being. Finally, the concluding critical chapter. The possible dangers of existential thought are freely admitted: irrationalism, moralism, extreme individualism, narrow humanism, morbid pessimism. Yet the good to be found far outweighs the danger and the risks in this sort of philosophising are seen as ultimately justifiable. The indication of these dangers provides a challenge for the thinking reader to develop for himself those less treated aspects of existentialism that are corrective of these exaggerations.

In many ways the author prods and provokes and challenges. He sketches, indicates, suggests, hints, opens possibilities, and leaves the reader many trails to follow up at his own leisure. This is a positive value rather than a shortcoming in what is meant to be a theological resource book.

There would appear to be only one shortcoming to the book—its value is high, but so is its price. It is a pity the publishers could not make it available more cheaply.

PETER J. FENNESSY, S.J.
Campion Hall,
Oxford.

Ninian Smart THE CONCEPT OF WORSHIP (New Studies in the Philosophy of Religion, edited by W. D. Hudson) Macmillan 1972 77 p £1.95

Those who reach for their birettas at the name of "liturgy", and those who have abandoned English for the novelties of "vernacular", have not either of them managed to produce a generally persuasive concept of "worship", and all their talk of "community" has not brought us together. Though Professor Smart does not have them to the fore in his present enquiry we may take as an uncovenanted grace the relevance of his analysis to our worries.

Professor Smart is properly more concerned with worship than with *worship*. He does not delay over "Henry worships his stomach", or "Karl worships money", or even "His Worship the Mayor", and it is pleasant to observe so sane a way with such oddments, though I would have liked some notice of "with my body I thee worship" before entering upon his principle that "the core idea of worship has to do with ritual".

To simplify the discussion of ritual Professor Smart suggests that we assume "that it in fact involves a *standard* bodily action, namely bowing down". The notion of "intention" disposes certainly of the Mayor, but this notion of ritual is a fell sergeant for rather more varieties of god. It is obviously absurd to suppose that Henry makes a bow to his stomach. Of course, the Mayor and Henry's stomach may linger, with Karl's money and my blissfully-imagined wife, in the hope that, Professor Smart's account of worship failing, they may be gods again. The unritualised belly may become the focus of a religionless stomachianity.

What happens at the bowing? Professor Smart suggests that a relation is established within the ritual frame. It is a relation of God and worshipper which is not diminished by any number of other such relations being set up in other shrines of the god. The multi-presenced god of temples, fires, or eucharists, accepts the single-presenced man within this actual frame of image and rite. The ritual expresses both the order of divine superiority and the order of divine giving. The ritual maintains the god's position and enables him to share his power with those who bow in acknowledgment of their place. They bow in the experience of the numinous and in their bowing become more deeply aware of the unseen and transcendent being of the god who is properly imaged but unconfined. The god is experienced in the ritual as dangerous and holy, free and gracious.

The account of worship thus inevitably leads into the question: "Who are the gods?". At the beginning of his analysis Professor Smart had declared that "It would not do, of course, to suppose that a god is a being who is worshipped" though he admitted that "this is tempting". He can at least after his enquiry into the character of worship exclude from the pantheon those, like Chinese ancestors, Roman saints, and French Bourbons, who do not receive such a ritual as he has analysed.

Others have, of course, often enough with such an analytic statement in mind, attempted to rid themselves of every god, and in Part II of this study Professor Smart sets his account of worship and god in relation to some early arguments of J. N. Findlay about the infinite superiority of God, Norman Malcolm's discussion of guilt and god, Kierkegaard's anatomy of the emotions, the "Protestant principle" of interiorising the cult, and, most interestingly, Wilfrid Cantwell Smith's attempt to discover the convergence of faiths in one God. Professor Smart maintains that when the peculiarities of Christian, Muslim and Vaishnavite are pared away the "transcendent" which remains demands a response so abstract that it cannot be termed "worship". And, since "the substantive concept of God is indissolubly linked to the practice of worship" as the living milieu of belief, the Cantwell Smith thesis fails.

I do not suppose that Professor Smart's analysis need result in the suspicion that the cessation of ritual would entail the extinction of God, but I wonder whether his dealing with Cantwell Smith's enterprise does not undermine his own standardising of ritual. Though, say, the hobble dance of the worship of Baal-Melkart, the bedroom ceremony at Esagila, and the benediction monstrance may properly be represented by bowing down, it may be that some worships are not thus reducible. In excluding these worships a man might miss their gods.

And, if one is not greatly worried by the dismissal of Henry's belly, Karl's money and my wife, then, so intimate a relation between worship and god being suggested,

and the reduction of gods to God being scouted, it may be that we should watch carefully for the further significance of those antagonistic proposals for the future of Roman Catholic worship. Professor Smart has made a book which those who have no head for Indian gods or English philosophers may yet find hugely stirring.

HAMISH F. G. SWANSTON.

Boston College,
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.

Augustine Baker HOLY WISDOM Edited by Dom Gerard Sitwell Anthony Clarke Books, Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire 1972 xxvi + 497 p £3.75

Dom Justin McCann, pre-eminent among recent writers on Father Baker, and whose judgment commands universal respect for its sobriety and penetration, has written: "If we look to any parallel to the work of the XIV century English mystics in post-Reformation English Catholicism, we find one book and one book only, Father Baker's 'Sancta Sophia', which can be set beside it". Professor David Knowles has described "Holy Wisdom" as containing "magisterial guidance over the whole range of the spiritual life", and the author as "a striking if not unique figure in the history of post-Reformation English Catholicism". Baker is the one member of the English Congregation whose writings, at first the cause of bitter controversy, have emerged with the fullest approbation of the General Chapter of the Congregation, printed, until this penultimate edition, in full, together with his traditional title of "Venerable". It is a pity that this title which summed up his grip on the spirituality of the Congregation even up to the present moment should have fallen into desuetude after three hundred years.

The cult of "Bakerism" has never been absent in the Congregation, especially with the Nuns of Our Lady of Consolation whose Abbess, the formidable Dame Catherine Gascoigne, refused to submit the writings of Baker in her possession to the unsympathetic and inquisitorial eye of the President, Dom Claude White. The opposition to his teaching, fierce in his lifetime, has never entirely died away. Dom Laurence Sheppard, Novice Master at Ampleforth and later the influential and saintly Chaplain for many years at Stanbrook, recalls that the older fathers warned him against Baker's teaching for Novices. Yet under the influence of the first three Cathedral Priors of Belmont, and especially Dom Norbert Sweeny whose edition of "Sancta Sophia" in 1876 evoked a long and enthusiastic article in the *Dublin Review* for that year by Bishop Hedley, no Novice could escape the teaching of this book during his novitiate at least. For some monks, especially Abbot Cuthbert Butler, it was the most formative influence in monastic formation, and on the break-up of the common novitiate each House had the maximum freedom of monastic doctrine according to its genius, which, as Abbot, he used vigorously, giving each monk a copy of "Sancta Sophia" and a special edition of the "Patterns".

Ample justice has been done to "Sancta Sophia" in the last twenty years. But until the whole of the Baker MSS., of which this book is only a part recension by Dom Serenus Cressy, have undergone competent critical examination a certain reserve must be maintained on the last section of the book, which is thought to lack both the fruit of personal experience and an adequate treatment of truly mystical prayer.

In his really valuable introduction which deserves careful analysis and is wholly admirable in expressing some of the problems of Baker's teaching, Dom Gerard Sitwell has made an important contribution to Bakerian studies. It is impossible in a review to do justice to either side. But Baker's teaching on the "Prayer of Forced Acts" as the birth of a form of contemplation is at least arguable, and his teaching on mortification and meditation unassailable. Perhaps the fairest judgment for the moment is that of Professor David Knowles who writes of "Sancta Sophia": "A book of power for the novitiate and beyond, a book which will guide all for part of the way, and may suffice for some for a very great part of their lives, but *nemo dat quod non habet*, and Fr Baker will not show a true contemplative the summit"; or, as Dom Sitwell observes, Baker "cannot really be taken as an authority on the highest reaches

of the internal life, but for all that it is no accident that 'Holy Wisdom' has had so many readers. It is not the rare mystics who will come to it for guidance, but the many who in their measure feel a desire for God".

Some will regret the omission of "The Patterns of Devout Exercises" included in the 1950 edition, which retained the traditional sectional divisions of each chapter now abandoned, and the poem to "this mysterious man".

WILFRID PASSMORE, O.S.B.

Downside Abbey,
Bath.

Anthony Bloom GOD AND MAN Darton, Longman & Todd 1971 125 p £1.50

In "God and Man" Metropolitan Anthony has brought together, in addition to the transcript of his two B.B.C. television interviews with Marghanita Laski, the texts of several talks which he delivered in Birmingham and Louvain. It is striking how the inevitable characteristics of the interviews, their disjointedness and minor infelicities as well as their tension and moments of revelation, are found in his lectures also. No great effort has been made to tame them by reworking and polishing them for publication, and each remains very much what the transcript of an interview must always be, the record of an event. In another writer this might be a fault, but here the repetitions which occur when the author returns in a slightly different manner to familiar themes—the relationship of experience to faith, the humanity of Christ and his sharing of our separateness from God, the reality of prayer as a standing "face to face with God", the inner life of the Trinity and its relevance to our human situation —are an invitation to penetrate more deeply into the inner reaches of his thought.

In the course of the second interview, Marghanita Laski perceptively applies to herself and her companion the (Russian?) proverb, "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing"—a saying which Isaiah Berlin once used to contrast Tolstoi and Dostoevsky. It certainly seems clear that she did not take full advantage, as she might have, of the Metropolitan's vulnerable position from the standpoint of philosophy and the use of language. One does not snap at a hedgehog, however, as this is not the way to find out what he has hidden within him. The hedgehog is a living anomaly whose secret will be revealed only to those who approach him thoughtfully from many sides. The same can be said of Metropolitan Anthony's writing in general, and in this respect his work is a characteristic product of the Byzantine spiritual tradition, for the "Philokalia", too, is repetitive, discursive, uneven in quality—and yet somehow remains an admirable vehicle for the revelation of man's relationship to God in prayer. Though in some superficial ways an unimpressive book, "God and Man" is one which can be taken up and profitably reread at intervals. It is almost as if the Metropolitan had deliberately put into practice his own maxim: "So long as we loom large, people will not see Christ".

BASIL OSBORNE.

St Symeon's House,
Oswaldkirk.

Margaret Trouncer CHARLES DE FOUCAULD George G. Harrap 1972 214 p £3.60

Yes, another book on Charles de Foucauld, but with a difference. This is from a very feminine hand and mind, which might not be particularly helpful in a life of St Thomas Aquinas or the Curé d'Ars, but strangely enough for an understanding of this most austere hermit of the African desert it is almost essential. Apart from the famous and holy abbé Huvèlin and a Cistercian abbot or two, it was women who formed him for ill or well.

Four women won his spirit and heart. How many won his body we do not know. These four women were first his sister Mimi with whom he kept up an intimate correspondence. The second was his cousin Marie, his adolescent love and almost mother: their love remained strong and deep. It was she who at the crucial hour

brought him to the abbé Huvèlin, who later guided him to the Trappists. Then comes another Marie (Titre) to whom he became engaged in Algiers in 1884. A convinced Christian, she taught him the meaning of restraint and chastity. Suddenly he broke off the engagement. For her the loss was so great, she gave up her faith. Twenty-seven years later they met once again, but by accident, in the streets of Algiers. By this time he was a hermit. Her faith returned and her love remained. The description she gives of him at the enquiry for beatification is almost entirely physical and moving. The fourth woman he called a saint, and she was the abbess of the Poor Clares in Jerusalem. It was she who encouraged him first to be a priest and then to follow his vocation for the desert.

It is significant that he, the most austere of saints, should be delicately guided to the love of God by women.

Margaret Trouncer has the art of story telling, she also takes pains to recreate the atmosphere of the time. This she does for the Paris in the last third of the nineteenth century, not the Paris of the politicians but that of the "bien pensants", of the aristocracy, of the frivolous and wealthy. But she leaves her reader without scholarly apparatus, so that he may not know how much correspondence remains between Charles and his sister, his cousin, the Carmelite, his fiancée; nor to what extent he was an agent of the French Government, providing information about the Sahara tribes.

COLUMBA CARY-ELWES, O.S.B.

Christopher Dawson THE GODS OF REVOLUTION Introduced by Arnold Toynbee Sidgwick & Jackson 1972 xvii + 173 p £3.25

The publication of this work will assist neither historical scholarship nor the reputation of the late Christopher Dawson. In one sense, the book is much too long. Its thesis, that "French society lost its inner cohesion with the breakdown of Counter-Reformation culture . . . and (that) the Revolution was an attempt to recreate this unity on the basis of the new eighteenth century thought", is far too general to bear stretching over a whole book, at any rate as treated by Dawson, in the manner of a cultural Cooks' tour of European thought from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. In another sense, it is far too short. The dust jacket—a more than usually misleading piece of sub-blurbia—promises "a brilliant and hitherto unpublished analysis of the French Revolution". But of its 166 pages of text, only 91 deal with the Revolution, and even then the religious aspects of the upheaval are only discussed in general terms. Robespierre's Cult of the Supreme Being is given a mere half a dozen pages. Fortunately there is little to fulfil Arnold Toynbee's melodramatic warning that "in the Revolution, a sinister ancient religion which had been dormant suddenly re-erupted with elemental violence. This was the fanatical worship of collective human power". But there are far too many generalisations which modern scholarship have rendered unacceptable, and it will not do for the editors, in their note on the bibliography, to say that Dawson "intended a history of ideas, of its nature unaffected by more recent work . . ." If that is so, they should not have reproduced Dawson's note quoting from Brinton's "recent" book on the Jacobins, which was published in 1930. Finally, I do not begin to see how the publishers can charge £3.25 for a book of 173 pages, when the VIth volume of the New Cambridge Modern History, also under review in this JOURNAL, a work of 947 pages and the fruit of ten years' labour by some thirty scholars, is offered at £4.00. In fact I doubt whether Christopher Dawson would have allowed the publication of this book in its present form.

STEPHAN DAMMANN.

CORRESPONDENCE

"SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT"

3rd January 1973.

DEAR SIR,

Bishop Alan Clark, in his article "Windsor and After" (JOURNAL, Autumn 1972, 27-33), notices that "some people feel that the Statement (emanating from Windsor in September 1971) leans far too much towards an over-emphasis of the downward movement from God to man, to the apparent exclusion of the movement of man to God" (p. 31). But the reason for this is that the Statement entirely forgets the movement of God to God, of Son to Father—which is the central theme of the Fourth Gospel and centrally important in the others. Put simply, the Eucharist begins and ends in the Godhead. It is not primarily a God-man movement either way but a God-God movement as is the Incarnation and indeed the creation of man. And when once this is grasped by faith, transubstantiation presents no difficulty, and nor does the Sacrifice. This is what Our Lady says all the time. It is God taking man into his being forever, "adopting" (to use St Paul's word) man into the Trinity—a transubstantiation and a Sacrifice in essence and altogether. It is the same theme in Matthew 25, where the Son of Man, on the throne of his glory, identifies the least of his brethren with himself; it is the same as St Paul's "not I but Christ", and "heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ", the same as "the Church which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all".

It is at this level that any Statement on the Eucharist should require agreement. This act and mystery of the Blessed Trinity, this deity of Love, this giving of himself by the Son to the Father makes his Sacrifice our salvation. And this is the point at which Anglican sacramental theology, together with this Statement, comes to grief. It is a humanism expounding a human devotion, its ideas and rewards scrupulously evading the eucharistic deity. Granted that Our Lord is really present, that the bread and wine really "become" his body and blood, the question then is "why?" To what end; what is this really present Lord doing in this sacrament? Why in this way, by this means? What is the point of the Eucharist when you have the events recorded in the Gospel? The Statement conspicuously fails to answer these and similar questions. For this Statement and nearly all Anglicans, the Eucharist is as Archbishop Wake declared, a "solemn exhibition and memorial", a remembrance of what he did elsewhere and long ago. The Godhead is absent except in "the hearts of the true receivers" (Hooker).

Were the Catholic Mass *per impossibile* to share this absence, the Christian faith would perish, and soon; because then everything in it would be "exhibition and memorial". The New Testament is such already. Councils, Fathers, the Church itself will evaporate into "exhibition and memorial", which is what (in spite of Karl Barth) Protestant religion has

been for a long time. We may "live the memory" as a pious daughter lives the memory of her dead parents, but this living will be *our* function, not the Lord's, and at heart it will be only remembering. Christ will be as he has long been for good Protestants, an idea or an idealism, an heroic character in a book, a holy pattern imagined and most faithfully imitated—but in fact not here and now living, in himself.

Let me take issue with another Catholic bishop in your pages, Bishop Butler who is reported as saying that "the Windsor talks tried to avoid explaining the mode of (eucharistic) presence, while insistently denying any crude material presence of the kind which Aquinas had had to counteract in dematerialising the Berengarius controversy" (p. 13). It is this "trying to avoid" that is half of the difficulty. The "mode of that presence" is of central importance and needs no explaining: of central importance, because if left in doubt or confusion it leads straight into the denial and indeed *is* the denial of the Sacrament. It needs no explaining if it is admitted that the Sacrament is the act of God, the Word by whom and for whom all things are made: it admits no explanation if this is denied. The Creator's purpose defines his creation and every substance in it; and if in his act of consecration he changes the bread of earth into the bread of Heaven, if he makes *this* his carnal identity—"This My Body"—the mystery is as profound and as certain as his creation of the universe (no scientist, surely, was ever fatuous enough to cherish the illusion that he could explain the *being* of the common dandelion). If the living God says "This is I" there is nothing more to be said, unless you deny the living God. And this is the point at which the question arises, is the Mass act of God or mere human gesture of piety? It is the only question at issue before the Commission. It cannot be other than simple, ultimate, absolute. Is the Sacrament God himself or only God-for-us, an idea, a utility? The Statement is far from clear, nowhere ever transcending its humanism.

This is but one instance of the "substantial agreement" by fog achieved in the Windsor Statement, a fog inherent and essential in Anglican religion whenever it attempts a *supernatural* theology. It is a profoundly human religion in the best as well as the weakest sense. Rome might do well to learn of its humanity, its neighbourliness and care for humane dealing. But its only God resides invisible in the human heart of its people. Its altars are empty except where human piety "likes to think" in sacred symbols. There can be no substantial agreement until an absolute Yea or Nay has been decided; and the time is not yet. They will have to *thirst* for *God* before they know that the sacramental wine has become his blood. Then they will not want to discuss: it will be enough to adore.

Yours truly,

T. S. GREGORY.

The Cottage, Badby House,
Daventry, Northants.

THE AMPLEFORTH PRESS

13th November 1972.

DEAR SIR,

Your note on the Ampleforth Press—appearing curiously under Community Notes—refers to the printing of record sleeves for the Exhibition Concert as "the most complex job as yet undertaken at Ampleforth".

This must make strange reading to the Old Boys who used to work in the Press between its foundation in 1958 and 1964. They certainly successfully completed equally complex work, and incidentally they not only printed it all but set it themselves. Since they also completed the printing of two four-colour blocks of the Church in 1961-2 they will read with surprise the remark that "the task's technicalities put it beyond the reach of boys".

A little research in the appropriate quarters would also have established that the Arab—not a hand press but a foot-treadle press—was bought as a reconditioned second-hand press when the Ampleforth Press started in 1958-9. The Heidelberg was later passed on to us by Mr Walter Smith of the Herald Printers. Both presses were fully in use in the old Printing Shop below the Theatre long before 1967.

From the earliest days Mr Walter Smith—now Managing Director of the Herald Printers in York—gave lavish support and help in many ways. Not least was his influence felt in his support for the principle—of not unimportant educational significance—that boys, with proper training and guidance, are capable of the most demanding technical expertise. It was on this principle that the Press was then run. It was a point of honour that all setting and printing was done by the boys and that no technical problem within the compass of the presses were allowed to defeat them. So successful were their efforts that not infrequently it was difficult to persuade experts that the work had in fact been done by boys. Their achievements vindicated the belief that the most demanding problems both in setting and printing are not beyond the reach of boys.

Yours truly,

N. P. BARRY, O.S.B.

Ampleforth.

COMMUNITY NOTES

FATHER FRANCIS PRIMAVESI, O.S.B.

Aidan Primavesi, who was born on 29th March, 1887, at Swansea was sent to school at Ampleforth, and there received his vocation to the Religious life. On 29th September, 1905, he received the Benedictine habit at Belmont and became Brother Francis; his religious profession was on 8th March, 1907, and he was ordained priest at Ampleforth on 11th July, 1913. At the outbreak of war in the following year, when Father Stephen Dawes (who will be long remembered as parish priest of Cockermouth and founder of Keswick) went off to become a chaplain to the Forces his successor on the staff of The Priory, Workington, was the young Father Francis. The older generation of Workington Catholics at the present time still remember well this first period of Father Primavesi's work in the parish: at that time he established a Boys' Brigade, and for the last few years of Father Francis' life one of the members of his Boys' Brigade, now a senior citizen, served his Mass daily. In 1917 a patch of bad health forced on him a rest and change, but after six months his recovery was complete and he himself became an army chaplain. At the end of the year he was drafted to the Western Front, and the period which followed was the most memorable of his life, making a lasting impression on him. In 1919 he returned to Cumberland for a short time, to help his brother who was parish priest of Cockermouth. In 1920 he again acted as chaplain to the Forces when he went out to India. On his return he worked for short periods in Warrington, Cardiff, and again at Warrington for four years. He had a great concern for boys between the ages of 11 and 15 and he had a considerable influence over them. Leaving Warrington in 1927, he was appointed to St Peter's, Seel Street, Liverpool, as an assistant to his brother, and during his eight years' stay in Liverpool he established a Boys' Club which became known throughout the City for its excellence; and these years were for himself a period of great work and fulfilment. In 1935 he became parish priest of Maryport, and in 1940 parish priest of Aberford and Garforth, near Leeds, remaining there for seventeen years until he was compelled to retire through ill-health. Early in 1958 he went back to Workington badly handicapped and stayed there until his death on 13th July, 1972. The parishioners of Workington will retain a memory of Father Francis' great courage and faith, the short figure struggling down to the church daily in spite of rain, hail, or snow, to offer the sacrifice for which he was ordained. *May he rest in peace.*

TWO VISITATIONS

Father Abbot was invited by the President of the Belgian Congregation, Abbot Ghesquière, to assist him with the Visitation of the abbey of Maredsous, an abbey which has been the subject of some considerable experimentation in new forms of community living and which has received extensive publicity in its own country and in the religious press on the

Continent. This assignment took him to Belgium for three weeks in November and is to take him back there for a short period this coming March.

Prior to his visit to Belgium, Father Abbot paid his customary three-yearly visitation to St Louis Priory, Missouri. Father Abbot announced later that Fr Vincent Wace would be going out to St Louis in January 1973 to join the Community there.

Fr Jonathan Cotton has been sent to St Mary's Priory, Warrington, to fill the gap left by Fr Vincent until August of this year.

NOVICES

On 20th January two postulants were clothed by the Abbot as novices. Trevor Smith was given the name Br Cyprian, and Edward Coupe was given the name Br Ansgar.

On 27th January two novices took their simple vows during the course of concelebrated conventual Mass, before the Abbot. They were Br Mervyn Ryan and Br Wulstan Fletcher. To these four we extend our good wishes for the future.

THE APPEAL

The campaign is now well under way. The Old Amplefordian Cricket Club has formed a Group of its members and expects to complete its work by 30th January. Groups have also been started in London, Liverpool and Manchester and in what for the lack of a better name has been called "North Surrey". Kenneth Greenlees and David Tate have volunteered, in addition to organising the London area and a London Group, to work for the Appeal during visits to Australia, Hong Kong and Thailand.

The rest of the country has been divided in geographical areas and Father Robert will shortly be approaching people in these areas to ask for volunteers to act as Group Leaders. The Areas fall into arbitrary shapes, determined by the numbers of people living there and the distances to be covered.

There is still a great deal of work to be done in organising the Appeal over the whole country from Carbost, Isle of Skye, to Camborne, Cornwall, and Broadstairs, Kent. Father Robert hopes that Old Boys and friends will not think that they have been forgotten if they do not hear personally of the Appeal in the immediate future but that they will be patient until he is able to arrange for a visit to be made and the Scheme explained personally. He would greatly welcome the names of any Old Boys or friends who would be ready to do a small amount of work (and still more greatly welcome names of any who would be ready to do a large amount) for the Appeal. It would also be of considerable help if anyone who received a Questionnaire from Father Robert and has not returned it would do so and if anyone who did not receive a Questionnaire would let him know.

COVENTRY

Two days before the summer term began fourteen members of the Community assembled at Coventry Cathedral to sing Vespers with brethren from Douai and Belmont (see photos). The occasion was the tenth anniversary of the opening of the cathedral which had risen from the ashes of the old cathedral, once the Benedictine Abbey of St Michael. Now, as Bishop Butler pointed out in his sermon, the Benedictines were returning to this hallowed place. He used the occasion for an exposition on the text "He who has ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the Churches" (Rev 2:7—quoted in RB Prologue) in which he pointed out the cultural role of the monks whose founder had produced his Rule in a far worse environment than the one which now troubles us so much. The bishop's message was one of hope and optimism, a hope which found its source in the wisdom of St Benedict whose Vespers we sang that night, a hope which could only be mirrored in confidence and joy.

A.G. IN USA

In the autumn (or should we say "the Fall"?) Fr Aelred Graham spent some months in America lecturing and rekindling fruitful friendships. He writes: Living for sixteen years (1951-1967) in association with the Portsmouth Priory (now an Abbey) Community in Rhode Island, I had the happiness of making a number of close friendships in the United States. Two of the most memorable were with Mr and Mrs John Mitchell of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and with Mrs Francis MacVeagh of St Helena, California. These kind people not only invite me to their homes but jointly provide the means for making the journey. The result is not by any means what Americans like to call a "working holiday"; rather a period of relaxation combined with a fruitful series of personal encounters: a number of them taxing to the full whatever mental resources I can lay claim to.

The Mitchells, at their Brattle Street home, where one of the best libraries of its kind on the East Coast has been carefully built up, are the leading spirits in the Cambridge Buddhist Association. Mrs Mitchell is a fully initiated Zen Buddhist, observing faithfully both the spirit and the precepts of that still widely misunderstood religion. Her house includes a beautifully appointed meditation room in which, on and off, I have spent quite a few hours. Under this roof, from time to time, gather professors and students from the many nearby centres of learning—of which Harvard, Radcliffe and M.I.T. are only the better known. The same meditative yet quietly stimulating atmosphere pervades the Mitchell's summer home, overlooking Buzzards Bay on Cape Cod. Here, among many other amenities, I am only an hour's drive from Portsmouth, so being able both to visit and offer hospitality to my former Brethren. What brought about this most valued friendship was the publication in 1963 of my "Zen Catholicism", which Mrs Mitchell read and found worthwhile. All this she relates in some detail, to my slight (though, I suppose, pleasurable) embarrassment, in her own forthcoming attractively informative book "Sun Buddhas: Moon Buddhas"—to which, at the publishers' request, during my visit last summer, I wrote a short introduction.

Crossing the continent to the West Coast, I find myself in a Christian churchly climate. Mrs MacVeagh has been described as the Reverend Mother of the Episcopal diocese of Northern California (in communion with Canterbury)—though her interests are very much wider than merely "churchy". La Herradura Ranch, 70 miles north of San Francisco, is a haven of hospitality. There I have met not only the local Bishop, the Dean and faculty of Berkeley Episcopal Seminary, but a number of high-school teenagers on a week-end retreat. At their invitation I showed a group of them how to sit quietly in meditation. The setting was perfect for the occasion: in a garden surrounded by trees we sat silently at night for half an hour, kept warm by the summer air, under the clear Californian moon. Early the next morning I watched these same youngsters taking part in an open-air Eucharist, receiving familiarly yet reverently the host in their hands, as Catholic children are now slowly learning to do.

Last summer, while in California, at his invitation, I shared with the well known Mr Alan Watts a two day seminar on "Christianity and Buddhism". This took place in the pleasant surroundings of a house-boat, moored in San Francisco Bay off Sausalito, and attracted an interested group of about twenty people. Those who know his writings will agree that Alan Watts, in his amusing and light-hearted way, has made a unique contribution in the West to the understanding of Eastern religions. His recently published autobiography "In My Own Way" makes entertaining reading, to say nothing of one or two generous references to myself.

Climaxing my recent visit to the States was the discharge of an obligation to act for a month as Regents' Professor of Religious Studies at the University of California on its Riverside campus. This turned out to be a most agreeable experience, not too arduous and full of living interest. A course of four public lectures (one each week) on "The Search for God", a weekly two-hour seminar on the state of religion today, plus sharing an occasional class when invited by several resident lecturers—these made up my official duties. Between times, being provided with comfortable accommodation by the Dominican Fathers, and an office on campus by the University, I was able to meet privately with the quite numerous members of the student body who wanted to talk.

As was only to be expected, socializing with members of the faculty, their families and friends, was part of the Riverside scene. In more than one home I was treated to a recording of *Jesus Christ Superstar*, with which some of the young people were so familiar that they could sing along with it. A professor suggested in all seriousness that this musical held for the younger generation a place equivalent to Handel's *Messiah*. Staying briefly with friends in New York on my way home, I was taken to see the current stage production. Loud and in some respects garish as it was, it made a striking impression, though for reasons I can hardly begin to analyze.

Worth mentioning also was my involvement, while in California, in one or two Catholic "folk" Masses. For these services, behind the

spontaneity in action, there had been careful preparation—based on the sound theology that the One who is present is no longer our suffering Redeemer but the glorious and ascended Christ. Perhaps the predominating note of joy accounted for the point made by several parents, that while they in their youth *had* to go to Mass, their children *wanted* to go. Much importance is now attached in California to "sensitivity": so that the kiss of peace is the occasion for a smiling and friendly greeting—not, as with the majority of Anglo-Saxons and Celts, a stony salutation, an embarrassed quasi-embrace, clumsy and distancing, accompanied by a solemn and all but inaudible whisper. Whether I should like to hear every Sunday words and tunes that are largely sacralized versions of what young people enjoy hearing and singing in their daily lives, I'm not sure. At any rate, for better or worse, they were a remarkable contrast to the stylized concert-Mass (recalling the 1930s) to which Ampleforth youngsters are invited every Sunday morning.

Some reflections on last year's visit to the States found their way into the columns of *The Times* (December 23rd, 1972) under the editorial heading: "A New Star in the East for the Institutional Church". Before leaving the country, I spent a long and reassuring weekend with the Ampleforth brethren at St Louis. Able to return to London, without extra cost, via Madrid, I had a happy visit with Donald and Lucy Grant who, along with their youngest daughter, made me very much at home. So concluded a four months' visit to the "bright continent". Having spent over the years more than one third of my monastic life in the US, I have had no difficulty in persuading a wise and considerate superior of the fruitfulness, given the opportunity, of my continuing to do so. For me, as for so many others, America is where the action is, while life's contemplative side, at my present stage of existence, could not be more satisfactorily met than it is now at Ampleforth.

BAKER STUDIES IN TORONTO

During the autumn term of 1972 Fr Placid Spearritt was given leave of absence to accept a visiting fellowship at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto. His work was concerned chiefly with two of our Benedictine spiritual writers of the seventeenth century, Augustine Baker and Serenus Cressy, who in conjunction with the nuns of Cambrai and Paris were responsible for the preservation and publication of several of the great English mystical writings of the fourteenth century. For more than fifty years scholars in this field have been calling for a study of Fr Baker's texts, which Cressy edited under the title of "Sancta Sophia". At a public seminar, Fr Placid read a paper on The Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality among the Exiled English Black Monks, which he hopes to have published. It includes a plea for a critical edition of the ascetical works of Fr Baker, which was warmly endorsed, notably by Fr Edmund Colledge, O.S.A., from the standpoint of a specialist in mediaeval spirituality, and by Fr James McConica, C.S.B., the renaissance scholar who has stayed with our community in St Benet's Hall. Towards this end, an archive of

microfilms of the best extant MSS has been assembled at Ampleforth, and a duplicate set deposited in the Institute's library in Toronto. For the whole of August, Fr Placid stayed in St Anselm's Abbey, Washington, preparing for publication the unique Ampleforth MS of Cressy's "Treatise of the Passion"; and on his way home, he was able to spend Christmas with the brethren in St Louis.

A new edition of "Sancta Sophia", edited by Fr Gerard Sitwell, is reviewed elsewhere in these pages.

AN INSTITUTE OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

It seems strange that theology in Britain should have no formal society to co-ordinate its endeavours. Other disciplines like philosophy or psychology have societies with royal charters on their behalf. It is because of this that Professor Ninian Smart of Lancaster University has initiated a process which led to the foundation of an Institute of Religion and Theology for Great Britain and Ireland, whose first President is to be Professor H. D. Lewis, Dean of King's College, London University, and whose first General Secretary is to be Professor Smart.

It is not surprising that the stimulus came from Ninian Smart, for he has long been an adventurer in the field, ranging further than others. He has held appointments at universities in Britain, America and at Baranas Hindu University—and it is worth reminding ourselves that the word "Religion" in the title refers to all world religions whereas the word "Theology" refers more exactly to Christian studies. He is the author of "Reasons and Faiths" (1958), "Doctrine and Argument in Indian Philosophy" (1964), "The Yogi and the Devotee" (1968), "The Religious Experience of Mankind" (1969), "Philosophers and Religious Truth" (1970), "The Concept of Worship" (1972) and "The Phenomenon of Religion" (1973). His most recent book is an attempt to investigate how religious truth can be studied with a scientific neutrality and yet with empathy.

The intention of the new Institute is not the promotion of religion, but its study; not the promotion of its teachers, but of the subject. In so doing, it aims to collect and distribute information that will further teaching and research in the Institutions of Higher Education in the British Isles; to facilitate co-operation between such institutions and the Learned Societies and to provide a focus for individual scholars working in religious studies. This requires that an Annual Handbook is published, which is to be supplemented by an information bulletin appearing at regular intervals together with occasional papers when required. In due course, conferences are to be convened by the Institute. Eventually, it is hoped, a permanent office will be established probably in London.

At a meeting held at King's College, London on Epiphany day, to which the Editor was called, the essential constitutional machinery was agreed and a draft constitution drawn up to implement these general decisions. The working party of seven, which includes a Roman Catholic,

Dr Noreen Hunt (now at Neville's Cross College, Durham) has co-opted to the provisional council a number of scholars, including Dean Henry Chadwick of Oxford, Professor Paul Hirst of Cambridge and Fr Frederick Copleston, S.J., the Principal of Heythrop College, London. The Council in its final form is to have a membership of 35 with a coverage that is by geographical region (England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland), subject (scripture, patristics, etc), institutional representation (universities, colleges of education and polytechnics, theological colleges, learned societies, etc) and personal scholarship (to include emeritus scholars and overseas members). With names like Thomas Torrance of Edinburgh, David Pocock of Sussex, George Caird and Dennis Nineham of Oxford and John Hicks of Birmingham on the Council, the Institute can surely count itself established. The next meeting will have been in early February: it is set fair to succeed.

PONTIFICAL COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL COMMUNICATIONS

At the end of October Archbishop Edward L. Heston, C.S.C., second President of the newly created Commission for Social Communications, was a guest of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. He was shown the BBC and Thames Television studios and was brought to meet Archbishop Ramsey at Lambeth Palace. Inter alia, he was given a small dinner to meet editors of religious newspapers—the Anglican *Church Times*, the Scottish *Life and Work*, *The Tablet*, *The Catholic Herald*, *The Universe*, The Ampleforth Journal.

Mgr Heston, a moral theologian and canon lawyer, was English-speaking press officer for the Second Vatican Council and for the First Synod of Bishops. He accompanied the Pope on his journeys to Bombay, New York and Bogota. During 1969-71 he was secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Religious and for Secular Institutes, and during this time he had the task of investigating the allegations of "nun-running" from India. He hopes to make substantial developments in the Church's modes and organs of communication.

CHARISMATIC RENEWAL

December 1972 saw a further stage in the growth of the Catholic charismatic renewal in this country, when the first "Day of Renewal" was held in the north of England. These monthly meetings are attended by about 100 people, lay and religious, from both sides of the Pennines. Members of the Community regularly take part—indeed Fr Ian Petit, now at Warrington, was the principal speaker at the first meeting. The pattern each month is the same: a talk, a number of study groups or "workshops", a prayer meeting of about an hour, and Mass. Many of those present seem to be newcomers to the charismatic experience: most testify to the difference it has made to their lives. The renewal has been described as "an expression of the hunger for God among ordinary Catholics". If a fair number of nuns, priests and religious be included as "ordinary Catholics" (and why not?), then this statement is accurate enough. People of all ages and walks of life are represented, though the proportion of middle-class participants is greater than one might expect at a "typical" Catholic gathering.

The essential attitude of all those present is one of waiting on God in a confident spirit, waiting for him to give some experience of his presence, to touch them and draw from them a prayer of praise and thanksgiving. Peace, joy and kindness are all to be found there and provide perhaps more striking evidence that the Spirit is working than does the manifestation of the more extraordinary New Testament gifts, though these are not lacking. The day clearly provides for many a time of profound prayer and happy fellowship in the Lord.

The interest of members of the Community in the charismatic renewal is not confined to participation in regional conferences. There is a weekly prayer meeting in the crypt of the Abbey Church at which all are welcome. There is a daily early morning meeting for those members of the Community and guests who wish to take part. Small groups also meet each week in the School.

The charismatic renewal seems then to meet a need of God felt by many different kinds of people. It cannot of course replace private prayer, the Office or the sacraments. It complements and enriches them, and is for many a gateway to more traditional paths of prayer and devotion, or perhaps the cause of their renewal. It is not without its dangers, as history teaches us. But history teaches us another lesson also. As Ronald Knox writes at the end of "Enthusiasm" (p. 591):

"All through the writing of this book I have been haunted by a long remembered echo of La Princesse Lontaine:

Frère Trophime: L'inertie est le seul vice, Maître Erasme. Et la seule vertu est . . .

Erasme: Quoi?

Frère Trophime: L'enthousiasme!"

JAP

THE SCARGILL COMMUNITY

Before Christmas fourteen of the Community paid a return visit to Scargill, who had come over to us last year. It proved very worth while, beyond being socially rather fun. The Editor asked the assistant chaplain there to give an account of the Community and its work.

"Scargill near Kettlewell in the heart of Wharfedale, has existed now for fourteen years. Originally a country house set in more than sixty acres of ground, it has now become developed to include Chapel, conference rooms, library and bookstall, dining room and kitchen, and accommodation for both a resident community of about thirty Christians and over ninety guests. Basically Anglican, it was originally set up, as was Lee Abbey, a similar foundation in Devon, with the idea of creating a new situation, outside the traditional parochial structure, which might afford greater

opportunity for deepening understanding of, and experiencing, God. Scargill was envisaged as a new well-spring for the Spirit, to nourish both Church and world. It has had the blessing of the Archbishop of York, and its governing Council has included Mrs Coggan; the present Provost of Southwark Cathedral; Frank Lake, Christian psychiatrist and author of 'Clinical Theology'; Miss Ruth Etchells, lecturer in English at Durham; and a number of senior Anglican clergymen and businessmen.

"The Community has a ratio of about two to one female to male, and at present includes two Methodists, and one member of the United Reformed Church; and until recently it did include also a member of the Brethren. (In line with this ecumenical spirit, we have been glad to have as guest speaker more than once Fr Thomas.) With a few notable exceptions, the members are in their twenties and thirties, having left their normal occupations for a while (usually up to two or three years) to live in this way and so to serve God. They have come from such occupations as nursing, teaching and secretarial work, and there is, further, a senior staff, composed usually of three Anglican priests and a lady worker (lately licensed in the Anglican Church as reader). For none is there commitment through vows. Yet there certainly is commitment, understood less formally and worked out according to the leading of the Spirit within the ongoing life and vocation of the Community. The Community lives together, worships together daily and, as time allows, works together to have its understanding and experience of God deepened.

"The Community, however, exists not for its own sake. Its basic inspiration is to serve others; to provide a situation to which all may come, and there to exercise a Christian ministry to them. Here is a centre point of its spirituality. It is out of this that the Community finds its identity. About five thousand guests from all walks of life are received each year—from parishes, to look at themselves; clergy; young people; schoolchildren; Borstal boys; members of the medical profession; people in industry; people in education; many for the holiday houseparties; some privately. All these may come with quite different intentions, but whatever their intention, they come to a situation which must be deeply stimulating. The beauty of the vast open countryside, the beauty of and peace of the house, the meaningful worship, the presence of the Community, the overall freedom unfolding great possibilities for communicating the Gospel and for communication between people—all these must make for a situation deeply stimulating and deeply liberating. And it is within this situation that the Community *as a whole* is expected to exercise a Christian ministry. All are responsible for receiving guests; some, in addition to the senior staff, speak publicly; some, again, work out a considerable pastoral ministry—all this according to the natural gifts of each person.

"Indeed this remark about natural gifts takes us perhaps to the heart of the authority and inspiration of the Scargill Community. Trying to be worked out here is a ministry not just for the ordained (as traditionally understood) but for the whole people of God. This ministry is certainly focused upon that authority (that training and that experience) within

ordination, but it is extended here far beyond. Authority and ministry are not here solely handed down, but as well as this are discovered at grass-roots level, according to the necessity of given human situations and, it is believed, the leading of the Spirit within them. Authority and ministry are discovered not only according to ordination, but far more generally as well according to natural gifts as they become liberated for use in the Spirit. In this way, there can come about a remarkable release of resources, a remarkable (to use the title of a fairly recent paperback) 'unfreezing of God's people'."

THE CALL TO THE NORTH

On Monday, January 15th a group of local clergy in Ryedale, Anglicans and Methodists, joined some of the brethren for a day conference in the Guest Room on local plans for Call to the North. They talked about use locally of some of the printed material for the Call, and in particular arranged a series of joint Good Friday evening services throughout the area. All schoolchildren are to be invited to design a poster for Good Friday and Easter, and write a poem about these days. Articles for the local press are planned, and also raised was a possible united service for men on the Wednesday of Holy Week in Kirbymoorside. Thoughts about long-term united action, and the future pattern of work of the Ryedale Christian Council were discussed, and a further meeting planned.

This meeting was typical of many meetings of clergy that have taken place throughout the North of England (roughly a line from Nottingham to Chester northwards to the Scots border) since last Easter, in response to the Call to the North. This was a message over the signatures of Dr Donald Coggan, Archbishop of York, Dr George Andrew Beck, Archbishop of Liverpool, and Dr John Marsh, a member of the United Reformed Church and a former Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council. It arose from a series of annual gatherings of more than 40 Church leaders in the north, including all the Roman Catholic and Anglican Bishops, and leaders of the Baptist, Methodist, United Reformed Churches, the Salvation Army, the Christian Brethren, and the Pentecostal Churches.

The theme of the message, which was read in most of the 10,000 churches in the north of England on Easter Day 1972, was first to speak together a word from God to men and women in their need of an understanding of the meaning of life. Secondly, that men and women today need to hear what God has to say, and accept his will. "Man as an individual, and society as a whole, cannot be healthy till God's word has been heard and obeyed", they wrote. Thirdly, they regretted the disunity of Christians, and seek to move forward to a deeper unity. They then asked every member of their Churches to do four things.

1. To use the coming twelve months to learn the meaning of the Christian faith, and how to relate it to mankind's needs.

2. To join in prayer for this purpose with fellow-Christians of all traditions.

3. To work out ways of making the Christian faith intelligible to those at present out of touch with Christian worship and activity.

4. To plan some definite acts of witness to the Christian faith, beginning where possible in Holy Week 1973.

The response to this Call has gradually been growing ever since last Easter. Christians of all denominations have been getting together and planning specific exercises in Christian witness and evangelism which is bringing Christians to realise their basic unity in Christ in a way they never realised before. This exercise could well be a watershed in the Christian life of the north of England.

Various study guides have been produced for Christian groups, and one of them, "The Things People Say", an illustrated and attractively laid out booklet, is being widely used elsewhere in England. It costs 5p and is available from the Rev G. Lawn, Newton Kyme Rectory, Tadcaster LS24 9LR (please add postage). The Call to the North office is at 1 Hanover Street, Liverpool and they have produced a study kit which costs 50p. Special copies of St Mark's Gospel in the Today's English Version have been produced for Call to the North and will be widely distributed.

A considerable public relations exercise is planned to get across to the public the Christian faith. This is related to the events planned in Holy Week. They begin with a rally at Doncaster Rovers Football Ground when Cardinal Heenan will speak. House to house visitations are planned, and special plays, cinema programmes, and library exhibitions are planned at the theatres, cinemas and civic buildings in many northern cities. On Good Friday many towns will have special united services or torchlight processions of witness. The seaside resorts and tourist centres plan events later in the summer, many of them at the spring Bank Holiday.

Various specialist bodies have been studying various aspects of Christian life and one of them has already produced its report called "Enabling the Church for Mission", price 10p from CTN Liverpool. Local radio will be having special programmes, and there are many groups planning a long term Christian strategy for mission, evangelism, ministry, pastoral care, and manpower on an ecumenical basis in various areas of the north.

A second letter from Doctors Coggan, Beck and Marsh is expected for Holy Week, and efforts are being made to speak a prophetic word from some Christian leaders on cultural, economic, health, crime, unemployment attitudes and on family life, respect for human life and values.

The Call to the North is not a flash in the pan. The climax of its "public relations exercise" will be in Holy Week this year, but Christians are being asked to look ahead at long term developments of Christian life, work and witness. One part of this has already been done. In Yorkshire the *Yorkshire Post* has published a 32 page colour newspaper called "Yorkshire Faith and Folk" which features some of the best continuing work done by Christians in Yorkshire. This was launched with a Literary Luncheon on 7th February when the speakers were the Archbishop of

York, the Bishop of Leeds, and the Rev W. Walker Lee, the Chairman of the Leeds Methodist District.

Coming back to Ryedale, the local clergy too are planning a long-term rethink about our priorities and aims in the Ryedale Christian Council.

"THE SEEDS OF LIBERATION"

Fr Thomas Cullinan was one of the "workshop leaders" at a four day conference at Huddersfield in January, sponsored by the Student Christian Movement. Its theme was "spiritual dimensions to political struggle" and its main speakers were Daniel Berrigan, S.J., recently gaoled for destroying draft cards; Bishop Colin Winter, expelled from Damaraland, Namibia; Jim Forrest, from the Catholic Worker Community in New York; and Alistair Kee, author of "The Way of Transcendence" and a theologian at Hull University.

The organisers intended to initiate a search for the spiritual base lacking in the political work of those who had moved away from effete established Christianity. Fr Thomas soon gained a general impression from the conference of "the wrongness of trying to apply the scientific critical approach to realms of life that are vitiated by such an approach—realms like love making, spirituality, celebration, liturgy; and the wrongness of our western private approach to faith, where the individual is made the judge of truth, rather than the discoverer of truth within a faithful community."

The principal speakers were not the main activity, but the several discussion workshops—opening up discussions on poetry, music, language, sex; on ritual and celebration; on new communities for those dedicated to Jesus but not to established beliefs: on seeking worship within and around the happenings of life. Fr Thomas, together with a pacifist Quaker, Peter Jones, and a nun from Belfast, Marie Duddy, led a workshop on prayer, including meditations, shared prayer, silence, and a good deal of discussion on the need for prayer in political action.

The conference had been planned for 250 people, but the response was so strong (including a host of disguised university chaplains), that it was expanded to 350. The time seems suddenly ripe for political and spiritual involvement to meet. This seems especially so at the Eucharist where the sense of celebration, of being at the heart of the mystery of suffering and of freedom, overtook everyone who was there. On the Sunday, for instance, the gathering of 120 for Mass could hardly fit in the room. "At the offertory those nearest the altar danced a very simple formal dance; the celebrant, a university chaplain, improvised a simple Canon and Consecration, and at the Our Father everyone joined hands and sang the West Indian tune; and at the kiss of peace a girl (sister of the Bussy boys who were in St John's House here) suggested we should move around simply and greet one another. During Communion someone read a Dylan Thomas poem; and at the end the Dublin guitarists led everyone out down

the street singing to lunch at the main meeting hall. The Eucharist does not just express an existing unity, but creates it, quite unexpectedly."

David Berrigan had insistently put the Eucharist—and with it Scripture—at the centre of community life: "there are very few things Christ concretely told us to do, and this is one of them". His conviction has seen him through prison, and has turned him into a poetic, listening person, with especial insight into the inherent violence of American society. His talks elicited from others their own faith and opinion. His particular interpretation was of the beast in Revelation 13, the great State machine that claims dominion of men over against the claim of God. Poverty and non-violence emerge as precisely the means of combating it—for the State is powerless to crush those who have laid aside violence. The seeds of beastliness do not choke the seeds of liberation. "The conference didn't end, it just split up into 350 different places."

THE NEW ABBEY BUILDINGS AT PRINKNASH

The buildings were discussed and illustrated in an article by Bryan Little in *The Clergy Review* of December, p. 985-92. The architects were Broadbent, Hastings, Reid and Todd. What was astonishing about the article is the design of the late 1930s, made by Mr H. S. Goodhart-Rendel for Abbot Upson, the perspective drawing of which is reproduced in this article. Had it been accomplished, the church of Prinknash would have been larger than any other modern Catholic church in England; and the claustral buildings, planned on a mediaeval model, would have made the whole complex, furnished for fifty monks, the most massive monastery that England had ever seen—and that at one throw and not over the centuries of steady accretion. What the Community has settled for now is much more modest and much more successful, in the light of what a house of monks is meant to be, witnesses to the simple, shared apostolic life. To stress the point, it is worth observing that the crypt of the Goodhart-Rendel church now serves as the church for the present Community, and its sound foundations have been brought into use to support the library and four stories of living space above; and yet the suggestion of a great cathedral (more at least than a modest minster) has been achieved.

It is worth remembering that in the high fervour of monasticism, in the twelfth century, monks cleared ground, built a stone church of some magnificence by their hand-limited standards, and lived around it in a set of wooden buildings of no distinction. We have only to read the pages of the *Vita Aelredi Rievallensis* to know that. The modern version of such a sense of paradise-in-exile or camp-en-route is perhaps one of those monasteries going up in France and Belgium, where new Communities have chosen, perhaps of necessity (but ideals are born of necessity), to employ sectional buildings of the kind familiar to soldiers round the world: temporary they are called, but they do manage to last some fifty years. Perhaps, too, the modern version of the images of *peregrinatio in exilium* and *ascent of Mount Carmel* is the Everest climb, with its camps across the face of the mountain, temporary, austere and placed ever higher.

SWISS-AMERICAN MONASTIC HISTORY

Fr Blaise Turck, o.s.b., of Mount Angel Abbey, Oregon, USA, was a visitor at Ampleforth from 14th-20th December. Ten years after taking a degree in history at Oxford, he is again in residence at St Benet's Hall. He returned to Europe in August to complete research for the centennial history of Mount Angel Abbey at the founding monastery of Engelberg in Switzerland. He is also reading Patristics at Oxford. He is Professor of Church History at Mount Angel Seminary, the diocesan seminary staffed by the monks of Mount Angel.

Research into his abbey's origins led him into a study of the 850 year history of his mother house and what was to have been a foreword has now grown in outline to a first volume tracing the traditions of one aspect of Swiss monasticism from its Celtic origins on the upper Rhine to the 1870s. The actual history of Mount Angel Abbey will commence with a study of the Oregon Territory, much material for which is kept in the archives of the Hudson Bay Company in London.

While at Ampleforth, Fr Blaise has discovered material in our archives relative to a proposal from a former Archbishop of Oregon, Alexander Christie, that Ampleforth make a foundation in Portland, Oregon. This took place in 1914. In the correspondence were several letters written by Fr Wilfrid Darley of Ampleforth (+1928) from Mount Angel Abbey.

In the New Year Honours the Dean of York, the Very Reverend Alan Richardson, who has been a fond friend of Ampleforth since he came to these parts from Nottingham University (he has a cottage out at Lastingham), and who has regularly contributed to the Journal, was made a Knight Commander of the Most Noble Order of the British Empire. He writes:

My Dear Abbot, 18*th January* 1973

It was very kind of you to send your congratulations upon the appearance of my name in the New Year Honours List. Your letter gave me much pleasure.

I value the honour especially because it represents the national recognition of the great achievement of our splendid team of engineers, architects, archaeologists, craftsmen and workers of many skills, who have restored and beautified the Minster. I am also deeply conscious of the contribution of our own staff here, who have sustained the life of the Minster during the difficult years, and also of the continuing support of many people and groups, especially in Yorkshire, without which the task could not have been accomplished. Please convey my thanks to the Community.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Richardson.

A HISTORY OF YORK MINSTER

DURING the half-millennial and restoration year of the Minster (1472-1972) a book has been planned, to be published in five years time, probably by the Clarendon Press. Scholarly in treatment but with general appeal, it is to be composed of twelve chapters. Professor Christopher Brooke and Dr Barrie Dobson are to share the Middle Ages, and Dr Claire Cross is to do the Reformation period. The modern period is to be shared by Dr Kenneth Macmahon, the Very Rev G. W. O. Addleshaw (Dean of Chester) and Canon Reginald Cant (Chancellor of the Minster and secretary of the enterprise). There are to be specialist chapters on architectural history by Dr Eric Gee, on the stained glass by Mr Peter Newton, on music by Mr P. Aston and on sculpture by Professor Gerald Aylmer, all of York University. The library is to be covered by Mr Bernard Barr of the Minster Library. It promises to add considerably to the rapidly increasing literature on the riches of York, one of England's culturally very rich cities.

YORK'S NEW "INDUSTRY"

THE last few years have seen a remarkable rejuvenation of York as a City conscious of its heritage, and a City able to attract tourists from America, the Continent (especially Scandinavia) and from the rest of England. A recent study disclosed that last year York earned £4 million from holiday-makers, attracting a quarter of a million overnight visitors and well over a million day visitors despite a dearth of good hotels. It is expected that this growth of York as a tourist and conference centre will go on increasing. Indeed in the eyes of possibly the world's largest sales incentive organisation (the Maritz Organisation) York has joined Fiji, Hawaii and Honolulu as a desirable place for successful salesmen to relax in. They are to be offered mediaeval banquets, Edwardian music hall and the world's biggest fish-and-chip saloon, with day trips to London and Edinburgh as added attractions (rather as you are offered visits to Tivoli and the Villa d'Este when in Rome). The English Tourist Board and the York Tourism Department are working out a joint strategy for marketing and developing York's attractions. The stimulus of the University is but a beginning.

"DEVOTIONS AND PRAYERS"

THERE are still ample stocks of what has long been known as the College Prayerbook, produced in 1933 and now extremely good value at 37½ pence for 170 pages. It has to recommend it to certain sections of the Catholic world "the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass" in Latin and in English (*recto/verso*); "the manner of serving at Mass" in Latin only, of course; a "Visit to the Blessed Sacrament" to "make some atonement to the Sacred Heart for all the ingratitude of this wicked world"; Confession, Communion and Benediction prayers; the Rosary and Stations of the Cross; and many of the old and fondly felt Latin hymns, with their English translations—*Adoro te devote, O Deus ego amo te, Ave Verum, Lauda Sion, Pange Lingua, Vexilla Regis, Veni Creator Spiritus, Ave Maris Stella, Dies Irae* and *Te Deum laudamus*. By some inspiration the prayer of St Bernard from Dante's *Paradiso* (Canto 33) is also included in Italian and English.

FIRST BOOK OF THE AMPLEFORTH PRESS

During the course of the last four months the Ampleforth Press has printed its first book, *An Amateur Peasant Girl* by Alexander Pushkin. The story was part of a collection called *The Tales of Belkin*, published in 1830. Tolstoy, writing to a friend, asked: "Have you read Pushkin's prose recently? Out of friendship for me, read again *The Tales of Belkin*. Every writer ought to make a study of them." Of all the tales, *An Amateur Peasant Girl*, a quiet humorous country idyll, is probably the most gentle and appealing.

This, the second English edition, is a limited edition of 300 numbered copies selected from a printing of 500. It is set in 12 pt. Bembo and printed on hand-made paper (size 8½ in. x 6 in.). The binding of dark red Scottish goatskin leather blocked in gold is by the Herald Printers of York. The line drawings and tail-pieces are by artists in the School, and are of unusual charm. The price of the book is £4.70 (plus 20p. postage). Any profit made from the book, after costs have been met, is to go to the Ampleforth Building Appeal.

Copies obtainable from the Secretary of the Ampleforth Press, the Hon. James Stourton, St. Oswald's House, Ampleforth College, York YO6 4ER.

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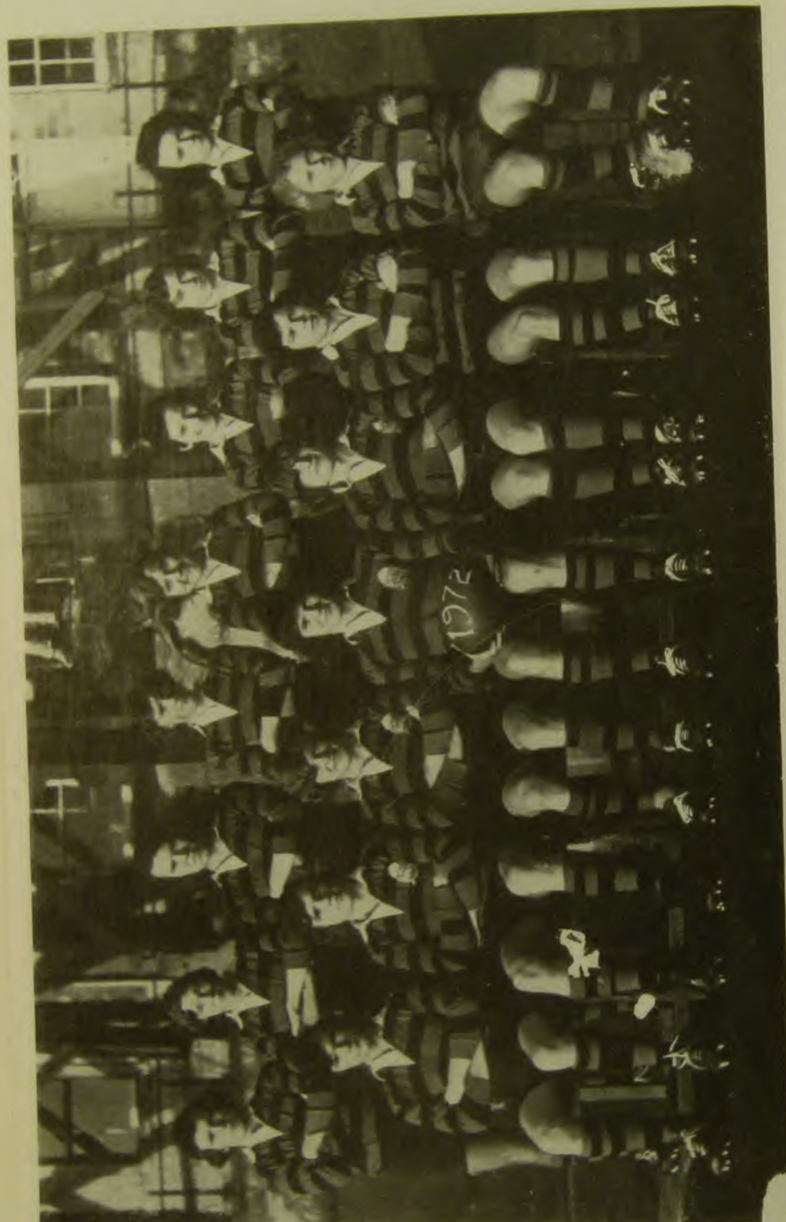
School Notes to the Editor, or the School Sub-Editor: E. G. H. Moreton, B.A.

Photographs to the Photo Editor: Rev C. G. Lynch, O.S.B., M.A.

Paul Blackledge, 1900-1972

Classroom Block and Double House sites
24th January 1973



RUGBY 1ST XV
… D. G. Unwin, C. H. Ainscough, C. J. Foll, G. W. Daly, J. A. Durkin, S. R. Finlow

OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

Obituary

PRAYERS are asked for the following who have died: Hugh Barton (1918) on 18th December; David Mansel-Pleydell (B 41) in a road accident in Belgium on 6th January; Cecil Robinson (1919) on 11th January; and Patrick Desmond Hill (A 56) on 9th January.

Paul Blackledge, 1900-1972

THE fourth son of James and Lucy Blackledge, Paul, was born in 1900 at Rose Hill, Lydiate, near Ormskirk, in Lancashire, and in 1910 followed a family tradition by going to Ampleforth, where Abbot Mathews was in charge at the time. He enjoyed his schooldays, and was a successful Prefect. Although not an outstanding scholar he had the facility of concentrating his energies into whatever he did with good results. Games did not have a great appeal to him, although he was a useful forward and a good medium distance runner. During his latter years at school the meaning of sadness was brought home to him when his brother Ewan was killed in the Flying Corps—a loss he was to remember all his life. Paul was accepted for a Commission in the Scots Guards, but he did not take this up since hostilities ended shortly before he left school in 1919. After leaving he trained to take up farming, but as his health broke down was advised against it. Accordingly he started in his father's business, shortly becoming a Director. In 1926 he married Dorothy Massey, daughter of Edward and Mary Massey of Grassendale, Liverpool. Dorothy quietly and adroitly with kindness and love helped him to find joy in living, and in family life in particular. David was born in 1933. Now Paul's home was complete, David and Dorothy being the complement to Paul's character. About this time he was put in charge of a subsidiary company which was merged with a larger firm in 1936. After the Second World War he started his own very successful business, which he finally sold to an American company some fifteen years later.

He was a well-known and active member of Rotary, an organisation that gave him much pleasure and which he supported generously. He was also interested in local politics, becoming a town councillor for St Helens and chairing many committees. This brought him into contact with hospital management, and particularly with Catholic Approved Schools, the administration of which he was largely responsible for improving and modernising in the Liverpool Archdiocese. Paul was a leader and a person who thrived on responsibility provided he had adequate powers of decision. Sincere and disciplined in religion, sometimes puritanical but honest and generous. He was ever ready to protect, strengthen and help the weak. Many monks at Ampleforth will remember his regular visits to the Abbey, not least his attendances at Retreats and the lively discussions they had with him. Angling was his main relaxation—he and his great friend, Philip Hawe, would spend many hours fishing the Welsh and north

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Names obscured by the binding. But see below from page 143

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society will take place in the evening of Holy Saturday, 21st April, at the College in the School Library. The Committee will meet previously.

AGENDA

1. The Chaplain will say prayers.
2. The minutes of the last meeting will be read.
3. Report of the Hon Treasurer.
4. Report of the Hon Secretary.
5. Proposal to amend Rule 7 as follows:

   A Life Membership of the Society may be obtained by the payment of £40, which will include THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL without further payment: after 10 years or more, such life membership may be obtained by the payment of £25 provided there be no arrears; priests and religious may become Life Members when their total payments reach the sum of £20.

   Such amendment to take effect on a date decided by the A.G.M. taking into account present Government policy.

   (The existing Rule 7 reads as follows: A Life Membership may be obtained by the payment of £25, which will include THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL without further payment: after 10 years or more, such life membership, on the part of the laity, may be obtained by the payment of £15 provided there be no arrears; Priests may become Life Members when their total payments reach the sum of £20.)
6. To consider the situation concerning the annual subscription by Standing Order Credit and to review the developments in the past year concerning the invitation from the Bankers of the Society to change to the Direct Debiting Service.
7. Elections: Hon General Treasurer.
   Hon General Secretary.
   The Chaplain.
   Three members to the committee to serve for three years.
8. Other business.
9. The Chaplain will say prayers for deceased members of the Society.

FELIX STEPHENS, O.S.B.,
Hon. General Secretary.

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country rivers. He had great love for children and young people. His daughter-in-law Joyce, David and their three children gave him great happiness.

His sudden death last August, after an apparent recovery from an illness, was a great shock to his family and friends. Bishop Harris, priests and officials of the organisations Paul was associated with, and many relatives and friends, attended his funeral at St William of York Church, Thornton. Many people on Merseyside, in St Helens, and in the industries where he worked, respected and loved him. For myself and others he replaced fear with fight, and hurled despair to the depths, giving hope and enthusiasm. Fair, unselfish—a true Christian—a man for God. Let us remember him in our prayers.

T.B.B.

ENGAGEMENTS

J. A. Badenoch (B 59) to Miss T. Barrenechea.
John Bellasis (W 64) to Susan Mary Marten.
Robin Bramley (A 67) to Patricia Anne Mason.
John Carroll (E 63) to Catherine Clarke.
Christian de R. Channer (D 68) to Mary Patricia O'Donnell.
Stephen Dowling (O 62) to Veronica Chislick.
Nicholas Kerr-Smiley (E 58) to Georgina Dick-Lauder.
Richard Lacy (J 67) to Penelope Ann Maffey.
Charles Masraff (E 66) to Deborah Lee Miller.
Giles Swayne (A 63) to Camilla Charlotte Brett.
Michael Tibbatts (E 65) to Anne Horst.

MARRIAGES

Guy Belcher (C 60) to Miranda Heathcote at the Jesuit Church, Farm Street, on 3rd January.
Christopher Bird (C 63) to Catherine Dormer at Brompton Oratory on 14th February.
Ewen Blackledge (E 69) to Marion Beaumont at St James', Spanish Place, on 8th December.
Philip Boys (E 66) to Daniele Hopson at St Etheldreda's, Ely Place, on 28th October.
Hugh Crawford (D 59) to Rosemary Ann Rees at Holy Trinity Church, Eccleshall, Staffs., on 8th July.
Captain Michael Festing (C 57) to Teresa Carol Taylor at the Jesuit Church, Farm Street, on 12th December.
Mark Grabowski (J 67) to Giovanna Maria D'Anna at St Michael's Church, Wolverhampton, on 28th October.
Jan Laury (H 68) to Elizabeth Anne Rowbottom at St Clement's, Leigh-on-Sea, on 5th August.
Martin Freeman (C 65) to Sally Holland at the Church of St Aldhelm, Sherborne, Dorset, on 9th September.

Hon John Morris (W 65) to Thelma Mansfield at St Mary's, Sandford, on 16th December.

Jonathan Owen (B 63) to Glenda Brown in New Zealand on 28th October.

Kevin Pakenham (W 65) to Ruth Parker at St Aloysius', Oxford, on 4th August.

Edmund Scott (A 27) to Jean Archer-Hall at St Edmund's, Malvern, on 16th October 1971.

Major Kevin Teulon-Sellars (O 53) to Elizabeth Lee Forster at St Mary's, Cadogan Street, on 8th June 1970.

Noel White (C 53) to Margaret Jamieson at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, Co. Durham, on 21st October.

Dr J. W. Blake James (H 64) to Linda Elisabeth Sullivan at the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Esher, on 9th September, 1972.

Sidney Flavel (D 60) to Sylvia Ennis at St Joseph's, Southampton, on 28th October.

Golden Wedding

We congratulate Mrs and Leo Unsworth (1917) who celebrate their Golden Wedding in April this year.

Births

Diana and Peter Fielding (A 60), a daughter.

Anna and Alan Mayer (B 58), a son, Alexander Benedict Alan.

Margaret and Nicholas Reynolds (D 61), a daughter, Emma Elizabeth.

Glen and Antony Sheldon (D 62) a son, James Anthony David.

Mrs and Richard Thomson (D 62), a son, Dominic.

Gillian and Peter Watkins (B 54), a daughter.

Adele and John Wayman (E 59), a daughter, Lucy Margaret Scott.

Andrew Fraser (C 69) was invited to Nepal for a five-day visit by the late King of Nepal, Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, who is a keen sportsman and had arranged a shooting party in the Inner Tenai, Nepal, an area of jungle covering thousands of square miles which is exclusively a royal preserve. Andrew has described his experience as follows:

We were told at two o'clock in the afternoon that a tiger was ready and we left camp immediately. The night before 32 young buffaloes had been staked out in various likely spots around the jungle and by morning one had disappeared. The shikaris had been able to track the tiger and his prey to an area of thick jungle, perhaps 800 yards in diameter, where they believed him to be sleeping off his feast.

The method of shooting tigers in Nepal is unbelievably simple. Once one has worked out where the tiger is, one surrounds that area with a strip of white cloth about four feet broad and up to a mile and a half long. This cloth strip need not be pegged down; it does not even have to touch the ground. For some reason no tiger will cross it even if the jungle behind him were in flames. So long as there really is a tiger in the enclosed area it is only a matter of beating him past the rifle who sits up a tree on a machan.

After an hour's drive we changed to elephants and trundled off down a path through the bush. Riding an elephant is a marvellous feeling. The animal kneels to allow one to climb on to the huge saddle, which is like an overstuffed armchair with a low back. The adept sit on this cross-legged. I straddled the creature's broad back.

There is a mahout in front who steers by pressing with his toes behind the elephant's ears; there is also a fellow standing behind one on the elephant's backside. His job is to discipline the beast with a large wooden club. When moving it is like being on a ship in a rough sea. There is a pronounced forward and backward rocking motion and at the same time a deep swell underneath as the huge quarters heave forward and sideways.

We soon came to the ring of cloth. The trees on the perimeter of the encircled area were full of villagers eager to see the fate of their carnivorous neighbour; the King and the rest of the party stayed outside the ring while I was led to the machan. To my horror this was not in a clearing at all but in the middle of the thick undergrowth.

This minor setback was nothing compared to my next shock, when I saw that the foresight of my rifle (a 9·5 mm. Mannlicher) had been bashed about a quarter of an inch off true and was only just still there. Luckily the thorough German gunsmith had made a little scratch showing where the sight should be and I managed to knock it back.

Also, to my relief, up came the beaters, whose elephants bulldozed a clearing of about 60 yards diameter around the machan. It seemed no bother for the mighty tuskers to flatten growing trees six inches thick. After that, when all was set, I began to shake all over, and not from any sudden drop in temperature. This rather worried the shikari who shared the machan.

Suddenly, and far too calmly, he told me the tiger, a big male at that, was coming our way. I followed his gaze and could make out a huge orange shape gliding through the undergrowth. It made no noise and stopped every few seconds to listen to the elephants, who were trumpeting away at the other end of the ring. I raised my rifle to try a risky shot—it was about 80 yards away and still only semi-visible.

The shikari stopped me and told me to wait. By now I had stopped shaking and was feeling remarkably calm. I waited and saw that the tiger was fast disappearing to the right. When it had gone there was silence, apart from the crashing of the approaching beat. The shikari did not seem half as disappointed as I; and then I suddenly saw why; the tiger, now looking enormous, was only 45 yards away.

I all but fired but was again told to wait. He knew his tigers, this fellow, and sure enough the monster glided into the recently made clearing. This was too much. For a second or two it stood still, listening intently.

All it could have heard was the report of my Mannlicher as I put a shot into its shaggy neck. The muscled beast reared up in the air and seemed for a moment as if it would somersault over backwards. Instead, it righted itself and charged, roaring, under the machan.

Thankful for my 20 feet height advantage I had another shot as it ran under me. The shot took him just behind the left ear. The result of these two shots was not as lethal as one might expect, and so, as it turned broadside on at the edge of the clearing, I put a last shot into its heart. The tiger seemed to try to bite the neat hole that had appeared behind its right forequarter, but the effort was too much. With a cough rather than a roar the mighty animal died.

I am afraid to say I did not shed the traditional tear—I felt far too relieved and excited. I shook the shikari enthusiastically by the hand and was all for climbing down to have a look. He held me back and shouted: "Autopsy! Autopsy!" This turned out to be the name of the head shikari, who lived up to his name and drove his very reluctant elephant up to the body. After an inspection he shouted: "Bahg monjo" ("The tiger is dead").

Now I was allowed down the ladder and the first thing I noticed when I approached the tiger was its stink. It smelt foul—strong mush and rotting meat. The beaters and shikaris gathered round and dipped their kukri knives in the tiger's blood as an offering to the forest god and for increased potency.

The tiger turned out to be the biggest we saw. It measured 10 ft. 2 ins. along the curves. It was 3 ft. 7 ins. high at the shoulder and it weighed 407 lb.

SOLID POETRY

John Bunting (W 44) has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of British Sculptors. After leaving the sculpture school of the Royal College of Art, he was awarded a British Council travel scholarship to Spain in 1955. That year he produced work for the Anglican church of St Michael and All Angels at New Marston on the outskirts of Oxford. In 1959 he staged his first one-man exhibition at the Hovingham festival, and the next year followed it with an exhibition at the York festival, repeating this in 1963. During the early sixties he completed his war memorial out on the Hambleton hillside, carved a large relief of Becket's murder for Wakefield and a series of Yorkshire studies elsewhere—St Paulinus, St Wilfrid, St Margaret Clitherow. In the year that he was elected A.R.B.S. (1965), he held an exhibition at the Gallerie Fischbascher, Paris; and the following year he had two pieces in the Royal Academy—bronze heads of Fr William Price (our late Headmaster) and Sir William Worsley (Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding). Since then, his work has included a single-piece running Stations of the Cross at Oswaldkirk, an 11-foot stone St Bernard and a Madonna and Child in wood. He exhibited again at York in 1971, and has just put on a considerable retrospective exhibition, filling the Billingham Art Gallery with a profusion of Buntingiana.

PIANISSIMO

Ronan Magill (H 70) is now in his third year at the Royal College of Music, after leaving Ampleforth early to go there at the prompting of Benjamin Britten. In his first year there he won the first year piano prize, and had a piece he composed for solo violin played in public. In March he played as soloist with a string orchestra his own "Adagio for piano and strings", and went on to win a Chopin prize. In September, with the help of Benjamin Britten, he was auditioned at the Wigmore Hall by the Martin Musical Scholarship Fund, and the advisory panel awarded him a £500 grant and a subsidy towards buying a Steinway Grand. On 2nd November he played his first major concert at the Royal College of Music, giving an authoritative performance of Tchaikovsky's first (B minor) piano concerto at a technical level which left his accompanying student orchestra far behind him. One of the adjudicating committee, the harpist George Malcolm, sought him out to congratulate him. The Imperial College journal said of the performance: "Mr Magill's interpretation of the concerto was not only original and individual in its tempo, but was also full of beautiful contrasts between the powerful and stirring sections and the softer, more lyrical passages . . . he ended with a very positive and exciting *allegro con fuoco*". He was greeted with unusual applause, and is expected already to go far in his career. That being said, he would like to record a debt to Philip Dore for developing his musical insight and understanding. His composing progresses: he has written, *inter alia*, a string quintet for performance in the spring for the Cobbett prize, and a song for tenor and string quartet dedicated to Benjamin Britten for his fifty-ninth birthday. We have since heard that he is entering for the main annual Chopin award next year.

TOUR DE FRANCE

George Robertson (W 48), who has been for some time Headmaster of St Martin's School, Kirkdale Manor, Nawton, brought a party of seventeen of his boys across the Channel by hovercraft during the Autumn half-term to the maize and the vines of the Pays Basque under the shadow of the Pyrénées—to play rugby! They were guests of the St Jean de Luz Club, whose young team played dazzling rugger against St Martin's before a crowd of some 300 spectators. A second game was played at Anglet, and a third at Biarritz in an international-sized stadium. Though St Martin's never looked up to winning, they made a game of it each time and were flooded with hospitality afterwards. Surely no prep school spent its half-break better.

AMPLEFORTH/SEDBERGH DINNER

On the occasion of the fiftieth rugby match—it turned out to be the fifty-first when the records were checked—a dinner was held in the Royal Station Hotel, York, which was attended by a very impressive number of 218; 150 Ampleforth and 70 from Sedbergh. Among this number were the two school XVs who had played in the afternoon and provided Ampleforth

with another scalp on their way to their first unbeaten Rugby XV. The occasion was not strictly to celebrate rugby but to mark the friendship and respect that the two schools have had for each other over half a century and this was the keynote of the four informal speeches from Father Abbot, Brian Braithwaite-Exley of Sedbergh, John Dick, Chairman of the O.A.C.C., and Julian Smyth (E 44). Forty-five of the teams over the fifty years were represented at the dinner which was an outstanding success.

C. W. Fogarty (O 37) was awarded a C.B. in the New Year Honours.

Ian J. Fraser (O 41) has been appointed to the board of Davy-Ashmore. He is a managing director of Lazard Brothers and Company as well as chairman of Rolls-Royce Motors, a director of the British Oxygen Company and part-time member of the U.K. Civil Aviation Authority.

Peter Forrest (J 65) has been awarded a Ph.D. in mathematics at Harvard. He is now a senior tutor in mathematics at the University of Western Australia.

R. L. Bernasconi (B 69) was awarded first-class honours in his finals reading philosophy at Sussex University this summer. He is remaining there to do research on the phenomenology of language.

Dr J. W. Blake James (H 64) has qualified M.B.B.S. as well as M.R.C.S. and M.R.C.P. from St Bartholomew's Hospital. He is now Senior Medical Houseman at the British General Hospital.

Mark Bence-Jones (D 50), who has recently been bringing his study of Clive of India to completion, is one of the contributors to the new volume, Burke's "Royal Family", which has been produced to mark the twenty-first anniversary of the Queen's accession (see frontispiece). Mark has written the short chapter on "The Monarchy Under the Stuarts". He quotes Bacon that in 1603 "it rejoiced all men to see so fair a morning of a Kingdom" spared the evils of a disputed succession. A century later James I's namesake, grandson, and heir was living in final exile, having sailed away for good in a fishing smack. The Stuarts, except for the luxurious Charles II, lacked the highest art of man—handling men.

Michael Hardy (A 45) has been promoted a Full Colonel and appointed Deputy Brigade Commander of 8 Brigade (Londonderry, N. Ireland) where he will be till the end of October 1973. Under his command as C.O. of the 1st Bn., the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, will be Lt Col Peter Mitchell (E 50) and under his command as O.C. Command Company will be Captain Michael Stacpoole (A 57). We have since heard that Michael Hardy is to go instead to a Full Colonel's appointment at the Royal Military College of Science, Shrivenham, and that Michael Stacpoole has been mentioned in despatches for his last tour in Northern Ireland.

Lt Col R. A. Campbell (C 47) of the Royal Marines has been appointed to command Eastney Barracks, Portsmouth, on completion of his two-year command of 41 Royal Marine Commando, latterly in Malta. His son Alistair (T 71) together with S. G. H. Jefferson (J 71) has been awarded an Army cadetship.

Keith Pugh (E 65) was placed fourth in the Grand Aggregate at the Bisley Meeting, won his place in the England "MacKinnon" team v. Canada, which England won in a record score and achieved the highest distinction of selection for the Great Britain VIII v. Canada, "*the one*" as he refers to it. His team lost in the end but by one point only.

Michael Goldschmidt (A 63), who left Western Australia in 1971 after being A.D.C. to the Governor, found his next appointment in Gibraltar.

John Carroll (E 67) has finished a two-year course at the Harvard Business School. His brother Patrick (E 65) is following the family tradition and working in the tobacco industry, while Charles (E 68) is studying accountancy in Dublin.

Toby Cumberbatch (D 67) is working with GEC-AEI Telecommunications in Coventry but intends to go on a V.S.O. course sometime in 1973. In 1971 he was in the U.S.A. for four months.

Hon Francis Fitzherbert (C 72) has been accepted for Reading University in October. Meanwhile he is dividing his time between schoolmaster at Moor Park and working on the Queen's Sandringham Estate.

N. G. Baker (W 72) now makes light by day and burns it by night! He is working in the Marconi electrical firm. In the evening he has his own small business: "Humbug Discotheque was a concept in 1970 and is now a reality. We offer a unique service of not only a Discotheque and Light Show but also a complete party organisation and catering. Telephone Nigel, Sudbury 3171". O.A.s interested in politics should not be misled.

THE GRANGE—RETREAT FOR O.A.s AT UNIVERSITY

The first Retreats and Conferences will be held in the *Grange* during the summer. There will be a three-day Retreat for Old Boys at present at University in the *last week of September*. Please contact Fr Felix Stephens who will announce details in the summer issue of the Journal. The maximum number for this Retreat will be 16.

ANNUAL EASTER RETREAT 1973

Thursday, 19th April—Monday, 23rd April

The Retreat will be given by Fr Benedict Webb. Those who wish to attend are asked to contact the Guest Master, Fr Denis Waddilove *as soon as possible* and not later than Monday, 16th April, stating *at what time* and *on what day* they will be arriving.

EDITORIAL APOLOGIA

FROM time to time criticism has been made of the number of pages devoted to certain aspects of the JOURNAL, that too little space is given to this or that compared with former times. The following table is offered as an answer. The present Editor is responsible for the last two columns, the columns being at five year intervals up to the present (except that, as there was an editorial change in mid-1967, the year 1968 has been taken instead).

	1932†	1937†	1942	1947	1952	1957	1962	1968	1972
Total number of pages	288	298	236	204	265	219	251	490	512
No. of articles/ pp. longest art.	7/ 12	13/ 20	10/ 13	15/ 12	11/ 14	10/ 9	7/ 9	33/ 17	26/ 23
pp. book reviews	14	23	24	18	37	27	32	48	53
pp. Community Notes	13	13	10	13	11	9	14	23	45
pp. Old Amplefordian Notes	14	17	6	15	30	19	19	20	31
pp. School Notes, Total	163	166	99	91	104	112	126	135	130
pp. Exhibition report	15	8	—	—	13	7	10	12	10
pp. Games reports	82	64	30	28	35	35	39	44	37
pp. of illustrations, diagrams	11	6	7	7	10	10	11	19	30
No. of illustrations, diagrams	10	8	11	7	17	15	16	24	52

† *The print layout before the War put less words onto the page.*

In the last dozen years (1961-72), the totals of pages have been as follows: 277, 251, 347, 371, 378, 478, 478, *490, 511, 506, 526, 512.*

In the last five years (1968-72), the grand total of pages has been *2,545:* and in that time 133 articles have been published, all of them original and not previously printed elsewhere. During the period, printing and mailing costs have almost exactly doubled. It has been possible to continue publication at this level (while other House journals have either been reduced, in order to survive, to annual reports or cheap format and paucity of pages) in large measure because of the generosity of Old Amplefordians, whose support of the Society and through it the JOURNAL has been a real aid to our preaching of Christ.

SCHOOL NOTES

SCHOOL STAFF: SEPTEMBER, 1972

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 Leo Chamberlain, 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 Nicholas Walford, M.A.
Dom Charles Macauley.
Dom Michael Phillips, M.A. (Head of Physics).
Dom Dunstan Adams, M.A.
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., PH.D., S.T.L.
Dom Alberic Stacpoole, M.C., M.A.
Dom Andrew Beck, M.A.
Dom Aelred Burrows, M.A. (Head of Religious Studies).
Dom David Morland, M.A., S.T.L.
Dom Jeremy Nixey, M.A.
Dom Jonathan Cotton, M.A.
Dom Felix Stephens, M.A.
Dom Bonaventure Knollys, M.A., S.T.L.
Dom Gilbert Whitfeld, M.A.
Dom Matthew Burns, B.A.
Dom Timothy Wright, B.A., B.D.
Dom Justin Arbery Price, B.SC., PH.L.

W. H. Shewring, M.A.
T. Charles-Edwards, M.A.
S. T. Reyner, M.A.
E. A. L. Cossart, B.ÈS.L.
J. H. MacMillan, B.SC.
B. Richardson, B.A.
J. E. Pickin, M.A.
G. T. Heath, B.A.

P. O'R. Smiley, M.A. (Head of Classics).
E. J. Wright, B.SC.
W. A. Davidson, M.A. (Head of History).
B. Vazquez, B.A.
J. McDonnell, M.A., B.LITT. (Head of Modern Languages).

E. A. Haughton, B.A.
I. B. MacBean, M.A.
D. K. Criddle, M.A.
G. A. Forsythe, B.SC.
D. M. Griffiths, M.A.
(Head of English).
E. G. H. Moreton, M.A.
E. S. R. Dammann, M.A.
E. G. Boulton, M.A.
(Head of Geography).
G. J. Sasse, M.A.
(Head of General Studies).
J. B. Davies, M.A., B.SC.
(Head of Biology).
J. G. Willcox, B.A.
(Games Master).
T. L. Newton, M.A.
A. I. D. Stewart, B.SC.
R. F. Gilbert, M.A.
H. R. Finlow, M.A.
C. Briske, B.SC., PH.D., A.R.I.C.
(Head of Chemistry).
F. D. Lenton, M.A.
(Careers Master).
I. Davie, M.A.
Mrs M. Rodzianko.
P. A. Hawksworth, B.A.
R. D. Nelson, M.A.
(Head of Mathematics).
K. R. Elliott, B.SC.
R. D. Rohan, B.A.
J. J. Dean, M.A.
N. Jardine, M.A.
R. W. Musker, B.A.
R. V. Nichols, M.A.
G. Simpson, B.SC.
F. Booth, M.A.
M. J. Robinson, B.A., A.R.I.C.

Music:

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.
D. B. Kershaw, B.SC.
N. Mortimer.
S. R. Wright, F.R.C.O., A.R.M.C.M.
D. Bentley.
O. G. Gruenfeld, L.R.A.M., L.G.S.M.
G. W. Emerson, L.G.S.M., M.I.M.I.T.
R. Freeman.

Art:

J. J. Bunting, A.R.B.S., A.R.C.A., N.D.D.

P.E.:

M. Henry.

Procurator: Dom Ambrose Griffiths, B.SC., M.A.

Estate Manager: Dom Edgar Miller.

Medical Officer: Dr K. W. Gray, M.B., CH.B.

SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Head Monitor ... ... G. W. S. Daly

School Monitors W. M. Colacicchi, J. A. Durkin, E. P. Clarence-Smith, M. B. Sherley-Dale, C. H. Ainscough, H. P. Cooper, S. M. Clayton, M. B. Gould, P. A. Collard, S. A. D. Hall, J. M. Ponsonby, A. P. Oppé, M. E. D. Henley, T. M. White, W. M. Doherty, P. C. Willis, H. J. N. Fitzalan-Howard, J. D. A. Birtwistle.

