A NAVAL OFFICER'S CAREER STARTS HERE.

If you can convince us that you have the character, the ability and the educational qualifications to become a naval officer, we can offer a great deal in return.

A worthwhile career. A management job that is different. Early responsibility, excellent salary and a world of travel.

Here are some ways to enter:

UNDER 17: SCHOLARSHIPS.
These are designed to help you stay at school to pass the necessary 2 'A' levels (or equivalent) for a Full Career commission. Each is worth up to a maximum of £385 p.a. You can enquire as early as 14.

17-20½ NAVAL COLLEGE ENTRY.
By the time you enter Dartmouth you must have 5 'O' level passes (including 2 'A' levels) or equivalent. And, if you wish, there's a good chance that we'll send you to university later to read for a degree.

UNIVERSITY CADETSHIP ENTRY.
If you are going up to University (or on to Polytechnic or College of Technology on a full-time C.N.A.A. degree course), we can pay you £1,132 a year as a naval officer to take the degree of your choice.

Or, if your University agrees, you can put off your place and spend a year in the Navy first — starting in September. Or you can spend a shorter period with us, starting in January or May. Whichever period you choose, part of it will be at sea. The award itself depends on your convincing us that you'll make a naval officer — and, of course, on your success in getting that University place. This opportunity is open to all sixth formers in their last year at school.

ROYAL MARINES.
Similar opportunities exist here. For details of these and other methods of officer entry — including Short Career commissions — write to the address below, giving age and present (or expected) qualifications.

R.N. & R.M. Careers Service, Officer Entry Section, 25/26, Old Admiralty Bldgs., Whitehall, London, SW1A 2BE.

THE
AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL
SUMMER NUMBER 1973
VOLUME LXXVIII PART II

AMPLEFORTH ABBEY, YORK
CONTENTS

EDITORIAL: NECESSARY COMPROMISE 1

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND 12
James Campbell

THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY OF YORKSHIRE, 1558-1791 27
John Bosco, M.A., Ph.D.

DR. PUSEY'S MARRIAGE 33
Rev. Dr. David Forrester, M.A., D.Phil., S.T.L.

THE VATICAN AND EUROPEAN POLITICS, 1922-1945 48
Sir Alec Randall, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.

THE EXPERIENCE OF GOD 56
Thomas Corbishley, S.J.

INTERNATIONAL ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE: ECUMENICAL SOCIETY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY 64

BOOK REVIEWS 74

CORRESPONDENCE 100

COMMUNITY NOTES 104

SUBSCRIPTIONS:
Full edition (including notes on Ampleforth College) £3.25 per annum
Articles and Reviews edition ... ... ... £2.75 per annum
Single copies: Full edition ... ... ... £1.15
Articles and Reviews edition ... £0.95

THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL, Ampleforth Abbey, York YO6 4EN
Tel. Ampleforth 225, STD 043 95 225
Literary communications should be sent to the Editor, Revd A. J. Stacepole, O.S.B., M.C., M.A.
Business communications should be sent to the Secretary, the Revd T. F. Dobson, O.S.B., A.C.A.
EDITORIAL:

NECESSARY COMPROMISE

"Man proposes, 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 géométrie, 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 ideologue 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 formal 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 géométrie* 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 hauteur and seriousness, his avowal of utter personal unworthiness and his un-}

1 R. W. Church, "The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845" (1892), 344.
deviations in the higher education of England from the traditional philosophy of the Christian world so wide or so extreme.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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 amendment 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 until “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 bârû, this half human visor 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

---

\textsuperscript{2} Vincent McClelland, “The Roman Catholics and Higher Education, 1830-1905” (1973), 331.

\textsuperscript{3} Robert Blake, “Disraeli” (1966), 477; Beaverbrook, “The Decline and Fall of Lloyd George” (1965), 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 pawn, 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.\textsuperscript{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, Bellays 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
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 Archbishop of Cologne, "...and he met with only criticism and grave misrepresentation: being accused inter alia of dabbling with the Reich as a method of containing Com-

---

5 Terence Prittie, "Adenauer: a study in fortitude" (1972), 298.

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 Benedettine Abbot Alban Schachleiter of Spanheim (Prague) may be brought the better names of Cardinal August von Galen of Münster, Pastor Dietrich Böhnhoffe, Friar Maximilian Kolbe, farmer Franz Jaggerstätter and all those of firm resolve who bore witness to Christian life on this earth 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 Breslau) 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 rebuke them. German Catholicism was uncompromised in the