Captain of Rugby ... ... S. M. Clayton
Captain of Boxing ... ... J. M. T. O'Connor
Captain of Shooting ... ... M. E. D. Henley
Captain of Squash ... ... G. W. S. Daly
Captain of Swimming ... ... S. J. Hampson
Captain of Golf ... ... S. P. W. Geddes
Captain of Cross Country ... ... S. C. G. Murphy
Master of Hounds ... ... R. H. G. Faber

Office Men M. R. T. Low, H. J. N. Fitzalan-Howard, J. M. Ponsonby, I. A. Campbell, N. O. Fresson, A. P. Oppé, S. J. Hampson, C. J. Satterthwaite, A. N. Dagnall, D. A. Sellers, H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, J. C. Gosling.

Bookroom R. G. Killingbeck, M. A. Campbell, L. M. J. Ciechanowski, J. N. R. Wadham, M. J. Railing, M. S. N. Badeni.

Librarians M. J. P. Moorhouse, J. P. Craig, A. P. Graham, P. J. Cramer, R. D. Freeman-Wallace, M. A. Heape, L. F. Nosworthy, D. E. Poyser, A. E. Yates, J. A. Stourton, P. H. Daly, A. P. Wright, J. A. Cronin, M. D. Pintus.

Bookshop J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple, P. Rylands, B. Allen, P. L. Rosenvinge, W. Wells, P. Langdale, M. Hubbard.

THE following boys entered the School in September, 1972:

From schools other than Junior House:

S. M. Allan (A), N. C. Arbuthnott (E), C. A. Bennett (O), C. H. A. Brown (J), J. E. Campbell (B), N. G. C. Cathcart (B), D. S. G. Chambers (H), A. J. Clarke (H), M. T. Cobb (E), M. L. Cranfield (T), L. R. Cronin (E), M. G. E. Dawson (A), M. St.J. Day (J), F. P. H. de Zulueta (W), A. J. B. Fenwick (E), D. A. French (W), W. F. Frewen (W), O. A. de R. Gosling (O), N. J. Hadcock (O), R. G. Hamilton-Dalrymple (E), C. J. Healy (B), S. Hyde (B), B. Jennings (E), A. S. R. Jones (O), R. D. A. Kelly (B), T. F. Keyes (A), M. P. A. Kirby (E), S. E. Lear (H), J. W. E. Levack (E), P. J. Mann (D), C. P. J. Morton (A), C. C. R. Murphy (C), M. E. Newton (H), W. M. O'Kelly (C), D. St.J. O'Rorke (B), C. R. O'Shea (B), J. W. Petit (W), J. S. H. Pollen (H), M. E. M. Porter (W), P. A. Quigley (E), W. M. Radwanski (J), H. N. Railing (H), P. A. A. Rapp (A), J. C. Read (J), T. E. Redmond (J), A. N. Roberts (D), J. C. Roberts (T), M. E. M. Roberts (E), D. C. Simpson (T), Hon A. D. Smith (O), J. P. H. Sykes (D), R. S. Thorniley-Walker (E), N. C. Tillbrook (D), N. J. Villeneuve (W), P. T. C. Watters (D), J. E. H. Willis (T), A. P. Wright (O), R. J. H. Everett (W), P. McDonnell (W).

From Junior House:

S. N. Ainscough (C), M. C. F. D. Bailey (E), D. J. Barton (B), M. F. W. Baxter (H), E. A. A. Beck (A), M N. Cardwell (O), S. J. Connolly (T), M. J. Craston (O), J. Dick (O), D. S. C. C. Dobson (W), B. P. Doherty (J), E. A. Dowling (H), R. S. Duckworth (A), C. M. Dunbar (B), K. M. Evans (B), T. J. F. Fincher (D), S. P. Finlow (A), A. H. J. Fraser (W), N. J. Gaynor (T), E. C. Glaister (H), C. W. E. Graham (H), R. D. Grant (E), C. W. J. Hattrell (E), B. D. J. Hooke (E), J. B. Horsley (T), D. A. Houlton (W), T. L. Judd (W), S. L. Livesey (D), T. E. McAlindon (D), P. A. Martin (A), M. G. R. May (C), D. J. K. Moir (A), P. R. Moore (J), M. J. Morgan (A), J. M. D. Murray (H), J. N. Norman (J), N. W. O'Carroll FitzPatrick (D), J. D. Page (B), C. A. Palairet (O), M. P. Peters (H), M. J. Plummer (W), S. P. S. Reid (A), P. A. J. Ritchie (A), P. D. Sandeman (H), N. G. Sutherland (A), P. D. M. Tate (W), S. P. Treherne (D), G. W. A. Tyrrell (C), J. Wilson (J), P. C. Wraith (H), N. J. P. L. Young (T).

The following boys left the School in December, 1972:

St Aidan's: N. I. Coghlan, W. M. Colacicchi, R. A. Craig, L. J. Dowley, N. G. G. Wadham.
St Bede's: E. P. P. Clarence Smith, J. P. Guiver, M. A. Lloyd, M. B. Sherley-Dale, C. M. Slawinski, P. F. Sutherland, S. M. Willis.
St Cuthbert's: M. Fitzgeorge-Parker, R. F. Hornyold-Strickland, R. A. Hunter Gordon, N. J. Leeming.
St Dunstan's: S. M. Clayton, R. H. Fergusson, N. B. Herdon, J. N. P. Higgins, F. G. S. Lukas, M. E. Walker.
St Edward's: P. A. C. Collard, S. A. D. Hall, A. Jennings.
St Hugh's: J. B. Ward, M. C. Weaver.
St John's: G. W. S. Daly, M. R. T. Low, J. C. H. Rigby, S. J. L. Roberts.
St Oswald's: E. P. Bennett, H. F. Hatfield, R. J. McArthur, T. M. Powell, T. M. White.
St Thomas's: A. V. M. Allen, C. M. Blackden, A. J. Hope, A. F. Loring, M. S. F. Pritchard, P. G. K. Weaver, P. C. J. Willis.
St Wilfrid's: J. D. A. Birtwistle, A. H. Foll, A. P. H. Kerr, J. C. Nugent.
Junior House: D. Rodzianko, I. Rodzianko.

THE AUTUMN TERM, 1972

The School re-assembled on Tuesday 12 September with 612 boys in the College and 109 in the Junior House. These numbers are the highest in Ampleforth's history, with 331 boys engaged in post-O level work. On the following Sunday Fr Patrick celebrated Mass for the Opening of the School Year, with the rest of the Community concelebrating.

In September Fr Edgar was appointed Estate Manager and he has therefore had to give up his teaching in the Geography department where he will be much missed. Fr Edgar will be replacing Fr Kieran who is to be the Warden of the Grange, and the latter's work with the Rovers is noted elsewhere in these pages.

We also welcomed three new Masters at the beginning of term, Mr Frank Booth has come to teach Geography; as a former Lancashire Rugger player, he is a distinct acquisition on the Games field as well. Mr Geoffrey Emerson has taken over the Brass department in the Music School, and Mr Michael Robinson has joined the Science staff. The wives of these two latter gentlemen are also making very welcome contributions to Ampleforth musical life. To all our new arrivals, their wives and families, we extend a warm welcome and hope that they will be very happy here.

Mr Michael Swift, of Trinity and All Saints' College, was with us for the term, helping in the Modern Language department. We wish him all success in his career. We were pleased to note that another recent temporary member of the staff, Mr E. J. F. Littlechild, gained a Rugger Blue for Oxford in December.

There have been some changes on the domestic front. We were especially sorry to say goodbye to Miss T. Mackey in August. She first arrived at Ampleforth in 1962 to take up the post of Matron at the Junior House, and then from 1967 to 1972 she was Nurse at the Upper Building, caring for the health of the boys in the four Inner Houses. Miss Mackey also had the responsibility for running the Doctor's surgery and for keeping

the medical records for the whole school. In her own time she helped with the annual Handicapped Children's Holiday run by the Rovers, but she will be remembered above all for her kindness and sympathy which were so important to the many boys who came under her care. Miss Mackey has taken up a new post as Infirmary Sister at Ratcliffe College and we wish her well, confident that the boys at Ratcliffe will appreciate her goodness and generosity as much as we did.

Mrs Ward has come as Nurse at the Upper Building, and Miss Egan is our new Assistant Matron, having succeeded Miss Flynn. We extend a warm welcome to both these ladies.

We congratulate Mr and Mrs E. S. R. Dammann on the birth, on 19 November 1972, of a son Guy Stephan Robert, a brother for Sophie.

Visitors during the term included Miss Imogen Cooper, who gave a piano recital on 24 September, and the distinguished Tudor historian Professor J. J. Scarisbrick, who came all the way from Warwick University to deliver a much appreciated lecture to the Historical Bench. Two scholars from York University, Mr J. W. Trythall and Mr D. Jennings, also came to give lectures. In addition, we had visits from Professor George Steiner, Dr Kevin Rees and Fr Geoffrey Preston, O.P., during the Senior Retreat, while Lady Masham, Miss Sally Trench, Colonel Bradshaw, and Fr Grady (from Inverness) came to give talks to the Junior Retreat. We had several visitors of course giving talks during the "Challenge to Industry" week-end conference at the end of September and more—including several Old Boys—at the Careers Convention in November. Further details of these two meetings organised by our Careers Master, Mr F. D. Lenton, will be found in his report.

St Aidan's put on a House Play in aid of charity after supper on 27 October in the Theatre. "The Oil Jar" by Pirandello is a light-hearted one-act Sicilian comedy with none of the underlying anguish of Pirandello's major plays. The production was undertaken by members of St Aidan's under the direction of J. J. Simpson, with much generous help and advice from Mr Haughton and the Theatre Staff. This enterprising venture provided an entertaining evening, and was well received by a full Theatre. Those taking part included: M. Martin, J. Wadham, C. Morton, S. Allen, C. Everard, J. J. Simpson, N. Wadham, J. Bruce-Jones, W. Dawson, T. Cooper and P. Gleadow.

The Retreat was held immediately before Half-Term. As for the past few years, the two days set aside to provide the opportunity for prayer and reflection were assisted by talks on the first day and discussions on the second. For the Senior Retreat talks were given by Professor George Steiner, Dr Kevin Rees and Fr Geoffrey Preston, O.P. Those parents who joined in the Retreat were valuable members of the discussion groups. Five groups of between twelve and twenty boys went off to outlying farms and Retreat hostels to exercise their spirits in more informal surroundings.

These days the Retreat for the Junior boys is organised by the Junior Society, under the guidance of Fr Ignatius. The speakers here were Lady

Masham, Miss Sally Trench, Fr Grady, Mr Ian Davie and several parents, for whose co-operation and contributions we are most sincerely grateful.

Those boys who were aiming at "Oxbridge" scholarships later in the term stayed behind during the Half-Term to work and, as they have often done in previous years, to join with the Community in the Calefactory and the Refectory. We offer many congratulations to all those who gained Awards or Places at Oxford or Cambridge as a result of the December Examinations. The full list is as follows:

OXFORD

AWARDS

N. I. Coghlan	Hastings Scholarship, Modern Languages	Queen's
M. A. Lloyd	Major Scholarship, Classics	Wadham
A. J. Hope	Exhibition, History	St Edmund Hall
T. M. Powell	Exhibition, History	Jesus
M. R. Staveley-Taylor	Stearns Exhibition, History 4th Term entry for 1974	Lincoln

PLACES

R. J. A. Richmond	Modern Languages	Queen's
T. M. White	History	Corpus
P. C. Willis	History	St Catherine's
H. F. Hatfield	Modern Languages	Worcester
J. F. B. Ward	Mathematics and Philosophy	Worcester
J. C. H. Rigby	English	Exeter
E. P. Bennett	Classics	Magdalen
J. N. P. Higgins	Natural Science—Medicine	Exeter
A. V. M. Allen	History	Mansfield
S. J. L. Roberts	History	St Benet's

CAMBRIDGE

AWARDS

M. C. Weaver	Scholarship, History for Archæology and Anthropology	St John's
M. Fitzgeorge-Parker	Exhibition, English	Peterhouse
A. Jennings	Exhibition, English	Pembroke
R. H. Fergusson	Exhibition, Mathematics	Trinity
J. V. Smyth	Exhibition, English	Clare

PLACES

S. A. D. Hall	History for Law	St Catharine's
P. A. C. Collard	English	Trinity
S. M. Willis	History	Magdalene
C. M. Slawinski	Oriental Studies	Jesus
R. L. M. Schlee	Natural Science	Pembroke

We also congratulate Simon Wright (T) who was awarded a Royal Navy Scholarship in the 27th Open Competitive Examination held in October.

The Ampleforth College Orienteers were hosts on Sunday 5 November for a National Badge Event held in Gilling Woods. Orienteering is becoming a popular sport both here and in the country at large, and several boys and members of the Staff helped Mr Gerard Simpson in the organisation of this event which attracted over 600 competitors from all over the country (among whom we were very pleased to see a former member of the Common Room, Mr Peter Gorring). In their turn several boys, under the auspices of Mr Simpson, went to six events in Yorkshire, and in this connection we offer many congratulations to R. G. Killingbeck (J) who won the Senior Boys (17-18 years old) Individual Trophy in the Yorkshire Schools Orienteering Championships held in Cropton Forest, near Pickering on 1 October.

The Concert was held on 16 November. Features were an impressive array of instrumentalists and singers from the School, which made us realise how inadequate the size of the Theatre really is, and the debut of the Wind Orchestra—Mr Emerson's achievement. Over 35 players performed on instruments, some seldom seen and probably not heard at Ampleforth before, including four types each of clarinet and saxophone and two tubas. In this connection the Director of Music would be glad to hear of any instruments at all which may be discovered, for example during annual spring-cleaning operations. The most unlikely-looking instrument may well have some use.

The O-level Examinations started on 23 November. Here may be recorded the sterling work done by Fr Oliver and his valiant team of Masters who organise and administer all the G.C.E. Examinations here. A vast amount of work is involved. On this occasion 146 boys were retaking between them 377 subjects; in all, 204 passes were obtained.

"Julius Caesar" was performed on 8 and 9 December under the direction of Mr Haughton. A feature of the production was that several younger boys were given the chance to appear on the Ampleforth stage. A review of this play, and an account of recent drama activities will appear in the next JOURNAL.

Handel's "Messiah" was performed in the Abbey Church on the evening of Sunday 10 December. It was a notable occasion with some distinguished professional soloists, including Honor Sheppard and Ian Caley. The Chorus was our own *Schola Cantorum*, accompanied by the College Chamber Orchestra (leader, Mr Neville Mortimer). The conductor was Mr David Bowman. To review this performance, we were indeed fortunate to have Mr E. B. Griffiths, the County Music Adviser for the North Riding. His judgments are printed elsewhere in this issue.

One of the highlights of the term was undoubtedly the achievements of the First XV. The team was unbeaten in eleven school matches—the only Ampleforth side to achieve this distinction since 1923, when only seven matches were played. We congratulate the Captain, Simon Clayton (D), his team, and their Coach, Mr John Willcox, on this magnificent record. It is worth recording, too, that in the senior part of the School (that is, boys

over 16) 25 school matches were played in the term; two were drawn, two lost, and 21 were won. The First XV were supported well by the School in the home matches and particularly by parents both at home and away. This support was much appreciated by the XV.

Since the contraction of compulsory service in the CCF, first to three years and then to two, there has been opportunity for a number of alternative activities on Monday afternoons. Fr Henry is in charge of these activities and has written the following account. Those boys in their third and fourth year in the School who do not continue in the CCF opt for one of these alternatives and some boys in their final year also continue to do them. Most important is community service, and some thirty boys go out each Monday to help in a variety of capacities in the neighbourhood, mostly visiting and helping old people (who are occasionally invited for a "return match", tea and some entertainment at the College), but also teaching football in four of the local primary schools. Supply of volunteers normally exceeds jobs available, but Mr Elliot and his admirable chief of staff (currently D. Sellers (J)) are gradually making new contacts and expanding this service. Thanks to the initiative and generosity of the staff and others a fairly wide range of other activities is offered: Mr H. Gray, the farm manager, runs a farming course in which the boys work on the farm and are shown round the different units of it. There is also an introduction to film-making (currently filming the other activities and making a documentary of St Oswald's before it is too late), to pottery, to printing, and to practical electronics and making computers. The York and North East Police provide a course, in which a series of police experts, led by Inspector Burke, show and explain some of the sophisticated techniques now used by the police (safety locks and alarms, finger-printing, CID, as well as more spectacular events such as dog-teams, sub-aqua rescue work and road safety). A popular recent addition has been a cookery course, run by Mrs Boulton and Mrs Cuming of Redcar, in which a dozen or so boys cook themselves a delicious meal every Monday at a cost of 15p each. Other courses have been tried but are in temporary abeyance, such as practical coures in household repairs and car maintenance.

The three sections which make up the Ampleforth College Scout Group, Venture Scouts, Sea Scouts and Junior House Scouts, quite naturally report separately in the JOURNAL on their separate activities. This means, alas, that few readers are aware that they constitute one Group and that certain Group matters remain unrecorded. This seems a pity, especially when it is a question of those who work quietly in the background, but on whom the Group depends. It is perhaps therefore suitable to record two items here and now. Firstly, we welcome Mr Michael Robinson, who has taken over from Fr Jonathan the duties of Group Secretary; this means, among other things, that he copes with the paper work between us and Scout Headquarters. Secondly, Br Francis has become an Instructor for the Group; he is already our Treasurer, in which post he has given us a few years of devoted service, following on Fr Michael's long and probably hitherto unrecorded term of office. (Fr Alban).

After a lapse of four years the still of Ampleforth has once again been broken by the cries of dancers in the Eightsome Reel. In the interval only a lone piper, R. Bishop, has kept the spirit alive with the skirl of his pipes in lament for the old Highland Reel Society. This term, thanks largely to the energy and enthusiasm of Mr John Dean, the Highland and Country Dancing Society has been revived with a membership of over 35. The name has been changed to be all-embracing, and in their first *Ceilidh* on St Andrew's Night the Society and their lady guests listened in the intervals between their dances to the Spanish guitar played by Mr Peter McDonnell as well as Mr Bishop on the pipes. The Society is very grateful to the many people who have assisted its renaissance.

The Junior Society continued to flourish. Its main purpose is to provide a Social Centre where the junior boys congregate and join in a wide and regular variety of indoor and outdoor activities. All such pursuits were this term, as usual, organised by the boys themselves and were well supported. In addition, the boys catered for and entertained the visiting speakers for the Junior Retreat, in an impressive atmosphere of much mutual co-operation and goodwill. The Society also held several social evenings during the term, to which members of the Community and Masters and their wives were invited. In these activities the Society was much helped by Mrs Simon Wright. The Society itself, though under the aegis of Fr Ignatius and Mr Paul Hawksworth, is really run by a committee of boys, presided over this term by C. Hunter Gordon (C). As in previous terms decoration and furnishing of the Society Room were carried out by the boys, and most weekends expeditions were made to the J.S. cottage high up on the North Yorkshire Moors.

The face of Ampleforth is constantly changing, and these notes end with an up-to-date survey written in February, 1973 of the new buildings. The external structure of the enlarged Grange is now complete, apart from rendering the front, and the top two floors are now being painted and plumbing and electrical fittings installed. Outside, the retaining wall in front is complete and the flagged paths will soon be laid out. We shall probably have the Grange open about a month after Easter.

One half of the new East Wing has reached the roof level and the tiles will be put on before the end of February. The Eastern half has been delayed by a small landslip, but this has now been overcome and we should soon see this half rising, too. The builders hope to have this Wing complete by the end of July.

Nevill House is now rising rapidly; the Eastern house should reach the roof by the end of term, while the Western house is still at ground floor level, but will soon rise. First impressions are that the concrete block-work blends very well with the stone-work of existing buildings, and the whole ensemble looks most promising.

The road across the valley and the road to Redcar have all been greatly improved and tarmaced with the aid of a partial Government grant. The new road will be a great asset to the farm, making movement between

various parts much easier. Artificial bumps have been laid down to stop speeding past the cricket fields.

PIANO RECITAL BY IMOGEN COOPER

Fantasy in C minor, K396	*Mozart*
Sonata in D major, Op. 10/3	*Beethoven*
Sonata No. 2	*Tippett*
Barcarolle Op. 60	*Chopin*
L'Isle Joyeuse	*Debussy*

Our musical year opened on 24th September with a farewell of a sort; not of course to Imogen Cooper (God forbid!) but to the Steinway grand piano which now leaves the theatre for the new Junior House music centre. She chose to play on this piano for which she clearly has an affection, though with its lack of power and brilliance it sometimes seemed to respond rather churlishly to her caresses. But nothing could dim the exhilarating musical joy we have come to expect when our friend Imogen lights up the theatre.

Her musical vitality was thrillingly matched with that of the young Beethoven in his early sonata, a remarkable work of unflagging inspiration. The first movement was taken with a pace and fluency which must have made some listening pianists wonder if this could be the same formidable and strenuous piece they "know" so well! But the performance was totally convincing, and no less so in the rich darkness of the slow movement, the demure minuet, and the sardonically witty finale with its highly idiosyncratic opening phrase (where's Charlie? . . . . where's Charlie? . . . .).

Miss Cooper's oustanding ability to make difficult music sound easy was displayed in Chopin's splendid Barcarolle, though the backwardness of the piano tone rather subdued the realistic imagery of splashes, waves, ripples, the rocking of the boat, the rhythmic motion of the oars, the pleasant creaking of the rowlocks, so that the piece apeared less spectacular than it really is; but the passage depicting the boat drifting quietly through misty reaches was beautifully realised. It was notable that in the other piece full of water imagery the more impressionistic colours of Debussy suffered far less attenuation; and the playing was luminous and lovely.

I found the most interesting part of the programme Michael Tippett's sonata. Probably many of the audience had never heard anything like it, but could not have failed to be impressed by the richness of Tippett's imagination and the strangeness and beauty of his pianistic devices. The sonata is in one movement, a patchwork of a fairly small number of highly characteristic fragments repeated interchangeably with no formal structure in any conventional sense; but a study of the music would certainly reveal a good deal more organisation than is immediately apparent to the ear. The performance was as striking as the music; Tippett is of course not as young as Miss Cooper, but she made him sound so.

The whole concert was enlivened by her own delight in it; she clearly enjoyed every minute of it, and such delight is, of course, infectious; everyone wanted more, and as an encore we were treated to a hilariously light and lively performance of Chopin's charming and rather absurd study on the black keys; insistent demands for a further encore elicited a luscious transcription of a Bach organ piece, of which the purist would point out in his tiresome way that Bach never heard anything like it, to which Miss Cooper would doubtless reply that it makes a very enjoyable piano piece: and quite right too!

G. S. Dowling.

ORGAN RECITAL

The programme of the organ recital given on October 12th in the Abbey church jointly by Simon Finlow and Andrew Wright was something of a daring one, comprising music by Samuel Wesley (1766-1837) and his natural son Samuel Sebastian (1810-1876). Like Mendelssohn's music—of whom both these composers were approximate contemporaries—the music of the Wesleys is, at its best, robust and impressive and, at its worst, unworthy of inclusion in any recital.

An example of Samuel Wesley at his very stodgiest is the Fugue in B minor, played by Simon Finlow, but an example of the man at his most inventive and most appealing is the unusual Duet for Organ. The fugue with which this work ends is more than perfunctory academic counterpoint, and its vitality was ably conveyed by the two performers who seemed to have appreciated well the overall architecture of the piece. Andrew Wright's rendering of Samuel Sebastian Wesley's Choral Song with which the recital opened was far too ponderous, but his performance of the second and third pieces of Samuel Wesley's Prelude, Air and Gavotte were sensitive and articulate. What a pity the composer did not develop the beautiful Air into a more extensive movement!

All in all the recital was as stimulating as it was enterprising. A programme note on Samuel Wesley surely cannot fail to whet the appetite of those who have not yet experienced his music:

> "At eighteen he temporarily joined the Roman Catholic Church; at twenty-three he fell into a street excavation and was for seven years incapacitated and ever afterwards subject at intervals to mental aberrations."

R. V. Nichols.

OBOE RECITAL

Oboe players of distinction are somewhat rare visitors to Ampleforth, and it was therefore a special pleasure to welcome Lazo Momchilovich on Sunday 15 October. This young American has been at St Symeon's in Oswaldkirk for three years and has also continued his studies with Leon Goossens. Mr Momchilovich has a lovely tone, impressive breath control and an impeccable technique and with qualities such as these he should go far.

The programme illustrated a variety of styles from the 18th century—Telemann Concerto in F minor and Eichner's in C—to the more recently written Rhapsody and Melody of Morgan Nicholas, full of rich Celtic lyricism. The most modern work was a Sonata for oboe by Roger Nichols, a Master at Ampleforth; it proved to be a well-constructed piece, very well received by the audience. The very able accompanist was Simon Wright, whose light-hearted but informative introductions to the items dispelled right from the start the potentially formal "recital" atmosphere in the rather cold and gloomy theatre. Mr Wright also played two *intermezzi* from Brahms Op. 117 with impressive sincerity and thoughtfulness. As an encore—appropriately on cor anglais—"Watersmeet", by Lamont Kennaway, provided a delightful ending to the evening.

JUNE EMERSON AND E. H. MORETON.

AMS CONCERT

OVER the past two or three years we have become accustomed to a very high standard of music making at Ampleforth. This review is based on those standards, and if it is said that on the whole the overall level of performance in this concert on Thursday 16 November did not quite reach the standard of some of its predecessors, it is hoped that this will not be taken to mean that the standard was low. Quite the reverse. Some mild criticism which follows means only that previous very high standards were not altogether maintained.

Part of the problem was the lay-out of the theatre; the large forces that Mr Bowman deployed reached half way up the main body of the hall, so that performers were playing under conditions of considerable difficulty. Acoustically, also, the results were far from ideal.

It was a novelty to have three verses of the National Anthem with which to begin the concert, and very appropriate it was in the light of the approaching Royal Silver Wedding Anniversary. Novel, too, was the arrangement by Geoffrey Emerson and Simon Wright; the first verse was sung by the Schola, the second by the Choral Society with orchestra accompanying. In the third the audience joined in, and the unusual harmonies, with brass and percussion having a field day, made this quite an item in itself.

Mozart is a very difficult composer to perform well; he demands accuracy, crystal clarity, and good balance between the different sections of the orchestra. It is not surprising, therefore, that these demands were not fully met. The lack of balance between wind and strings was most apparent (at least from where the writer was sitting) in the first and last movements, in which the strings were sometimes overpowered, and in which ensemble and intonation left something to be desired. The second and third movements were better in this respect; balance was better and the attack more sure. A good, robust ending was achieved in the difficult last movement however, bringing the symphony to a satisfying close.

After this the orchestra split up, into a String Orchestra and a Wind Orchestra. It is good to welcome a String Orchestra, but there is some way to go before this develops a real potential. In time, perhaps, more boys will choose to take up a stringed instrument; in the meantime, perhaps on the grounds that it is easier to blow than to bow, wind instruments seem more popular. The pieces chosen were pleasantly played, but the strings as a whole seemed to lack lustre—the Handel piece, in particular, did not really come alive, though there was a definite improvement as the work progressed. Here, surely, is a field where Mr. Bowman's genius in extracting the best out of the material available to him, will ultimately pay handsome dividends.

The Corelli concerto for flute and strings was deservedly popular with the audience. Rupart Raynar played the flute solo very commendably, under the difficult circumstances referred to above. His tone is a little soft, perhaps because he has not fully developed his breathing technique; and he has a tendency to clip his notes and phrases. But he has the makings of a good flautist. The string accompaniment was well pointed, with nice attention to detail.

The Wind Orchestra was on this occasion more impressive than the String Orchestra. Ensemble and intonation were good, with successful changes in dynamics. In the charming Bartok pieces, moreover, the rhythmic changes were well managed, and all in all Mr Emerson is to be congratulated on the results he achieved.

It was in Schubert's "Song of Miriam" that the best performance was given. The work itself, though late, is hardly vintage Schubert, but the choral singing in this work was up to the recent best at Ampleforth. This aspect of School music seems to be going from strength to strength, and one continues to be amazed at the results Mr Bowman has achieved in a remarkably short space of time. Anne Moreton has a beautifully pure tone in the upper register of her voice, though she seems a little less at ease in the lower register. She gave a very good account of the solo soprano part, and the excellent pianist was Simon Wright.

Our thanks are once again due to Mr Bowman, as well as to all his musicians, for providing us with yet another very enjoyable evening's music.

H. R. FINLOW.

"MESSIAH"

OF all the major works in the choral repertoire "Messiah" appears to have more bad performances than any other. Choral societies embark upon it in ignorance of its difficulties. It was all the more refreshing therefore to attend a well rehearsed and stylish performance by the Schola Cantorum of Ampleforth Abbey and the Ampleforth College Chamber Orchestra conducted by David Bowman. This performance was nearer in style to that of the original than the grotesque inflated interpretations of the Victorian era which in certain quarters still linger on.

Apart from some intonation difficulties, particularly in the unaccompanied "For as in Adam all Die" and some imbalance in the florid passages, the choral singing was of a very high order indeed. It was a pity that the first entry of the altos in the chorus "And the Glory of the Lord" lacked the necessary attack and firmness of line, but then this is a very exposed and taxing entry, particularly for boys' voices. In contrast, how wonderful was the first treble entry in "And He shall Purify" when the tone was sublime.

This section of the choir gave much pleasure mainly because of their superb legato tone. All the sections of the choir separated the semiquavers in the florid passages and this well-controlled diaphragmatic technique ensured clarity. Nevertheless the trebles need to cultivate a more positive sound in these passages because their tone tended to diminish markedly in comparison with the other sections.

The orchestra played with much style and rhythmic sense. They were particularly good in "The People that Walked in Darkness" and overcame the intonation problems in the octave passages with much success. The ensemble left a little to be desired in cadences where soloists embellished the vocal line.

It was customary in Handelian times for performers to embellish the vocal line in an improvisatory way and the orchestral players followed their shapes instinctively. Present day orchestral players play only what is written and it is very difficult for conductors to rehearse these in the time available. These embellishments were generally well handled, but in the counter-tenor aria. "He was Despised" there was inconsistency between soloist and orchestra particularly in the prevalent three note figure.

Colin Cartwright, the counter-tenor, tried valiantly to project his somewhat underdeveloped voice but the lower register was not strong enough to convey the necessary emotions. That memorable phrase on the word "grief" in the same aria was acutely disappointing.

Of the other soloists, it was Ian Caley who took the honours. His pure rich tenor voice had a commanding ring to it and he used it with telling effect. His diction, too, was excellent, no mean feat in such thick acoustics.

Peter Mills, the bass, suffered from some intonation problems which detracted from his performance. Honor Sheppard tackled her difficult arias with ease and virtuosity. In "Rejoice Greatly" there was a superb technique in evidence which supported much eloquence in the vocal line.

One of the difficulties that one encounters in this work is securing a balanced variety of tempi. I would have enjoyed the evening even more if the tempi had been a little more variable and the larghetto movements had been sufficiently slow to enable some of the music to have more serenity.

David Bowman controlled his forces with a firmness which secured excellent precision. He is an excellent choral trainer who pays a great deal of attention to details of enunciation and to the problems of blend and intonation.

It was an evening which gave much pleasure and the fact that one can write about it quite differently from that of the usual school concert speaks highly of the standard. More such performances of "Messiah" will do much to redress the balance in favour of good performances.

E. B. GRIFFITHS.

CAREERS

THE Industrial Society held a "Challenge of Industry" Conference at the School for two days at the end of September. The intention of these Conferences is not to recruit for industry, but to give boys some insight into its problems and, in so doing, to dispel misconceptions.

The Conference was attended by the second year sixth and a few boys from the third year. The time was divided between sessions in the Theatre and discussion groups, each composed of about nine boys and run by a young industrial manager. Brian Scott of the Industrial Society acted as Chairman and introduced the Conference; he spoke briefly about the importance of industry and its main problems. We were then shown a filmstrip illustrating the sort of human problems with which a young manager might have to deal. At the end of the first morning a film, "The Build Up", was shown; this described how a strike could begin; an initial grievance on the part of a worker was exacerbated by impatience and bad judgment on the part of management, and a situation was gradually created which made a stoppage inevitable.

In the evening came talks on "A Management Point of View" by David Morgan-Rees (Group Information Officer, British Ropes Ltd.) and on "A Trade Union Point of View" by Dave Shenton (Regional Secretary, T.G.W.U.). Mr Morgan-Rees spoke about the objectives of industry: to satisfy customers and employees as well as to make a profit. He went on to emphasise that the problems arise mainly in dealing with people; so clarity of mind, powers of exposition and wide sympathies are of the first importance. Mr Shenton said that Trade Unions were bound to exist; wherever men work together, they will combine. It followed that conflicts are inevitable, but it did not follow that they were insoluble. He explained the function of Shop Stewards in some detail and commented that weak management was as disastrous as bad management—a view shared by Mr Morgan-Rees.

The Conference ended with a Panel Session. Questions inevitably concentrated on current issues: the Industrial Relations Act, the freeze of wages and prices and the effects of technological change. Most of the questions were directed at the Trade Union representative and the boys seemed to expect that Dave Shenton would be reduced to stuttering embarrassment or total silence. But he answered the questions with great

skill and assurance, even if he did not immediately convert his audience. It was interesting that on many points he and David Morgan-Rees were able to agree.

Most boys who attended the Conference felt that they had gained something; in particular it was made plain to all except hopeless bigots that the problems of industry are complex, that the issues are not simply black and white and that no satisfactory solution can be imposed by one side on the other.

In November we held a Careers Convention which was open to senior boys and their parents. All the speakers except one were O.A.s and a group of London O.A.s had been closely involved in the planning of the Convention from the beginning. We have had much help from O.A.s with individual boys for some time and we felt we should now try to make their knowledge and experience available to a wider circle. So in the morning short talks were given on six main professions, the programme being so arranged that boys could hear up to three of these. Although each speaker was limited to ten minutes, these talks covered a lot of ground and were extremely valuable. In the afternoon the speakers made themselves available for individual consultations. The general impression was that the day was well worthwhile, but that we tried to do too much in too short a time. So we shall hope to do something similar in the autumn of 1973, but on this occasion shall probably concentrate on only one area of work.

To the O.A.s involved, who gave up a lot of their time and, in several cases, travelled long distances, we are extremely grateful to P. J. Gaynor (D.1943), who gave much help with the arrangements, and also to:—

P. J. M. Kennedy (E.1953) and J. P. Martin (B.1962)—"The Law".

D. F. Tate (E.1947) and D. A. P. Bell (E.1961)—"Industry".

H. S. K. Greenlees (O.1929) and D. Craig (H.1966)—"The City".

G. L. Jackson (C.1958) and G. F. Williams (D.1964)—"The Land".

D. P. Morland (T.1955) and J. W. B. Gibbs (T.1961)—"Accountancy".

F. P. Schulte (A.1948) and R. Belderbos—"Retail".

P. Noble-Mathews (E.1942)—"The Holiday Business".

In November two members of the staff of the Public Schools Appointments Bureau came to administer the P.S.A.B./Birkbeck Aptitude and Interest Test to 122 boys who had been in the Middle and Lower Fifth in the previous academic year. We were also glad to welcome the Army and Navy Liaison Officers.

F. D. LENTON.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

The President writes: We have heard news of recent past members, now at Bristol University and quick to join debating circles there. Paul Duguid (our last leader of the Observer Mace team in London), Terry Macauley (a former bench leader) and Dermot McKibbin together entered in a three-man team competition to propose that "Civilisation has benefited more from Marks & Spencer than from Marx or Spenser". We have not heard the outcome.

The Secretary writes: The Society has had one of its best terms in recent times, and it now has within itself much promise for the future. Due credit must go to Mark Fitzgeorge Parker, our Vice-President and one of the more remarkable speakers Ampleforth has thrown up, and to Richard Norton, our former Secretary, for some careful arranging of elections. Both were prominent debaters at five of the meetings, bringing fire to the floor and those high levels of argument which took the Vice-President to London last May. More persevering than these, and no less entertaining if not so cogent, was the arch abstainer, Michael Walker, who brought his eccentricities to a new finesse.

Rugby stars continued—gratifyingly—to be much in evidence. and again this year the Captain of Rugby played the part of Ye Parfit Renaissance Manne, fighting fiercely on the field and then fighting forensically as fiercely and more fashionably. Simon Clayton led a fifteen, and his House, and our Government all to victory on a single weekend. His opponent was a fellow Rugby Colour, Simon Finlow, who is also found in the orchestra and the choir; and who, after the half, replaced his captain as leader of the Government bench, moving from the Opposition and so leading a bench with consistent ability throughout the term.

Richard Norton came to lead the Opposition and soon revealed his considerable talent through a fop of hair that blinded one eye for periods. The leaders were supported by an encouraging variety of speakers, which included Andrew Allen, John Durkin, Roderick Pratt, Martin Spencer and the redoubtable Doherty. Among the maiden speakers was Peter McDonnell, an elderly newcomer from Belmont and "the world outside", who at once rose to be one of our most persuasive arguers. There were, besides him, eleven maiden speakers, some of much promise.

Despite outside attractions—dramatic commitments, music and television—attendances were as high as they have been for years, averaging well over 40 per debate. In the seven evenings in the upper library, there were in all 92 speeches made by 36 different speakers. We were fortunate in having a good core of regular speakers: the 15 members who spoke more than twice in fact delivered about two-thirds of the speeches.

There were, as is customary, two guest debates, the girls of the Mount School coming to us at half term, and the girls of Richmond Convent playing hostess to us at the end of term. The first involved a serious debate before a House of a hundred for over two hours; and the second involved an evening of music after a light-hearted skirmish of 59 minutes. What was especially interesting about the Mount debate is that, with the Mount School tradition of Quakerism and our tradition of Catholicism, the God issue was finally voted on in a way that may well reflect the percentage opinion of the majority of youth in England.

The following seven motions were debated in the upper library:

"This House denies that pornography is a symptom of a free society."

Ayes 22, Noes 14, Abstentions 11.

"This House denies that the best things in life are free."

Ayes 14, Noes 20, Abstentions 3.

"This House denies that our society is being throttled by the irresponsible working class."

Ayes 22, Noes 13, Abstentions 4.

"This House believes that service of the masses is preferable to service of the individual."

Ayes 12, Noes 25, Abstentions 6.

"This House believes that God is an anachronism."

Ayes 8, Noes 34, Abstentions 58 (these figures amount to a percentage). [Guest Debate.]

"This House believes that some wars can be just, just."

Ayes 29, Noes 11, Abstentions 3.

"This House prefers sensibility to good sense."

Ayes 15, Noes 10, Abstentions 5.

(*President:* Fr Alberic) SEBASTIAN ROBERTS, *Hon. Sec.*

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THE Society attendances were higher than those of last year, although the insidious effects of television are still plainly visible.

Mr Theodore Nicholson, a local historian, opened the year's meetings with a talk on "Cruck Houses". The lecture proved of great local interest, including as it did a number of beautiful slides taken in the area, as well as several of the speaker's own illustrations. The Society next heard Mr Davie speak on the ancient oriental civilisation of Anghor. Mr Davie described the discovery and history of these ruins in Cambodia, as well as his own impressions after visiting the site. For the final meeting of the term, Mr Rohan, speaking on Roman Britain, set out to disprove the theory of Roman civilisation, to be found in Tacitus's Agricola : *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* A combination of scholarship and wit, backed up by a multiplicity of slides, ranging all over Britannia, left all convinced that Calgacus was talking through his hat.

Thanks are due to our President, Fr Henry, and our Treasurer, T. Clarke, for all their efforts during the term.

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

THE CHESS SOCIETY

FOR a number of reasons, among them the Fischer-Spassky match, the recruitment drive, the change of time and meeting place, and the energetic leadership of the captain, we have had a sharp increase in numbers this term. About thirty people played chess at some time or other and the keen atmosphere and rising standard of play is encouraging.

After an easy 5—1 win in the first round the team were knocked out of the *Sunday Times* competition by Bootham in the second. Holroyd put us into the lead with a quick win on bottom board and for a time the match was in the balance. However, errors came thick and fast after tea and we were soundly beaten 5—1 in the end.

With all the side available next year we should be stronger. But much remains to be done studying the basic openings and improving middle and end-game technique if we are to hold our own against experienced sides.

Meetings continue on Thursdays and further matches are planned. New members are always welcome.

The following played in the *Sunday Times* matches: D. P. Herdon, R. W. B. Norton, M. B. Spencer, N. B. Herdon, D. A. Humphrey, D. A. McGonigal, C. J. A. Holroyd, A. S. R. Jones.

(*President:* Mr Nelson)

D. P. HERDON, *Captain.*
R. W. B. NORTON, *Secretary.*

THE CURRENT AFFAIRS SOCIETY

THE Society continued its steady life at bogey of about 20 members present this term, still under the guidance of the founding pair, Robert Fergusson and Robert Nelson. The term opened with a very topical talk by Fr Columba (who had recently returned from East Africa, including Uganda) on the machinations of General Amin in relation to the Asians and the Tanzanians. It looks as though he has effectively destroyed his country's middle class, leaving an ugly vacuum. We then dredged up a

paper from last term, when the container debate was at its hottest: A. G. Yates opened the subject and it led on to a wide-ranging discussion on productivity, foreign competition, relationships between ownership/management/labour, and the possibility of national control (not nationalisation) instead of the old jungle of competitive laissez-faire. We registered horror at U.K.'s dismal gross domestic products per head of population—£887, compared with Australia's £1,172, Canada's £1,651 and U.S.A.'s £1,932: even Finland and Iceland have higher figures than we do! We cannot go on hanging on to outmoded, low productive ways in shipment and all the other processes of an industrial society. A general talk followed on Brazil, the only Portuguese-speaking and -rooted country in South America. It was given by Mr Trevor Smith, who has spent the last five years there. His main accent was on racism, in a vast country which has an indigenous race void (or all but, for the Indians are contracted and regressive) filled by negroes once imported from West Africa for slave work, Portuguese who once ruled, and trading outsiders like the Japanese and Germans who have come to stay and to make their way as only they and the Jews can. The spectrum is complete—white at the top, dairy-milk in the middle, black at the bottom—and the sense of *snobbisme* is very exact but by no means lethal. Robert Nelson introduced the final discussion of the term, on the dangers of narcotics. His mind rested on preventative action, on the cat-and-mouse game that goes on between police and excise men and devilish cunning smugglers, with their radio-controlled model aircraft flown ashore off speedboats, their hash in the diplomatic bag or their pot in T.V. cameras. But his hearers' minds rested on more fundamental principles: whether soft, non-addictive drugs were harmful at all, or whether they were not in fact creatively stimulating; whether the State had a right to coerce Society in such matters, or Society to coerce the individual in his privacy; whether Britain was not going through the same hysteria with regard to drugs that America went through with regard to drink during Prohibition. The mood was that liberty should be left, if licence stopped, for a guy to have a quiet soft sniff occasionally.

(*President:* Fr Alberic) R. J. NELSON, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FILM SOCIETY

WE saw this term an extremely varied programme, which can probably be best divided into the "demanding" and the "not-so-demanding". The latter category consisted of five films. The first of these was "The Bedsitting Room", which had a star-studded comedy cast including Peter Cooke, Dudley Moore, Arthur Lowe, Sir Ralph Richardson and Spike Milligan. Despite the cast the humour was poor, and the comic element relied very strongly on the traditional slapstick farce. The second film was "Catch 22", a recent cult-and-rave film. It was an anti-war film, moderately enjoyed by the majority of the Society. The third film was "They shoot horses, don't they?", starring Jane Fonda. It was the story of the mammoth dances during the Depression, and despite the fact that it was a good film, it did not leave a great impression on the Society. The next film in this category was Eisenstein's "Alexander Nevsky". The film was basically a Russian propaganda film against the Nazi invasion of Russia, and was put together in six months. It was the story of a Russian resistance fighter of the early thirteenth century, defending his country from the Teutonic knights. Although old, it was a compelling film, enjoyed by all. The last film, "10 Rillington Place", a gruesome documentary of the Christie murders, was brilliantly acted by Richard Attenborough, and directed by Richard Fleischer.

The second category of films is that of the more demanding ones. The first of these was "Woman of the Dunes", a bizarre but compelling Japanese film, which allegorically portrays the rut into which "everyman's" life can fall. The next film was "Dance of Death", starring Laurence Olivier, and was about a couple who cut themselves off from society, and what they do to a third person. The film was a performance pitched in purely theatrical proportions, and recorded virtually without adaptation or modulation for a medium which is different from the theatre, and as such the film was not entertaining. "Memories of underdevelopment" was a film of a man trying to come to terms with society and the new Cuba. The last film, "Leo the

Last" was one of the more interesting, and deserves to have far more written about it than can be fitted into this review. Suffice it to say that it was about a man who wanted to change an unjust world, that would not be changed.

I would like to thank all the cinema box staff and the A.F.S. committee of Robert Nelson and John Townsend for their efficiency, and of course Fr Stephen, who put the whole thing together.

(*President:* Fr Stephen) JAMES GOSLING, *Hon. Sec.*

THE FOOTBALL SOCIETY

IN the Winter Term, the aim of the Society, to provide "more-organised" football seemed to be justified by the enthusiasm of its members. Practice matches on Thursday and Sunday afternoons were well attended, while the Society XI had an unbeaten term.

Captained by Tony Oppe, the team drew 2—2 with an army cadets' team from Preston, and had an impressive win, 5—2, over St Peter's, York. The support from Ampleforth on this latter occasion was encouraging and much appreciated.

Owing to the popularity of soccer with many of the younger boys at Ampleforth, an offspring of the Society developed during the early stages of the term. Philip Sutherland and Dave Loftus coached these "juniors", and three matches were arranged for them. Captained by John Macaulay, their team drew 4—4 with Ryedale School, won 6—4 against Easingwold School, and won 4—1 against St Francis Xavier's School, Richmond.

Our best wishes go to all who left Ampleforth at Christmas, especially to Philip Sutherland, who did so much to help the Society in its developing stages.

THE FORUM

THE Society seems to be returning from the doldrums of inefficiency and general tiredness into which it has perhaps strayed in the last few terms, and managed to have four meetings. As usual, the President spoke first, entitling his talk "Language : Slave or Master?" This interesting and provocative subject was covered with Mr Smiley's accustomed informal and energetic fluency, and was illustrated with a dazzling stream of examples taken from every corner of history and the globe. Mark Perry-Knox-Gore followed with a paper on "The Spiritual Art of El Greco", which was well-attended and well-received. The speaker's remarks were lucid, informative and entertaining, qualities by no means always present together in lectures. At the third meeting Fr Dominic played records of various of his favourite pieces of music which vaguely illustrated the general theme of "Music in Relation to Period". Those present enjoyed and profited by the meeting. Fr David gave the final paper of the term on "The Search for Truth in Withgenstein and Zen". He discussed the philosophy of Withgenstein and the subject of Zen, and then pointed out various similarities. This was perhaps the most intellectually demanding meeting of the term, and was welcomed as such by the Society.

(*President:* Mr Smiley) ANDREW KERR, *Hon. Sec.*

THE HISTORICAL BENCH

THE Bench had a most successful term, for which some excellent speakers deserve our thanks, although the hard work of the President, Mr Davidson, and the Treasurer, Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple (E), also played an important part.

Since Fr Edward was unable to give the first talk as scheduled, Mr Smiley started the term by speaking on "The Great Earthquake at Lisbon, 1759". In a very entertaining way he showed how the irony of a disaster in which hundreds praying in church were wiped out while whole streets of brothels stood unharmed, shook the complacent rationalist optimism of the age, inspiring Voltaire to write "Candide". Fr Edward was then able to give a talk entitled "From Romanesque to Gothic", in which he vividly traced changes in the arts in the early Middle Ages, from a Church and society on the defensive to the more confident world of the twelfth century. In the next meeting Derek Jennings, an undergraduate from York University, spoke on "Napoleon—a revolutionary?" In a most interesting lecture he demonstrated that

Napoleon had destroyed the ideals of the Revolution, yet preserved the essential achievement, that of giving every man the right to own property. Also from York University came our fourth speaker, J. W. D. Trythall, a lecturer in the History Department and author of a recent life of General Franco. In his excellent lecture he gave a searching and scholarly answer to the question : "Franco : how new was his 'New Spain'?" He was followed by Professor J. J. Scarisbrick from the University of Warwick. This was perhaps the highlight of the term, and his talk, "Some Aspects of the English Reformation", certainly measured up to expectations. Professor Scarisbrick, one of the country's leading historians, gave an intriguing interpretation of this event. Mr Dammann, of the University of Ampleforth, finished the term with a scintillating account from personal experience of life in Occupied France, under the title "Adolf Hitler and I". His view of the fall of France, from the position of the ordinary man in the boulevard, shook one's faith in several common assumptions about France at this time.

I would like to thank all these speakers for the trouble they went to in giving such interesting talks.

(*President:* Mr Davidson) MICHAEL STAVELEY-TAYLOR, *Hon. Sec.*

THE JUDO CLUB

THE Judo Club this term has been an outstanding success, especially with our 17 new members who are all very keen and interested to learn the ancient art. They have shown us that they are worthy of a grading up to Yellow Belt as soon as we can arrange it. It is hoped to be able to arrange a match against another club or school in the area for the coming term. Our thanks are due to the Headmaster and Housemasters for their willing co-operation with the Club. Also our thanks are due to Mr R. Otterburn of the Ryedale Judo Club [Black Belt 1st Dan] who comes over every week to coach us with the help of Mr Callaghan whose fire and good humour have made the Club what it is.

(*President:* Mr C. P. Callaghan) A. M. GRAY, *Capt.*

THE MOUNTAINEERING CLUB

ICELAND EXPEDITION, 1972

THE Expedition arrived in Iceland at 4 a.m. on 18th July to be met by drizzle and heavily overcast skies. Hardly a propitious start, and the pessimists among us were soon prophesying three weeks of bad weather. This was the second expedition to Iceland, the first having been in 1968, and this time our destination was the Eyafjordur peninsula in the extreme north of the country. We spent one day in Akureyri, the northern capital of Iceland, buying food, fuel and Icelandic jerseys.

It was with mixed feelings that we stepped down from the bus next day which had brought us as far as possible along the track. Naturally we were pleased to be in the mountains but there was the small matter of our rucksacks which weighed some 60-70 lbs. each. Although we had only two miles to cover it was all uphill and we were all thoroughly exhausted by the time we arrived at the site of our Base Camp. It was indeed an excellent site, at the edge of Lake Skeidsvatn which lay at the foot of a hanging valley. We were hemmed in on two sides by steep rocky slopes with incredibly sharp and crenellated ridges. On our first day's climbing we attempted to scale one of these but the volcanic rock was so loose and shattered that there was a very real danger of someone being injured by a rockfall. We retreated when we were about halfway up, the difficulties having been compared (rather over-enthusiastically, perhaps) to those of the Hörnli Ridge on the Matterhorn.

During what was arguably the best day's climbing we ascended a subsidiary valley running south-west. A couple of hours of steady climbing over grass- and heather-covered slopes brought us to the snowline where we were rewarded by the view of a great amphitheatre of cliffs with many fine snowfields. After a short climb, lunch was taken on a col. An easy scramble up a boulder-strewn ridge and we were on the summit plateau of Heljarfjall, where a sleet blizzard was blowing. The weather improved temporarily and we traversed along a snow-covered ridge to the summit

proper (4,000 ft.). The weather closed in again during the descent, nevertheless we had several opportunities for glissading. The next day was broadly similar. We had to cross a river and two members of the Expedition got themselves very wet by attempting to cross directly, instead of fording it further upstream. Our objective was the unnamed peak at the head of the Sandadalur valley, the route to which necessitated kicking steps up an extremely steep snow-field. The summit itself (3,300 ft.) was a spectacular pile of rubble which looked as if it might go crashing into the valley below at the slightest disturbance.

At Base Camp we lived in comparative luxury. The lake proved to be well stocked with very edible char, and our fishermen kept us well supplied. Not unnaturally, food was a major preoccupation, and on the whole, the dried food which we had brought with us acquitted itself admirably, the only faults being a certain lack of variety in the main meals, and breakfast, which consisted of three singularly unpleasant variations on a theme of egg and cheese. One of the curious facts about Iceland is that there are almost no trees. We did, however, manage to collect enough driftwood for a couple of camp fires, and very merry occasions they were, too. Mention must also be made of the sport of boulder-trundling, which consists of undermining the huge boulders which lie along the edges of gorges with ice-axes and sending them hurtling into the river below.

The weather was fine for our rest-day and also for the first day of the 30-mile walk-out, in which we retraced our steps up the Sandadalur valley to a col at 3,400 ft. We then descended through what was certainly the finest of the high corries that we encountered, surrounded by dark cliffs and snow-filled gullies, and camped at the foot of the valley. The next day was a rather dull road-plod to Olafsfjördur, and on the third day we crossed three cols and camped above Siglufjördur. The following day we returned to civilisation.

The rest of our time in Iceland was spent as ordinary tourists. We visited Myvatn, an area of abundant bird-life, hot springs, and sulphur deposits. On our return to Reykjavik, we went souvenir-hunting and enjoyed the city's heated swimming-pool. Several of us went to see the eleventh game of the World Chess Championship, which was won by Spassky in brilliant style. It was generally agreed that the Expedition had been a great success and for this our thanks are due to Richard Gilbert who willingly undertook the task of leader and all the tedious organisational work that that entails.

The members of the Expedition were: Mr R. Gilbert, Fr Michael Phillips, Mr P. Hawksworth, Mr R. Musker, P. Westmacott, R. Guthrie, P. Grace, B. Osborne, T. White, S. Fraser, M. Ritchie, J. McDonnell, N. Higgins, A. Hamilton, R. Skinner, S. Heywood.

SCOTLAND MEET

Christmas Half-Term, 1972

It was a slightly smaller party than in previous years which set off for the Highlands on the Wednesday evening after the Retreat. We reached the village of Blair Atholl early next morning, and after buying food drove to Loch Cluanie, parked Paul Hawksworth's Chateau-on-wheels, and walked some six miles to Glen Affric.

Two members of the party made rather a mess of pitching their tent and after a wet night, and being joined by a third, the cowards retreated to the nearby Youth Hostel. We had an enjoyable, if tiring, day climbing Sgurr nan Ceathreamnham, the weather being very fine for November. The next day there was a light covering of snow on the peaks and we traversed An Sochach, Mam Sodhail and Carn Eighe. These mountains, the highest north of the Caledonian Canal, lie on an extremely impressive ridge and they provided some exhilarating climbing. One person made a determined bid at suicide by getting separated from the party shortly before dusk. Fortunately (?), he was found. On the last day, we climbed Ben Fhada and had a fine view of Glen Affric. The weather broke the next day and we all got soaked on the walk-out; nonetheless, it was a very enjoyable Meet.

The following went: Mr R. Gilbert, Mr P. Hawksworth, R. Skinner, J. Rochford, M. Wilbourn, C. Francis.

R. H. Skinner, *Hon. Sec.*

THE PRINTING PRESS

The highlight of the Press over the last four months has been the production of its first book, "An Amateur Peasant Girl", by Alexander Pushkin. This is essentially the work of James Stourton as printer and James O'Connor as illustrator. The book (the second English edition), a quiet country tale of gentle humour, was chosen largely for its appropriate size, readability and charm. The idea came with the donation of a Swift flat-bed press by Walter Smith, Esq., of the Herald Printers.

Unexpected hazards of production added to the expected difficulties in using hand-made paper; these have delayed the book's publication which will now be at the beginning of March.

P.M.B.

For further details of this book see the advertisement in this issue.

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Although membership is still small, the Society had some good meetings during the term. J. P. Townsend was elected Secretary and Nigel Spence, Treasurer. Michael Walker gave an unusual and poetic theory on "The Natural History of Shakespeare". The President showed some slides on the Isle of Man Sub Aqua Expedition and some of the fauna seen at Port Erin and other diving localities nearby. B. L. Bunting described some "Sea Birds of Yorkshire" which he had observed himself on the coast. In the film meeting, the following were shown: "Underwater Search", which was on oil and oil rigs but with some shots taken underwater; "Herrings for Sale", on trawling; and "Surf boats of Accra". In the last meeting Dr Eric Golden very kindly came over to speak of his experiences in treating "Tropical Diseases" including Malaria, Leishmaniansis, Schistosamiasis, Billhartzia, Elephantiasis and Filaria. His own special interest was in the life cycles of the organisms producing the diseases and he showed some excellent slides to illustrate these.

(*President:* Fr Julian) P.J.R.

THE SYMPOSIUM

The end of the Summer Term saw the departure of many society members but the new arrivals were well able to match their numbers. Among several old stalwarts still with the society there were M. Fitzgeorge-Parker, R. Hunter-Gordon and T. White. A fellow Oxbridge candidate, M. Walker, who unfortunately only joined the society this term, with admirable keenness consented to give the first lecture entitled: "Four Failures". This dealt with four books by twentieth century novelists all of which although they had many good points were not truly great or classics of their type. The lecturer concluded that each author tended to become too engrossed in his theme, thus neglecting the actual mechanics of the novel, so that the story lost cohesion and reality.

The second lecture of the term, from Mr Smiley, also did not deal with the classics, but was concerned with Public School novels of the nineteenth century. It ranged from the famous "Tom Brown's Schooldays", describing Rugby in the 1830s, to "Stalky and Co." by Rudyard Kipling. Through these novels Mr Smiley traced the growth of snobbery and change in emphasis from a religious outlook to the fostering of Empire building qualities.

(*President:* Mr Griffiths) M. J. M. Petit, *Hon. Sec.*

YORK ARTS THEATRE SOCIETY

After the superb production of "The Glass Menagerie" which Eve Shapiro gave us at the Theatre Royal last March, it is a pleasure to acclaim a really inspired account of T. S. Eliot's "Murder in the Cathedral" which the Theatre Royal Company gave under her direction in York Minster. With its noble and austere setting beneath the Five Sisters Window, its scrupulous attention to details of religious liturgy, and an outstanding performance from John Humphry as Becket, the play rose to a tremendous climax after the famous Christmas Sermon. The capacity audience (including over 80 members of the School) are not likely ever to see a finer production than this.

The other major production of the Company this term was Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard". Well acted by a large cast, it yet lacked cohesion and style, and quite failed to move me. It was just these very qualities—a feeling for period, a unanimity of style among the cast—which made their earlier production of Patrick Hamilton's "Gaslight" so enjoyable. Psychologically convincing and beautifully constructed, it gave Perlita Neilson and Michael Cadman every opportunity to play on our nerves, which they did to perfection.

Much to be welcomed is the increasing attention given by the Theatre Royal Company to the work of modern dramatists. Both the plays they brought to the Arts Centre—Edward Albee's "Tiny Alice" and Pinter's "Old Times" (which unfortunately clashed with "Murder in the Cathedral")—earned them deservedly splendid reviews, and "Tiny Alice" was notable for Martin Potter's fine performance as Brother Julian. But it was altogether an outstanding production of this enigmatic play.

Alas, York's unadventurous audiences cold-shouldered the late-night performances of Howard Brenton's "Christie in Love" at the Theatre Royal. Its frank and explicit concern with the perversions of the Rillington Place murderer hardly makes it family entertainment, but it shocks with a purpose, grips the attention with its taut, sometimes funny surrealistic scenes, and leaves us not with loathing but compassion for the pitiable Christies among us. Congratulations to Barry Kyle for the brilliant production it received, and to Richard Digby Day (the Company's Director) for having the courage to show it in this theatre.

On the whole it was a good term, too, at the Arts Centre. We must be grateful to Chris Butchers for giving us such an intelligent play as the adaptation of John Aubrey's "Brief Lives". Moving Being's "Phoenix", based largely on D. H. Lawrence's "Women in Love", was always interesting—perhaps a little pretentious. Portable Theatre brought Ibsen's "When We Dead Awaken", but I cannot find anything good to say about this production at all.

Finally (and it deserves a paragraph to itself) the Pip Simmons Theatregroup's utterly captivating, outrageously explosive "The George Jackson Black and White Minstrel Show". With its ear-splitting rock music, flame-swallowing dancing-girls, gorillas descending on trapezes from over our heads, a knock-out boxing match, and an interval in which several members of the School found themselves handcuffed to the cast, this show had just about everything!

BERNARD VAZQUEZ.

YOUNG FARMERS' CLUB

THE most successful event this term was the visit to the York A.I. Centre which took place on Thursday, 19th October; this was a repeat of the visit paid by the Club two years ago and was once again much enjoyed, giving members an insight into a subject that is currently very topical.

The Club's other activities have continued. The practical side has been somewhat reduced in numbers this term largely because of the endless range of other activities; this has made it both more enjoyable and more instructive for the rest and Mr President Hughie Gray can be relied upon to provide an interesting afternoon's practical farming.

(*President:* Hugh Gray, Esq.)

ROBIN FABER, *Hon. Sec.*

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE FIRST FIFTEEN

Played 11 Won 9 Drawn 2 Lost 0 Points for 195 Points against 107

FROM small beginnings . . . to a mighty end! Anyone who watched the first game against Mount St Mary's could have been forgiven for having serious doubts about the capabilities of this side: anyone who watched the last game against Blundell's could not but be impressed by its shining virtues: anyone who had the joy of seeing every match must have wondered at their remarkable rise in skill and at the sharp edge of their competitive nature. This latter may be seen by the fact that in 9 of the 11 matches the XV were at some stage in danger of yielding. It was at that precise moment that the team never failed to produce its collective best, drawing on all its power, determination and skill. Thus gifted, they only achieved their striking improvement by dint of hard work, work which they always treated as fun. Perhaps this was their secret: the enjoyment they took in each other's company, the delight they found in their growing ability, the amusement they made for everybody on the field, the unity they achieved and the pride they took in their increasing success. Whatever it was they have every right to be proud now of their achievement of being arguably the greatest side produced at Ampleforth: no school side since 1923 has been unbeaten and in those days only seven school matches were played.

With this record, it is evident that there were many fine players. The two Coopers were, of course, the mainspring of the attack. M. Cooper at fly-half has genius; H. Cooper at centre was less brilliant but more consistent. As a pair or singly, they could take a game by the scruff of the neck and frequently did so. Very determined and highly competitive, they saw to it that this side should never be beaten. S. Willis was one of the fastest locks seen at the School: his work-rate, strength and determination were amazing. In match after match the XV owed much to his scrummaging power, his experience and his speed. This latter asset was only matched in the pack by W. Doherty at flank forward. Small in stature and delightfully evasive about his fitness or otherwise, he was among the finest flank forwards the School has produced. He was uncanny in his ability to get to the ball first and make it available. His partners in the back row were N. Moroney, a very hard and combative flanker who withstood two strong challenges for his position, and C. Ainscough who was one of two forwards who made the most improvement of the term. His fitness was astonishing and when he gets harder what a forward he will be! D. Unwin, Willis's partner at lock, was the other most improved forward. His displays on tour when he played rugby which nobody ever believed he could play will be long remembered. The front row consisted, apart from the Captain, of R. Lewis, a fast-striking hooker whose accurate and lengthy throwing-in from touch did much to off-set the lack of height in the line-out and who was very swift about the field, and the young C. Foll who improved in every match and who will be a great forward soon.

This fast and skilful pack would have been of little use without J. Pickin at scrum-half. By no means certain of his place at the beginning, he put paid to all challenges and his quick, long service to M. Cooper saw to it that a powerful back division had its chances. To say that he was well up to the tradition of recent Ampleforth scrum-halves is no mean tribute. Outside the Coopers, S. Finlow added to his sterling defence a burst of impressive pace and the final matches demonstrated his great improvement. As for R. Hornyold-Strickland on the right wing, he was very fast and, if not a great ball-handler, he nevertheless made more improvement than any other back and well merited his six tries. On the opposite wing, a boy to whom all honour! At the start of the term, J. Durkin challenged hard for the scrum-half berth; having lost that battle, he took Doherty's place for the first two matches with energy, determination, and no little success; and when Doherty was fit again, he made the left wing position his own. Loyal to the core, a trier through and through, he epitomised the team virtue. He never let the team down and frequently, as against Denstone, his great-hearted tackling saved the day. G. Daly at full-back was safety personified and

a good attacker into the bargain: the whole team had great faith in him and his stature rose rapidly as the term progressed. To the Captain, S. Clayton, the greatest credit. Apart from being an excellent tight-head prop and one of the best tacticians of recent years, it was his loyalty and determination, and the skilful way he handled the different personalities in the team which made the side what it was . . . that and his sense of humour and enjoyment. The team's and indeed the School's gratitude must go to him. May he proceed and prosper!

v. O.A.R.U.F.C. (at Ampleforth, 1st October)

The School pack were very hesitant to start with against an Old Boys' side rich in talent, and it was not long before the Old Boys turned ten minutes of relentless attack into 4 points. However, a long drop-kick from the restart put the School into their first attacking situation and when the Old Boys' backs were offside at a ruck, H. Cooper kicked a good goal, a feat which he repeated a few minutes later to put the School into the lead. The Old Boys replied in their turn with a penalty but H. Cooper obliged with another on the stroke of half-time to restore the School's lead and complete a rather scrappy period of play. Though getting very little of the ball, the School's magnificent defence was equal to most of the attacks thrown at it but as the boys tired, the Old Boys' backs found their way through once or twice and began to draw away. Some M. Cooper magic resulting in as brilliant an individual try as has been seen on this ground put fresh heart into the boys and when they achieved another try by Marsden after some great forward passing, they very nearly closed the gap. A Savill penalty shut the door on them and saved the Old Boys. It was a most heartening effort by the boys in a match in which Bucknall was an outstanding figure and probably the difference between defeat and victory.

Lost 17—22.

v. MOUNT ST MARY'S (at Mount, 7th October)

The School's start was fiery if tactically sterile, and they spent the first ten minutes in the Mount half. They declined to take a penalty kick at goal and then in general underestimated the vigour and enthusiasm of their smaller opponents. The first blow fell when the Mount left wing ran 75 yards unchallenged to score in the corner, a feat which he repeated, to expose again that lack of cover, a few minutes later. The Ampleforth backs continued their excessive muddle but managed to cut the lead to six points when M. Cooper scored in the corner. Half-time arrived and the School at last began to dominate the game. First H. Cooper scored under the posts to level the scores and this was followed by an excellent try by Daly at full-back. At this stage the match was in the bag but chances thrown away and the continual sketchiness of the tackling enabled Mount to score again and press hard in the final minutes.

Drawn 14—14.

v. DURHAM (at Durham, 11th October)

After their relatively poor showing against the Mount, the XV were obviously anxious to come to terms with themselves in this, the fiftieth match between the schools. The wet grass and drizzle-laden wind made good rugby difficult but M. Cooper, well served by Pickin, was at his tactical best and made an advantage of the conditions, tormenting the opposing full-back with a succession of accurately placed kicks which put the School on top throughout the first half. It was one of these that produced the scrum on the Durham 25 from which the XV scored: a good scissors move was followed by a ruck quickly won, and Marsden was put in on the blind side. H. Cooper converted this with a beautifully struck kick and he repeated his success a few minutes later with a penalty. Durham held on under pressure until half-time and Ampleforth supporters were worried that nine points might not be enough. Sure enough the Durham pack began to get on top and although the School defence, in which Daly was outstanding, stood firm, Durham nibbled away at the lead by converting two penalties. But in the final minutes it was the Ampleforth pack which lasted better—Finlow nearly got over on one side, Pickin on the other—and the whistle blew with the School attacking hard.

Won 9—6.

v. GIGGLESWICK (at Ampleforth, 14th October)

Doherty set the tone by beating off four tackles to score under the posts in the opening minutes of his first match since his injury in the Old Boys' game. He continued in this vein throughout and thus the linkage between forwards and backs more than made up for a lack of set ball experienced by the XV for the first time. H. Cooper increased the lead by scoring a try and converting it himself after 15 minutes although Giggleswick had kicked a good penalty and were to capitalise on a defensive mistake to make the score 12—7. However, a good ruck produced two men over for Finlow to run around behind the posts to enable the School to lead 18—7 at the interval. H. Cooper and Finlow engineered a try for Hornyold-Strickland to make it 24—7, while M. Cooper made one for Marsden, the only one which his brother failed to convert. Poor and careless defensive work down the School's left flank enabled Giggleswick to make their score 13 but the School had the last word with a cheeky try by M. Cooper which his brother converted from a wide angle.

Won 34—13.

v. SEDBERGH (at Ampleforth, 21st October)

The School won the toss and decided to play down the slope and with the wind. They started with fire and spirit and soon penned Sedbergh in their own 25. Near misses by M. Cooper, Willis, Marsden and Hornyold-Strickland were soon followed by two Sedbergh mistakes which H. Cooper seized on in a flash to give the School a lead of ten points. A heel off the head enabled his brother to drop a goal from an acute angle but despite continuous pressure, the XV could not cross the Sedbergh line again before half-time. The pack continued to carry the fight to their opponents after the interval but began to tire in the last quarter when the Sedbergh backs were in their turn given an endless supply of good ball. But the Ampleforth tackling, in which the two Coopers, Doherty and Finlow performed prodigies, was equal to most of the problems. When Sedbergh did score it was a gigantic push and wheel which gave the required result and when they added a fine goal to this through their right wing, the last five minutes seemed an eternity to Ampleforth supporters. It was a most encouraging performance by the XV: if they had finished off the chances that they made, the match would have been over as a competition before half-time. As it was some fine last ditch defence in the first half and a wonderfully spirited rally in the second nearly won the day for Sedbergh.

Won 13—10.

v. DENSTONE (at Denstone, 25th October)

The School started with the same fire and skill as they had shown in the opening minutes against Sedbergh the previous Saturday. They kept Denstone firmly pegged in their own 25 until the Coopers worked an overlap for M. Cooper to score near enough to the posts for his brother to convert. This roused the Denstone pack and for some moments they taxed the Ampleforth defence, being particularly severe on the School's left wing, J. Durkin. He came through this test and those that followed with flying colours and when Denstone were repulsed the School scored again from a move started by Doherty which was ended by Hornyold-Strickland in the corner. The School held their lead until half-time, but the second half started badly as Denstone tried desperately to open their own scoring. The School, though making mistakes from time to time held firm and the tackling was on the whole outstanding, none doing better than the whole threequarter line and W. Doherty. Denstone's pressure earned its reward and they scored to make it 10—6 but Ampleforth's breakaways were becoming more frequent and it became apparent that the balance of the game was swinging again. In the last five minutes under the calm generalship of Clayton and the cool confident kicking of M. Cooper, the XV were back on the attack and all but scored on the left and on the right. It was a fine victory in a most enthralling and closely-contested match.

Won 10—6.

v. LEEDS G.S. (at Ampleforth, 28th October)

THE opening exchanges were marred by some very untidy and scrappy play by both sides: both seemed to have far too healthy a respect for the other: while Leeds attempted to negate the power of the Ampleforth backs, the School found it difficult to gain much possession and had to be content with a 6—0 lead at half-time, a goal acquired by a brilliant interception by H. Cooper. Leeds meanwhile had cast away no fewer than four chances of penalties, a failing which the School underlined immediately after the interval by increasing their lead to nine points through a penalty by H. Cooper. Some ferocious rucking and driving by the bigger and stronger Leeds forwards was only checked by equally resolute tackling by their opposite numbers. Leeds were now in command territorially but still could not breach the School defence. The kicking of M. Cooper played no small part in driving Leeds back during this period, and when Leeds finally opened their score with a penalty—and failed with another simple one—time was running out. The best try of the match followed when a ruck gave M. Cooper the chance to make a break on the blind-side to put J. Durkin over. There was only time for the kick to be missed and for Willis to make a try-saving tackle at the other end before the match ended to give the School their fifth victory in a row, a victory merited this time by their stout defence and their ability to take their chances.

Won 13—3.

v. STONYHURST (at Stonyhurst, 11th November)

AMPLEFORTH won the toss and decided to play with the stiff, cold wind behind them. Within seconds they were encamped in the Stonyhurst 25: within minutes they had missed two relatively simple penalties and within a quarter of an hour they were four points to the good thanks to a splendid try on the blind side by M. Cooper after a ruck created by S. Willis. Whereupon the XV went into their shell and when Stonyhurst kicked a penalty just before half-time there were not many people who thought Ampleforth could cope with the conditions in the second half. But this was the spur they needed: they regained their four points lead when H. Cooper kicked a penalty. When they faced the elements in the second half they dominated and controlled the game. A long dribble by the two Coopers gave H. Cooper the chance of crashing over for a magnificent try near the posts which he converted. This made the game comparatively safe and though Stonyhurst kicked two more admirable penalties, the gap was too wide to bridge and the School won an excellent game by one goal, one try and one penalty to three penalties.

Won 13—9.

v. ST PETER'S (at Ampleforth, 18th November)

Two easy but beautifully struck penalties by H. Cooper gave the XV exactly the sort of start they would have wished and one hoped that this would give them the impetus to throw off any inhibitions caused by their wonderful record. But the zest and enthusiasm, the polish and skill, the improvisation and flair were totally lacking and St Peter's soon kicked an easy penalty to reduce their arrears, and began to push the Ampleforth pack yards in the scrums. Nevertheless the first time the School backs got the ball, Hornyold-Strickland scored on the right wing and the message that the three-quarters were too fast and too clever for their opponents was there for all to see. When H. Cooper added another good penalty just before half-time, it appeared that, despite the pressure of the powerful St Peter's pack, the game was as good as over. But two absurd mistakes by the defence let St Peter's in on the right and though H. Cooper obliged yet again with another penalty, St Peter's at this point were much in the ascendancy. Bad organisation and worse tackling allowed them to score from a short penalty a few yards from the Ampleforth line to bring the score to 16—11. At last the School realised the danger and in the last 15 minutes, with Finlow off the field, they thrust St Peter's back into their own 25 where H. Cooper all but scored at the end of a lifeless display by the School. The one marvellously redeeming feature lay in the School's capacity to win when playing badly.

Won 16—11.

v. OUNDLE (at Ampleforth, 2nd December)

GETTING together for the first time for two weeks, the XV were understandably sluggish and it was ten minutes before they managed to string a movement together. For half an hour they then played some delightful football with the Coopers, given an unlimited supply of rucked ball, tearing the defence to shreds; four tries were scored in this period and there should have been three more if two to one situations had been exploited properly. H. Cooper added to this score of 16—0 immediately after the restart with a brilliant individual try under the posts, the conversion of which was missed! This seemed to be the signal for the XV to abandon their collective and disciplined rugby and their work-rate, and to become a team of individuals waiting for the ball. Gradually and with spirit Oundle pulled themselves together and even when they added a good try to a monstrous dropped goal, the School pack did not answer the call. The astuteness of the threequarters had also departed and an attempted loop under their own posts in the closing minutes was punished by Oundle as it ought to have been. 20—0 with over half the match gone, and five tries to two with only five points difference to show for it! Frustration all round! It is hoped the XV have learned a lesson.

Won 20—15.

v. WHITGIFT (at Whitgift, 14th December)

THE XV were a little unlucky not to win a most wonderful match. They scored two tries to one and looked the swifter side making more chances than their opponents. This is not to diminish Whitgift's part in a memorable game—every one of the thirty on the field was a hero—but the competitive nature of this XV made them carry the battle to Whitgift for seventy minutes, and it was the Whitgift side which looked the more tired at the end.

Having lost the toss and started rather slowly, the School began to catch fire and after ten minutes of fierce pressure, M. Cooper made a try for Hornyold-Strickland in the corner. This was immediately answered by a fine drop goal by Wordsworth, the Whitgift fly-half. The School raced back down the hill again and Willis, whose speed in support was a feature of the game, added a try which H. Cooper converted with a fine kick. The team now lost their impetus and after a period of pressure when the School survived two penalties near the posts Whitgift wheeled a scrum to score an unconverted try and to bring the score to 10—6 at half-time. It was thought by all that Whitgift, now playing down the slope, would win, particularly as Wordsworth immediately added another fine drop goal to bring the scores level. It was now that the XV were seen at their very best. Realising that there was danger from a Wordsworth kick whenever Whitgift were in Ampleforth territory, the boys put a stranglehold on their opponents and played all the rugby in the Whitgift half, launching a series of attacks which were only checked by a sterling defence. When Whitgift broke out of their own half, they were forthwith thrown back again by one of M. Cooper's raking kicks or by a lightning counter-attack which often covered the length of the field. Whitgift had one last throw of the dice: two successive scrums put them in position for a third drop goal but Pickin, who played admirably, wrecked both heels.

Draw 10—10.

v. BLUNDELL'S (at Stoop Memorial Ground, Twickenham, 16th December)

THE XV were in no mood to lose their magnificent record and proceeded to play some brilliant rugby, making a competent Blundell's side look pedestrian and leaden-footed by their own speed of thought and foot, their skill in handling and support, and their creation and use of space. The tries soon began to come thick and fast. It was perhaps fitting that in a season dominated by the Cooper twins, they should be the major scorers again with M. Cooper getting three tries and his brother getting one and kicking four conversions and a penalty. They also saw to it that Hornyold-Strickland, Unwin and Doherty (2) should score. But there were many others who were stars of this game. Clayton had perhaps his finest hour of many, encouraging a pack who played confident attacking rugby in brilliant patterns. Finlow and Hornyold-Strickland

impressed with their speed and support, and the lion-hearted Durkin and the resourceful Daly demonstrated their increasing skills. Though Blundell's stuck to a difficult task with spirit, they were outclassed and the XV ran out happy victors to generous applause from opponents and spectators alike.

Won 43—10. J.G.W.

THE SECOND FIFTEEN

In its brief season of eight matches, the 2nd XV scored 255 points. This exceeded the tally for the 1971 season by one point. This statistic highlights the tremendous strength of the team in attack. They won six of their eight matches, losing to only one other 2nd XV, Leeds Grammar School. The secret of this success did not lie in the genius of any individual player but in the team as a whole. The various talents of the individual players were merged into a splendid unit under the captaincy of M. Faulkner. He inspired the team by his own energy and will-to-win on the field, and quietly and authoritatively knit the team together off the field. Under his leadership the team developed a tremendous team spirit.

One of the strengths of the side was in the passing and handling of the three-quarter line. This was a credit to any 2nd XV and made the wings, R. Nelson and N. Whitehead, a real threat to the opposition. J. Gosling provided a very competent service from the base of the scrum and did not feel the need to make the breaks himself. M. Faulkner at stand-off dictated the tactics of the threequarter line and developed a good eye for the situation. However, the main thrust in the line came from S. Murphy who with a very deceptive jink was able to thrust his way through the opposition. The weakness of this inside break was that he found it difficult to link up again with the threequarters outside him. The outside centre, M. Wallis, was more reluctant to beat his man, and although he had a nice outside break he was more concerned with feeding his wing. On the wings R. Nelson had a very deceptive run but was too prone to come inside, and N. Woodhead although showing promise of a devastating hand-off never cultivated it to the full. Last, but by no means least, mention must be made of the full-back, A. Mangeot. His personal tally of 81 points in the eight matches speaks for itself. If it was kickable, he would kick it.

The success of the threequarter line owed much to the strength of the forwards. Their ability to gain possession in the rucks was second to none. And not only did they gain possession, but it was clean and tidy ball. All the forwards had a hand in this and it would be invidious to pick out any individual. As soon as the movement broke down there was always someone there to snap up the ball and others to block and protect him. Their outstanding ability to do this was the envy of many opposing coaches. However, they had their deficiencies as a unit, and it is sad to relate that they found considerable difficulty in gaining the ball from the set pieces. The packing in the scrums was not good, and although for the last two matches the leader of the forwards, J. Stilliard, moved up into the loose head position the problem was not solved. Even on our put-in there was no certainty that the ball would be heeled. In the line-out C. Sandeman was the main aggressive force and the team missed him when he was unable to play through sickness or the demands of the 1st XV. But in general this phase of the game was untidy and clean possession a rare commodity. J. Stilliard led the forwards with untiring strength. His own personal commitment to the success of the team was an example which even the most fainthearted could not resist. With him in the front row were G. L. Vincenti, who must be the quickest hooker about the field in the country, and C. Simpson who did so much unobtrusively. With C. Sandeman in the lock position was E. Willis who improved steadily as the term went on. The back row was the most fluid part of the side, and it looked hopeless when the team lost J. Durkin to the 1st XV. However, reserves were found and by the end of the season this section of the forwards became a really effective force, both in attack and defence. J. Moorhouse on the open side moved quickly across the field, but never learnt to draw his man when he joined the threequarter line. Perhaps the most improved player of the year was T. Powell at No. 8. He revelled in the game and was always at hand to tidy up anything that went wrong. The last recruit to the back row was B. Lister who quickly learnt the duties of a blind-side wing forward and tackled tirelessly.

In defence the team was brittle and 131 points were conceded. Much of the blame for this must be put on the fact that their technique of tackling did not match up to their determination. If correct technique is not learnt at an early age there is little hope of bringing a man down at this level of rugby. They tried hard, and by dint of sheer determination, and speed on to their opponents, managed to cover up this deficiency so that in the final match against St Peter's they managed to keep their line intact against an aggressive side until the last minute of the game. To pick on this match to highlight the effectiveness of second phase rugby I recall the last Ampleforth try. From a set scrum on the half-way line the ball went out to the right wing where a ruck was formed just inside the St Peter's 25. The ball emerged as if attached to the scrum-half's hands and was whipped out to the left wing who scored in the corner. Of course it was converted!

The following played in the side: Full-back—A. R. F. Mangeot; Wings—R. J. Nelson, N. F. Woodhead, A. P. Marsden, T. M. White; Centres—S. C. G. Murphy, D. M. A. Wallis; Halves—M. W. B. Faulkner (Capt.), J. C. Gosling; Front Row—S. A. D. Hall, C. J. Simpson, J. A. Stilliard, G. L. Vincenti (hooker); Locks—C. A. Sandeman, E. A. Willis, L. J. Dowley; Back Row—J. A. Durkin, T. M. Powell, B. P. Lister, J. M. Moorhouse.

Colours were awarded to: G. L. Vincenti, A. R. F. Mangeot, J. A. Durkin, J. A. Stilliard, C. A. Sandeman, S. C. G. Murphy, C. J. Simpson, T. M. Powell.

Results

v. Pocklington	A	Won	15—13
v. Barnard Castle	H	Won	46—4
v. Durham	H	Won	65—6
v. Scarborough 1st XV	A	Won	42—12
v. Leeds	H	Lost	25—20
v. Ripon A XV	A	Lost	18—48
v. St Peter's	A	Won	15—7

M.D.P.

THE THIRD FIFTEEN

For the second year in succession this side was unbeaten. Again we were very fortunate in having a competent pool of players from which to choose, and comparatively few injuries to disrupt the team. The team played fast, open rugby and, apart from a very bad first half against Giggleswick, played it pretty well. The forwards worked very much as a pack and gave plenty of the ball to the backs. Allen at stand-off combined well with Fitzherbert and, with his sound tactical kicking and good ability to get his line moving smoothly, was always able to dictate the course of the game. The backs were large, ran hard and usually looked impressive; although rather too often good passes were dropped. Their defence was never really tested. Special mention should be made of Nicholas Herdon who played for his third successive season in the team (surely a record?) and being such a good player was unlucky not to play in a more senior side. Justin Dowley captained the side quietly and intelligently.

The following played regularly: L. J. Dowley (Capt.), A. V. M. Allen, E. P. P. Clarence-Smith, B. R. J. P. Corkery, Hon T. A. Fitzherbert, N. O. Fresson, C. J. A. Holroyd, N. B. Herdon, B. P. Lister, S. D. Mahony, M. A. Norvid, M. J. M. Petit, J. M. Ponsonby, A. R. J. Pratt, A. P. Oppe, T. M. White, P. C. J. Willis.

Results

v. Barnard Castle 3rd XV	Won 54—0
v. Giggleswick 3rd XV	Won 25—10
v. Scarborough College 2nd XV	Won 26—3
v. Leeds G.S. 3rd XV	Won 29—14
v. St Peter's 3rd XV	Won 17—6
v. Archbishop Holgate's G.S. 2nd XV	Won 17—8

M.E.C.

UNDER SIXTEEN COLTS

THIS will not go down on record as being a vintage Colts season. The final record was not good enough for that. It was a disappointment that the major fixtures against Sedbergh and Stonyhurst were lost.

There were two main problems that had to be overcome during the course of the season. Firstly there was an acknowledged lack of talent in any form of depth. This meant it was difficult to extend the better players in practice, and when the occasion occurred it was difficult to replace injured players. Secondly it took a long time for the team to believe in their own ability. In fact it was not until the last two matches that we really began to see the fooball that they were capable of producing.

The season started somewhat hesitantly due to the fact that several minor injuries meant that a settled team could not be developed. The early matches suggested that the team had a potentially dangerous mid-field trio in Plummer, Lintin and Macfarlane, but because of slowness at scrum-half and the lack of dominance in the set pieces they were going to be short of ball. A very scrappy draw was played against Pocklington when numerous chances were not accepted. A good win here might have done a lot to give the team the confidence then needed. There was a hard fought win over a strong Durham team. A series of injuries meant that the team could not be reshaped to give the midfield group more room. The side played quite well against Newcastle until the last ten minutes when an unforced error let Newcastle in, and, using their very strong forwards they proceeded to widen the gap between the two sides. For the big game against Sedbergh a somewhat weakened side was fielded but that was no excuse as a good Sedbergh side proceeded to control the game and made sure of victory by a period of complete dominance at the end of the first half. Interestingly enough we had enough of the play in the second half to suggest things were not as bad as they seemed. Stonyhurst was played in very wet and windy conditions and no side really offered much in the way of constructive football. Stonyhurst adapted themselves better to the conditions and deserved their win. Just when it seemed that confidence had gone completely, a complete reversal of attitude became apparent and the side really began to express themselves on the field, both as individuals and within the framework of the team. The result of this was that the term closed with two excellent victories.

This improvement at the end of term really did justice to the efforts of the team on the practice field. It was good to see their confidence in themselves really begin to show itself. As far as individuals were concerned it was obvious that there was at the end going to be enough talent to keep the 1st XV well supplied. The mid-field group was always potentially dangerous, and became more so when Swarbrick finally got used to the problems of scrum-half play. Allen was always a tower of strength in the pack and he was ably supported by Baker and Davey, although the former did not really dominate the line-outs as much as his physique would suggest. It was equally pleasing to see Ainscough coming through so well in the last match. Despite all the ups and downs it was for the team's coach a very pleasant start to rugby at Ampleforth.

Colours were awarded to Plummer, Lintin, Allen, Baker, Macfarlane, Davey and Ainscough.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	H	Draw	7—7
v. Durham	H	Won	10—7
v. R.G.S., Newcastle	H	Lost	3—17
v. Sedbergh	A	Lost	4—32
v. Ashville	A	Won	14—0
v. Stonyhurst	A	Lost	0—20
v. St Peter's, York	H	Won	16—0
v. Barnard Castle	A	Won	34—3

The team was: A. Wilcox, J. Ryan, P. Macfarlane, S. Lintin, Hon D. Asquith, N. Plummer (Capt.), H. Swarbrick, R. Holroyd, R. Bishop, P. Langdale, M. Ainscough, N. Baker, N. Georgiadis, S. Davey, B. Allen.

F.B.

UNDER FIFTEEN COLTS

THE set has played a total of nine matches, winning eight and drawing only against an equally fine XV from Leeds. Two more matches have yet to be played. The teams have scored 250 points and yielded 37. It is an outstanding side. Most encouraging of all, it has been an outstanding set and those unlucky not to be part of the team have more than played their part, particularly Robin Burdell who captained the reserve side when they beat St Wilfrid's from Pontefract, thereby reversing last year's narrow defeat.

Neither Burdell nor C. A. Vaughan, regulars in the undefeated side last year, could get into this side, nor could T. M. Lubomirski, a useful wing-forward, or J. A. Dundas, a lively and attacking scrum-half, and the strength of the pool was shown when M. Wood played as third choice wing and scored two good tries, showing that he would walk into a normal XV.

The only major weakness was at centre where the right combination was never found. At full strength it did not matter because Beardmore-Grey and Hunter-Gordon on the wings were fast and skilful players and it needed only good-passing centres to provide them with scoring opportunities. Until Hunter-Gordon broke an ankle Stapleton fed him so well that tries on the right wing became automatic. But Stapleton did not have the penetration to advance in the centre and Soden-Bird, Misick and Webber were all at one time tried in the threes, joining Bickersteffe, the other centre. None of these had real speed and it was left to Lucey at full-back to provide mid-field thrust. He has become a very good player, tough, intelligent and a safe and at times devastating tackler. An initial burst from a loose ball on his own line against Holgate's, a quick and well-timed pass and the side had scored in a flash—an exciting moment.

The understanding at half-back between Dyson and Macauley at fly-half was uncanny. Only twice in eight matches can one recall a breakdown at this point—two passes in succession against Holgate's. At the moment they are safe rather than inspiring players, particularly Macauley who was at his very best in a defensive position against Leeds when his kicking and generalship were faultless. He does not break well—he is too slow—and quick passing is not yet second nature to him. Dyson had his moments in attack, particularly a try against Holgate's from 20 yards out with a perfect dummy. For the rest he was content to feed the backs once he had got over an initial tendency to run blind and wide and get lost.

No side can be successful without forward power and it was here that the genuine strength lay. The back five were the same as in 1971 until the last match but Dowling, a "mighty mouse" as a prop, and Low, outstanding in the loose, forced their way in. Zmyslowski, unable to depose Low as hooker, forced his way in at prop for the last match, releasing M. Moir for the second row after Neely was injured and it was then that the pack produced its best shove in the tight, making a mess of a Holgate's side which was unbeaten. The front row has much potential. In the second row Stourton was a tower of strength ably supported by the selfless Neely, whose best play was in the lines-out, in general the weakest part of the forward play. Finally, in the back row the trio of D. Thomas, M. Tate and D. Lonsdale was an inspiration in attack, playing together with superb confidence, though sometimes—as in the case of Tate—inclined to get carried away at critical moments and losing good possession. Their defence is not great at this stage but then this is a side which has rarely had to defend and thus they can only be slow to learn. But at no stage have they given up the urge or lost the ability to attack. At their best, in the loose, Moir and Stourton created numerous openings for a ruck on Tate with Dowling and Thomas up in support for the heel.

So much for a general survey. But this was not a talented side, too good for its opposition, sitting back and winning by strength and individual skills. All the set would acknowledge their debt to Edward Stourton's captaincy. It is rare for a 14-year-old to command such respect not only from his team but from all 30 boys. He has led a silent side, incapable of chatter, and even less capable of dirty play or yielding to provocation of which there was rather too much this year. They trained hard, worked at their moves, used them sensibly and were allowed complete freedom

to express themselves on the field. Because they felt they were a team, they played as one and gave pleasure to many. They scored many tries and Macauley converted most, but the most enjoyable match by far was the struggle against a very fine Leeds side, both sides revealing their skills, Leeds in the lines-out and the XV in the loose, Leeds in the centre—when they were allowed to get the ball that far, and the XV at half-back.

Because of injury to two wings, and to Neely, the team had to be changed occasionally. Some of those who seized their chance may stay and one hopes the XV will be prepared for this. No one wants to see a loyal team-player go, but for example if Moir is too big for the front row, and the competition for front row yields a better alternative combination, then someone must go, to allow for Moir elsewhere in the pack. Similarly, Wood is too good a player to be left out of the pack. An *embarras de richesses*, and when this happens a coach can take a back seat and enjoy watching a team mould itself round a captain.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	A	Won	53—0
v. Giggleswick	A	Won	44—16
v. Scarborough College	A	Won	35—0
v. Leeds G.S.	A	Drawn	6—6
v. Ashville	H	Won	41—3
v. St Peter's	H	Won	28—6
v. Barnard Castle	A	Won	4—0
v. Archbishop Holgate's	H	Won	28—0

UNDER FOURTEEN COLTS

IT has been a disappointing term for the Under 14 team, for only two victories have been recorded from seven games. From the start it was clear that the team were not a good defensive side. With the exception of Day, who has saved many certain tries at full-back, no member of the side could be relied on to bring down his opposite number and stop an attack. Every player was capable of a sound tackle but few had the courage or confidence to be dependable. The result has been that poor sides have been allowed to run the ball and have grown in confidence as they were permitted to get away unchallenged.

But there have been some good moments even in defeat. In the second half of the match against Leeds G.S., as ever a well organised and athletic side, the forwards played with magnificent heart and vigour and put on their best performance of the term. If they had been able to play such aggressive rugby against some of the weaker opposition they would have so dominated possession that the defensive lapses would have been less noticeable.

Craston has captained the side and led the forwards well. He lacks pace but has done his fair share of work in both tight and loose. Moore has been a tireless worker from wing-forward and on occasion Reid, who should become a strong and mobile front row player, Sandeman and Ainscough have given him good support. Duckworth has hooked well for the side and Simpson, who came into the side late, has improved tremendously as the term has progressed.

The back division has been unsettled through the constant changes required to find the best combination. Willis has made the stand-off place his own and has improved with every game. Apart from him no one has played regularly in one place. Lomax and Murray have both shown on occasions that they have the ability to make an opening in midfield and Harney, O'Rorke and Sutherland have all played on the wing and have shown flashes of the sort of running which is required.

There remains much to be done but with the determination, which is surely there, the team can look forward to two victories in the Spring Term from the games against St Peter's and Newcastle.

The following have represented the team: M. J. Craston, S. N. Ainscough, M. St J. Day, R. S. Duckworth, N. J. Hadcock, R. T. St A. Harney, C. J. Healey, J. B. Horsley, T. L. Judd, C. M. Lomax, I. D. Macfarlane, D. J. K. Moir, P. R. Moore, J. M. D. Murray,

D. St J. O'Rorke, S. P. S. Reid, J. C. Roberts, P. D. Sandeman, D. C. Simpson, N. G. Sutherland, R. S. Thorniley-Walker, N. C. Tillbrook, J. E. H. Willis.

Colours have been awarded to M. J. Craston.

RESULTS

v. Pocklington	Lost	3—18
v. Scarborough College	Won	22—6
v. Leeds G.S.	Lost	0—36
v. Ashville	Won	18—4
v. Barnard Castle	Lost	0—20
v. Archbishop Holgate's	Lost	13—18
v. Roundhay	Lost	3—24

THE HOUSE MATCHES

NONE of the favourites were involved in the first round matches. Mangeot's tactical acumen and the strength of Powell and Vincenti for St Oswald's were too much for St Edward's for whom Murphy and Faulkner tried hard: in the end St Oswald's ran out easy winners. It was not so in the other match of this round, where St Hugh's and St Wilfrid's were locked in a fierce struggle until in the closing moments St Hugh's, for whom Sandeman and Moorhouse excelled, scored a runaway try against the run of play to take them through 8—4.

After continuous rain, the second round was started on pitches dotted with miniature lakes, and it was pleasant to note that the standard nevertheless was a high one. St Cuthbert's, as expected, put St Dunstan's out without being exerted though Lewis was prominent for St Dunstan's, and their pack wrought noble deeds against bigger opponents. St Thomas's, though doubtful winners for much of the game, finally extricated themselves from their difficulties and triumphed 21—6 with Plummer playing a notable part in acquiring 17 of those points. Allen, Woodhead and Glaister were others who excelled for St Thomas's while Moroney and Daly did all they could for St John's. Some magnificent rugby was played by the midfield trio of Durkin, Finlow and Lintin whose timing and giving of a pass in these conditions was most impressive. St Hugh's tried hard with Sandeman, Davey, Moorhouse again and O'Connor in the van but they were outclassed. The fourth match of this round, between St Oswald's and St Bede's saw some exciting exchanges: Mangeot's admirable tactics and Vincenti's hustling kept St Oswald's in the lead 7—3 until, with minutes to go, Willis crashed over twice to make up for the penalties he had missed, and to see St Bede's through by 13—7.

The semi-finals saw St Cuthbert's continue their triumphant progress to the tune of 58—7 at the expense of the hapless St Bede's. But the other match between St Thomas's and St Aidan's formed a direct contrast, the result after extra time being 6—6. St Thomas's took an early lead through two fine penalties by Plummer but St Aidan's always looked dangerous when their midfield triangle had the ball. It was Finlow, indeed, who scored the try that brought the scores level but the ferocious St Thomas's tackling was beyond praise and saved the day time and time again. The Houses agreed to toss for the right to contend the final and St Thomas's went through to challenge St Cuthbert's.

Again they displayed their brilliant attacking tackling with Macfarlane, Plummer and Foll outstanding while Glaister at full-back hardly put a foot wrong and two or three times pulled down one of the Coopers in full flight. In the event St Thomas's so upset the opposition with their mettlesome defence and astute tactics that they were deservedly in the lead 9—8 with ten minutes to go. But the massive assaults by St Cuthbert's were taking their toll and when St Thomas's had the misfortune to lose Woodhead through injury, the heroic fourteen were unable to cope and St Cuthbert's ran in two or three tries in the final moments—a result which did St Thomas's less than justice.

The Junior final was a very hard-fought affair between St John's and St Bede's, neither of which had suffered any indignity in reaching it. St Bede's, after numerous frights, scraped through to take the spoils in a most exciting match.

SWIMMING

THE Swimming Club has loyally stuck to its guns. This term we have travelled over 700 miles for swimming purposes—that is, without counting the distances actually swum—and results showed in various ways. We swam in two York and District Galas, and four swimmers reached finals, A. Heape, A. Graham, S. Ashworth and J. Simpson, the latter resetting the School breaststroke record in the process. Others who competed were T. Odone, N. Mostyn, A. Hampson, M. Webber and J. Gosling.

We have also pressed on with the development of water-polo: in November we acted as hosts at St John's College pool to a four-school league in which we came second to St Peter's, the other schools being Bootham and Archbishop Holgate's. And in our own mini-pool there have been some fierce House games, with a tendency of St Bede's to win, though there was one occasion when St Cuthbert's surprised them: and there have been some good first- and second-year games. In this pool there is not much swimming involved, but speed and accuracy of handling and passing are at a premium, so it is good practice.

In a first-year 50 metre competition, winners were, in free, back, fly and breast respectively, S. O'Rorke, A. Beck, S. Reid and C. Healey. And here we may add a word of thanks to Mr Henry, who takes a very energetic gym session each week to improve fitness. Finally we would like to thank George Gretton for giving us a cup for the 200 metres freestyle.

Many congratulations to G. R. Gretton (B 71) who gained a Blue, swimming for Oxford against Cambridge on 3rd March. He came 2nd in the 200 m. freestyle in a time of 2:26.6.

GOLF

GOLF continues to flourish, as does the course under the astute and able work of Fr Leo and a most willing band of helpers. A number of boys played golf throughout the whole term, and although the pleasant fixture against the O.A.G.S. was lost, all seemed to enjoy the game enough to wish to play throughout the Easter Term as well. S. Geddes, the Captain, won the Vardon Trophy with an excellent 9-hole total of 36, par for the course.

SQUASH

THE boys have had their strongest team so far. Although the matches against St Peter's and Barnard Castle were lost 5—0, the sport continues to be very popular. G. Daly, the Captain, and C. Ainscough were always very difficult to beat and are becoming good players. They will share the Davies Trophy this year as the Competition was unfinished. It is difficult to take more boys the ten miles to Wellburn for concentrated practice but P. de Zulueta, C. Holroyd and N. Plummer were the other members of the team who tried hard at all times. May we take this opportunity again of thanking Major and Mrs Shaw of Wellburn Hall who most kindly allow us the use of their court whenever we wish: we are much indebted to them.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

AFTER many years commanding the R.A.F. Section Fr Stephen has retired from that position in order to take over the R.E.M.E. Section. The latter Section has until now been entirely boy-run and has provided training of great value for a few boys who were interested in car engines; now it is intended to extend it to a larger number of boys and to provide a more methodical course of training. The R.A.F. Section has been taken over by Mr Davies, who also continues as adjutant.

The Basic Section under Fr Martin and Fr Edward assisted by U/O N. O. Fresson and U/O C. V. Clarke had also the help of 12 Cadet Training Team. The main work was directed towards the Weapon Handling and Safety Test for the Army Proficiency Certificate; nearly all the candidates were successful in passing the test which was held on the last parade of the term.

The bulk of the new intake into the Army Section trained for the A.P.C. Night Patrol Test under Mr Dean, assisted by Cpls M. A. Campbell, A. P. C. Danvers, J. E. P. Ryan and L/C H. C. J. Plowden. Apart from normal Monday afternoon training, a night compass exercise was held early in the term, and a night patrol exercise over on the Gilling ridge just before half-term. The actual A.P.C. Test was at the end of the term when three North Vietnamese patrols under the command of three grim orientals, Ber Bun Ting, Wil Fer Gu Sun and Gy Ni Te (Bernard Bunting, William Fergusson, Guy Knight) made their way from the Ho Chi Minh Trail (which runs across the valley) just north of the Mekong River (which runs through the valley), to locate, and intercept Morse messages from American Imperialists and/or their South Vietnamese lackeys. In spite of steady drizzle, all patrols successfully accomplished their missions and all cadets passed the test.

The Signals Section was run by U/O P. G. Scrope with the assistance of L/Cs J. F. Anderson and S. A. C. Everett. During the term seven cadets passed their Signals Classification and Sgt M. P. Rigby, L/Cs J. F. Anderson and S. A. C. Everett obtained the Signals Instructor's Certificate.

A small group of five senior cadets working under Sgt Spencer (12 C.T.T.) trained for the Advanced Infantry Training qualification. For the most part this involved learning about and firing the Sterling S.M.G., Bren L.M.G. and 2 ins. Mortar. They will complete the course next term with the Carl Gustav Rocket Launcher and tactical and other tests. Just after half-term the three Under Officers, Fresson, Clarke and Scrope, together with Sgts Rigby and Scott, spent a weekend at Warcop attached to Sheffield University O.T.C. doing tactical training using modern weapons and helicopters. Snow and rain impeded training, but it was a most valuable experience; incidentally it was pleasant to find among the O.T.C. cadets one of our recent old boys, Peter Craven, who used to run the R.E.M.E. Section.

PROMOTIONS

ARMY SECTION

To be Under Officers: C.S.M. N. O. Fresson, C.S.M. P. G. Scrope.

To be Sergeants: Cpl M. P. Rigby, Cpl C. M. G. Scott.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

To be Flight Sergeant: Sgt N. M. Baker.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

THE term was largely devoted to work for various Proficiency examinations. The Leading Seamen, training for Advanced Proficiency, worked with C.P.O. R. Ingrey and also helped with the instruction of the new Ordinary Seamen. The Able Seamen were helped by P.O. Jordan from our parent establishment at Church Fenton. We are very sorry to lose P.O. Jordan who has rejoined the Fleet before commencing training for a Commission and we wish him well in his future career. We welcome in his place P.O. M. Martin.

During the course of the term we were visited by Captain R. A. Stephens, Royal Navy, in charge of Officer Entry to the Service who discussed Service careers with some dozen prospective Naval officers. The continuing assistance we get from this source contributes much to the number of Naval Scholarships the Section gains. We were also visited by Commander J. Groom, Royal Navy, from J.C.E.C.C.F. who helps us with our problems, and it is always good for the Section to meet and talk to officers on the Active List who can keep them informed of the present role of the Royal Navy.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

THE Christmas Term started with 25 boys in the Section, very well led by Flt/Sgt N. Baker (W). As is always unfortunately the case in the winter terms much of the work had to be in classrooms, but morale was high and out of 23 candidates for the Part II Proficiency, we obtained two distinctions, four credits, and only two failures. Much very useful instruction was given by our regular liaison N.C.O., Flt/Sgt Kitson. Sadly we said farewell to Flt/Sgt Kitson who is retiring from the Service in March. His help in instruction, administration and with stores over the last two years has been invaluable to us, and we wish him all success on his return to civilian life. Flying has been quite successful (at least weatherwise) resulting in just under half the Section getting airborne. We would like to thank both R.A.F. Church Fenton, and R.A.F. Topcliffe for their organisation in this. Finally the Section would like to thank the Rev Flt/Lt Stephen Wright, O.S.B., who has relinquished command of the Section, having run it successfully for the past eight years, and wish him all success with his spanners and screwdrivers with the R.E.M.E. Section.

THE VENTURE SCOUTS

THIS year about 50 Venture Scouts and Rangers from the North Riding and beyond came to camp at the Lakes for our (annual?) Raven Weekend. A wide choice of energetic activities was offered and on Saturday evening a convoy of Scout vehicles swept across the valley for Tony Coghlan's (A 69) talk and slides on the various and international expeditions he has led to the caves of Spain. This was an excellent first-hand account of original exploration and discovery by one who had been a member of the Unit only three years ago.

The term had begun with a meeting called to discuss whether the Unit, with an active membership of only half a dozen, should disband and form itself into an Adventurous Activities Club. Interestingly enough, this proposal was defeated by a majority of those present, including members and non-members of the Unit. For the rest of the term we subsisted on a somewhat hand-to-mouth basis, encouraged by the enthusiasm of the two Nicks—Coghlan and Higgins—doyens of the Unit. It was they who discovered Blood Pot—a windypit in Shallowdale—and over several trips a survey was made which led to the discovery of a third entrance. Nick Coghlan will soon be in print with the section he has written on the local windypits for *Northern Caves*, the successor to *Pennine Underground*. It was very encouraging to hear that all this activity did not prevent their being successful at Oxford in December.

We were grateful to Fr Patrick for the Monday Whole Holiday for the Pennine weekend which meant that by leaving at lunch time on Saturday we were able to pop down Valley Entrance for a couple of hours before camping for the night in Kingsdale. Ireby, with its five pitches, Ding, Dong, Bell, Pussy and Well, and an exhausting first trip down Lancaster made a very enjoyable weekend, rounded off by supper with Fr Jerome at his parish in Knaresborough.

Together with the Venture Scouts of York we made a start at erecting a new hut for the Scouts at Welburn Hall Special School. The Committee hope that there may be longer term opportunities for giving service at Welburn Hall.

That the Unit finished the term still in existence and preparing for an influx of eager new members in January was due mainly to the enthusiasm and work of this term's Committee, Josh Hartley, Charlie Francis and Mark Willbourn.

THE SEA SCOUTS

THE warm weather at the beginning of the winter term is ideal for sailing and canoeing but when the colder weather comes these tend to be replaced by activities like hiking and potholing. In this term two canoe trips were made; the first being a practice in the handling of canoes, in the white water below the broken weir at Howsham on the Derwent river. The second was planned as a touring trip down the Ure but when the prolonged autumn drought dried this up an attempt was made to canoe down the remaining trickle of the River Swale. This was a mixed success; one of the canvas canoes was holed below the waterline and it had to be withdrawn from the tour. The other canvas and fibre glass canoes made the trip successfully.

At the same time as canoeing trips were going on, each of the sailing groups were sailing at the Lakes on alternate weekends. This gave opportunity to new members to learn the basic principles of sailing from the sailing group leaders, P. and T. Francis, J. White, M. Palairet, D. Lonsdale, J. Fuller, M. Holt and T. Mann.

A hiking and potholing camp took place in early October. Much work was put into the preparatory organisation of the camp; in the case of the considerable work involved in ordering and allocating food the job had its own rewards; Martin Holt and James Simson were almost ill from excess of bacon and egg. A total of seven potholes was descended over the weekend by members of the party, including Sunset pot. This cave (the location of a BBC documentary film on potholing) proved one of the most interesting of the weekend and not only as a pothole: the route to Sunset passed through a field in which grazed a large bull. Our party, which had made a careful country-code-conscious entry into the field, was forced to return the same way, this time vaulting the gate to escape the charging bull.

While one party was descending Sunset and three of the Ribblehead caves the other party hiked from Selside over Simon Fell and back to the camp site at Austwick. The dense mist cleared just as the summit was reached to give a good view of the "Three Peaks" and surrounding countryside. The next day all went caving, one party doing the upper and lower Long Churn while the other party made the Brow Ghyll-Calf holes through trip.

During the term two fibre glass canoes were built; Simon Harrison's was built to last and with the amount of resin that he used it will be a constant threat to the rocks and boulders on any river bed: Nick Millen also completed one and eleven more are planned. Shortage of space forbids an account of other events during the term such as a visit to a steel works, a Moors hike ending with a high tea very generously provided by Mr and Mrs Barraclough, other potholing expeditions both to the Pennine potholes as well as to the local "windypits" such as Antofts and Bucklands. Almost none of these events would have taken place without the energy and work put in by some of the second and third year members of the troop; particularly by Martin Holt, the S.P.L., who left the troop at the end of the term to join the Venture Scouts.

This term Fr Jonathan left the Sea Scouts and he will be working for the next nine months in the Benedictine parish of St Mary's, Warrington. He spent three years working for the Sea Scouts and for two of those he was also secretary for the whole Scout movement at Ampleforth. We are very grateful to him not only for all that he did for the troop but for doing this at the same time as he was running the Football Society—a job which also required a great deal of his time and enthusiasm.

THE BEAGLES

IN spite of a heavy shower the Puppy Show, held in early May, was a success. Mr P. Burrows and Mr J. Paisley judged a fair entry, awarding first places to puppies walked by Mr A. Smith, Mrs Teasdale and Mr G. Mackley. Several Masters of neighbouring packs were present as well as the usual good turnout of local friends and Old Boys from the Christ Church and Farley Hill. Both Oxford and Cambridge packs have Old Boy masters and in the case of the Christ Church whippers-in as well.

This made the annual visit of those packs to Northumberland in September quite an occasion, with much hospitality from John Riddell at Swinburne and Lance Allgood at Nunwick amongst others.

The Great Yorkshire and Peterborough Shows, both held in July, did not bring us much notable success this year but both were enjoyable occasions, made all the more so by the number of Old Boys and other friends who were there.

R. H. Faber succeeded as Master and has been hunting hounds very successfully. J. J. Hornyold-Strickland, J. F. Buxton and N. J. Leeming have been whipping-in with A. F. B. Ashbrooke as Field Master: a competent team.

After a 6-30 a.m. meet at the Kennels at the end of September and a day at Monket House in Farndale the season opened at East Moors on 7th October. Conditions were typical of what was to follow for most of the term: lovely weather to be out in, but too dry and scentless for hunting. In spite of this there were some good days and all were enjoyable. We have to thank Mr Featherstone, the keeper, and of course Mr J. R. Morris, who now owns the dale, for two new meets in Farndale: at Sprunt Top and Blakey Bank, enabling us now to hunt the whole of this lovely dale as we have done for many years in Bransdale.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

IT is all very exciting and experimental at the beginning of an Autumn Term because half the House consists of new boys and the other half consists of boys who are, for the first time, to be the monitors, captains, officials and general pace-setters. We congratulate both halves for settling in well and quickly and for getting down to work without fuss. This time we welcomed 54 new boys to the House; 42 came to us from Gilling and 12 from other prep. schools. The total number in the House was therefore 107. For the first time ever we have over a hundred boarders and the House is feeling very full indeed.

THE redeveloped skating rink is something which the most casual visitor can hardly fail to notice. There are now two hard-surface playing areas which allow games of, say, soccer and basketball to take place at the same time. The new building is in full use. The western half of it is the music school and boasts eight practice rooms and a teaching room big enough for the schola to rehearse in. The eastern half is the new troop room with two offices and a store room attached. Both the musicians and the scouts are delighted with their accommodation and there can be no doubt that it is making a big difference to the House's spare-time activities.

THE most important single event of the term was the performance of Handel's "Messiah" on 10th December by the schola in the Abbey church. The schola has 17 trebles belonging to the Junior House and they worked very hard and very successfully to help make the occasion a notable one. Most of these will no doubt be on the schola's first tour abroad in the summer.

THERE were, however, many events which gave colour to our Christmas Term. Fifteen rugger matches were played. There were numerous scout camps and hikes. There was a totally unexpected visit to the zoo at the end of October; everybody went on it and had to fill in a complicated quiz, much to the amusement of the zoo staff. There was a one-day retreat for the House given by Fr Cyril, Fr Simon, Fr Alban and Mr Rohan just before the half-term holiday. There were three holidays during the term: on 16th October, 11th November, and on 20th November by command of the Queen. The Choral Society performed Schubert's "Song of Miriam" at a concert in the theatre on 16th November; the House provided 37 trebles who, like the rest of the Society, rehearsed once a week and gave an excellent account of themselves. Sixteen films were projected by Fr Geoffrey. We record our gratitude to him and we particularly enjoyed "The Firechasers", "Flight of the Wild Stallions", "Powder-keg", and "Where Eagles Dare". It was good to see a party of old-fashioned carol singers in action at the end of term in Helmsley market square, including eight schola singers from the House. There were two particularly good concerts to go to: Imogen Cooper's piano recital on 24th September and a recital of music for oboe and piano on 15th October by Lazo Momchilovich and Simon Wright.

SCOUTS

THE Autumn Term of 1972 must go down in the history of the Junior House Scout Troop as the time when its long hoped-for premises at last became a reality. With much gratitude to the authorities we actually moved in on Friday, 24th November. The first major function was held in the new building on Tuesday, 5th December, when 40 new scouts made the Scout Promise.

Important though it is to have a good headquarters to work from, scouting remains an essentially outdoor pursuit and the troop is faithful to this principle. We are out every Sunday and sometimes for the weekend. Camping in September and October included a weekend at Rievaulx, a long weekend of training for the Patrol Leaders and their assistants at the Lakes, and Advanced Scout Standard weekend hike-camps for about ten pairs. At half-term we put away our tents for the winter but the holiday for the Queen's silver wedding gave us a chance to make use of the Watson Scout Centre. Thirty-two scouts and six scouters set out from the top of Bilsdale for Carlton on the Sunday

afternoon. On account of strong wind and snow we took the low-lying sheltered route instead of crossing the moors and arrived at Carlton slightly bored but none the worse for wear. The morning saw us up Carlton Bank and down the top end of Raisdale and in the afternoon we walked along the ridge to the Bilsdale T.V. mast and down to Fangdale Beck.

Simon Durkin is the Senior Patrol Leader and Euan Duncan is his deputy. The other six Patrol Leaders are Simon Dick, Michael Madden, Timothy May, Malcolm Sillars, Benedict Edwards and Jonathan Copping. We welcome Fr Ambrose, who has amazed us by managing to fit in with his responsibilities as Procurator the duties of Assistant Scout Leader, in place of Fr Matthew whose talents are needed in the carpentry shop. Welcome, too, to Br Francis as an Instructor and to six new Instructors from the Sixth Form: Paul Sommer, Julian Tomkins, Julian Barber, Edward Graves, John Rylands and Nigel Spence.

SPORT

THE 1st XV had a moderately good season. Of the eight matches played, five were won, two were lost and one was drawn. There were 94 points scored and 56 conceded. The first match, by tradition, was against an Upper School team of Junior House "Old Boys". This was won and so was the match with St Martin's. Then came a poor game with Red House which we lost by four tries to one for the simple reason that we were unable to tackle a very big stand-off. Although we won against Ashville College by a try to nothing, bad tackling again let us down in the game with St Olave's who won comfortably by four tries to nothing. And so we concentrated on learning how to tackle all over again and it made an enormous difference. We beat Barnard Castle and Pocklington (who had themselves defeated St Olave's) and ended up with a most exciting draw, 16—16, with Roundhay. The first Colours of the season were awarded after the Barnard Castle win to Theodore Hubbard, Martin Trowbridge and Charles Watters (all forwards), and also to Alphonsus Quirke (a match-winning scrum-half) and Patrick Corkery who had to take over as stand-off when David Ellingworth was injured and missed the last four matches. Justin Tate was given Colours after the Roundhay game. The forwards usually played well, especially in the loose, but they were a bit too light for set scrums and line-outs. The backs began to play well when their defence improved and by the end of term they were playing with much determination and confidence.

The first year XV played three matches. They played very well indeed to beat a touring side from Stonyhurst, 18—14. They lost to St Olave's, 14—20, and then won the Pocklington game 16—4. It is a very promising team indeed and contains some big, strong players. True, they have much to learn. Their defence is suspect at the moment and they lack teamwork in attack. But it is felt that these are matters which can soon be put right and a successful season next year is predicted for them.

FACTS AND FIGURES

THE House monitors during term were: S. J. Unwin (head monitor), A. I. C. Fraser, C. P. Watters, M. P. Trowbridge, S. G. Durkin, T. B. P. Hubbard, T. M. May, T. D. Beck, J. F. Lennon, C. F. H. Clayton, B. J. M. Edwards and S. R. F. Hardy.

Dormitory monitors were P. S. Stokes, M. D. Sillars, S. J. Dick, P. K. Corkery, A. E. Duncan and A. J. Nicoll.

The sacristans were P. M. Sheehy, I. C. S. Watts and C. T. Seconde-Kynnersley.

The two postmen were D. McN. Craig and A. R. Goodson.

In charge of the bookroom were P. B. Myers and S. J. Henderson.

The librarians were T. R. B. Fattorini and J. C. B. Tate.

Singing as trebles in the schola were: R. S. J. P. Adams, T. J. Baxter, D. W. R. Harrington, M. E. M. Hattrell, T. A. Herdon, D. H. N. Ogden, C. Pagendam, C. J. Twomey (all in the first year), D. McN. Craig, S. J. Dick, A. I. C. Fraser, A. R. Goodson, L. R. Dowling, T. M. May, P. B. Myers, I. C. S. Watts and C. P. Watters (second year).

In addition to the trebles listed above, the following sang in the Choral Society: M. J. Caulfield, E. T. B. Charlton, C. F. H. Clayton, J. F. Copping, J. C. Doherty, J. M. W. Dowse, D. R. Ellingworth, N. P. Gruenfeld, G. P. Henderson, J. J. Hopkins, C. C. Howard, M. R. A. Martin, A. M. G. Rattrie, W. P. Rohan, A. P. Ryan, M. C. Schulte, J. I. C. Stewart, J. C. B. Tate, M. J. van den Berg, N. P. van den Berg.

The following played for the 1st XV: P. B. Myers and E. J. D. O'Brien (full-backs); S. R. F. Hardy, S. J. Dick, M. T. C. Madden, P. K. Corkery, A. I. C. Fraser, L. R. Dowling (threequarters); D. R. Ellingworth and A. C. A. Quirke (half-backs); P. S. Stokes, C. P. Watters, T. M. May, M. P. Trowbridge, J. F. Copping, D. C. Bradley, S. J. Unwin, J. C. B. Tate, T. B. P. Hubbard (forwards).

The following played for the first year team: T. A. Herdon (full-back); D. P. Richardson, M. E. M. Hattrell, D. R. L. McKechnie, M. X. Sankey (threequarters); M. J. Caulfield and D. H. Dundas (halves); G. E. Weld-Blundell, P. M. Graves, M. H. Sutherland, M. C. Schulte, E. J. Beale, C. M. Waterton, D. H. N. Ogden, R. M. Glaister, C. E. B. Pickthall (forwards).

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain and Captain of Rugby: H. J. Young.

Captains: R. Q. C. Lovegrove, A. J. Bean, R. K. B. Millar, P. Ainscough, Hon J. F. T. Scott, R. J. Micklethwait.

Secretaries: T. C. Dunbar, G. L. Forbes, E. R. Corbally-Stourton.

Sacristans: M. T. B. Fattorini, S. D. Lawson, J. B. Blackledge, T. A. Hardwick, E. S. Gaynor.

Librarians: M. N. R. Pratt, A. C. E. Fraser, J. G. Waterton, A. C. Walker.

Ante-Room: R. A. Robinson, J. A. Raynar.

Art Room: A. M. Forsythe, J. R. Treherne, C. S. Fattorini, S. C. E. Moreton.

Book Room: A. J. Fawcett, J. R. Q. N. Smith, D. G. Forbes, G. J. Ellis.

Hymn Books: C. D. P. Steel, J. J. D. Soden-Bird, Hon G. B. Fitzalan-Howard, V. D. S. Schofield, C. H. B. Geoghegan.

Dispensary: S. C. Bright, G. L. Anderson.

Office Men: R. J. Micklethwait, S. A. C. Griffiths.

Model Room: W. M. Gladstone, D. G. G. Williams.

Woodwork: J. G. Gruenfeld, A. H. Viner.

THE following boys joined the School in September 1972:

J. B. Ainscough, S. B. Ambury, B. L. Bates, R. J. Beatty, J. G. Beveridge, F. W. B. Bingham, J. C. W. Brodie, P. J. F. Brodie, A. C. Dewey, N. R. L. Duffield, A. S. Ellis, G. J. Ellis, P. J. Evans, M. E. Fattorini, P. E. Fawcett, J. H. I. Fraser, T. W. G. Fraser, E. S. Gaynor, S. T. T. Geddes, C. H. B. Geoghegan, T. J. Howard, J. G. C. Jackson, J. H. Johnson-Ferguson, S-J. Kassapian, C. L. Macdonald, S. A. Medlicott, W. J. Micklethwait, P. G. Moss, C. M. G. Procter, A. F. Reynolds, B. J. Richardson, W. T. H. Salvin, D. J. Smith Dodsworth, E. M. G. Soden-Bird, A. J. Stackhouse, R. H. Tempest, J. E. F. Trainor, R. D. Twomey, M. A. van den Berg, R. C. Weld-Blundell, G. T. Worthington, O. J. J. Wynne.

FOR the past year we have had a temporary altar at the front of the predella, so that we could gain some idea of what alterations were needed to accommodate the new liturgy, without spoiling the chapel's traditional beauty. As a result, the sanctuary has now been raised a step from wall to wall and recarpeted, allowing greater freedom of movement. The blessed Sacrament retains its central position, but is housed in a new tabernacle, bought out of the generous gifts given over the years in the chapel collections. The tabernacle rests on the old high altar, cut down in depth, so that the traditional tribute of candles and flowers can be maintained.

On the feast of All Saints the following made their First Communion: B. L. Bates, J. G. Beveridge, M. E. Fattorini and J. G. C. Jackson.

MR Otto Gruenfeld, who has done so much for Gilling music, is now fully engaged at the College. We welcome Miss Jill Clowes, who has come as our first musical director. Almost her first act was to invite Mr Emerson to demonstrate brass wind instruments to us. This was very enjoyable, all the more so because we were allowed to have a go ourselves. Ten of us had the magnificent experience of belonging to the Choral Society at the College and of singing in the concert. We also had two concerts of a high standard, the second of which is reviewed in these notes.

IN the I.A.P.S. Northern District Junior Spelling Competition we again came 7th out of the 13 schools taking part. This was a very creditable effort, though slightly disappointing in that we had hoped to do better this year. This historians busied themselves drawing and painting some very intricate time machines, and a party of us were privileged to pay a visit to Mr Bunting's superb exhibition of sculpture at Billingham.

ALL our activities will benefit from the very generous gift of Mr W. R. Doherty, who has presented us with a magnificent film-strip projector and tape recorder. We are extremely grateful to him. Our thanks also go to Matron, Miss Mannion and the kitchen staff, who continue to surpass our highest gastronomic expectations; to Jack Leng and the gardening staff, who continue to conjure up beautiful flowers and vegetables regardless of the elements; to Tommy Welford and Trevor Robinson who will cheerfully turn their hands to anything; and indeed to all the staff who look after us and this beautiful house so well.

ART

A NUMBER of careful drawings this term by W. Gladstone, R. K. Miller and J. G. Waterton show that promise and care on which ar art-room flourishes. The bolder and more imaginative works have been supplied by the Hon J. F. Scott, J. G. Gruenfeld and R. J. Micklethwait. The combined efforts of all were concentrated to produce a large (five feet by five feet) poster for a concert. And another effort at co-operative work resulted in a frieze putting Britain back into Normandy via Bayeux. In this work the seemingly inexhaustible fascination for every kind of martial object found free scope in a convincing if noisy battle scene. And the term's work ended before the rush for Christmas card designs had time to gather momentum. Perhaps from an artistic point of view, at least, this was no loss.

The boys in the second form attended art lessons with their usual enthusiasm. By the end of the term all had learnt how to hold a pencil, and how to draw an egg for use as a construction line in making a picture of an animal. G. T. B. Fattorini shows promise as an artist; he did an excellent Madonna for the ante-room crib. A. H. St J. Murray did a good St Joseph. Some of the best work in the term was done by S. T. T. Geddes, R. A. Buxton, J. H. J. de G. Killick, E. C. H. Lowe, J. T. Kevill, G. L. Bates, S. D. A. Tate and G. A. P. Gladstone.

Everyone in the first form enjoyed their art lessons this term. The boys learnt how to paint flowers and animals using attractive colour combinations. Some of the best artists were T. J. Howard, J. M. Barton, N. S. Corbally-Stourton, S. A. Medlicott and A. S. Ellis. S. B. Ambury did a good shepherd for the crib. The large painting of Father Christmas for the refectory was well done by E. W. Cunningham, T. W. G. Fraser, C. M. G. Procter and W. T. H. Salvin.

DRAMA

A CONCORDANCE of the scriptural passages referring to the Nativity was acted out and spoken by the third form in the Fairfax dormitory. The Hon J. F. T. Scott was outstanding as the Angel Gabriel, R. J. Micklethwait made a fine Mary, P. Ainscough played the part of Zechariah, R. A. Robinson made a memorable Prophet and R. Q. C. Lovegrove and R. K. B. Millar did well as Narrators. Amongst the minor parts A. J. Bean showed the most talent and C. D. P. Steel stood out in his portrayal of the Child Jesus. This was a difficult play to carry off and its success is a tribute to the hard work of all who took part.

MUSIC

THE first Gilling concert under the new director of music was impressive and enjoyable. The ensembles at the beginning ("Bobby Shaftoe" by Form IIB, equipped with every possible means of banging or tinkling) and at the end (two folk songs by the Orchestra, a very promising group) were rhythmical and very well drilled. Especially remarkable were the exact sense of timing and the variety of musial life which obviously goes on. The whole programme was imaginative and ambitious. Some of the players were obviously new to their instruments, but from the start Barton and Geddes played their simple pieces with a poise and confidence which gives good hope for the future, and D. Williams' oboe solo was correct and tuneful. He has clearly mastered the reed, and his piano piece later in the programme marked him out as a promising musician. One of the most hopeful features of the concert was the number and standard of fiddlers, whether it was M. E. Fattorini with his tiny violin or a courageous performance of a difficult Bartok duet by P. Ainscough and A. Fawcett; and Bright and Gruenfeld gave really quite accomplished performances. Of the pianists Pratt played forcefully and well, whilst Lovegrove is a gifted player whose piece was a joy to hear. Altogether Miss Clowes and her staff deserve every congratulation—not to mention those who actually played so well. J.H.W.

CHESS

Fr. Justin gave a very popular series of chess lectures during the term and the Third Form had a tense and hard-fought ladder competition. This was won by G. L. Forbes. The runners-up were J. J. D. Soden-Bird, P. Ainscough, T. A. Hardwick and R. Q. C. Lovegrove.

MODELLING

Modelling under Mr David Collins was as popular as ever this term. Thirty-one gliders and one motor launch were built in the modelling room, making a grand total of 254 models since aeromodelling began at Gilling about three years ago. The most popular model this term was the new production glider "Chieftain" and the ever popular "Super 60". W. M. Gladstone achieved the best time in both Hand Launch (31 secs.) and in the Tow-line (22·4 secs.) during the term. J. T. Kevill looks as if he is going to be good at flying. Modellers showing promise were W. M. Gladstone, J. H. J. de G. Killick, S. T. T. Geddes, T. F. G. Williams, A. C. Dewey, P. A. J. Leech and C. B. Richardson. For next term Mr Collins has designed for advanced modellers a 50 in. wing span "Highlander" with swept forward tip dihedralled wings.

SCOTTISH COUNTRY DANCING

During the first informal concert of the term the boys successfully danced two sets of the Dashing White Sergeant, and the Gay Gordons with the School helping the dancers to keep in time with the music by clapping their hands. M. E. Fattorini and I. S. Wauchope both performed well during dancing lessons.

CROSS-COUNTRY

On four wet afternoons the School went off on a cross-country run with varying degrees of enjoyment. The first three races began with a staggered start according to age, and these were won by S. A. C. Griffiths, A. R. Fitzalan-Howard and B. L. Bates. In the last race all started together and R. Q. C. Lovegrove came in first. Other boys who ran well included E. C. H. Lowe, J. B. Blackledge, A. H. St J. Murray, J. G. Beveridge and R. H. Tempest.

SWIMMING

Once again it proved a real blessing to have five weeks of swimming to enable people to get to know one another. Many of the III and II Forms had clearly had some practice during the holidays, and most of the new boys are already safely afloat. The prospects for the coming year are therefore looking good.

RUGGER

Although the School XV played their matches with great courage, determination, and even skill, they only managed to break even by the end of the season with two matches won and two lost. It was unfortunate that three matches had to be cancelled because of sickness.

The Gilling team suffered a very heavy defeat in their first match of the season against Malsis at home. Our team was outclassed, especially in the forwards; the score by the end of the game was 52 points to Malsis and 4 points to Gilling. Lovegrove gave us our four points with a fine cut-through try after intercepting a pass in the Malsis threequarter line. Our second match was an easy win against Howsham Hall away; 32 points to Gilling and none to Howsham; Young and Lovegrove both scored twice, and each of them converted one of their own tries; Forsythe, R. J. Micklethwait and P. Ainscough all scored once. The third match against St Olave's away was a very hard-fought game. Gilling was first to score but this was our only try and by the end of the game St Olave's had scored twice, so we lost the match 8—4. As against Malsis it was Lovegrove who scored our only try, a try which might have won us the match if our tackling had been better. Our last match for the Senior XV was against St Olave's at home. This was another excellent game in which both sides played extremely well. Our best forward, Fawcett, scored twice, and Lovegrove converted one of his tries. After some anxious moments in the second half when the St Olave's team fought back with renewed vigour to score six points against us, Gilling won the match 10—6. School Colours were awarded to R. Q. C. Lovegrove, A. J. Fawcett, A. M. Forsythe, S. A. C. Griffiths and J. G. Waterton. The captain, H. J. Young, was given his Colours last year.

The Under Ten team lost both their matches against St Olave's but they were excellent, hard-fought games. G. L. Bates scored our only try in the away match; score: 4—12 to St Olave's. In the home match we were winning in the first half with a try from Beatty which he converted, but in the second half our defensive play became rather weak and we were beaten 14—6.

The Senior and Junior Rugby T.A.R.S. matches were won by the Athenians, the Senior Sevens by the Trojans and the Junior Sevens by the Athenians.

The following not so far mentioned played for the School: Senior team: M. T. B. Fattorini, G. L. Forbes, J. G. Gruenfeld, G. T. B. Fattorini, A. J. Bean, J. A. Raynar, R. A. Robinson, V. D. S. Schofield, P. Ainscough, J. J. D. Soden-Bird, S. C. E. Moreton, E. S. Gaynor.

Junior team: A. H. StJ. Murray, Capt., J. A. Wauchope, J. C. W. Brodie, M. W. Bean, I. S. Wauchope, C. R. N. Procter, S. F. Evans, M. A. Bond, F. W. B. Bingham, S. J. Kassapian, A. J. Stackhouse, J. G. Beveridge, S. D. A. Tate, E. W. Cunningham, C. B. Richardson, J. M. Barton. Tackling Colours were awarded to O. J. J. Wynne, S. C. Bright, J. T. Kevill, S. C. E. Moreton, J. H. I. Fraser and I. S. Wauchope.

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THE SIGNING OF THE ITALIAN CONCORDAT, 1929
Above: Cardinal Gasparri and Signor Mussolini in the centre.
Below: Cardinal Gasparri seated, Signor Mussolini reading.
(See "The Vatican and European Politics, 1922-1945".)

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EDITORIAL: NECESSARY COMPROMISE

Man propounds negotiations, man accepts the compromise
Very rarely will he squarely push the logic of a fact
to its ultimate conclusion in unmitigated act.

Rudyard Kipling

OF course Kipling is right, but he is wrong to suggest that compromise is a lesser thing than "unmitigated act". Life is a mass of interwoven compromises wherein ideals are not lost but are subtly weighed and cross-related; and a sure sign of civilised sophistication, not to say holiness, is the ever more perfect and increasingly unerring balance of the equation of compromises that we must ever be making. The ideal is suffused with ideals, the good with goodness.

Pascal faced the problem at the outset of his *Pensées*, when he distinguished two kinds of minds. The first is *l'esprit de géometrie*, that logical form of mind in which *les principes sont palpable mais éloignés de l'usage commun*, in which few and fundamental tenets are brought to the fore with a special clarity which carries its own unswerving imperative. Such minds attach to a temperament which tends to legality in judgment and censoriousness in behaviour, and which exhibits a kind of courage at once unyielding and unpitying. The French today would use the term *idéologue* of such a person. Then Pascal spoke of a second and more intuitive mind, *l'esprit de finesse* in which *les principes sont dans l'usage commun et devant les yeux de tout le monde*, in which principles subtle and numerous are not all gathered up except by long and patient observation. Such minds attach to a temperament given to compassion in judgment, minds sensitive to psychological ways of thought, conducive to rapport and *aedificatio*. The two can be poles apart, the mind of the rationalist or lawyer, and the mind of the poet or man of affairs: it is the glory and the trial of the man of religion (and are we not all that?) that he must encompass both. But then, if we ever have to choose, being unable to reconcile the two, Truth should give first place to Charity.

"Compromise" is a word which has been given a bad press, falling into the same condemned category as "appeasement" or "indecision", words signifying weakness. In the sense that it may mean risking or imperilling one's principles or reputation, or surrendering what one values, it is also a word signifying weakness; but in the sense of settling conflicting claims,

or making mutal concessions of adjusting to the circumstances of reality, it is a word surely signifying only strength. And whichever way it falls, it is a process affecting every facet of our lives in the world as it is.

There are those—Pascal's *l'esprit de géometrie* and the modern *idéologue*—who have no taste for compromise nor an understanding of the need for it in human affairs. Dean Church has a marvellously illustrative passage on W. G. Ward in his account of the Oxford Movement, and it might stand as its own comment on this type of mind, possessed of intellectual fire to a fault. Ward "was unreservedly defiant and aggressive. There was something intolerably provoking in his mixture of jauntiness and seriousness, his avowal of utter personal unworthiness and his undoubted certainty of being in the right, his downright charge of heresy and his ungrudging readiness to make allowance for the heretics . . . His success, compared with that of other leaders of the Movement, in influencing life and judgment, was a pre-eminently intellectual success; and it cut both ways. The stress which he laid on the moral side of questions, his own generosity, his earnestness on behalf of fair play and good faith, elevated and purified intercourse. But he did not always win assent in proportion to his power of argument. Abstract reasoning, in matters with which human action is concerned, may be too absolute to be convincing. It may not leave sufficient margin for the play and interference of actual experience. And Mr Ward, having perfect confidence in his conclusions, rather liked to leave them in startling form, which he innocently declared to be manifest and inevitable."[1] Here are all the marks of a man who fails to compromise in his intellectual habits: certainty of mind, vehemence in attack, stress on the absoluteness of his arguments, blindness to the human factor. It goes with the mathematical mind, as Pascal was well able to see; and Ward, when he was not uttering theology in and out of season, was an Oxford mathematician. So "clever" were his arguments, so monstrous his conclusions, and the language in which he couched them, so eccentric (in the proper sense) and centrifugal his principles, that he found himself condemned by wise men for unwisdom and dismissed from his mathematical teaching for being a danger to students.

What of the man who brings this same abstract absolutist habit of mind to bear not in the intellectual order, which can savour it with some success, but in the moral order where the human factor becomes more crucial? High ideals, driven beyond the prudent capacities of individuals, can destroy instead of sanctify, as the young and headstrong St Bernard was to find out when he wilfully debilitated his digestive system by undue austerities in his early monastic days. The Oxford Movement provides an even clearer instance in the life of E. B. Pusey, whose father must take a great deal of the blame for his son's morbid preoccupation with the darker side of religion. Pusey in love was a warmly attractive person of normal sensitivity, with the longings for life proper to a man healthy in mind and body. But Pusey repressed by a misguided father, disallowed from courting his wife so that he was driven to an excess of scholarship in a vain attempt

[1] R. W. Church, "The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845" (1892), 344.

to kill his human longings (and that for a decade on end), became at once a mockery of manhood and the glass of learning. A Hebrew scholar and Germanophile exegete, he was then allowed to enjoy some years of marital gaiety before the awful pall of his constricted nature closed in on his home till it took the life of his child and then of his wife. He failed to make the necessary compromise either with his nature as a man or his duty as a husband, and his extremism blighted his own hearth unto death. The story is told for the first time in detail in Fr David Forrester's article in these pages.

We have seen men personally affected, and directly affecting their own small circle, by their refusal to make the adjustments called for by life. We should now wonder what effect this will have if it is taken into more public fields where responsibility runs far beyond the personal coterie. A classic instance, perhaps, was provided by the English universities debate in the latter part of the last century, a debate which marshalled good and earnest men on both sides of the argument. Cardinal Manning at Westminster continued to accept Pius IX's Rescript of 1867 that "the mixture of Catholic youth in the non-Catholic Universities (of Oxford and Cambridge) involves an intrinsic and most grave danger"—what was called at the time "the proximate occasion of grave sin". To the Cardinal, a son of the Oxford Movement and patriarch of the Second Spring, this had always been the judgment and direction of the Holy See and was therefore not to be challenged. His last pastoral letter, written for Easter of 1885 and entitled "The Office of the Church in Higher Catholic Education", was a strong attack on mixed education for students even at so late a stage as the university. He took it that all education ought to be precisely Catholic education until it was complete, and that it would be wrong to jeopardise the intellectual/educational unity of the Catholic Church in England by allowing even the laity to be "tossed to and fro in the subtilties and ambiguities of modern mental science" while the clergy chastely continued their studies within the fold. This is what he wrote:

> "To educate is to form the intellect, the conscience and the will, and this formation the Church cannot, without betraying its trust, surrender to any authority on earth. Woe be to the Church when it shall form its boys, and not its men, and when the last hand in forming its members is surrendered to non-Catholic institutions . . . Once formed [our Catholic youth] must go forth into the atmosphere and dangers of our public life. . . but not until their Catholic formation is complete."

Manning feared the chill winds of free thought, believing that men in their late teens and early twenties were not ready to stand up to them, to stand up to what he described as the progress of Modern Thought which had liberated the English intelligence from the bondage of Catholic tradition:

> "There never was a time in the last three centuries when the religious diversities of the English people were so manifold, and the intellectual

deviations in the higher education of England from the traditional philosophy of the Christian world so wide or so extreme."[2]

Cherishing his educational fears to the end despite his proverbial adaptability in other matters, Cardinal Manning died in January 1892. At once the idea of a purely Catholic university lost ground: soon the ban on Catholics going up to Oxford and Cambridge was removed, and then for the next decade a steady flow of colonisation began. In 1918 Oxford granted the status of permanent private Hall to the Jesuit Campion Hall and to Ampleforth's St Benet's Hall. Today most of the religious orders have a house in one of the two great universities, and the secular clergy have St Edmund's House at Cambridge. The necessary compromise has properly been made—and time has not weathered the starkness of Manning's judgment.

So far we have spoken of good men ill disposed to compromise. But what of less than good men all too disposed to random and irresponsible compromise— to the imperilling of principles and surrendering of value? This is the darker side of that essentially good concept, and the best examples of it are surely provided more by politicians than by men of religion. And in English politics surely the two men who best illustrate the matter are Disraeli and Lloyd George, about both of whom it has been said that "he did not seem to care which way he travelled provided he was in the driver's seat."[3] Disraeli was at his most characteristic in the closing stages of the 1867 Reform Bill, when from his feet on the floor of the House of Commons, without bothering to consult his Cabinet colleagues, he accepted with only a moment's thought wide and far-reaching amendments provided that they allowed him to go on winning, so that he would eventually pull together his own diffident party and "dish the Whigs". Where an amendment seemed likely to carry against him he either declared it not a matter of confidence or accepted it so quickly as to deflect back-bench criticism or disguised his defeat by a face-saving formula—all this ultimately "to destroy the present agitation and extinguish Gladstone & Co.", as he put it. When it was all over to his advantage, he went on to claim that he had never yielded to circumstances but had been actuated by consistent policy throughout—so compounding inconsistency with deception.

If Disraeli is seen best in the summer of 1867, Lloyd George is best caught in the celebrated description by John Maynard Keynes, a superb picture of a superlatively sophisticated and fastidious intellect analysing the wilder shore of political genius. "How can I convey to the reader who does not know him any just impression of this extraordinary figure of our time, this syren, this goat-footed bard, this half human visitor to our age from the hag-ridden magic and enchanted woods of Celtic antiquity? One catches in his company that flavour of final purposelessness, inner irresponsibility, existence outside and away from our Saxon good and evil, mixed

[2] Vincent McClelland, "The Roman Catholics and Higher Education, 1830-1905" (1973), 351f.

[3] Robert Blake, "Disraeli" (1966), 477; Beaverbrook, "The Decline and Fall of Lloyd George" (1963), 140.

with cunning, remorselessness, love of power, that lend fascination, enthrallment and terror to the fair-seeming magicians of North European folklore . . . Lloyd George is rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings; he is an instrument and a player at the same time which plays on the company and is played on by them too; he is a prism, as I have heard him described, which collects light and distorts it and is most brilliant if the light comes from many quarters at once; a vampire and a medium in one."[4]

After that, there is no more that needs saying of compromise in the derogatory sense. Men who use great ideals to lesser purposes are indefensible: in a sense they represent the classic definition of evil, the pursuit of the lesser good to the conscious and deliberate exclusion of the greater. But what, then, of men whose intentions are pure and who are faced with the dilemma whether to stand on their principles (which is clearly good) or to make some necessary compromise to the situation (which is less clearly good, but may be no less good). Confrontations between Church and State, where the individual finds himself at once a member of both with obligations to both, provide the most acute examples of this sad dilemma, and it is hard for many on such occasions to identify their proper duty at the time. This is what occurred to Elizabethan Catholics when, to their horror, they found their own queen excommunicated and their formal allegiance waived by the Pope in Rome at a time when a continental threat was building up that was to end eighteen years later with the Armada fiasco that might so easily have overthrown the realm. The recusant Catholics made their own particular compromise in two ways. First, they withdrew from the general life of the country into an identifiable and more private Catholic community with its own local consciousness, interlinked with that of others around them in a wide mesh covering the land and fed by seminary priests and Jesuits from abroad intent upon a holding action on behalf of the faith. Of these communities, the Yorkshire one has been most completely examined in recent times, and an article in these pages celebrates that fact. Secondly, most families made a more radical and not altogether excusable (though surely easily forgivable) compromise in appearing to take the Anglican sacrament, subscribe to the Test and underwrite the monarch's religious supremacy. Ampleforth is where it is because of such compromises. In our valley the two great houses, Bellasys of Newbrugh Priory and Fairfax of Gilling Castle, kept the faith alive at home while systematically sending their eldest sons to court to bring back wealth, influence and titles (the Lords Fauconberg and Fairfax) which served as a cover for the recusant life that continued to revolve around their great houses. It was a Fairfax chaplain who retired in peace to the house that is now St. Oswald's, a monk indeed under the roof of one of the monarch's trusted servants.

When should the individual resist his own State? Sometimes the issue is undoubted, especially where the nature of the State is loose and resting on short tradition. That was so in the early 1870s, when the Catholic

[4] "Essays in Biography" (1951 edn), 35f; quoted in John Ehrman, "Lloyd George and Churchill as War Ministers", T.R.H.S. 1961, 103.

Rhineland found itself in the coils of the Prussian *Kulturkampf*. Bismarck regarded the Catholic Church as a state within the State, so he decided to squeeze it to smaller proportions by limiting the priesthood, forcing the Church to abandon its "confessional" schools and surrender all share in education, and by banning some religious orders. The Society of Jesus was banned in the mid 1870s and its members expelled from Germany. Priests were forbidden to participate in political affairs, and priests in Germany had all to be Germans. The Catholic Bureau in the Ministry of Education was abolished, and Catholic seminaries were placed under State control. This was a clear cause for resistance, not compromise, and led by Vatican initiative the Catholics of Germany resisted. When the Cardinal of Cologne, Paulus Melchers, was arrested in 1874, a huge crowd assembled outside his episcopal palace and in face of a menacing display of military force sang *Wir sind in wahren Christentum*. This alas did not stop the Archbishop and six other bishops being hustled off to prison, and 1,300 parishes being deprived of their priests for their refusal to obey the May Laws of 1873. But when it came to the 1874 elections, the Clerical Party, which had its main strength in the Rhineland, increased its representation in the *Reichstag* from 63 to 91, and Bismarck began to see that he was beaten. He gradually dropped his punitive legislation, and eventually a whole series of compromise arrangements even enabled the Clerical (renamed Centre) Party to give grudging support in the Berlin Parliament to the Chancellor. Those compromises were made from strength not from weakness, after resolution not after capitulation.[5]

Adolf Hitler was much more successful than Otto von Bismarck, and that by enlisting the Vatican and bringing pressure to bear on Italians rather than on Germans. On 9th July 1933 the Vatican signed its Concordat with Germany. At the time Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, the Secretary of State who was to become Pius XII, told the British Chargé d'Affaires that he had within a week to make the choice between accepting Reichchancellor Hitler's considerable concessions to the Catholic Church or watching its virtual elimination in Germany. Ironically the Concordat in effect signed the deathknell of the Catholic Centre Party, last defenders of the democratic principle in Germany. In return for the Vatican withdrawal of its clergy and Catholic organisations from German politics, the Nazis guaranteed the Church's formal rights, breaking their guarantees immediately the Concordat had been signed (so becoming usable as a weapon in the game of *realpolitik*). Over the subsequent years all Catholic activity, religious and cultural, was curtailed, institutions being progressively closed and leaders systematically silenced. All that Pius XI could do was to smuggle into Germany his famous Encyclical condemning infringements of the Concordat and the idolatry of race and ruler, calling for the Letter to be read in all pulpits on Palm Sunday 1937 before party officials could suppress it. Compromise from weakness had entirely failed, and a bitter price was to be paid.

[5] Terence Prittie, "Adenauer: a study in fortitude" (1972), 28f.

German Catholic resistance to illicit German political aspirations was not as long lived as it should have been, for the syren voice of soft compromise came to sap resolve. Indeed Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* left its ugly legacy for the Church in the Nazi generation, when German Catholics remained still sadly sensitive to the Chancellor's accusations about their lack of political loyalty, and so too eager to demonstrate their accord with the Reich. Thus it was that individuals of keen sight and strong temper were left (as in recusant England) to pioneer the royal road to the death cell, with their testimonies from behind the wire of concentration camps or en route to gas chambers. Against such unfortunate compromisers as the Benedictine Abbot Alban Schachleiter of Spanheim (Prague) may be brought the better names of Cardinal August von Galen of Münster, Pastor Dietrich Bönhoffer, Friar Maximilian Kolbe, farmer Franz Jäggerstätter and all those of firm resolve who bore witness to Christian life in face of the Nazi death programme (euthanasia and extermination) even with their own lives. For all that the trend went the other way. Against the names of so many German prelates (men like Cardinal Adolf Bertram of Breslaw) and thousands of German Catholics who compromised their moral standing by acquiescing in, if not collusion with, the Nazi programme, there are so few names of institutional leaders or higher supporters to bring to redress them. German Catholicism was compromised in the late years of Hitler's ascendancy in a way beyond the excuse of necessity.

The problem of necessary compromise becomes more complex in interstate relationships, where it is not in the same sense as for nationals encumbent on individuals to die as witnesses to principle or stand in defence of their culture. The problem is "looser" and the course taken may have results that are far from predictable, since the relationships inevitably lack the same control. Interference from outside a sovereign state or political caucus may be roundly counter-productive. When the Polish Cardinal Hlond broadcast to his people in the early days after Poland's defeat, countless Polish priests were thereafter shot or tortured to death or flung into prison by the Germans as a retaliation, and the Pope's Encyclical letters were not able to be circulated for the remainder of the War for fear of further reprisals. When the leaders of the Dutch Churches denounced the Germans for arresting Dutch Jews in 1942, the Gestapo merely went on to arrest Jewish Catholics who till then had been promised exemption provided that ecclesiastical authorities made no public protest. On the other hand, when Pius XII judged it more prudent to be silent upon what he could not affect, for the sake of those who were unfortunate toads under the Nazi harrow; and when he chose to leave the over-accommodating nuncio, Caesare Orsenigo, in his office at Berlin (who then proved a valuable link between the Vatican and the German bishops, and an equally valuable informer to Rome concerning events in Poland), he met with only criticism and grave misrepresentation,[6] being accused *inter alia* of dabbling with the Reich as a method of containing Com-

[6] Notably in Rolf Hochhuth's play "Der Stellvertreter", "The Representative" (1963).

munism, and again of harbouring an impartiality which favoured the guilty.[7] Yet Hitler's own ambassador, Ernst von Weizsäcker, was so fearful for the Pope's safety at the hands of the Nazis that he tempered his reports from Rome to hide much of what Pius XII was doing. The Pope, long experienced in German affairs, knew his diplomacy and realised how necessary were the compromises to be made if he was ever to be able to speak in a neutral voice to all Europe when he would be needed as a bridge builder.[8]

Lastly we should go to the heart of the Vatican itself, the most influential supra-national, indeed supra-bloc, institution in the world leading the greatest religion in terms of numbers, some 660 million covering the globe. Most clearly a large religious institution, in its ramified existence, presents the many facets of necessary compromise—and none does so more clearly than the most ramified of religious organisations, the Vatican. At its head is the Pope who is at once the shepherd of the Church of the poor and ruler of the world's smallest and richest principality containing the most exceptional conglomeration of buildings and the largest and most valuable collection of art and books in the world. He is surrounded by well paid cardinals, whose large new cars carry plate initials SCV (Stato Città de Vaticano) which onlookers will tell you means "Se Christo Vedesse" ("If Christ could but see")! The Pope is master of capital invested in some of the world's best stock—Rothschilds, Hambros, Crédit Suisse, Chase Manhattan, Morgan and so forth—invested sometimes with little regard to the values the Church stands for.[9] He is pontifical priest of St Peter's basilica, the biggest church ever built (211 metres long and 140 high), "a monument of ecclesiastical pride, a testimonial of the shameful commerce of indulgences and a reminder of the days in which the Popes were only intent on building works of art without bothering with the schisms that were tearing the Church apart".[10] The present Pope is himself the restorer of the Lateran Palace at a cost exceeding £1.5 million and the builder of a more costly new hall for general audiences, for which he hired Luigi Nervi, the great Italian engineer-architect. He is also the giver of charity on a proportionately huge scale, able honestly to speak of "the blessed penury of our limited resources [which] should not distract us from the determination of multiplying as much as possible our relief to world hunger and our aid to the missionary, pastoral and charitable needs which are brought to our attention from so many parts . . ." When he made his visit to Fatima,

[7] It should be recalled that in 1940 Pius XII, acting on intelligence from German conspirators, warned Britain, France and the Low Countries of impending invasion; and that later on he allowed anti-Hitler conspiracies to blossom from within the walls of the Vatican, which was giving asylum to political personages and Jews.

[8] All of this is debated at greater length in the historiographical survey by Fr J. Derek Holmes of Ushaw College, "The Church in the First Half of the Twentieth Century" II, *Clergy Review* June 1973, 437-50. There the verdict of Professor Owen Chadwick is quoted and cited: "to achieve a neutral status was not done without cost, and a cost which was to become greater as the war deteriorated. The cost was public silence, except in generalities . . ."

[9] For instance, Vatican interests were for a while connected with the Instituto Farmacologico Serono, which makes the pill that the Pope has condemned!

[10] Address to Paul VI by 774 French priests, friars and workers, December 1968.

the Pope personally gave £100,000 to the Portuguese Church. He answers some 30,000 annual personal and institutional bequests for help, and has for example given aid to both North and South Vietnam. Annual papal charities run to millions of pounds.

The Vatican is full of anomalies. It stands, as only surely a monastic house the more so, for peace; and yet in proportion to its population and size it has an army larger than that of Red China. The Pope's armed forces include 150 Gendarmes, 75 Swiss Guards (reduced by Paul VI from 100), 50 Guards of Honour and some 500 Palatine Guards—a total of nearly 800 in a City population of just over 1200. It has a diplomatic network covering most countries of the world, even though those countries are divided into dioceses ruled by bishops that are of their calling members of the Episcopal College (the bishops, as heads of the local Churches, complain sometimes that the nuncios circumvent them). It has an administrative structure that resembles the government of a large federation—Synod of Bishops, College of Cardinals, State Secretariat and Council for Public Affairs; and under these 10 Congregations and 3 Tribunals dealing with spiritual, judicial and doctrinal power; together with a Prefecture for Economic Affairs, an Administration of Holy See Patrimony, an Institute for Religious Works and a Governor of Vatican City, these dealing with temporal and administrative power. Its finances are in a privileged position: there are no currency restrictions, no taxes to pay, no immediate profits nor accounts to be shown to shareholders; and through Vatican diplomats abroad, through bishops and trusted lay Catholic businessmen all over the world, Vatican financiers enjoy a network of informers and operators that would be the envy of any big international company and most governments. Such is Vatican City, which houses the See of Peter.[11]

This is the great compromise necessarily entered upon by such a great institution—a Church in the world though not of the world. It is the same for individuals in their own inner recesses, making their intellectual and moral judgments that may affect themselves alone, or their families and intimates, or their fellow countrymen and co-religionists, or foreigners that are their co-religionists, or quite simply their brethren in Christ. The ideal must never be lost sight of, but equally it can never be implemented as logic pushed to its ultimate conclusion in unmitigated act without taking account of the "real" (the harsh reality of this world, imperfect and unredeemed). Therefore be not quick to judge, and you shall not be judged. Temper the perfect to the place. Send not to know for whom the bell tolls.

[11] Cf Corrado Pallenberg, "Vatican Finances" (Peter Owen 1971, Penguin 1973), esp Ch 6 "The Roman Curia" and Ch 7 "The Pope's Coffers". This is a valuable and ultimately sympathetic study, undertaken by a Rome-born lawyer-journalist in a spirit of criticism and completed in a spirit of respect.

AMPLEFORTH TO CABINET

David Hennessy of the brandy family, third Baron Windlesham (E 50), has succeeded Lord Jellicoe, it was announced from Downing Street on 5th June, as Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords. In the Lords, *The Times* political correspondent writes, "he has made his mark as a minister who deals with business with calm and efficiency and considerable charm. His parliamentary skill came under severe test when he was in charge of the Immigration Bill and the Industrial Relations Bill. According to experienced parliamentarians, he has the distinction of being the youngest man ever to hold the important position of Leader of the House,† a task requiring tact and sensitivity. He is the minister responsible for the conduct of the Government's business in the Lords and relations with the Commons. In arranging the Lords' business programme, he has to take into account the wishes of the Opposition and backbench peers. While ensuring that the Government's Bills get through, he nevertheless has to keep on good terms with the other parties." Peterborough in *The Daily Telegraph* has spoken of "the high opinion Willie Whitelaw has formed of his ability and judgment since they have worked together at Stormont. After working with him a bit, it is said, Whitelaw formed the view that Members of the Lords and Commons react to situations at different tempos, the Commons through the nature of the place being quicker and more prone to error. Windlesham will listen carefully to discussion of a proposition, appear to accept it, then with his hand on the door turn and raise reflectively the crucial point which everyone else has overlooked. That puts the right man in the right place as Lord Privy Seal, who chairs a number of Cabinet committees." Remembering the significant *Times* leader on the effective importance of Cabinet committees ("Whitehall's Needless Secrecy", 3rd May 1973), we should be glad of this approval. Of his time in Mr Whitelaw's team at Stormont Castle, *The Sunday Telegraph* had this to say: "Being a Catholic was of much less help than was suggested at the time; on the Falls or the Bogside, as Windlesham pointed out, 'you are a member of the British Government'. The experience was his crucible; even with Whitelaw taking the main decisions, his juniors were still left with daily executive life-and-death responsibilities unparallelled elsewhere in government." It was said of him that in earlier days at the Home Office he was uncertain of himself, nervous of confronting the leading Opposition speakers in the Lords: There was a definite possibility he could have been hustled then, but it would take a good man to hustle him now."

David Hennessy came to Ampleforth from Ladycross just after the War, where he was found to have a strong though never self assertive character and to be very companionable, getting on easily with others. This seems to have been the mark of all his subsequent stages of life,

†In fact there have been several younger Leaders of the Upper House since the first in 1790, Lord Grenville aged 31. Lord Hawkesbury (famous as the second Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister during 1812-27) was appointed leader in 1803, aged 33.

together with a personal reticence which has caused him to be called "the most private man in public life" and "a man who puts up an umbrella over a problem", creating an atmosphere of calm. He distinguished himself at golf, at which he won the House pairs for St Edward's with Ken Bromage. He was a School monitor, an occasional debater and a Corps CSM, but never an academic. Leaving Ampleforth he followed his father, who was a brigadier, into the Grenadier Guards; and after his National Service he went up to Trinity College, Oxford where his interest in politics was kindled. In 1957 he went into commercial television as an executive producer and head of current affairs. There his gifts proved to be on the analytical and administrative side, where it was said: "There were no fights; he got his way without them." He was both progressive and conciliatory, a combination of characteristics which were to serve him well in local and national politics as well as television.

During 1958-62 he was a member of the Westminster City Council. In 1959 he contested Tottenham for the Conservatives; and in the same year became annual chairman of the young progressive Conservative gathering, the Bow Group. That same year also he became vice-president of the Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations and a member of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations. He was again the Bow Group chairman in 1962, the year he succeeded to his father's title after a sad helicopter accident over the Irish Sea. In 1965 he married Prudence Glynn, fashion editor of *The Times*, and they have a son and a daughter. That year he became a director of Rediffusion Television, and in 1967 managing director of Grampian Television. His interest in this work and in politics were combined in his book published in 1966, "Communication and Political Power" (Jonathan Cape, 288p, 5 appendices, 8 tables).

In June 1970 he left commercial television to join the Heath Government as Minister of State at the Home Office, with responsibility for coordinating the Government's interest in community relations and voluntary social services. He was one of three junior ministers under the Home Secretary, but special responsibilities devolved on him as a spokesman in the Lords. In March 1972 he joined Mr Whitelaw as Minister of State for Northern Ireland (a Catholic from Westminster) where, after a hesitant start, he was judged a decided success by civilians and soldiers alike; so much so that it has been suggested that he could well succeed Mr Whitelaw in the expected autumn Government reshuffle. Meanwhile in his present work as Leader of the House of Lords he will have working with him two other Amplefordians who are now Lords in Waiting, the Marquess of Lothian (O 40) and Lord Mowbray and Stourton (O 41).

Two months older than Mr Peter Walker, both of them 41, he is the second youngest member of the Cabinet (and as such a Privy Councillor) and certainly the youngest peer to have held his present office in living memory. It is a strong start, and we sincerely wish him well for the future.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

A Bede Commemorative Review Article

by

James Campbell

Much the greatest part of what we know about the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and their Christianity up to 664 comes from Bede.
Dr H. Mayr-Harting.

In 673, the year that Ely began its life as a monastery, the Venerable Bede was born—thirteen centuries ago. When in 1970 Mr Peter Hunter Blair published his book, "The World of Bede", the Oxford historian who writes here reviewed it in a long article entitled "The First Century of Christianity in England" (Journal LXXVI.1, Spring 1971, 12-29). When in 1972 Dr Henry Mayr-Harting published his book, "The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England", it was inevitable that the same reviewer should be asked to provide a review article, which he does here. The two articles, though they stand independently, are closely related and should be seen as a pair. They stand as a commemoration of Bede's thirteenth centenary.

The author is particularly fitted to write in commemoration of Bede. He has lectured on the "History of the English Church and People" at Oxford; and in 1965 contributed the chapter on Bede to "Latin Historians", ed. T. A. Dorey, the following year introducing selected readings on Bede in the "Great Histories" series. He is a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, and Proctor of the University.

It is appropriate that the 1300th anniversary of Bede's birth should be marked by the publication of the best account so far written of the conversion of England, Dr Henry Mayr-Harting's "The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England".[1] Learned, perceptive and eloquent, it illuminates its subject in innumerable ways. The main focus of its author's concern is, he says, with the clergy rather than with the laity. He is above all concerned to describe "how Christianity itself was fashioned in this island, how churchmen prepared themselves by prayer, study and travel as well as by social awareness, to Christianise their world, and how they conceived their task". His emphasis is "rather on those who spread the Gospel than on those to whom it was spread". While his work is more comprehensive than his own account of it might suggest, it is true that there are aspects of the conversion of which he has little to say. The purpose of the present article is to offer some passing and incomplete observations on some of the problems of when, how and with what effects the English became Christians. They are made partly in the light of Dr Mayr-Harting's account, partly in some degree to supplement it.[2]

[1] Batsford, 1972, 334 p., £4.

[2] Among the important and relevant themes not even touched on below are those of the development of the cult of royal saints and of the development of the independent power of the Church in the later seventh century.

Christianity in England before Augustine

The first question is, when did the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons begin? Bede's answer is clear: in 597. It would be absurd to question the substantial truth of what he says in so far as it applies to the arrival of the institutional Church and the beginning of the main stream of conversion; but it may not be the whole truth. Bede does not appear well informed on sixth century England. He knew relatively little even of Augustine's mission beyond what the letters of Gregory the Great told him. When he wrote *De Temporibus*, in 703, before he was familiar with those letters, he appeared unaware even of the true date of the English mission and it is "at least doubtful whether he knew anything about Gregory's connection with the mission or about Augustine".[3] It may be that the full story of the conversion of the English begins earlier than Bede's straightforward account would suggest. We do know of two Englishmen who were Christians before the coming of Augustine. Their names were Pilu and Genereus, and they were at Iona before the death of Columba, who died in 597.[4] Beyond this we have to depend on the speculative assessment of possibilities and plausibilities.

Some of the German settlers in Britain arrived before Roman rule ended. Of those who came later some, and perhaps many, were from peoples who had been active within or on the borders of the Empire. Bede's account of the origins of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes should not lead us to suppose that all the invaders came more or less directly from such insipid milieux as those of Kiel or Cuxhaven. The archæological and literary evidence strongly suggests that some came from the Rhineland and from other areas in western Germany.[5] Some Saxons had long been associated with Franks; some settled in Gaul; and of these some may ultimately have come to Britain.[6] England did not become isolated after the period of invasion. It is clear that East Kent in particular had connections and intercourse in many directions. So some of the invaders were probably men who were familiar with the Roman, or a Romanised, world and some parts of England remained fairly closely connected with the Rhineland and with Gaul. That is to say that to some extent Anglo-Saxon England formed part of an interconnected German world in other parts of which Christianity was known. It has, for example, become clear during the last generation that even in the Rhineland strong Christian communities survived the fall of the Empire.[7] The first Saxons

[3] P. Hunter Blair, "The Age of Bede" (1970), 68-9.

[4] "Adomnan's Life of Columba", ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson (1961), 486 and 512. Genereus was the community's baker.

[5] E.g., J. N. L. Myres, "Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England" (1969), 77. Bede, H.E. V, ix (v. *ante*, lxxvi (1971), 17 n. 25) would be consonant with a movement from the Rhineland and from western parts of Germany in the fifth century. In view of the odd reference in this passage to Huns it is not without interest that according to Priscus, Attila boasted that he ruled over "the islands in the ocean", C. E. Stevens, "Gildas Sapiens", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lvi (1941), 363, n. 9.

[6] *Ante*, lxxi (1971), 17.

[7] For an indication of the strength of the archæological evidence see e.g., "Frühchristliche Zeugnisse in Einzugsgebiet von Rhein und Mosel", ed. T. F. Kempf and W. Reusch (Trier 1965).

we know to have become Christians did so in about 560. They were living in the diocese of Nantes, in an area which we know to have had commercial contact with England.[8] It may not be irrelevant to observe that the great increase in the later sixth and early seventh centuries in the number of bishops in northern and central Gaul, and in the Rhine and Moselle valleys, who bore Germanic names suggests that the German ruling class in these areas was becoming more committed to or involved in the Church than had previously been the case.[9] We can feel fairly sure that there were Anglo-Saxons before 597 to whom the sight of a basilica, or of a bishop, would not have come as a surprise. We may think it likely that German Christians came to England and perfectly possible that Englishmen became Christians. We should perhaps look at the conversion of Kent in the context of some general change in the relationship towards the Church of German peoples living in areas of the Continent with which that kingdom certainly had contacts and which it may have resembled more closely than it did most of the rest of England.

Adomnan's reference to Saxon monks at Iona is a reminder that the missionaries to Northumbria in the 630's may not have been the first Irishmen to seek English souls. A late life of St Columba of Terryglass, thought to contain early materials, at least says that he visited an (unnamed) English kingdom about the middle of the sixth century, and adds the circumstantial detail that cremation was practised there.[10] An ogham inscription at Silchester bears witness to the presence of two, presumably Christian, Irishmen there at about the time of Augustine.[11] It is not an impressive body of evidence. But if Irish monks came to England at or before the time of Columbanus's venture to Gaul in 590 it is not only uncertain, but even unlikely, that our sources are good enough to have informed us of this.[12] We do happen to know, thanks to Bede's preservation of part of a letter from Archbishop Laurentius, that an Irish bishop, called Dagan, came to Kent at some time in the first or

[8] *Ante*, lxxvi (1971), 17, n. 26.

[9] H. Wieruzowski, "Die Zusammensetzung des gallischen und fränkischen Episkopats", *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxxvii (1922), 1-83, esp. 14. While it cannot be assumed that nomenclature is necessarily a secure guide to racial origin (*ibid.*, 15, 25) the contention that very marked increases in the proportions of bishops with Germanic names is significant seems just; and at the very least it must be significant of a great increase in the acceptability of Germanic names. It is of some interest that the appearance of the first Bishop of Cologne to bear a Germanic name (in 590) marks the point from which the series of bishops is continuously known, *Frühchristliches Köln* (Romisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne 1965), 11.

[10] J. Morris in "Christianity in Britain, 300-700", ed. M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (1968), 66; J. F. Kenney, "Sources for the Early History of Ireland" (1929), 385-6.

[11] If one may so paraphrase Professor K. Jackson's reported opinion on the date of the inscription: "the form of the lettering probably precludes a date significantly earlier than the seventh century although the linguistic forms could suit better a rather earlier date", "Mediev. Archæol.", iii (1959), 87.

[12] The evidence suggests that even in the seventh century there could have been Irish monasteries in England of which our sources say nothing, *ante*, lxxvi (1971), 15.

second decade of the seventh century.[13] That we have this incidental reference to one such visit strengthens the case for entertaining the possibility that there were others.[14]

The most difficult and important problems in relation to Christianity among the English before 597 have to do with their relationship to the Britons. They thus involve the great issue of "continuity". This is hardly the place to venture into that desert, where one man's mirage is another's oasis. At least it can be said with confidence that of the Christians living in England in Bede's day very many owed their faith to traditions which went back beyond Augustine to the British Church. This must have been true of Wessex where Britons conquered after 658 were living under English rule, where it is not unlikely that British religious houses were absorbed into the West Saxon Church and where relations with the British Church may have been more friendly than they were elsewhere. It is highly probable that Northumbria contained considerable numbers of British Christians. The same could be true of parts of Mercia.[15] Within south-eastern England a considerable area north and north-west of London remained in British hands until within a generation of 597.[16] It may have included St Alban's, where, Bede says, and the weighty authority of Levison accepts, that the cult of the saint was maintained from Roman times until the eighth century.[17] If so, when Saeberht, King of Essex, was converted by Augustine's mission he already had a Christian shrine within his kingdom.[18] The presence of two place-names in Norfolk and one in Kent containing the element "eccles" (which seems to derive from the British word for a church) is suggestive of the survival of British churches in the south-east.[19] The survival, or possible survival, of Christian Britons under Anglo-Saxon rule does not, in itself, contradict Bede's adamantine insistence that the Britons did nothing to convert his countrymen.[20] It does suggest that he is unlikely to have been entirely right.

Until the last generation of the sixth century and the first of the seventh we have no knowledge of the deeds of Anglo-Saxon kings. As soon as, thanks to Bede, we have more information than the curt annals

[13] Bede, H.E. II, iv.

[14] It has to be borne in mind that in this period Irish immigration into western parts of Britain was on a large scale. Professor C. Thomas goes so far as to say that "It is by no means improbable that, during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., the sum total of Irish settlers and their families in western Britain equalled or even exceeded that of the various Germanic tribes on Britain's eastern and southern shores", "Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times" (1971), 66.

[15] Mayr-Harting, "The Coming of Christianity", 118-20; H. P. R. Finberg, "Lucerna" (1964), 4-6, 85, 98; K. Jackson, "Angles and Saxons in Northumbria and Cumbria" in "Angles and Britons" (O'Donnell Lectures, Cardiff, 1963, no editor), 60-84, cf. G. W. S. Barrow, "Northern English Society . . . ", *Northern History*, iv (1969), 1-17.

[16] F. M. Stenton, "Anglo-Saxon England" (1947), 27.

[17] H.E. I, vii; W. Levison, "St Alban and St Alban's", *Antiquity*, xv (1941), 350-9.

[18] On the assumption that Hertfordshire was within the kingdom of Essex.

[19] K. Cameron in "Christianity in Britain, 300-700", *op. cit.*, 87-92.

[20] Cf. K. Hughes, "The Church in Early Irish Society" (1966), 43 for British ecclesiastical legislation tending to bear out what Bede says.

of the *Chronicle* afford, we find that kings have close relationships with their Christian neighbours. The king of Kent married a Christian princess.[21] The sons of a king of Northumbria went into exile among the Christian Scots.[22] A pagan war-lord in Mercia allied with a Christian king in Wales.[23] Such relationships of marriage, exile and alliance may have been new, happening for the first time at just the period when we have a source which will reveal them. The assumption is defensible, but a large one. It is equally likely that they were not new and that Anglo-Saxon kings had for long had relations with Christians and Christian relatives.

It is possible then that the arrival of Augustine begins not the first, but a later, stage in the conversion of England. The English were exposed from more directions than one to Christian influences which may have been growing in strength during the sixth century. In England, as elsewhere in the former Empire, we should perhaps imagine a kind of proto-Christianity preceding the re-establishment of an organised Church. It may have been a world in which there were a considerable number of Christian survivals or half-survivals, one in which Christians and the Church were not universally unfamiliar, and in which individual Christians and conversions were known. The possibility of there having been both Churches and missions of which our sources tell us nothing has always to be borne in mind. To be convinced of this one has only to contrast the written and the archæological records for Christian survival in parts of the Rhineland, or to reflect how numerous are the seventh century missions of which, were it not for Bede, we should know nothing.

The Conversion of Kings

Whatever may have happened before 597 there can be no doubt that the series of royal conversions which began with Augustine's mission was of the utmost importance. What persuaded English kings to become Christians? In the first place argument, no doubt. Our only indication of the arguments brought to bear on Ethelbert comes in Gregory's letter to the king.[24] The Pope stressed that God could make the king's "glorious name still more glorious even to posterity" (citing the example of Constantine) and drew attention to indications of the imminence of the end of the world. In the appeal to the love of glory, to Roman example and to fear may be recognised the experienced touch of one whose dealings with the Lombards must have made him an old hand at coping with barbarian potentates. Bede's fullest account of a conversion is of that of Edwin of Northumbria.[25] Here two main emphases appear. One is that of the famous account of the nobleman who compared a man's life to a small bird flying through a hall in winter, in one door and out the other,

[21] Bede, H.E. I, xxvi. [22] H.E. III, i; cf. IV, xxiii. [23] H.E. II, xx.

[24] *Ibid.*, I, xxxii (written after Ethelbert had accepted the faith). (For a detailed account of the sources relating to the arguments used in preaching to the Germans see R. E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan", *Speculum*, xxviii (1953), 703-40, esp. 715-8.)

[25] H.E. II, ix-xiv.

Photo by Srdja Djukanovic, D. Telegraph

Lord Windlesham (E 50)
Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords.

Meeting of the Free Association of Nuns
Ampleforth Abbey, 9th-13th April, 1973.
In the refectory, in choir, in the library, in conversation with Abbot Aelred Sillem (Quarr).

from the unknown to the unknown: Christianity explains the mysteries of life and death. The second emphasis (it is one which appeared time and again in the "Ecclesiastical History") is that God will reward his followers with victory and wealth here on earth. Edwin put this contention to a successful trial before he undertook to renounce idols. A third line of argument appears in Bede's account of the conversion of King Sigbert of Essex.[26] Here the inanities of idol-worship alone are stressed. The longest account from an English context of arguments for use in conversion comes in Bishop Daniel's letter to St Boniface (723-4) advising him on how to approach the pagan Germans.[27] He advises two lines of argument. One is to tie the heathen in dialectical knots "calmly and with great moderation", so making them ashamed of the illogicalities and follies of paganism "more out of confusion than exasperation". The other is to demonstrate that pagan gods looked after their servants ill. Ask them, Daniel says, why their gods have left them in "the frozen lands of the north", "while the Christians are allowed to possess the countries that are rich in wine and oil". It would be quite wrong to assume that missionaries saw, or kings came to see, their faith as confined to such coarse simplicities.[28] It is, however, a fair assumption that the initial arguments often enough relied heavily on the contentions that pagans were fools and Christians prospered.

Kings, being kings, were influenced by considerations of power. They could be taught to fear and enlist the power of the Almighty. They did not need teaching to respect that of a great overlord. It has long been recognised that the first expansion of Christianity from Kent to Essex and East Anglia reflected the authority of Ethelbert as overlord of southern England and that its first retreat from those kingdoms was a consequence of Kent's loss of power. Dr Mayr-Harting carries this line of argument further in his account of the conversion of Edwin. He suggests that it is significant both that Edwin was not converted until after the death of Redwald of East Anglia (who had been his protector and whose power derived from "his shaking off the overlordship and the Christianity of Ethelbert") and also that, once baptised, the first thing Edwin did was to secure the baptism of Eorpwald, Redwald's successor. "He made sure to set the tune for the East Anglian king to play".[29] The connection between the power of a Christian overlord and the conversion of other

[26] H.E. III, xxii.

[27] "S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae (M.G.H. Epistolae Selectae, i)", ed. M. Tangl (1916), No. 23. I have used the translation by C. H. Talbot, "The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany" (1954). The arguments suggested contain little that is specifically Christian, and could have been employed by an Arian, or a Jew.

[28] J. Campbell in "Latin Historians", ed. T. A. Dorey, 183. Cf. H.E. III, v, for the lack of success of a missionary who failed to begin by offering "the milk of simpler teaching".

[29] "The Coming of Christianity", 66-7. Dr Mayr-Harting's acceptance of Dr D. P. Kirby's argument that Paulinus went north as early as 619 needs reconsideration in the light of P. Hunter Blair's discussion of the issues in "England before the Conquest", ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (1971), 5-14. The details, but not the main lines, of Dr Mayr-Harting's argument are affected.

kings is most obvious in the time of the Northumbrian overlords, Oswald and Oswy. The conversion of the kings of Wessex, Essex and Middle Anglia was in whole or part the responsibility of one of these rulers.[30]

It is possible that the relationship of godfather to godson was of special importance in these conversions. We know that Oswald stood godfather to Cynegils of Wessex. It is likely, though not stated by Bede, that Oswy was godfather to Sigbert of Essex and to Peada of Middle Anglia, since both were baptised in Northumbria. When Bede tells us of the baptism of a king in England and names a godfather, the godfather is also a king.[31] His most revealing account of such a baptism is of that of Aethelwalh of Sussex, which took place at some time before the death of Wulfhere of Mercia (658-674) and presumably at a time when Wulfhere was overlord in southern England. Aethelwalh was baptised in Mercia "in the presence and at the suggestion of King Wulfhere who, when Aethelwalh came forth from the font, accepted him as a son. As a token of his adoption Wulfhere gave him two provinces, namely the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meonware". Here, apparently, is an overlord standing godfather to a lesser king (though one cannot be quite sure that that godfathership is what Bede means to imply) and this relationship associated with that of adoption. Adoption was important to the Anglo-Saxons. For example, in "Beowulf", after the hero has killed Grendel, King Hrothgar says he will regard him as his son, and the language used ("henceforth keep well this new kinship") suggests that this statement was more formal and carried more weight than a mere figure of speech.[32] Furthermore the laws of Ine show that a godfather-godson relationship could be regarded as establishing ties comparable to those of blood.[33] Such relationships may have had importance in linking overlords and lesser kings because they created such ties and provided means of uniting dignified subordination with mutual obligation.

In stressing the connections between Christianity and overlordship (and there are others besides those mentioned here) we must beware of being positive that the courts and policies of these kings were so strongly coloured by Christianity as Bede may wish us to believe. For example, his account of the conversion of Sigbert of Essex shows that Sigbert was a frequent visitor to Oswy's court before he became a Christian, that is to say into the 650's.[34] The marriage of Oswy's daughter to Penda's son (653), Oswy's son already having married Penda's daughter, justifies the supposition that Penda himself was for a time among Oswy's pagan allies. Bede does not say so in so many words, but his readers would hardly have missed the implication, and it is presumably for this reason that Bede, who otherwise has hardly a good word to say for Penda, at this

[30] H.E. III, vii; III, xxii; III, xxi. [31] H.E. III, xxii; IV, xiii.

[32] Lines 946-9, translation by J. R. Clark Hall revised by C. R. Wrenn (1950), 68; cf. lines 1,175-6.

[33] Ine, c. 76. (On the compensation payable to a godfather for the killing of a godson, and conversely.)

[34] H.E. III, xxii.

juncture thinks fit to present him in the role of Good Pagan, one who tolerated missionaries and despised Christians who did not obey the precepts of their faith.[35]

Kings might be convinced by the arguments advanced by missionaries and they might take these more seriously to heart if they were backed by the power of a *bretwalda*. However the initial step was taken, some kings can hardly have failed to notice the advantages which the Church offered to rulers. The acceptance of Christianity was often followed by the introduction of more sophisticated means of government and the Christianization of England may be seen as part of a process whereby the English kingdoms became more like those of Gaul.[36] The Church may have provided means to power even more important than those associated with, for example, the introduction of written laws. Looked at very generally the political development of England in the seventh century can be seen as marked by two great movements, which provided new opportunities and new problems for certain kings. The first is the creation or wide extension of the three frontier kingdoms of Mercia, Northumbria and Wessex and their gaining power at the expense of those of the south and east. The second, largely associated with the first, is the absorption, by fair means or foul, of small kingdoms into larger ones. In both movements Christianity had a part to play. The new or newly enlarged kingdoms of the frontier were of unprecedented size. The Church may have been of great service to kings in reaching and controlling their peoples. The most obvious case is that of Northumbria. There is little reason to doubt that by the time of Aidan a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Northumbria were Britons.[37] If so it may have mattered to its kings to be associated with Celtic ecclesiastics. The monastic movement which began to affect the Celtic world in the sixth century seems to have aroused great enthusiasm and its effects may sometimes have amounted almost to the reconversion of peoples whose Christianity had become dormant.[38] When such a movement was brought to Celtic populations by English kings, upon whom the holy men looked with favour, the kings presumably gained. In general kings needed obedience and veneration from kingdoms to large parts of which their dynasties were new and which contained tracts of wild country inhabited by men hardly less so; areas as such as men like Cuthbert set themselves to penetrate.

With some English kings in the seventh century as with Frankish kings in the eighth conquest went hand in hand with Christianity. Bede provides extensive materials for the study of Christian conquerors. It may suffice here to consider one extreme and sordid example. It is his account of the conquest of the Isle of Wight by Caedwalla, King of Wessex, in

[35] H.E. III, xxi. [36] *Ante*, lxxvi (1971), 29. [37] Cf. p. 13 above.

[38] J. Morris, "The Celtic Saints", *Past and Present*, No. 11 (1957), 1-14 and "The Dates of the Celtic Saints", *Journ. of Theological Studies*, new ser., xvii (1966), 342-91, for a fairly extreme view. J. Ryan, "Irish Monasticism" (1931), 104-45, and L. Gougaud, "Les Chrétientés Celtiques", 2nd ed. (Paris 1911), chapter 3, for others less so.

686.[39] Wight was an independent or semi-independent kingdom with a dynasty of its own and it was pagan, probably the last kingdom to remain so. Caedwalla attacked it and sought to wipe out its inhabitants. Though not yet baptised he acted in association with St Wilfrid, to whom he promised a quarter of the island. When he captured two boys, brothers of the island's king, he killed them, acting no doubt according to the practical wisdom of the day which saw that the only safe member of a rival dynasty was a dead one. He did, however, allow them to be baptised first so that "they gladly submitted to temporal death". Wilfrid duly received his share of the island and assigned it to one of his clergy, a nephew of his, as it happened. He associated a priest with him to teach and to baptise. The men of Wight had lost their independence, but gained the faith. It is likely that in such a conquest as this, as with conquests made by the Franks, conversion was an aid to subjection. It may well be that there was an association in minds of men such as those of Wight between their old rulers and their old gods. A new power established a new faith; and a new faith may have helped to establish a new power.

The mere presence of ecclesiastics, almost irrespective of what they did, may have been of advantage to kings. If one of the signs of and means to royal power was to have a great hall full of noblemen, drinking hard and royally entertained, then the presence of important strangers, equipped with luxurious objects and performing unusual ceremonies, may have been in itself of value, not only, though perhaps principally, because it indicated connection with distant powers, but also as a source of interest and entertainment. The king who took a Columbanus or a Cedd on with such an end in view would, of course, have got more than he bargained for. But the attraction to barbarian kings of things which to us may seem trivial appears, for example, in Bede's account of the behaviour of the sons of Saberht, King of Essex, after the death of their father (616 or 617).[40] They were pagans, but they nevertheless demanded from Bishop Mellitus the communion bread. "Why don't you offer us the white bread which you used to give to our father Saba?" The bishop said they would have to be baptised first. They replied, "We are not going into that font, for we do not know that we stand in any need of it. All the same, we will eat that bread". Whether they wanted the bread because it was magic bread, or simply because it was white bread, we cannot tell. In either case Bede's little story suggests the attractions of the unfamiliar things which were the incidentals of Christian worship.

The Conversion of Peoples

To turn from the piety and power of kings to the conversion of the mass of Anglo-Saxons is to pass from a flickering light to greater darkness. Bede tells us that the conversion of kings was followed by the conversion, sometimes the mass conversion, of subjects. It is clear, however, that many could remain pagan for long afterwards. The first English king to forbid the worship of idols was, he says, Earconberht, King of Kent, 640-64.[41] He

[39] H.E. IV, xiv. [40] H.E. II, v. [41] H.E. III, viii.

does not tell us who the next was and leaves us in the dark as to when it was that all the English became at least nominally Christian. The general tenor of the "Ecclesiastical History" suggests that this stage had been reached by the time he was writing it, in c. 731. The last pagan kingdom was probably Wight, whose conversion did not begin until 686.[42] It is strange that Bede should not provide more than approximate means of knowing when the public exercise of pagan cults ended. It is easy to imagine that many of the nominally Christian had only a limited knowledge of their faith and remained in many ways pagans, and this must have been so. Yet even here much of the evidence turns in the hand as one seeks to use it. For example, Bede, in his "Life of Cuthbert", has a famous story of how a *vulgaris turba* watched some monks drifting out to sea on rafts and said "Let no man pray for them, and may God have no mercy on any one of them, for they have robbed men of their old ways of worship and how the new worship is to be conducted, nobody knows".[43] This painful scene can be taken to show "how slow was the progress of Christianity in the more remote districts and in fact everywhere".[44] But was this *turba* one of imperfectly converted pagans? Is it not more likely that they were Christians objecting to changes which had been brought about in their worship by the monastery from which the monks came? Their remarks as quoted would be more consonant with their being Christians and few students of ecclesiastical history can regard more than a moderately extensive change in modes of worship as required to ensure that some of the conservative faithful would allow the innovators to drift beyond the horizon on rafts of fire-wood. Again, we may deduce from much of what Bede says that the Church was, for a considerable time, short of manpower. Priests were few and much depended on the bishop himself, touring his diocese and bringing the sacraments to his flock, it may be annually. No doubt this was sometimes or often so. But it is not easy to estimate how far it was so at a given date. It may be that Bede's concentration upon bishops and saints gives us a misleading impression that what may be called rank and file missionaries and priests were fewer than in fact they were. Certainly there were by the end of the seventh century numerous, it may be very numerous, monasteries, very many of which would have some degree of pastoral responsibility.[45]

We cannot doubt that there were many pagan survivals and that pagan and Christian beliefs and attitudes naturally became very much involved together.[46] Here again our evidence fails in chronological precision. One of the essential difficulties is that such survivals and interactions went on for so long. It is legitimate to point to the mid-seventh century Finglesham brooch with its heathen figure, perhaps of Woden,

[42] Above, p. 17.
[43] "Two Lives of St Cuthbert", ed. B. Colgrave (1940), 163-5.
[44] *Ibid.*, 343 (Colgrave's commentary); cf. Mayr-Harting, "The Coming of Christianity", 240-1.
[45] *Ante*, lxxvi (1971), 14-15.
[46] W. A. Chaney, "The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England" (1970) contains an extensive account of much of what is involved.

or to the persistence of pagan place-names as evidence for the strength of paganism.[47] But pagan pictures are with us yet (of immense size, and brazenly flaunted on hill-sides)[48] and so, too, are pagan place-names. Once these things stood for living paganism; now they are interesting survivals. In between lies a whole series of transitions of attitude towards them. But how can we tell whether one of the generations after the initial conversion saw a more decisive change in attitude than another, or whether such a generation was early or late? The period was one of drastic and rapid change, yet our sources are such as to drive us to blur the distinctions between generations, very different from one another though we know they must have been.

In determining the chronology of the conversion of the mass of the population archæology is becoming increasingly helpful. In recent years attention has been drawn to a series of cemeteries in many parts of the country which appear to mark a transition from paganism to Christianity in the seventh century.[49] The graves do not normally contain grave-goods except in so far as the dead were buried in their ordinary dress with fastenings and ornaments and with such adjuncts of everyday wear as knives. In Kent some of these cemeteries begin in the early seventh century, but generally the period of use appears to have been from about the middle of the seventh century until about the middle of the eighth. A number of these cemeteries are near earlier pagan cemeteries, suggesting a deliberate move from an old to a new site. Although the study of these cemeteries is not yet fully developed and the inferences on which they are judged to be Christian are not absolutely secure it does look as if they provide evidence for the conversion of the communities concerned. In the course of the eighth century the deposit of grave-goods of any kind ceased and it appears that cemeteries were then generally moved to sites beside churches within towns and villages.[50]

Perhaps the most important, but by no means the least difficult, source for the extent to which England was converted by the early eighth century is the secular and canon law of the period. The implications of some of this material are to a surprising degree other than what one might *a priori* have expected. They suggest strict royal control in the interests of the Church and extensive ecclesiastical control over the life of the laity. For example, the laws of Ine impose heavy penalties for failure to have a child baptised within forty days of birth or for working on a Sunday.[51]

[47] As Dr Mayr-Harting does, "The Coming of Christianity", 64.

[48] E.g. the Cerne Abbas giant is a pagan figure if ever there was one.

[49] M. Hyslop, "Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at . . Leighton Buzzard", *Archæolog. Journ.*, cxx (1963), 161-200 and, most recently, A. L. Meaney and S. C. Hawkes, "Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall" (*Society for Medieval Archæology, Monograph Series*, No. 4, 1970). Miss Hyslop suggests that such cemeteries can be identified in Beds., Berks., Cambs., Hants., Oxon., Somerset, Surrey and Yorks.

[50] For the importance of the study of cemeteries in the Celtic lands and for important observations upon certain English cemeteries see C. Thomas, "The Early Christian Archæology of North Britain" (1971), Chapter 3.

[51] Ine, c. 2, c. 3. For sabbatarianism in the period see "Adomnan's Life of Columba", ed. Anderson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, 25-8.

Earconberht of Kent, Bede tells us, not only forbade the worship of idols but also, more remarkably, enforced *principali auctoritate* the observance of the forty days Lenten fast. The relationship between royal and ecclesiastical laws and powers was close, and important both to kings and to the Church. For example, it has recently been fairly convincingly argued that Ine of Wessex's enforcement of rights of sanctuary would have been of great advantage to the king in so far as it could have ensured that fleeing criminals who took sanctuary would either have become royal slaves or paid heavily to the king. On this argument a sanctuary was *inter alia* a royal slave-trap.[52]

The *Penitential* of Theodore and the *Dialogue* of Egbert seem to show an elaborately organised Church and priests exercising close control over their flocks, above all through penance. Not the least of Dr Mayr-Harting's virtues is that he uses these canon law sources, of which some of his predecessors have tended to fight shy. "It is," he says, "in the field of penance that we see most clearly the attempt to project an ideal monastic life on to society as a whole."[53] Laymen, like monks, were expected to put the whole of their moral lives under the close direction of a priest. The penitential codes which developed in the Celtic churches and spread, above all via the collections made under the influence of Theodore in England, to the western Church as a whole, were to guide confessors. Occasionally such a code may be seen to temper the wind to the shorn barbarian lamb, as in the extremely light penance imposed in Theodore's *Penitential* on a man who slays at the command of his lord—forty days abstention from church, while accidental killing required a year's penance and other kinds of killing far more.[54] But in general they speak of a minute and rigorously puritanical rule of conduct and of conscience.

The great question in regard to both secular and ecclesiastical codes is that of how far they were expressions in the main merely of aspirations and much more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and how far, on the contrary, they were genuinely effective forces in determining the lives and beliefs of the people. The general tendency of English historians is to leave the question on one side, while rather assuming that the first answer is more likely to be true (especially of the ecclesiastical codes) than the second. Such an assumption is understandable, for it is not easy to reconcile much of what is said in and implied by the laws and penitentials with our other information on Anglo-Saxon society. For all that, these codes probably tell us about a great deal which really happened. Certainly if the penitentials express mere aspirations their popularity shows that such aspirations came to be widely held. Dr Mayr-Harting interestingly draws attention to a passage in Egbert's *Dialogue* which at

[52] C. H. Riggs, "Criminal Asylum in Anglo-Saxon Law" (*University of Florida Monographs, Social Science* No. 18, 1963), Chapter 1.

[53] "The Coming of Christianity", 257.

[54] Hadden and Stubbs, "Councils", 180.

least professes to speak not of intention, but of fact.[55] Egbert says that from the time of Theodore the English people practised fasts, vigils, prayers, and the giving of alms for the full twelve days before Christmas, as if this were prescribed by law. Not only the clergy in the monasteries but also the laity with their wives and families would resort to their confessors and "wash themselves of carnal concupiscence by tears, community life and alms in those twelve days" so preparing themselves for the Christmas communion. This surprising picture is, at the very least, a reminder of how very little we can be sure of about the religious, as about all other, aspects of the life of the early English.

* * *

The safest principle in the study of the conversion of England is one of doubt, of the acceptance of the widest range of possibilities. To take two questions touched upon above: we do not know whether England was in some degree Christianised before 597; we cannot be certain how elaborated, sophisticated and secure the organisation of kingdoms and of the Church was by 700. In both instances there is a better case than is commonly accepted for at least a suspension of disbelief in what may appear *prima facie* the more extravagant possibilities. Two generalisations, safe because very general, can be made about seventh century England and its Church. The first is that the success of the Church was associated with and helped to cause very important changes in areas with which religion has nothing directly to do. Some of these have already been mentioned. There are others. One of the most obvious was in which the Church helped, directly or indirectly, to change the nature of English politics was through the introduction of bookland, land held by charter. If Mr Eric John is right (and his case is a powerful one) in arguing that in early England nobles held land only by precarious tenure and that perpetual, heritable tenure came in with the charter, then English noblemen getting charters, by covert means from about the end of the seventh century and openly from the later eighth, could have meant a major transformation in the life and relationships of the English ruling class.[56] The conversion could have had very extensive economic effects. The largest communities of any kind which we know to have been living in one place in early Anglo-Saxon England were those inhabiting the twin monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. Bede says that in 716 the brethren of the two monasteries numbered nearly 600.[57] Our only evidence for the size of secular communities comes from cemeteries; not even the largest of these would suggest a population of 300 in one community. The scale of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow's agricultural activities is suggested by the fact that the three great manuscripts of the Bible written there in the time of Abbot Ceolfrith (688 or 9 to 716) would have required the skins

[55] "The Coming of Christianity", 257.
[56] E. John, "Land Tenure in Early England" (1960), 1-63; cf. F. M. Stenton, "Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period" (1955), 60-62.
[57] "Opera Historica", ed. Plummer, i, 382.

of 1,550 calves.[58] Monkwearmouth-Jarrow was an altogether exceptional monastery, but there were other big ones, and by the end of the seventh century it is likely that monasteries of all kinds were very numerous. Thus there is quite a strong possibility that the development of monasticism brought about major changes in the pattern of settlement, and that by 700 in much of England the nearest approximation to a town was a major monastery. We know that certain new techniques were introduced by the Church: for example, building in stone and the use of glass windows. Bede provides an instance of the Church introducing a technique at a more basic level. When Wilfrid was engaged in converting Sussex in the early 680's he taught the inhabitants how to catch fish; previously they had only been able to catch eels, but the bishop showed them how to use eel nets for catching other kinds of fish, with encouraging results.[59] It was in the nature of the monastic life that men of wide experience, who might rise to positions of great authority, became involved in manual labour with which otherwise those of such birth as theirs never sullied their hands. It may well be supposed that Wilfrid owed his expertise in fishing to experience gained at Lindisfarne and one is entitled to guess that the particular case involving him of which we know may be one of many instances, of which we do not know, of ecclesiastics introducing new techniques.

The analysis of the apparently Christian cemeteries of the seventh century has revealed other possible implications of the conversion which extend beyond religion. The ornaments and objects found in them are, we are told, very different from those which appear in earlier cemeteries. The brooches and necklaces are, by and large, of new kinds. There are differences in weapons, when they appear. Objects of kinds almost unknown before, for example "thread-boxes" become fairly common.[60] These transformations might signify no more than a change in fashion. But it said that not only are the new objects and styles derived in the first instance from Kent but also that "for the first time in the Anglo-Saxon period parallels for our material are not found in North Germany and Scandinavia but in South Germany, Switzerland, and more particularly Italy!".[61] The diffusion of the new style looks as if it was associated with the conversion and it appears possible that a religion which had much to do with Italy and fashions in ornament which had much to do with Italy came in at the same time. T. C. Lethbridge suggested that conversion was accompanied by both men and women becoming "much less ostentatious and barbaric in their dress than they had a century earlier". He went on to hint that a transition from Teutonic to classical dress may have accompanied the conversion.[62] He did not press, nor should we, the idea that one of the first duties or inclinations of a convert was to throw away

[58] R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, "The Art of the Codex Amiatinus", *Journ. Archæolog. Assoc.*, 3rd ser. xxxii (1969), p. 2 of the off-print.
[59] H.E. IV, xiii.
[60] Hyslop, "Two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. . .", *op. cit.*, 190-2.
[61] *Ibid.*, 191.
[62] T. C. Lethbridge, "Merlin's Isle" (1948), 144-6, cf. *ante* lxxvi (1971), 29.

his trousers and replace them by something in the nature of a toga, or kilt. But it does look as if the conversion may have been accompanied by, or have caused, changes in dress. It could be an expression of that association of *Romanitas* with religion which one seems to see in another way in, for example, the regular buildings of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, much more like Roman villas than anything which had been built in the north for nearly three hundred years.[63] The attitude of mind of African and Asian converts in the nineteenth century who may have found difficulty (so reflecting something about their mentors) in distinguishing top hats and the Early English style in architecture from the essentials of the Christian religion, is one which *mutatis mutandis* may easily have appeared in seventh century England. Compare the ruling, in what Miss Hughes regards as a sixth century Irish canon, that clerics must (in her words) "conform in three ways to civilised Roman conditions: by wearing a tunic, shaving their heads, and seeing their wives go veiled". A comparable ruling of a Welsh synod requires that no *catholicus* should let his hair grow *more barbarorum*.[64]

Our second safe generalisation is that England and its Church contained much diversity. Dr Mayr-Harting lays justified stress on the variety of the traditions of the Church and on the continuing and valuable strength of "localism". The English Church was full of contrasts: between Monkwearmouth/Jarrow with its daily masses and Lindisfarne with its less frequent celebration,[65] between the learning of Bede and the very different learning of Aldhelm,[66] between monasteries where miracles were believed to be regularly performed and others where they hardly occurred.[67] The Church contained genuinely holy men of very diverse kinds. It came to include men whose learning was strangely applied. It is hard to believe, in the light of recent studies revealing the elaborate sophistication of the inscriptions on the Franks casket, that it is not the work of a cleric.[68] What are we to make of the mental world of one who related the Christian, the classical, and the very barbarously pagan as they are related on this casket? The Church also came to include some strange institutions, for example, the "righteous man" who would perform penances for others for a consideration.[69] The conversion of England has to be understood in relation to societies almost as complex and to views and beliefs quite as diverse as those found in later centuries. In seeking to understand it we should beware (it may well be that in what is written above I have been insufficiently beware) of taking a striking or moving instance as a guide to the whole; and we should always be ready to be surprised.

[63] R. Cramp, "Excavations at the Saxon Monastic Sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow: an Interim Report", *Mediev. Archæolog.*, xiii (1969), 21-66.
[64] K. Hughes, "The Church in Early Irish Society" (1966), 47-8.
[65] "The Coming of Christianity", 163.
[67] J. Campbell, "Bede" (1968), 18-19. [66] *Ibid.*, 214-9.
[68] J. T. McNeill and H. Gamer, "Medieval Handbooks of Penance" (1938), 236 (though this may not be English).
[69] Most recently M. Osborn, "The Grammar of the Inscription on the Franks Casket, Right Side", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, lxxiii (1972), 663-71.

THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY OF YORKSHIRE, 1558-1791

A Review Article

by

John Bossy, M.A., PH.D.

The Aveling corpus of Yorkshire recusant studies, four volumes on the three Ridings and York City, are now complete and can be assessed as a single endeavour. This is here done by another recusant scholar, whose article in *Past & Present* XXI (1962), "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", has been justly praised and reprinted. Lecturer in Modern History at the Queen's University, Belfast, he delivered one of the two papers to the winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, on "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe, 14th to 17th Centuries".

In 1960 John, then Hugh, Aveling published a slim-looking paper-covered study (price 5s.) called "Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire, 1558-1790". Since then further instalments have appeared: "The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire" in 1963; "Northern Catholics: the Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire", a very substantial volume in itself, in 1966.[1] Now, to complete the series, we have "Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791", published properly enough by the Catholic Record Society in its Monograph Series in 1970. This is not the whole of Aveling's work in English Catholic history, and we may hope that there is more to come; but at least we have now before us a corpus which may be considered as a whole, and there could be no more appropriate place to consider it than the pages of this Journal.

Looking back on the state of the subject as it stood when the first of Aveling's studies appeared is, for anyone professionally engaged in it, something like peering into prehistory. Certainly, a good deal was known; but if knowing means grasping the object as some kind of totality, I do not think the knowledge extended very far. We knew about as much as we are likely to know about those, usually priests, who one way and another had given their lives for Catholic Christianity as they understood it; a good deal about the nature and practical implications of national legislation against Catholic recusancy, at least until the death of Elizabeth; a lot about Catholic ecclesiastical politics; quite a lot, of a more fragmentary kind, about the persistence of Catholic belief and practice among families of the English gentry. But all this, seen in perspective, strikes one rather as a series of signposts pointing uncertainly in a direction where a history of the Catholic body might be found, than as a series of contributions to

[1] Published respectively by: East Yorkshire Local History Society; Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society; and Geoffrey Chapman.

that history as such. Before this could be contemplated at least three obstacles had to be overcome. The more indignant kinds of apologetic, on behalf of Catholics as a whole against the rest of the country, or on behalf of some Catholics against others, would have to be filtered down into something more reasonable;[2] extreme concentration of interest and research on the earliest, Elizabethan, decades would have to give way to a more even spread throughout the following two centuries; and some attempt would have to be made to get a historical view of the subject as a whole. Certainly, there were books available where such an overall view was offered or attempted, notably David Mathew's far from inconsiderable "Catholicism in England";[3] but in 1960 this was twenty-five years old, and it was also difficult for historians to take it as seriously as they might have done. Episodic in structure, ungenerous with references, written as from sources of inside information not accessible to the general public, it had the air of a series of snapshots in a family album. It was impossible to emulate it, and difficult to make use of the frequent insights it contained; partly because of its virtues, it was not well adapted to serve as a concentration-point for the various expeditions moving on their own through different parts of the territory.

Aveling's first study could not have come in a more modest guise. He has never been talkative about the background to his researches, and he spoke of the work as a "tentative sketch . . . based on a preliminary study of only a part of the available materials"; he offered it as a piece of local history, and it was published under the auspices of a local history society. It contained something over fifty pages of text. Yet to anyone who read it seriously, it would be obvious that something important had happened. In the first place there was a new subject, defined in Aveling's first words: "the Catholic community in post-Reformation East Yorkshire". We had heard of "Catholicism" or "Roman Catholicism", of "recusants" and "recusancy", but we had not heard of a Catholic community. In the second place there was a new time-scale: a period of two and a half centuries extending from the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 to the arrival of legal toleration in 1791. Hitherto we had had a long time-scale running (as with Mathew or E. I. Watkin) from Henry VIII to the present, and for research purposes a short time-scale in which the units were normally reigns, notably the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Aveling's choice was not necessarily the final word, and he was sufficiently under the influence of existing habits to devote more than half his text to the years between 1558 and 1600; but he appeared to have got hold of something which had escaped earlier workers, the rough outline of an "intelligible field of study". No historian will underestimate the importance of this achievement. It may well be that these two decisive novelties were not entirely apparent at this time, either to Aveling himself or to his readers. What no one could avoid noticing was the exceptional density

[2] On this subject it is worth consulting Aveling's admirable review article, "Jesuit History", published in this JOURNAL LXX.2 (June 1965), 163-70.

[3] Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1936; 2nd edition, 1948.

and comprehensiveness of the documentation, and the evenness of its spread through the period. Even with the unassuming "East Yorkshire", it was obvious that Aveling's disclaimers on this subject were to be taken with a pinch of salt; repeated in the foreword to the massive volume on the North Riding, where the whole operation was characterised as a "progress report", they drew a penitential sigh from the average historian's breast. Made possible by the transformation of local archives which has done so much to change the scope of writing about English history since 1945, and by the "ten years of toil" on the part of a group of workers on whose behalf Aveling spoke, his studies presented us with the spoils of the archival revolution almost before we were aware that it had occurred. We discovered that we were rich, indeed embarrassingly so. We also recognised a tone—perhaps one should say an absence of tone—which was new, distinctive, and a challenge to instincts so deeply ingrained that we could perhaps only now recognise them for what they were. Aveling's intention, as he demonstrated it to us, was to convey the contents of the archives. Whatever may initially have inspired him to embark upon his enterprise (and it seems significant that "East Yorkshire" contains a dedication to the martyrs of the district, who are listed), it is clear that before long this professional concern dominated all else.

Seen from this point of view, a variety of traditional concerns of the English Catholic historian began to fade into the background. The question, whether the English Catholic laity were victims of persecution or not, became less pressing when one had adjusted one's sights to the extraordinary complexities of recusancy administration which Aveling revealed. Aveling's answer to it was a very complicated one, and he showed no sign of wanting to mitigate harshnesses where they occurred, but by and large one got the impression that, at least after 1600, the relation of government and recusant was something nearer to that of joint participants in a highly sophisticated game than to that of persecutor and persecuted. The question, whether the Jesuits or the Appellants were on the right side of the Archpriest Controversy, lost its acuity when viewed from the actual mission field; seen in the context of the total volume of available information, it became the concern of a comparatively small number of priests on either side, whose activities embarrassed their fellow-missioners and made no difference to the history of the community. Perhaps the spring-cleaning effect of archive-work was nowhere more obvious than in Aveling's treatment of Catholic numbers. If one accepted that there were, more or less, as many Catholics as the archives said there were, one was driven to two conclusions. First, that the order of magnitude one was dealing with was very much smaller than had been supposed; and second that, small as it was, the Catholic body had a tendency, through the period covered, to get larger, not smaller. These findings administered a shock of no mean proportions; the latter in particular was a bolt from the blue whose effects have, even now, scarcely begun to be appreciated. Taken in isolation, any of these revaluations might have been regarded as polemical, and I am not necessarily claiming that they were

correct; what matters is that, in their context, they amounted to a recommendation to respect the accumulated archival fact and to a word of advice that, if one did so, there was no need to be solicitous. Aveling managed to come to definite conclusions without giving the impression that he would be specially upset if they turned out to be wrong.

Although all four studies employ the same method and are clearly intended as parts of a single whole, it is possible to detect some differences between them. His scheme of presentation is in all cases simply to divide the available material into periods and to present it under a fairly constant set of rubrics for each period. The periods are not quite the same in any two of the studies, and the differences reveal both an increasing emphasis on the latter part of his period, and certain shifts of focus. Thus, as we have noticed, the subject of the first study is the "Catholic community" of the East Riding, and it is divided accordingly. Each chapter describes a phase in the history of the community, seen from inside, and in their sequence they outline a well-defined view of that history. Before 1578 we have the community (or something) prior to the arrival of the missionary priests; between 1578 and 1600 we see it under the impact of this arrival; 1600-1660 is a period of "consolidation and growth" of what was then established; 1660-1790 a period of "transition" towards a new social constitution. For some reason this promising, not to say revolutionary outline was not maintained in the following studies. Much greater weight was put on relations between Catholics and the state; the dividing dates became primarily dates in administrative history; and the work came to look more like a study of "recusants" and "recusancy" than a history of the community as such. In the study of the West Riding this greater emphasis on external history was balanced by a more leisured treatment of some internal subjects, for example by a long passage in the seventeenth-century section where Aveling discusses the religious practice of the Catholic gentry as a type of domestic or household religion. Since this appears to have been inspired by some speculative remarks of my own, I may be biased in feeling that this was a most interesting and important contribution; but it does seem to me one reason why, all in all, this was the most successful and satisfying of the three rural studies. Perhaps it was considerations of space which dictated the omission of this and similar topics from "Northern Catholics", but in any case I think it was a pity. This, besides being much the longest study, is also the one in which the conception of a history of the Catholic community seems to make least headway against the more traditional notion of recusant-history. I think this is one reason why it is here most difficult to see the wood for the trees. "Northern Catholics" is an invaluable book, but it is really very hard to read.

Neither of these things can be said of the final volume, which seems to me a marked success on almost every score. Less embarrassed by the weight of his material, Aveling has been able to treat it in a more leisurely way, and also to set the Catholics of York firmly in a context of the general life and constitution of the city. As a result, the conclusions emerge with

particular clarity. After two decades about which it is difficult to say anything very illuminating (Aveling rejects an old view of the city as a hotbed of traditionalism, but is not convinced by a new one that it was marked by stolid indifference) something important happened about 1576 to cause the appearance of a body which was new in its temper if traditional in its beliefs. What that something was remains a little mysterious; Aveling doubts that it was the arrival of seminary priests, who do not seem to have appeared until later. For the next thirty years the Catholics of York were a vigorous but small body of something under 100 people, whose driving force was provided by a number of citizens' wives, Margaret Clitherow being the classic example. It seems not to have been very well served by the missionary priests, and to have looked after itself in matters of prayer, devotion and instruction. Far from having a general consensus of inactive or unspoken local sympathy to draw on, it was a foreign body hanging on to existence by the skin of its teeth. It would, it seems clear, have been doomed to extinction shortly after 1600 had not the task of supporting it passed at this time from the citizenry to members of the neighbouring gentry, with whose history that of the Catholics of York was substantially identical during the seventeenth century. When these local families began to lose their grip, their place was taken by a general influx of Catholic gentry, who began to make York their second home towards the close of the seventeenth century. The presence of the Bar Convent strengthened a tendency which was general in the English landowning class at this time; it resulted in the establishment of the first permanent mission in the city, just before 1700.

About this time a third phase began, which may in some sense be said to be still going on. The numbers of Catholics in the city began to multiply, and it became more socially diversified. Catholics reappeared among the professional classes, partly because the gentry were now putting their surplus children into trade rather than into the priesthood, and partly because their presence in the city provoked a general expansion of the service and luxury trades. The city became a goal of emigration for poor Catholics from the countryside looking for work; and the clergy began to take seriously their pastoral duty to members of the community below the gentry. Hence, by the time of the relief act of 1791, there was a body of seven or eight hundred Catholics in York, served by two chapels, the secular clergy's "parochial" chapel, and the Jesuit chapel at the Bar Convent, whose influence was declining. It contained about five per cent of the population, about the same as the membership of the old dissenting bodies; it was fairly well provided with schools; it participated in the general social and charitable life of the city and was benevolently regarded by the dominant (Whig) political interest. Aveling's account of eighteenth-century Catholicism in York is exceptionally full and interesting, and in this respect his book completes the forward shift of interest characteristic of the work as a whole; there is thus no question of our being victims of an optical illusion in accepting the favourable picture of the period he presents.

It will be clear that this volume marks a successful return to the idea of a community-history which seemed to have been put in some question in the previous one. Certainly the pattern indicated here is not quite the same as that outlined in the East Riding study. The work of the Elizabethan priests appears both less central and less successful; the seventeenth century emerges not as a phase of "consolidation and growth", but as a phase of stagnation when the continuity of the community was preserved only by the activity of the gentry; by contrast the achievements of the eighteenth stand out in a stronger light. Much of the difference can be explained by the change from a rural to an urban perspective, though this probably does not account for it entirely. If there are differences, however, they do not touch the essence of what Aveling has achieved. He has provided us with a model of the history of the Catholic community in England from Elizabeth to George III which is continuous and discontinuous in the right places, precise in its detail, comprehensive to a degree which I have perhaps failed to indicate, related to the general history of the country, and new. It is also grounded in the source-material in a way which must raise future discussion of the subject to a level unattainable hitherto. It has already proved its value as an inspiration to a new generation of historians of the community in other parts of the country; and it ought to inspire historians of other religious communities to go and do likewise. The final impression which remains with me is to have discovered for the first time what an *average* English Catholic of the period was really like; I think the same discovery has yet to be made of the average English Presbyterian or Quaker. Is it for example true, to quote Aveling's concluding words, that the devout were always a minority in all communities, and "thought more about their own lapsed relatives and brethren than [about] their religious opponents"? This would be to suggest that all religious communities in England were, in the proper sense, sectarian in character and, if true, would help to explain why they managed to coexist here as they failed to do elsewhere.

DR PUSEY'S MARRIAGE

by

Rev Dr David Forrester, m.a., d.phil., s.t.l.

I feel as a branch so long bowed down, that even when the weight depressing it is removed, it cannot recover its original direction.

Edward Bouverie Pusey.

Insufficient has hitherto been known about Dr Pusey's marriage, and yet it is integral to a proper understanding of the man. Moreover it is in itself a fascinating tale of human woe, even taken out of relationship to one of the foremost of the Oxford Tractarians; for it is a paradigm of dim religious gloom subduing the vital creative forces as they respond to life—it is itself an instance of spiritual constriction forcing physical collapse. Pusey's wife knew what it was to love life and to bring life to others, even for a while to her own strange husband; but she could not ultimately withstand those crippling habits of Pusey which had throttled his own nature before marriage, and which went on in the end to kill the marriage and then the wife. Alas, it is a pattern not so unfamiliar in human intercourse.

Deep in Pusey's character was a cold refusal to rejoice. His first contribution to the Oxford Movement (Tract 18, 1834) was on fasting. His next contributions (Tract 67-9, 1836) propounded a fiercely rigorous doctrine on the forgiveness of sin after baptism. He preached incessantly on the ugliness of sin, the insignificance of this world and the blessedness of the next. He gave much thought, public and private, to penitence, penance, purgatorial punishment and the eternity of Hell. Had his wife prevailed, his teaching might have been more cheerful.

The author was a Kitchener Scholar to Keble College, Oxford, from where he later completed a doctorate of philosophy with a thesis on "The Intellectual Development of E. B. Pusey, 1800-1850". Going on to the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome to read for the Licentiate in Sacred Theology, he was ordained in 1972 for the Portsmouth diocese, where he is now a city parish curate at St Edmund's, Southampton. He has a diploma in education from Oxford and for some years taught at Churcher's College, Petersfield. He wishes to acknowledge with thanks the kindness of the Warden and Librarian of Pusey House, Oxford in putting their archives at his disposal during 1964-7. An interesting corroborative note from the custodian of the Newman tradition is appended to this article.

The story of the Anglican Revival or Oxford Movement of the years 1833-1845, which aimed at the restoration of High Church ideals of the seventeenth century within the Church of England through the propagation of *Tracts for the Times*, is well known. Similarly the causes which gave rise to the movement, such as the progressive decline in Church life, the spread of "liberalism" in theology, the impact of Romanticism, and the fear of Erastianism, have been thoroughly investigated. The remarkable thing, however, is that interest in the characters and activities of many of its principal participants has continued apace; witness for example Miss Meriol Trevor's full scale biography of John Henry Newman, Miss Battiscombe's study of John Keble, and persistent curiosity concerning Hurrell Froude. Equally significant, on the other hand, is the reluctance so far of anyone to come forward and take a fresh look at the person whom Dean Church at least thought of as occupying the chief place in the move-

ment, namely Dr E. B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. Why is it that present day historians and biographers alike have fought shy of investigating the outlook and achievements of the one man who, during the period of the movement, was regarded by Church as "the most venerated in Oxford"[1] and by Newman as "the mighty one"[2]?

It seemed probable to me that the answer to this question could be found in the official four volumed biography of Pusey, written by H. P. Liddon and published in the years 1893-1897. In this *Life of E. B. Pusey* Liddon traces Edward Pusey's activities from his birth in 1800, through his early years at Eton and Oxford, and as a young don at Oriel; as a student in Germany under Eichhorn and Schleiermacher, to his appointment as Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church at the age of twenty-eight; right through the eventful period of the Oxford Movement to his founding of Anglican Sisterhoods and building of St Saviour's Church, Leeds; amidst the endless ecclesiastical battles and university affairs of the Victorian age to his death in 1882. Like his cousin Lord Shaftesbury, but for very different reasons, Pusey saw his name become a household word in the nineteenth century. And Dean Church would seem to have been right when he remarked that Pusey knew the meaning of real learning, and that in controversy it was his seldge-hammer and battle mace. It is not without a sigh of relief that one closes the fourth volume, so heavily documented and painstakingly detailed, so impressive and monumental is the work.

Although Liddon was undoubtedly living so close to the events he describes that he thereby lacked historical perspective, and though he may occasionally have adopted too reverential a tone when describing the work of his master, one cannot help wondering if he did not do the job too well. Hasn't everything about Pusey by now been said? Is this the reason why no one tackles him these days? Or could it be that the overall picture of Pusey which emerges from Liddon's pen is so off-putting? After all, wasn't Christopher Dawson merely following Liddon's lead, but nevertheless correct, in suggesting that "all Pusey's characteristic qualities—his learning, his orthodoxy, his gravity, his solidity—were *heavy* qualities"[3]?

With these questions in mind, it came as something of a shock then to discover that a second perusal of Liddon's work suggested that he was not telling the whole truth; at least, that is, in regard to relations between Pusey and his father and to the courtship and marriage of the young Pusey and a woman called Maria Barker.

If one carefully examines chapter six of Liddon's biography, for example, it is evident that almost the whole of it is based on the letters which Pusey exchanged with his fiancee in the years 1827—1828. The remarkable thing about this, however, is the bias with which Liddon

[1] R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years 1833-45.* 1891
[2] J. H. Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua.* 1864.
[3] C. Dawson, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement.* 1933.

selected the excerpts for quotation; none are from the letters of Maria. (This is in striking contrast with Liddon's usual procedure of quoting copiously from Pusey's correspondents.) Indeed, not until Liddon is referring to events which occurred late in 1835 (by which time Pusey and Maria had been married seven years), and not until he has reached page eighty-six of his second volume, does Liddon venture to include a single excerpt from any letter of Maria's.

Was Liddon's veil of silence deliberate, I wondered? Why does he tell us so very little indeed about Maria; the one human being who entered into the young Pusey's life and thoughts the most, and whose death in 1839 threw him into such uncontrollable grief? Was I mistaken in finding Liddon's sole description of Maria cleverly contrived?

> "Besides the attraction of her good looks", Liddon tells us, "Maria was undoubtedly accomplished; while her character although as yet very unformed, combined with elements of impulsiveness and self-will, qualities of very rare beauty, which Pusey believed himself to have discerned from the first and instinctively."[4]

Armed with these questions, I decided to go behind Liddon and to examine the manuscript letters themselves.

Before doing this, however, I discovered at Pusey House, Oxford, an unpublished "Narrative of Events", composed by Pusey's niece Clara Fletcher, and, from internal evidence, it had clearly been written for and extensively used by Liddon in writing his biography of Pusey, though he nowhere acknowledges the fact. In this document Clara Fletcher had written:

> "I cannot touch on so sacred a subject as the peculiarities of Pusey's wife on paper—though I feel you ought to know them (if indeed you do not already) because they illustrate some phases of his perfect character and some otherwise rather inexplicable events connected with the past".

And in another notebook, containing the record of a conversation Liddon had with Newman in 1883, I learned that the octogenarian Cardinal also remembered Maria's eccentricities.

> "She was a tall, handsome person. Before her marriage she had no interest in religion, but she must always have had qualities of goodness . . . which only required to be drawn out by Grace. She was however at first, after their marriage, very odd, and I did not like to go to the house. Her oddities were the talk of Oxford: Whately (former Fellow of Oriel and later Archbishop of Dublin), who was a rough, noisy talker, was open-mouthed about it. She underwent a great change: and I loved her exceedingly in later life".

By this time I was extremely anxious to dispel the apparent mystery concerning Maria and to see the nature of her relationship with Pusey. Were Maria's "peculiarities" and "oddities" the cause of Liddon's extreme reticence? It was in a spirit of research then, that I read the surviving eighty-one letters from Maria to Pusey and one hundred and thirteen letters from

[4] H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey,* Vol. 1, p 23. 1893.

Pusey to Maria on which the following generally unknown story is largely based. It transpired that the contents of these hitherto unpublished documents, together with other discovered material, went far towards explaining why Liddon preferred to suppress such a tale; more than anywhere else they reveal the root causes of Pusey's depressive nature.

Pusey in bondage

After leaving Eton and shortly before going up to Oxford at eighteen, Pusey met and fell deeply in love with a girl a year younger than himself called Maria Barker, the youngest child of John Raymond Barker of Fairford Park in Gloucestershire. Little is known about the physical appearance of Maria, beyond the fact that she was reputed to be tall and beautiful, but from her letters of 1827-28 she was clearly extremely vivicious, uninhibited in the expression of her opinions, subject to powerful moods and the possessor of a strong personality. A friend of hers once remarked that, had she herself been blind, she would have pictured Maria as "a large, strong, masculine looking, ruddy and athletic person",[5] and a cousin of Maria spoke of her as "better fitted to attack the oppressor than comfort the oppressed".[6] By way of contrast Pusey in early manhood was of slight build and timid disposition and according to his niece possessed in his make-up all "the gentleness of a woman".

Throughout his childhood and adolescence Pusey had led an extraordinarily austere and disciplined life. He had been born in 1800 of aristocratic parentage at Pusey House in Berkshire, and subsequently educated at preparatory school and Eton during a critical moment in the nation's history. Not only was England then facing the problems caused by the agrarian and industrial revolutions, but she was also actively engaged in war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Pusey's character training, however, was less influenced by these events than by the impressions he received from his parents at home. Both his mother and father were firm upholders of the traditions, privileges and responsibilities associated with the landed ruling classes of the eighteenth century, and both of them were noted for the narrowness and rigidity of their outlook which occasionally bordered on the eccentric.

Pusey's mother, a practical and unsentimental woman, reinforced or silently adopted the precision required in everything by her husband.

> "Her time was laid out by rule: a certain portion was always given to reading the Bible; and another to some book of established literary merit —generally an historical author. She would read this book with a watch at her side; and as soon as the self-prescribed time for such reading had elapsed, she eagerly turned to the more congenial task of needlework for charitable purposes. On Sundays, the time before, between, and after the Church services, was regularly spent in taking short walks or in reading sermons."[7]

[5] MS copy of letter from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, 18 November 1835.
[6] Ibid. 28 October 1827.
[7] Clara Fletcher, "Narrative of Events".

As late as 1850 and whenever resident in London, Lady Pusey had herself carried by sedan chair to church twice on Sundays and in winter she was invariably preceded by footmen bearing lighted flambeaux. Throughout her life she was never known to lean back in a chair, always considering such a practice a sign of laxity.

Pusey's father, who was fifty-two by the time he married, utterly set in his ways, and an ultra-Tory of deeply ingrained prejudices, can only be described as an autocratic though benevolent martinet. As Pusey was later to complain gently to Maria: "From the early habit of ruling everyone, as he did first his own and my Mother, he seems to think it necessary that he should act for everyone".[8] Certainly Pusey stood in awe of his father; a man whose behaviour and attitudes seemed governed by an almost pathological need for strict routine, punctuality and blind obedience on the part of others.[9] His obsession with formality meant that at Pusey House meals, daily activities, visits to neighbouring gentry families and attention to the estate followed an ordered pattern with an almost military exactness.

Later, Pusey was to recognise the particularly debilitating influence which his father's dominance had exercised on his development.

> "I feel myself now," Pusey was to tell Maria in 1828, "as a branch which has been so long bowed down, that even when the weight which depressed it has been removed, though it can partly, cannot wholly recover its original direction."[10]

On occasion Pusey was also inclined to think of his father's will as like a "citadel" which needed sometimes to be "shaken", "sapped" and forced to "yield".[11] Because he felt like this, however, when his father died Pusey was to be stricken with guilt feelings; shutting himself away for several days, he refused to attend his father's funeral, was unwilling to receive visitors and would describe his mood as "more an involuntary undefined depression, an internal burning, than actual grief".[12]

At eighteen though, and having previously always been compelled to repress any views and feelings of his own, Pusey's first encounter with Maria came as a revelation. Clearly he had never met anyone like her before. "I was no free agent (unless principle bade me stop)", he later told her, "after I had seen you . . . Everything has been the necessary consequence of that."[13] Pusey was indeed utterly distracted.

When Pusey's father inevitably issued his son with an ultimatum and forbade him to see and communicate any further with Maria, the effect on Pusey's outlook was disastrous. By now an undergraduate, Pusey

[8] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 1 February 1828.
[9] This behaviour of Pusey's father was later gently satirized in a novel by his daughter-in-law, Emily Pusey, wife of Pusey's elder brother. See *Waldegrave*, published anonymously in 3 vols. in 1829.
[10] Ibid, 16 May 1828.
[11] Ibid, 27 October 1827 and 5 November 1827.
[12] Ibid, 19 April 1828.
[13] Ibid, 27 December 1827.

considered leaving Oxford without taking his degree. Naturally shy and retiring, he now and ever after became a depressive; he genuinely feared he would go mad.

Pusey's closest friend at this time was Richard Jelf, the future Principal of King's College, London. When Jelf heard of the ban imposed by Pusey's father on relations between Edward and Maria, he was outraged.

> "Can I believe," he wrote, "that any human being can form a determination (relative to the happiness of a child) which is to yield in no circumstances, which is to take its course though it break the heart or poisons the future existence of the wretched victim and that victim too a child? No, No— . . ."[14]

Jelf, however, was reckoning without intractability such as was to be found in Pusey's father; a person who was to remain inflexible for another six years.

Under the circumstances, then, and because he was temperamentally incapable of open defiance of his father, it is not surprising that during these years Pusey alternately surrendered himself to grief and to reading avidly the works of poets such as Byron, "the prophet of the disappointed". Indeed the Romantic Movement, with its emphasis on subjectivity and in its revolt against previously accepted views, might have been a movement tailored uniquely for the young Pusey, hamstrung by the outmoded eighteenth century dictates of his parents. It is probable also that Byron's personal dilemmas woke subconscious echoes in Pusey. Byron's physical deformity, which the poet himself described as "a discouraging weight upon me like a mountain"[15] and which he spoke of as the bane of his life, remind one of Pusey's thoughts concerning the oppressive nature of his father. The private journal Pusey kept of a Swiss tour he made in 1822 is similarly redolent of Byronic overtones of despair.[16] Was it accidental then, that Pusey now began ardently embracing Liberal views in politics, whilst his father persisted in his inexorable Tory opinions, equating Whigs with atheists and forbidding the marriage for two years of Pusey's brother with the daughter of a Whig peer?

Pusey's personal misfortune was to lead to further regrettable results. Unlike so many of his contemporaries, for example, who found the 1820s at Oxford a time of buoyancy and optimism,[17] Pusey seemed almost unaffected by the renaissance of culture and sense of exuberance in the ethos of the university, following the ending of the wars with France. Instead, it was during this period that he first began deliberately overworking himself in semi-seclusion in order to take his mind off his situation; a state of affairs which eventually became a way of life for him. After taking a first in Greats and obtaining a Fellowship at Oriel, he spent the next six

[14] MS copy of letter from R. Jelf to E. B. Pusey, August 1821.
[15] *The Deformed Transformed*, Pt 1, Sc. 1, 11, 331-332.
[16] This unpublished document is at Pusey House, Oxford.
[17] See D. H. Newsome, *The Parting of Friends*, 1966.

years studying theology and the formidable German "Higher Critics", as well as acquiring a proficiency in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Chaldee.

> "I have lived so retired," he later informed Maria, "that of me is known less than the little which it (the world) ordinarily knows of any one; it has only known that I have been at times, intensely employed: it has given me the credit for being so always, and not knowing any of the mixed motives, anything of the distress of mind, which this study was partly intended to cure or at least stupify. . . "[18]

Not until September 1827, nine years after the first meeting between Pusey and Maria, did Pusey's father finally agree to their engagement. Pusey, now aged twenty-seven, set off immediately for Cheltenham where Maria was staying to secure her consent; he later described this visit as "the melting of the ice after a Northern winter".[19]

Pusey in Love

After so long an interval, Pusey was understandably nervous of the outcome of this renewed encounter.

> "I scarce ventured," he confessed to Maria, "to form a hope, believing myself to be to you an entire stranger. . . Every word, silence, look, action was then of too anxious importance ever to be forgotten. I suppose never was mind so tortured to discover a meaning in what perhaps had none, or heart so racked till the first dawn of real hope beamed upon me. . ."[20]

Indeed, so anxious was Pusey, that shortly afterwards he suffered a complete breakdown in health and was compelled to spend the next four months recuperating at Brighton.

Unlike Liddon, who was later to be so ambivalent in his views concerning the character of Maria, Pusey's friend Jelf had no doubts about the good effect that her strong personality would have on his colleague. "I rejoice to hear of the commencement of your Despotism," Jelf was to write to Maria. "The truth is Pusey is a child, quite unfit to be trusted with the management of his own health." Nevertheless, it is clear that Jelf hoped the powerfully willed Maria would deal kindly with the gentle Pusey. "Let the rod, with which you rule him," he advised her, "be invisible or clad in velvet."[21]

Pusey, however, was under no illusions about the differences in temperament and outlook between himself and Maria, and in so far as she was able to dominate him in all but religious matters, it became apparent that he revelled in her doing so. Pusey was equally taken with Maria's passionate enthusiasms and ungovernable emotions. He compared her to Kate in "The Taming of the Shrew" and he described his efforts to with-

[18] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 28 November 1827.
[19] H. P. Liddon, *The Life of E. B. Pusey, DD*, Vol 1, p 116.
[20] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 18 January 1828.
[21] MS copy of letter from R. Jelf to M. Barker, 21 June 1828.

stand her as a "Falstaff-like shew of resistance".[22] Very quickly he became accustomed to her outbursts of rage, and to such occasions as when she remarked that her fingers had a strong tendency to turn into "tiger's claws".[23]

Relations between Maria and her mother especially were frequently strained, owing to what Maria termed her mother's plausible nature and her knowledge of how to "administer small doses of flattery where they will be acceptable".[24] Pusey spilt a great deal of ink reminding his fiancee of the need to honour parents, but it is doubtful whether his words had much effect. Certainly Maria's behaviour in society remained unchecked; she continued to be remarkably outspoken, critical of her mother's friends, and indifferent to the impression she gave. "Not being . . . at all solicitous," she said, "for the favourable opinion of persons I never care to see again, I can always talk nonsense to anyone, and moreover can always lead people to talk of that most interesting person *themselves*."[25] After reading this, one begins to understand why Newman and other Oxford dons would have found Maria's behaviour strange, and one can appreciate why Liddon was anxious to conceal such conduct, so unbecoming in the future wife of a Professor and Canon of Christ Church.

Not all of Maria's criticisms were directed at those immediately around her; even Pusey himself, recuperating at Brighton, was soon to come under fire for being "formidable" and "gloomy".

> "For my formidableness," Pusey responded, "I will not say that I expect to have the same fate of the King, whom Jupiter is said to have sent to certain inhabitants of the marshes (on their requesting a Viceroy) which much awed them by the splash it made in descending amongst them, but when they recovered from their first amazement they found to be a log; but I expect that I am a very log in comparison to what you think me."[26]

After this Maria altered her adjectives and instead accused Pusey of being "grave" and "stuffy". (To be honest she would seem to have a point.) Only once, however, in these letters passing between Brighton and Cheltenham did Pusey come close to losing his patience; in itself this very imperturbability must have been something of a trial to Maria.

Happily, Pusey and Maria at least shared a common political outlook, both despising the ultra-Tories, applauding the Greek War of Independence, favouring the Repeal of the Test and Corporations Act, and eagerly following the efforts to introduce Catholic Emancipation.[27] On the one hand Maria declared her detestation of Wellington, then Prime Minister,

[22] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 15 January 1828.
[23] MS copy of letter from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, May 1828.
[24] Ibid, 7 November 1827.
[25] Ibid, 1 March 1828.
[26] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 11 December 1827.
[27] In the Oxford election of 1829, which revolved around the question of Peel's advocacy of Catholic Emancipation, Pusey, an avowed Peelite, was viewed as an opponent of Newman, Keble, H. Froude and R. Wilberforce.

suggesting that "so accustomed as he is to the arbitrariness of military discipline his every feeling and idea must be in favour of despotism";[28] and on the other hand, Pusey poured scorn on the Duke's party.

> "The country is," he said, "except in a time of excitation or distress naturally Tory, and it is perhaps as well that persons who cannot think for themselves should acquiesce in others thinking for them, if our Tories did but think! or rather if one were but not quite certain beforehand that the result at which they arrive by thinking, is the very same with which they set out."[29]

Allied to Maria's robust opinions was her Romantic interest in heroes. After reading J. F. Cooper's three-volumed novel "Red Rover", she turned to accounts of sea battles and developed an infatuation for all things to do with the navy, describing it as a profession "which as an English woman I have a right to glory in", and delighting in "the coolness in the hour of danger which is so general among our naval heroes".[30]

Skill in fighting won Maria's particular admiration; she was keenly interested in the activities of George Washington, Körner, and Joan of Arc. On her honeymoon she was later to express delight at seeing and handling the two-edged sword of Bruce, at visiting the battlefields of Culloden and Falkirk, and at spending a whole day reading an account of the 1745 Rebellion.

Pusey tried desperately hard to show a similar enthusiasm for Maria's hobbies. He made the gallant effort of reading "Red Rover", insisted that he shared her preference for the naval way of life over all others save his own, reported that he had enjoyed Southey's "Life of Nelson", and sent her descriptions of ships to be seen off Brighton. Whatever Whately might have thought of Maria and of her unusual interests and outspoken behaviour, it is certain that Pusey found her fascinating.

This was especially so when he recalled how for many years he had been merely "a reading automaton" and how previously he had been so depressed that "from the autumn of 1822 till September 1827, I never ventured to open a book of poetry or to enter any scenery in which there was any chance of excitement".[31] Instead, Pusey now found it difficult to express the depth of his feelings for Maria; he told her that if only he had a window in his breast, she might read "what else you can never know, how deeply, fervently grateful and obliged is your Edward".[32] After seeing her briefly in London in January 1828 he was similarly overcome.

> "My mind is so full at a return to this place (Brighton) and to solitude, that I know not wherewith to begin, what to say or what not to say . . . but that write I must, and can write about nothing else."

[28] MS copy of letter from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, 11 January 1828.
[29] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 3 June 1828.
[30] See MS copies of letters from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, 2 February 1828 and 14 February 1828.
[31] See MS copies of letters from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, end of 1827 and 3 November 1827.
[32] Ibid, 7 February 1828.

"My visit to London," Pusey informed Maria, "has been to me . . . one long, or rather short day; you were the centre round which every part of it (as indeed of so much of my existence) turned, and every interval was but as the divisions of a many sided figure in rapid motion, in which all the distractions of the several parts are lost in the whirl. Now that the motion has somewhat relaxed. . . It leaves me convinced that whatever defects one so softly, beautifully, gently kind may discover in me, she will still look as favourably upon them, and that we shall go on hand in hand, alternately perhaps assisting, reminding, comforting each other until the time come, when both shall be translated to the presence of a pure and holy God. Everything shews me more and more how great a treasure God has given me in you. . ."[33]

Even after the death of his father shortly afterwards, a traumatic experience for Pusey, he quickly recovered his ardour. In face of Maria's concern for him, he also began believing for perhaps the first time in his life, that he not only loved but could be an object of love.

"Though my heart," he told Maria, "is full almost to choking, of a thousand different feelings, I still can rest upon the thought of that love, as a bright cheerful spot among all present sorrows . . . Yet I had for years thought it so impossible that any one, much more such an one as she I loved, could do more than give me her esteem. I had thought it so little possible that I should have any opportunity of obtaining even that, and what has been given me is so exceeding great a blessing, that I have been throughout inclined to understand every kind expression, in the lowest sense it could convey. I have not dared to attach to them their full meaning, or to believe to how great a degree I had a right to be happy."[34]

Not only were there occasions when "everything appears so inadequate and one's heart often swells so much as to choke utterance",[35] but Pusey also had a premonition of what would be his reaction should he lose Maria.

"I cannot picture to myself," he said, "what would be my condition without you: it seems as if it would be a long, long time before I could then so sanctify memory as to dwell solely, as I do generally in the present case—I will not go on, for you will think it, as it indeed is, horrible; but kind as you are, beyond all human kindness to me, and deeply as I love you, we must not become so necessary to each other, as to 'sorrow without hope' were the other taken . . . I fear I shall be plunging deeper and deeper, if I continue."[36]

It is not surprising then that, confronted with this devotion, and so much misunderstood by her friends and relatives, that Maria should eventually become convinced that Pusey was the only person who really

[33] Ibid, 1 February 1828.
[34] Ibid, 13 May 1828.
[35] Ibid, 1 February 1828.
[36] Ibid, 8 May 1828.

understood her. "You were the first person," she told him, "I ever knew, to whom I fancied myself not incomprehensible."[37] And faced with Pusey's deep need of her and so full of pent-up emotions herself, it was but a short step for Maria to discover how attached she had become to him in the meantime. By April 1828 Maria was emphatic in her assertion to Pusey that, "You *are* more to me than all the world besides; and to be as one in feeling and in affection in spite of separation is to me a happy and a hallowed feeling. Ever dearest and best of beings".

How is it one may ask that, given Maria's influence, Pusey a few years later had become the severe and forbidding figure depicted by historians? Why was it that Maria was unable to persuade Pusey permanently away from the paths of self-depreciation, guilt and gloom?

In the first place it would seem that the damage to Pusey's character inflicted by his father was of too long standing by the time Maria and Pusey finally came together. And in the second place, it is probable that, because Maria needed and enjoyed Pusey's tremendous love, she permitted him in time to indoctrinate her with his religious views. And religion was the one sphere in which Pusey could be as obstinate by nature as his father, and in later life obsessional.

Maria's unbelief

In what was probably her first letter to Pusey, Maria Barker made it clear that she was of those who, in the early nineteenth century, were experiencing difficulties in religion; in her case the problem centred on contradictions in scripture, but did not cease there.

"Religion," she told Pusey, "has certainly never been to me the source of comfort and serenity which it has to others. I could not but admire the beauty of its precepts and the sublimity of its views, and as far as a trust in a Supreme Being in temporal concerns goes, so far, I have felt its use in calming my mind; but there does appear to me so much uncertainty, if not of contradiction in Scripture itself, so much more of that contradiction in the opinions of men . . . that I could frequently only find peace of mind, in banishing the subject from my thoughts. . ."[38]

Maria was particularly puzzled why revelation was not "a clear and distinct annunciation" of God's will, and why, if the Holy Spirit enlightened the minds of everyone who applied for his aid, "some are apparently misled, and many, unable to obtain fixed opinions, are in danger of running on in endless mazes".[39]

Having previously met with unbelief in his elder brother and in an old Etonian friend Julian Hibbert,[40] Pusey clearly regarded Maria's outlook

[37] MS copy of letter from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, 2 February 1828.
[38] Ibid, 3 October 1827.
[39] Ibid, H. P. Liddon's sole acknowledgement of Maria's unbelief occurs in one sentence of his biography and then he did not refer to her by name. See H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, Vol 1, p 122.
[40] Liddon's account of Hibbert is inadequate and misleading. He concealed Hibbert's identity under the letter "Z", gave the false impression that Hibbert was resident in France and referred to Pusey's brother's loss of faith as having occurred to "an intimate friend" of Pusey. See H. P. Liddon, *op. cit.*, 1, pp 44-49.

on religion as a challenge. The encounter with Hibbert indeed had left an indelible impression on Pusey; he later described it as "my first real experience of the deadly breath of infidel thought upon my soul". And now here was his fiancee doubting the truths of Christianity!

"It is fearful," Pusey replied, "to think how near you were to the borders of entire unbelief: your heart (which is the main thing) was a better believer than your intellect, but there is probably scarcely any male mind, which had got as far as you did, and to some of the principles in which you seem to have almost acquiesced, which would have stopped short of abandoning Christianity. Do not distress yourself about this; I mention it as proof of God's mercy to you, and in part to shew the danger of the principles, not to blame; I should not *necessarily* by any means think any man the worse for having been not only on the verge, but within the prison of unbelief. . . The unbeliever is to me the object of compassion not of censure."[41]

For some time, however, Maria was able to withstand Pusey's relentless pressure on her to conform and was not averse to challenging his opinions. After reading a few verses of the Epistle to the Romans, she informed Pusey that "had that Epistle been given to me to read as a mere human production, I should have thought its author was . . . either a fool or an hypocrite, either ignorant of what he was about, or willing to deceive with a shew of understanding what no one else could".[42]

It is equally clear from Maria's correspondence with Pusey, that her frequent mention of the well-known Evangelical preacher Francis Close, who exercised great influence on the public life at Cheltenham by his opposition to the theatre, horse racing and Sabbath breaking, was not chiefly out of an interest in religion; much more Maria was angry at the ill-effect of Close's views on a friend of hers. "How comes it," she asked, "that he is permitted to disseminate doctrines capable of doing so much harm?" Maria lamented the fact that her friend ate nothing but the coarsest food, described herself as a great sinner, spent hours on her knees in apparent distress and preferred not to speak to anyone.[43]

Marriage

The exchange of letters between Brighton and Cheltenham finally ended when Pusey and Maria were married on 12th June 1828, in a ceremony performed by Pusey's friend Richard Jelf. Despite the evidence this early correspondence gives in the years 1827-28 of the oppressive influence of Pusey's father, and of potentially solemn qualities in Pusey himself, the overall picture it conveys is one of steadily increasing joy and abundant human happiness; as yet there was little to indicate that Pusey would eventually become the grim figure handed down to us in history. And on his honeymoon at least, a holiday which lasted three months, Pusey's thoughts were far from gloomy.

[41] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 16 October 1827.
[42] MS copy of letter from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, 18 October 1827.
[43] Ibid.

Touring Derbyshire, Scotland (for part of the time the guest of Sir Walter Scott), the Lake District and Shropshire with Maria, Pusey was able to write to a relative that, "my happiness is at present too recent, too unaccustomed, too like a dream from its strange contrasts with years of misery to allow me to think of it without shuddering". And for her part Maria was similarly moved, though as yet she was still capable of recounting loudly any material discomforts she might be experiencing. In her diary for 13th July for example she wrote: "Unwilling to sleep a second night on hay covered with blankets, and annoyed by insects, sharing our room with fowls, we returned to T—— which was delightful after all we had endured". They arrived in Oxford in September and just over a month later Pusey was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew, with which went a Canonry of Christ Church. It is ironical, incidentally, that Pusey and Maria owed this promotion in their fortunes to Wellington, the Prime Minister, about whom they had not so long past been so critical.

For the first few years of their life together the halcyon quality of their early days of courtship persisted into married life, despite what the gossips of Oxford may have thought of Maria. And though heavily engaged in teaching Hebrew, writing a history of the theology of Germany and cataloguing Arabic manuscripts at the Bodleian library, Pusey joined with Maria in maintaining an arduous social routine of entertaining and exchanging hospitality. In addition they became the parents of four children called Philip, Katherine, Lucy and Mary.

By 1835, however, a series of events national and domestic had gradually blighted the precarious seeds of optimism in Pusey's outlook, which the engagement and marriage with Maria had initially fostered.

Austerity in the family

It has been suggested that it was the death of Maria in 1839 which left Pusey a changed man,[44] and this is the natural conclusion one draws from reading Liddon's biography, but Maria's death in fact only speeded up a process already established. 1835 much more truly represents the watershed in the life of Pusey. By then not only had he been seriously disturbed by the death of his father and of his spiritual mentor Charles Lloyd (Bishop of Oxford 1827-29), but he had been subjected to severe personal attacks, on account of the broad-minded views expressed in his books on Germany. Political revolutions on the continent, fear of government attacks on Church property and the issue of admitting non-Anglicans to Oxford and Cambridge had also caused Pusey to experience a change of heart concerning liberalism. In 1828 he had been able to write to Maria in jest that "the love of liberty, whether displayed in Whiggism, Radicalism, Liberalism etc. etc. you *know* means for the most part nothing more than the love of being one's self free, perhaps with the additional privilege of tyrannizing others",[45] but in 1835 he had come seriously to believe it.

[44] See Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Vol. 1, 1966, p 198.
[45] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 12 February 1828.

Until Pusey awoke to the Liberal threat to the Church, he retained his earlier sympathies, his gentle optimism and even an interest in things not technically religious. In 1835, however, he deliberately narrowed his outlook and, with the appearance of his *Tract on Baptism* emphasizing the gravity of post-baptismal sin, publicly threw in his lot with the Tractarians. Thereafter, alongside Newman and Keble, Pusey was of the number who openly set themselves to oppose the Liberalism of the 1830s, which bore the aspect of a philosophy of material enlightenment; its adherents believing firmly in material progress and abhorring the other-worldy features of Christian teaching[46].

The tragedy in this volte-face on Pusey's part lay in the effect that it had on Maria and the children; in a sense they became the victims of his personal revolution. From now onwards one can trace the beginning of Pusey's insistence on seeing everything from a religious standpoint, his rigorous concern for moralism, his increasing antipathy to frequenting society, and the introduction of fasting and the forgoing of luxuries in his domestic life. In order to raise money in 1835 for the building of new churches in London, for example, he not only donated £5,000 himself, but persuaded Maria to sell her jewellery, reduced the number of his household servants and sold the family carriage. Whereas for Pusey these austerities were introduced either through inclination or with the highest of motives, they gradually reaped havoc for Maria; now suffering the first onslaughts of tuberculosis, she felt compelled to bow before her husband's stern conviction, example and determination. The Pusey known to history was now coming to the fore.

It was at this time that Pusey also became convinced of his own utter depravity and believed that the death of his daughter Katherine in 1832 had occurred as a chastisement for his sins. Such thoughts did little to console Maria, who was not only approaching death herself, but having to nurse her children through a wide variety of illnesses and at the same time ensure they adhered to the strict regime initiated and approved of by her husband. At first Maria was able to regard this with amusement, but her letters of the last three years of her life are totally devoid of humour. And on one occasion at least, when the oldest of the children was only nine, and when Lucy was suffering from an inflammation of the eyes, Philip was thought to be dying and able to move only on crutches, and Mary was having leeches applied to a swollen foot, their restriction in diet to "plain food" caused a heated argument between Maria (following Pusey's rules as to fasting) and the doctor attending them. Even when strongly criticised by his elder brother, Philip, for the excessive discipline which he meted out to his offspring (in his will Philip forbade his own children to be entrusted to the care of Pusey), Pusey remained adamant. "Our system", he told Maria, "if it is worth anything must be contrary to the world's system".[47]

[46] See H. Scott-Holland, *Personal Studies*, 1905, pp 76-77.
[47] MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Pusey, 25 October 1836.

The ultimate result of Pusey's insistence on or at least strong encouragement of Maria to follow his highly idealistic path from 1835 onwards, was the reduction of her life to a state of intolerable suffering from religious scruples and that of their children to that of a veritable nightmare. In his personal relations Pusey was gradually becoming like his father before him. And when Maria died in 1839 the revolution had come full cycle. It is small wonder that Liddon preferred to say as little as possible about the hidden life of young Dr Pusey, revealed here for the first time.

* * *

Fr Charles Stephen Dessain writes from the Birmingham Oratory, after reading the above—

In 1878 Anne Mozley was editing the letters of her brother, the Anglican theologian James Bowling Mozley. She wrote to Newman on 27th April: "James in addition to a sense of obligation had a great respect for parts of Dr Pusey's character and has done justice to it, but I doubt if it is one to inspire tenderness. His, Dr Pusey's, kindness perhaps wanted this quality. No correspondence connected with him I think will contain such a sentence e.g. as I find in one of Christie's early letters to James, 'It must be a great lounge to have Newman in Oxford.' I never heard the expression before, but people would not think of Dr Pusey's presence as relaxation in any form'." Anne Mozley then asked Newman: "Do you remember dining at Dr Pusey's on Easter Day 1837, when Mrs Pusey had engaged you six weeks before? Rogers, Wood, Wilson, Mathison, R. Williams etc, were of the party, he [James Mozley] ends, 'Newman so enjoys a party of old friends coming up it is quite pleasant to see it. It is only a pity these things are so short.' Every notice of Mrs Pusey is pleasant. I think she and James suited one another."

Newman replied on 28th April, 1878 to Anne Mozley: "Yes, I recollect dining with Pusey on Easter Day (I should add to your list Mussey of Ch.Ch.), and bitterly complaining that we had only roast veal without a drop of melted butter or other sause (*please keep this secret*). Is this want of tenderness or unction?

Another, *real* SERIOUS, secret—the contrast of Pusey and Mrs Pusey, so much in favour of the latter, made Mrs Wootten, in spite of her great attachment to the former, a Catholic." In 1878 Pusey was still living. Mrs Wootten was the widow of the Tractarian doctor who practised in Broad Street, Oxford.

THE VATICAN AND EUROPEAN POLITICS, 1922-1945

A Review Article

by

Sir Alec Randall, k.c.m.g., o.b.e.

It is not three years since a left wing Italian journalist and former seminarian, Carlo Falconi, published in English his book "The Silence of Pius XII" after access to archives in Poland and Yugoslavia dealing with the period of German occupation during the Second War. The book appeared in Italy in 1965 at the time when the official publication of wartime Vatican diplomatic documents began, seven volumes of which are now in print (the last two not available to Anthony Rhodes). Falconi complained that Pius XII was unduly reserved in his expression of sympathy for the victims of Nazi atrocities in Poland, and unduly reticent in his condemnation of crimes committed by fascist Catholics in Croatia. Falconi did not impugn the Pope's integrity, but thought his fear of advancing Communist interest, his 'Germanophilia' (he had been Vatican representative nuncio in Germany from 1917 to 1929) and his professional habit as a diplomat drove him to a hopeful neutrality which was less than realistic. But that neutrality he surely had to hold to, as events unfolded, if he was ever to mediate a negotiated peace. Moreover, had Pius XII made a serious public protest towards the Nazis and other dictators, the Catholics of those countries were in fact psychologically unready for the practical implications and possible grave consequences. When Pius XI protested in his 1937 encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With burning anxiety..") and the Dutch bishops in their statement of 26 July 1942, both protests resulted only in intensified persecution. The consciences of many German Catholics had been lulled at the very beginning because they, like many foreign observers, had seen National Socialism as a wholesome reaction against the widespread corruption, financial and moral, which marked the closing years of the Weimar Republic. They were then, like their bishops, shamefully deceived by the 1933 Concordat (signed under serious pressure from Berlin), with its promises of freedom for the Church's religious and moral teaching. They were finally swept along by patriotic and nationalistic passions after the War had broken out. This was true too of the bishops, a few of whom were admittedly timeservers; Hitler's government was for most of them the legitimate government of their country, and like most Germans they did not distinguish between Nazi and national interests. Especially was this so when the Nazis attacked Communist Russia and were then able to pose as the champions of Christianity against a godless, persecuting state; so that many of the bishops were moved to issue pastoral letters extolling Hitler's 'crusade' against Bolshevism. The Pope, on the other hand, despite his anxieties that an Allied victory in concert with Moscow would lead to the domination of many Catholic countries by atheistic Communism, never encouraged the idea of a Christian crusade. Pius XII was surely right to be silent: his deeds saved many and his silences many more.

This study by Anthony Rhodes covers the same and wider ground, taking in the fascist dictators from 1922, when the Vatican found itself confronting an altogether new world position following the foundering of three great monarchies with their attendant aristocracies. European anti-clericalism drove the Vatican to an uneasy alliance with the new 'people's leaders', who at first seemed to offer so much. Pius XI and Pius XII had little alternative to what in fact they chose to do. This new study is based on research far more rigorous and authoritative than that of Falconi.

The reviewer was Second Secretary in H.M. Legation from 1925 to 1930, that is, during the signing of the 1929 Italian Concordat (see photograph). He was a Counsellor at the Foreign Office from 1938 to 1945. In 1956 he wrote "Vatican Assignment"

and in 1963 "The Pope, the Jews and the Nazis". He has frequently reviewed books on the subject in hand, notably by Guenter Lewy (see below) and several accounts of the exchange of notes between the Holy See and the German Government (*Cf Dublin Review*, Autumn 1966, 275-88).

Anthony Rhodes THE VATICAN IN THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS, 1922-45
Hodder & Stoughton 1973 383p £4.25

The first comment on this book is that it is original and unique. This may seem a questionable judgment since it is the latest in a huge stream of publications about the pontificates of Pius XI and XII, with especial reference to politics and the War. Mr Rhodes has used all the relevant published materials—his bibliography lists some 270 titles, in English, French, German and Italian. Moreover, in the five years he has spent on this book he has read and quoted from the British Foreign Office and Cabinet papers, recently released under the 30-year rule, the five bulky volumes of documents from the Vatican Archives, and the vast collection of German diplomatic papers captured by the Allies after their victory over Nazi Germany and open to inspection in Bonn. It is this that gives the book a special quality; it should remain the standard work of its kind. Another important quality is that it is dispassionate and impartial. Mr Rhodes is not a Catholic, but he knows and is in general sympathy with Italy and the Vatican, and all his judgments are supported by documentation. It is the Vatican as a political institution that is the object of his study; there is no theology, moral or otherwise; no discussion of birth control or abortion, and discussion of euthanasia only insofar as it was a notable part of Nazi practice. Now it is as an institution, holding on to power, that the Vatican is chiefly attacked by non-Catholics, indeed also by some Catholics. The German American writer, Mr Guenter Lewy, in his book "The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany†, which Mr Rhodes rightly calls "scholarly", asserts that Pius XII preferred the preservation of the Church and the Papacy to exercising his moral duty and excommunicating Hitler and all his evil band. This is an oft-repeated charge; how often are the words "My Kingdom is not of this world" flung against the Church as an institution. But those who denounce power and authority in general can hardly deny that all organised communities need a centre of cohesion. Idealistic anarchists disregard and have often been brought to admit the facts of original sin and human frailty, and of the need of some essential institutional framework. The best reply I know to the general charges of institutionalism is in Baron von Hügel's "Letters to a Niece", where he takes the least institutionalised of all religions, the Society of Friends, and asks what made possible Fox's "inner light" and the establishment of the Society but what the Catholic Church had preserved and handed down from the Christian Scriptures. Popes have not been exempt from sin and frailty and unworthy motives, but in the

†Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1964 410p 42/-, reviewed by this author in "German Catholics and National Socialism", *Dublin Review* (1965), 47-60. An article reviewing Professor Saul Friedländer, "Pie XII et le IIIe Reich" (Paris 1964) follows, 61-74. Cf. also J. S. Conway, "The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933-39" (London 1968).

case of Pius XII and his "silence" over the massacre of the European Jews, it can be argued that his martyrdom at the hands of Hitler—which Mr Rhodes shows was a real possibility, in fact one of the Führer's ultimate aims—would have saved the Jews and all the hosts of people who suffered through Nazism. This is extremely improbable. The Pope's courage is not in doubt; it was his deep conviction, prompted by his conscience, that his mission was to preserve the Church he had been called to govern, and prevent the very grave consequences that he firmly believed would follow a public named denunciation of Hitler. He had examples before him of denunciation, as with the baptised Jews of Holland or the petition from the Polish Cardinal Sapieha, that the only result was even more ruthless action. Those who argue from the success of the courageous Bishop of Münster, von Galen, in his protest against euthanasia, that a host of such protests would have deterred Hitler from his major crimes fail to appreciate the difference between the two cases. Euthanasia could very easily be renounced as a tactical concession, but extermination of the Jews, of faithful Christians, of the Polish nation, were essentially parts of Nazi strategy, which nothing but military defeat could really have stopped. Mr Rhodes gives a summary of the notorious play by Hochhuth, "The Representative", which it may be remembered brought on stage the Pope as thinking first of his investments.† Although to me, when I saw it, it at least had the merit that it roused all who saw it to a better appreciation of the full horror of the death-camps, it was worthless and false as history. It may now be said to have been entirely discredited, Mr Rhodes giving it its coup de grâce.

One of Mr Rhodes's chief sources, used for the first time, are despatches of the German Ambassador to the Holy See, Diego von Bergen (1872-1944). He began in 1921 and served for more than twenty years. Mr Rhodes's account of this notable character provides some of the most interesting pages of his book. As secretary of the British Legation to the Holy See in the 1920s I met the Ambassador. He was a faithful Lutheran, and was conspicuous among his colleagues in the diplomats' tribune in St Peter's by always standing when they knelt to receive the Pope's blessing, or at the consecration at Mass. This did not lessen the esteem in which he was held at the Vatican. For a non-Italian and a layman he became one of the best-informed of all observers of the Vatican. Thanks to Mr Rhodes we can judge of the quality of his abundant reports on Vatican policy. To have remained Ambassador for so long and to have survived through most of the Nazi period argues great agility and intelligence. In 1938 there was an attempt to remove him. Dr Kerrl, the egregious Nazi Minister for Church Affairs, complained that "the National Socialist State did not appear to be represented at the Vatican with that degree of firmness, enthusiasm and awareness of our aims which is demanded when dealing with the Pope". The German Foreign Office replied that with his long experience he was the most suitable for the

†Cf. *The Wiseman Review*, Summer 1963.

post. Critics have used some of his despatches to discredit Pius XII. This is often unreliable evidence; obviously Von Bergen, in order to avoid trouble with his superiors in Berlin, toned down the Pope's indignation, presented his innumerable protests against breaches of the Concordat in a light fashion, as did his successor, the former Nazi Foreign Minister, von Weizsäcker, when he was transferred to take Von Bergen's place. But in one of his despatches, of 15 February 1941, printed in full by Mr Rhodes, he seems to have gone as closely as he dared to point out that the view taken on Pius XII in Berlin was mistaken. The Pope, says the Ambassador, in spite of his admiration for the German people, was not pro-German, nor for the matter of that pro-French. "Any resentment he ever expresses against Germany is of a purely religious and 'church-political' nature". He then gives a shrewd assessment of the Pope's chief preoccupation. "His present aim is, as always, to do what he can to shorten the war, playing in the wings, as it were, at the right moment the role of mediator". It must always be remembered that Pius XII had the duty as a young representative of the Pope in Germany in 1917, of presenting the peace proposals of Benedict XV. Today those proposals look statesmanlike and their rejection by both sides disastrous for the future of Europe. The Second World War was wholly different. It was not rival nationalisms in conflict; it was two heresies striving for domination. Both carried a similar threat to Christianity, above all that Christianity represented by the Vatican. For who can doubt that with Catholic Christianity abolished very little would survice? Hitler once boasted that he was the only politician who had completely deceived the Pope. It may be said that Stalin, with his hypocritical opportunism, his declarations in favour of religion, deceived President Roosevelt even more completely. It was through Pius XII's influence that the strong American Catholic opposition to becoming allied with Moscow was counteracted. It is in the choice between these two evils that the tragedy of Pius XII really lies.

Even on subjects of no direct concern to Germany Von Bergen kept his superiors well informed. When he mentions "private sources", and so on, it seems likely that Cardinal Pacelli as Secretary of State was often his informant, though he had others within the Secretariat of State. For example he gives a full account of the dispute between His Majesty's Government and the Holy See which in the late twenties and early thirties brought their relations to the lowest level reached since the British Legation was established in 1923. Perhaps I may be allowed to add a personal note to Mr Rhodes's careful account of this most unfortunate dispute, which caused resentment on both sides. The centre of the quarrel, Lord Strickland, the Prime Minister of Malta, was even denounced in at least one London Catholic pulpit, while Lord Vansittart was led by one of the reports from the Legation in Rome about Pius XI's stubbornness to call the Pope, in a minute, "really a full-blown idiot. This is the reaction (he went on) of a Dictator rather than a negotiator". I was involved more than usual in this unhappy affair, as the Minister, Sir Henry Chilton, was not allowed by the Foreign Office to return to his post from his annual

leave, a sign of the British Government's resentment against the Vatican, and I was chargé d'affaires for about six worrying months. Mr Rhodes is justified in assigning some of the blame to the Vatican's wish not to get at loggerheads with Mussolini's government, and the failure of the Secretariat of State, despite all efforts we made to convince them, that Fascist policy in Malta and the use of pro-Italians as its instruments to undermine British strategic position in the Mediterranean was naturally a cause of serious disquiet in London. But there was more to it than that. Lord Strickland was a faithful, practising Catholic, though he was regarded in Rome as anti-clerical. He also had the reputation in Whitehall for being cantankerous and difficult. When I was instructed to request a private audience for him I was convinced, from my enquiries, that it would not be granted, and I tried in a personal letter to the Foreign Office to persuade them to get the Maltese Prime Minister to put off his visit. I was told that if I knew Lord Strickland better I should realise that such an attempt would only strengthen his determination to go to Rome. So when he arrived my wife and I asked him to dinner, and I told him that the Pope did not think it opportune at that time to grant the audience, in view of the heated debate that was going on in Malta. The background should be explained. Malta had become a British colony at their own request during the wars with Napoleon; one of the Maltese representatives who expressed this wish was an ancestor of the Archbishop, Mgr Caruana. Malta was fervently Catholic and the Church was given a privileged position under the Constitution. But it was a well-established tradition that the clergy took an active part in politics, even in the rough and tumble of political debates in their Parliament. But the Church's influence on party politics was not onesided. It was, however, preponderantly in favour of the use of Italian. This by long tradition was the official language of the lawyers and the clergy. This was not objectionable to the British Government so long as the allegiance of the Maltese of all classes to Great Britain was assured, so long as Italy was a friendly nation. But under Fascism the encouragement of Italian came to have a political aim, viz. to intrigue against British influence in a region where Mussolini more and more asserted imperialistic designs. The latent quarrel was brought to a head when in the senate Lord Strickland's budget—he was the elected Prime Minister—was thrown out by a Catholic vote (practically all the deputies were Catholic), and propaganda against him and his party was carried on in some churches. The Archbishop told me that the number of Maltese who wished to change British for Italian political control could be counted on the fingers of one hand. But he could not force all his priests to keep out of politics, and he was thus the object of Lord Strickland's antipathy. Mgr Caruana, who was a Benedictine from Fort Augustus, was most loyal to Great Britain, but he was assailed by Lord Strickland with charges of disloyalty. I took Lord Strickland to see Card Gasparri, the Secretary of State, who was his usual bland, diplomatic self. If it could have been left to him I felt sure the audience would have been granted. He met Lord Strickland more than once, and explained that

regretfully the time was not "opportune" to grant the audience for the present. To me he was franker, and told me that Pius XI, who was a most determined and stubborn character, would never receive Lord Strickland until he had withdrawn his accusation against Archbishop Caruana. Thus the deadlock remained, with various disagreeable incidents in Malta that had their repercussions in Rome. One, which gave serious offence in London, was the refusal of certain priests to give absolution in the confessional to avowed supporters of Lord Strickland. Another of them was the General of the Franciscans ordering one of his priests to withdraw from the island on account of some misdemeanour. It wasn't serious, but Lord Strickland represented it as an Italian intrigue to get one of his supporters, a true Briton, exiled by an Italian. The Governor of Malta, who was responsible for the island's foreign relations under the Foreign Office, did not see fit to intervene in a matter which concerned only the priest's lawful religious superior, who had conceded that the recalcitrant priest could remove himself to any Franciscan house he chose, or could appeal to Rome. It is ironical that when the priest came to Rome and called on me, he could only talk in Italian, and told me he was Lord Strickland's election agent. I was transferred to Bucharest while the dispute dragged on. Meanwhile an English secondary school had been successfully established in Malta financed by Lady Strickland. Both the British Government and the Vatican, in Blue and White Books respectively, published, by mutual agreement, all the relevant documents, and the Colonial Office decided to remit the whole case to a Royal Commission. They presented a judicious and well-informed report, and eventually Lord Strickland made his peace with the Pope, and was received in audience—in time for Malta to begin her terrible ordeal and her wonderfully courageous endurance during the Second World War, in which the clergy helped to sustain their flock, the Bishop of the neighbouring island, Gozo, one of Lord Strickland's persistent critics, received a knighthood for his services. The island itself, of course, was awarded a George Cross. Fascism, which made the Concordat with the Papacy in 1929—an agreement which was adhered to by the Italian Republic—is now little more than a bad dream.

The Vatican's relations with two dictators, Hitler and Mussolini, have in this book received a balanced appraisal, based on many new documents. But there is one of the Pope's "silences", his attitude to the minor Croat dictator, Pavelitch, which I find still perplexing. Mr Rhodes has a chapter on him, and produces many documents, but not enough, in my opinion, wholly to satisfy the student of history. The Serb-Croat mutual hatred, where deep political hostilities were reinforced by passionate religious convictions, was as calamitous as North and South in Ireland. The Croats, who lived under the Habsburg rule till the end of the First World War, were intensely Catholic, and traditionally fierce warriors, as shown in the Thirty Years War. The Serbs were no less passionately Orthodox. So deeply ingrained was the religious and racial amalgam on both sides that if asked their religion both replied "Serb" or "Croat". At times there were savage killings on both sides; the enmity was so pronounced that one

often wondered how the Jugoslav Federal State could possibly keep together with such antagonistic members. Among the killers on the Catholic side were Franciscan priests. When the Serbs were dominant they too murdered. But under the Germans a new and nominally independent state of Croatia was set up, with a head called Pavelitch who on his election sent a letter of filial devotion to Pius XII. By many Jugoslavs, Britons and Frenchmen he was considered guilty of plotting the assassination in May, 1934 at Marseilles, of King Alexander, who was an Orthodox Serb but tried to be fair to the other religious communities. When Pavelitch asked for an audience of the Pope the British Minister was instructed to protest against the Pope receiving such a regicide. In the diplomatic documents from the Vatican archives it is possible to trace the Pope's serious concern, and even more that of his immediate advisers, especially Mgr Montini, now Paul VI. The Pope, however, insisted that he could not refuse to see a practising Catholic of such a position whose guilt was not proven. He said it was to be not an official audience, but purely private, as the Vatican rule was not to recognise any political changes till a state of peace had been arrived at. The request for an audience by the Duke of Spoleto, designated King of the new "Kingdom of Croatia", was handled in the same way, i.e. it was accorded only as a private and personal audience, not implying any kind of recognition of the new "Kingdom".†

Mr Rhodes's chief evidence is in the book by an Italian journalist, Carlo Falconi—not very partial to the Vatican in any of his writings. It was called "Le Silence de Pie XII", published in 1965. As Mr Rhodes fairly points out, most of Signor Falconi's sources were in Serbo-Croat, a language he could neither read nor speak. He was, moreover, assisted by Yugoslav government officials. Unhappily there is confirmation for much of his case from more impartial witnesses, such as Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean, who had been parachuted into Yugoslavia to join Tito, also Evelyn Waugh who was also serving in that country. Their evidence was not firsthand, and didn't describe the many killings and torturings that Croats perpetrated. There were cases of Serbs turning Catholic so as to save their lives. In partial exculpation Evelyn Waugh stated that the pro-German recruits came from the least cultured part of the population, and there was evidence that many unworthy men were attracted to the Order of St Francis. Most weighty of all the testimonies was that of Cardinal Tisserant, who had received appalling stories of the Croats' inhuman treatment of Serbs from Italians returning on leave, horrified by what they had seen. It should also be mentioned that the fearful reprisals visited

†"Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale" (ed Libreria Editrice Vaticana) volumes 6 and 7 have appeared since this was written. Volume 6 is entirely devoted to Vatican assistance to the victims of the War, from March 1939 to December 1940. In Volume 7, p. 337 and 404, the question of a second visit to Rome by Pavelitch was raised. He was due to see Mussolini at the latter's request. This became the subject of a minute by Mgr Montini on 14 May 1943 that if this were to include a visit to the Pope it would be undesirable and that representations should be made to the Italian Foreign Ministry that the visit should take place not in Rome. In the event the visit was cancelled.

on the Croats by the triumphant Serbs were reliably reported, but when Evelyn Waugh gave them publicity he was warned under the Official Secrets Act, so committed was the British Government to Tito's cause, a question which is still a subject of controversy. Most creditable to emerge from this terrible chronicle was the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr Stepinac. At first he welcomed the Croat Government, so fearful was he of the Communist triumph which Catholic Croatia could prevent. But he was disillusioned, and even horrified by what he learnt later. Mr Rhodes, for the first time, I believe, is able to prove the Archbishop's reactions from German sources. The Nazis in May 1943 complained that Mgr Stepinac's attitude to the new Croat state was far from satisfactory. Another German report gave an account of Mgr Stepinac's personal intervention on behalf of Orthodox Serbs and Jews; he actually, in a sermon on 31st October 1943, preached a sermon in which he strongly condemned Pavelitch's doctrines of a new world to be created and based on racial lines. Pavelitch at about this time asked the Pope to suspend the Archbishop, but he refused, a sign perhaps that Pius XII had himself been disillusioned. It may be that more Vatican documents will show whether he condemned the Croats' outrageous conduct; he may have been restrained by the fact that Tito's supporters had begun an equally terrible persecution of the Catholic Croats. Tito eventually sought diplomatic representation at the Holy See. As for the Archbishop, he was tried for treason and exiled; but when he died the Belgrade Government agreed to his body being returned to be buried in his own city of Zagreb. It would be pleasant to be able to record that in the ecumenical spirit of concord of Catholics and Orthodoxy following the Second Vatican Council something has been done to efface these shameful memories. But this is beyond the scope of Mr Rhodes's book.

I have picked out the most interesting examples of dictatorship dealt with in Mr Rhodes's book. But between 1922 and 1945 Europe was ruled by no less than fifteen dictators, not all of them so guilty as the founders of Nazism and Fascism; for example, Primo de Rivera of Spain, Horthy of Hungary, whose efforts in obedience to Pius XII's appeals to save the Jews were greatly to his credit, Salazar of Portugal. All are treated by Mr Rhodes in this wide ranging, deeply interesting and highly readable book.

Fr J. Derek Holmes of Ushaw College, Durham, has written a valuable historiographical survey of "The Church in the first half of the twentieth century" in the "Clergy Review", May-June-July 1973. Part I deals with Action Française, Italian fascism and the Spanish Civil War; Part II with the Church in Nazi Germany, and Pius XII & the Second War; Part III with theology, ecumenism and missionary expansion.

THE EXPERIENCE OF GOD

by

THOMAS CORBISHLEY, S.J.

I have not spoken in secret, in some corner of a darkened land.
I have not said to Jacob's descendants: "Seek me in chaos".
I, the Lord, speak with directness, expressing myself with clarity.

Isaiah 45. 19

The subject of this paper is much en vent these days, when people have become tired of St Anselm's *Credo ut intelligam* with its accent on knowledge of God with the comprehending mind, and have become enamoured of St Bernard's *Credo ut experiar* with its accent on God as a personal reality communicated to the whole intuiting individual, not merely the rationalising mind. Learned men manage even to complicate this by speaking of the cosmological, anthropological and historical experiences of God—the first seeing God as the principle of order, the second seeing God as a factor in the self-development of man, the third seeing God as guarantor of meaning. But God is not limited by the functions we require of him; it is he who required something of us, the initiative is his, the final purpose of life is himself, and the burden of search is ours. There are many signs of renewed search for the experience of God today: for instance, *Monastic Studies IX* is devoted entirely to this subject.

This article marks the seventieth birthday of a remarkable English Jesuit of our time. He entered the Society just after the First War, and at Campion Hall, Oxford he achieved a double first in Mods/Greats. His first book, "Agnosticism" (1936), appeared the year he was ordained. During the Second War he taught classics to young Jesuits, and after it succeeded the legendary Fr Martin D'Arcy (still alive and writing at 85) as the Master of Campion Hall, where in the years up to 1958 he maintained the Hall's rightly renowned tradition of godliness and good learning, hospitality and high tabletalk. These he transposed to Farm Street as Superior during the years up to 1966, since when, despite a heart attack which curtailed his activities awhile, he has been widely engaged in writing, lecturing, preaching, sitting on committees and debating on television. His recent book, "The Spirituality of Teilhard de Chardin", is a hymn to the Incarnation.

WHEN we were very young we accumulated a certain stock of images which tend to cling to the fringes of our thinking, no matter how sophisticated we become. Although we no longer believe in Santa Claus, he still remains a kind of symbol of the Christmas spirit. Although we no longer fool ourselves into thinking that there are fairies at the bottom of the garden, we go on wishing that a Fairy Godmother might suddenly come to our rescue when we are up against it. In the same sort of way, although we have long given up the idea of God as a bearded old gentleman of uncertain age and a still more uncertain temper, we can never entirely rid ourselves of the psychological attitude which goes with that kind of imagery. Indeed, it is probably true to suggest that God continues to combine the qualities of Santa Claus, Fairy Godmother and Celestial Policeman. Our reason tells us that this is so utterly inadequate as to be totally misleading. The problem for most of us is what to put in its place. (There is a great deal of truth in the view that, at bottom, the whole meaning of life is to be found in the ongoing business of finding out the truth about God).

The situation is complicated by the fact that a parallel development takes place in the community as a whole. Take for example the ways in

which the idea of God has grown up within the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The Old Testament picture of God, a picture which grew up over centuries, began as an image of a Being appropriate to the mentality of a nomadic, warring tribe, living in a dangerous and cruel age. The "God of Hosts" was thought of as the powerful Leader who would enable the Jews to overcome their enemies. Their desire for vengeance, their lust for conquest, the punishment they thought fit to inflict on a beaten nation were all referred to Yahweh, the picture of whom in much of the Old Testament is consequently a disedifying and totally unacceptable one. Yet elements of it persist to this day in the minds of many Christians, who have failed to take to heart the lesson of the New Testament, the good news that God is most truly revealed in the perfection of manhood as manifested in the life, work, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.

It was largely because of the Greek interest in metaphysics that this simple yet satisfying presentation soon became overlaid with a complex of philosophical statements which, whilst being an improvement on the primitive Jewish notion of God, yet served to remove him from the warmth of our human aspirations to a world of cold speculation. Moreover, it may well be that the need to present to the barbarian converts of the Dark Ages a being more in keeping with their own warlike traditions served to keep alive in much Christian preaching those elements of the primitive Jewish teaching which the work of Christ should have dispelled once for all. The development of the mediaeval concept of society, the feudal system with its precise hierarchical structure, led to the feeling that God was somehow seated at the apex of the world, controlling from afar the affairs of men, ruling them through his subordinates. Emphasis on the power of God, reaching to every crevice of his universe, tended to reduce to a minimum the responsibility of the creature, man, just as the serfs at the base of the feudal pyramid existed primarily to toil and to fight for their overlords. The quality of existence which meant that, for centuries, the life of the vast majority of men was "poor, nasty, brutish and short", tended to encourage the simple faithful to put their hopes in the next world rather than this. The unpredictability of nature with famine and disease, flood and drought as ever-present menaces, almost inevitably brought about an attitude of mind which saw religion largely in terms of appeasement of an angry God or of supplication for his favours.

The modern age has produced its own version of God. For the psychologist he is a projection of the human mind, craving the assurance of a powerful Father; for the physical scientist he is an exploded hypothesis, the assumption of a pre-scientific age, one who has now been shown to be unnecessary as the explanation of anything, let alone everything; for the modern philosopher, *if* talk about God has any meaning, it is not the sort of meaning which relates to our every-day world, and is therefore negligible; for many a theologian, God is dead, not in the literal sense that he has ceased to be, but in the sense that he is no longer relevant.

It is then hardly surprising, indeed it is only to be expected that, in view of this complex situation, many a Christian is bewildered, questioning,

disturbed. The question seems to be no longer whether God exists but whether it makes any significant difference whether he does or not. If science can get on very well without him, what becomes of the traditional proofs of his existence, based as they are at least to no small extent on a scientific approach—motion, design, for example. And anyway, if, as Christianity teaches, God is revealed in and through a human life, how can we be sure that there is anything beyond that human life to be revealed?

Let me approach the answer to this complex puzzle by pointing out that, in principle, there is no new problem for "modern man" in trying to make sense of God. Having been brought up to express our faith in the incomprehensibility of God, we really ought not to be upset when we begin to *experience* this incomprehensibility. It has always been the case that God has eluded all man's attempts to pin him down. Indeed, there is one very important tradition in Christian teaching, stressed particularly by the mystics, that we can begin to think about God in any authentic way only by thinking away the meaning we attach to our ordinary language. So limited, inadequate and relative is our human vocabulary that Thomas Aquinas goes so far as to say that it is better to say that God is Not Good rather than that he is Good, not, of course, in the sense that he is therefore Bad, but in the sense that our human notion of what to be Good means is so ludicrously trivial by comparison with the absolute Good that God is, that it does not, cannot convey anything approximating to the truth about him. Which clearly means that we should not expect to have about God the sort of knowledge which we have about the objects of our direct awareness.

Are we then to be content with such a dusty answer to our quest for certainty. Are we to try to live on such a negative sort of diet when we are told that God is the supremely positive Being? What becomes of a spiritual life based, apparently, on a sort of emptiness?

No, the situation is not quite so unsatisfactory. It is the very uniqueness of God's significance which produces this paradoxical situation. And, after all, in many another sphere of life, we encounter similar problems. Take a simple case like the force of gravity. We know that our whole physical activity is to a very large extent controlled and conditioned by this all-pervading reality. Yet, if we stop to ask ourselves what *it* is, in itself, we come up against mystery. It cannot be described in terms of anything else, precisely because it is unique in quality—just as it is not possible to describe a colour, a taste; still less can we convey to someone else the special quality that makes a particular person uniquely dear to me. And so on. In the experience of the power of gravity, of the colour blue, of the taste of a cheese soufflé, of the personality of a friend, a wife, a child, I have all I need. The attempt to put that experience into words is doomed to frustration. Oh, I can produce the formula for the *law* of gravity, I can say that the colour blue is related to a certain wave frequency, that a given taste is produced by a certain chemical reaction which the scientist can

investigate and enumerate. But none of this helps to describe the experience as such.

Yes, you are saying—not without a touch of impatience—that is all very well; but the bother is that we do not have any experience of God, any direct awareness of him in the way in which I am aware of gravity when I climb a staircase or drop a book; I can see blue objects; I can *taste* different foods; I can exchange ideas with a friend, and so get to know him. Are you trying to suggest that we experience God in any way that is at all parallel to these encounters? People claim to have "religious experiences"; the mystics apparently have an immediate awareness of God-in-himself. But what about the ordinary run-of-the-mill Christian who is unable to point to anything in his life which he could in any way call an experience of God?

Well, look at it this way. When I listen to a performance of, say, Antony and Cleopatra or the Fifth Symphony, what I am experiencing directly is, of course, the language and the general behaviour of the different actors or the sounds produced by the different instruments that go to make up the orchestra. In one sense this constitutes the whole of my conscious experience. Yet, would it not be true to say that, at least implicity I am experiencing Shakespeare or Beethoven. Shakespeare and Beethoven are dead and gone; yet there is an important sense in which they live on in their art. A metaphor? Yes, of course; but a metaphor with an underlying truth. Had Shakespeare never lived there would have been no Shakespearean plays—no "Shakespeare". Had Beethoven never lived, there would have been none of Beethoven's music, no "Beethoven". Equally, each of these two great artists might have lived without producing their plays or their music respectively. In which case, mankind as a whole would not have had much interest in them. They would have lived and died without leaving any memorial of their existence.

It is just because they have produced their masterpieces that we come to be interested in them, and that it is through watching or listening to a performance of their works that we come to some knowledge of what they must be like. Shakespeare is not Antony, or the actor impersonating Antony. Yet we do come to some awareness of Shakespeare in hearing John Guielgud just as we get at least some feeling for Beethoven by listening to a performance of his works.

I believe that there is in this sort of experience at least a pointer to what one may call an implicit experience of God in and through any "created" experience, by which I mean *any* experience of God's creation. We can, of course, be completely unaware, at the conscious level, of God, just as, in watching a Shakespeare play, we need not, and as a general rule probably do not much advert to the playright himself. It is nevertheless a simple fact that the more seriously I take my theatre-going, the more shall I want to know about the author of the plays I watch. And notice, there is an interesting and highly relevant interaction between my appreciation of the play and my knowledge of the author. The more I know about Shakespeare's life and personality, the more I shall be able to read

into his plays; but, more important still, the more I appreciate the plays, the greater will be my reverence for the man himself. Nor should I wish to separate the two in my mind, except for the obvious point that, whilst I am actually watching the play, my enjoyment of it may be impaired if I am too deliberately trying to think of the author behind the performance.

And here I should like to stress a very pertinent aspect of our present investigation. One important reason for the existing climate of scepticism about or rejection of God is, I am convinced, the way in which "religious" people have tended to dehumanise life by a doctrine which holds that we can come to an awareness and an appreciation of God only by disregarding, as far as may be, his creation. Even the liturgy of the Church suggests, at times, that we should "despise earthly things" in order to arrive at the things of heaven. This is an idea which I believe to be both theologically unsound and psychologically and spiritually disastrous. Ascetic training and practice demands, it is true, a genuine attitude of respect, restraint, even, at times and according to one's vocation, a readiness to surrender many of the good things of life, not because they are in any way "contemptible" but precisely in order that we may grow in an appreciation of their essential goodness. John the Baptist prepared the way for Christ by, amongst other things, a life of rigid mortification. Christ himself not only blessed the natural order of things by accepting it as the basis and background of his whole human experience; he confessedly enjoyed the good things of life, to the degree that he scandalised the Pharisees. I am not suggesting that there was anything in the accusation that he was a "glutton and a drunkard". Of course not. Nor am I suggesting that his life was not a life of hard work and simple tastes. What I do maintain is that, from his first miracle to the incident of the precious ointment, he demonstrated an attitude of acceptance of God's gifts at variance with that fear and suspicion of them which has been all too characteristic of those who have called themselves his followers.

Certainly, if the purpose of creation is to reveal the love of God, we shall allow it to achieve that purpose only if we learn to understand it, to appreciate it, to love it. Nor must we allow ourselves to be misled by the regrettable gloss in the Penny Catechism into thinking that this love of ours for, say, our fellow-men, is simply "for God's sake" in the sense that, as seems to be implied, we should not love them for their own sake. It is *only* by learning to love them in and for themselves that we shall come to know what love is like. The other attitude would seem to suggest that we shall find it difficult to love them for their own sakes; but, for God's sake, we'll do our best . . . .

You see, the central truth on which our whole Christian faith is based, the doctrine of the Incarnation, makes sense only if we believe that God speaks to us in human tones, works by our side with human hands, shares our sorrows and our joys, our fears, our hopes, our loves. In other words, we come to God not by by-passing his creation, but by seeing it in relation to him. Nor, again—and even at the risk of boring repetition I must

emphasise this point—does this mean that I have to be constantly mindful of God lest he get "jealous" of his creation. When God described himself (Ex 20:5) as a "jealous" God he was using a vigorous metaphor to warn the Isralites against idolatry. It is possible, of course, to make an idol of this or that aspect of God's creation—which is one reason for asceticism—but the best safeguard against that sort of idolatry is a *proper* appreciation of the qualities of that which I love. I must genuinely love for the sake of that which I love. I must value it in and for *itself* and not for my own self. True love is truly unselfish. Idolatry means worshipping something (somebody) for what I can get out of the situation or it means worshipping an unworthy object, because I am not aware of its unworthiness.

It seems to me that the more you come to admire, to value, to love, the more you arrive at what I can only describe as a transcendal quality in that which is loved. Take the obvious example of what we call "falling in love". It is unecessary to insist that this *can* be a trivial, ephemeral superficial reaction. But there is overwhelming evidence to make it clear that it can and often does lead to a profoundly enriching relationship, whereby the individual comes face to face with reality, with the profound mystery of another human personality in a way which opens up vistas into a world beyond the present. The notions such as eternal, immortal, spiritual take on a meaning which they have never had before. Or again, the poet's insight enables him

> To see a world in a grain of sand
> And a heaven in a wild flower
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
> And eternity in an hour.

Unless we are prepared to discount all this sort of experience as misguided or illusory, we seem to be compelled to recognise that, at least for certain human beings and therefore in principle, creation is the gateway to a knowledge and an insight which we are surely justified in claiming as a beginning of an awareness of a more than human order of reality, an approach to God himself.

Is it possible to develop this line of thought more precisely to satisfy ourselves that this is no vague sentimentalism but is, or can be an effective way to a deepened relationship with God, to an authentic religious attitude. Perhaps we can do this by looking once again at our analogy with the creative arts. When I listen to Laurence Olivier reciting those lines from Othello's soliloquy before he smothers Desdemona:

> Put out the light, and then put out the light:
> If I quench thee, thou flaming minister,
> I can again thy former light restore,
> Should I repent me; but once put out *thy* light
> Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature,
> I know not where is that Promethean heat
> That can thy light relume . . . .

my thoughts and feelings move at several levels. At the more superficial level, I am conscious of the artistry of the actor, though the more consum-

mate the artistry, the less shall I be explicity conscious of it. Next I am moved to an almost unbearable pity, pity for the innocent Desdemona as well as for the misguided Othello. I am aware too of all the tragic element in human experience, the terror of death, the brutal ferocity of unrestrained jealousy, the evil of Iago's devious mind. Behind this again, as we thought, implicit or explicit, is the realisation of the genius of the man who, more than three and a half centures ago, achieved this magic. But notice; all these levels of thought or emotion require that I shall be as involved as completely as possible in the immediate experience. A detached or pedantic approach to the scene, a cold appraisal of Olivier's technique, a deliberate refusal to be identified with the characters in their sufferings—all this will empty the situation of its magic and frustrate its effect.

What I should like to suggest is that an analogue mistake is often committed by believers in their approach to God's world. For a variety of reasons which need not be entered into here, we have been encouraged to see the distinction between God and his creation as something amounting to hostility. True as it clearly is that men have failed to find God in and through his creation, this failure springs, as we have seen, from an inadequate appreciation of the nature of that creation. The more we enter into a genuinely loving relationship with God's creation, the more likely are we to find in it a manifestation of his love. To do this, we need all the disciplined control that the most ascetic teacher could demand. For we must learn to love in a totally unselfish way, if we are to be in a position to appreciate that total unselfishness which is the love of God. In the sheer frailty of the unsupported creature, we shall come to see the paramount need and therefore the actual presence of the power of God.

If it is suggested that the discoveries of modern science have brought about the death of God, the simple answer is, of course, that they have enabled us to deepen our awareness of the fact that God is so much more than a "scientific" explanation. It has to be admitted that men in the past and still to some extent to-day have had a kind of mechanical view of God's activity in his world. Just as, for primitive man, he "spoke" in the thunder, "caused" rain, "punished" man's wickedness by sending plagues or other natural catastrophes, so, even in a more sophisticated age, we have gone on thinking of him as the Ultimate Cause, the First Mover, as essentially the same kind of Thing as that which he causes. In the words of a modern writer:

> God is not dead; but he is the death of any knowledge
> of him that we may have obtained, knowledge that is
> inevitably imperfect; he slays every absolute knowledge;
> as soon as you have described him, he disappears . . . .

It follows then that our quest for God is an unending one. We tire so easily, we human beings; we long for security; we like to know where we are; without familiar landmarks, we feel lost. (Which is perhaps the chief reason for the discontent that is being expressed in some quarters over changes in the liturgy . . . .). But all the worthwhile things in life, above all, the worthwhile relationships, must be worked at. ("A man,

Sir, should keep his friendship in constant repair"). We can hardly expect to develop a meaningful relationship with God unless we are prepared to take him at least as seriously as our golf, our favourite hobby, our marriage . . . .Can we honestly say we do? And if we do not, can we complain if we find him elusive, shadowy, impalpable, inaccessible. He is, in one sense, all these; but only in the sense in which, say, the central reality of another's selfhood eludes analysis, still more mastery.

> Why, having won her, do I woo?
> Because her spirit's vestal grace
> Provokes me always to pursue,
> But, spirit-like, eludes embrace . . .
> Because, though free of the outer court
> I am, this Temple keeps its shrine
> Sacred to heaven; because in short,
> She's not and never can be mine.[1]

We think we understand a close friend, a wife: up to a point we do, because we can exchange words, ideas . . . . Yet, as we know, we can and do go on making discoveries about them all our life long. So—but even more so—is it with God. We catch glimpses of him in the beauty and wonder of his creation, in a thousand experiences which are experiences of God, not directly but indirectly, just as we experience a poet in his poetry, a sculptor in his work, an inventor in the very gadgets we make use of. Not one person in ten thousand, I suppose, ever thinks of Marconi as they switch on their radios. Yet he is the explanation of what they are doing.

> "God does not die when we cease to believe in a
> personal deity; but we die on the day when our
> lives cease to be illumined by the steady radiance
> renewed daily, of a wonder the source of which is
> beyond all reason"[2]

"Renewed daily"—that, I suggest, is the secret. God can reveal himself only to the person who is prepared to listen, listen not to spoken words but to the Great Silence which is God, a silence which found its full and final utterance in The Word, the Word made Flesh.

[1] Coventry Patmore, "Married Lover".
[2] Dag Hammerskjöld, "Markings".

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

The Ealing Abbey "Living Parish Pamphlets" team has now branched out into a library of tapes (5-inch playable on two or four-track machines at 3¾ speed). They include three tapes by the Professor of Comparative Religion at Lancaster University, Ninian Smart, on "The Indian Religious Experience", "The Chinese Religious Experience" and "Christianity and Other Religions".

INTERNATIONAL ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE: ECUMENICAL SOCIETY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

Two years ago the Society called its first International conference, to which it brought among its lecturers Cardinal Suenens at Coloma.[1] During Easter Week another such conference was held at Newman College, Bartley Green, Birmingham, to which some 120 members (including a number of the brethren) went to pray and be lectured on the theme "Mary in the Bible". The Society began in 1967 as a group of friends of several Christian traditions, which included Dom Ralph Russell of Downside,[2] to discuss ways of bringing Marian theology into the current ecumenical dialogue "because its basic questions are about the form God's salvation takes in the world". In March, 1969 a general meeting was held at Westminster Central Hall, where a governing body was elected. The present Executive Chairman is Bishop Langton Fox of Menevia, and the General Secretary is Martin Gillet who called the conference.[3] To the conference messages of goodwill were sent by His Holiness the Pope, Secretary of State Cardinal Villot, Cardinal Hennan and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The conference was divided into lectures, meditations and "festal ecumenical services", and every meal seemed also to be a celebration, where international scholars or bishops sat entertaining nuns or layfolk. Mass or the various communion services were presided over by a bishop or senior minister each day, communion always being in both kinds. Each denomination in turn said their Eucharist service at noon, otherwise taking their turn before breakfast. There were morning and evening meditations conducted in turn by Bishop Langton Fox (RC), Canon John de Satgé (C of E)[4] and Rev Neville Ward (Methodist).[5] An Old Catholic bishop said Mass in a side chapel. During an afternoon the Society visited Selly

1 The first Conference, entitled "The Blessed Virgin in the Church Today", was held at Coloma College, West Wickham, Kent during 13-17 April, 1971. The Presidents were Bishop Holland of Salford and Bishop Chadwick of Barking (cf his lecture to the Ampleforth summer conference, "Mary and Ecumenism", JOURNAL, Autumn 1972, 53-7). Among the papers read at Coloma were "The reticence of the biblical tradition of the Blessed Virgin Mary" by the Dean of York, "The theological life of the Blessed Virgin Mary according to Vatican 11" by Mgr Philip Delhaye, Dean of the Louvain Theological Faculty and since brought into the Curia, and "The place of the Blessed Virgin in a secular society" by F. M. Jelly, O.P. of the Washington Dominican house of studies (this since published as a Society pamphlet at 15p).

2 The Society's first publication was an address by Dom Ralph Russell on the theme of our meeting, "The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Bible".

3 H. Martin Gillett, 237 Fulham Palace Road, London SW6 6UB, to whom applications for membership at £1.50 per annum should be sent.

4 A former Canon of Sheffield Cathedral, John de Satgé is a founder of the Society and one of its first writers.

5 A Marian writer, he is Superintendent Minister at Bath. At the Coloma meeting he spoke under the title, "As I see it now".

Oak Colleges, a major centre of Quaker study built up by the Cadbury family, where a meeting of the Society of Friends led by Hugh Doncaster introduced Mary into its prayer perhaps for the first time. In all of this some of the brethren found time for an afternoon at Stanbrook Abbey quite nearby.

The first evening began with two presidential addresses, the first from the General Secretary of the British Council of Churches, Bishop Cyril Kenneth Sansbury. He began by citing an example of Protestant prejudice, which showed why the Society existed: "The Catholics worship the Blessed Virgin but don't believe in God, whereas we worship God and don't believe in the Blessed Virgin"! He said that even the medieval past had got Mary's role wrong, depicting her as the kindly mother pleading for us to Christ her Son, supposedly the stern judge with little pity. In recent times Catholic devotional tradition, he said, had seemed to be brought onto the same level as revealed dogma; so much so that it was rumoured abroad in the 1950s that another Marian dogma was to be promulgated, until Pope John refused to speak *ex cathedra* at all but spoke instead of a proper hierarchy of doctrine. In all this there were ample grounds for such a Society as this, which arose to promote devotion to Mary in the cause of unity; and to study the place *under* Christ of the Blessed Virgin *in* the Church (a very exact statement). Has there been in the Protestant tradition, the bishop asked, "an excessive masculinity which has distorted the true proportion of faith?" Have the Catholic brethren a treasure here which the Anglican and Protestant Churches have not inherited in its fulness?

Bishop Alan Clark, President of the Ecumenical Commission of England and Wales and Bishop of Elmham, followed with a second presidential address from the Catholic Church. He referred to the work of Karl Barth: the Tübingen theologian had observed that authorised Roman Mariology raises the fundamental issue of the authentic cooperation of human nature with creative grace. Marian theology is essential to the full understanding of the Incarnation and of the economy of salvation (this issue kept recurring during all of the papers): the so-called "legend" of *theotokos*/God-bearer/Mother-of-God, was not a construction merely to illustrate the title "Son of God", which theologians might treat non-historically; it was a reality and is so now. Where then do we begin . . . again? We begin with the Bible in our hands, realising that the force of modern biblical criticism has shown up simple fundamentalism as insufficient, and the reductionist schools of mythological legend as extremist; realising that extreme interpretations have seriously undermined the pastoral scene. There is need now for an ecumenical conjunction of our wisdom, for shared study and prayer, where the profoundest scholarship and the common life of devotion permeate one another in a fruitful compound of fact and midrash. Pope Paul, in his letter to the rectors of Marian shrines, wrote: "Is it not above all because of her faith that Mary is accepted as the model of the Church? . . . We need a faith as firmly rooted as hers." And so began our study of "Mary in the Bible".

And now to the main lectures from the sublime singers of exegesis—
A little bench of heedless bishops here,
And there a chancellor in embryo,
Or bard sublime, if bard may e'er be so.

The Carmelite theologian Eamon Carroll of the Catholic University of America discussed "Systematic theology of the Blessed Virgin in relation to exegesis", telling us what an effort it had been after the Council for systematic theologians, who had thought they were in full command of their discipline, to have to embrace biblical theology with all its new techniques and vast extra literature: for we know the person of Christ through a combination of dogmatic tradition (that he put first), confessional faith and hermeneutical study of Scripture—all these in close weave. Indeed all truth is inspired by the Spirit, Scripture being only the major source among many: legion are the signs of God outside Revelation. The main problem in modern exegesis, he said, was the unity of the gospel and the variety of the canon, the fact of "a canon within the Canon" of Scripture, where parts of the New Testament appeared to be not the direct revelation of Christ but the evidence of early Christian reflection on the Revelation of God in common. Asking for sympathy one for another between exegetes and systematic theologians, Fr Carroll reminded the first that Mary and Paul both saw the Law not as an end but as tutor directing man to Christ, after which it had to fall away; and the second group that they must take the aesthetic element in exegesis seriously, that besides the existential and ontological, the spheres of truth and goodness, there was in the word of God the element of beauty which was the realm of *pulchrum* intermediate between *verum* and *bonum*. Mary came into his talk rather more as illustration for his principles, than in her own right; but he had some valuable observations to make. He spoke of her as the model for the intimate union of God and man, as the new Eve and archetype of the Church, for "God's act of grace is out of all proportion to Adam's wrongdoing" (Rom 5.15). She was the daughter of Sion, the quintessence of the holy remnant, the root which survives as vehicle of continuity in the saving history that couples Eve to the new Eve. This remnant-continuous, this recurring obedient fiat to the standard bearers of the faith (Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham and so on) opened the horizon within which Jesus was then able to perform his task: the link between Eve, Sarah who "judged that he who had promised would keep faith" (Heb 11.11), Israel, daughter of Sion, and finally the sinless Mary—sinless so that she could pronounce her fiat as holy one with mind unclouded—was crucial to salvation. The long linkage of holy acceptance met the shaping of a new creature fashioned by the Spirit, who was able then to give Christ to the world; this in itself was a great breakthrough from the law of procreation, yet it lifted the law instead of denying it. It is interesting that a woman was given for a moment the central place in our redemption, in a Jewish world where no woman could so much as stand in the sanctuary!

A Cambridge lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic, Dr Sebastian Brock, then spoke of "Mary in the Syriac Tradition", taking as his staple the

texts of two poets—this because poetry was a normal medium of Syriac theological expression at a time before Greek influence had introduced the cold touch of rationalism. The Syriac Church gives a paramount emphasis to the Annunciation, even should it fall on Good Friday itself, since without the fiat of Mary the Incarnation would have never come to be. Eve having sinned through listening to the serpent, the Word then entered Mary through her ear—so the poets Jacob and Ephraim—to dwell secretly in her womb. "The Holy Spirit (feminine in Syriac) will come upon you, and the Most High's power (masculine in Syriac) will overshadow you. . ." (Lk 1.35); that for them is the moment of conception, as she assents. The poets saw Mary as the earth from which the new Adam springs without intercourse, and as a new Adam herself who begot without human conception; as the daughter who wore the robe of glory, which is the symbol of baptism, giving it to Israel her ancient debilitated father to cover his nakedness. The poets made much of baptism, Mary's baptism which cleansed her understanding and made radiant her virginity being Christ's birth, Christ's baptism being immersion in "the pure womb of the river", man's baptism being in Christ, and all three suffused with fire and spirit. Mary to the Syriac poets is always the sanctified one who cooperates with the Sanctifier, "she who conceived as a virgin and gave birth as a virgin—a gift that nature can give to no woman". To them she is the ark of the Covenant, the cruse of unending oil, the container of the Uncontainable. They remind us, by their mode of expression, that the Bible is similarly full of symbolism, typology, allegory and parable, that it speaks more often in poetic imagery than in terms designed to please the systematic theologian (at which Fr Carroll recognised himself, and smiled).

A London Professor of Oriental Laws, Professor Duncan Derrett, then spoke on "Mary in Midrash and Mary in Fact". It turned out to be a rather startling paper examining in natural terms the plausibility of the virgin birth, which is judged to be a tradition late in Christian thinking and not voiced in either Paul or Mark. The tradition apparently rests on Matthew and Luke and could have no meaning, except to Christ in his own personal life, until the Resurrection was fully digested. The tradition began to take its full part in the presentation of the Redemption story at the stage when it could be incorporated into liturgical literature after Mary's death. Clearly the tradition of the virgin birth, as a bizarre story too embarrassing or too much of an effrontery to be fiction, existed in bare form as early as the simplest Resurrection narrative. But it needs the coalescence of theology and reminiscence to bring it forward as suitable rather than shocking. (An earlier discussion suggested that the virgin birth was necessary to the boy Jesus, so that his mother's explanation of his unusual conception without human father would force him to question his own being and vocation, till he reflected on his mission; so that by twelve years old he was able to reply to his half-comprehending mother, who had referred to Joseph as "your father", "Did you not know that I was bound to be in my Father's house?"). Reminiscence supports theology, as historical conviction supports credal belief; and men who think are glad of historical reconstruction as putting credulity or poetry into perspective.

Both Matthew and Luke are—so it seems—independently resting on reminiscence, and should be looked at separately. Interpreted in the light of contemporary Jewish custom, Matthew may be saying this: betrothed to Joseph, Mary expected to be acquired by act of intercourse, but before they actually made physical contact she was detected as "having in the belly" (the phrase covering pregnancy, pseudocyesis or psychologically induced false pragnancy, or wind[6]) at the agency of the Holy Spirit. Joseph was scrupulous not to transgress the law forbidding penetration of a woman already pregnant by another. From this the Professor astonished his hearers by suggesting that Mary as a virgin had had an intense desire for male issue but none for intercourse; and this, associated with intense religious feeling as a Jewish girl longing to be the vessel of the Messiah, caused pseudocyesis. She then, he suggested, became pregnant at her "coming together" with Joseph on the night of nuptials by extra-vaginal fecundation without penetration. This rare combination would produce a very long manifestation of pregnancy beginning outside the marriage when Mary was in every sense virgin. It would take on meaning to them only later on when it became evident that Jesus was the Christ, before that time being a half-forgotten curiosity in their lives. The Luke account is rather more complicated and more suffused with midrashic allusion (the manger, for instance, being a symbol of ritual purification and of the tomb of rebirth). Zachary as priest and Elizabeth as beyond the menopause were both familiar with the field of non-menstruation. Elizabeth, when she conceived, took her pregnancy at first as pseudocyesis (a mark of the spirit of evil at work) and "for five months lived in seclusion" (Lk 1.24). From the sixth to the ninth month, Mary lived with her cousin, leaving just before the Baptist's birth. Those three months, it is suggested, would set up in so religiously longing a Jewish virgin its own pseudocyesis effect, which would become evident by the third month. Elizabeth would then have hurried her cousin home to legitimize her child before the seventh month was upon her—but she would not expect unchastity, rather pseudocyesis. That being "wind", the real truth, the work of the Spirit by the message of an angel, is then seen as God's deeper action within the same symbolism. Mary knows intuitively that she will bear the Son of the Most High irrespective of carnal intercourse. Luke tells us that, mysteriously preserving her virginity according to the tradition of the divine generation of the heroines of Jewish history established in the Haggadah, she conceived by the work of the Spirit in a way that tends to obscure the role of the father (Joseph being in this case but a secondary agent of secondary interest). The unexpected birth in the Bethlehem cave was then appropriate for a couple who could not pin down the time of conception and so calculate time of birth. The tradition of a painless birth of Jesus is paralleled in the heroines of Jewish scriptural history who, being fertilised by act of God, thereby of right escaped the curse of Eve. These conclusions were found disturbing and the discussion following this presentation was muted and half incredulous. It was felt by many that the

[6] Cf Isaiah 26.18, "We were with child, we writhed and cried out in our pangs, we have as it were brought forth wind. We have wrought no deliverance in the earth."

case was insufficiently grounded in Scripture taken in its interlocking entirety, and even violated integral parts of it.

Centrepiece of the lectures was that of the Abbé Réné Laurentin of Angers University (he who has written "Structure et Théologie de Luc 1-11", 1957). He is Vice-President of the French Society of Marian Studies. He spoke to us in fractured English, assisted by the readings of a Campion Hall Jesuit and Fr Columba at question time, on "Mary in the Communion of Saints", beginning with the communion of saints as groundbase for the relation of Mary as mother of Jesus. She is the model of the fruitfulness of fellowship, found as she is among those who persevere in waiting for Pentecost. She is allotted a humbler place than the Apostles, witnesses of the public ministry in a way that she clearly was not. Women in the Old Testament are of their nature inferior, being unable to share in ritual circumcision; but in the New they are equal in the equivalent, viz baptism. In the Gospels, Jesus seems sometimes at odds with his family, always making them secondary to his Ministry and the Twelve. There is from the start a continual cycle of rebuff and return: at twelve in the Temple, at Cana, at Capharnaum, at the Cross. Mary is the model for those who do as the Lord determines (cf Jn 2.5; 19.25): by the power of faith, "Mary conceived in her heart before her body", as the ancient Mass forms have it. She is part of the fellowship of faith and obedient attendance. That spirit of fellowship was lost by the Church's understanding in a mist of hierarchy. From Constantine onwards, and reaching a crescendo in the writings of Pseudo-Denis with his angelic hierarchies, the pyramid concept came to dominate theology. It is unscriptural: "it is not to be thus with you". The pattern is familiar, the shift from nomadic style to agricultural, from preaching to ruling; and with it the shift of Mary's title from *Theotokos* (God-bearer) to *Basilissa* (Queen) who gradually comes over against the Church, till St Bernard has her at the side of Christ the judge—then she begins to become in devotion and theology Redemptrix, Mediatrix, Salvatrix, Reparatrix and the rest. Later she is seen as *gratia plena* in the sense that the canonists made their claims for the *plenitudo potestatis* of the papacy, possessing eminently all the graces of the Church, all knowledge and talent and skill, all the powers of the nine choirs of angels. She is the *adjutorium Christi* where priests are but ministers. During the last three centuries the process of inflation continued, except in the writings of Newman in Birmingham (at that the conference smiled, being in Birmingham themselves).[7] Mary and Christ were said to be predestined by the one same decree, a thought begun by the Franciscans and taken into the *incipit* of the 1854 bull *Ineffabilis* (on the Immaculate Conception). Jesus, it was said, is conceivable without the elect but not without Mary. Mary was said to merit *de congruo* what Christ merited *de condigno;* and then she was said to merit also *de condigno*, as Co-Redeemer. And then she was called in the last century the *co-caput ecclesiae*, assimi-

[7] Fr C. S. Dessain of the Birmingham Oratory (who was at the Conference) lectured to the Society (pamphlet 11) in May, 1971 on "Cardinal Newman's teaching about the Blessed Virgin Mary".

lated into Christ high above the communion of saints.[8] When the Second Vatican Council fathers were asked to countenance her as "in the Church", they began by objecting, wanting to grant her a supplicatory omnipotence. The blessed change came with the re-education brought about in the Council chamber. Fr Laurentin claims that the most vital insight of the whole Council was the restoration of Mary to the fellowship of the saints as the handmaid of the Lord (cf the history of the drafting of *Lumen Gentium*, the decree on the Church with its famous Ch.8 concerning her). What were the reasons for this? One must surely be the democratic rebellion against the Constantinian system of hierarchy. Another must be the return to Scripture "...so that they may have life", "...not the virtuous, but sinners", the accent on service and fellowship, what benedictines mean by *magis prodesse quam praeesse*. Mary found her place not in a separate schema but in the last chapter of the Constitution on the Church, the second of which was given to the People of God rather than the Hierarchy. After a split vote, she was described as the type of the Church, the nexus between the Church in via and the Church in heaven, as a channel for kenosis and compassion. Her claims to grandeur as Co-Redemptrix, her exalted Queenship were all put out of court by a salutary return to our understanding of her organic role in the working of the Church. Her true glory was unmasked again, that she is *Ancilla Domini*, who listens to the word of God and keeps it.[9] She is the first to participate receptively and actively in the coming of Christ. She is the primordial witness, closer to the mystical body than others because closer to Christ. She is a human presence, a non-creative non-grace-constitutive presence, a sisterly presence showing the way (Jn 2.5).

A very interesting paper analysing "Luther's Commentary on the Magnificat" came from Fr Donal Flanagan, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Maynooth. He began amusingly: "Dear Friends—I know you too well now to call you Ladies and Gentlemen..." Luther wrote his famous commentary during the crucial period November 1520—June 1521, during the time when the dye was cast by the condemnation of Worms. He dedicated it to the Elector John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, writing, "I do not know anything which serves so well (as the Magnificat) to instill... the fear of God". The most important of Luther's Marian writings and the most Catholic, it is a book containing a keen sense of the grandeur of God and the littleness of Mary. It moved John de Medici, Leo X, to say "blessed are the hands which wrote this work" before Luther's name came to his attention. Martin Luther began with a discussion of the true praise of God by the spirit-inspired believing soul, God being the object of believing praise without that being conditional upon his benefits. Luther then meditated upon the cost to God in lowering himself to the nothingness of man: it was a true himility in Mary, not a false humility, which gave her understanding of the title *theotokos*. Since only God's works in

[8] Abbé Laurentin made just such a survey of Marian theology in 1953, in his book "Queen of Heaven", the first part of which is an account of the development of Marian doctrine to that date.

[9] Cf Dom Edmund Carruth, "Mary and the Council" (Glasgow 1969).

us are the true fruit of ourselves, we praise in praising Mary the works of God in her and she in her turn leads us to God. As the saint gives praise to God for his temporal works, his gifts, so Mary here praises her own motherhood as God's greatest act, as a gift which she could not merit. All of God's works must be brought back to God alone; and we must follow Mary in returning to God alone. That is the purport of Luther's Commentary. Many Lutherans find it an embarrassment that their source theologian should have remained so gently Catholic so late; and many Catholic theologians are too quick to search for Luther's protestantism here in his stress upon man's nothingness and the operations of God without the cooperation of man. But Luther, it should be remembered, was writing in an intolerable pastoral situation: ceaselessly self-seeking bishops, ignorant and superstitious men, salvation for sale by Indulgences, works alone extolled as able to earn direct or vicarious merit. Mary was suggested as an attractive side-road to salvation, by-passing the judgment of God—and it is this that he is rejecting. He is attacking the contemporary liturgy as preoccupied with materials and images, with "the babbling of lips and rattling of rosaries", with externalism in devotion and even in the chanting of the Magnificat when an abyss remains between heart and mouth. He is castigating fair weather chanters, and those who appropriate God's gifts to themselves, and those who fill the ears of the faithful with false preaching about reliance on good works, and those who sell their works. Better it is, he held, to take from Mary too much of her honour than to take from God who gives all. Because of this polemic undercurrent, Luther is driven to an extreme Catholic defence of the grace of God over against the intercession of Mary and the saints; but he is still marginally Catholic and a champion against real abuse. His portrait of Mary in his Commentary saps the exaggerations of the time which had turned her into a grande dame almost a goddess, for he portrays her as lowly, humble, simple, a woman of imperfections, a woman on the side of man rather than of God, the foremost recipient of God's grace as receiver rather than meriter. She praises God in himself first, then God in his works, then her own nothingness in them: she does nothing, God does all in her, and in the same way are other saints to be involved. But has Luther made Mary a mere demonstration of God's redeeming grace? No, for he does posit her as an instrumental source of salvation for men, in that she wants them to come not to her but through her to confidence in God's grace. If, pace Aquinas, we take an *interpretatio benigna*, we find here an authentic Marian devotion not easily shaken off by Luther in a long and contradictory life. The opening line declares that: "May the tender Mother of God procure for me (Martin Luther) the prophesy of wisdom..." Luther's later anti-Marian writings were directed not against the Mother of God but against Mariolatry and against a false doctrine of merit. The grace v merit problem occupied most of the question time, and Rev Professor Eric Mascall gave a remarkable presentation of the Thomist theology of grace.[10] It is interesting that we sing in Easter week,

[10] At Coloma, Professor Mascall gave a lecture on "The relevance of the Theotokos in present day theology". At Birmingham, he made many valuable contributions during question time.

as we debated, *Regina caeli, quia quem meruisti portare resurrexit...* It is interesting that Luther invoked the Blessed Virgin both at the beginning and end of his Commentary: "May Christ grant us this through the pleading of his beloved mother Mary...", which presumably gives her a place in the economy of grace as intercessor—and here the Germans present made distinctions between pleading and advocacy. But then, "it is God who works in us, inspiring both the will and the deed, for his own good purpose." (Phil 2.13).

A Lutheran Pastor from Stuttgart, Pfarrer Wolfgang Borowsky, then gave us the viewpoint of the Lutherans, "The Role of Mary in the Bible". She is held as the model to mankind in faith, humility and suffering; as a sister and *prima inter pares* who shared the faith of the disciples (Acts 1.14); as one who endured in her weakness, who experienced painful incomprehension and knew the sorrow of desertion by a receding Christ (it was the mother's experience enhanced). She never became, as Peter in Mt 16.23, a temptation to her Son, nor did she lose composure at the Cross but adhered to Christ in trust. Sometimes it must have seemed that her Son encouraged other women—the women of Bethany or the woman of Sidon—more than her: "Your concern, Mother, is not mine. My hour has not yet come." And she had to watch when "even his brothers had no faith in him" (Jn 7.5). Lutherans do not hold Mary to have been sinless, for by birth no sin is transmissible and therefore there is no need to posit the Immaculate Conception—otherwise there would be a need to posit an infinite regression of sinless parents. (Of course, Catholic theologians speak of the fittingness of her sinless state, rather than its necessity). However Lutherans do concede to Mary the highest place among believers, esteeming her as highly as any human being can be esteemed. The discussion again revolved around *sola gratia, gratia plena*, and the degree of man's capacity to cooperate with salvific grace: Lutherans can grant acceptance of grace but cannot go so far as to assent to human cooperation. As to the Assumption, some Lutherans hold that when we are dead we exist till the general resurrection only in the mind of God—and this rather curtails Mary's intercessory powers.

The final and surely the most demanding lecture was given by Fr John McHugh, lecturer in Scripture at Ushaw College and Durham University:[11] he spoke of "The Woman clothed with the sun", providing a close analysis of the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation, which is notoriously difficult to interpret. What is the Woman—Mary, the Old Testament Church, the Church of Christ? Anguish of childbirth (12.2) and birth of a male child (12.5) seem respectively to rule out Mary and the Church founded by Christ. The birth seems to refer not to Bethlehem but to the Resurrection, Christ's birth into glory: the Greek "anguish" is a word not normally used of childbirth but of torture (which follows curiously from 12.1) or of the pangs of death (Ac 2.24). In this context

[11] At Coloma, he lectured on "The Blessed Virgin according to St John". He has just returned from three months study in Germany, and is going on to a similar study in France in order to bring to publication a book on Our Lady which he has long had on the stocks. It will be important.

St Gregory of Nazianzen spoke of the swaddling clothes of the tomb. So the Woman represents the faithful remnant of Israel which brought forth the Risen Lord and his brethren (12.17). Isaiah 26.17-18 and 66.7-8 both use the child-bearing imagery in referring to a resurrection, and John 16.99-22 picks up the metaphor: suffering is to be the prelude to joy and its very condition, and the sufferings even of the disciples are to contribute to the birth—they will have to present Christ to the world as a mother. The Qumran hymn 1Q3 has "a wonderful mighty counsellor" snatched out of reach of his enemy, and this not by the Church nor by "the synagogue of Satan" which was Israel, but by the holy remnant. Joseph's dream in Genesis 37.9 ("the sun and the moon and eleven stars were bowing down to me") provides a promising interpretation, but does not in fact fit as a source; though the Song of Solomon 6.10 ("fair as the moon, bright as the sun...") does, the moon signifying beauty and the sun power. The number of the stars, $4 \times 3 = 12$, symbolise the perfection of the New Jerusalem, which is described at length in multiples of 12. The Woman, then, signifies both the remnant and the New Jerusalem of heaven, the Church in the mind of God to be realised, the safe desert out of range of Satan's touch. Satan can make war on the Church in via (12.17) in its members, but not in itself for it is invincible from evil even on its earthly pilgrimage. At the Cross, then, the full symbolism meets: Christ suffers the birthpangs of the Resurrection and Mary-the-remnant offers her sacrifice of faith: what is born is God's new creation. Mary, as daughter of Sion, had fulfilled the prophesy of Symeon: where Luke stresses her role in the Incarnation, John stresses that same role in the Redemption. Apocalypse 12 is the whole hinge, and has indeed been used as a key text supporting the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of the Assumption.

Those were the papers. On one evening, before a festival service of praise and thanksgiving when the bishops put on their purple, the religious their habits and the women their evening dresses, George Patrick Dwyer, Archbishop of Birmingham, brought along the Anglican Bishop of Birmingham and amusingly introduced an illustrated historio-topographical lecture on "Marian shrines in the Holy Land" by Fr Fidelis Buck SJ, Professor of Old Testament studies in Ontario. His Grace the Archbishop hoped we would enjoy the lantern show, hoped we would not rustle our toffee papers and deplored the fact that the most venerable present had been put in the cheap seats down in the front. The mood was a relief from high scholarship, and played well towards the Jesuit's dry humour —"where there is a shrine in the Holy Land, I always believe the event must have taken place within a mile or so of it." The Blessed Virgin was nearer to us than that during this conference: as Coventry Patmore once said and as seemed the more apparent after the lectures, "She is our only saviour from an abstract Christ". She is that gentle element of love, of feminity, of caring concern, of listening acceptance, which takes the polemic out of ecumenical dialogue. To study *sola gratia* or *sola scriptura* without her is to court trouble: but with her, and with her tender prayer for the prophesy of wisdom, what dreams may come... A.J.S.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, reviews have been arranged under headings in the following order: Father, Son and Spirit; the dialectic of religious development; medieval development; philosophers of history; political service and ambition; centenaries of holy women; spiritual poetry; aspects of prayer; General.

I. FATHER, SON AND SPIRIT

Thomas F. Torrance GOD AND RATIONALITY OUP 1971 216 p £2.75.

God and Rationality is the sequel to Professor Torrance's magisterial *Theological Science*. Of the eight essays which it contains, several are occasional pieces, and, although they are no less authoritative for that, there is inevitably a certain amount of overlap and repetition of argument among them: sometimes, too, there are disconcerting changes of tone, from the high theology of Professor Torrance's main thesis to the asperity of his "asides"—e.g. on Bultmann. Professor Torrance has dedicated his book to the memory of Karl Barth, and no one who knows anything of Barth's revitalising influence on modern theology will wish to deny him the dedicatory title of "*Doctor Ecclesiae Universalis*". Pius XII declared Barth to be the greatest theologian since St Thomas Aquinas, and Professor Torrance acknowledges the essential accord between them by quoting the words of St Thomas—"Christus qui secundum quod homo, via est nobis tendendi in Deum"—in support of the central contention of his book, that "Jesus Christ gives decisive content and structure to our knowledge of God and constitutes the objective centre by reference to which Christian theology clarifies and develops its inner dogmatics." If anything detracts from this accord, it is perhaps the addition of "structure" to "content".

Although Barth's polemic against the *analogia entis* is not without some justification Barth himself admits that his early theology overemphasised *diastasis* at the expense of *analogia*. The question of their proper balance only arises on the supposition that God's transcendence is not wholly out of relation with creaturely intelligence, that it can at least be signified by means of the distinction which it is always possible to make between the direction indicated by analogy and that towards which it points. This is not a distinction which operates only in the field of natural theology: when it is said, for example, that "what God is in Christ, He is antecedently in Himself", the same distinction is applied to revelatory events: the *content* disclosed is the divine nature, but the humanly intelligible *structure* by means of which this contact is discerned remains the same. If, then, we adopt an uncompromisingly Barthian position, as does Professor Torrance, and place within the Humanity of God, not only "the decisive content" but also "the structure of all our knowledge of God", then, paradoxically, the *diastasis*, or distance from God, the preservation of which is a demand of our initial undertaking, is abolished and with it the cognitive freedom of the creature. If we have such freedom, it lies in our capacity to distinguish—e.g. our own "objectifying" from things as they really are, our own concepts of God from what God shows Himself to be. Professor Torrance's essay on "The Epistemological Relevance of the Holy Spirit" seems, however, to obliterate the distinction on which the attainment of such objectivity rests: for, although he declares that "in all knowledge we are concerned with a relation of knowing and speaking to being, and that there must be a real *diastasis* between them if we are to have knowledge at all, for knowledge would never arise or would simply cease if there were an outright disjunction or an outright identity between them", yet he goes on to answer the question, "How is it that we think by means of our human thinking what utterly transcends our thought?", by stating that this takes place "through the operation of the Holy Spirit who relates the divine Being to our forms of thought and speech and realizes the relation of our forms of thought and speech to the Truth of God." But this is not an answer to the question posed: it is, rather, a rejection of it. Whether or not they are supported by revelation, the concepts and terms which we use to speak about God are our own: the question of determining under what conditions human language can direct us to God must not be evaded by invoking the aid of the Holy Spirit, and to say that it does so by virtue of revelation is to answer the question by the question. How the notion of "transcendence" is limited by that of "logical possibility" is a philosophical question, and no advance towards a solution is made by asserting that the Holy Spirit solves it for us, for this is to deny us the cognitive freedom without which we would not be able to distinguish the operation of Holy Spirit from its counterfeits. In short, an argument is not "saved" simply by being "baptized".

It seems, then, that Professor Torrance's theology of the Third Person risks abandoning those very distinctions on which so much of his constructive theologizing rests. Among these is the distinction between "objective thinking" and "objectifying". In the opening essay, Professor Torrance disposes of the claim made by some modern theologians that we cannot speak of God as an object because that would suggest that our thinking in some sense determines God's nature. Professor Torrance is at pains to insist on the difference between "objective thinking", which is informed by the reality of that which confronts it, and "objectifying", which shapes our knowledge in accordance with the conceptions which we ourselves entertain. It would indeed be a gross error to suppose that God can be an object of knowledge in the latter sense, and Professor Torrance's exposure of a possible source of terminological confusion is valuable, but at the same time it needs to be said that objective thinking and objectifying are not necessarily in opposition: they may coincide (for language itself is a mode of objectification), and if they did not sometimes coincide there would be no means of discovering, either that what we took to be fiction was in fact the case, or that what we took to be fact was only fiction after all.

IAN DAVIE.

Edmund J. Fortman THE TRIUNE GOD; A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY Hutchinson 1972 xxiv + 383 p £6.

Fr Edmund Fortman, S.J., in a weighty volume forming part of a new series of "Theological Resources", makes it his aim to trace the historical development of trinitarian doctrine from its written beginnings down to its contemporary status among Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic theologians. He writes primarily therefore as a historian of dogma, but he does so, he confesses, as himself a firm believer in the "Triune God", hoping all the same that his selection, interpretation and presentation of the historical evidence will not have been substantially affected thereby. He need not, I think, have feared for his objectivity: his historical account of what theologically is the basic dogma of the Christian faith is admirably clear-sighted and comprehensive, and as such has the requisite qualities of a students' manual, for which it will well serve.

The author begins with the biblical data, whence the trinitarian dogma draws its essential content. From there he reviews the evolution of the doctrine during the patristic period in both East and West, giving due recognition to the part played by the Cappadocian theologians in particular in their adoption of the key-phrase "one ousia in three hypostases". He rightly points out that whereas Athanasius had stressed the unity of the divine nature the two Gregorys put their emphasis on the trinity of the divine hypostases and the primacy of the Father as the "frontal principle" in the consubstantial divine triad, since in their circumstances this seemed to be the needful thing to do. Such too was the general tendency of the pre-Augustinian Latin Fathers, but in St Augustine himself we find the opposite tendency, which postulates a single divine nature or essence in the distinct *personae*. Both tendencies however are orthodox, though the Augustinian was to prevail on the whole in the West. They appeal, it may be said, to differing types of theological outlook. Fr Fortman then turns to the middle ages, surveying the scene in all its breadth from Anselm, Abelard and Gilbert de la Porreé—the latter two "liberals" who alike fell foul of the "traditionalist" Bernard—*via* Hugh and Richard of St Victor and the great contributions towards systematizing trinitarianism in the work of the thirteenth century Dominicans and

Franciscans—notably Aquinas (supremely), Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. The ensuing section deals with Protestant teaching from Luther to our own day. The Reformers' doctrine continued in principle that of the early Church and the traditional creeds: God is one in essence and three in person; though in the seventeenth century we observe fresh attitudes making their appearance. In the nineteenth century, again, Protestantism throws up some quite new options—Schleiermacher's theology of experience, Hegelian idealism and Ritschlian moralistic liberalism, the last-named repudiating the entire metaphysical background of ecclesial Christology in preference to what it believed, in the light of critical biblical scholarship to have been the simple *Wesen* of gospel Christianity. Yet idealism and liberalism were in their turn, and by force of reaction, to produce fresh developments within the present century. In his final chapters Fr Fortman discusses Orthodox and Tridentine and post-Tridentine Catholic teaching. He ends by noting the problems and tensions within contemporary Roman Catholic theology as elsewhere: trinitarian doctrine, he considers, needs to be "received and updated" in response to them. But that trinitarianism is now an obsolete way of conceiving God is a notion he rejects and he leaves the reader with the reflexion that as the Church in the past met and surmounted successive crises in the attempt to understand and formulate its own faith so we today may be confident that it will resolve its current intellectual difficulties. He himself holds that for all the hazards involved in any modern restatement of the doctrine it is impossible "simply to repeat the conventional dogmatic language if the belief behind it is to become intelligible to men of this age". Whether or not one altogether shares Fr Fortman's optimism about the future he is to be congratulated on having produced a lucid record of the past. His book carries also an extensive bibliography, a glossary of terms and full indices. But it is a pity that it has been so highly priced by the publishers. The student under training will doubtless be able to procure it from his college library. The average parish priest, however, will hardly be able to afford it.

BERNARD M. G. REARDON.

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ed. S. W. Sykes and J. P. Clayton CHRIST, FAITH AND HISTORY: CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN CHRISTOLOGY Cambridge University Press 1972 303 p £4.20.

"What do you think of Christ?" has received much attention from English scholars especially earlier this century. One recalls Gore's Kenotic theory in his "Reconstruction of Belief", A. E. J. Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures on the New Testament Doctrine of Christ, Fr Lionel Thornton's difficult book "The Incarnate Lord", and a symposium like "Mysterium Christi". Some remember with gratitude William Temple's "Christus Veritas". These were dealing with the problems men faced then, particularly whether Christ was more than a great teacher. This volume shows scholars are still at this work. The present writer found these essays absorbing because traditional Christology —in the language of Chalcedon—is not easy to commend to many today, but the truths it enshrines must be maintained in other terms.

What was the unique importance of the appearance of Christ in the world 2,000 years ago? M. F. Wiles finds the redemption has been linked with belief in the creation and fall of man. Many find difficulty in thinking of the fall as a datable event, and prefer to call it an account of man's experience. It would then follow that redemption may not be a datable event uniquely performed in Christ, but a continuing process. There is an uneasy feeling that the redemptive act by Christ is an intervention in the world process of creation-redemption. In scholastic theology this is not an urgent problem because creation is not primarily an event but a statement of the truth that the universe only exists because God wills it and without God it would not exist. If events unexpected to us occur, it is not for us to protest but to see God's activity in creation as containing a greater variety of happenings than we had supposed. The Procrustean bed of modern limits of knowledge does not limit the wealth of the divine activity.

J. A. T. Robinson is not persuaded that our Lord did not come into this world and go out again just as "any other king". To him, to assert the absoluteness of Christ the Son of God, "the seamless robe of history has to be torn". Again is not this setting up a product of our thinking and calling it "the seamless robe of history"? This is the mental outlook which rejected Paul's teaching in Corinth because Christ crucified seemed foolishness, and not conduct becoming a philosophic man.

The contributions of Father Sebastian Moore and Professor C. F. D. Moule stand out for their reverent treatment of the matter. Their language suggests (more than others, so it seems to me) that Christ is to them a reality greater than an intellecual study. Fr Moore states his conviction that the birth of faith in Christ "is unaccountable for in ordinary psychological terms". Professor Moule makes clear that Jesus exhibits the nature and character of God in the only way possible through human behaviour—by glad and filial obedience.

Professor Lampe upholds "substance Christology" as showing that Christ was unique in kind rather than degree; and he is unlike the saint who, when inspired to imitate Christ, realises how inferior he is. This is the "scandal of the Incarnation" that D. M. Mackinnon describes as necessary, because only ontology ties theology to the concrete, and saves it from flight to the abstract. Other essays defend the historical value of the New Testament against scepticism which is deemed illogical (Peter Carnley). The love of God shown us in Christ does not mean much to us unless we also have loved (J. K. Riches). That we cannot understand God's ways of revealing himself should not make us talk glibly about the mystery of Christ as something like a mystery to be solved by Sherlock Holmes. Steven T. Katz insists on the use of the categories of adequacy, correctness and truth or falsity in order to keep going meaningful theological discussion. The problem is not that linguistic propositions cannot be appropriate in respect to the divine reality, because we are learning as the generations pass. Theologians may hesitate to make any statement lest it be untrue, or use language as a clumsy and inappropriate tool. Nevertheless theological language should not be wholly divorced from ordinary language about God's world.

These essays have mostly been given at a graduate Christology seminar at Cambridge. To read them has been stimulating, even exciting, and a spur to study as well as to pray to know Christ more deeply.

GILBERT WHITFIELD, O.S.B.

Bruce Vawter BIBLICAL INSPIRATION Hutchinson of London/Westminster of Philadelphia 1972 xii + 195 p £5.00

This volume in the series "Theological Resources" is devoted to a subject which nowadays commands little interest in academic study of the Bible. Even where the status of the Bible as the record of God's special self-revelation to man is acknowledged with full seriousness, inspiration—more particularly, prophetical inspiration—may be noticed as one of the forms in which the revelation was communicated; but biblical inspiration has traditionally meant much more than that. Within the New Testament itself the claim is made that the sacred writings of the Old Testament as a whole are "theopneust", divinely breathed (2 Tim 3:16), while 2 Peter 1:21 comes close to the Greek concept of mantic inspiration in saying that the Old Testament is not the product of human volition but the utterance of men who were carried along by the Holy Spirit.

In his survey of the idea of biblical inspiration from earliest times to our own day, Fr Vawter rightly distinguishes the general Jewish and Christian concept from Greek manticism. Even when early Christian writers use language which suggests that the biblical speakers and writers were passive instruments in the hand of God, they usually make it plain at the same time that those men were in some sense responsible authors. But it was not easy to correlate the divine authorship with the human authorship. The schoolmen achieved some kind of synthesis by fitting the notion of the prophet as instrument of the Spirit into the Aristotelian category of instrumental causality, but this did not prevent disagreement between maximalist and minimalist interpreters. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation opened up fresh

aspects of the question. Calvin (in his commentaries at least, whatever may be said of his *Institutio*) was more flexible than Fr Vawter allows: historical discrepancies (as in Stephen's statement in Acts 7:16 compared with the Genesis narrative) did not trouble him very much, and textual variations troubled him even less. The rise of biblical criticism, from Richard Simon onwards, posed more acute problems.

Fr Vawter carries his survey down to Vatican II and the "new hermeneutic" and points the way to a synthesis which takes account of the spiritual influence which makes the biblical revelation continuously effective in the believing community as well as of that which was responsible for the record in its origins. He points out the dangers of over-simplifying the issue. When we deal with literature which is the product of a process of tradition, to ask who "the inspired author" was is to ask the wrong question. He mentions the *sensus plenior* of Scripture: if this can no longer be accepted in the scholastic sense, it remains true that Scripture has acquired additional meanings in the course of its usage throughout the centuries, which inevitably come to mind when it is read today. Provided these meanings grow out of the original intention and are not at variance with it, they make up a *sensus plenior* within the community to which the Bible peculiarly belongs.

Fr Vawter had given us a study which is valuable not only for what it says but for the stimulus it gives to further thought on an important but difficult subject.

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II. THE DIALECTIC OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

William A. Christian OPPOSITIONS OF RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES Macmillan 1972 129 p £2.80

Professor Christian's "Study in the Logic of Dialogue among Religions" provides a methodology for the higher ecumenism. Religious doctrines are said to be opposed to one another, if they are logical contraries or contradictories: in the case of contraries, both cannot be true (though both may be false), but with contradictories, if one is true, then the other must be false. Professor Christian notes that "it is surprisingly rare for a doctrine of one religion to contradict a doctrine of another religion explicitly", and this, he suggests, is partly because the main point of the doctrines of a religion is not to deny the doctrines of other religions: "they are not generated simply as negative reactions to doctrines of other religions". Professor Christian accordingly develops formulations suggested to him by the literatures of different religions, using these as working examples in order to show how certain inferences might be drawn from them and how oppositions of different kinds might occur. His aim is not a historical one, and he does not presume to tell any religious community what its doctrines are, much less what they ought to be: he is concerned only to ask how oppositions of doctrine are possible, and to this end he frames a hypothetical model situation as a device for studying possible permutations.

A single example must suffice to illustrate Professor Christian's procedure. He considered the sentences—

"Nirvana is that to which life as a whole should be directed"

and

"God is that to which life as a whole should be directed"

pointing out that, by virtue of the qualifier "as a whole", the predicate common to the two sentences is uniquely-applying: a speaker cannot assert it of two or more logical subjects without inconsistency. So these utterances are in opposition unless the speakers are referring to one and the same logical subject under different names. On the assumption that they are not—that the uses of "Nirvana" and "God" have different referents—then what is said in the one is opposed to what is said in the other. But if we reflect on the different manners of directing life that are, by implication, being recommended, we find that an advocate of the former ("Aim at attaining Nirvana") subordinates responsibility to teleology, whilst, for an advocate of the latter ("Respond rightly to God"), it is the other way about, and "it is an interesting but difficult question", Professor Christian adds, "whether this difference necessarily involves an opposition."

The only obligation imposed on us by an opposition of assertions is to recognize that, if we accept one of them, we cannot accept the other: hence, what follows from Professor Christian's analysis is not that one must either be a Buddhist or a Jew, but only that one cannot be both. However, he has not argued that the doctrines of Buddhism and Judaism are in fact in opposition; his object has simply been to show what such opposition would mean. Professor Christian goes on to show that valuations are not incompatible in the same way as beliefs (since one's valuation of something is not just a deduction from one's beliefs about it). For example, could one and the same person assert, without inconsistency, "Nirvana is the supreme goal of life" and "God Alone is Holy"? Suppose that each predicate is taken "to assign to its subject a primacy within some category"—the former to Nirvana in the category of attainable goals, and the latter to God in the category of actual existents. In this case it is not clearly true that the evaluations are in opposition, for "there is no inconsistency in ranking some *m* first in one category and some *n* first in some other category". But suppose, further, that "one could derive from this pair of valuations, which have heterogeneous references, another pair of valuations with homogeneous references, references in the same mode of existence, and a predicate which assigns primacy within this category. Then an opposition could occur". It begins to look as though the Secretariat for Relations with Non-Christian Religions will have to institute courses in Modal Logic before any real progress can be made.

Professor Christian concludes his survey by considering oppositions between "proposals for belief", reviewing their connexions with "course-of-action proposals" and "valuation-proposals" in order to show how beliefs are constituents of the recommended patterns of life. He shows, incidentally, how extremely difficult it is to formulate representative proposals for belief that cannot be accepted jointly without absurdity; in the case of Buddhism and Judaic doctrines about the historical process, for example, "many of the striking contrasts with which we begin turn out to be contrasts of valuations of historical events, not contrasts of assertions about how the historical process actually goes".

Finally, Professor Christian considers the theory that all the major religions really say the same thing, and hence their doctrines cannot really be opposed. The symbolic version of this theory maintains that although two doctrines do not say the same thing, they adumbrate the same thing: one destination, one experience, one path, is "hinted at" in both. The trouble with this theory is that if we take it as an empirical generalisation, it is quite implausible, and if we take it as a further proposal for belief, it becomes difficult to know on what grounds we are to distinguish the claim that all religions point to the same truth from the claim that all religions exhibit the same illusion. None the less, "there are plenty of good reasons to look for *convergences* of doctrines", Professor Christian concludes, "and the most basic reason would be a conviction that the truth is open to all. 'We all know the nature of life and of the real, though only with exquisite care can we tell the truth about them'." Professor Christian's impeccably argued book exemplifies throughout the exercise of just such "exquisite care".

Ian Davie.

J. H. Walgrave UNFOLDING REVELATION: THE NATURE OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT Hutchinson 1972 xii + 418 p £6

Father Walgrave, a Dutch Dominican currently occupying the chair of fundamental dogma in the theological faculty of Louvain, is already known to English readers as a Newman scholar with his "Newman the Theologian" (1960), a work which, as its original French title indicates, deals in particular with the English divine's concept of doctrinal development. The book now under review takes up the problem which the very idea of development in Christian doctrine necessarily poses and proceeds to

consider it mainly in the light of its own history, since, as the author claims, "the idea of doctrinal development was present from the beginning to Christian self-understanding" and has at no time been entirely obscured. But it also is true that only in comparatively recent times has the fact of such development become problematic and hence a subject of reflexion and concern. "Unfolding Revelation is, accordingly, an account not of the actual development of doctrine itself but of the theories which from from time to time have been advanced to explain and justify it and of which Newman's is merely one. Moreover he sees his undertaking not simply as an essay in historical theology but as an inherent part of the systematic treatment of dogma itself. The sort of question raised, therefore, is: Why does Christian doctrine have a history? What is its nature? Is it a bare record of variations or does it represent the growth of an idea? Or again, which aspect of it seems to prevail, that of continuity or of discontinuity? What evidently the theologian in this area has to show is how a revelation, if its truth be at all expressible in human language, may be objectively closed at a fixed period of history and at the same time admit of further evolution "not only by way of subjective penetration but also by way of objective understanding". Thus the conditions on which an orthodox (Catholic or Protestant) interpretation of doctrinal development depends are twofold, that the word of God really comes to man in the form of human speech—that revelation, as the objective correlative of faith, is intelligible truth—and that this objective revelation has been communicated within a definite epoch which closed at the end of the apostolic age. "If one admits that the process of divine revelation is going on till the end of time, then the fact that new dogmas seem to arise in the course of history is no problem at all." Yet new dogmas or doctrines, on the evidence of history, do appear to have arisen; on what principle, then, if any, can they be admitted as legitimate, in the sense of not innovating upon the original deposit of truth? The Liberal Protestant can extricate himself from the difficulty by insisting that the Christian dogmatic tradition has continuously admitted innovations, resulting over the centuries in its radical alteration or deformation. All, however, who reject this solution of the developmental problem continue to be faced with a real difficulty, for which an answer that is not mere sophistry has to be found.

Father Walgrave admits of course that Newman's own theory of development was an attempt to solve a personal problem. But "when Newman wrote the *Nunc Dimittis* at the end of his 'Essay' he hardly suspected that the question he had tried to answer for himself would become the focus of the most burning problems of the coming age"; though he realized it later when he saw "how the attacks of liberalism were gradually concentrated on dogma and fought with the weapons of historical criticism". Plainly, too, the scholastic philosophy had no adequate armoury to repel these attacks, and Newman's own enterprise had never gained acceptance from the seminary theologians: "He did not fit into the system". A way out of the difficulty might have been that of Modernism, but the modernist solution seemed to impose a treatment so drastic that the integrity of Catholic teaching might not have survived it. Hence no doubt the panic which produced *Lamentabili* and *Pascendi* and the anti-modernist oath. All very sad and regrettable, we now may think, but Father Walgrave believes that Vatican II is likely to prove a turning-point in the history of the Church, although it did not in fact solve many actual problems. "The way lies open, but the work is still to be done." And he observes: "The Council, positive as it may have been, is as little a theological crutch as the condemnations at the beginning of the twentieth century. Some theologians used the conciliar texts as if they were a new Bible limiting the future efforts of Christian thought to commentaries on its letter. This is as dangerous as the attitude of those who considered the condemnation of Modernism as the final word to which nothing might be added." An obviously important piece of work to be done is the evolving of a satisfactory theory of development avoiding both the Scylla of traditionalism and the Charybdis of historical positivism. The dogmas of the Church are not "immovable monuments" above the ocean's tides but "living currents and streams in the flux and reflux of its waters".

Father Walgrave considers that the theologian's study is the intellectual workshop in which the development of doctrine is ultimately achieved, the proper medium of doctrinal growth being "the living, creative activity of theological thought". (Dogma, strictly speaking, does not develop, but only its interpretation.) Thus the bulk of his historical survey comprises a chronological review of theological opinions, first in patristic and mediæval times and then during the modern period. On liberal theology in England Father Walgrave is very perceptive, and he seems to have read everything; as with Bremond or Mgr Nedoncelle, an Englishman at once recognizes that he has the "feel" of things English (and especially Anglican, as witness his comments e.g. on F. D. Maurice, pp. 239-43). His treatment of Catholic Modernism is likewise very fair, though Loisy and Tyrrell provide signal examples of what he calls the "transformistic" theory of development, i.e. the view that development has involved substantial change. So, too, is his section on contemporary liberal theology, in which he subjects Paul van Buren's "Secular Interpretation of the Gospel" to a searching critique. (This book is repeatedly referred to, even by page numbers, but, curiously, its title is never mentioned.) There are also discussions of Blondel's "Histoire et Dogme" (his reply to Loisy) and of von Hügel's position on the theological theory of development (as distinguished, that is, from both the "transformatic" and the "logical" theories), with an appreciative glance at Karl Barth and a short survey of the present situation in Catholic theology.

The author's own conclusion is that the revealed Word of God contains depths of spiritual meaning that are never entirely reached by the dogmas of the Church; depths however which it is always the task of theology to endeavour to sound. Of one thing we may be sure, namely that later doctrines must never be allowed to contradict or obscure "what was undoubtedly intended by the primitive tradition that came to life in the preaching of the ancient Church and in the inspired documents of Scripture"—a principle upon which East and West, Catholic and Protestant can unite in agreement. "Unfolding Revelation" contains an extensive bibliography, yet strangely there is no reference either there or in the text to the work of the American Lutheran scholar, Jaroslav Pelikan, who more than any other perhaps in our day has investigated the very problem which forms the subject of the present volume.

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III. MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT

Brian Tierney ORIGINS OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY 1150-1350: A STUDY ON THE CONCEPTS OF INFALLIBILITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND TRADITION IN THE MIDDLE AGES Leiden: E. J. Brill 1972 298 p 72 Guilders

This book by the Cambridge trained medievalist and Cornell University professor, Brian Tierney, is a major contribution to the current debate over papal infallibility. It originated however in historical research carried out by the author several years before the controversy initiated in 1970 by the Swiss theologian Hans Küng. Tierney's position is remarkably similar to that of Küng, but his book is very different in method and tone. Küng's "Infallible?" was a heated polemical work, appealing only in part to historical evidence, much of it questionably interpreted, some erroneously reported. Tierney writes dispassionately, and his book is a model of intellectual history: clear, exact, never losing sight of the wood for the trees.

Before embarking on the historical investigation indicated in his title, however, Tierney places before the reader a logical consideration. Infallibility, far from enhancing the sovereign power of the popes, actually limits their sovereignty. Infallible pronouncements are irrevocable (as is explicitly stated in the Vatican I definition). Hence each successive pope is bound not merely to the Church's deposit of faith but to the irrevocable formulations of that faith by his predecessors who have chosen to

speak infallibly. Without the claim of infallibility the pope would have greater freedom to change or abandon statements of his predecessors which he considered unhelpful, misleading, or simply wrong.

Turning then to history, Tierney argues with a wealth of carefully marshalled evidence that the doctrine of papal infallibility was first expounded by a brilliant if eccentric theologian in the latter thirteenth century, the Franciscan Pietro Olivi. In the heat of what seems to us today a singularly unimportant but at the time violently waged controversy over the correct doctrine of Franciscan poverty, Olivi wanted to guarantee the permanence of a statement in his sense by Pope Nicholas III in the Bull *Exiit* (1279). This Olivi sought to do by contending that since the Bull was the magisterial pronouncement of the head of the Church, it was irrevocable. This early formulation of papal infallibility was thus clearly designed to limit the power of future popes, not to extend it. As such it was stoutly resisted by papal theologians, too deeply committed to the idea of absolute papal sovereignty to accept the limitation of the pope's freedom involved in Olivi's doctrine. It was not until after the Reformation, when the historical origins of the doctrine of papal infallibility had been forgotten, that papal theologians began to see in it a valuable weapon in their fight against Gallicanism and Protestantism.

Dr Tierney's conclusion: the doctrine of papal infallibility was not the gradual unfolding of a truth always held in the Church, but the sudden creation, for complex historical reasons, of a novel doctrine at the end of the thirteenth century. The subsequent development "was a growth in the understanding of the papacy that, given the circumstances of the time, the advantages of the doctrine for polemical purposes on the whole slightly outweighed the disadvantages" (p. 273). With Küng, Tierney contends that "the Church can err; but this same erring Church has never ceased to preserve and proclaim the gospel of Christ" (p. 277). Tierney views the influence of papal infallibility today as wholly baneful: "it encourages Catholic scholars to suppose that their proper task is to reconcile all the more solemn past pronouncements of the Church with one another by ever more ingenious displays of hermeneutical dexterity; whereas the real task is to distinguish between the unfailing faith of the Church . . . and the human errors which, in every age, the Church has associated and does associate with the proclamation of that truth" (p. 279). Dr Tierney believes that the Church adopted the doctrine of papal infallibility in a moment of weakness and in the book's final sentence expresses the hope that "perhaps one day the Church will feel strong enough to renounce it".

A practising Catholic layman of basically conservative and traditional stripe, Brian Tierney has thrown down a strong challenge to historians and theologians alike. The *quaestio facti* must be settled on the basis of historical evidence. The theologians must direct themselves to the *quaestio veri*. Before doing so they would be well advised to read and ponder Tierney's severe strictures on their attempts hitherto by means of increasingly involved and convoluted arguments to defend an ever shrinking and less intelligible version of papal infallibility—while in the pulpits of parish churches a strikingly different "full-blown" version continues to be preached without embarrassment. This book requires answers. Let us hope they will be as clear and as constructive as Tierney's challenge.

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Colin Morris THE DISCOVERY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, 1050-1200 SPCK 1972 188 p £1.50

Another book on the "Twelfth Century Renaissance"? The period exercises for many scholars and general readers today the same fascination which that of the fifteenth century had for our predecessors, with the added attraction that more and more sources are emerging in translation or in new critical editions (the best text of Hildebert's poems was recently edited by a British scholar, A. B. Scott, for Teubner). The major figures have long been studied, but the coherence and brilliance—and conflicts—of the whole period have only been brought out comparatively recently, and

can be seen focused in miniature in the essays of David Knowles and R. W. Southern (in "The Historian and Character" and "Medieval Humanism and Other Studies" respectively).

Professor Morris, after a wide-ranging discussion of "the individual in western tradition", including an examination of that elusive term "humanism", proceeds to a succinct survey of the background (900-1050), emphasising "the paradox of a barbarian society which had access to a humane cultural inheritance"—Christian and classical, in that order, with cross-fertilisation between the two. He then reviews in ch. 3 "a society in transition" under the main heading of "New Learning in a New Society", with Paris as the centre for an emerging class of intellectuals. Here some of them are briefly introduced and led round the ring (they are to show their paces later), and the importance of the Latin classics, for all their sea-change, is underlined, together with the problems posed by "authority". But authority itself comes under examination, and a closer survey of the Rule of St Benedict turns many Black monks into White ones, while that of Scripture and the Fathers leads to Abelard's *Sic et Non*. Indeed the whole period might be glibly summarised as a tug-of-war between authority and the individual, between past and present, between secular and religious, between this matter and that—in short, with all the growing pains that a period of rapid change implies.

And so to the heart of the book: "The Search for the Self". Here Anselm, Abelard, Bernard and many others come into their own. "Self-knowledge was one of the dominant themes of the age"; and the Delphic Oracle's "Know Thyself" had long since been deepened for Christians by Augustine's self-exploration. There emerges "a new stress on intention in the assessment of conduct", and the Lateran Council's imposition in 1215 of annual confession is seen as "an attempt to introduce the idea of self-examination throughout society". The Cistercians were leaders here, and St Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs "were designed from the beginning to appeal to private religious experience". They were also leaders, along with Anselm and many others, in exploring the path of monastic friendship. Cicero may have supplied a starting-point, but how slender for such an efflorescence! The importance of letter-writing is stressed for these literary/religious friendships between men who admired but often never met each other, yet were bound together all over Europe by a common faith and a common learning.

This treatment of masculine affection is followed by the more complex problem of love as seen by the troubadours in the courts of southern France, and is illustrated by Provençal lyrics. The Latin love-lyric of the North is taken for granted; but satire, more witty and more biting than the Latin originals it exploited, is well represented—its targets not only the obvious one of corruption in high places, but the bitter plight of these scholar-humanists outbidden and shoved into the background by the rising class of lawyers and clerical administrators.

The final chapter deals with "The Individual and his Religion" (the book belongs to a series of Church History Outlines, but ranges more widely than this would suggest), and discusses the shift in piety from the more corporate to the intensely personal, illustrating it by plates of the Crucified Christ from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and by the hymns of the period. (Other illustrations show the development of the personal portrait.)

There is a valuable Conclusion; and the book is packed with contemporary quotations, prose passages being given in English, and verse in the original as well. It has a good bibliography, with many additional citations, and a chronological table: in short, "un petit livre très dense, mais tout à fait lumineux".

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Christopher Brooke MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY Sidgwick and Jackson 1971 256 p 4 plates £3.25

Apart from the justly celebrated (and previously reprinted) paper on "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200" (pp. 69-100) this

collection of twelve of Professor Brooke's papers contains little *au fond* scholarship. The references are to secondary sources in the main, and one would have liked to watch (from a safe distance) Edmund Bishop wryly reading the repeated tributes to him, and proceeding to use his scalpel on the generalisations. Often the conclusions to these slight pieces are inconclusive, and one can watch Professor Brooke skirting difficult problems (Pope St Gregory VII, pp. 57-69, Archbishop St Thomas Becket, pp. 121-139) with an elegant turn of phrase which makes one long to shake him.

Has the collection any merits then? Yes, it has. His inaugural lecture ("The Dullness of the Past", pp. 23-39) makes a plea for the necessity of an amateur approach if a scholar is to preserve his humanity. Later, in his paper on Paul Sabatier (pp. 197-214) he says "There was no vulgar separation between Sabatier the historian and Sabatier the man". These pieces may be slight, but they show an excellent amateur eye for significant subjects: and subjects with which Dr Brooke manages to convey a sense of personal involvement. Many students (and their teachers) will read these papers for their perceptive elegance, the suggestions they contain, their useful references to secondary works; and they will be led on to subjects of great interest and importance (e.g. "Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Later Middle Ages" pp. 162-183).

Secondly, Professor Brooke sounds the personal note so often that a personal comment is justifiable. It is the duty of a professor to encourage his staff and inspire his students. Dr Brooke has been notably good at doing both, and here one sees why. His whole life has been wound round his subject. He inherited his work from his father: notably that on the twelfth century chapters of London and Hereford which formed the background to his, his father's and Dom Morey's work on the letters and charters of Bishop Gilbert Foliot. (Hence, here, the clerical marriage paper, based on this work, and the paper on "Approaches to Medieval Forgery", pp. 100-121.) There is a delightful evocation of father and son off to Aberystwyth to inspect a Gloucester charter which the son, as he confesses, wrongly, thought to be genuine. (He is to be admired not only for his *pietas*, but also his generosity. His retraction of his views on the Canterbury forgeries is generous: but he could have been rather more explicit in his retraction of his errors on the Book of Llandaff.) Cambridge was his father's university, and through the whole book runs the influence of his own Cambridge professor, Professor Knowles. He became a professor very young, and rapidly produced remarkable pupils. One is notable here, Dr J. V. Fearns, whom he encouraged to work on the Petrobrusian heretics, work generously acknowledged and used in the paper on "Heresy and Religious Sentiment 1000-1250" (pp. 139-162). Here and above all he speaks in this volume of his happy marriage and the debt he owes his wife, the Franciscan scholar Rosalind Brooke. (It may be recalled that one of her prefaces thanked him for standing between her and the washing up at a crucial period.) It is significant that in his inaugural paper for the Ecclesiastical History Society, "Problems of the Church Historian" (pp. 39-57) he should give a sketch for an approach to the history of Christian marriage in the medieval period: and it is interest in her work which has prompted the papers here on Sabatier, on Innocent III and Gregory IX (pp. 183-197) and St Dominic (pp. 214-233): it is perhaps even the topic of marriage which brought him to write his review paper of "The Merchant of Prato" (pp. 233-247), for Francesco Datini first appears in that context (p. 53: "a fourteenth century marriage revealed with something of the subtlety and ambivalence of Shakespeare and the actuality of Tolstoy"). Other debts there are too—to his brother, Professor Nicholas Brooke, who seems to have inspired the fruitful realisation (common to too few historians) that medieval men wrote in vernaculars as well as Latin. In a way the book is an anthology of "Other Men's Flowers": Professor Brooke would be happy to call it so: but over it all he sheds a charm which makes it his own. His reputation as a scholar rests on much more solid work (notably his remarkable preface to his edition of the "Letters of John Salisbury"): but those many who know him will be anxious to buy this book: and many who do not will, by reading it, feel that they have come to do so.

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IV. PHILOSOPHERS OF HISTORY

Arnold Toynbee A STUDY OF HISTORY New One Volume Edition, Illustrated OUP in Association with Thames and Hudson 1972 576 p £8.50

It was Thames & Hudson who instigated the project. Miss Jane Caplan researched for Dr Toynbee, did most of the abridging and wrote part of the work. Without her enteprise and energy we would never have had this book and we must be for ever grateful to her for her part in it.

Then, to begin with what pleases at first sight in the book. The illustrations, 507 of them and 90 in colour, selected by Dr Toynbee and Miss Caplan from a great number found by Mrs Bruckner of Thames & Hudson, are in a class by themselves both in their reproduction and in their appositeness: for example the colour photograph of Hadrian's Wall (pp. 354-5) or the panels representing the contacts between the Japanese and the first Europeans (pp. 81, 381)—and for their appositeness, the juxtaposition to show the parallel, of a medieval wooden carving of David and Goliath of the tenth century B.C. with a cartoon of L.B.J. firing a rifle at the Vietcong soldier while he, a midget, is making a charge, with bayonet fixed, along L.B.J.'s own rifle barrel (p. 194).

In a work of this kind, which embraces the whole world and the whole history of man, the maps at the end are invaluable. And, for those who are unsure as to the number of civilizations that have been, or still are, the chart on page 72 provides the "prime matter".

But of course the inestimable value of this summary of the Study of History lies in this; that we have in one volume and in its final form (the author is 83 years old) the great themes of his master work, which originally came out in ten compendious tomes with two supplementary ones between the years 1934 and 1961. The one volume work makes available to millions the Study which has revolutionized the approach to history, if not in Britain—which likes to keep to ancient well-trodden paths—then in almost all countries of the world. Numbers of thoughtful people in East and West are earnestly seeking a world-view and find in this pioneering and most imaginative, scholarly and penetrating study a rewarding response to their questionings.

It would be pointless to examine critically this summary of the great work—even if one had the qualifications—for that has been done over the last thirty-five years by every historian of repute in almost every university of the globe. Dr Toynbee himself, with remarkable courtesy, more than merely replied to his critics. He weighed their arguments carefully, adopting some, rejecting others, all in a volume entitled "Reconsiderations", itself a substantial contribution to learning. Now, in the Summary, these new insights of his comperes have been incorporated, thus rendering his argument all the more cogent. For instance, instead of setting up as his "model" for testing civilizations the one he knew best, the Hellenic, he now accepts the suggestion that the Sinic civilization has elements which should be made a part of that "model". He also recognizes that there is a need for a "model" for the various diaspora: the Nestorian, the Parsee and the Monophysite, and he chooses the most famous of them all, the Jewish.

To remind the reader, let it be said very shortly that the theme of the "Study of History" is, firstly, to establish that the only fully satisfying unit of historical study is a civilization, since it contains within itself its meaning; whereas a city or a country does not. Secondly, in our day historians have available a sufficient number of civilizations for these to be examined in relation to one another and to draw conclusions; whereas Vico in the eighteenth century only had two and Ibn Khaldun in the fourteenth only had one. Thirdly, this examination provides astonishing similarities, indeed a kind of uniform structure of emergence (birth) development (growth), breakdown and disintegration (always, he repeatedly affirms, allowing for freedom and the possibility of not following the normal course). Fourthly, in the process of writing the main work Dr Toynbee came to recognize that there was yet another species in world history, which at first he was tempted to conceive of as an

unhealthy growth on the body of a civilization, namely Religion (and in this he was but the heir to Gibbon). But he came to see that Religions were by no means cancers, rather they were the supreme flowering of the human spirit. In a sense he has brought back history full circle to the view of St Augustine; but, being a twentieth century man, he can perceive not only Christianity but a group of other religions, all of which will have their role to play in the next act of the drama of history.

As in the main work there are the Parts called Universal States, Heroic Ages, The Disintegration of Civilizations. All these are interesting indeed for those of us with that unquenchable thirst for knowledge of the past, and even more so for those who, face to face with a world armed to destroy, view the present with anxiety or near despair. For, if civilizations seem indeed to run "according to plan"—once again of course allowing for liberty of the individual—what are the likely prospects for our own? Is there any way out but that of self-destruction? The author does tentatively make some answer to these questions. As we read, we can draw our own conclusions.

This Summary, as already pointed out, is an improvement on the major work in some sense because it has benefited from the criticisms of other historians. It has also benefited over the last fifty years from the discoveries of archæologists and anthropologists who have presented him with at least three more civilizations over and above the initial twenty-one. It is gratifying to find that Africa south of the Sahara is no longer left out in the cold. The ancient civilization of Meroe (chiefly Nubia), those of East and West Africa, of North and South America before the coming of the white men, stand among their peers in the role call.

Dr Toynbee, who has lived through and at the centre of two world wars in our century and seen most of his friends slaughtered in the first and a comparable slaughter in the second, writes not with the cold detachment of a philosopher but at times with the deep earnestness of a participant. If our world is to survive, and our world is the whole world now, it must cease its fratricidal work of annihilation. But how? The answer he gives is: by the expedient set up by all past civilizations, that of the Universal State. Only one part of the world, so he feels—and that with a quarter of the world's population—has succeeded in maintaining unity within its ancient civilization's bounds, and that is China. In China he sees a hope for the world, which may surprise and even shock some.

But far deeper he reaches down than power politics for salvation from our predicament. He sees in the terms of religion the only true source of human reintegration, of peace. In a moving passage he shows how the hermit who seems useless —Daniel the Stylite—proves to be the only one to have divine wisdom. We do not find peace on earth unless we find peace with (to use his words) the Ultimate Reality. He believes that the End of all the major religions is the same; it is the means, namely the Churches, which he finds less attractive. He calls them a necessary evil. Perhaps we might enlarge and suggest: necessary but like the field full of wheat and cockle. But whatever our view of that, we must admire and ponder his final paragraph of which here is a portion:

> "How is it possible for the ultimate reality behind the phenomena to reveal itself in such different guises? What is there between an annihilation through death, an exit into *nirvana* through self-extinction, and an entry into a communion of saints? On first thoughts, these three visions of ultimate reality look as if they were irreconcilable with each other, but on second thoughts we can see that they each present a picture of an identical goal. They each testify that the cause of sin and suffering and sorrow is the separation of sentient beings, in their brief passage through the phenomenal world, from the timeless reality behind the phenomena, and that a reunion with this reality is the sole but sovereign cure for our ailing world's ills. Communion, extinguishedness, and annihilation are alternative images of reintegration. . ." (pp. 497-8).

It has been one of the great merits of the Study of History that it demonstrates that men achieve spiritual greatness not through riches and power and self importance but in great adversity, so that the world's greatest paradox is that the divine purpose is most manifest not in earthly peace and order but in those supreme moments of challenge in which a supreme response may also be given; and when it is we have either the creation of a higher religion or at least the emergence of a sublime example of humanity such as St Francis of Assisi.

COLUMBA CARY-ELWES, O.S.B.

Since Dr Toynbee revised his great work a further civilization has been discovered; it brings back to mind Sir Frederick Kenyon's remark on the eve of the discovery of Qumran, that we should expect to find no more evidence contemporary to the Gospels. This is a city of some size on the old river course of the Helmand, an urban trade centre independent of any on the Mesopotamian plains. It has been preserved by a crust of salt, sand and clay "like pickles in a pot", all the evidences remaining from "a whole incredible collection of crafts that we had supposed were forever lost in South-West Asia". The city dates from before Abraham, i.e. before 2000 B.C., called Shahr-i-Sokhta. Remains suggest that it lacked few kinds of fish, birds and agricultural foods, that the inhabitants manufactured turquoise and lapis lazuli beads and that infant mortality was very high, possibly because of epidemics. Its unusual state of preservation probably provides a unique occasion to study one of the world's earliest urban civilizations, and that of unusual size and complexity. [*The Times*, 11th Dec., 72.]

Christopher Dawson THE DIVIDING OF CHRISTENDOM Sidgwick & Jackson 1972 x + 286 p £3.25

I have a friend among the last generation of Oxford dons who used to maintain that the unkindest thing a scholarly man could do was to construct a massive Magnum Opus in many volumes which everybody, or at least anybody in the field concerned, had to wade through to read, or pretend to have read. He said small-minded, unimaginative, self-centred German and French professors were greatly addicted to this inhuman habit, only thinking of themselves, their reputation and appointments that might follow a work in many volumes. But in the more liberal and civilised tradition of Oxford and Cambridge, the habit was extremely rare, and was, he hoped, becoming rarer as preferment in the Anglican Church was coming to depend less and less on demonstrations of massive scholarship.

On this view, one of the great merits of Lord Acton was that he never wrote that famous History of Liberty which everybody would have had to read. Christpher Dawson, too, at the outset of his life of scholarship, projected a *magnum opus* of which "The Age of the Gods" was intended to be the first volume. The very title of that work is revealing, for it expressed what was to be the central theme that human eras are determined by what is believed at the time about the purpose of human life, the nature of human duties, in short, about religion as that which binds and commands the divine order of the gods. The work made his reputation, it attracted the praise of qualified and fastidious judges like Dean Inge, but somehow it did not become the first volume of a larger work. It stood and stands on its own; and in fact, it rather stands apart from the rest of his historical writing. It can be argued that "The Making of Europe" belongs to the same pattern of thinking and illustrated the same basic historical truths. But "Progress and Religion" does not fit in; it is much more an essay, asserting and illustrating from a wide range of historical reading the central thesis which was to have been expounded chronologically through recorded history. It may also be noted that the pressure of the historical record drove Dawson in the titles of his subsequent books to make constant concessions in recognition of the steady advance of secularisation. Indeed the whole corpus of his work taken together illustrates the triumph of secularisation, even more effectively than it supports and demonstrates its own thesis that civilisations grow out of and depend upon religious belief. So the second volume was called "The Making of Europe", not "The Age of the Incarnation", or even "The Age of the Christian Church", and thereafter though religion often came into his title, it was with the conjunctive *and* like "Religion and Culture", as though the constant pressure of history was all the time forcing religion into a compartment as one influence among a number, but without paramountcy.

It consequently requires a great effort of the imagination to understand the part religion has played in early societies, and so to follow Dawson's thought, because the

religion which moulds and creates a political community cannot be anything secondary, or it immediately loses its dynamism. The Jews of the Old Testament are a capital but not the sole example of what Dawson meant. They were through and through a religious society, ruled by lawgivers whose authority came from their prophetic office, from above and not from below. They have Moses and the Prophets, it was said to Dives in the parable, and his brethren had Moses and the Prophets, as had all the Chosen People. From the prophet Samuel came the notion of the Lord's anointed, that the civil ruler himself derived his authority, not from below and by the popular will, but because of the prophetic choice. There can be no doubt that Dawson early in his intellectual development fastened on a most important truth, but it was a truth more valuable for anthropologists than for sociologists interested in their own times. He retains great value as a historian because in his books, and is it were, against his will, the reader understands the major transformation which has made the modern world. The two last collections of his lectures, one dealing with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century and the other with the political revolution of the eighteenth, possess a unity because the political revolution came out of the religious one. The division of Christendom created the sovereign political communities which in their turn led immediately to Rousseau and the conception of sovereign people in place of the sovereign prince, of the *vox populi* as the *vox Dei*, as carrying the divine right of kings one vital step further and destroying it. It was a process parallel to that by which the later medieval addiction to indulgences prepared the ground for Luther's assertion of justification by faith, that you did not need to perform a particular act, say particular prayers, give particular alms, you needed to make a single act of the will which gave you, as it were, plenary indulgence, justification by faith without the need for attendant good works, though such works would naturally follow on the possession of a lively faith.

But Dawson brings out very well how the sixteenth century reformers, for all their reliance on the lack of structure they could find in the New Testament, were thoroughly imbued with the sense that the Christian cannot live his Christianity on his own and by himself; that it is a social religion whose believers instinctively and unconsciously draw together. They were, in short, the products of generations and centuries of Catholic Christianity, and all their Free Churches grouping partook of the nature of churches. He also brings out very well how much of this Protestant revolt was tamed and domesticated by the sixteenth century governments, that the Lutheran tradition fell easily into this mould, and in Germany in particular achieved a harmonious blend, so that for a man like Field Marshal Hindenburg there was no sort of dichotomy in his deep sense of duty to the Lord above and the Hohenzollern prince below. A great many Englishmen achieved the same synthesis, and it was no accident that although the Marian exiles who returned and found themselves with immense influence in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, were profoundly influenced, some by Lutheranism, some by Calvinism, and some from Zurich, the weight of the Elizabethan state led to the successful extrusion in England of the Calvinism that held its ground in Scotland.

We often write about these Elizabethans being men of their age as though the tolerance of religious difference which we take for granted was something beyond their ken, and it is useful to be reminded that as early as 1572 (the year of St Bartholomew) the Compact of Warsaw, whose fourth centenary passed quite unnoticed last January, granted complete religious liberty in Catholic Poland to all non-Catholic Christians as well as to the Unitarians who were denied toleration almost universally elsewhere. The Austrian Empire too allowed wide varieties of belief, and it could be argued that the Catholic Church, because it was officially established, enjoyed less freedom than the others. It was statesmen intent on building a strong national religion into a strong nation state where civic obedience would be complete and patriotism the overriding motive that were the least tolerant, and coming down to quite modern times, Dawson points out that as soon as the Lutheran Prussians had displaced Catholic Austria as the leader of United Germany by the victory of 1866, Bismarck began his *Kulturkampf*, and if he was much less successful in subordinating the Church to the State than

Joseph II of Austria had been a hundred years before, it was because the Catholics would not take from a Lutheran what they had meekly taken from a Catholic ruler.

It will be seen from this reference to Bismarck that this course of lectures covers more ground than its title might suggest; and perhaps because they were given at Harvard, there is included a lecture of a kind usually absent from studies of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, but highly relevant to an understanding of the diversities of Protestantism, on the Puritan foundations in New England. The motive for those migrations was not commercial or exploratory but religious, to escape from the state control of biblical Christianity; and New England in its first century vindicated as pre-eminently as Calvin had done the primacy of the spiritual. But it was a highly practical primacy: the New England pilgrims found much more inspiration in the Old Testament than in the New; they were going into a land of no particular promise to encounter enemies and to need the Lord's strong help at every turn. Without the Old Testament and its theocratic structure the natural logic of the Protestant revolt would have carried the Protestant sects, and indeed, it did carry the Quakers, to dispense with ecclesiology and juridical structure; but no man who studying his Old Testament, considering himself and his fellows as the new chosen people, could dare to forget the Lord, meaning the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and not Christ. The New Testament was fitted in because it could not possibly be left out, and the Acts and St Paul were drawn on heavily, but the new kind of Englishman, of which Oliver Cromwell is the supreme example, a kind of Englishman who did not exist a hundred years before, was essentially the product of the Old Testament rather than the New. Yet the discipline of a Chosen People came so easily to these new Protestants because of the Catholic centuries behind all their families. A man who knew nothing of the Catholic Church or the place that it held through the centuries before the Middle Ages, could yet deduce a great deal about what its nature must have been if he studied only the Protestant divines of New England through their inherited and inborn sense of the Church as of its nature the great institution inside which their lives were to be lived. Much has been written, chiefly by Socialists, against the Calvinist Protestant ethic with its concentration on the duty of creating wealth, and not enough on the equally remarkable phenomenon of the strong sense of conscience which guided them in spending it. The four things that made New England great, as passed on from one generation to another, were "Finish it up. Make it last. Make it do. And do without." In the fullness of time a typical New Englander, Calvin Coolidge, was to crystallise the later faith of his countrymen in the saying that "Business is the United States and the United States is Business". But only in this century, with the Christian influences so widely set aside, came the pursuit of pleasure and the growth of immense vested interests and increasing consumption of every kind, has the old frugality not only disappeared but lost its standing, yet it was just as important a part and a counterbalancing part of the Protestant ethic as the duty to create wealth, was the duty not to waste or dissipate it.

In its own way, this personal frugality was also a tribute to the primacy of the spiritual.

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V. POLITICAL SERVICE AND AMBITION

Norman Gash SIR ROBERT PEEL: THE LIFE OF SIR ROBERT PEEL AFTER 1830 Longman 1972 743 p £8

In the last twenty years Professor Gash has established himself as the leading political historian of England for the generation following the battle of Waterloo. In a series of works he has so moulded our thinking that the historical language of early Victorian England would now be unrecognizable to a pupil of Trevelyan. It is not surprising, therefore, that this second volume of his life of Sir Robert Peel brings

few surprises, since most of our thinking about the period 1830-50 is already that of Professor Gash. As a biographer he succeeds admirably—the quality of the writing is cool, clear and magisterial, and it is rarely that our interest flags. Peel is treated with a respect which convinces the reader.

Professor Gash sees Peel as above all a politician of national stature—certainly concerned with the pursuit of power, but a power which will be harnessed to the common good, rather than used for mere party advantage. His basic preoccupations concerned the quality of government, to which he brought an essentially administrative and executive frame of mind and he understood the need for government to find an answer to the "Condition of England question". His Free Trade Budgets combined a desire to establish financial stability with economic growth and a low cost of living. His financial and banking legislation were an attempt in some way to control the debilitating swings in the short term trade cycle. To these humanitarian concerns Peel added a fundamental political and constitutional conservatism—a desire to preserve the "mixed and balanced constitution" from attack from within and without. It was this determination in Professor Gash's view which led Peel to accept the Great Reform Bill once it had passed and to Repeal the Corn Laws in 1846, so as to avoid the risk of conflict between traditional society and the new industrial order. The cost was the destruction of the Conservative Party, which Peel had done so much to create in the 1830s. It was in this fundamental belief that the purpose of government lay in the "reconciling of interests" that gives Peel's career its integrity and consistency.

Yet the lingering doubts still remain. Even the authoritative arguments of Professor Gash do not smooth away the extraordinary paradox of this man's political career. We are left asking how and why it was, that such considerable political success —remodelling the Tory Party in the 1830s—could be matched by the political disasters of the second government? Similarly we see a man profoundly aware that government and politics had to respond to the new industrial society if established institutions were to survive, and yet Peel in much of his conduct remains an eighteenth-century politician. He was an enemy of abuse and believed in the mixed constitution and expressed it in language which would have been comprehensible to Pitt. Similarly he saw himself above all as the Minister of the Crown, and yet could not see that once sinecurists and "thick and thin" government men had been removed, party loyalty had to be cultivated as the new cement of governments. Peel would never indulge in the "Tom, Dick and Harry" of politics as Lord Rosebery called it, and never really saw party in any other sense than that of eighteenth century faction. In religious matters also Peel remained within the eighteenth-century tradition. Seeing the Establishment in an entirely secular light, as the matrix of Society, he remained entirely unaffected by the tortured enthusiasms of the Anglican Church in the 1830s. This was the same man who held country house parties where all the guests had scientific interests and who also was one of the most vigorous proponents of applying new methods and expertise to agriculture.

That these doubts still do remain in our minds in no way diminishes the achievement of Professor Gash in this biography. The difficulties in writing political biography are legion and success is rare. It is a sign of the success of Professor Gash that he both satisfies the reader, and yet stimulates him to continue to think critically about the complexities and problems raised by the career of Sir Robert Peel.

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Robert Rhodes-James AMBITIONS AND REALITIES: BRITISH POLITICS, 1964-1970 Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1972 £4.50

Robert Rhodes-James's is a worthy attempt to vindicate the traditional political historian's approach to his subject by challenging the political scientists on their own ground. His essay in contemporary history "originated from a conviction that General Elections cannot be contemplated in isolation from their wider political, social and

economic contexts"; and the purpose of his study is to fill the gap between the "Nuffield" studies and the "making of the Prime Minister" school. The banner under which he fights is "Disraeli's dictum that, 'the vicissitudes of politics are inexhaustible'." (p. 1).

Although Mr Rhodes-James's book is thus intended to have methodological implications which transcend the historical narrative, he is careful to leave his method to speak for itself. His position appears to be founded upon a distinction between "politics" and "something else": "politics is a very human business, and to ignore the importance of personality is to transform the study of politics into the study of something else . . ." (p. 18). Of Mr Harold Wilson he remarks that, "his solutions to problems are almost invariably political solutions, and it is a curious characteristic that, in an age when many politicians have become increasingly sceptical about the value of the straightforward political approach to complex subjects, Wilson firmly retains his faith in it" (p. 22). The nature of the other, non-political, approaches—of the "something else"—remains obscure.

The realm of the political, on the other hand, is the realm of Disraeli's "vicissitudes" —the area of contingency, of personality and the human factor, of the irrational and the unexpected. The claims which Mr Rhodes-James makes concerning the extent of this realm rest largely upon the element of unpredictability which is one of its main defining characteristics. "Political science", he remarks, "is perilously close to being a contradiction in terms" ((p. 2). The transformations of British politics in the 1960s—the reversal and then the counter-reversal of the positions of the Labour and Conservative parties during the decade—constitute one piece of evidence of the unexpectedness of "political" developments; and Mr Rhodes-James quotes with some relish the too hasty judgments of a number of contemporary political scientists. And of course the more dramatic demonstration of political unpredictability in the 1970 General Election provides the starting point for his essay in traditional interpretation.

Cast in these terms, the issue between Mr Rhodes-James and his adversaries is the familiar contest between the concept of freedom—the field of politics—and the concept of historical inevitability—the field of the vast impersonal forces. The problem is not, as he perhaps sees it, merely one of the explanatory power of psephological analyses, for psephology cannot be considered in isolation from its fellow disciplines in social science. The questions which these disciplines *collectively* pose to the political historian are, in what sense can politicians be regarded as free agents? And, to the extent that they are free, how much significance can be ascribed to their free behaviour by historians seeking to explain any particular occurrence?

The difficulty which Mr Rhodes-James is seeking manfully to confront is that the development of the study of society makes us increasingly conscious, or gives us the illusion of increasing consciousness, of the nature and power of the vast impersonal forces; and our sense of the extent and significance of the realm of autonomous human action is correspondingly diminished. The domain of "politics" shrinks: "something else" looms ever greater.

Mr Rhodes-James contends that the political realm is larger than the political scientists believe. His fundamental conception is of two different domains, the government of which has to be explained in very different ways. Although "it is necessary to be cautious of regarding personality as being everything in politics" (p. 17), the human factor and the literary evocation of situation and personality mark the avenue by which "politics" is to be approached. Mr Rhodes-James drives his coach-and-pair in great style down this avenue:

"(Wilson) is not, in debate, the possessor of a bludgeon, like Gladstone; nor does he possess the merciless coldness of a Joseph Chamberlain. He is more like the sadistic collector of butterflies who thrusts the lethal pin into his victim and then watches, with exquisite pleasure, the doomed creature thrashing wildly and unavailingly in its agony."

Personal inclination, and the logic of his method, lead Mr Rhodes-James to build his study around three political portraits: part one, of Mr Wilson; part two, of Mr Heath; part three, of Mr Powell. (The kernel of the fourth part, the account of the General

Election of 1970, consists of an exercise in psephological analysis of which any political scientist might be proud).

But although it is very well done, Mr Rhodes-James does not persuade us by his example. So far from the relationship of "politics" and the "something else" being a relation between two distinct realms, a student of the years covered by our author's study may be convinced that "politics" is what lies on the surface and that "events far beyond the control—and often the comprehension—of politicians are remorselessly changing the environment in which the politician has to operate" (p. 287). Of course the surface is fascinating, and as we skim along it we have the feeling that at any point we are free to slide in whatever direction we chose. But the problem for the historian of our actions is that he is more and more aware of the tides which carry us along.

It may be possible to demonstrate satisfactorily that certain political developments were unexpected or even ran counter to expectations encouraged by over-ambitious social scientists. What remains to be established is how important these political developments are. We may not be able to predict which party will win which election; but how much difference does it make, whichever side wins?

This is a question which, it seems, can only be decided in the realm of the "something else". It arises from the structure and logic of the "events which are remorselessly changing the environment in which the politician has to operate". Mr Wilson is quoted (p. 30) as having told Lord Cromer in 1964 that to accept the requirements for the restoration of international confidence would be to "ring down the curtain on parliamentary democracy". What he meant to say was that his freedom of action was restricted by the logic of the economic and political situation in which he found himself. One position entailed another; and Mr Wilson was the heir and the exponent of many positions whose inherent logic—of which we are increasingly aware—could not be transcended by "political" action.

Probably because of the variety and technicality of the principles involved, Mr Rhodes-James is not very good at laying bare the structure of the total political environment. He is no economist; nor has he grappled with the problems of the history and theory of public administration. Where he has mastered the political science approach—in his discussion of the psephology of the 1970 election—he successfully adopts it. His evocations of personality are as good as his earlier political biographies might lead us to expect. But it cannot be said that he has made out his case for a return to the traditional methods of political history. There is a parallel between the approach he advocates and the administrative achievements of the Labour government according to his account: "new techniques were introduced, and new expertise developed. But these remained only palliatives to the essential problem, which was how to run a twentieth-century system on nineteenth-century methods." (p. 53).

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VI. CENTENARIES OF HOLY WOMEN

Julian of Norwich REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE ed. and intro. by Clifton Wolters Penguin 1973 213 p 40p

Mother Julian(a) lived the life of a recluse at Norwich and ranks among the few great mystics of England. Born in 1342, she experienced her "shewings" or vision on 8th May 1373—just six hundred years ago—when she was thirty. She lived on till 1416, reflecting upon them. Her account of these visions was given in two versions, the longer one twenty years after the event, when she had been living in a cell connected to the Benedictine community at Carrow. Her English being a blend of North country and East Anglian, she may have come to Norwich in adulthood.

On the Third Sunday after Easter, after a week of serious illness, she was given her sixteen "shewings" in the morning beginning before dawn. Unlettered as she claimed to be, she provided a remarkable account of them "for I would that God were known and my fellow Christians helped to the more hating of sin and loving of God". Her integrity and precision of theology together with the intensity of her insight (given "by bodily sight . . . by words . . . by ghostly sight") stand as testimony to the truth in her. She is famous for her Revelations, and especially for two phrases therein: "All shall be well, and all manner of things shall be well" (ch. 27), and "Wouldst thou witten thy Lord's meaning? Learn it well: Love was his meaning" (ch. 86).

The Provost of Newcastle, Very Rev C. C. Wolters, has long lectured on the English medieval mystics (most recently at a York Minster lecture). He has brought into modern English for prayerful use "The Cloud of Unknowing", Richard Rolle's "The Fire of Love", and now Dame Julian on her centenary. It is a pleasing edition.

R.E.

René Laurentin THERESE DE LISIEUX, MYTHES ET REALITE Beauchesne, Paris 1972 237 p n.p.

A hundred years ago on 2nd January 1873 Thérèse Martin was born. This book reviews her fame and the myths that grew up around her life; the author claims—rightly—that at last it is possible to exclaim: now we do know what she was like.

The first myth, and it turned off as many as it turned on, can be recalled by her title of Little Flower and the nauseating photos of the early editions of "The Story of a Soul". Looking back, it does amaze us that a person so dolled up should still survive as one of the great saints of modern times. It all appeared so effortless and treacle-sweet, childlike or rather childish: yet beneath was the firm jaw, those straight eyes, that heroic persistence. Then came the second myth, to correct the first: she had been subject to harsh persecution in the convent. The old Mother Prioress was allotted the role of persecutor; M. Marie de Gonzague, it is true, did not have a winning smile in her picture.

But when the critics could get at Thérèse's journals and read through the Procès of beatification the real truth dawned. Her simplicity, her directness, her utter honesty of purpose, her integrity, her all pervading faith and love even before the long agony of total darkness and before unlovable people who could not respond to love, all these and more show her as a human being like us with reactions like ours but turning them all, day in day out, into divine gold.

For her own generation and for the early twentieth century her understanding of holiness came as a liberation: the emphasis on love rather than on performance, on the manner and motive of action rather than on the, in-the-world's-eyes, greatness of the action.

As the Abbé Laurentin points out, almost all her aims seem to have been realized in the Church's renewal: the primacy of love (Pope John); the return to the Bible (Vatican 11). She saw Mary as a humble creature, rather than as a resplendent and distant Queen. Her spirituality was not to work out a theory and then practise it, but rather to live by love and then to turn to Scripture to verify. For instance that trilogy—her nothingness, God's mercy and her trust in it—she found verified in the words of Isaiah, "even should a mother abandon the child of her womb, I (God) will not abandon you".

Short as it is, this is a profound book, excellently analysing the little nun's spirituality. It squarely faces the acute problem of her father's illness. The genuine untouched photos are revealing, and the bibliography is the best in print. Seriously considering the criticisms of the psychologist J-F. Six and P. Urs von Balthasar, the author shows that Soeur Thérèse is a saint for today by her faithful and loving acceptance of suffering.

COLUMBA CARY-ELWES, O.S.B.

For further reference to the Abbé Laurentin, see the Marian Conference report.

VII. SPIRITUAL POETRY

Kathleen Raine THE LOST COUNTRY Dolman Press 1971 53 p £1.40

> "The only Paradise, Proust said, is the lost country that has passed out of time and into mind . . ."

The mood is elegiac, the mode is largely an elusive but controlled dance like many patterns in nature; those for example of water, cloud, smoke, or the balanced but not rigidly logical growth of plants; as though the poet were some tutelary spirit, the numen implied by the phenomenon. An old intuition, deep in the human psyche, has always wanted to insist (Berkeley?) that objects and phenomena have no existence until they are recognised, considered, and acknowledged by the percipient. The dialogue is the act of creation. Adam naming the beasts; the pathos of flowers "born to blush unseen", or of the stones that Mary Russell Mitford, as a child, would gather into her basket and carry about "because they could not move of themselves". In this spirit Kathleen Raine summons and names many things, many events, whose very subtlety might tend to condemn them to insignificance. She visits the vanishing beauty and honours it, carries the stones with her as fellow-creatures needing her notice. But not pantheistically; no more than the Bride in St John of the Cross conversing with the "creatures".

There is great technical skill, too accomplished to be obvious. One indication of this is her easy but probably conscious avoidance of an inadvertent excess in the use of the definite article, that curious plague of English poetry in this century which no one who has read and laid to heart his G. Rostrevor Hamilton will be unaware of. And she has come to terms, triumphantly, with the vexed question of rhyme in modern verse. One could almost say that the more conservative poets have been stuck with rhyme, and that the avant-garde were shirking it. Kathleen Raine neither shirks rhyme nor is stuck with it. She has a whole repertoire of graceful compromises. Sometimes there are agreeable hints of rhyme by means of assonance. Then she will use rhyme irregularly and occasionally, making it unpredictable, so that the ear is taken by surprise—a wonderfully pleasing effect. Conversely, as in the poignant and sincere "Answer to a Letter" (which provides the title of the book), she will use, unrhymed, a regular metre which formerly would inevitably have entailed rhyme. This is subtle and lovely, evoking as it were the sweet soul of rhyme without its ageing body.

It might be easy to think of Kathleen Raine as primarily a nature poet. But this would be to undervalue her intense consciousness and acceptance of people, who, after all (as perhaps she has concluded) are part of the vast complex of nature, convenient and agreeable as it may be to the ill-tempered escapist to write them off as much as possible. This poet is almost the antipodes of the writer-off. It is an idiosyncrasy with her to accept the wounds as readily as the delights.

She has served her gift well. She has taken it seriously, has laboured to develop it; and all the time she has gone out to meet life, and has given generously and freely. These poems do not fail to convey the fullness of such a career, with all its joys and griefs, triumphs and regrets, accumulating to build a real maturity. Delicately and profoundly, too, she makes her confession of faith.

RUTH PITTER.

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Long Creudon, Aylesbury.

ed. Helen Gardner THE FABER BOOK OF RELIGIOUS VERSE Faber and Faber 1972 377 p £3.75

The pieces in this collection are presented in the preface as poems not verses, though the title page is more modest, as religious not Christian, as chronologically sequential not thematically linked, and at once certain obvious questions suggest themselves.

Is everything here good enough to be properly termed a poem? On such matters an anthologist must be allowed some indulgence. A few rather awful favourites may pass as revealing something about the anthologist, Palgrave and Yeats and Wavell all made some whimsical choices, but is the due indulgence really large enough to permit Dame Helen to include in a selection of only two hundred pieces, Herbert's "Bitter-Sweet", Blake's "Mock on! Mock on!", or Mr Betjeman's "In Westminster Abbey" when at least two of these authors have written much better stuff?

Of course, Dame Helen nowhere claims that she is offering only good poems, but for £3.75, the buyer is right to demand either two hundred good poems or some intelligent and sensitive guidance, in an introduction, running commentary, or discreet notes, as to how he is to look at the selected jumble of good and not so good. Dame Helen's preface, foot and back notes do not pretend to offer much guidance.

And what is "religious" poetry? The blurb says that Helen Gardner's definition of religious poetry "allows her to include poems that owe little or nothing to the Christian revelation" and in her own preface the editor declares that, starting from *religare*, she took the concept of commitment or obligation as "the distinguishing mark separating the religious poem from the poem of metaphysical speculation, religious musing, or the poem of incidental apprehension of the divine", and since "this does not equate religious poetry with Christian poetry" she may with peculiarly Christian poems include something like Shelley's celebration of "some unseen Power", and with this poems of doubt or refusal in the face of the claims of revelation and "I have also been able to include satire on religious hypocrisy". Obviously Dame Helen is merely listing the kinds of poem that she wants to present but it is a little specious to suggest that these four categories derive from an examination of religion. And, at least in the matter of exclusion, the anthologist does not keep her word. If religious musings are out, then why are pieces like Fulke Greville's "When as man's life . . .", Milton's "On Time" and Edwin Muir's "The Border" in? It is certainly no answer to say in a note on Muir's poem that it is "a striking modern treatment of a classic religious theme: the contemplation of death as the stripping away of all the goods of this life", unless the distinction between religious "musing" and poetic "contemplation" is made plain. Indeed the footnotes are often less than helpful, for examples, those on Osiris as "chief of the Egyptian gods" and on Donne's "secure" being properly understood as "careless".

What is gained by the chronological ordering of the poems? The allowing of the readers "to make their own connections and comparisons and to see the interaction through the centuries of changes in religious sensibility and poetic ideals". Well, that's all right if the poems come new upon us, but most of those who buy this highly expensive volume will have read most of these poems before, they will have made their own connections long ago, the interest of an anthology is given by a revelation of some other and more distinguished sensibility than the reader's own. What is to be done with a mere reprinting of, for example, "The Dream of the Rood", "A Hymn to God the Father", the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" and a passage from "New Year Letter"? De La Mare would at least have made us aware of the pagan range of such Christian lines as

> Eall ic woes mid sraelum forwundod;
> I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
> My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
> Our Babe, to show his Godhead true
> Can in his swaddling bands control the damned crew;

and

> O Unicorn among the cedars
> To whom no magic charm can lead us.

And he would have gone on to alert his reader to Dunbar's resurrection line "loft is gone the glorious Appollo", and Herrick's image of "the Furies in a shoal" coming to fright the dying man, and Hopkins' response to the tale of Andromeda.

Those who prefer their poems neat and do not care for the de la Mare manner may yet suppose that Fabers would have been happier in their choice of anthologists if they had asked Mr Auden to look again at what he took to be religious verse. He would not have dumped so much old establishment stuff upon us. There is a deal of

undistinguished verse in Dame Helen's selection, and it is perhaps the very pale of chronology that prevents her remarking the degeneration of religious poetry through the years she picks in. The sophisticated control of "Now goeth sun under wood" is already lost in the flabby stuff selected from Dunbar, who was generally a greater poet, and More, who was generally not, and has never been present in the work of Louis Macneice and David Gascoyne. But, so gradual was the withdrawal of English poets from language and topic explicitly religious that only the juxtapositioning of poems from distanced ages can bring the reader to an awareness of what has gone wrong. In this selection, for example, there is a sorry decline from Friar William Herbert's "champion to healen mankind in fight", through Langland's "knight that cometh to be dubbed' 'and Southwell's warring babe to Hopkins' "hero of Calvary". The vitality of this particular tradition of English poetry is diverted through "Quia Amore Langueo" to Keats' knight "on the cold hill's side". "La Belle Dame sans Merci" is evidently not what this anthologist would call a "religious poem", but if I Corinthians 13 is religious then so surely is Shakespeare's Sonnet CXVI, and if Romans 7 is religious then so surely are the self-examinations of Lancelot ("Lancelot and Elaine", lines 1402ff) and Arthur ("The Passing of Arthur, lines 143ff), and if Genesis 3 is religious then so are those great four last lines of "Paradise Lost", for the concern of the biblical writers was an appreciation of the realities of men *wandering* in a world where *providence* is their *guide*, and where *hand in hand* they walk a *solitary* way. The anthologist's choice of a chronological display of poems of explicit god-talk, Church-talk and no-god-talk has generally prevented her discovery of a truly religious body of literature.

Fabers have recently brought out a "Catholic Hymnal" which, with the restraints of that form, offers a highly literate selection of verses. It is a great chance lost that their new anthology is not one which will further the revision of popular notions as to what constitutes a religious poem.

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VIII. ASPECTS OF PRAYER

John J. Higgins MERTON'S THEOLOGY OF PRAYER Cistercian Publications 1971 xxiv + 159 p $5.95

A young man, after a worldly life, some time between the World Wars, became a Catholic, and after some years searching and experimentation, entered a Trappist monastery. His first book which related his personal history up to entering the monastery was read avidly by many who too were seeking and not finding in a twentieth century world. Since then Fr Louis Merton (as he became) has published numerous books and articles on the spiritual life, the list of which fills 16 pages of this book. Besides that, much has been written by others in explanation and criticism of his work. This present book is an ordered account of the main features of his teaching on prayer and the spiritual life. It lacks some of the lively style of Fr Merton himself, but contains abundant quotations.

Fr Merton may be said to have taught that contemplative prayer was possible for all Christians, and it is not inconsistent with active life. "Praying and doing" was a principle which Cistercians have long maintained. The contemplative life comes under fire because it is regarded as escaping from one's active duties in the world. The answer to this is that, as a man retreats within himself, he finds God as the ground of his being and then is led to face other men and their needs. In a disrupted culture, when persons are disregarded, Merton pointed to the outstanding dignity of man involved in his call to communion with God.

The ascetic withdraws from the world not because the world is in itself evil, but to free the self from ordinary concerns in order to thrust into a new kind of reality and a new freedom to view the realities of life. It is not a movement from people but

for people, inasmuch as it is opening the self to God in prayer and identifying oneself with contemporary man with all his problems. In this attitude he grew as he was longer a monk. "As he found certain peace within himself through his life of prayer, his own vision expanded and his compassion grew with the result that he himself became more receptive to the world, for prayer transformed his vision of the world and made him see it in the light of God." (p. 93). This is the test between true contemplation and spiritual day-dreaming. For man in the world Merton only calls for this kind of prayer and does not issue any planned technique. It is clear that it requires moments of solitude and personal reflection; and as it is habitual and intensely personal, it would seem most important for Christians today.

Fr Merton died as the result of an accident in the Far East in 1968. He had gone there as a Cistercian, and he never wavered from that, to learn what he could of the spirituality of the East. In his appreciation of Zen, he still maintained the different nature of his prayer which depended on a revelation from God and not a metaphysical intuition.

GILBERT WHITFIELD, O.S.B.

Simon Tugwell, O.P. DID YOU RECEIVE THE SPIRIT Darton, Longman and Todd 1972 143 p £1.70

The Holy Spirit is astir in the Church, answering the prayer of Pope John XXIII for a New Pentecost. He is leading people to pray together, to work together, to fulfil that ancient saying "see how those Christians love one another". What the future holds in store for the Charismatic Renewal in the Church one can only speculate, but the richness which Fr Tugwell describes and explains should quicken the heart and mind of anyone for whom the things of God come first.

Fr Tugwell begins with two chapters on group prayer, and then moves off into the secondary questions concerning the action of the Spirit—pentecostalism, speaking in tongues, prophesy, contemplation, mysticism and magic. His aim is to elucidate how the Spirit seems to work, and how these actions dovetail with traditional Catholic teaching and practice. Needless to say, he finds the tie-up between old and new operating at a very deep level, and the figures of Cyril of Jerusalem, Thomas Aquinas, Augustine Baker, John of the Cross and the Curé of Ars all have their contributions to make.

Amidst the spate of literature available (if you know where to look) on the Charismatic movement, this little volume is the first major English contribution, others being American. It breathes the stability and common sense of English Catholicism, and should be read by those who wonder what has happened to the great promise of life and renewal foreshadowed by Vatican II.

STEPHEN WRIGHT, O.S.B.

ed. P. Coughlan, R. C. D. Jasper and T. Rodrigues, O.S.B. A CHRISTIAN'S PRAYER BOOK Goffrey Chapman 1972 x + 374 p £1.25

This is an excellent prayer book. It is small in size, easy to use and each of its sections takes only five minutes to say.

The compilers have deliberately set out to produce a layman's version of the Morning and Evening Offices of the Christian Church. The layout is similar to that of the "Prayer of the Church", which makes it attractive to those who seek a shorter and simpler Office. The editors have aimed to make the user feel he is not only saying his private devotions, but he is also joining in the official prayer of the Church, addressed to the Father, through Christ and in the Spirit.

Each day of the week is provided with its own morning and night prayer. Both follow the same pattern, a poem followed by psalms, a reading, a Scriptural song and a prayer. The major liturgical seasons of the year, Advent, Lent and Eastertide, have their own weekly cycle, while Christmas, Epiphanytide and the major feasts have their own special arrangement. At the end, the book has a form of night prayer and a shortened Office for the Dead.

In general the editors are to be congratulated on their work. I would offer three suggestions for improvements. Firstly, there should be an alternative cycle for the ordinary weeks of the year. Secondly an annual cycle of Scripture readings should have been included for those who have access to a Bible. Finally some form of calendar should have been inserted to indicate the major feasts.

At £1.25 the book is expensive for a paperback, even though there are 374 pages. But for one who would like to cultivate the habit of regular prayer, it is cheap for the reward.

TIMOTHY WRIGHT, O.S.B.

IX. GENERAL

Walter Zander ISRAEL AND THE HOLY PLACES OF CHRISTENDOM Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1971 viii + 248 p £2.70

Although it has never been a Christian's duty to visit the Holy Land in the same way as it was for a Jew (Exod. 23.14-17) and a Muslim (Sura 3.91), the history of the Church's attitude to her Holy Places, from the ambivalence of the early Fathers and the savage self-assertion of the Crusaders to nineteenth century romanticism and modern "jet pilgrimages", and the lamentable account of how Christian has fought Christian, even in recent years, for a share in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, provide an unusually illuminating, not to say salutary cross-section of twenty centuries of Church History. The immediate purpose of this sobre, sympathetic and, malgré tout, optimistic study by the former secretary of the Friends of the Hebrew University in Great Britain, was to analyse new factors in the situation since the Holy Places passed for the first time into Jewish hands in June 1967. On the basis of official statements, legislation and actions by the Israeli government to protect the Holy Places from desecration and to safeguard the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them, and recent development within the Churches, in particular, the re-awakened interest of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Holy Land, Pope Paul's meeting with Eastern Church leaders in Jerusalem in 1964 ,and the founding of the new Ecumenical Institute for Advanced Theological Studies at Tantur just off the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, the author argues convincingly against the various forms of internationalization proposed so far. Responsibility for the Christian sanctuaries should rest with the government of the country, and, with an optimism very rare in Middle Eastern affairs, Mr Zander expresses the hope that agreement between Arabs and Israelis will ultimately be reached on the government of the Old City of Jerusalem, and that, at the same time, the "spirit of charity" invoked by leaders of the Roman and Greek Orthodox Churches already looks like transforming the Sanctuaries from objects of strife into symbols of reunion.

The rich documentation of every stage of the argument includes a fascinating distillation of current opinion on the subject, although it must be said that for Israeli opinion, the author has rarely strayed from the official government publication *Christian News from Israel* and the very un-Israeli *Jerusalem Post*. Documentation overflows into six lengthy appendices, and there is an excellent index. No doubt a second edition, necessary to keep pace with changing events in the area, will remove the misprints which sadly mar an otherwise most attractive publication.

Department of Religious Studies, JOHN F. A. SAWYER.
The University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

ed. John X. Evans THE WORKS OF SIR ROGER WILLIAMS Clarendon Press 1972 286 + cxlvi p, 5 plates £7.50

"A Briefe Discourse of Warre" and "The Actions of the Lowe Countries", here printed, are all that has survived of what was intended to be a comprehensive account of the Netherlands struggle of Elizabethan times. Part of Williams' MS. was lost by a servant, and when later he began to re-write the missing portion the task was unfinished. The "Briefe Discourse" consists of the general chapters on military science with an account of the siege of Sluys taken from what was left of the first MS., and was originally published in 1590. The "Actions" embodies the contents of the later MS., which came into the hands of Peter Manwood and was sent to the press by him in

1618. Being unfinished, it takes the story of the wars down to 1574 only. Tantalizingly, therefore, we have no account of the later campaigns in which Williams was involved, including the four years during which, lacking English employment, he served as a soldier of fortune in the Spanish armies.

Williams was but one of a host of writers on warfare in his century, but in respect of the realism with which he approached his subject he was almost unique. He described himself as a "souldier that hath but small skill in writing", and he made little attempt to discuss the political aspects of the campaigns with which he was concerned; but as an eye-witness account of the struggles as seen by a soldier in the field the "Actions" presents a striking picture of the realities of war. There is, as Professor Evans says, "little romanticism here. Instead of stirring orations, challenges and single combats, we read of operations jeopardized by ignoble jealousies, of mutinies, massacres and prisoners hanged with halters."

To the modern historian, however, the greatest fascination lies in those chapters of the "Briefe Discourse" in which Williams tried to distil the lessons for England which he believed could be learned from his experience in the wars. In these he is revealed as the prototype of those professional soldiers who in succeeding ages down to our own times have sought to drag this country from that conservatism and complacency in matters military which isolation from the continent has always tended to breed. As a product of the Renaissance, Williams had a proper respect for the classical authorities on war, but he realised that the campaigns in the Netherlands, with their emphasis on defensive warfare and siege operations, were vastly different in their nature and demands from the field operations of the ancients; and he had a professional's contempt for the often wildly unpractical treatises of latter-day theorists with their grotesquely complicated drills ("unnecessary hard cunning toyes") and vain insistence on heroic virtue as a qualification for command. To him, the only way to learn soldiering was by fighting: "There can be no Leaders of good conduct unless the haue been in foughten Battailes, asseiged and defended Townes of warre: the longer experted, the more perfected".

This led Williams to make scathing criticism of the traditionalists who clung to the belief that the means by which England had won her battles in the Hundred Years War would still avail to give her victories in Elizabethan days. Warfare, he insisted, had changed fundamentally since the Renaissance, and he was an ardent advocate of modernisation. The art of war, he wrote, was "greatlie altered: the which we must follow and be directed as it is now, otherwise we shall repent it too late". Thus he stressed the superiority of mobile light horsemen over heavy-armed and hence cumbersome men-at-arms, even more the superiority of musketeers over bowmen. By the 1590s the Privy Council was at last forced to heed such advice at least as far as armaments were concerned, though the wider reforms which Williams advocated in organisation and choice of leaders were still lacking. It was not easy to impress such ideas upon a queen with a deep-rooted suspicion of professional soldiers, with a minister as inherently conservative as Burghley at her elbow, or upon an aristocracy with considerable vested interests in the old order. Nor could Williams's stay-at-home English readers be expected to stomach readily his openly-expressed preference for, indeed his insistence on the superiority of, the Spanish way of doing things. His admiration for the generalship of Alva and Parma was unstinted. The Spanish organisation and discipline—above all the Spanish readiness to reward talent and good service—was contrasted with the practices prevalent in the English forces. "Dutie, honor and welth makes men follow the wars: when Generalls rob their inferiors of all these, often it makes honest mindes quit their service, and the dishonest to serue their Enemies". It was the Spanish recognition of this that enabled them to become the military masters of Europe despite the fact that (as Williams held) they were by nature "the basest and [most] cowardlie sort of people".

Williams's texts have been superbly edited by Professor Evans. In his introduction he has supplied an account of Sir Roger's career and a most lucid analysis of his significance as a military commentator. There are admirably full explanatory notes to the texts, and a useful glossary of contemporary military terms is appended.

Keble College, F. D. PRICE.
Oxford.

CORRESPONDENCE

OXBRIDGE CHAPLAINCIES

5th April 1973.

DEAR SIR,

Professor McClelland's interesting and valuable article on the Oxbridge Catholic chaplaincies awakens many memories. May I contribute some footnotes to it?

The opposition to Fr Lopes is very comprehensible. Lopes was a devout and zealous priest, and an endearing personality in social encounters, but he was, if anyone, a "character". He was sensitive, impulsive, generous to prodigality, and wholly unpractical, a great contrast to the commonsense, "hearty" Fr Marshall. An ardent supporter of the liturgical revival (as then understood) and of Gregorian chant, he began at once, though voiceless himself, by instituting a Sunday *Missa cum cantu*. He was by a long chalk the clumsiest man I have ever known. He had two left hands and all his fingers were thumbs. At Mass all his vestments were awry, the altar was littered with broken rubrics, and he dropped or knocked over everything movable. We used to fear for the consecrated chalice. More importantly, he had no financial sense at all. He had made away with two fortunes, building an Anglican church with the first, and a Catholic church with the second, and after gifts to the chaplaincy at Cambridge went on the rocks. The climax came when Cardinal Bourne, arriving on a visit, found bailiffs in the house distraining upon the furniture. I cannot understand why Bullough and Bishop Cary-Elwes were so warm in his support. It may be that in different ways they reacted against Oxford influence.

Urquhart's attitude to the chaplaincy at Oxford was quite understandable. A secular priest in a small chapel was hopelessly outgunned by the regulars—Campion Hall with prestigious figures such as Martindale and D'Arcy, the new Blackfriars with Bede Jarrett and the then popular Thomism, St Benet's Hall with the much-loved Justin McCann and Gregorian chant, the Franciscans with Fr Cuthbert the historian—whereas at Cambridge there was absolutely no spiritual or social solace for undergraduates on Sundays apart from the chaplain's quarters.

Professor McClelland's pages show how much Catholics in the past owed to the unadvertised generosity of their chaplains. At Oxford Mgr Knox kept things going with his royalties and fees for retreats and sermons. At Cambridge Mgr Gilbey was even more generous. I hope he will forgive me for repeating a delightful repartee which he passed on to me many years ago, when inflation was still a small child. A weekend guest at the chaplaincy, revisiting Alma Mater after a long absence, and overcome with nostalgia when confronted with the beauty and hospitality of Cambridge, exclaimed when departing: "I'd give a thousand a year to live here". To whom Alfred Gilbey replied: "That's just about what I pay for it".

The Old Cottage,
Linch,
Liphook,
Hants.

Yours truly,
DAVID KNOWLES.

THE OLD AMPLEFORTH PRESS

1st May 1973.

DEAR SIR,

Fr Patrick's letter in the spring number of the *Journal* makes strange reading to one who was printing at Ampleforth in the early thirties, as does the note referred to in his letter.

The autumn 1930 *Journal* (XXXVI, p. 72) records the achievement of writing *and printing* the "Aspidistra", which was also illustrated: until recently I had a copy of this, but alas! it seems to have been tidied away. This is particularly unfortunate, as I cannot remember who were the other members of the production team—editors and printers.

The spring 1932 *Journal* (XXXVII, p. 143) notices another edition of the "Aspidistra", and the summer number (*ibid.*, p. 223) reports two more "leaves" on that flourishing plant. All these reports comment favourably on the quality of the printing—and Fr Felix Hardy had high standards.

On pp. 219-22 of the summer 1932 *Journal* there is a note of the music sung during Holy Week that year. The list of music there set out was also printed by the press and exhibited outside the Sacristy. I still remember being properly chided by Abbot Matthews for the egregious error I perpetrated (not, of course, repeated in the *Journal*) in printing "Maunday Thursday".

The press, so far as I can recollect a hand-operated Adana, and its operators were certainly not as technically capable or competent as the later equipment and printers. "An Amateur Peasant Girl" is of the highest quality in all respects, and a production of that nature would, I admit, have been beyond our resources and abilities.

10 Royal Chase,
Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

Yours truly,
A. M. F. WEBB (C 34).

BUILDER OF THE JUNIOR HOUSE ORGAN

1st April, 1973.

DEAR SIR,

In the autumn 1972 *Journal* (p. 105) I wrote: "The organ was built in 1815 by Davis Bros., then of Preston—they went to London later". My information came from the *Preston Catholic Parishioner*, March 1924, but it is regrettably incorrect. The organ is inscribed "James Davis, 14 Francis Street, Bedford Square, London". (Another famous organ builder, J. W.

Walker, moved to 27 Francis St. to Museum St. in 1838). Francis St. is now Torrington Place.

James Davis was in London as early as 1793, when he built the organ for Wymondham Abbey, Norfolk. He was working for Longman & Broderip, whose workshop was the Harp and Crown, 26 Cheapside. They made a great variety of musical instruments, including "Piano Fortes in Commodes, Side Boards and Dressing Tables for convenience of small rooms". They were taken over by Clementi in 1798.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* wrote the following obituary (March 1827, p. 284): "March 13. At Stamford Hill, aged 65, Mr James Davis, celebrated as an organ builder for the last 30 years. No person since the time of Green, has built so many organs, or of such great magnitude, as Mr D. He retired from business about six years ago, in consequence of coming into possession of some property by the death of a brother, who was many years a partner in the firm of Clementi and Co., Cheapside. The largest organ he built is at the new church at Stockport, Lancashire. The last organ he built is at the French Catholic Chapel, Somers Town. He pronounced this as his best organ. He was very partial to Schmidt and Harris's organs. The diapasons in St Paul's Cathedral, and the reed stops in St Sepulchre's organ, he said, were the finest in the kingdom. Mr Bishop succeeds in all the church business."

Whittle, in his "History of the Borough of Preston" (published 1837), includes the Davis brothers among his local celebrities (Vol. II, pp 245-6): "JAMES AND DAVID DAVIS—These two gentlemen were born at the first cottage which presents itself as you enter Graves-town from Preston. They afterwards became celebrated organ builders in London, and built the organs at Brindle; St George's and St John's in Preston. The first organ built by the Davis's as self-taught geniuses may be seen in this cottage, and a beautiful drawing of Cupid and Venus, in india ink done by the celebrated Lonsdale the painter. James, the eldest son of John Davis, built a mansion in Essex, called to this day Graves-town Lodge. David the brother was equally celebrated as an organ builder, and the following notice appeared in the papers of the day 'died on the 9th January 1822, D. Davis, Esq, of the house of Clementi and Co., London. He was a native of Graves-town, near Ashton-upon-Ribble. He lived highly respected, and died, much regretted by his numerous friends both in town and country.' The last time we visited this rural cottage, which was 9th June 1828, we found occupying the house rent free, Cicely Wignal, aged 73 years, who had been house keeper to the father of these two men who had risen to eminence, by their own habits of industry and perseverance."

Michael Wilson in "The English Chamber Organ" (1968) gives specifications of two of James Davis's chamber organs, and a photograph. He also writes: "Davis's most ambitious church organ was probably that for Wymondham Abbey". Another church organ by James Davis is at St Mary-the-Virgin, Moorlynch, Somerset. The organ at St George's, Preston, "an excellent organ, of great compass, and well toned" (Whittle), was later replaced by a Willis organ. J. E. Adkins ("Preston Parish Church: its Organists, Choir and Organs 1574-1915") gives the *probable* specification of the organ at St John's, the Parish Church, built by Davis—it had been enlarged by Adkins's time. Of this organ Whittle writes (Vol. 1, p. 56): "The front gallery, facing the altar, contains a well-toned organ, of great compass; the swell is six stops, great organ eleven stops. This organ ornaments the choir in a superior degree, being embellished with florid gothic pinnacles, &c. in perfect unison with those architectural decorations over the altar. This was the gift of our revered fellow-townsman John Horrocks, Esq, M.P. who gave it in the year 1802."

Yours truly,

BONIFACE HUNT, O.S.B.

St Mary's Priory,
Leyland, Preston.

NOT DAWSON'S MONK

10th May 1973.

DEAR SIR,

You introduce your editorial "A New Dark Age?" with a quotation from the writings of the late Christopher Dawson. As his friend from boyhood I should like to point out, to prevent possible misconception, that he was completely out of sympathy with views expressed by you. On page 5 you express your appreciation of the new liturgy. Though unable from his ill health to go to church for some years before his death, Dawson expressed his dislike of the new service and his attachment to the Tridentine Mass. How indeed could such a champion of religion and culture have failed to do so?

Nor had he any sympathy with the secularising (indeed profane) pseudo-Catholicism of our progressives who would reduce the practice of religion to the love and service of humanity in this world, in fact philanthropy coated with devotional sugar, with which so many Catholic priests and religious are willing to compromise. On the contrary he attached supreme importance to the prayer and contemplation which unite the human spirit to God for time and eternity in a dimension of being more real than that in which our mortal bodies live. For him wisdom was the *sancta sophia* handed down to us by the masters of prayer in and through the Catholic Church.

Yours truly,

E. I. WATKIN.

42 Barton Road,
Torquay.

Douglas Woodruff writes on Christopher Dawson in the Book Reviews.

COMMUNITY NOTES

FATHER PHILIP EGERTON, O.S.B.

Thomas Graham Egerton was born in Dublin on 23rd September 1899, the younger son of Sir Reginald Egerton, who at that time was Secretary to the Post Office. He was educated at St Anthony's Eastbourne under Mr Patten, from which he entered Osborne in 1912 and proceeded to Dartmouth in 1914. The Dartmouth cadets were sent to sea in 1915 and he was present at the Battle of Jutland; at seventeen he must have been one of the youngest Naval Officers to take part. In 1919 the Navy sent him on a short course to Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1920 he received the habit from Abbot Smith. Following the usual course of studies, he was an undergraduate at St Benet's Hall, Oxford, reading mathematics and engineering science, in which he was placed in the second class in 1927. His long career in teaching then began, punctuated by reception of the usual orders up to the priesthood in 1930. At the same time he was master of ceremonies and held a commission in the Officers' Training Corps, as it was called, and which had then an ex-regular officer of each of the three services (and was known locally in Northern Command as the N.A.A.F.I.!). He moved to the Junior House as assistant to Fr Illtyd Williams in 1932, which post he retained till in 1937 he was appointed Warden of the hostel which we opened for young unattached men in Paddington. This not very fortunate venture came to an end on the outbreak of war in 1939. Father Philip was recalled to the Navy in 1939, to teach navigation, and served throughout the war, first at Chatham and later in Australia. Taking his discharge in Australia, he taught for a time there in grammar schools, but returned to England and taught on loan at the Austin Friars' school in Carlisle, until he took up again his teaching career at Ampleforth in 1957. This he continued to do until he was appointed assistant priest at St Mary's, Cardiff, in 1967. For two years, 1964-66, he was also Infirmarian at Ampleforth, and his principal work at Cardiff was with the hospitals, in addition to the ordinary parish routine. His health showed signs of failing about two years ago and he died in Llandough Hospital near Cardiff on 30th April 1973 and was buried there.

Such is the record of a very full and varied life spent entirely in the service of others, whether in the Royal Navy, his classroom, or the parish of St Mary. He carried on with whatever job came to his hand without the slightest sign of ostentation, seeking no recognition of his work, and behind and above it all was his devotion to God, backed by a great devotion to Our Lady and a very considerable gift of prayer. One might say that this was enough to fill more than a lifetime, but there was more yet. In his spare time he devoted countless hours and a great part of his annual holiday to the organisation of the sick pilgrims in the Ampleforth Pilgrimage to Lourdes. His devotion to the welfare of the sick on the journey and at the Grotto, extending over many years, will be well known to those who took part in the pilgrimages. May he rest in peace.

On 6th June Fr Raphael Williams died during the afternoon in the monastery sick wing. An obituary notice will appear in the next issue.

* * *

On 21st May Father Abbot appointed Fr Damian Webb to the post of parish priest at Garforth. Fr Edward Croft, the previous parish priest, has moved to St Mary's, Bamber Bridge, where he will assist Fr Christopher Topping.

* * *

MARTIN AINSCOUGH (1898-1973)

It is with deep sympathy towards his wife and all his family that we record the death on 5th March of Martin Ainscough. He was a very good friend to Ampleforth, giving of his time and valuable knowledge to advise upon the working of the Ampleforth College Farms over a period of nearly twenty-five years, supporting generously but unobtrusively our parish at Parbold in which he lived all his life and making a gift to current Appeal for the work of the Community at Ampleforth, together with his wife, which can only be described as princely. He always showed a keen interest in the doings of the School, especially in the area of games and sport.

Martin, the son of James and Lily Ainscough, was born at Fairhurst Hall, Parbold, in 1898. He had two brothers, Cyril and Hugh, of whom the elder was killed at Gallipoli in the year Martin left school. He first joined the School on 4th May 1908 and took Classics where he learned a deep respect for Abbot Edmund Matthews. He also learned to enjoy cricket, becoming Captain of the School XI in his last year and heading the bowling averages with 10.33. In July 1915 he left the School and joined the Royal Flying Corps in which he served for the remainder of the War. On the death of his father he inherited Fairhurst Farms at Parbold and Newburgh. Thenceforward farming filled a large part of his life. These farms became a showpiece for the farmers of Lancashire and when in later years he bought the Croston Hall estate from the Archdiocese of Liverpool, the experience of many years was added to his enthusiasm in setting about improvements and modernisation which soon showed remarkable results. For man years Martin served on the Board of H. & R. Ainscough, Flour and Provender Millers of Burscough and Parbold, the family business. He was also associated through his mother's family with Matthew Brown & Co., Lion Brewery, of Blackburn as Managing Director and then Chairman.

Martin's school cricket had been followed by membership of Ormskirk Cricket Club, which he captained for several years, and he also played for Lancashire County Second XI. It was largely through cricket and shooting, which he greatly enjoyed, that he made a number of lifelong friends, and until the very end of his life his great relaxation was to be out with a gun, even if latterly it had to be a 20 bore aimed through the window of a Range Rover.

The last two years of Martin's life were remarkable for the patience, fortitude and resignation he displayed during an incurable illness which,

to a man of his active nature, must have been hard indeed to endure. In this trial he had the ever-present and devoted support of his wife, Mary (neé Rennick, of an Ampleforth family), whom he had married in 1923, and of his two sons, Cyril and Peter, and of their wives and families; and also the constant care of Doctor Graham who had become one of his closest friends. He had the happiness of knowing that his sons were following him in the business concerns he had built up and that they, and his grandchildren too, shared his own interests and enthusiasms.

Martin Ainscough was the model of the upright man. He did not mince words when faced with meanness or dishonesty and he could be bluntly outspoken over things which did not appeal to him, nevertheless he was a loyal friend and he valued loyalty in others. He was an astute and far-seeing man as the success of his business ventures testifies but it was his straightforward dealing and his total rejection of any least prevarication which earned him such deep respect from all who did business with him. At the same time he was a modest and unassuming person who never allowed his success to make him hard-headed or grasping.

These characteristics of honesty, generosity, modesty and true humility all stemmed from his simple but staunch and enduring religious faith. He found it hard to adjust to the changes in the liturgy and teaching of the Church but his life was lived by the principles learned from the teaching of Christ as it was then known and taught by His ministers. If, in the last months of his life, Martin's practice in the empty hours was to recite the Rosary of Our Lady, we may be sure that he had her prayers for which he had so often asked at the hour of his death. His wife, his sons, his family and friends can all be sure that we have a powerful advocate close to the Throne of God.

E.B.C. JUNIORS' STUDY CONFERENCE:

AMPLEFORTH, 3RD-6TH MAY 1973

"EVERYTHING begins in mysticism and ends in politics"—thus Charles Péguy, and thus the fourth Benedictine Juniors' Conference held at Ampleforth just before Easter. The theme, World Justice and Peace, was one that impinges upon all Christians, though obviously less directly upon those for whom the problems of the Third World are less immediate.

The aim of this year's meeting was three-fold: (a) to look at the facts and processes going on in the Third World; (b) to see how the Church meets and confronts these facts, or rather, what sort of theology and response these facts elicit; and (c) in particular, what is our role within monastic life, and perhaps in education, with regard to the Third World. To help and guide the conference we were privileged to have in our midst four national "Justice and Peace" figures: Mildred Nevile, Julian Filachowski, Fr Philip Holdsworth, and Fr Thomas Cullinan (for the latter two, see elsewhere in Community Notes). These kept our minds fed with statistics of world trade and economics, and acted as effective prodders,

and askers of awkward questions, in both the general and group discussion sessions.

"The most dangerous word in any human tongue is the word for brother. It's inflammatory." The most difficult question dealt with, and predictably the one on which there was going to be least agreement, was the moral one: having heard the facts and figures, what are we, as monks and nuns, called to do? There were basically three answers, each of which had its proponents and antagonists: there were those who feel the priority of the needs of developing African, Asian and American countries, that they would urge the dropping, or radical modification, of our present monastic commitments (schools, parishes, etc.) and the taking up of large-scale involvement in one of those countries. The proponents of this view were divided between those who thought largely in terms of "missionary work" (cf. Aelred Cousin's contribution below), and those who preferred a properly monastic contribution.

The second approach to the problem was taken by those who, aware of those same needs, would not abandon our works here at home, but stressed the need to help where possible, either financially or by the release of a few individuals from home duties—a limited involvement view. Incidentally, the Worth community, whose director, Fr Andrew Brenninkmeyer, was present with us, provides an interesting example of a deepening of involvement in response to genuine needs here at home, as also does the use of the Grange here at Ampleforth (see Fr Andrew on Worth, below).

Others considered that not all religious were called to be directly involved in the Third World, but that our chief contribution as monks and nuns (and teachers), following the thinking of Milton's dictum, "None can love freedom heartily, but good men; the rest love not freedom, but licence", should be primarily that of (a) keeping ourselves informed of the stark realities of the world situation, (b) the involvement and concern of prayer for the world—surely our chief monastic contribution, (c) constant watch upon our own standards of poverty, (d) the teaching in our schools and parishes of this dimension of Christian concern.

The conference as usual provided a unique venue for the meeting of minds and personalities across the autonomous Benedictine frontiers, especially vital and valuable being the contrasts with our more contemplative feminine tradition, without which I sometimes feel the conference might more resemble a St Benet's Old Boys' get-together.

For the success of the whole conference, studious and social, our hearty thanks go to Frs Thomas Cullinan and Swithin McLoughlin without whose efforts little would have happened.

V.A.B.

A Note on the needs of Africa

The Vatican Council's Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church, paragraph 40, runs: "Communities should sincerely ask them-

selves whether they cannot broaden their activity in favour of spreading God's kingdom among the nations; whether they might not leave certain ministries to others so that they themselves can spend their energies on the missions, whether they can undertake work among the missions, adapting their constitutions if necessary but according to the spirit of their founder; whether their members are involved as much as possible in missionary activity."

The E.B.C. happily has a long tradition of "missionary activity", confined however to Britain itself; the late Cardinal Hinsley did officially approach some of the monasteries in the hope that a foundation could be made in East Africa. The call has come again: from the Vatican Council, from an increasing Christian awareness of those in the richer countries to help those in the poorer countries, and from the African bishops themselves. Cardinal Otunga of Nairobi, to name one among many, recently declared: "Missionary effort is, I think, now more necessary for Africa than ever. Imagine for example in Kenya we now have only 80 diocesan priests for a Catholic population over two million; and the apostolate is still general, not counting specialised apostolate such as chaplaincies, seminaries, etc."

Having worked in Uganda (Amin country) for some time, and seen at first hand the many needs there—Tororo diocese (where, incidentally, there is a Benedictine community of nuns) has perhaps one priest to 6,000 —I find it sad that so far we have found ourselves unable to *share* the riches (of monastic spirituality, talent and even material wealth) with our African—impoverished—friends. A priestly colleague has just written: "It is the eleventh hour, but there is still time to make some collective contribution to the Church in Africa: the establishment of a monastic community (albeit small), of a great simplicity, in a place where it would be likely to grow its own roots."

Belmont Abbey, Hereford. AELRED COUSINS, O.S.B.

A Note on Worth's Experiment in Lay Monasticism

From the beginning of Benedictine monasticism in the sixth century groups of monks have lived as families all over the world under the fatherly care and direction of an abbot. They have lived their lives according to a set of values that find their inspiration not in this world, but on a supernatural level, where the life of prayer and service replace worldly ambition, selflessness replaces selfishness, and love replaces hate. This supernatural scale of values inspires people to pool their resources and even their own individualities under the guidance of an abbot and community for the good of the whole. Thus monasteries have been shining examples to the world of life lived in a supernatural perspective. Communities faithful to the supernatural ideals that inspired their founders have shown how real happiness does not necessarily presuppose a life lived according to the world's standards, but is possible in a life lived according to standards that stretch a person beyond the confines of "self" to become something

bigger than "self" within the framework of the community in which he lives. Countless people have found, down the centuries, real happiness and peace by following this path that leads through Christ to unity in the Father.

The Benedictine monks of today are the custodians of this age old tradition and must by the example of their own personal lives and the corporate lives of their communities continue to be a light in the world, pointers to the way that leads to happiness—to Christ. It follows that our communities must closely examine every possible means of attracting other people to adopt the values that inspire their own lives, even if these people do not have the calling to become monks or nuns themselves.

It is a remarkable phenomenon of our times that young people particularly are more and more looking towards the life of prayer and community as an alternative to the selfishness and hate they see in the world around them. It is because of this, and because of our duty to share what we have and so greatly value ourselves, that the Abbot and Community at Worth have decided to establish a community of unmarried lay people at Worth. This lay Community lives under the umbrella of the Monastery, but its members are not monks. Their commitment is indefinite as opposed to the permanent commitment of the monks: nor do its members take vows. Like the boys in our School, the Lay Community is very much a part of the monastic family, though it enjoys its own distinct existence and is free to develop along its own lines, according to the needs of its members, within the general framework of Worth as a truly Christian centre.

A person wanting to join the Lay Community does so primarily to deepen his own spirituality—to come closer to Christ in his life, finding him firstly in prayer, in other people, and by conforming his own life to that of Christ in service to his neighbour. In practice this means that the Lay Community sing the entire divine office in choir with the monks. Each member also devotes at least two half hours per day where possible to personal private prayer. Spiritual reading also plays an important part in the life, as does a period of informal shared prayer in the Lay Community sitting room each evening.

By living in close contact with each other, members of the Community learn to concentrate on each other's good points. They come to see each person not merely as a cog in the wheel of their own lives, but as a being with rights in and for himself. They learn to see Christ in that person. They learn that combined activity bears far greater fruit than any number of individual good intentions. They very soon develop a disciplined sensitivity to the needs of others with whom they live. The finding of Christ in prayer and community should inevitably lead to a desire to serve others and thus to share Christ with others.

The Community must be financially viable—and so members will have to spend some time earning an income from which to provide for the needs

of the Community and its undertakings. However, this should still leave time for members to take some part in social work, either at Worth or in the neighbourhood. Members already make regular visits to the local Cheshire Home, and a beginning has been made in helping to run a playgroup for children in need in Crawly. Three holidays have been organised for deprived children to take place during the course of the summer.

When the Community is really well established and enough experience has been gained, one of the best forms of service it could give to society is providing a warm welcome and stable background for those such as discharged prisoners, ex-addicts of one sort or another, or those who are recovering from some form of breakdown, or who are just suffering from some great bereavement or spiritual strain and are lost, to come and find their feet again within a life-style based on the values that lead to true peace and happiness.

It is hoped that some members of our Lay Community will be trained to go to join our monastic community in the Peruvian jungle, and so help Worth's effort to be of direct assistance in solving some of the most pressing problems in that small part of the Third World.

Not all the members of the Lay Community are permanently resident at Worth, able to live the life in all its details. However, they are able to live their lives in the spirit that inspires the life as lived at Worth, making necessary adjustments. In this way the yare able to spread the light, to share with others where they live and work something of the ideals and values that Worth stands for—that make it into a Christian centre in the fullest sense of that word.

Worth Abbey, ANDREW BRENNINKMEYER, O.S.B.
Crawley, Sussex.

COMMISSIONED MONKS

DURING the Triduum, when the Old Amplefordians and their families had their customary Retreat here, a choice of meetings was arranged on Holy Saturday mid-morning so that monks recently appointed to episcopal commissions could explain the background of their work. Three talks were arranged simultaneously (and that was a cause for heartburn, since most people wanted to hear more than one of the talks), and a brief account of them follows largely to show something of Ampleforth's involvement in the life of the Church in England at the higher level.

FR DOMINIC MILROY, who is a member of the Bishops' Secretariat for Dialogue with Unbelievers, spoke about the general problem, namely the nature of unbelief. The proper setting was the opening of *Gaudium et Spes*, the Conciliar Constitution on the Church in the World: "The joy and hope, the sorrow and anxiety of the men of our time, especially of the poor and of those who are in any way suffering; these Christ's disciples make their own, and there is nothing human that does not find an echo in their hearts." (An echo of Terence, surely—*nihil humani* . . .). In pursuit

of this sentiment, three Vatican Secretariats have been founded, for Christian Unity, for Non-Christian Religions and for Dialogue with Unbelievers. In each country, national equivalents have been instituted (co-ordinated in Britain by Bishop Warlock of Portsmouth). The Secretariat for Dialogue with Unbelievers, headed by Bishop Holland of Salford, with Fr John Gains as its secretary, is composed of half clerical (including such as the Jesuit Fathers Yarnold and Hebblethwaite) and half lay members (including a Member of Parliament, a director of Public Relations and an Australian Oxford Sociologist). The Commission's purpose is to uncover the problem of unbelief, which seems an unnatural state for man to live in, and to encourage existing dialogue with identifiable groups of unbelievers such as Marxists. The working party, of which Fr Dominic is a member, is preparing conferences on the relation between culture and belief; for it seems that some cultures foster belief as soil a plant, and some militate against it. For instance, faith and community are close; and high rise flats, shifting conurbations and suburban lifestyles all inhibit community. Town planners should call in not only health officers but priests in their plotting. The modern influx of immigrants on a large scale, with their own definite cultural ways, has promoted a new rootleness which strikes at community and then at faith. Further, formed faith is undermined in middle life by the pace of change, by the pressure to adapt and readapt: the older among us lapse through exhaustion, the young through rebellion and the neophyte because no spark of faith is struck initially. At another level than the local, there is a new sense of world brotherhood, of comradely community which disregards all frontiers—doctrinal, cultural or official. It can dissipate belief by its amorphous inclusiveness or it can engender such movements as Pentecostalism or the Jehovah's Witnesses. Such are the problems that the Commission is examining.

FR HENRY WANSBROUGH was invited as a consultor to the Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission on the Theology of Marriage and Mixed Marriages at their third meeting. The commission has been in existence for five years, to investigate how far the theology and administration of marriage constitute a barrier between the two Churches, and how far this need be so. The new regulations about mixed marriages are partly a result of their discussions: the Catholic party now need only promise to do "all in his/her power" to see that children are brought up Catholics (formerly a written promise that they would be so brought up was necessary), and the non-Catholic party need undertake no obligation in this matter. The solemnisation of a mixed marriage before a non-Catholic pastor or in a non-Catholic Church has also been made easier. The meeting in April was to discuss Church attitudes to the breakdown of marriage. Where an irretrievable breakdown had occurred could the bond of marriage be said still to exist? What could one discover about the will of God in such a situation, especially if one of the partners had entered into a second union? Fr Henry read a paper on the New Testament evidence, to which a reply from the Anglican side was made by Fr Barnabas Lindars S.S.F., of Cambridge. All the participants (the Commission has a dozen members, half of them bishops, drawn from England, Ireland and

America) were surprised by the unanimity of views expressed; differences of opinion were not between the official Church interpretations but between individual scholars on both sides, and the essentials were agreed by both confessions. A firmer distinction became visible in the discussion of the pastoral problem: the Roman Catholic practice had always been governed uniquely by the principle of the indissolubility of marriage, where as in Anglican practice this is tempered by other principles. But even here the harmony of approach and the shared concern over the agonising problem of marital breakdown were the dominant notes of the meeting. During the Retreat, Fr Henry gave a talk on the work of the Commission.

Fr Thomas Cullinan is a member of The Bishops' Commission for International Justice and Peace. He began in his Retreat talk by surveying the nature and work of the Commission (which is described below in Community Notes), and laid special stress on the fact that an understanding of the relation between rich and poor countries does not turn out to be merely a worry about *them*, but reflects back on *us* and shows up much of the latent injustice and violence within our own society. The main part of this talk was devoted to the social and political implications of the renewed liturgy, especially our celebration of Mass. Christ made it clear that the presence of God which had previously been located in the Temple, and in the Law, was henceforth to be located in his own Person. St Paul made it clear that this presence of God in Christ is to be found in the Church, in the Church as persons, us, you and I, people. The primary presence of God must always be held on to as a presence in his people, and it is to this that the new liturgy has brought us back. No longer a liturgy that belongs to priests, or to choirs, or to sacred places, but one that is before all else a worship that belongs to and is concerned about people. Hence it is in their language, their culture, within their competence. If "the kingdom is within", if we are "to worship in spirit and in truth" we must struggle against any tendencies to remove the presence of God within us to a presence located elsewhere; even his Eucharistic presence must be understood in this light. This has immediate social implications because it directs the whole of life, our decisions and our organisations, to a concern for people. It shatters the idols we set up, ambitions, establishments, profit, buildings and centres our attention on persons. We discover in the Eucharist a new understanding of personal freedom, of what it is to possess things or to use power, of what it is to live through distress and suffering without losing hope and vigour, of what it is to pursue non-violence within the innate violence of given contemporary society, of what above all it means to be in communion with God and not fall out of communion with persons.
(Cf CIIR leaflet "Eucharist and Politics" by Fr Thomas, price 12p).

AMPLEFORTH AND THE JUSTICE & PEACE COMMISSION

Fr Thomas, involved in the "Justice and Peace" scene for some time, has more recently been joined by Fr Philip Holdsworth. The Bishops' Commission for International Justice and Peace counts both of them among its members, as also three other Amplefordians: Hugh Fraser MP, John Gormley

and Erik Pearse, and the last is General Secretary to the Commission (44 Grays Inn Road, London WC1X 8LR, 01-405-0925), Fr Thomas came to the matter through his connection with Oxfam and Fr Philip's involvement was through the Merseyside Priests Justice & Peace Group, of which he is chairman. This was started in 1971 as a result of a priests conference brought about through the Commission and led to the formation of a similar group for Catholic teachers in the area. These local groups are mainly concerned with helping Catholics to become more aware of the issues of justice and peace at home and abroad. This is also a concern of the Bishops' Commission, although its prime function is to act as an advisory body in this field to the Bishops' Conference. It has six working parties: (1) to inform and mobilise public opinion about issues of justice between EEC countries and those of the Third World; (2) to help Catholics generally to pray, study and act about issues of this kind; (3) to review the placing of church investments; (4) to explore the theological doctrines implicit in the Church's concern for social justice; (5) to facilitate the renewal of education on justice and peace in the Church; (6) to foster the study and implementation of the principles of peace and human rights. It also has a study group on population. This Commission was first established in 1968 on a provisional basis and was confirmed more permanently in 1972.

Earlier into the field in this country and on related matters were CIIR and CAFOD. The former, the "Catholic Institute for International Relations" (41 Holland Park, London W11 3RP, 01-727-3077) goes back many years, deriving from the "Sword of the Spirit" of Cardinal Hinsley's day. It seeks to make the cause of world poverty better known within the Catholic community, drawing it into an active involvement in such world issues. This work of education is directed essentially to parish clergy and teachers: conferences are run to air the economic, political and theological dimensions of the problem of world poverty and the imbalance of the Rich and the Poor societies. To this end a series of briefing papers on current affairs was launched in October 1971, about a dozen having so far appeared on such subjects as "6. World Resources", "8 Ugandan Asians", "9. Overseas Aid", 10. Immigration '73" and "12. Rhodesia '73": each of them provides suggestions for further reading, "11. Northern Ireland" devoting the whole of page twelve to publications. The papers on Pakistan and Rhodesia sold 4,000 copies within weeks of publication. CIIR also has a volunteer programme to send people abroad on one of three kinds of programme: development and "conscientisation" programmes in rural areas; public health and medical training in rural clinics; and teaching jobs in secondary schools and technical institutes. Volunteers have gone out to twenty different poor countries to do more than twenty kinds of vocational work of which the most common is medical and teaching.†

CAFOD, "The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development", founded in 1962, is a central fund of the Church responsible to the Hierarchy, with the task of awakening concern among Catholics for poverty overseas and

†*For further details, see CIIR advertisement elsewhere in this issue.*

of raising funds for direct aid and for the support of self-help projects of lasting effect. Between these three structures, the Commission which advises the bishops, the Institute which educates Catholic England to the dimension of poverty and the Fund for developments overseas, there is naturally close understanding and close cooperation. Their staffs know each other well as allies. The only pity is that they are not all better known to Catholic England.

NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE: RYEDALE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

This year, the subject o fthe Annual Conference, held again at Ampleforth, on 7th April, was *The Path of Prayer: Approaches from East and West.* The Conference returned to the form of three papers given by speakers from three religious denominations, the speakers then composing a question panel at the end of the day. Last year Metropolitan Anthony Bloom took the whole set lectures upon himself and drew an audience of 250. This year the diversity of lecturers, though they were not public figures known from their TV appearances, drew a smaller but still considerable audience of 190 from all over Yorkshire and even outside the county. A good sprinkling of the Community joined the Conference, some of them leading discussion groups: it was planned, as in other years, by Fr Mark and Margaret Law. Last year's excellent new feature, a glass of sherry at mid-morning, got forgotten this year though there was some welcome Spanish white wine at lunchtime.

"The Way of Prayer—the way of Christian maturity" was the lecture which began the day: it was given by Rev Edgar Wright, Association Minister to the Northern Baptist Association with pastoral care of all Baptist Churches in the north east. He gave us a valuable resumé of the western tradition of prayer—vocal with the emphasis on words, meditative with the emphasis on the mind, and contemplative with the emphasis on being before God or resting in the Lord. He said that as we all need air so we need prayer, as we all need food so we need the scriptures and sacraments, as we all need exercise so we need the Christian virtues, and as we all need human fellowship so we need Christian love. In prayer we remain beginners all our lives. We should never neglect to give due time in every day to direct prayer and to *lectio divina*, whatever the pressures of our lives; and indeed the great souls, like Pope John (as in "The Journal of a Soul"), tell us that the greater the pressure the more imperative the need to carve out time for prayer. A man like Cyril Garbett, a remarkable Archbishop of York, took for his staple reading Lancelot Andrews, Walter Hilton and "The Imitation of Christ" and his copies of these were well thumbed. Baron Friedrich von Hügel, one of the great souls of the last generation, said that he owed more to his regular quarter hour of spiritual reading than to any other source. What to read? Every man should find his own spiritual pastors: some will want the classics, others perhaps Christian biography and autobiography. In our advance in prayer, we should all expect to experience the lower levels, the drying up of sweet

consolations, times indeed of joylessness which may be most pleasing to God, as was the prayer of Gethsemani. Prayer will not always be sweet; it may be a fearful encounter—for it is the aweful Godhead we are meeting, Holiness Itself beside which we are utterly aware of our sinfulness, as was Isaiah at the time of his call, in the pressence of the seraphim crying "Holy, Holy, Holy". "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God". The great prayer encounter is always at the Eucharist, quintessence of praying, when the gift is not prayer but God himself.

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one" (conflated from Deuteronomy 6.4-9, which begins all Hebrew prayer time) was the second lecture, given by Michael Wolfson, Professor of Theoretical Physics at York University. He is a member of the Sinai synagogue in Leeds, a constituent member of the Reform synagogues of Britain. His task was to tell us about the diversity of Jewry over the centuries and over the world. He spoke about the Askhenazic Jews of Germany and eastern Europe; the Saphardic Jews of Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands (from the Spanish connexion); the Oriental Jews of Morocco, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and the Yemen; the Indian Jews especially around Bombay; and the Falashas, some 25,000 negroes of Ethopia ,who in the last century thought that they were the last survivors of the Jewish race in the world. The commonest, European and American Jews, incline to be divided into three: the Orthodox Synagogue, who faithfully follow the observance of ancient centuries; the Reformed Synagogue, who harmonise tradition with modern knowledge and conditions; and the liberal movement, which goes some way beyond the Reformed Synagogue. The Professor added that he was clearly not of the first Synagogue himself, or he would be keeping the Saturday Sabbath that day, and not travelling to Ampleforth to talk about it! Jews pray thrice daily, the cycle beginning in the evening. They pray in congregation, ten men (woment do not count, except in the home where they are paramount) constituting a quorum. They cover their heads and wear a prayer shawl fringed and threaded with blue. They may wear texts such as Deuteronomy 6.8-9 commend upon their foreheads, left arms or pinned upon the doorpost of their houses. In their synagogues, where the ark is kept containing the Pentateuch handwritten on a double scroll beneath an "eternal flame", they conduct a weekly liturgy revolving round the reading of the Torah and the Prophets followed by a sermon; and an annual cycle of feasts of which the Day of Atonement and the Passover commemmoration are the most important. At the first, when all have fasted till evening, two goats are brought to the service, the sacrificial and the scapegoat, one for worship and the other to carry the sins of the community out into the desert. Penance is the theme, and it is all public rather than individualised, the book of Jonah being read to remind the community of the power of corporate penance. The Passover meal is, as we would expect, full of signs. The bone of a lamb, some mud for brick making, parsley soaked in salt water to sybolise tears shed in sweated labour and horse radish to symbolise the bitterness of slavery, all play their representative part. In the home an extra cup of wine is poured out for the prophet Elijah whose return is ever expected; and the youngest member of the

family asks the father of the family the four questions, "Why is this night different from all other nights? . . . ." What gives the Jewish religion its distinctive character is its introspective nature, preoccupied as it is with itself and related in all its festivals to its own racial history. It is typical of a Jew, struggling perhaps under the weight of a paving stone, that he would say, "if my ancestors could build pyramids, then surely I can build a garden path!"

"Pray Ceaselessly" was the third lecture. Fr Vladimir Rodzianko took St Paul's injunction as the summary of the tradition of the Orthodox Churches. Himself a Russian born Archpriest of the Serbian Church, he has long been broadcasting to eastern Europe for the BBC on religious matters. He began by a charming apology for his tenous grasp of English, comparing himself to a plane able to take off and fly but not always able to find the way to land. He had a bon mot about the Patriarch of Yugoslavia, who found himself telling of the life of a worthy of his Church: he wanted to suggest that this holy man's death might have been by poisoning, but the only word that came to him (when he had transposed his latinity) was "intoxication" and that did not seem to edify his audience! The Orthodox tradition of prayer, so Fr Vladimir holds, is a tradition midway between the Hindu and Buddhist eastern and the individualised western, a hebraic tradition with a stress on national community prayer. The main and reiterated call to God is: "O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner", a ceaseless prayer for help. Every man is broken in mind and will and feeling; every man needs to mend himself vis-à-vis his God. Fr Vladimir referred to St Seraphim of Sarov (1759-1833)†, whose teaching was that implicit prayer brought unity of spirit, unity of will and purity of heart; and that real mysticism gave man a complete view of the world's reality in which he shares, raised as he is from his sinfulness to innocence. Fr Vladimir told of earlier days when he was imprisoned in Yugoslavia for illegal excessive religious propaganda. Ill as he was, he was tortured and put in a room with 120 others to live in misery. The will to pray left him, but he soon had a dream in which he was encouraged by St Seraphim to fight his difficulties. One of these was his worry for his family, who had not had any news of him in prison: so, waking, he resolved to write to his wife recounting the comfort of St Seraphim, and hope that the message might get through to her. She at that time was near despair and had gone to her ikon—Metropolitan Anthony often says that real prayer comes best when despair is at hand. She prayed to St Seraphim too, and heard in her heart the words, "do not worry, all will be well". The next day she had her letter, and with it the reference to the saint who had comforted both husband and wife. Fr Vladimir then ended; if,as he said, he were to embark upon a description of the liturgical life and books of the Orthodox Church, then the lecture would continue ceaselessly!

The day ended with a service in the abbey church, at which the lecturers read lessons and the Abbot gave a final blessing. Many of those

† Cf Irina Gorainov, "The Message of Saint Seraphim", Fairacres Pamphlet No. 26 1973 15p (Convent of the Incarnation, Fairacres, Oxford OX4 1TB).

present stayed on for the evening conventual Mass which followed, some surprised to see so many priests concelebrating together. It made a harmonious ending.

FREE ASSOCIATION OF NUNS AT AMPLEFORTH

SINCE "Experience of God" was to be the subject for discussion at the Abbots' Congress later in the year, it was decided that it should be the theme of Abbot Basil Hume's talks to members of the Free Association of Nuns of the British Isles following the Rule of St Benedict, who met at Ampleforth from 9th to 13th April, 1973. The nuns who attended expected much from these talks, and certainly they were not disappointed, but probably none of them had any idea beforehand as to the number of other levels on which they were to experience God during those enriching days. For it was a theme with variations. Conferences, choir, community, countryside and even a surprise concert combined to complete the experience.

Over thirty nuns were present, superiors and delegates representing the communities of Castle Cary, Cockfosters, Colwich, Dumfries, Fernham, Kylemore, Minster, Oulton, Ravenswood, Ryde, Slough, Stanbrook, Talacre, Teignmouth, Tyburn, Westcliff; also a guest from Pennant Hills, Australia, an Anglican nun from Holy Cross, Haywards Heath, and a German observer from Dinklage.

Abbot Hume's talks, though by no means unpractical, illuminated familiar monastic ground from the view-point of God's love; even "conversion of manners", so often approached from a purely ascetic angle, was set in its true context of the Divine Lover eliciting a more adequate response from the beloved. It was a great refreshment to be lifted above the current problems of monastic life, to which one could afterwards return with eyes in better focus.

The community were most generous in the welcome they extended to the nuns. It was an especial privilege to be allowed to participate fully in the liturgy from the choir-stalls. Admission to the refectory established a precedent at Ampleforth, greatly appreciated by the members of the Free Association.

Interesting and enjoyable afternoon expeditions were organised for those who wanted to visit Rievaulx and Lastingham. The country was beautiful and left an impressions of far-reaching horizons, wild daffodils and ubiquitous lambs—a fitting preparation for Paschaltide.

The concert on the final evening was the greatest surprise of all. Attractive looking small tables, laden with wine, biscuits and sweets, were ranged down the auditorium of the theatre. When the community and nuns were grouped around these, they were entertained with a delightful blend of family humour and first-class technique. An appreciative burst of laughter greeted the announcement that this was the first time that the community had experienced the combination of wine, women and song in the theatre, but there was, in all seriousness, an eschatological dimension

about the event, and at its close one knew a little more about the joy, freedom and lavishness of God.

The Free Association was founded in 1969 as a means of communication and mutual support between monasteries of nuns following the Rule of St Benedict in the British Isles, and as a practical way in which the monks could be of assistance to their sisters. A commission of three monks was set up for this purpose under the chairmanship of Abbot Aelred Sillem of Quarr Abbey as a result of the EBC General Chapter in 1969; it was afterwards recognised by the hierarchy, and has been working in close conjunction with the nuns ever since. Quite recently a similar economic commission has been established for the benefit of all contemplative nuns in England, not excluding Anglican communities.

The annual meeting of the Free Association has been held in successive years at Acton Burnell, Douai, Grayshott, Oulton and Ampleforth. The commission of monks and a working-party of nuns have also met successively at Cockfosters, Stanbrook, Kylemore and Minster to prepare for the general meeting. By circulating in this way it is hoped to promote interest in the Free Association amongst the various communities. At the Ampleforth meeting three of the superiors present were elected to represent the rest at a meeting of the English abbots in the following June, at which the affairs of the nuns are to be discussed.

Though the Free Association is to a certain extent *sui generis*, and, as its name implies, completely untrammelled by juridical structures, it is not an isolated phenomenon. In other countries too Benedictine nuns have been meeting together in recent years in language-groups, irrespective of differences of observance and juridical status. The German-speaking abbesses met at Engelthal in 1969 and at Maria Laach in 1971 and 1973. The French abbesses had their first meeting at Jouarre in 1971. An English nun was invited as observer to both meetings at Maria Laach and another attended the meeting at Jouarre. One French and two German observers have attended Free Association meetings in England. Each of these language-groups has its elected representative on the Abbot Primate's Abbesses' Commission which is completed by three other members, two from Italy and one from Spain.

Inter-communication between Benedictine nuns is by no means confined to Europe. The community of Pennant Hills, Australia, plays its part in the flourishing Australian Monastic Union. Ryde, thanks to its recent foundation of Shanti Nilayam, near Bangalore, has a link with the east, and the Abbess was present at the Monastic Congress at Bangkok in 1968.

Worth's venture in Peru has been an inspiration to the whole of the EBC and far beyond, but it is not so widely known that more than sixty years ago another EBC house was instrumental in the foundation of a monastery in South America from which a number of other foundations have sprung in Brazil, Argentine and Uruguay. A nucleus of Brazilian candidates for monastic life were trained at Stanbrook, and in 1911 the initial fundation was made at São Paulo, Brazil. Three Stanbrook nuns accompanied the Brazilians; the one chosen to be superior died on the voyage, of the remaining two one stayed in Brazil until her death and

the other returned after some years to England. Two more nuns were lent for a time by Stanbrook to help the young Brazilian community; one of these, now on the verge of ninety, survives to delight her own community by her loving heart and beautifully tended garden.

Because of this close link with Brazil, and as a representative of the Primate's commission, the Abbess of Stanbrook was invited to attend a meeting of the monks and nuns of South America at Rio in July, 1972. Nothing could give a more vivid impression of the development of transport —and incidentally of the evolution of enclosed nuns—during the past sixty years, than a comparison of her journey with that of the original group in 1911. Since Vatican II, nuns enclosed for many years have learnt to cope single-handed with the intricacies of airports; sixty years ago the voyage to Brazil entailed the most careful and complicated arrangements beforehand with railway, hotel and shipping company. It is pleasing to notice that whereas the cellarer apparently stipulated that for breakfast at Southampton each nun was to have an egg *or* marmalade *or* fruit, the hotel manager, unaccustomed to monastic restrictions, interpreted the rather illegible phrase as egg *and* marmalade.

After the meeting at Rio the Abbess of Stanbrook visited two of the nuns' monasteries. One of these, Belo Horizonte, a foundation from São Paulo, is of especial interest. The community deliberately chose a poor district, and the nuns have tried to identify with the poverty around them in clothing, food and housing. In one area alone they make an exception: they are well supplied with up-to-date books, and are doing all they can to raise the local standard of education, as well as catering for physical needs with a dispensary.

The meeting at Rio, which the Primate also attended, was evidence of the fact that there is a growing awareness throughout the Benedictine world of the mutual benefit to be derived from closer cooperation between monks and nuns.

In England the EBC General Chapter of 1969 marked a stage in this direction as nuns were present for the first time at one of its sessions. On that occasion a plea was made for increased cooperation. It was thought best to let this develop of its own accord rather than to provide for it by legislation. The past four years have proved beyond doubt the wisdom of encouraging such cooperation. The monks and nuns who have worked together on EBC commissions or attended the Juniors' Theology Conference know how much both sides stand to gain by it. In this context warm tribute must be paid to the community of Douai who were the first to "integrate" nun guests into choir and refectory. Their generous and unfailing hospitality has stood up to the test of countless meetings of one sort or another involving the presence of nuns. One nun, returning for a second meeting after a brief interval in her own monastery, was greeted by the ticket-collector at Reading with: "Have you had a nice holiday, Sister?" He had got it the wrong way round, but at Douai one feels both at home and on holiday.

The recent meeting at Ampleforth was a grand example of the same generous fraternal hospitality. This note has attempted to place this

particular event within a twofold evolutionary movement towards both the establishment of world-wide inter-communications between monasteries of nuns and a more general acceptance of the principle of collaboration between monks and nuns. As regards the first, unions such as the Free Association can be of value, especially if they have the interest and support of the communities which they represent, and provided such unions do not jeopardise autonomy or impair already existing loyalties. As for the second, fruitful collaboration presupposes a fifty-fifty, businesslike basis, undisturbed even by the niceties of chivalry.

FRIDESWIDE SANDEMAN, O.S.B.

Stanbrook Abbey,
Worcester.

GOETHE INSTITUTE IN YORK

THE Goethe Institute is the German counterpart of the British Council, founded since the War, It has been represented in London and Glasgow for over a decade, and in Manchester since 1969. There are now 115 German cultural institutes all over the world, three of them in Great Britain. The most recent to be opened is a branch in York, a new centre which will work in close association with the University of York (strictly it is a branch of the Manchester Institute, which is thereby able to extend its activities also to the Leeds, Bradford and Huddersfield areas and around the east coast from Hull to Newcastle). The new Nebenstelle is in Micklegate House, 86 Micklegate, where accommodation has been made available by the University authorities: the York Centre is to be run by Dr Richard Schneider, who has spent some years in the American university milieu and brought with him an American wife. It is all a further sign of York's burgeoning cultural life.

The opening was marked by an evening of rare delight on 3rd April. A few of the brethren (including your Editor) were invited by the President of the Goethe Institute to a concert in the Guildhall followed by a reception in the de Grey rooms in the presence of His Excellency the German Ambassador, Karl-Günther von Hase (who, incidentally, is a first cousin of the late Pastor Bonhöffer). En route to Dublin, Edinburgh and London, the Cologne Chamber Orchestra under its brilliant conductor Helmut Müller-Brühl came to play an evening of Handel and Bach which included the Bach D major Concerto for three violins, reconstructed from its harpsichord form (the original form being lost to us) and so played in England for the first time. The evening's violin soloist was the mature, but still quite young, Jenny Abel. All this was in the presence of the Archbishop and the Lord Mayor, who made a speech of welcome and thanks. One of the highlights of that night was the walk through the floodlit streets (Mansion House, Minster, King's Manor, City Art Gallery and walls) to the champagne reception at the de Grey Rooms, where many tongues and many cultures mingled. A marvellous start to German cultural penetration in Yorkshire.

SELBY ABBEY ALIVE AGAIN

IN the summer of 1969 Selby celebrated the ninth centenary of its famous abbey's foundation, the first Norman foundation in the north of England; and the JOURNAL marked the occasion with an article by Dr R. B. Dobson of York University on the foundation years. At that time there was a certain expectancy, for the *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*, known to have survived in at least one manuscript somewhere in France, had just been located by a pupil of the Ecole Nationale des Chartes, at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is a long epistolary account of the early years written by a Selby monk in 1174, some twenty thousand words. We are promised a full edition of it, with translations into modern French and English.

Now a further discovery has been made. Some years ago a box of manuscripts, most of them concerning Selby Abbey, was discovered among the archives of Archbishop's House, Westminster; in due time they were catalogued, though their provenance still remains unknown. Dr K. G. T. McDonnell has written a description of this collection in the current number of *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, p. 170-2. It includes 39 account rolls and 17 court rolls of the monastic estates, with a few miscellaneous pieces including a description of the site and buildings of the Abbey at the time of the Dissolution, 1459. There are also court rolls and deeds of the successor estate together with some deeds relating to Rievaulx, Kirkham and Drax.

The *Historia*, this Westminster collection, the Selby manuscripts in the East Riding and Essex Record Offices, and the principal public repositories (together with what seems to be further Selby material found among papers at the English College, Rome but as yet not substantiated as such) must surely encourage some young scholar to attempt a history of Selby Abbey.

MRH, HRH AND MEDIEVAL FRANCISCAN HOUSES

A LETTER from Miss Vera London tells us that she is now going on to cover the Heads of Religious Houses for the years 1216-1377, or at least begin the work; for it is not often given to scholars to finish these exacting enterprises themselves. (Cf Editor's review article in the last issue).

A letter from the Bishop of Ripon, John Moorman, author of "A History of the Franciscan Order" (1968), tells us that he is at work on a parallel catalogue covering the Medieval Franciscan Houses up to the year 1517, when the Order divided into two, Conventuals and Observants; at that time there were some four thousand houses in existence in Europe occupied by friars, clarisses and members of the Third Order Regular. Dr Moorman has been at work on this project for many years now; and, though he sees a lot of work ahead of him still to be done, he hopes to finish it himself eventually. It is to be published by the Franciscan Institute at the University of St Bonaventure, New York, of which he is an Hon. Litt.D. The book is to be a collection of material about each house to include a list of guardians or abbesses where known, and essential bibliographical information.

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SCHOOL SECTION

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

Obituary

Prayers are asked for the following who have died: A. S. Beech (1904) on 18th February; Martin Ainscough (1915) on 5th March; Peter Blackledge (C 32) on 4th March; T. V. Welsh (1916) on 4th March; Edward Paul de Guingand (1923) on 17th April; Shriver Roche (1923) on 22nd April; Fr Philip Egerton on 30th April.

David Mansel-Pleydell, d.f.c.

David came to Ampleforth in 1932, following his two elder brothers at Gilling and in the Junior House. He entered St Bede's House in 1937, eventually becoming head of the House. He left at Easter in 1941 and, after a short period at Glasgow University, went to Canada for his training as an officer in the R.A.F. where he qualified as a Pathfinder. He was awarded the D.F.C. for bombing raids on Germany and on his last raid the aircraft was hit and the captain ordered the crew to bail out. David was the first to jump, and the captain then changed his mind and flew the aircraft home, with the result that David had difficulty in persuading his German captors that he had not been parachuted in as a spy or saboteur. After the war he entered the employment of British Petroleum, and became their chief representative in Greece, then Italy and subsequently in the Benelux countries. He died as a result of a motor accident near Brussels on 6th January.

To his wife and three young sons we extend our deepest sympathy and prayers. I.G.F.

Marriages

Earl Peel (B 65) to Veronica Timpson in the Guards Chapel, Wellington Barracks, on 28th March.

Philip Lawrence (E 65) to Frances Kathryn Huntley at Ealing Abbey on 10th February.

Steuart Martin Moor (E 60) to Mary Patricia Ann Wolseley at the Church of St Joseph and St Ethelreda, Rugeley, on 24th February.

Engagements

Peter Constable-Maxwell (B 60) to Virginia Anne Ewart.

James Gerard Dewe-Mathews (B 66) to Victoria Alice Richards.

Kevin John Fane-Saunders (O 62) to Teresa Hoffman.

Simon Fraser (B 63) to Patricia Garrett.

Michael Kenneth James (H 69) to Margaret Wilson.

David John Lentaigne (H 61) to Caroline Titia Jacob Oudes.

Michael O'Neill (H 68) to Frances Morton.

David Viner (A 68) to Clare Bayley.

Births

Anne and Desmond Bell (E 61), a daughter, Eleanor Anne, sister for Nicolette.

Felicity and Anthony Bowring (A 59), a son, Mark.

Caroline and Adrian Brennan (W 58), a son.

Lord and Lady David Crichton-Stuart (C 51), a daughter, Elizabeth Mary.

Lady Anna Rose and Lord James Charles Crichton-Stuart (W 53), a son, Hugh Bertram.

Gillyvor and Major Ian Flanagan (D 57), a son, James.

Sandra and Jonathan Fox (D 63), a son, Dominic Jon.

Patsy and Peter Hickman (A 62), a son, Thomas.

Mrs and Michael Gilbey (T 67), a son, Henry John.

Brigid and N. M. Robinson (O 64), a son, Hugh Edward William.

Richard Cave (O 31) has been appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Greater London.

Gerard Young (B 27) has been appointed High Sheriff of Hallamshire and will be the last to hold this office as under the reform of local government his territory will come to be known as South Yorkshire in 1974. His eldest son, Hugo, is now Assistant Editor of the *Sunday Times* while his second son, Charles, is at the Harvard Business School.

The Marquess of Bute (W 50) has been appointed to the Development Commission.

Paul J. M. Kennedy (E 53) has been appointed a Queen's Counsel. After National Service he entered Caius College, Cambridge, as an Exhibitioner and qualified M.A., LL.B. He became the Lord Justice Holker Senior Scholar 1960 and the James Mould Scholar 1960 at Gray's Inn and after being called to the Bar in 1960 practised on the North Eastern Circuit for eleven years. In 1971 he was appointed a Recorder under the Courts Act (1971).

Aubrey Buxton (O 36), together with two Fellows of the Royal Society, Professor V. C. Wynne-Edwards and Lord Zuckerman, have been re-appointed members of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution.

John H. Eyre (W 43) has been elected a member of the Grand Council of the Catenian Association.

John Marshall (D 55) has been elected as a Liberal in the Harrogate local elections, the first non-Conservative in Harrogate for over 30 years.

Mark Girouard (C 49) has been appointed to the Slade Professorship of Fine Arts at Oxford for 1975-6 (a one-year appointment) as author of "Victorian Country Houses".

Dominic Solly (W 69) of Merton College, Oxford, has gained First Class Honours in Classical Moderations.

Gerard Freeman (B 28) has been awarded the Gold Cross of Merit for his services to the Polish Community of Great Britain. His son John (T 67) is working in the Foreign Office and the marriage of the eldest son Martin (C 65) was reported in the last issue of the Journal.

Dr James Blake James (H 64) writes to correct the erroneous information inserted in the last edition of the Journal: He has qualified L.R.C.P. and is Medical Senior House Officer at the Brook General Hospital. He also mentions that Martin Bowen-Wright (H 64) has been appointed a Registrar in the Anaesthetics Department at St Thomas's Hospital.

John G. Norman (D 67) graduated from T.C.D. in Mathematics last September and is working with the Standard Life Assurance Co. in Edinburgh.

James Gordon (H 62). In May 1972 James Gordon joined *Operation Omega*, a London-based group working for reconciliation in Bangladesh. First founded during the 1971 civil war which culminated in the liberation of the country from Pakistan's rule, the group is practically concerned with non-violent revolution. The name "Omega" (symbolising the goal of evolution as unity of man based on respect for internal differences) and the guiding slogan ("The age of nations is past. The task before us now, if we would not perish, is to put away old prejudices, and to build the earth") are both derived from the writings of Teilhard de Chardin.

The first Omega missions took food and clothing through the border in defiance of its closure by Pakistani authorities. The resulting prestige enabled the group after liberation to champion the unpopular cause of the Biharies (a loose label for those Muslims who migrated from India to Pakistan at partition). This broadened into practical schemes for bringing Bengalis and Biharis together to solve their common problems; feeding-centres for undernourished children, dispensaries, and co-operative ventures run by the people themselves. These last include a paper-bag factory, a carpentry workshop, handloom weaving, and the building of houses and a couple of schools.

James Gordon returned to England in December of last year and went back to Bangladesh in mid-March as project coordinator.

Timothy Lintin (A 71), who has been studying Catering and Hotel Management for six months, has now become a Management trainee in the Personnel Department of the International Sports Company (Dunlop/

Slazenger). This move will enable him to continue to play Rugby regularly for Headingley for whom he played on 18 consecutive occasions in the past season, frequently partnered at fly-half by WILLIAM REICHWALD (T 70).

GEORGE GRETTON (B 71) was selected to swim for Oxford v. Cambridge in the University match on 3rd March. He came 2nd in a close finish in the 200 metres freestyle, won by Cambridge. He also took part in the 4/100 metre relay.

SHANE FANE-HERVEY (T 69) won a second boxing blue for Oxford on 7th March.

VINCENT THOMPSON (J 69) won a half-blue for Cambridge in the skiing match against Oxford. He has also rowed in the Jesus College, Cambridge, rowing VIII and has been elected to Hawks Club.

N. M. ROBINSON (O 64) is serving with the Royal Marines in Malta under Lt.-Col. R. A. Campbell.

P. C. C. SOLLY (T 70) has passed out of Sandhurst and has been commissioned in the Irish Guards. S. A. B. MACLAREN (B 69), M. F. COMYN (H 71) and H. M. DUCKWORTH (B 72) have entered Sandhurst.

ST HUGH'S HOUSE

SINCE Fr Benedict Webb started St Hugh's House in 1956 he has seen 190 boys through to the completion of their school career. Each year since 1962 he has compiled a newsletter from among the correspondence which he has received from old boys during the course of the year. The letter is now in its twelfth edition and Fr Benedict had this year letters from 116 old boys of his House.

The tradition which Fr Oswald established in St Dunstan's of the annual House letter has been carried on, then, in St Hugh's with great success.

The following is the substance of one year's information received, a year chosen at random—1965 leavers. It might, perhaps, encourage old boys from other Houses to write to their Housemasters giving them news of their activities.

1965

JAMES BISHOP takes his solicitor's finals in February; he is working with a firm in Yeovil. JOHN BORKOWSKI is working for B.P. JOHN CATLIN is practising as a solicitor in London. MICHAEL DEACON's Regiment was presented with the Queen's Colours on 4th July by the Duchess of Gloucester and Michael received them—a great honour. TIM FENWICK works in Belgium. RONNIE HOWESON is living in Chelmsford and working

for the same firm with RICHARD DAWSON. JOHN ANTHONY LORRIMAN is Assistant Production Controller for his firm in Coventry. ANTHONY MILROY is in the Yemen as an agricultural engineer attached to a U.N. team. TOBY O'BRIEN's engagement to Cordelia Katherine Wykes-Sneyd was announced in June. ADAM PEARSON is in practice at the Bar in London. PAUL RIETCHEL took his finals last March and attended the Easter retreat here. TIM VERNON SMITH is studying architecture.

UNIVERSITIES AND FURTHER EDUCATION

SEVERAL Old Amplefordians have asked that the lists of entry into University and Further Education for 1971 should be printed in the JOURNAL. The full lists are always late in being printed because not every Old Amplefordian, once successful in entry into further education, immediately informs the College here. However, the last two years of entry are as follows:—

OCTOBER 1971

OXFORD		
Berry, J. C. H.	History	Lincoln
Clarke, D. S. M.	Classics	New College
Fitzalan-Howard, T.	History	St Benet's
Fraser, A. R. M.	Classics	Magdalen
Garsten Zuntz, S. M.	History	St Catherine's
Harris, A. D.	Modern Languages	Jesus
Howard, W.	Classics	New College
Lorigan, M. C. A.	History	Mansfield
McDonaugh, C. E. J.	History	St Edmund Hall
Newsom, P.	Classics	Merton
O'Neill, M. A. H.	History	St Benet's
Roberts, M.	English (Scholarship)	Magdalen
Rusell, P. J.	History	University
Solly, D. S. P.	Classics	Merton
Sparrow, E. C. A.	History	Lincoln
CAMBRIDGE		
Birtwistle, M. D. A.	Natural Science	Downing
Cape, F.	Natural Science	Caius
Collins, P. Q. de B.		Queens'
Ford, P.	Classics	Magdalene
Hutchinson, M. I. M.	Natural Science	Downing
Leslie, M. C.	Architecture	Jesus
Lukas, H. L.	History	Downing
Harrison, M.	Medicine	Queens'
Mathews, R. F.	Engineering (Exhibition)	Caius
O'Grady, J. R.	English	Trinity
Ryder, S. C.	Engineering	Queens'
Rymaszewski, M.	Modern Languages	St Catharine's
Thompson, G. V.	History	Jesus
OTHER UNIVERSITIES		
Baxter, P.	History	Bristol
Cassidy, S. L.	Biochemistry	Liverpool

Cumming, A. D.	Engineering	Shrivenham
Dalglish, C. B. C.		Sussex
Doyle, T. A.	Economics and Accountancy	Leeds
Gaynor, J. C.	History	Bedford College, London
Howell, P. J.	Law	Liverpool
Kennedy, A.	Physics	Edinburgh
Keohane, P. P.	Science	King's College, London
Lewis, E. A.	Liberal Studies in Science	Manchester
McDonald, J.		St Andrews
Morris, T. C. S.		Trinity, Dublin
Prendiville, J. T.	Science	Imperial College, London
Ryan, M. H.		Trinity, Dublin
Sharrard, P. M.	Medicine	Sheffield
Simpson, D. J.	African History and Anthropology	London School of African & Asian Studies
Thomas, E. J.	Medicine	Newcastle
Vaughan, R. D. C.	Science	Manchester
Wadham, J. J. W.	English and French	East Anglia
Wagstaff, A. M.	Engineering	Bristol
Wenham, A. D.	Agricultural Economics	Reading

POLYTECHNICS AND OTHER FURTHER EDUCATION

Blackden, M. C.	General Degree	Birmingham College of Commerce
Brennan, C. M.	Busines Studies	Leeds Polytechnic
Coghlan, A. P.	Busines Studies	Central London Polyetchnic
Dawson, J. C.	General Degree	Birmingham College of Commerce
Gibbs, A. S. A.	Busines Studies	Central London Polytechnic
Watts, N.	Economics	Oxford Polytechnic
Webb, S.	Catering	North Gloucestershire College of Technology

OCTOBER 1972

OXFORD

AWARDS

Dalglish, R. O.	Exhibition, Classics	Oriel
Davenport, N. F.	Exhibition, Chemistry	Worcester
Fane-Hervey, R. P.	Old Members Scholarship, History	Lincoln
Gretton, G. R.	Exhibition, Engineering	University
Newsam, J. M.	Stearns Exhibition, Chemistry	Lincoln
Rodger, A. D. A.	Major Scholarship, Modern Languages	Wadham

PLACES

Andreae, C. C.	Engineering	Brasenose
Berner, T. J.	History	Magdalen
Brown, J.	History	Magdalen
Callaghan, S. G.	History	St Catherine's
Codrington, R. J.	History	Lincoln
Edmonds, C. G.	History	Worcester
Fitzalan-Howard, R. A.	History	Corpus Christi
O'Connor, M. J.	Chemistry	Exeter
O'Mahony, S. G.	Modern Studies	Queen's
Ryan, C. J. V.	History	St Edmund's Hall
Solly, M. P. J.	History	Mansfield
Spence, D. W. R.	History	St Benet's
Twohig, R. J.	Classics	Wadham

CAMBRIDGE

AWARDS

Faulkner, H. E. B.	Mathematics	Clare
Hetherington, H. O.	Choral Scholarship	St John's
Macdonald, M. J.	Woodward Exhibition, Music	Selwyn

PLACES

Armour, M. H.	Engineering	Caius
Guthrie, R. D. C.	Mathematics	Caius
Jefferson, S.	History	Clare
Hall, N. C. D.	Law	St. Catharine's
Kinsky, C. N. F.	English	Trinity
Westmacott, P. G.	Engineering	Trinity
Willbourn, R. S.	Anglo-Saxon	Sidney Sussex

OTHER UNIVERSITIES

Bourke, J. F.	Medicine	R.C.S., Dublin
Cape, N. R.	Psychology	Bristol
Callow, M. S.	Electronic Engineering	Newcastle
Carr, R. B. V.	History and Economics	Swansea
Casserly, D. J.		Leeds
Clough, M. G.	Classics	St Andrew's
Craven, P. O'K.	Mechanical Engineering	Sheffield
Dowling, J. D.	Law	Exeter
Duguid, P. B.	Maths. and Philosophy	Bristol
Evans, P. J.		Liverpool
Flynn, F. O. A.	Agriculture	Wye College
Francis, R. B. H.		Imperial College, London
Fraser, S. J. R.	Law	Southampton
Glaister, T. A.	History	Durham
Golden, P. J. T.		Southampton
Grace, P.	Civil Engineering	Bristol
Graham, R. G.	Mechanical Engineering	Leeds
Guiver, M.	Dentistry	London Dental School
Harris, C. J.		Sorbonne, Paris
Hatfield, W. E.		Imperial College, London
Hooke, R. P. C.		Reading
Hubbard, M. P. T.	Russian	St Andrew's
Kentish, J. M.	Psychology	Sussex
Killick, R. V. St.J.		Manchester UMIST
Kirby, H. G. S. A.	Mathematics	Southampton
Leonard, A. J.	Business Studies	Trinity College, Dublin
Lowe, D. C. H.	Medicine	St Andrew's
McAuley, T. G.	History	Bristol
McCreanor, L. D.		City University
McKibbin, D. A.	History	Bristol
Macauley, W. F.		Trinity College, Dublin
Marmion, J. P.	Engineering	Manchester
Marshall, T. G.	Medicine	Birmingham
Moroney, P.	Medicine	Trinity College, Dublin
Murphy, R. D. W.	Chemistry	Bangor
Osborne, B. C.	Zoology	Edinburgh
Pickin, J. M.	Medicine	Middlesex Hospital
Quigley, P. B.	Mathematics	Leicester
Reid, A. M. J. S.		Southampton
Richardson, T. A.	Science	Durham
Ritchie, M. T.	Law	Southampton
Rothwell, M. R.		Liverpool

Ryan, A. M.	Economics	East Anglia
Ryan, R. J.		Sorbonne, Paris
Seilern-Aspang, F.	Business Studies	Geneva
Thomas, H. J.	Estate Management	Reading
Townsend, R. C.		Sheffield
Tweedy, M. H.	Medicine	London, Bart's.
Williams, C.	Accountancy	Liverpool

POLYTECHNICS AND OTHER FURTHER EDUCATION

Bird, A. N. G.		Darlington College of Journalism
Blake, M. J.		Cheltenham Agricultural College
Chapman, R. M. S.	Accountancy	City of London Polytechnic
Cresthwait, R. L.		College of Education
Dowling, S. J.		Manchester School of Art
Duckworth, H. M.	Accountancy	Kingston Polytechnic
Dawson, J. R.		Medway College of Design
Eyston, C. M. R.	Accountancy	Oxford Polytechnic
Feilding, J. S.		R.C.A., Cirencester
Harwood-Little, D. M.	Chemistry/Business Studies	Kingston Polytechnic
Hughes, J. M.		Royal Naval College, Dartmouth
Lintin, T. E.	Catering	Thomas Danby College
Lloyd, D. K. J.		Harper Adams Agricultural College
McDonnell, J. G.	Maths., Physics	Portsmouth Polytechnic
Moon, C. N.		Kingston Polytechnic
Solly, P. C. C.		R.M.A. Sandhurst
Vaughan, Hon J. E. M.		R.C.A., Cirencester
Ward, J. F. B.		R.C.A., Cirencester

EASTER RETREAT

The Easter Retreat weekend for Old Boys and their families and friends has become an annual event now that the School is never in residence at Easter however early the feast comes. For the past five years the numbers attending the Retreat have oscillated between 80-110 while during the same period the number of guests resident in the monastery has been in the region of 40. The Triduum and Easter celebrations have thus brought together both the School work of the Community and the monastic guests.

Recent years have also seen a development in the planning of the four days, a process which is in a natural state of evolution. For example, last year there was introduced a common mid-day Divine Office, attended by all in the nave of the Church, consisting of the seven penitential psalms, some said by all, others read by one person. This year, in response to suggestions made by several present, three members of the community introduced discussions on topics of current interest (See Community Notes.)

All three were well attended and it has been suggested that further developments can and should be made in future years. In addition, there was an opportunity for Shared Prayer each evening and for Meditation on Scripture linked with recordings from the great composers—both classical and modern.

For those who may be led to believe that there was no provision for the quiet, and traditional retreat, Fr Benedict gave the five Discourses and several made the point that it would always be necessary to retain some Retreat Discourses in future years. Those who have been to the retreats over a period of many years seem to have taken to the more informal atmosphere and while the numbers of such Old Boys coming every year remains about the same, there has been an upsurge in the number of young Old Boys. In previous years, the number of recent O.A.s had been small; this year as many as 22 could be classed as recent leavers.

The Retreat has, over the five years, been open to wives and girl friends and this has been appreciated by all, not only the young. One of the delights was to see mothers of members of the Community and mothers of Old Boys present at this year's Retreat.

In response to a request from the Committee of the Ampleforth Society, an advertisement appeared in *The Times* giving details of the Retreat. It is difficult to know how many came to Ampleforth as a result of this but certainly two Old Boys who left in December 1972, considering the possibility of camping somewhere over the Easter period, were drawn to the Retreat after seeing the advertisement.

Comments were made that there must be many others who would enjoy the peace, prayer-life and celebration of the Retreat and it is hoped that numbers of those attending will continue to grow so that the Abbot and Community can share with many the joy of Easter.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE 91st ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY

The 91st Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at Ampleforth in the evening of Holy Saturday, 21st April 1973. Fr Abbot, the President, was in the Chair and 45 members were present.

The Report of the Hon. General Treasurer was presented to the meeting and the Accounts were adopted, subject to audit. The provisional surplus for the year was close to £1,000. The Society was fully invested at £20,736, the additional £5,000 for the year including the transfer of £3,000 from Luton Loan to the investment portfolio.

The Hon. General Secretary's Report was accepted. Membership had increased by 12: 15 members had died, 46 were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, 26 had resigned and 99 had joined. Life subscriptions had increased by 44, double that of the previous year. Annual income from subscriptions had reached £3,400 which the Secretary believed was something of a ceiling, but he agreed that it was necessary to keep trying to collect arrears from 231 who owed the Society £800. Annual income had, however, increased by £700 over the past four years.

(continued on page 134)

THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st MARCH, 1973

Employment of Fund			1973		1972
			£		£
Investment at cost per Schedule			20,736		15,609
Loan to Local Authorities			—		3,000
			20,736		18,609
Current Assets	£		£		
Sundry Debtors	—		16		
Income Tax Refund 1972/73	332		653		
Bank Deposit Account	13		13		
Bank Current Account	401		283		
	746		965		
Less: Current Liabilities					
Address Book Provision	200		—		
Subscriptions paid in advance	377		118		
Sundry Creditors	941		980		
	1,518		1,098		
		(772)			(133)
		£19,964			£18,476
Funds					
General Fund		18,303			16,831
Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund		814			825
		19,117			17,656
Revenue Account		847			820
		£19,964			£18,476

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, 1973, 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, 1973, and of the financial activities for the year ended on that date.

99 St Paul's Churchyard,
London, E.C.4
18th May, 1973.

Buzzacott, Vincent, Watson, Kilner & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

GENERAL FUND FOR THE YEAR TO 31st MARCH, 1973

		1973		1972
	£	£	£	£
Balance brought forward 1st April, 1972		16,831		14,890
Subscriptions from new life members	938		560	
Ex-gratia from existing life members	25		95	
	—	963	—	655
		17,794		15,545
Profit on sale of investments		509		1,286
Balance carried forward 31st March, 1973		£18,303		£16,831

THE AMPLEFORTH SOCIETY
REVENUE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1973

	£	1973 £	£	1972 £
Revenue				
Members' Subscriptions:				
For the current year	3,156		3,066	
In arrears	124		216	
	—	3,280	—	3,282
Income from investments—gross		857		909
Income Tax recovered—prior year		15		—
		4,152		4,191
Expenses				
Members' Journals	2,776		2,767	
Chaplain's Honorarium	20		20	
Address Book	200		223	
Gilling Prize	4		—	
Printing, Stationery and Incidentals:—				
General and area printing and stationery	34		27	
Secretarial assistance	57		65	
Postage	78		79	
Midlands area postages	20		20	
Procurator's account	31		9	
Treasurer's expenses	35		51	
Old Boys' sporting activities	—		60	
Grant to Lourdes Pilgrimage	50		50	
	—	3,305	—	3,371
		847		820
Net Income for the year				
Balance brought forward	820		1,042	
Disposal—Rule 32:				
Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund	820		1,042	
	—	—	—	—
		£847		£820

SCHOLARSHIP AND SPECIAL RESERVE FUND
FOR THE YEAR TO 31st MARCH, 1973

	1973	1972
	£	£
Balance brought forward 1st April, 1972	825	368
Amount transferred from Revenue Account	820	1,042
	1,645	1,410
Educational Grants	831	585
Balance carried forward 31st March, 1973	£814	£825

(*continued from page 131*)

The functions of the Society had been held in conjunction with the Appeal, which was launched in London in October with 460 present. Functions had also taken place in Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin and Birmingham, and the London Area had again organised the highly successful "Ampleforth Sunday". In addition an unusual celebration had taken place at York in October. To mark the friendship between the two schools, on the occasion of the 50th rugby match, a dinner in York had attracted 220 from Ampleforth and Sedbergh. Altogether 1,100 people attended the functions of the Society.

The Secretary announced that a working party had been set up by the London Area committee under the chairmanship of Mr David Goodall to examine the aims of the Society and to make recommendations to the London Area.

Matters of importance, discussed in committee, were reported to the meeting: Mr M. Davis and Mr M. Gibson had agreed to consult the Stockbrokers of the Society concerning the Investment portfolio so that the broker should have a clear briefing from the Society. They were to report to the Trustees. They agreed also to discuss with Mr E. H. King whether the Society should apply for a Trust Deed. It was agreed that a meeting should be held at Ampleforth in the first week of September to consider plans for the centenary of the Society on 14th July 1975.

It was resolved to raise the Life Subscription to £40 and to raise the sum payable by members who had paid their subscription for 10 years and who wished to become life members to £25.

Developments in the past year concerning the possibility of transferring from the Standing Order Credit system to Direct Debiting were reported and it was agreed that the matter should be reviewed at the next meeting.

ELECTIONS

The Chaplain	Fr Benet Perceval (W 34)
Hon. General Treasurer	W. B. Atkinson (C 31)
Hon. General Secretary	Fr Felix Stephens (H 61)
Committee for 3 years	Fr Alberic Stacpoole (C 49) P. A. C. Rietchel (H 65) P. S. Reid (A 41)

SCHOOL NOTES

SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Head Monitor	H. J. N. Fitzalan-Howard
School Monitors	J. A. Durkin, T. A. Stilliard, T. H. Wettern, S. J. Hampson, C. H. Ainscough, H. P. Cooper, M. B. Gould, M. J. F. Parker, C. V. Clarke, S. C. G. Murphy, H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, M. W. B. Faulkner, J. M. Ponsonby, A. P. Oppé, M. E. D. Henley, D. A. Sellers, M. J. Bourke, S. D. Mahoney, W. M. Doherty, A. N. Dagnall, B. P. Lister.
Captain of Rugby	H. P. Cooper
Captain of Boxing	J. M. T. O'Connor
Captain of Shooting	C. A. B. Ratcliffe
Captain of Squash	C. H. Ainscough
Captain of Swimming	S. J. Hampson
Captain of Golf	S. P. W. Geddes
Captain of Cross Country	S. C. G. Murphy
Master of Hounds	R. H. G. Faber
Office Men	J. M. Ponsonby, D. A. Sellers, A. N. Dagnall, I. A. Campbell, J. C. Gosling, N. O. Fresson, M. Cuddigan, C. K. Badenoch, C. J. Satterthwaite, R. J. Nelson, D. M. A. Wallis, D. J. G. Loftus.
Bookroom	M. A. Campbell, L. M. J. Ciechanowski, J. N. R. Wadham, M. J. Railing, M. J. N. Badeni, W. M. O'Kelly.
Librarians	M. J. P. Moorhouse, J. P. Craig, A. P. Graham, P. J. Cramer, R. D. Freeman-Wallace, M. A. Heape, L. F. Nosworthy, A. G. Yates, J. A. Stourton, P. H. Daly, A. P. Wright, J. A. Cronin, M. D. Pintus, M. J. Palairet.
Bookshop	J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple, B. M. S. Allen, P. F. B. Rylands, P. M. F. Langdale, W. R. A. Wells, M. Hubbard, P. L. Rosenvinge.

THE following boys joined the School in January 1973.

P. B. Anagnostopoulos (W), C. M. Braithwaite (J), N. C. Codrington (W), M. R. Coreth (O), A. M. Garrett (J), J. B. Grotrian (O), R. P. Hubbard (T), S. D. Jamieson (T), A. J. Linn (B), M. A. Maloney (D), M. C. Marmion (D), A. L. Nelson (D), P. A. N. Noel (T), F. P. A. O'Connor (B), P. T. Richardson (B), A. J. Robertson (W), J. H. S. Rodger (W), J. T. Rowe (D), M. A. Ryland (H), G. R. Salter (C), T. C. ff.B. Sligo Young (O), S. P. Smith (E), J. M. Victory (J), R. R. C. Ward (H), S. G. Williams (O).

THE SPRING TERM, 1973

THE School returned on 16th January—safely and all in one piece thanks, at least as far as the train boys were concerned, to Fr Anselm's smooth organisation. A feature of a short term of just over ten weeks was certainly the record-breaking mild, dry weather. We were particularly pleased to see Mr Reyner back again to teach after his illness, and sorry that Mrs Rodzianko and Sergeant-Major Baxter missed some of this term through illness, though they are now with us again. With us once again too is Mrs Boulton after her serious road accident towards the end of March, but now happily recovered.

It was with regret that we heard of the death of Charles Hoare on 11th October at the age of 81. He took over the post of School Clerk in 1930 at a time when it had only been in existence for five years, and in a much smaller school embraced many duties which were later distributed among a number of others. But in all his various tasks he displayed energy and willingness, salted with what can only be called a certain cockney wit. If an order was late or incorrect it was apt to be blamed on what he called, using the terminology of the time, the School Certificate girls that firms employed. After the war he lived for many years in Scarborough, where he died. In his retirement he was a daily mass-goer, and at intervals he came to stay in the monastery for a few days. He lost his wife a year or so ago. To his family we offer our sincere sympathy. May he rest in peace.

We offer our deep sympathy also to Mr Macmillan, whose wife Florence died very suddenly at her home in Ampleforth on 2nd May. For four years up to 1972 Mrs Macmillan looked after many College boys (and some Masters)—especially from St Edward's and St Wilfrid's—in the Guest House at College Garth in the village. She was always so cheerful and extremely hospitable. May she rest in peace.

In January Fr Leo was appointed joint Head of the History department in place of Mr Davidson who has relinquished the post after three years. Fr Jonathan left the History department temporarily in January to gain some experience of parish work in Warrington. The Football Society was his creation and he also did valuable work in connection with the social services of the Rovers.

We offer our congratulations to Mr and Mrs Kershaw on the birth of a son, Christopher William, on 22nd January.

Visitors during the term included Professor G. Aylmer, the historian, from York University who lectured to the Historical Bench; and Freddie Trueman who gave a much-appreciated, and well-attended, talk on 20th March about cricket in general and some cricketers in particular. We were also very pleased to see Dr Peter Evans (T 55) who came from Durham University to talk to the Natural History Society.

Drama and Music have both been very active during the term. A review of the Ampleforth Theatre scene will be found elsewhere in these pages, together with an account of the Concert on 8th March and one

MARTIN AINSCOUGH,
1898-1973.

LOURDES CONCERT

As was only suitable, we began this year's Lourdes Concert with a Fanfare for Europe by brass instruments playing the national anthems of the countries of the E.E.C. in cacophonous simultaneity. The mood thus established, it was something of a wrench to hear the lovely lilting home-grown melodies from the girls of the Bar Convent. These were followed by home-grown skits organised by Pratt and Simpson. Behind the bursts of laughter could be felt the cruelty, fear and anger that characterises all really modern humour. The monks sang one of Noel Coward's more nauseating little ditties, and then Andrew Wright entertained us at the piano (amazing for one so young!). After more songs from a different Bar Convent group—Quintessence—which was wildly and justifiably applauded, Mr Emerson with skilled inaccuracy played his Victorian trumpet version of that famous Victorian ballad—"Bless this house". Peter McDonnell provided what was in some ways the most delightful part of the evening with his superb guitar-playing, and then, after the stage had disintegrated around Fr Martin conducting the 1812 Overture, the whole cast assembled to sing "76 Trombones". With two later performances in York and one at Askham Grange Women's Prison, £300 was raised for the Lourdes Sick Fund.

CAREERS

At the beginning of term two recent O.A.s, Roy Barton (T 69) and John Hamilton (T 69), came to talk about their experience in Industry. Confronted with a tiny audience, they set aside their notes and talked informally about their own work and about industry in general. They had a lot of interesting and valuable things to say and it is a great pity that so few boys were prepared to make the effort to come.

Later in the term we welcomed from Rowntree Mackintosh Mr T. M. Higham, Recruitment Manager, and Mr B. Clarke to put on "How to be interviewed", a programme which they have devised for schools and universities. The title does not convey the scope of the programme, which aims to show that the interview should come at the end of a long process of self-examination by the candidate; by the time he reaches the interview he should have a realistic view of his own potential and aims. Introductory talks on these lines were followed by interviews demonstrating the right and wrong approaches. The programme covered a lot of ground, all in a most interesting and amusing way. This was a very good evening and was much appreciated.

On Field Day a number of Careers visits were again arranged. These visits are valuable and we are most grateful to the firms and institutions who go to a lot of trouble to make the arrangements.

In this connection, but on a larger scale, it is worth pointing out that the Public Schools Appointments Bureau arrange short Careers Courses for boys over sixteen during the holidays. Most of these are run by particular firms and together cover a wide range of industrial and commercial careers; but the P.S.A.B. themselves also run a few general courses designed for boys who want to find out about several careers. These courses are not well supported by boys from Ampleforth, although those who do go on them always report that they are worthwhile and enjoyable. They are especially valuable for boys in the first year of the Sixth Form.

F. D. Lenton.

THE THEATRE

Looking back over the now nearly finished school year, we in the Theatre feel we have been in a more or less continuous state of rehearsal for some production or other, and in fact, I suppose, we have. We have, however, put on only one major production so far, and that was a "workshop production" of "Julius Caesar" in December. This was planned to give a last opportunity to some of the more experienced actors, whose approaching examinations would preclude them from further theatrical activity, and a first opportunity to as many as showed interest and some promise. There were also, of course, many—of more and less experience—who came into neither of these categories. By doubling nineteen of the parts it was possible to limit the cast to forty and still have a Crowd of reasonable proportions. Nevertheless, this was a large cast and, as we had to work "on a shoestring", we decided not to attempt Roman costume. The play was, therefore, performed in a more or less stylised form of modern dress, consisting basically of jeans and T-shirts and making use (again) of the "way-out" costumes designed and made for "Macbeth" in 1964.

The large number involved also made us decide to use more space than just the stage itself. A forestage was built out on one side, and rostra, steps and a staircase (made for "A Man for All Seasons" in 1965) were pressed into service, as was a diagonal half of the floor of the auditorium. The stage crew under Dominic Edmonds made an excellent job of the set, and lighting, designed and carried out largely by Steve Hastings and his assistants, combined with sound effects by Eddie Young and his assistants to make this increased acting area very effective.

It would be impossible here to mention every member of the cast by name, or even to give particular credit to the many who deserved it. They all combined splendidly as a team (no small feat for so large a number with an age-range of about the maximum for the Upper School) in a performance that deserved the enthusiastic reception it was given by the School. Particular mention must, however, be made of three whose last appearances on the Ampleforth stage were in this production: James Jennings as Casca, Roderick Pratt as Brutus, and Jo Simpson as Cassius. Apart from their excellent performances in this play, they have all three, in their different and varied ways, given a great deal to the Theatre. We owe them a lot, and I personally am very grateful to them all.

The Spring Term was, in some ways, an even busier one, though, for one reason or another, not so productive. We were to have put on Harold

Pinter's "The Caretaker", and spent much time and energy on rehearsals and building the set. But it was clearly not ready to go on by the end of term, so we postponed it to the beginning of this one. In March we had a visit from a Rock and Pop group. They were led by two O.A.s, Nicholas Sykes, and Steve Marriner on the drums. Introduced, in nicely contrasting mood, by Roderick (Pod) Pratt with his acoustic guitar and some delightful folk songs (several of his own composition), the group was given a wild and well-deserved reception by a packed house. It was said that they could be heard in Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk villages! *Legs Diamond* is their name, and I think we may well be hearing more of them from the wider world of Pop in due course. Towards the end of term we had a Rock Opera version of "A Man Dies", a Passion Play by Ewan Hooper and Ernest Marvin. It was produced by Brother Justin with a large cast that included some girls from St Joseph's College, Bradford. It was a brave attempt and much of it was highly enjoyable and parts very moving; but it had been impossible to give them enough rehearsal time in the Theatre, so the finished product was weaker than it might have been.

By the end of the Spring Term, casting and first read-through for the Exhibition play—"The Physicists" by Friedrich Durrenmatt—had taken place. Now, at the beginning of the Summer Term, we are in full rehearsal for that. It promises to be a demanding play, not only from an acting point of view (and, at the moment, the cast is shaping well), but also from a set construction one.

E. A. HAUGHTON.

"THE DUMB WAITER"

A MONTH after term had begun the School was presented with a performance of Pinter's "The Dumb Waiter" in which Dominic Herdon took the part of Ben, and James Jennings took that of Gus. The situation in the play is one of menace, a menace only gradually revealed, however, as it transpires that despite a common psychopathic tendency the two characters are yet rather different—Ben is insensitive, and although quick, somehow unthinking and unquestioning, while Gus, the less intelligent, is a more human and sensitive character. As well as this rather dull conflict there is interference from some source outside the basement room in which the action of the play takes place: this interference, as is eventually made clear, is from their employers, and takes the form of orders, as if from a restaurant above, which come down in a dumb waiter.

The parts were well played: Herdon had the more demanding part and carried it well, despite small weaknesses, which are hard to avoid when one plays a Pinter character. He was slightly too vicious and sudden at times, and his accent lapsed occasionally from Bow Bells to Ampleforth: nevertheless his performance was enjoyable and praiseworthy. Jennings carried his part with great ease; he conveyed the impression of human stupidity convincingly, and succeeded in being amusing, and yet unconsciously rather pathetic. There were perhaps two complaints only to

be made: the first concerns the very last moments of the play, the climax, when Gus leaves on one side of the stage, and then is hurled in on the other, revealed as the victim whom Ben is to kill. The impact of this was lost on much of the audience because the curtain fell at almost exactly the same time as Gus was thrown on, so that comparatively few could see who the victim was. The second complaint concerns the audience: only too ready to laugh at anything vaguely comic, as usual, it remained blind and seemingly undisturbed by the menace on the stage, so that the true Pinter atmosphere was hardly given a chance. However, as a whole the evening was enjoyable, and Jennings and Herdon deserved all the enthusiastic applause they received, all the more so because not only did they act the play, but they also produced it, directed it, and even constructed the set.

A.P.

A FOLK OPERA

UNDER-REHEARSED school productions can be great fun—with the actors falling through the scenery and waving wildly to their friends in the audience—and if last term's Folk Opera spared us such extravagances, it was only because there was no scenery to fall through, and what friends the actors may have had at the beginning they had lost by half-time. Not that the audience was actively hostile; it was rather a case of its not knowing how to react to a grimly predictable R.S. lesson given under the pretence of entertainment. In fairness it must be said that no amount of rehearsing could have raised this rubbishy work above the strip-cartoon level to which it reduced its biblical material; its didactic intent was all too obvious, and however well-intentioned the production may have been, it invited the Cops and Robbers response which the audience was inconsiderate enough to give it. To take but one example: it needed more than a stretch of the imagination to make the photograph of a boy in gym shorts acceptable as a representation of the Risen Christ—it needed a serious psychiatric disturbance. We were offered large chunks of Salvation-history, accompanied by stills of the Six Days War, Vietnam casualties, refugee camps, and Hitlerian posturings: these were interspersed by bouts of rhythmically inert and uninventive wriggling, and by lachrymose lyrics of unbelievable theological ineptitude. If there is a lesson to be learned from this, it is the hopeful (or rueful?) one—that trendy trivialisation does not succeed in winning the favour of those to whom it condescends.

I. DAVIE.

CHORAL AND ORCHESTRAL CONCERT

8TH MARCH, 1973

Overture: Egmont	*Beethoven*
Guitar solo: Prelude in E Minor	*Villa-Lobos*
Cantata: Rejoice in the Lamb	*Britten*
Four Songs for choir, two horns and harp	*Brahms*
Piano Concerto No. 4 in G Major	*Beethoven*

Conductor: David Bowman

THIS was not a well-constructed programme: it was too long, and grouped together composers and styles that had nothing in common; yet it gave a great deal of pleasure to a large and responsive audience.

As an indication of the astonishing progress that music at Ampleforth continues to make under David Bowman, this concert was remarkable in a number of ways: for the performance by a boy in the School of a complete Beethoven piano concerto; for a superb account by the Choral Society of Britten's cantata "Rejoice in the Lamb"; and for orchestral playing that could really stand up to the demands that Beethoven makes in the Egmont overture.

Within the heroic framework of these great compositions, the two other items in the concert were quite out of place. The last-minute addition of a guitar solo by Peter McDonnell (W) was very well played, but the piece (a prelude of Villa-Lobos) was unbelievably amateurish and repetitive. The other work was Brahms' Four Songs for choir, two horns and harp. Had this tedious and sugary piece, typifying all that is worst in nineteenth century Victorian drawing-room music, been the sole work in the harp repertoire, it would still have been welcome for the rare chance it gave us of hearing Honor Wright play. Notable, too, was the assurance with which young Nicky Gruenfeld (JH) accompanied his distinguished partner Geoffrey Emerson in the horn duet. The small choir (conducted by Simon Wright) performed this embarrassing music gamely enough, but seemed visibly relieved at the end of it all.

The present policy of associating a few of the best musicians from the School with professional performers from the music staff in the School Orchestra is surely right. String players, especially, from the School may have been little in evidence at this concert, but they and their more numerous colleagues in the wind and brass sections must gain enormously from joining experienced players in works like the Egmont overture. It is most impressive to see the high standards which the Director of Music exacts from even the youngest member of his ensemble, alike in rehearsal as on the concert platform. The scrupulous attention with which the conductor guided the entries of his young tympanist Robert Emmet (W) elicited a most creditable performance, which contributed in no small measure to the brilliance of the orchestra in this work. But above all it was the incisive tone of the strings here that told, set off by glorious splashes of sound from horns and trumpets. A most stirring performance!

Simon Finlow's (A) playing of Beethoven's G Major Piano Concerto earned him an ovation. Such assurance in a full scale work like this (which he played from memory, incidentally) was a remarkable achievement. But he would have been wise not to give way to the cruel speed which he chose for the last movement, or let the exacting first movement cadenza run away with him. As it was, he quickly tired himself, producing some ugly chords and too many wrong notes. Easily the best playing from him came in the quiet, relaxed passage-work of the first movement, where he achieved a light and scintillating touch that did full justice to the spirit of this work. I wonder, by the way, if there were any members of the audience who remembered the last occasion when this concerto was played at Ampleforth? The present soloist's father, my colleague Hugh Finlow, himself played it when he was a boy in the School. It must have afforded him considerable pleasure to hear his son's fine performance at this concert.

Now to the Britten, a work new to me and, I imagine, to most of the audience. The composer has set Christopher Smart's strange poem with striking originality, matching the divergent sections of the text with contrasting changes of mood. In the performance not all the words came across (the last-minute absence of the Gilling trebles may have dulled the impact a little) but enough to make a very strong impression. The three soloists from the School (Alan Goodsoon (JH), Sebastian Reid (A) and Andrew Holroyd (A)) enunciated their texts with clarity. But it was for Fr Cyril's moving account of the tenor solo ("the flowers are the poetry of Christ") that I shall long remember this concert. The simplicity of his singing gave the words overwhelming power. A sublime moment.

The work will, no doubt, gain greatly when it is repeated at Exhibition in the Abbey Church with its proper organ accompaniment. One of Britten's favourite devices—a sustained cluster of notes in the middle register, with a single-line phrase high overhead in the treble—makes nonsense when played on the piano. Simon Wright did all that could be done with it, and provided a secure accompaniment throughout the work.

The huge forces of the Choral Society gave the cantata a noble performance, bringing the softest of pianissimos to the opening and closing sections, and thrilling crescendos to the middle. We are very grateful to David Bowman for bringing this work forward, and for the exemplary care with which he presented it.

BERNARD VAZQUEZ.

BACH'S ST JOHN PASSION

ABBEY CHURCH, 25TH MARCH

FOR all the comparative modesty of its scale, Bach's St John Passion is no easier for the performer than his setting of St Matthew. Ever sensitive to his texts, he recognised that the lack of dramatic incident in the only non-synoptic account must concentrate attention on the trials before the High Priest and Pilate, and that though this presented superb opportunities for choral scenes, much was missing. There is no Gethsemane, no institution

of Communion at the Last Supper, a lack of some of the other details of the events of Christ's arrest; and aware of this, Bach imported from St Matthew the incidents of the weeping of Peter, the rending of the veil of the Temple and the earthquake opening the graves of the Saints. In the St Matthew Passion, the richness and unexpectedness of detail that lends such an atmosphere of reality to the story can extend naturally over the whole vast span in narrative, meditation, lyrical interlude and sudden explosive drama. With the St John Passion, the drama is largely concentrated in the choruses, and for all the beauty of the arias, neither soloists nor Evangelist carry so much of the dramatic burden.

Much, then, is demanded of the choir. With the first chorus, it seemed that the acoustics of the Abbey might be against clarity of words and of counterpoint. It is a tricky chorus to project across reverberant textures; and the trouble did not recur. David Bowman's decisive rhythmic sense, which includes the real musician's feeling for where the points of impetus lie in Bach's long phrases, kept the counterpoint alive and clear, and carrying the necessary force of dramatic meaning, from the cruel delicacy of the pattering exchanges between those questioning Peter—*Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer?*—to the violently spitting *Kreuzige!* and the different dramatic weight given the music repeated from the soldiers' ghastly mocking, *Sei gegrüsset, lieber Judenkönig* for the scribes' *Schreibe nicht.* Yet even with his own choir, some degree of feeling a way into the performance was apparent, for the second half had the assurance and sense of total conviction that the first was moving towards. Only in the last chorus did it seem that tension was still running high for what is, finally, a chorus of repose.

Ian Caley's illness caused cuts: there survived some fine bass and alto singing, and a performance of one of the most beautiful arias Bach ever wrote, *Zerfliesse, mein Herze,* in which Honor Sheppard's soprano was set with flute and cor anglais obbligato playing of real distinction; both flute and oboe had been of an exceptionally high standard all evening. Wynford Evans's Evangelist is one of potential great achievement: he has already the sense of colour, of pace, of occasional irony or tenderness, and a conversational flexibility of delivery that is denied many a tenor with aspirations to these roles. I only regret that the recitative singers were accompanied by continuo playing that not only made no imaginative contribution but often ignored the figured bass and even left the singers without any tonal support at all. It would have been better to have followed Bach's own practice and used the organ, if only for its sustaining qualities; as it was, the organ was chiefly remarkable for a singularly inappropriate prelude inserted before Part II.

This was, none the less, a performance of an authentic Bach feeling for which the most experienced listener might travel the country in Holy Week and look in vain.

JOHN WARRACK.

AVISFORD, 1922-1973

MANY people will have heard with deep sorrow of the impending closure of Avisford, a school very closely associated with Ampleforth from its earliest years. Avisford's special relationship derives from the fact that it has always provided a strong entry into the school in practically every year since 1924 (over the years, 359 boys have come from Avisford to Ampleforth—see list printed below), and also from the war years when the school was given shelter in the Junior House. We print below a small reflection by one of the Community who had much to do with Avisford during their stay with us.

We offer to the Jennings family, and especially to Major Jennings and his son, Michael, our deepest thanks for all their work in education and our sincere good wishes for the future. The decision to close the school after so many happy and successful years cannot but have been painful. We wish them to know that Ampleforth shares their sorrow.

Father Gabriel Gilbey writes from Warrington:

My little bit of "war work" was to grow lettuces for the School in the Bungalow garden which was naturally a vantage point for observing what went on at the Infirmary. In a rather "hush hush" fashion what we call in Warrington a "flitting wagon" arrived one day in the Summer Term of 1940. Little realising my future personal involvement, and bearing in mind the war-time slogan "careless talk costs lives", I remained, outwardly at least, incurious. Then boys arrived, then Major Jennings, Mr Trappes-Lomax and other staff. The cat was now out of the bag and Avisford had arrived and we had two schools billeted on us—Bootham in the Junior House and Avisford in the Infirmary during the day and in the gymnasium at night. This arrangement continued for a full two months, and I went on growing lettuces until July when I was to make my Ordination retreat. On the Tuesday I noticed Fr Paul Neville approaching with Major Jennings. I was introduced and then was told that Father George—then in charge of a much diminished Junior House—was going to the wars, that Father Peter was going to take over the house, that Bootham was departing and that Avisford was going to share the Junior House building with our own boys and then, saving in his characteristic way the body blow until the end, he announced that I was going to help Father Peter. I remember not being greatly enamoured of the idea. The following Sunday I was ordained and then began a period of dividing up the House and removing furniture which lasted throughout the summer until the boys arrived in September.

Avisford was a very "posh" Prep School to all accounts, and we were rather a scruffy lot in make-shift quarters in the present Procurator's Offices —then one large barn which had been in turn the Infirmary and then quarters for the domestic staff, most of whom had disappeared on the outbreak of war to work in munitions factories. We slept and worshipped in the Junior House building and then cleared out for the day. To begin with, relations between the two establishments were rather formal, each

wanting to preserve its own identity and not get too involved with the other, but gradually the ice was broken and a really cordial relationship evolved. One remembers with gratitude little dinner parties in Major Jenning's study, when Father Peter or myself or both, were considered to be a little strained. One remembers many little kindnesses from both Major and Mrs Jennings, especially a glass of then very rare whisky on the night of the train fire when Father Peter had to take Father Paul down to the scene of the disaster and I was left, very young and callow, with the problem of settling the boys in, cheering them up and of telling two of them of the death of elder brothers. I did appreciate that glass of whisky when all was quiet and the boys were in bed and asleep.

I used to teach singing, in a rather amateurish way and much to the disgust of the experts in the College, and was asked to do the same for Avisford. I am sure Mrs Jennings will remember "Molly the Marchioness" and the "Meat Pie Song"! We even produced Christmas concerts. Fire drill used to figure a great deal in our lives at that time. One has visions of Father Patrick modelling the ideal fireman with the hoses, of Father Benet on the roof lecturing us on anti-personnel bombs, of one night when there was a real warning of an air raid and we all had to process over to the monastery library and read detective stories until it was all over—about a quarter of an hour. When we returned we found one boy (ours, of course!) who had woken up, found the dormitory empty, assumed he had overslept, and was solemnly brushing his teeth.

Life was difficult at times but we all managed to survive even the eating problem. Father Peter and I used to visit out of the way farmers and buy hams and other unheard of joints for both schools when we got sick of meat rolls whose labels announced that they contained 10% horse meat! One farmer used to let us have any amount of eggs which were preserved in some concoction that went wrong on us on several occasions and smelt dreadful. In spite of it all we managed to preserve our sense of humour on both sides, we gave and took, and our association became a very happy one. There are many glimpses one would like to include, but dare not! We really were quite sad when once again the "flitting wagons" arrived and Avisford departed for their home in the sunny South, which I, as one of their many friends, am sorry, very sorry, to hear is shortly to close. I only hope that they enjoyed their stay with us in the Junior House as much has we did.

Avisford boys, at Ampleforth.

1924 A. J. K. Appleton, N. Glynn, C. J. M. Potocki, R. H. Wild, D. Toole, O. Toole.
1926 C. E. Brown, Hon. B. E. Feilding, P.W. Wilberforce.
1927 J. T. M. Price.
1928 R. C. Bretherton (dec.), J. B. Bromilow (dec.), F. T. G. Sweetman-Powell, J. R. Binns.
1929 P. O. Riddell.
1930 H. S. M. Christopher (dec.), B. A. McIrvine, R. E. Riddell.
1931 E. M. G. Belfield, M. C. Bodley (dec.), Lord R. Crichton-Stuart (dec.), M. de L. Dalglish, G. P. de Guingand, Lord R. Gerard, F. P. O. Leask, J. O. Leask, D. M. O'Driscoll, F. J. Riddell.
1932 C. T. Atherton-Brown (dec.), R. P. Barker, M. S. Christopher (dec.), C. F. Crawshay, B. J. M. Western.
1933 A. G. Bagshawe (dec.), R. Bellingham Smith, R. H. G. Edmonds, H. A. G. Hollings, J. M. Petit.
1934 J. G. Cramer, Hon. Hugh Feilding, P. R. Haywood-Farmer (dec.), G. R. W. Howell, J. B. Jarrett, M. Jennings, D. W. A. Jennings-Bramley, M. Lees, P. J. Liddell, P. D. Western, P. O'Driscoll, S. G. Wolseley (dec.), B. C. Wolseley.

1935 R. Binyon, J. G. Elwes, Hon. Henry Feilding, W. F. Garnett, C. Halton, M. F. Maxwell-Scott, E. J. Mostyn.
1936 T. C. Beevor, C. Bellingham-Smith, R. J. Elliott, R. V. G. Elwes (dec.), M. C. Eyston, T. H. Faber, E. C. Haywood-Farmer (dec.), R. N. Matthews (dec.), R. Petit, J. P. Stanton, (dec.).
1937 J. Hunter-Gray, P. W. M. Newman, P. Noble-Matthews, R. M. Purcell, R. A. M. Reyntiens, P. W. P. Comyns, V. A. P. Cronin, M. H. J. Harari, P. J. de Pentheny-O'Kelly (dec.), P. Hubbard.
1938 G. C. Beevor, D. D. Boulton (dec.), R. E. Haywood-Farmer, P. J. M. French, T. F. Hubbard, E. H. Maunsell, M. P. T. O'Reilly, A. E. J. Wild.
1939 A. C. Millar, J. J. A. Patron, Jos. Patron, N. P. Reyntiens, D. J. Wilson, R. Hall, Sir Huw Hamilton-Dalrymple.
1940 J. M. B. Edwards, G. T. G. Elwes, W. C. Maxwell (dec.), B. J. M. Murphy, G. R. S. Plowden, F. A. B. Pollen, Lord Stafford, R. M. Whedbee, G. E. G. Wightwick.
1941 M. F. Crowley, D. S. Faber, J. C. Greig, J. D. Hamilton-Dalrymple, G. R. S. Cox, F. B. Oldham, P. la P. Pollen, M. J. F. Weld.
1942 R. C. M. Jurgens, D. A. H. Maunsell, J. R. Nevill, J. O. Kirk, L. S. Brochocki, M. G. Cox, N. D. Elwes, Hon. E. F. Fitzherbert (dec.), J. A. Heu, J. B. Harvie.
1943 J. M. Boodle, J. A. Elliot, P. J. Heagarty, J. A. B. Millar, C. G. C. Petit, D. W. Tate, J. S. Whedbee, W. J. Wilberforce, A. Zaluski, J. P. E. Plowden.
1944 M. Babinski, J. T. M. Balinski-Jundzill, T. A. Binning, C. J. de Hoghton (dec.), M. A. French, M. H. Dormer, A. R. Patron, J. Phillips, I. C. .C Tylor, P. C. J. Wessel, E. O'G. Kirwan.
1945 W. J. M. Jurgens, W. J. F. Ward, N. J. Stourton, J. H. Arbuthnott, J. G. Faber, M. Girouard, S. C. P. Harwood, S. F. Cave, J. St. C Gainer, C. L. Thomasson, W. D. Gladstone.
1946 M. D. W. Pitel, M. Tate, D. M. Butlin, T. C. Dewey, P. J. Eisinger, A. J. Eisinger.
1947 C. A. B. Breenan, K. M. Bromage, J. S. Heagarty, R. T. P. Hume. L. Nester-Smith (ex Schmidt), D. J. O'Brien Twohig, D. M. Phillips, I. R. Wightwick, J. C. E. Young.
1948 J. E. Kirby, P. Kazarine, N. Macleod, J. M. Fawcett, J. F. Fawcett, W. J. Hall, D. A. Harrison, M. M. Denny (dec.), T. W. Hart.
1949 J. C. R. Bailey, M. H. Cramer, T. H. Dewey, C. G. J. Leeming, S. D. R. Marnau (dec.), T. C. Morris, H. Thompson, C. J. van den Lande, D. R. Capes.
1950 J. M. Morton, D. P. Palengat, M. M. Tylor, N. Corbally Stourton, C. M. J. Balinski-Jundzill, J. P. Fawcett, I. C. Gilroy.
1951 P. St. C. Gainer, N. R. Grey, J. J. Harvey, S. L. P. Dove, L. Lawrence, A. T. K. Marnau, D. L. Nairac (dec.), J. C. Tylor.
1952 M. F. Sumner, R. L. Blackie, J. C. Fletcher, R. C. E. Grey.
1953 F. J. Crichton-Stuart, M. J. Dunkerly, G. S. Cubitt, C. B. Cooke, M. J. Masterton-Smith, T. F. Palteson, M. A. Petre, C, N. Sutherland, J. F. A. Young. N. C. Villiers.
1954 L. Hrabkiewicz, A. H. Parker Bowles, N. J. Marsden, W. A. Sparling, P. J. Wilson, A. R. Cooke, P. H. Dale, D. Davidson, S. Dove, J. J. Burlison, D. M. G. Bird, A. G. J. Franchetti. R. G. Fletcher.
1955 P. J. Batten, P. M. Goslett (dec.), B. P. Grant, N. I. Cooke (dec.), A. J. Masterton Smith, R. D. O. Petre, C. N. White.
1956 P. J. Nixey, N. P. Tanner, P. M. Vignoles, J. M. H. P. Wetherell, J. F. Bowes-Lyon, P. A. Blackie, I. C. Campbell.
1957 C. M. Lyon, Hon. H. R. G. Nelson, H. Bedingfeld, D. X. Cooper, J. V. P. Dove, S. B. Dowling, S. T. Grey.
1958 J. C. Tyler, P. A. Knapton, C. C. S. Davies, A. P. Archer-Shee, R. B. C. de Hoghton, H. P. de Las Casas, C. W. K. Devas.
1959 C. D. Jardine, C. K. A. Posford, S. P. Smith, G. P. Stewart, D. A. Tanner, A. H. M. White, J. J. Cerny. H. M. A. Crosby, N. Dove.
1960 B. H. Jayes. J. A. Lorriman, N. C. Morris, Hon. J. J. Nelson, C, F. Pinney, J. Tanner, C. J. Blount, J. R. A. Devas, B. J. Fallon, R. W. Goslett, P. H. Heywood, J. H. Feilding, C. J. Heath.
1961 J. J. Drummond, A. P. Grant Peterkin, D. J. Bowes-Lyon.
1962 J. S. Walker, Lord Clanfield (W. Peel).
1963 M. A. H. O'Neill, J. N. G. Walker, J. W. P. Wetherell, J. M. Burnford, M. A. Comyn, S. R. Heywood, F. D. S. Chapman, H. F. W. Colville, T. J. Comyn, D. Cunynghame-Robertson, C. C. Dawson, J. H. Hatfield, C. H. Hetherington, B. C. Ruck-Keene.
1964 P. R. Davey, G. R. Hatfield.
1965 O. J. Dawson, H. O. Hetherington, A. J. Cunynghame-Robertson, M. J. Jayes, R. F. Sheppard, P. J. Muir, J. J. W. Wadham, J. W. Watt.
1966 T. J. Berner, J. F. Bourke, S. P. Dawson, S. Garston-Zuntz, W. E. Hatfield, M. F. Comyn, T. A. M. Myles, J. R. O'Grady, R. G. P. Plowden.
1967 J. S. Davey, J. J. Dawson, S. Heywood, A. D. Cumming, L. Jennings, M. R. Low, J. F. B. Ward, G. R. Belfield.
1968 H. G. Buckmaster, J. H. O. Craig, H. F. Hatfield, C. V. Clarke, A. Jennings, B. M. Redding, M. J. Bourke,
1969 J. S. Burnford, W. J. Dawson, F. P. H. Hampton, C. J. A. Holroyd, J. Jennings, J. J. Nunn, N. G. Wadham, N. H. Woodhead.
1970 S. M. Belfield, F. R. S. Plowden, S. H. Davey, S. J. Berner, R. A. A. Holroyd, C. M. A. Woodhead, A. B. Rose, D. P. Herdon, N. G. Wadham.
1971 M. Jennings, P. D. B. Ward, E. J. I. Stourton, P. M. Magrath, T. G. Cooper, S. P. T. Low, T. J. Holmes.
1972 M. G. E. Dawson, T. F. Keyes, M. E. Newton, P. M. I. Blakeney, B. Jennings.

NOTE: In 1933 a group of four friends left Avisford, P. A. G. Rawlinson and J. J. B. Hunt going to Downside while R. H. G. Edmonds and J. M. Petit went to Ampleforth. They are now respectively the Attorney General in Cabinet, Second Permanent Secretary at the Cabinet Office, a recent High Commissioner in Cyprus and a Colonel on the staff of the Cabinet Office.

AVISFORD AT AMPLEFORTH

Summer 1940

Back Row: Standing—left to right: J. Nevill, N. Elwes, F. Oldham, J. Harvie, B. Murphy, Major C. Jennings, F. Pollen, M. Evans, P. Pollen, N. Gladstone, M. Crowley

Front Row: Sitting—left to right: D. Maunsell, G. Plowden, J. Kirk, J. Plowden, M. Hawkings, C. Petit; J. Boodle; Viscount St. Cyres, D. Gladstone, C. Wessel.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS

THE SENIOR DEBATING SOCIETY

The President writes: The Regional Round was held on St Valentine's Day, one of the judges being the Editress of the Women's page of the Hull newspaper who has a weakness for women's rights and an engaging blush with strangers. She and Colonel Alec Smith, a local administrator of some standing, helped a solicitor to judge who should best represent the North East at the Northern final. They wrote down the members of Harrogate and Hymers College, Hull (our hosts for the day) as trams tramlined by having to read a written script without evident power of debating response. By contrast our opponents in the second debate were trolley buses (half free, half imprisoned by their wire) and we were veritable tourist coaches—swift and comfortable, determined to make no stops before the final destination. The Motion that we proposed and won was: "That intervention, in any form, in the domestic affairs of other countries is inadmissible and unjustifiable". The chief judge at the end said rather extravagantly (and who would refuse champagne?), "If I live for another twenty years, I wonder if I will find the names of Norton and McDonnell high up on the Cabinet lists?" Hon Richard Norton and Peter McDonnell composed our pair this year.

The Area Round, which decides who is to represent the North in London on 11th May was held at Hopwood Hall, the de la Salle college with a circular church which provided the model for Liverpool Cathedral. On 7th March three Catholic schools and three others competed, among them Stonyhurst. It was a disappointing day for us, for we were beaten conclusively by the school which we had drawn to debate against, St Gregory's Grammar School. Of the three motions, our was the last; we were set to propose that Mrs Whitehouse should be awarded the O.B.E. We did not try to defend the excellent woman, but the principles she stood for; and we did it with serious argument entertainingly presented, cleverly twisted, cunningly contrived and served in mock-pompous irony. The audience liked it rather more than the judges—who found us crisp, fast, forceful and wanting a little. We were credited with being well coupled, but lacking sufficient of what was dear to judicial hearts—histrionics. There was a moment when we thought the Embankment was ours in mid-May, but the moment passed. We took ourselves far enough, but not that far this time.

The Secretary writes: In the last edition of the JOURNAL, the former secretary was optimistic: "The Society has had one of its best terms in recent times, and it now has within itself much promise for the future". This term's debating has not however lived up to his expectations; the Spring Term is notable for its brevity, yet of the seven debates advertised in the Blue Book three did not take place, one of them a guest debate. The failure of the Mount School debate was due, in the first instance, to response among members so insufficient as not to justify the journey to York. This, one member suggested, was merely a manifestation of "the wave of cultural apathy" flooding the School at the present moment, and one is tempted to believe him. Yet what was to have been the fifth meeting of the Society had to be called off because of a popular concert by a group which sees fit to call itself *Legs Diamond* and which, whether or not it represented "culture", attracted a huge audience. The Debating Society is not suffering from specifically "cultural" apathy, but rather from the enjoyment of passive entertainment for which all that is necessary is a seat, a pair of eyes and a pair of ears and little effort. Six of the Sunday evenings this term were taken up with music of one sort or another, leaving little time for the Debating Society and the constructive effort which this supposes. The four debates which actually took place had their moments, but were generally not up to the standard achieved in the Christmas Term; four meetings is simply not enough to develop what, in the Easter Term, is to a large extent raw material.

Mr Peter McDonnell was elected to lead the Opposition bench and he, together with his fellow *Observer Mace* competitor Mr Richard Norton, played a large part in maintaining the standard of debating. Mr McDonnell was always calm and confident, often speaking without notes, and in his best moments he could be devastating. Mr Norton, the Vice-President, was equally calm and relied more on wit than did his colleague. Mr Roderick Pratt, leading the Government bench, spoke well on occasions, but he might have been more impressive had he spent more time preparing his speeches. These three were supported by a loyal group of speakers whose names appear regularly in the Minutes: Messrs Durkin, Pery-Knox-Gore, Doherty, Du Boulay, Gaisford St Lawrence, Spencer and Spencer. The two twins named last are worthy of special mention; loyal to the core, they never cease to provide amusement and enjoyment. The Society would be far worse off without them. Maiden speakers too were in evidence, though not the abundance thereof which one or two more debates might have produced. Messrs Willis, Karwatowski, Edmonds, Stourton, Pearce and Hastings all show promise for the future.

It used to be fashionable at Ampleforth to remark that nobody is interested in debating. Today this would seem not to be the case; the above evidence combined with the success of the Christmas Term suggests that the interest is most surely there; but it requires stimulation and time to develop. As long as unadvertised concerts continue to be held on Sunday evenings, the Debating Society will continue to suffer. Guest debates are valuable in that they tend to draw large attendances; but the failure of the Mount Debate, besides being a dereliction of manners, is an illustration of the fact that feminine charm is not enough to keep the Society afloat. Solid preparation and studied delivery are needed, and they will bring their own rewards.

The Society owes a debt of gratitude to Fr Stephen and Fr David who kindly agreed to speak as guests in the debate on "true love", to the Vice-President and to the President who has remained steadfast throughout and who never ceases to amuse with his scholarly witticisms.

The following four motions were debated in the Upper Library:

"This House believes that man can live without art."

Ayes 7, Noes 21, Abstentions 1.

"This House holds that intervention in any form in the domestic affairs of another nation is inadmissible and unjustifiable."

Ayes 11, Noes 13, Abstentions 3.

"This House would always put the obligations of duty before 'true love'."

Ayes 7, Noes 16, Abstentions 3.

"This House regrets that Columbus ever discovered America." [Richmond Guest Debate.]

Ayes 18, Noes 45, Abstentions 4.

(*President:* Fr Alberic) SIMON FINLOW, *Hon. Sec.*

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE KINEMA

DESPITE our usual crop of wide-ranging shorts and Looks at Life, the features of the term were dominated by the thrillers, *The Anderson Tapes, Figures in a Landscape, Night of the Generals* and *Last Escape*. However, this morass was lightened by the presence of *Rebellion* and *L'Enfant Sauvage*.

Rebellion was the best film of the term, though too serious and formal in its treatment to appeal to a majority of the School. Its themes of family strife and honour were directed with a feeling uncommon among modern directors, and Toshiro Mifune gave a performance which contrasted splendidly with his *Hell in the Pacific*.

L'Enfant Sauvage is one of Truffaut's best; a true story about a Mougli child and his education by a French professor. The sense of period, the atmosphere of provincial France, and the problems of communication were skilfully drawn so that one almost saw them anew through the eyes of the child. The film was profoundly gripping.

Apart from these two outstanding films, there were some excellent English language ones. *The Whisperers* in which Dame Edith Evans looks out on the world from a small flat and has beautiful dreams. A very intelligent piece of acting and directing. *The Last Valley* with Michael Caine and Omar Shariff—but the ethereal beauty of the valley somehow coarsened the acting, and I felt the film somehow misfired. *King Lear* by Peter Brook shed no new light on Shakespeare's tragedy. *Queimada* was of great interest with a stunning performance by Brando in a totally new role—what a pity we have so little of this great actor in Ampleforth cinema. The texture of

this production was different—committed (against slavery), and documentary in style, it was a refreshing breath of modernity and social criticism.

I did not like *Gumshoe* as a mirror of Humphrey Bogart nor *Hellstrom Chronicle* which I thought laboured, though the photography of the creepy-crawly world left some unpleasant images riveted on the retina, especially Mrs Termite.

Our thanks as usual to the Cinema Box who work so hard to put on the shows, and we hope they continue to improve their changeovers and (dare one say it?) the sound.

ROBERT NELSON.

CHESS

ATTENDANCES at the weekly meetings have been good. The open championship, which drew a large entry, is under way and should be completed before Exhibition.

A match on ten boards with the Staff was arranged and attracted much interest. The final score was 7—3, Norton and McGonigal winning for the School, Fr Justin, Mr Musker, Fr Henry, Mr Heath, Mr Simpson and Mr Moreton for the masters.

At the end of a season in which regular membership has risen to thirty and the quality of play has improved it is especially important to thank the officers for their leadership and Mr Musker and Mr Nelson for their patient coaching.

(*President:* Mr Nelson) HON R. W. B. NORTON, *Hon. Sec.*
D. P. HERDON, *Capt.*

THE COUNTRY HOUSE PARTY

A SMALL gathering of enthusiasts (it would be too bold to call them *cognoscenti*) have been spending Field Day and other vacant days exploring cosy country houses within reach of Ampleforth. The gathering was assembled by Henry Buckmaster with Johnny Glaister and Archie Dunn, and we have in the last year visited Temple Newsam, a Tudor-Jacobean house now owned by Leeds Corporation, Carlton Towers, owned by the Head Monitor's uncle, Slingsby Castle and the Vanbrugh-built Castle Howard, and now this term Burton Agnes Hall, Bridlington (by kind permission of Mr Marcus Wickham-Boynton). On a fine day we lunched in the grounds on exotica bought at Malton en route, and then spent a leisurely afternoon on our own seeing both public and private rooms of an almost unaltered Elizabethan house—except that the traditional long gallery at the south front top floor has been divided. We were able to examine the owner's fine collection of paintings, mostly French impressionist. We now have our summer eye on Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, with perhaps Chatsworth tacked on.

A.J.S.

THE CURRENT AFFAIRS SOCIETY

AT the first Spring meeting, the Society heard a lecture from Captain Michael Stacpoole, who had been on two tours of Northern Ireland and was about to begin a third as a company commander in the Duke of Wellington's Regiment. He spoke to a full meeting on the Army's presence there, bringing with him a wealth of visual aids—night-vision scopes worth £2,000 each, new optical sights for sniper shooting, rubber bullets and their projectors, and with these a lot of propaganda sheets or "newspapers". He traced the build-up of the political situation and of the military involvement over the last decade, and illuminated military techniques from his own experience, illustrated with photographs. A nice balance was drawn between the political, tactical and technical. Because the second meeting was so often blocked by films, concerts and other passivities, it was held unofficially outside normal time. Mr Jack Gordon spoke to us about his recent experiences in Bangladesh, providing illustrations from "The National Geographical Magazine" and his own maps. He had gone out to the area of the highest population density in the world to organise rehousing after the anti-West Pakistan liberation war. Literally millions needed resettling, and the resources of his little *Omega* group were barely more than symbolic—but they were to the people out there a strong symbol of the caring interest of the affluent world. He has since returned to his valuable work . . . and would that others would follow. Thereafter the Society went into voluntary liquidation, the zeitgeist (Robert Fergusson) being no longer among us. Such societies have their own intrinsic mortality.

(*President:* Fr Alberic) R. J. NELSON, *Hon. Sec.*

FOOTBALL SOCIETY

THE Society XI had a rather disappointing term, following the departure, at Christmas, of several key players. Tony Oppé, the captain, suffered a knee injury, which forced him to withdraw from the team towards the end of the season. The challenge shield, awarded to the winning team in the St Peter's match, was relinquished, but near the end of term the Senior team redeemed themselves with a very impressive win over Lady Lumley's School, Pickering.

The Junior team, organised by Dave Loftus, had a very impressive term, winning all their three matches. They had an easy victory over a weak St Peter's side, followed by a very convincing win against Bootham, a well-established soccer school.

In the last match of the season they had a well-deserved win over a badly-disciplined team from Easingwold Youth Club. The Ampleforth boys, captained by John Macaulay, must be congratulated for their conduct during this very difficult match.

RESULTS

Seniors	*Juniors*
v. Ross P.P. (A) Lost 10—3	*v.* St Peter's (H) Won 13—1
v. Coxwold (A) Lost 1—0	*v.* Bootham School (A) Won 4—1
v. St Peter's (A) Lost 4—3	*v.* Easingwold Y.C. (H) Won 3—2
v. Lady Lumley's School (H) Won 6—1	
v. Ampleforth A.F.C. (A) Won 2—0	

THE FORUM

MR GRIFFITHS kindly agreed to address the Society on *Augustan graveyard poetry*. He was most witty and penetrating in handling his austere subject. For the second and last meeting of the term another guest, Martin Spencer, gave a talk on Wagner's music. The poor attendance for this meeting hardly did justice to an interesting and well-researched talk which was spiced with excerpts from Wagner's orchestral works.

(*President:* Mr Smiley) MARK PERY-KNOX-GORE, *Hon. Sec.*

HIGHLAND AND COUNTRY DANCING SOCIETY

THE Society held nine country dance meetings in the Spring Term. The last of these meetings was a joint *Ceilidh* with the Wass Scottish Dance Group, and was held on 16th March in the Junior House Cinema Room by kind permission of Father Cyril. About twenty members of each society were present, and eight dances were performed.

Entertainment during the evening was provided by Messrs N. J. McDonnell and N. Pearce who sang traditional Scottish and other folk ballads to the guitar, and by Mr R. Bishop, who piped for two of the dances. In the second half of the evening the Highland Dance Group (Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, Mark Faulkner, Anthony Fraser and Mr Sasse) demonstrated the Foursome Reel, which they had practised during the term.

THE HISTORICAL BENCH

THE term started with a humorously presented talk by Fr Anselm entitled "Hello—is that you?", a history of telecommunications. As usual a considerable amount of personal research had gone into his lecture, as was evident from the well-chosen slides. As usual, too, he stimulated great interest in his large audience. Fr Stephen then spoke on "The Private Life of Robert Walpole". The talk certainly lived up to its promising title, because Fr Stephen first fitted Walpole into his contemporary back-ground and then showed how different from it was this first Prime Minister with his surprisingly cultured interests. It was a great disappointment that Desmond Seward, through pressure of work in London, was unable to follow this by speaking on the Teutonic Knights, upon whom he has written a book, but this disappointment was

in some ways mitigated by the very fine film on the battle of Culloden made by Peter Watkins in 1964 for the B.B.C. All the cruelty and betrayals of the campaign and its aftermath were brilliantly conveyed, though few judgments were passed: the story really spoke for itself. The largest audience of the term thoroughly enjoyed the adaptation of John Prebble's book. We were then greatly honoured by the visit of Professor Aylmer of York University, from which many Bench speakers have come in recent years. In an extremely scholarly talk Professor Aylmer answered the question, "Was the English Civil War a Revolution?" His carefully selected material was fitted into a closely argued analysis and was an admirable example of good historical technique. Mr Charles-Edwards completed the term's programme with a talk entitled "Uproar at Little Puddlington", a study of the effects of the English Reformation at the local level. His intimate knowledge of sixteenth and seventeenth century English History enabled him to enthral an audience who were often amused by his use of comic incident to make historical points.

I would like to thank all the speakers for their considerable efforts, but thanks must also go to the President, Mr Davidson, and to the Treasurer, Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple (E), whose untiring administrative work must claim most of the credit for raising membership to a record level this year.

(*President:* Mr Davidson) M. STAVELEY-TAYLOR, *Hon. Sec.*

THE JUDO CLUB

THIS term, not only has the standard of Judo been very high, but also 11 out of 17 of the members have achieved a higher grading in Judo; in addition four members came away from Ryedale Judo Championships with prizes. Mr R. Otterburn of the Ryedale Club [1st Dan Black Belt] very kindly invited us over to the Grading and the Championships; it is to him that we owe a great deal for he comes over every week to coach us with the help of our President. We must also record our thanks to the House Masters for their co-operation in allowing the members to join in the activities, and to Fr Simon who very kindly provided us with transport to the Grading.

The following, as a result of the Gradings on 26th February, are Yellow Belts—5th Kyn:

M. Campbell (C), N. Cherbanich (H), S. Allan (A), T. McAlindon (D), A Cuming (D), E. Beck (A), N. Hadcock (O), A. Zymslowski (B), T. Everard (A), N. O'Carrol-Ftizpatrick (D), M. Webber (B).

The following are now Orange Belts—4th Kyn:

A. Ashbroke (E), C. Holroyd (A).

The Captain, A. M. Gray, gained a Green Belt—3rd Kyn.

At the Championships held at Ryedale School on 24th March, out of 11 members that went:

C. Holroyd won the Senior Boys Trophy and N. Cherbanich was runner-up.

N. Hadcock won the Intermediate Boys Trophy and T. McAlindon was runner-up.

This has been, then, a very successful term for Judo at Ampleforth, a tribute to the energy and drive of Mr Callaghan, who founded the Judo Club at Ampleforth in 1969 and has since kept the Club thriving and going from strength to strength. We now have 20 regular members.

(*President:* Mr P. Callaghan) A. M. GRAY, *Capt.*

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THERE were only three meetings this term, but for two of them the Society was fortunate in having two excellent visiting speakers. The first lecture, on 21st February, was given by the President, Fr Julian, on an underwater zoological expedition from University College, Swansea, in which he took part in the summer of 1967. The purpose of the expedition was to examine the marine fauna and certain aspects of the ecology of the Greek island of Chios, off the coast of Turkey. He showed copies of slides of the island and some of the animals collected. Most of these, especially the Nudibranch Molluscs, had striking colours. The camping site was in a remote part

Nevill House
May 1973.

East Wing
May 1973.

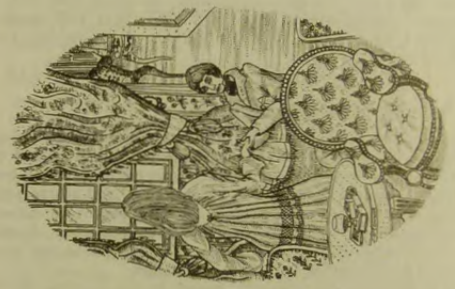
Grange exterior.

Grange interior.

May 1973.

Sevens 1973

Standing: S. Lintin, J. P. Pickin, C. J. Foll, C. H. Ainscough, S. R. Finlow, J. A. Durkin.
Seated: M. R. Cooper, H. P. Cooper (Capt.), W. M. Doherty, R. M. Lewis.



Illustrations drawn for The Ampleforth Press publication, "An Amateur Peasant Girl.", executed by James O'Connor (T).

The producer of the enterprise, Hon James Stourton, commissioned six such drawings, selecting what he judged to be the best three for his book. These are the three remaining, which surely deserve the light of print. They have been reduced here to half size.

(See Printing Press notes.)

of the island, almost at the water's edge, and in a sheltered bay used by local fishermen with gaily painted boats and lanterns over the stern to attract fish at night.

Dr Peter Evans (T 55) was unable to come earlier in the term owing to illness but came on 7th March to speak on "Pollution in Estuaries". After a general survey of the problem with reference to Morecambe Bay, the Tyne, the Wash, the Thames, the Dee and the Severn, he concentrated on his work in the Tees Estuary to which he has given particular attention recently. This work might be of some importance in connection with an enquiry later on this year into the development of some of the mudflats by the oil industry. It is not often that one can hear in advance and at first hand from an expert, the background to a public enquiry of this kind. He was careful to put forward both sides of the case and also to open up the whole question of the exploitation of natural resources. It was clear from the informal questioning after the meeting that he had stimulated considerable interest in the problem of priorities in an industrial society.

On 20th March Dr William Irwin, a consultant radiologist, who has been in practice since 1920, gave a lecture and demonstration of slides and photographs under the title, "X-rays and You". He was able to give a first hand account of some of the developments which he has seen during his long experience, and brought an X-ray tube which was made in 1908 and which he himself used when he first went into practice. Some of the photographs made with the latest apparatus, after injecting blood vessels with material opaque to X-rays, were most interesting. He made a very good case for his conclusion that there were excellent opportunities for those who wish to become radiologists though the training now is rather long. We thank both speakers and also Br Christopher from St John of God Hospital, Scorton, who came over with Dr Irwin to assist him with the demonstrations.

P.J.R.

THE PRINTING PRESS

Mention was made in the last issue of the Press's first production of a book, Pushkin's "An Amateur Peasant Girl". Sales began at the end of March and nearly half of the bound copies have been sold. It has been given a pleasing welcome both in the book world and in the press (both *The Sunday Telegraph* and *The Tablet*) and nearer home, which justified our earlier optimism. Buoyed up, James Stourton persevered through several setbacks and many sometimes nerve-wracking hours as organiser, designer and printer. This says much for his artistry, inventiveness and skill; for he was given little outside advice as none of us is familiar with book production.

The result is beautifully designed and elegantly bound in red goatskin by the Herald Press under Stourton's directions. Difficult though it is to print on, especially with an old Swift flat-bed, the hand-made paper adds to the quality of the outcome. Jim O'Connor's illustrations are arresting and successful in catching the mood of the period. Of the six he executed, three went into the book and three have been reproduced elsewhere in these pages to show something of his work. The type was set by machine—and even Fr Patrick, perhaps, would admit that setting by hand would have become too great a task. Nevertheless the printer did have to spend two days rejustifying and recomposing small amounts of the type before going on to the task of carefully registering—one page "backing up" with another, and so forth. In all, it has been a *tour de force*. It is already attracting letters of advice and enquiry from around England.

Apart from this, we have continued producing programmes and tickets for school events. We printed a wedding service leaflet for Paul and Rosemary Hawkesworth. The membership is small and often dedicated; though there are some who print for a while and then disappear for a while, not realising what a demanding pastime it is.

P.M.B.

THE SYMPOSIUM

The Symposium enjoyed another very successful term, with a large number of new members joining. The opening lecture of the term was given by Fr Dominic, on the hawk as a literary image. In this most erudite lecture, Fr Dominic investigated the role of the hawk as a literary symbol, illustrating his talk with poems by Gerald Manley Hopkins and Ted Hughes along with passages from J. A. Barker's book "The Peregrine".

The second lecture was on a rather more mundane but no less interesting subject, "British detective fiction". In this talk Stephen Trowbridge traced the development of detective fiction from Wilkie Collins, through Conan Doyle and Agatha Christie, down to the crime novel of today, and described some of the more ingenious methods of murder to be found.

The closing lecture of the term was given by Fr Alberic and was entitled "L. P. Hartley, the Ultimate Go-Between". In his talk Fr Alberic discussed some of the subtle themes that run through the book, and investigated the autobiographical aspect of Hartley's work and the basic tragedy of the novel. The Society would like to express its gratitude to the President, Mr Griffiths, and his wife who kindly let us hold our meetings in their house.

(*President:* Mr Griffiths) M. J. M. Petit, *Hon. Sec.*

THEATRE ROYAL, YORK

A really memorable term at the theatre, with the exception of our last outing—a double-bill of Shaw's *Man of Destiny* and Feydeau's *Don't walk around in the nude!* The former was unbearably tedious; the latter, in spite of a promising setting, proved a disappointment, with only one of the cast bringing the necessary style to this very Gallic farce.

It was just this quality—a stylish professionalism—that made William Douglas Home's comedy *The Secretary Bird* so enjoyable. The play attracted a capacity audience, and gave us an evening of splendid entertainment.

Roy Dotrice's wonderfully witty solo performance as John Aubrey in *Brief Lives* was in a class of its own. Making full use of an incredible array of bric-a-brac that covered every inch of the stage, he held his audience spellbound by the sheer mastery of his technique and timing. It was a unique and unforgettable theatrical occasion.

The New Group of the Royal Ballet also gave us a minor masterpiece, Hans van Manen's *Twilight*. A bleak setting: a rooftop in some inhuman, concrete landscape, with a blood-red sun sinking into the mist; a bleak surrealistic score by John Cage, against which a boy and girl enact their primitive ritual of sexual attraction, that makes the *Rite of Spring* look silly indeed. It was a stunning performance by the two dancers, and in every way deserved the ovation it received.

But what gave me most pleasure this term was Mervyn Willis' production for the Company of the Theatre Royal of Carlo Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters*. Whether it was the infectious enjoyment with which Wayne Sleep (loaned from the Royal Ballet) played the hero Truffaldino; or the evocative lighting and setting, which had more than a touch of stage magic about it; or the really stylish teamwork of the whole company: whatever the reason, the warm humanity of Goldoni's play filled me with a sense of elation. This is what the theatre is really about.

Bernard Vazquez.

RUGBY FOOTBALL

THE A XV

THE A XV struck an optimistic note in their handling of their six matches in their first 4 weeks of term. Not big, they appear to be fast in the pack and were most ably led by W. M. Doherty who grew in stature with every game. The threequarters too improved immeasurably and, though lacking in experience, did all that was required of them.

v. YORK UNIVERSITY 2nd XV (at York, 31st January)

THIS was a promising start by the A XV. The pack looked very swift and if Doherty was inclined to do too much, he played a real Captain's part and was a class above everybody else on the field. The two young locks N. Baker and M. Ainscough performed most creditably as did a new front row where B. Corkery made an impressive debut. But outside the scrum all was not sweetness and light: the half-back machine did not look well-oiled and there were far too many handling and passing errors. Despite this the backs showed potential and none did better than A. Mangeot at full-back. His three penalties were admirable efforts and he hardly put a foot wrong in general play. J. Gosling and P. Macfarlane too made welcome starts. The School won much of the ball in the first half but only had two penalties to show for it at half-time. Poor finishing and silly infringements stopped the XV from completely gaining the upper hand and for a period just after half-time, the School did not play well and were in some danger. But in the last quarter Doherty and the back row took charge, the pack lasted better than their opponents and the School ran out confident victors as Doherty added a try and Mangeot another penalty and a conversion.

Won 15—0.

v. HEADINGLEY COLTS (at Ampleforth, 3rd February)

THERE was no indication in the first few minutes of the slaughter that was about to occur. Indeed Headingley opened on the attack and it was several minutes before the XV gained a foothold in the Headingley half. They immediately scored and Mangeot added the points with a beautifully struck kick from the edge of touch. Two minutes later Allen obliged with another try in the same spot and Mangeot duly converted to Headingley's obvious chagrin. Thereafter it became a procession. The School won every ruck and outthought and outran the opposition in every department. Gosling, continuing in impressive vein, scored twice as did Pickin who played a well-judged game throughout, and Allen whose determination and strength was a considerable asset. Mangeot himself, Macfarlane, Plummer and Davey scored the others. Mangeot indeed acquired twenty points in the afternoon in which his majestic kicking added much to an impressive display by the XV.

Won 57—0.

v. POCKLINGTON (at Pocklington, 6th February)

IT was perhaps too much to hope that the XV would lay on another display to equal the Headingley match: and in any case a ferocious gale blew away any chance of good rugby from either side. But the team were strangely lethargic in the first quarter and were soon 4—0 down when high tackling in the defence was promptly and rightly punished. The team then stirred itself and though playing against the gale dominated the rest of the half and by virtue of good rucking scored a fine try through Gosling. Pocklington lost a man at this stage and when the teams turned round at the interval, there were not many who would have given much for Pocklington's chances of avoiding a heavy defeat. But hopelessly misapplied tactics by the team and some appalling handling and passing by the backs only led to near misses, and Pocklington, to their eternal credit, hung on and by their sterling defence well earned their draw.

Drawn 4—4.

v. HARROGATE COLTS (at Ampleforth, 11th February)

HARROGATE Colts set about the XV with such enthusiasm and aggression that for fifteen minutes, it seemed that they must score. With Foll playing his first game at hooker and having a most unpleasant afternoon, the XV got no ball from the set pieces worth having, but Harrogate failed to make the most of their possession, and a sturdy Ampleforth defence just held on. The early Harrogate fire began to evaporate, and

the signal for growing confidence in the Ampleforth side was displayed when Pickin made two devastating breaks one after another on the blind side which carried play to the Harrogate line. There the team encamped until half time and a series of strong attacks culminated in a lightning try by Finlow under the posts. Playing downhill and using the difficult wind well the XV were now well in command and good rucking produced an overlap for Marsden who ran strongly for 60 yards to increase the Ampleforth lead to 12—0. Most of the play was now in the Harrogate half and Finlow with another fine run scored again under the posts to make the score 18—0. Doherty put in M. Ainscough for the last try at the end of the game to complete a fine victory. Everybody in the team had played very well to absorb the early onslaught from Harrogate and if the pick of the team were Pickin, Finlow, Doherty and Foll, this is no disrespect to the remainder.

Won 22—0.

v. NEWCASTLE RGS (at Newcastle, 14th February)

SURPRISINGLY fine conditions greeted the XV at Newcastle and they proceeded to use them to good effect. Splendid running by Pickin and a good ruck enabled Finlow to score in the corner within three minutes. But before long the Newcastle pack seemed to be in the ascendency and too many missed tackles cost the XV dear in the terms of territorial advantage, and in fact resulted in Newcastle's scoring of two tries in quick succession giving them a platform near the Ampleforth line from which to spring. Smarting under this treatment the team settled down to some speedy handling, tiring Newcastle and enabling Pickin to spoil an opposition heel and score. Mangeot converted this with a fine kick from wide out to make the score 10—10 at half time. It was the Ampleforth pack which lasted better and the Ampleforth back row in which Durkin made an impressive return which now monopolised the game. The XV began to ge much more rucked ball and Plummer, Lintin and Murphy added tries as Newcastle faded. If the tackling in the backs was at first noticeably sketchy, the performance by the forwards was heartening. Doherty, the Captain, was again outstanding but the other two back row members were not far behind and the others did not net these three down. Pickin and Plummer are settling in well and all in all this was a most satifactory outcome.

Won 24—10.

v. ROUNDHAY COLTS (at Ampleforth, 17th February)

IN their last match of the season, the A XV did not follow up their victory at Newcastle in an impressive way: the thought, flair and imagination were lacking and Roundhay Colts sensibly did their utmost to disrupt and destroy. But the Ampleforth pack gradually began to get on top and it was from a good ruck off a Pickin break that Lintin, making an interesting start on the wing, went over for a try. Playing downhill in the second half, the XV continued to threaten the Roundhay line but errors were creeping into their play and too many final thrusts and passes were going awry. Pickin however cleverly sent in Lintin for his second try and was also the instrument for a try by C. Ainscough when Vincenti heeled off the head. In addition Mangeot kicked a penalty and a conversion and at 17—0 with 15 minutes to go Roundhay were ripe for the slaughter. It was disappointing that at this stage, the XV did not mount a series of ball-handling attacks and did not score again.

Won 17—0.

THE AMPLEFORTH SEVENS (at Ampleforth, 11th March)

Two extra teams and a beautiful day contrived to make a delightful atmosphere, and the School Seven, encouraged by this, opened auspiciously enough with a 20—4 victory over Bradford. Their next match caused some anxiety as Holgate's defended desperately to keep the School at bay but the Seven gradually tired them and gained a comfortable victory. The team were less impressive against Sir William Turner's but at least looked composed and played efficiently enough to win 14—6. Newcastle were not at their best and the team garnered 22 points without reply. The School were thus the winners of Division A and had to face Leeds GS, the winners of Division B, in the final. It was an exciting affair as Leeds were on the whole a bigger side, but the Seven seemed to have more pace and knowledge and kept ahead to win the match 20—16

GROUP A RESULTS :

Sir William Turner's 10	Newcastle 6
Archbishop Holgate's 0	Bradford 30
Bradford 20	Newcastle 6
Ampleforth 18	Holgate's 0
Holgate's 4	Sir W. Turner's 12
Ampleforth 20	Bradford 4
Ampleforth 14	Sir W. Turner's 6
Newcastle 10	Holgate's 12
Ampleforth 22	Newcastle 0
Bradford 14	Sir W. Turner's 6

GROUP B RESULTS :

Leeds GS 20	St Peter's 6
Wakefield 32	Ashville 0
Mount St Mary's 4	Wakefield 6
Leeds 24	Ashville 10
St Peter's 0	Wakefield 30
Mount St Mary's 26	Ashville 12
Leeds 10	Wakefield 9
St Peter's 0	Mount St Mary's 26
Ashville 20	St Peter's 9
Leeds 16	Mount St Mary's 0

FINAL : Ampleforth beat Leeds GS 20—16.

THE WELBECK SEVENS (at Welbeck, 13th March)

SEEMINGLY jaded by their efforts of two days before, the Seven never looked the part. Without the injured Foll, it was inevitable that they should lack the explosion that he provides, and they went down to Wakefield disappointingly in the first round 16—6. Against Nottingham High School in the Plate Competition they were at one stage 12—0 down until Lewis who was the only one to have kept his form set them alight by a splendid try in the corner. The Seven turned it on in the second half and ran out comfortable victors without inspiring any one with confidence. They dealt with Oakham in the final but only just and without the injured Lintin's pace they never looker more than ordinary. It was indicative of the malaise of the team that M. Cooper got the decisive points by dropping a goal from 40 yards.

Results : v. Q.E.G.S. Wakefield Lost 16—6.
v. Nottingham High School Won 20—12.
v. Oakham Won 9—6.

THE MOUNT ST MARY'S SEVENS (at Mount, 18th March)

THE first match against Belmont was expected to be an exciting game but it fizzled out as the School team took up where they had left off the previous Tuesday at Welbeck. They were so palpably off form that they were never in the game and Belmont defeated them rather too easily. The Seven tried hard in the next round without ever being convincing and although they had the misfortune to lose Doherty in the second half when leading 8—6, this was not the only reason why they went down 16—8. Silcoates provided little opposition however and on a disappointing day the School salvaged something and cruised to a comfortable victory.

Results : v. Belmont Lost 0—14.
v. Stonyhurst Lost 8—16.
v. Silcoates Won 34—0.

THE FESTIVAL SEVENS (at Rosslyn Park, 25th/26th March)

AMPLEFORTH were drawn in a group consisting of Worthing, St Dunstan's and Kingswood. Despite M. Cooper's poisoned foot, the School made few mistakes against Worthing and won comfortably enough with Lintin back to the form he had displayed against Leeds two weeks earlier. The match v. St Dunstan's was a much less comfortable victory and the School had to work hard to win 12—4. The following day, M. Cooper's foot showed distinct signs of improvement and he was in good enough form to impress everyone in an 18—0 victory over Kingswood. The seven then watched the Eltham/King's, Canterbury match as they were called upon to play the winners. In the event the strong Eltham seven made it clear that the School would not have it all their own way but the Seven took up the challenge to a man and used their speed

on the wide pitch to advantage. They put Eltham out in no uncertain fashion. This brought the team through to the quarter final against the strongly favoured Monmouth who had been fast and powerful throughout. It was a magnificent match against the eventual tournament winners. The School never let Monmouth settle, the tackling being so hard and accurate, and the forwards and Doherty ensured that the team got the ball, and the Coopers that they kept it. Rather unluckily 8 points down at one stage, the Seven led 12—8 with seconds to go. A most unlucky double bounce allowed Monmouth to bring the scores level and a magnificent kick from the touch-line put an end to the game and Monmouth through to their second championship in this competition.

Results : v. Worthing Won 20—0 }
v. St Dunstan's Won 12—4 } Group
v. Kingswood Won 18—0 }
v. Eltham Won 16—4
v. Monmouth Lost 12—14

THE OPEN TOURNAMENT (at Rosslyn Park, 28th/29th March)

IT was H. Cooper's turn to be ill and although he played he was unable to produce his best form. If this was not crucial in the first match where the School looked after him and were able to win, it certainly was in the second round against King's, Pontefract. A big side, they tried to ensure that the School did not use their superior pace. This they succeeded in doing though the Seven led 4—0 and then 8—6. But an interception put paid in disappointing fashion to the School's hopes and one was left with the impression that the Seven had, through the unfortunate H. Cooper's illness, missed a golden opportunity.

Results : v. Gravesend Won 18—0
v. King's, Pontefract Lost 8—12

THE HOUSE SEVENS

THE power of St Cuthbert's with the Cooper twins, the Ainscough brothers and Allen was too much for any other House in the Senior matches and they disposed of all their opponents with consummate ease, St Dunstan's indeed being the only team to score against them. They amassed exactly 100 points in 4 games . . . and neglected to take conversion attempts. St Aidan's on the other hand did well to reach the final at all. St Oswald's gave them a harder fight than expected in the first round and St Edward's frightened them to death in the second, leading until the last minute. In the semi-final St Thomas's should have beaten them but as St Aidan's scored last in the 6—6 draw, they went through to meet St Cuthbert's in the final.

In the Junior competition, St John's also did it the hard way. They scored last both in the 6—6 draw with St Cuthbert's and in the 10—10 draw with St Hugh's but they demonstrated their right to the trophy by winning the final against a good St Bede's side by 6—0.

UNDER FIFTEEN COLTS

IT was not expected that the team should do other than win its last two matches but the manner of victory showed just how good a side this was. 42—3, 44—0 or 17 tries to 0. Much of the credit goes to S. Low who at last proved how well he could throw in at lines-out. Thus the forwards had all the line-out ball they wanted and J. Neely in particular, in danger of losing his place at the beginning of term, played two storming matches. With Neely back in the side no room could be found for Zmyslowski in the front row but in the event his ability in the tight was not needed. In the second match against Newcastle the XV shoved their opponents yards at every scrum not because they were bigger but because they had a well-timed and controlled shove. The one doubtful place in the backs went eventually to M. Webber who convinced everyone that it was the right choice by making a series of searing breaks early on in the centre in the first match against St Peter's. C. Hunter-Gordon, back again after a broken leg, played less well than expected and may have to concentrate very hard if he is to become as good as his potential suggests. The half-back pair blossomed during the three weeks—J. Macaulay particularly, quicker off the mark, quicker into the pass, and more varied in his play. Behind them all, M. Lucey has become a fine footballer, ever ready to run and to link with the wings, a safe tackler and an improved though not perfect taker of the ball.

There may, and possibly should, be changes in the side next year. A. Stapleton, as a full-back or centre, is too good a footballer to be left out, and M. Wood will

fight for any place—wing forward, centre, or wing. The second string front row is not much, if at all, inferior to that of the team trio. Edward Stourton has however encouraged the whole set to fight for places and has prevented his team from being a clique—he must do the same again next year. He has been a successful and highly respected leader.

The most revealing moment of the term came not on the field but immediately after the last place in the XV had been chosen and announced. The three candidates for the one position who had spent an hour competing with each other walked up the valley together. It does not always happen.

Results : v. St Peter's, York Won 44—0
v. Newcastle Won 42—3

Final Record :—Played 10. Won 9. Drawn 1. Pts. for 321. Pts. against 34.

CROSS COUNTRY

HAVING potentially a good team we had rather a disappointing season. We just broke even in the 1st VIII, winning five and losing five matches. The 2nd VIII did rather better, winning four out of their six matches. Perhaps our best performance was in the Midlands Public Schools meeting when we came 4th out of fifteen schools. We had three very able runners in S. C. G. Murphy (the captain), H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple and N. O. Fresson with T. N. Clarke never far behind. Then came the problem of finding four other runners of first team calibre, or at least two scorers. J. F. Buxton and J. J. Hornyold-Strickland became available towards the end of the season and this made a difference. It would have made a marked difference had we had them earlier. C. A. Graves and R. M. F. Plummer who came to fill the other two places were both young but looked to be promising runners. The only team really to show us a clean set of heels was an exceptionally strong Sedbergh side. Significantly the best running came at the end of the season : our 4th position out of fifteen in the Midland Public Schools meeting at Stamford was achieved in spite of the absence of Fresson, and with both Clarke and Buxton nursing injuries. In this meeting we decisively beat two schools (Leeds and Stonyhurst) who had beaten us previously. We then went on to take first place among the school teams in the Durham Cathedral Relay on the 14th March. The message is clear : we do not start the rather short season with our runners fit enough.

S. C. G. Murphy awarded colours to T. N. Clarke. H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, N. O. Fresson and the captain were all old colours.

The results of the 1st VIII matches were as follows :

v. Pocklington. Won 31—52.
Ampleforth placings : 2 Fresson, 3 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 4 Murphy, 5 Clarke, 8 Macaulay, 9 Wakely, 10 Gould, 12 Caulfield.

v. Stonyhurst and Denstone. 1st Stonyhurst 43, 2nd Ampleforth 54, 3rd Denstone 84.
Ampleforth placings : 3 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 5= Murphy, Fresson, 8 Clarke, 14= Wakely, Caulfield, Graves, 19 Gould.

v. Barnard Castle and Durham. 1st Barnard Castle 47, 2nd Ampleforth 55, 3rd Durham 79.
Ampleforth placings : 2 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 3 Murphy, 6 Fresson, 12 Clarke, 14 Graves, 18 Plummer, 19 Caulfield, 20 Wakely.

v. Leeds G.S. Lost 47—32.
Ampleforth placings : 2 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 7 Fresson, 8= Murphy, Clarke, 10 Hornyold-Strickland, 11 Graves, 14 Macaulay.

v. University College School, London. Won 35½—43½.
Ampleforth placings : 1= Hamilton-Dalrymple, 3 Murphy, 4 Fresson, 6 Clarke, 10 Hornyold-Strickland, 11= Plummer, Killingbeck, 16 Macaulay.

v. Sedbergh. Lost 62—21.
Ampleforth placings : 7 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 9 Fresson, 10 Buxton, 11= Murphy, Graves, 13 Clarke, 15 Hornyold-Strickland, 16 Plummer.

Midland Public Schools Meeting at Stamford. Ampleforth placed 4th out of 15.
Ampleforth placings 14 Murphy, 26 Hamilton-Dalrymple, 34 Graves, 36 Hornyold-Strickland, 41 Clarke, 74 Gould, 88 Killingbeck, 102 Buxton.

Durham Cathedral Relay. Ampleforth placed 1st of the schoool teams.
Runners : Murphy, Hamilton-Dalrymple, Fresson and Clarke.

The results of the 2nd VIII matches :

v. York Youth Harriers. Lost 51—27.

v. Stonyhurst 2nd VIII. Won 34—46.

v. Barnard Castle and Durham 2nd VIII's. 1st Barnard Castle 25, 2nd Ampleforth 55, 3rd Durham 94.

v. Scarborough 1st VIII. Won 27—56.

v. Leeds G.S. 2nd VIII. Won 23—62.

The following ran for the 2nd VIII : R. M. F. Plummer, R. G. Killingbeck, M. J. Macaulay, M. B. Gould, B. L. Bunting, J. A. J. Cronin, N. D. Pitel, T. M. Lubomirski, E. F. Caulfield, J. N. Wakely and J. A. Durkin.

In the Inter-House races St Edward's had the distinction of winning all three, the first time that this has been achieved.

The results were as follows :

Senior : 1st St Edward's 63, 2nd St Thomas's 86, 3rd St Aidan's 136.

Junior A : 1st St Edward's 69, 2nd St Bede's 117, 3rd St Thomas's 142.

Junior B : 1st St Edward's 40, 2nd St Thomas's 46, 3rd St John's 56.

The individual placings were :

Senior : 1st H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple (E), 2nd S. C. G. Murphy (E), 3rd N. O. Fresson (T).

Junior A : 1st C. A. Graves (A), 2nd E. F. Caulfield (E), 3rd B. L. Bunting (E).

Junior B : 1st R. D. Grant (E), 2nd N. J. Gaynor (T), 3rd D. C. Simpson (T).

THE BEAGLES

LAST winter's quite remarkably mild and dry weather continued through the second half of the season, only three days being lost through frost and snow. The only other setback was an early close to the season because of the pig disease. Scenting conditions remained much as before, though there were days when hounds could really run. One such day was at Grouse Hall in early February with the Farndale hounds just across the valley at Cross Top; another at East Moors when a day hunting several hares ended successfully with a very good hunt. It was cold with snow showers at Low Mill on the 24th for a busy day spent between the hill above Sprunt Top and Horn End across the river. Bonfield Ghyll and Beadlam Rigg both provided notable days in March. There can be few such natural grandstands for watching a hunt than the top of Beadlam Rigg when hounds are hunting down on the moor by Mitchell Hagg and Pennyholme. All would wish to thank the Master and officials for their work in making this an enjoyable and successful season.

The Point-to-Point was run in good conditions and was won by J. F. Buxton from J. J. Hornyold-Strickland and R. H. Faber. The junior section was won by R. D. Grant with B. L. Bunting second and A. H. Fraser third. A very good entry from the Junior House led to T. M. May winning from E. T. Hornyold-Strickland and S. R. F. Hardy.

ATHLETICS

THE ATHLETIC MEETING

BEAUTIFUL weather again contrived to make this a most successful meeting, and the new track proved itself to be an aid to fast times. There were ten additional events this year, Discus, Triple Jump and Weight being extended to Sets 3, 4 and 5, an addition which seemed to please the younger boys and which should help our future in these events. Apart from the new records created by these events, others went down before the onslaught of the two oustanding athletes of the competition. S. C. Murphy, the new Captain, smashed the 800 metre record and was not far off the 400 metre one into the bargain while A. P. Marsden in Set 2 captured the 400 metre title and the Hurdles title and challenge with some beautifully controlled and fluent running. The future, imminent and distant, seems to be assured as the School will be able to call upon athletes like C. N. Hunter Gordon, W. M. Radwanski and A. H. Fraser, the outstanding figures of Sets 4 and 5. The prizes for the best set athletes and for the various events were given this year at the Exhibition prize-giving. One would like to record one's deep appreciation of the work done by the coaches during this eight-day meeting for all the hard work they did to make this very important competition such a success; and in particular, a special word for N. F. Woodhead who uncomplainingly and efficiently kept the Games room humming during the last few weeks of term.

RESULTS OF THE SCHOOL ATHLETIC MEETING, 1973

Best Athlete

Set 1	-	S. C. Murphy
Set 2	-	A. P. Marsden
Set 3	-	N. D. Plummer
Set 4	-	C. N. Hunter Gordon
Set 5	-	W. M. Radwanski

SET 1

100 metres.—(11.2 secs, G. A. Belcher 1957, A. N. Stanton 1960, N. O'Donnell 1965)
1 A. P. Oppe, 2 S. R. Finlow, 3 J. C. Gosling, 12.0 secs.
400 metres.—(51.7 secs, J. J. Russell 1954)
1 S. C. Murphy, 2 D. G. Unwin, 3 C. J. Holroyd. 54.8 secs.
800 metres.—(1 min 59.7 secs, S. C. Murphy 1973)
1 S. C. Murphy, 2 J. A. Durkin, 3 C. J. Holroyd. 2 mins 6.9 secs.
1500 metres.—(4 mins 16.0 secs, R. Whitfield 1957)
1 H .R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, 2 N. O. Fresson 3 M. B. Gould. 4 mins 26.1 secs.
Steeplechase.—(3 mins 42.8 secs, R. Channer 1956, S. E. Brewster 1960)
1 H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple, 2 N. O. Fresson 3 M. B. Gould. 3 mins 56.5 secs.
Hurdles (110 *metres*).—(15.4 secs, A. N. Stanton 1960)
1 A. P. Marsden, 2 J. C. Gosling, 3 A. A. Hamilton. 17.0 secs.
High Jump.—(1.78 metres, J. G. Bamford 1942)
1 N. F. Woodhead, 2 J. J. Hornyold-Strickland, 3 P. D. Fazackerley. 1.55 metres.
Long Jump.—(6.66 metres, M. R. Leigh 1958, V. Tang 1965)
1 P. D. Fazackerley, 2 J. J. Hornyold-Strickland, 3 S. R. Finlow. 5.55 metres.
Triple Jump.—(12.55 metres, N. F. Woodhead 1973)
1 N. F. Woodhead, 2 ———, 3 ———. 12.55 metres.
Weight.—(14.30 metres, C. B. Crabbe 1960)
1 S. J. Trowbridge, 2 J. P. Townsend, 3 M. E. Henley. 11.12 metres.
Javelin.—(53.33 metres, P. J. Carroll 1965)
1 Hon. T. M. Fitzherbert, 2 A. A. Hamilton, 3 T. P. MacAdorey. 46.25 metres.
Discus.—(35.90 metres, C. A. Sandeman 1973)
1 C. A. Sandeman, 2 D. G. Unwin, 3 C. V. Clarke. 35.90 metres.

SET 2

100 metres.—(11.4 secs, T. Howard 1968)
1 S. D. Manhony, 2 J. D. Ryan, 3 M. B. Spencer. 12.2 secs.
400 metres.—(53.9 secs, A. P. Marsden 1973)
1 A. P. Marsden, 2 S. D. Mahony, 3 J. Jennings. 53.9 secs.
800 metres.—(2 mins 4.3 secs, P. C. Karran 1964)
1 J. Jennings, 2 P. D. MacFarlane, 3 S. H. Mathews. 2 mins 14.5 secs.
1500 metres.—(4 mins 23.5 secs, H. C. Poole 1966)
1 J. F. Buxton, 2 J. Murray-Brown, 3 S. H. Mathews. 4 mins 44.4 secs.

Steeplechase.—(3 mins 49.0 secs, H. C. Poole 1966)
1 J. F. Buxton, 2 N. D. Pitel, 3 ———. 4 mins 18.6 secs.
Hurdles (110 *metres*).—(15.4 secs, A. P. Marsden 1973)
1 A. P. Marsden, 2 A. G. Yates, 3 J. H. Bodkin. 15.4 secs.
High Jump.—(1.67 metres, D. B. Reynolds 1943, P. D. Kelly 1952)
1 J. B. Madden, 2 A. G. Yates, 3 C. M .Woodhead. 1.46 metres.
Long Jump.—(6.40 metres, A. D. Coker 1968)
1 J. D. Ryan, 2 P. G. de Zulueta, 3 M. A. Heape. 5.33 metres.
Triple Jump.—(11.12 metres, N. F. Woodhead 1972)
1 J. P. Pickin, 2 ———, 3 ———. 10.82 metres.
Weight.—(12.93 metres, C. B. Crabbe 1959)
1 S. J. Trowbridge, 2 K. J. Thomasson, 3 A. M. Gray. 11.12 metres.
Javelin.—(49.86 metres, M. R. Hooke 1946)
1 P. G. de Zulueta, 2 N. M. Baker, 3 A. J. Mitchell. 44.4 metres.
Discus.—(32.22 metres, B. M. Allen 1973)
1 B. M. Allen, 2 J. E. Tomkins, 3 A. M. Gray. 32.22 metres.

SET 3

100 metres.—(11.4 secs, O. R. Wynne 1950)
1 F. Beardmore-Gray, 2 N. D. Plummer, 3 N. A. Mostyn. 13.1 secs.
400 metres.—(56.1 secs, G. R. Habbershaw 1957)
1 N. D. Plummer, 2 J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple, 3 S. J. Bickerstaffe. 59.6 secs.
800 metres.—(2 mins 11.5 secs, G. R. Habbershaw 1957)
1 J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple, 2 R. M. Plummer, 3 E. F. Caulfield. 2 mins 19.4 secs.
1500 metres.—(4 mins 31.0 secs, H. C. Poole 1965)
1 R. M. Plummer, 2 E. F. Caulfield, 3 J. J. Hamilton-Dalrymple. 4 mins 52.9 secs.
Hurdles (100).—(15.2 secs, A. P. Marsden 1972)
1 E. J. Stourton, 2 R. J. Bishop, 3 R. G. Burdell. 16.9 secs.
High Jump.—(1.63 metres, A. R. Umney 1955)
1 E. J. Stourton, 2 R. J. Bishop, 3 J. H. Misick. 1.43 metres.
Long Jump.—(5.89 metres, D. R. Lloyd-Williams 1960)
1 N. D. Plummer, 2 E. J. Stourton, 3 S. J. Bickerstaffe. 4.96 metres.
Weight.—(11.55 metres, F. C. Wadsworth 1946)
1 D. J. Thomas, 2 M. Ainscough, 3 F. Beardsmore-Gray. 10.37 metres.
Javelin.—(44.17 metres, P. G. de Zulueta 1972)
1 G. S. Elwes, 2 A. J. Zmyslowski, 3 R. J. Bishop. 37.35 metres.
Triple Jump.—(11.90 metres, N. D. Plummer 1973)
1 N. D. Plummer, 2 F. Beardsmore-Gray, 3 E. J. Stourton. 11.90 metres.
Discus.—(39.40 metres, R. G. Burdell 1973)
1 R. G. Burdell, 2 J. H. Macauley, 3 M. J. Moir. 39.40 metres.

SET 4

100 metres.—(12.2 secs, A. B. Smith 1952)
1 C. N. Hunter Gordon, 2 B. H. Finlow, 3 M. T. Wood. 13.4 secs.
400 metres.—(58.6 secs, O. R. Wynne 1949)
1 C. N. Hunter Gordon, 2 B. H. Finlow, 3 J. A. Dundas. 60.6 secs.
800 metres, 2 mins 16.8 secs, R. C. David 1951)
1 M. T. Wood, 2 J. A. Dundas, 3 C. H. Soden-Bird. 2 mins 26.3 secs.
Hurdles (100 *metres*).—(19.0 secs, N. D. Plummer 1972)
1 J. A. Dundas, 2 B. H. Finlow, 3 S. P. O'Carroll. 19.7 secs.
High Jump.—(1.51 metres, I. R. Scott-Lewis 1954)
1 M. G. Price, 2 M. T. Wood, 3 J. C. Neeley. 1.38 metres.
Long Jump.—(5.38 metres, O. R. Wynne 1949)
1 C. N. Hunter Gordon, 2 M. K. Lucey, 3 F. Brooks. 5.13 metres.
Javelin.—(34.29 metres, P. G. de Zulueta 1971)
1 G. J. Knight, 2 S. B. Harrison, 3 C. F. Maclaren. 28.35 metres.
Triple Jump.—(10.80 metres, C. N. Hunter Gordon 1973)
1 C. N. Hunter Gordon, 2 M. K. Lucey, 3 J. A. Dundas. 10.80 metres.
Discus.—(29.06 metres, G. J. Knight 1973)
1 G. J. Knight, 2 M. A. Blaszczynski, 3 M. S. Badeni. 29.06 metres.
Weight.—(8.55 metres, M. S. Badeni 1973)
1 M. S. Badeni, 2 C. N. Hunter Gordon, 3 E. A. Dowling. 8.55 metres.

SET 5

100 *metres*.—(12.5 secs, A. D. Coker 1965, T. E. Howard 1966)
1 J. D. Murray, 2 D. St J. O'Rorke, 3 C. H. Brown. 13.5 secs.
400 *metres*.—(60.3 secs, R. R. Carlson 1960)
1 I. D. Macfarlane, 2 C. H. Brown, 3 D. St J. O'Rorke. 63.7 secs.
800 *metres*.—(2 mins 24.0 secs, J. M. Rogerson 1957)
1 I. D. Macfarlane, 2 D. St J. O'Rorke, 3 R. D. Grant. 2 mins 26.4 secs.
Hurdles (100 *metres*).—(17.5 secs, J. M. Murray 1973)
1 J. M. Murray, 2 W. M. Radwanski, 3 R. T. Harney. 17.5 secs.
High Jump.—(1.45 metres, G. Haslam 1957)
1 A. H. Fraser, 2 W. M. Radwanski and M. T. Cobb. 1.39 metres.
Long Jump.—(5.03 metres, R. R. Boardman 1958)
1 W. M. Radwanski, 2 C. J. Healy, 3 M. T. Cobb and A. H. Fraser. 4.43 metres.
Javelin.—(32.69 metres, A. G. West 1964)
1 A. H. Fraser, 2 C. M. Lomax, 3 B. P. Doherty. 27.95 secs.
Triple Jump.—(10.15 metres, W. M. Radwanski 1973)
1 W. M. Radwanski, 2 N. J. Hadcock, 3 C. J. Healy. 10.15 metres.
Discus.—(28.98 metres, J. C. Roberts 1973)
1 J. C. Roberts, 2 C. M. Lomax, 3 R. S. Thornley-Walker. 28.98 metres.
Weight.—(7.80 metres, R. S. Thornley-Walker 1973)
1 R. S. Thornley-Walker, 2 S. P. Reid, 3 D. St J. O'Rorke. 7.80 metres.

INTER-HOUSE EVENTS

SENIOR

4 × 100 *metres Relay*.—(47.9 secs, St Oswald's 1958)
1 St Cuthbert's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Aidan's. 51.0 secs.
800 *metre Medley*.—(1 min 40.3 secs, St Hugh's 1965)
1 St John's, 2 St Edward's, 3 St Aidan's. 1 min 46.0 secs.

JUNIOR

4 × 100 *metres Relay*.—(52.5 secs, St Oswald's 1972)
1 St Aidan's, 2 St Thomas's, 3 St Bede's. 54.0 secs.
Half-Mile Medley.—(1 min 50.6 secs, St Aidan's 1957)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Bede's. 1 min 56.5 secs.
4 × 400 *metres*.—(3 mins 57.0 secs, St Edward's 1961)
1 St Bede's, 2 St Thomas's, 3 St Aidan's. 4 mins 6.3 secs.
800 *metres Team*.—(6 points, St Cuthbert's 1931)
1 St Edward's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Wilfrid's. 16 points
1500 *metres Team*.—(6 points, St Wilfrid's 1935)
1 St Edward's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Wilfrid's. 10 points
High Jump Team.—4.38 metres, St Wilfrid's 1939)
1 St Dunstan's, 2 St Hugh's, 3 St Edward's and St John's. 4.04 metres
Long Jump Team.—(15.69 metres, St Hugh's 1962)
1 St John's, 2 St Cuthbert's, 3 St Bede's. 14.61 metres
Weight Team.—(30.23 metres, St Dunstan's 1961)
1 St Cuthbert's, 2 St Hugh's, 3 St Bede's. 26.97 metres
Javelin Team.—(108.23 metres, St Cuthbert's 1953)
1 St Bede's, 2 St Dunstan's, 3 St Edward's. 90.65 metres
Discus Team.—(91.53 metres, St Aidan's 1973)
1 St Aidan's, 2 St John's, 3 St Cuthbert's. 91.53 metres
Triple Jump Team.—(31.78 metres, St Thomas's 1973)
1 St Thomas's, 2 St John's, 3 St Cuthbert's. 31.78 metres
32 × 200 *metres* (6,400 *metres*).—(14 mins 27.0 secs, St Bede's 1957)
1 St John's, 2 St Bede's, 3 St Thomas's. 15 mins 39.0 secs.

SWIMMING

The term has been a pleasing reward for much hard work by all. The success of both senior and junior teams can be attributed to the depth of talent in the club at the moment. We were able to select teams in which the second string swimmers were very strong and in which no one was overworked.

Malcom Wallis became the first Ampleforth swimmer to break 60 seconds for 100 yards freestyle, and records were broken in all other strokes at senior level. It speaks well of the future that both junior 200's were won by boys in their first year. Let us hope that they will soon be able to enjoy a good swimming pool at Ampleforth.

S.H.

Matches :
v. RGS Newcastle. Senior : Won, 47—40. Under 15 : Won, 39—37.
v. St Peter's, York. Senior : Won, 52—35. Under 15 : Won, 39—37.

Competitions :
200 metres Freestyle. Senior : S. J. Hampson 2 :28.9 (R). Under 15 : D. O'Rorke 2 :56.2.
200 metres Breast. Senior : S. G. Ashworth 3 :15.0. Under 15 : C. Healy 3 :21.2.

Water Polo Matches :
v. Bootham. Under 15 : Won, 4—0.
v. Newcastle. Senior : Lost, 0—3. Under 13 : Lost, 0—3.
v. St Peter's, York. Senior : Won, 3—0.

House League :
Senior : St Bede's.
Junior : St Cuthbert's.

Colours :
Awarded to A. P. Graham and S. G. Ashworth.

BOXING

We visited Newcastle Royal Grammar School for our annual fixture with a team which had trained diligently and shown much promise, especially in the Junior divisions. Out of a nucleus of about 16 club members we were able to give matches to twelve of them, which was highly satisfactory.

The Juniors fulfilled their expectations; Jones, with longer reach and height, was able to prevent Reid Henry getting close, though the latter, who gave away weight, produced a plucky display. Wilson rode out Hassall's stormy start and proceeded to get on top, and won comfortably. His punching was accurate and crisp and he showed polish in all he did. Millar met a tough opponent in Waugh but gradually wore him down and in the end won well.

Winning the first four bouts perhaps made us over confident, our luck then changed and we went on to lose the next four which made the scores level again. Radwanski, who is very talented, gave away weight, but rather than relying on skill chose to fight, which suited his less gifted opponent. Blackledge and Horrill showed us honest endeavour, but not enough defensive skills were evident and Blackledge had to retire at the end of the second round. New never displayed his many talents—he was unsure and never dominated the bout, and lost a contest he could so easily have won. Macauley was apprehensive throughout, granted he was giving away weight, but against a novice, this should not have been too difficult. Near the end of the bout he was put down by two punches which ended the fight.

Score now 4—4 and four more bouts to go, so very interesting indeed. Knight versus Scaife was rather a brawling match with crude punching, Knight winning because he was the stronger of the two. O'Connor and Doyle, the respective captains, gave us a fine display of the noble art, with Doyle just deserving the verdict. Fitzherbert could and should have taken Clare but he never fully gained the initiative and thus paid the penalty. 6—5 down at this stage, we looked to Stourton to save the match. But he had hardly time to show his ability before a very solid blow left him dazed and quite rightly the bout was stopped.

Thus a very interesting match was lost 5—7, which was rather disappointing after such an encouraging start, but some consolation can be derived from the promise of our Juniors which must augur well for the future.

Results (Ampleforth names first) :

Jones beat Reid Henry, Wilson beat Hassall, Kirby beat Ainsley, Millar beat Waugh, Radwanski lost to Rodham, Blackledge lost to Horrill, New lost to Milburn, Macauley lost to Guthrie, Knight beat Scaife, O'Connor (capt) lost to Doyle (capt), Fitzherbert lost to Clare, Stourton lost to Enevoldson.

Colours were awarded to Hon. T. Fitzherbert.

Half-colours were awarded to S. F. S. New, G. J. Knight and I. S. Millar.

SHOOTING

THE results of the Staniforth and Assegai competitions were well below par. By contrast in the Country Life, regarded by us as a more important and more difficult competition, both eights shot extremely well. The results come through in May. To drop no more than seventy in an overall total of eight hundred and eighty points is a high achievement. It leaves little room for doubt that the standard of .22 shooting remains satisfactory. There is an avid keenness with the boys and those in charge.

INTER-SCHOOL RESULTS

Inter-House Classification Cup.—Won by St Cuthbert's. Average 75.5/90. Runners-up: St Edward's. Average 71,2.

Inter-House Competition (Hardy Cup).—Won by St Cuthbert's. 562/600. Runners-up: St John's. 546.

Country Life (Stewart Cup).—Won by M. E. Henley, 79/80.

OLD BOYS

THURSDAY, 12th July, has been assigned to the Veterans and the competition commences at 4.45 pm on the Bisley Ranges.

Michael Pitel, 9 Blomfield Road, London, W.9 (Tel: 01-286 1543) hopes to hear from all who have previously entered and remain anxious to shoot again. In addition any Tyro no matter how undistinguished a shot will be most welcome. Do please inform Michael at the earliest moment. His task is far from easy and can become unduly expensive because of postage and telephone calls at the last moment. And don't forget there are trophies to be won by the good and poor marksman.

THE INDOOR RANGE

THE death of Bernard, Lord Howard of Glossop, should not go unrecorded in the *Journal*. He died last year. It was his benefaction forty years ago which enabled Ampleforth to undertake the building of the indoor Miniature Rifle Range, to the south of Lower Building, which was opened in November 1934. The *Journal* noted the benefaction at the time. But the benefactor, at his own wish, was unnamed. Such a wish was typical of this strong and unassuming man to whom Ampleforth owes much. This—apart from four sons and eleven grandsons—was only one of the gifts which he and his wife gave to us. Ampleforth's interest and success in rifle shooting dates from his first gift. Of his four sons the first two were Captains of the VIII; and his grandson, Richard, was Captain in 1971. Ampleforth has already prayed for him. He will always be remembered among our benefactors.

SQUASH

SQUASH continues to thrive through the good offices of Major Shaw at Wellburn Hall and the team has been the strongest that the School has yet produced. Two matches were played and that against Pocklington was won. The competition for the Sutherland racket was a popular one and was won by N. Plummer, a member of the team. This competition is for boys under 16 years of age. The captain, C. H. Ainscough, is becoming a most formidable player, and won both his matches during the term.

Results: *v.* Pocklington. Won 3—2.
v. Hymer's College. Lost 1—4.

The team was: C. Ainscough, P. de Zulueta, C. Holroyd, N. Plummer and A. Mangeot.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

BY the end of the term 5 cadets had obtained the Advanced Infantry qualification; they are: CSM M. P. Rigby, Sgt C. M. G. Scott, Spls H. J. C. M. Bailey, Hon. T. A. Fitzherebert, F. Plowden. This is the first time any cadets in this contingent have achieved this distinction. The bulk of the Army Section worked for the APC Battlecraft test; they achieved a good standard, but unfortunately in the actual test things went wrong—partly at least, owing to siting the enemy in an unsuitable position. The REME Section continued its work on the Landrover and on the Field Day they got a valuable introduction to the full scope of REME work when they visited No. 41 Command Workshops. U/O P. G. Scrope, assisted by Cpls J. F. Anderson, S. A. C. Everett and G. C. Rooney, kept the Signals Section working well, though it is good to know that professional assistance will be available from the Royal Signals next term. 2/Lt J. Dean, assisted by Cpl H. C. J. Plowden, was in charge of this term's new boys. They passed the Recruits' Test (conducted by the second-in-command, Fr Martin) and about half also passed the APC Orienteering Test.

On the Field Day the usual mammoth Orienteering scheme was organised at the Lakes for the Basic Section and some others. Mr. Gerard Simpson was the key figure behind this with the close cooperation of Fr Edward and the two Basic Section Under Officers: C. V. Clarke and N. O. Fresson. Cmdr E. J. Wright had a Naval group taking part and 2/Lt J. Dean's new boys also did it. In all about 150 did the course and of 120 APC candidates 90 passed. The Army Section spent the day in the Forestry Commission plantations near the Rye. Exercise "Eagle Dare" was in 3 phases: Phase 1 involved the approach through the heavily defended Black Forest to the Nazi Stormtroopers' HQ at Castle Hill; Phase 2 was the attack on this impregnable fortress by the paratroopers to free US General Joe Crunch, to capture the plans for a long range rocket, and to destroy the Signals HQ on the hill. Finally in Phase 3 the paratroops had to withstand a determined counter attack while they were waiting to be taken off by aircraft. The exercise was carried out with great enthusiasm and the realism was enhanced by the assistance of a group of NCO's from the Northumbrian Volunteers whose help improved the quality of the tactics and whose pyrotechnics enlivened proceedings considerably. It was a valuable and enjoyable day.

PROMOTIONS

ARMY SECTION

To be CSM: Sgt M. P. Rigby.
To be Sgt: Cpl M. A. Campbell.

ROYAL AIR FORCE SECTION

To be Sgt: Cpl G. Lardner.

ROYAL NAVY SECTION

DURING the course of the term three Leading Seamen, Ashbrooke, Edmonds and Wright were successful in the Power of Command examination conducted by Lieutenant A. Auld, Royal Navy. This, with their other qualifications, qualified them for the Advanced Proficiency Examination and for promotion to Petty Officer. We should congratulate not only the successful candidates but also C.P.O. Ingrey who worked so well with them.

On Field Day some members of the Section visited our Parent Establishment at Church Fenton and among other activities flew in Chipmunks. We are grateful to our Parent Establishment for the trouble they took to make our visit interesting and valuable. The remainder of the Section took part in a well organised Orienteering Exercise in Gilling Woods.

At the end of the term a Northern Area Conference of Naval Section C.C.F. Officers was held at Ampleforth. It was successful and valuable and we are grateful to Father Patrick for permission to hold it at the College and to Father Denis for the excellence of his arrangements and his hospitality.

ROYAL AIR FORCE

Our training has again been very confined to the classroom, studying for the Proficiency Part III. The examination was taken at the end of the term in the three compulsory subjects of navigation, engines and meteorology. R.A.F. Topcliffe nobly came to our assistance with regular instruction from their Senior Navigating Officer, Flt. Lt. D. Borrowdale, R.A.F., to whom we would like to send our thanks. Dull though this classroom work is, it has to be done, and last term's work was well repaid with a high proportion of passes in the Part II including some distinctions and credits. For our engine instruction we welcomed our new liaison N.C.O., Flt/Sgt N. Driver who has replaced Flt/Sgt Kitson. Field Day was used partly for navigation training at Topcliffe and partly with other activities at the station under the control of Flt Lt Matthews, our local liaison officer. Flying must have been an all time record for weather for this term, five out of six trips being successful and several of the section are beginning to feel qute competent at the controls. The Section has again been led by Flt/Sgt N. Baker assisted by Sgt G. Lardner, both of them well deserve their promotion given at the end of term to W/O and Flt/Sgt respectively.

THE SEA SCOUTS

North-west Scotland: the annual sailing and mountain climbing camp was again based on the village hall at Plockton which provided shelter from what turned out to be some of the worst weather the area had had this year although this also made the camp challenging and enjoyable. Despite the protected position of Loch Carron, these were not ideal conditions in which inexperienced sailors could learn to helm and therefore the sailing experience of the Francis brothers, John White, Brendan Finlow among others was particularly important. Squalls carrying blizzards or hail storms came over the mountains and reached full intensity in eight minutes and then went again in as short a time. In such conditions it was remarkable that there were no capsizes even though the squalls were so strong that one snapped an aluminium mast. Good seamanship on the part of Tim Mann in the safety boat and Mark Willbourn in the Wineglass brought the damaged boat to the slip in a couple of minutes. Despite this frequently wild weather many gained a great deal of experience and skill, notably Jonathan Page, Charles Morton, Thomas Judd and James Campbell, not forgetting Andrew Linn who found out what the centreboard was for. The gig was an ideal boat for this weather; well able to cope with the heavier seas and wind and yet as lively as a dinghy; so lively that Crispin Poyser, forgetting that there are no toe straps in a gig, summersaulted backwards out of the boat when he leaned right out in a strong wind.

Mountain climbing was no less rigorous than sailing in this weather: on more than one occasion a party had to turn back near the summit of a Munro because of worsening conditions. However, one two-day trip to climb Ben Attow and Ciste Dubhe was accomplished; the first day's climb over Ben Attow from Morvich and then down to the bothy at the head of Glen Lichd was hiked in almost ideal conditions; there was good visibility over Alpine-type views (the snow line was at 1,000 feet and the peaks in this region are around 3,500) but the snow showers turned to continuous rain on the second day (a stream forded at the beginning of the day was impassable three hours later), making it too strenuous to complete the planned route and the party descended the mountain and returned by the alternative lower route. Other climbs included Sgurr Ruadh, the Applecross hills, and the very spectacular walk to the Falls of Glomach, a 350-foot high waterfall carrying a river which at this time vas very swollen.

The standard of food was high on the camp and this was partly due to the catering organisation of John White and partly due to the daily comedy show which he and Niall Casserley provided in and around the kitchen.

Throughout the camp we were provided with much help and encouragement from people in the village as well as from the crew of the sail training ship "Captain Scott" which was anchored in Loch Carron during part of the time we were there; the crew kindly took a party of us all over the ship from the top of the rigging to the engine room.

Term's events other than the camp included quite a few trips to the local windy-pits and two Pennine trips under pressure from Mick Millen and David Wray. A visit was planned to Cherry Tree hole but had to be called off because its entrance had been sealed by an aggrieved farmer and the group settled for Stump Cross caverns instead; surely one of the muddiest of all cave systems.

A week-end camp in the Lake District occurred in early March and the weather was good enough to climb Great Gable on the Saturday and Helvellyn on the Sunday though most of the ascent was made through cloud and continuous rain; however, the weather cleared sufficiently on the way down to give a fine view. Like potholing, climbing often provokes the question "Why do you do it?" Answers range from appeals to their beauty through the spectrum to the challenge motive; but for David Wray on this camp a fully adequate reason was to obtain a photo of oneself on the summit.

The term also included our last visit to St John's Colliery and the five-mile under-ground walk to the pit face; sadly this will not be possible again as the pit closes this year.

The annual inspection was carried out this year in the spring term, the only available time for Cmdr Weaver, the new Inspecting Officer of Sea Scouts. The formal parade was embarrassing for inspected and inspecting alike; however, the rest of he programme, including sailing, capsizing and righting demonstrations, rope-ladder climbing practice and canoeing restored a shattered image; Cmdr Weaver also came to the camp for two days and took part in most of the camp life from sailing to washing up.

THE VENTURE SCOUTS

Last term showed what an energetic and determined Executive Committee can encourage the Unit to achieve. At a well-advertised introductory meeting in the first week of term, to which all potential members were invited, the active membership of the Unit was almost doubled. Michael Lawrence was elected as the new members' representative on the Committee.

The first major event, the Lake District weekend, was based in Borrowdale with half the Unit staying in the old school house at Grange while the other half, led by Andy Hamilton, set off in mild drizzle and gathering darkness to establish a base camp at Sty Head Tarn (1,500 feet). The campers were not surprised at being disturbed during their breakfast in bed (well, sleeping bags) the next morning by the "hutters" who had raced up from the valley to scoff once more at the notion that anything, let alone a saving in time, could be achieved by humping up camping gear to camp the night in wet and windy conditions. After Mass, said by Fr Thomas in the shelter of a small gully, the two parties separated again until the following afternoon. Despite the lack of snow and the poor visibility, it was a very successful weekend.

As well as doing more work on preparing the site for Wellburn Hall Special School's new Scout Hut, the Unit organised an adventurous afternoon's Scouting for the handicapped scouts there which was very much enjoyed by everybody.

The other Whole Holiday weekend was spent camping and climbing at Peak Scar, near Hawnby. On this and other climbing trips, under the leadership of Julian Barber, some quite remarkable progress has been made especially by Michael Lawrence and Ian Millar. The former went on a course during the holidays and rock-climbing, albeit on a top-rope for reasons of safety, seems established as one of the Unit's activities.

Pot-holing has not been forgotten and besides visits to some of the local windypits, an introductory trip to Goyden for non-members of the Unit was arranged for Field Day, while several Venture Scouts investigated New Gowden Pot nearby.

At the annual Admiralty Inspection, the new Inspecting Officer, Lieutenant-Commander G. R. Weaver, R.N., challenged the Unit to put on an activity for him to see. He was most impressed by the response which took the form of an abseiling and ladder climbing demonstration in the dark, organised most professionally and at no notice at all in the Monks' Wood. When he visited the Sea Scout camp at Plockton he was most complimentary about the standards of sailing and seamanship displayed, particularly by the two Venture Scouts on the camp, Charles Francis and Mark Willbourn.

Josh Hartley had reason to feel pleased when he handed over the chairmanship of the Committee to Charles Francis at the end of a very active and successful term during which the Unit had shown itself capable once more of initiating and carrying through a varied range of worthwhile activities. He and Mark Willbourn were replaced on the Committee by Nicholas Georgiadis and Martin Holt.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE

JUNIOR HOUSE

It was a perfectly straightforward term made so, it seems, by some very welcome warm weather which nearly turned into a drought. There was no illness and so no use was made of the sick bay beyond the normal incidence of accidents. There was nothing, in fact, to prevent us from getting in a good, solid term's work in all respects, which is what we did.

AROUND THE HOUSE

From the purely domestic point of view it is good to report that the new building settled down well and is in full use. The scout part of it is a constant hive of activity and one wonders how on earth we managed to do without it. The music half of the building does all that it was designed to do and easily copes with the practice needs of the thirty-five instrumentalists who are in the House at the moment.

Up in the library the shelving was completed during the term and we do not think that we will need any more. Now, as these notes go to press, red curtains (lined, swish) are going up, thus transforming the library and making it a very attractive room indeed. There is still plenty of space for more books but we have done remarkably well over the last year or so and we are immensely grateful for all the help we have received.

In the meantime the cinema room took delivery of two brand-new super table tennis tables, a gift which is beginning to make that area into the recreation room we always wanted but somehow found hard to achieve.

MUSIC

The musicians in the House had a term to remember. On 17th February the *schola* spent the day at Pickering, first rehearsing and then performing Handel's *Messiah* in the parish church before a large and very appreciative audience. The donkey work had all been done, of course, in the autumn term rehearsals. This spring term was devoted to Bach's *St John Passion* and work started on it right at the beginning of term. It was performed in the Abbey church on 25th March and the *schola* deserves all the congratulations it received. To perform two major choral work in the same term is quite remarkable.

The *schola* boys also took part in the concert on 8th March in the theatre when the Choral Society sang Britten's *Rejoice in the Lamb*. Five past or present members of the House sang or played solos in this concert. The hero, of course, was Simon Finlow (JH 1968) who was the soloist in Beethoven's fourth piano concerto.

RECREATION

We are, as always, grateful to Fr Geoffrey for organising our 16 mm. cinema programme and for projecting a film every Saturday. The more popular of these were : "The Man who Never Was", "Black Beauty", "The Locomotive Chase", "The Law and Jake Wade", "The Brain", "Monte Carlo or Bust", "Assignment K".

Members of the House were able to attend two excellent concerts in the theatre. The Baccholian Singers performed superbly on 4th February whilst our own wind ensemble was eagerly listened to on 25th February.

The annual visit to Billingham took place on Field Day, 12th March. All 107 members of the House made the trip and our visit to the Forum was as popular as ever. There was one hilarious moment in the afternoon when over 90 were on the ice at the same time, most of them for the first time.

The arrival of Fred Trueman at the Junior House on 20th March was an unexpected treat. The Upper School had had difficulty in finding him a hall so his audience had to come to our library; and of course there was room for us as well.

SCOUTS

The scouts in the second year took advantage of a mild weekend early in the term to get in their ten-miles night hike and compass course on the moors. In three separate groups they found their way from cairn to cairn on the pitch dark moor with great skill and only very occasional help from their adult leaders. The group led by the Senior Patrol Leader, Simon Durkin, made exceptionally skilful and rapid progress.

The mild weather, in fact, lasted throughout the term and made conditions easy for the regular weekly activities which concentrated on axemanship and pioneering. The second big event of the term was a weekend hike in the Pennines at the beginning of March, in which twenty-four scouts took part. On the Saturday we walked from Lofthouse across the great dam of Scar House Reservoir and over Great Whernside to Kettlewell, with a look into the impressive entrance of Dow Cave on the way. We spent a very comfortable night at the Kettlewell Youth Hostel and on Sunday walked over Buckden Pike and down Walden Dale. Before we reached the summit we were being driven along by heavy rain, fortunately behind us. It was quite the nastiest Sunday weather of the term, but we were well clad and we survived in good health and spirits. It would perhaps be a bad thing to have it easy all the time.

A good deal of badge work was done during the term and much labour was put into painting our new scout rooms and building furniture for them.

SPORT

The rugger season was completed with the playing of two more matches in the spring term. The 1st XV lost them both. There was a good tight game with St Olave's which we lost 4—10. The last game, with Pocklington, was a poor one and was spoilt by freak conditions. We lost it 0—22. So the 1st XV's season turned out to be only very moderate in terms of results : played 10, won 5, lost 4, drawn 1, 98 points for, 88 points against.

The 1st year XV won its game with Pocklington 18—8 but lost to St Olave's 0—32.

In the entirely boy-run world of soccer the House fielded five teams. They won 3—2 at Gilling and lost 2—3 in the return game. They won 4—0 at home to St Martin's and won 2—1 away. And there was an under-12 Sunday team which played with the under-12s from the village and won 1—0.

The cross country running season was a busy one although there was only one match, with the juniors of St Edward's House. The match was won by 33 points to 47 and our six scorers were, in order, P. M. Graves, R. C. Rigby, T. M. May, C. F. H. Clayton, L. R. Dowling and P. Mollet. The championship race at the end of term, in which there were 93 runners, was won by E. J. D. O'Brien. He was never beaten in all the previous races so his win was hardly surprising. The next seven runners home were P. M. Graves, R. C. Rigby, T. M. May, P. J. L. Rigby, S. G. Durkin, P. Mollet and L. R. Dowling. In the Point-to-Point earlier in the term nine runners from the House competed in this Upper School race. T. M. May, in 4th place, was our first runner home.

Some hockey was played during the term. This is very unusual for us because we treat hockey as a summer sport, but it shows how fine and dry our spring term was this year.

Alas, Mr Baxter was ill for much of the term so we missed his valuable coaching in the indoor shooting range. Now happily recovered, he has arranged for our best shooters to compete for the Gosling Cup in the summer term instead.

THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

THE Officials for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: H. J. Young.

Captain of Football: R. Q. C. Lovegrove.

Captains: A. J. Bean, R. K. B. Millar, P. Ainscough, Hon J. F. T. Scott, R. J. Micklethwait, A. J. Fawcett.

Secretaries: G. J. Ellis, J. G. Gruenfeld, G. L. Forbes, C. S. Fattorini.

Sacristans: J. J. D. Soden-Bird, J. B. Blackledge, G. L. Anderson, T. C. Dunbar, J. R. Treherne.

Librarians: M. N. R. Pratt, A. C. E. Fraser, J. G. Waterton, A. C. Walker.

Ante-Room: A. J. Fawcett, S. C. Bright.

Art Room: C. H. B. Geoghegan, C. D. P. Steel, A. M. Forsythe.

Book Room: M. T. Fattorini, E. S. Gaynor, V. D. S. Schofield, S. C. E. Moreton.

Hymn Books: J. R. Q. N. Smith, S. D. Lawson, T. A. Hardwick, E. R. Corbally-Stourton, A. H. Viner.

Dispensary: Hon G. B. Fitzalan-Howard, J. A. Raynar.

Office Men: S. A. C. Griffiths, R. A. Robinson.

Model Room: W. M. Gladstone.

Woodwork: D. G. G. Williams, D. G. Forbes.

D. M. Seeiso joined the school in January 1973.

THE new arrangement of the chapesl sanctuary has proved a great success. It is a great blessing to have got the focal point ol the school's life right. Apart from the normal liturgy, we had four services during Lent in which A. C. E. Fraser, H. J. Young, P. A. Ainscough, A. J. Fawcett, R. K. B. Millar, J. G. Waterton, J. J. D. Soden-Bird, R. J. Micklethwait, R. Q. C. Lovegrove, R. A. Robinson, S. D. Lawson, J. G. Gruenfeld, A. J. Bean, Hon J. F. T. Scott, J. B. Blackledge and M. N. R. Pratt read the passion narratives from the gospels, interspersed with hymns and prayers. Another event of note was that seven boys made their first confession.

IN the gallery we had two concerts, a short play and the usual Satnrday films. The films were projected by R. K. B. Millar, R. Q. C. Lovegrove and T. C. Dunbar, who made a good job of it; and our thanks go to Fr Geoffrey, who has again made an excellent choice of films for us. The play was the Book of Jonah, dramatised. R. J. Micklethwait was excellent as Jonah, Hon J. F. T. Scott did the narration extremely well, A. J. Bean played the part of God and R. K. B. Millar, the Boatswain, led the enthusiastic crew of sailors and Ninevites. The first concert is reviewed below: in the second Miss Clowes and Mr Capes gave us a delightful entertainment of music for violin and piano. This was followed by an exhibition of Scottish Country Dancing, notable for the hard work which all those who took part had put into it. The historians also exhibited in the gallery the fruits of their labours, a series of beautifully illustrated royal family trees, which Mr T. Charles-Edwards very kindly judged.

WE managed a day of sledging and skiing. For the ski-ing the ski-school was excellently organised into groups taken by those with previous experience. But this day was exceptional, as the weather this term was remarkably mild. It was a glorious day for the St Aelred's Day outing to Rievaulx; we frisked about as much as the new-born calves we met, looked around the ruins and did some shopping in Helmsley.

IN recording the highlights of the term is should not be forgotten how much of our enjoyment is due to the hard work of our staff. Matron and Miss Mannion produced the usual superb treats and teas in addition to the routine labour of keeping us fed, clean and healthy in the best Gilling tradition.

MUSIC

ALL forms now have two periods of class music a week. Twenty-two boys also do extra singing, and eleven of these were selected to take part in the Ampleforth Choral Society every Thursday. It was a great disappointment when, after all the hard training, we were prevented by quarantine from taking part in the Choral Society concert. Our orchestra, too, has grown considerably. This many-sided activity was well-represented in the concert reviewed below.

The concert began with the orchestra, an encouraging body of strings, ably supported by the Headmaster making his debut on the cello—surely a splendid stimulus to Gilling's music-making. They played a Rondo by Purcell and a French Folk Song arranged by Breda Dinn with great enthusiasm and promise—good straight bowing and firm intonation, though nerves caused a certain loss of ensemble.

The solo items were very varied, from beginners to the more accomplished, but all in their respective ways contributed to a highly enjoyable afternoon's music-making. Of the soloists, Josef Gruenfeld played a Spanish dance by Michael Head with impressive style and technique: he should surely become a fine violinist and musician. David Williams, too, showed great promise on the oboe and piano. Other notable and promising performances came from Nicholas Pratt, Paul Ainscough and James Bean.

The two songs sung by the choir made a fitting conclusion. They were sung by heart and with great enthusiasm, but having learned them by heart one felt that the singers could probably have paid more attention to the conductor's beat, for they had a tendency to rush ahead.

We were in no doubt by the end of the afternoon that music at Gilling is very much alive and full of promise anr encouragement.

ART

ONE would need a lively imagination to be able to produce the inevitable snow scenes and ski-slopes that usually provide the staple subjects in the spring term. A volcano off Iceland, building construction, mosaics, animals—even drawing outdoors in the sun, an activity one hopes for in the summer but hardly dreams of in the spring—these have provided the subject matter of a busy term. J. G. Waterton, C. H. B. Geoghegan, R. K. B. Millar and Hon G. B. Fitzalan-Howard have all produced good work with promise and originality. Not the least important aspect of their work is their ability to concentrate attention quietly on the work in hand. This is their most eloquent achievement for others to emulate.

Quite a good selection of attractive drawings were produced by members of the second form; these pictures should look well in the art exhibition at the end of the summer term. G. T. B. Fattorini and S. T. T. Geddes are gifted artists. Some of the best work was done by C. B. Richardson, R. A. Buxton, J .C. W. Brodie, G. A. P. Gladstone and A. H. St J. Murray.

In the first form attractive paintings were produced by S. F. Evans, T. J. Howard, J. H. Johnson-Ferguson, C. L. Macdonald, T W. G. Fraser, E. W. Cunningham, S. A. Medlicott and B. J. Richardson.

CHESS

SENIOR chess began this term with a Second Form Swiss Tournament, won by C. Richardson, with Buxton, Bingham and J. H. Fraser equal second out of twenty. The best eight then joined fourteen of the Third Form in the Championship tournament. In the course of nine rounds the lead changed hands several times, but A. J. Bean finished as this year's winner of the Championship Trophy recently presented by Mrs Whitehead. He was a full point clear of R. Lovegrove, G. Forbes and A. Fraser, followed by J. G. Waterton and P. Ainscough and fifteen others.

Enthusiasts continued to compete in a Ladder Competition run on a system of ranking numbers. The top three places were fought over by J. G. Waterton, A. J. Bean and A. Fraser, who kept all others at bay. Lovegrove was eventually fourth, and the best of the Second Form were M. Bean, Bingham, Buxton, Lowe, C. Richardson, G. Bates and J. H. Fraser.

Chess took a firm hold on the First Form, and over half the Form took part in their Ladder Competition. At the end of the term Tempest was firmly entrenched at the top, with Macdonald, T. Fraser and Heath just below him.

MODELLING

THIS term the boys were busier than usual in the modelling room. Twenty-seven gliders and three boats were all successfully completed. Louis David was the best boat builder. Hugh Elwes, Andrew Westmore, Adrian Dewey, Martin Bond and Richard Beatty built the best gliders.

All the Section Leaders did very well in helping the newcomers. The chief Section Leader was Mark Gladstone; the others were Richard Millar, Thomas Williams, David Sandeman, Simon Geddes, Adrian Dewey and Louis David who was appointed one at the end of the term. As a result of a mini course run by Mr David Collins on glider design and aerodynamics, Thomas William's 36 ins. span glider passed its flying trials and has been made a production model for next term.

GAMES

ALTHOUGH three matches had to be cancelled because of infection, this was undoubtedly Gilling's most successful football season. Mr Lorigan worked so hard and skilfully in his coaching of the first set, that the boys were inspired by his great enthusiasm for the game. The first set derived so much enjoyment from football, that it was always rather difficult ending the game, so that they could get washed in time for milk and biscuits.

The season began with a match against the Junior House in which R. Q. C. Lovegrove, the captain of our team, scored the first goal; but by the end of the game Gilling lost the match by three goals to two with A. M. Forsythe scoring the other goal for Gilling. In the home match against St Martin's, Hardwick scored from a ball centred by Griffiths, and George Forbes from another one that was centred by Christopher Richardson; a third goal was scored by Lovegrove bringing the score to three goals to one at the close of play. After winning the match against St Martin's the team went on to win their second game against the Junior House at home with Hardwick, George Forbes and Griffiths each scoring a goal, making the final score 3—2.

A team of boys from the first set, under eleven on the day of the match, played a very enjoyable game against the Ampleforth Village Roman Catholic Primary School. Our team was well captained by Waterton who is exceptionally reliable and unselfish on the football field. The liveliest player on our side was Hardwick who scored four times; Paul Ainscough did well to score twice, and another good goal was scored by Christopher Richardson bringing the final score to 7—0. Matches are won by preventing goals through good defensive play as well as by scoring them. It was in this task that H. J. Young, through his courage and skill, was in many ways the most successful footballer in the School team. Three other boys who were awarded their colours for playing so well in defence were A. J. Fawcett, J. G. Waterton and M. T. B. Fattorini. Colours were also awarded to T. A. Hardwick and S. A. C. Griffiths. The following boys not already mentioned played for the School: J. G. Gruenfeld, S. D. Lawson, A. J. Bean, R. J. Micklethwait, C. D. P. Steel, A. H. St J. Murray and R. J. Beatty.

Further down the School inter-set and inter-form matches were played by the boys with joy and enthusiasm. The strongest boys in set three were glad to win their game against set two, but the other half of the set lost their game against set four, which was well coached by Mr Macmillan.

Young's Athenian team easily won the Senior T.A.R.S. matches, and J. C. W. Brodie's team, which was not a spectacular side on paper, won the Junior.

BOXING

DURING the last week of term eighty boys took part in the competition. Mr Henry, Hon T. A. Fitzherbert and J. O'Connor controlled the Third Form bouts. Mr Lorigan, Majors Blake-James and Macmillan officiated for the Second and First Forms. Mr Callighan matched the pairs with skill and fairness and, as usual, stage-managed the sessions superbly.

The consensus of opinion was that the Third Form bouts did not quite reach the anticipated standard, whereas both the Second and First Form contestants showed tremendous enthusiasm and skill.

Henry Young and John Kevill could not be found opponents and were awarded the Senior and Juniors cups respectively. The best winners and losers in each form were as follows: Third Form—Simon Griffiths and Richard Lovegrove; Second Form—Angus Murray and Mark Mangham; First Form—Philip Brodie and Thomas Howard.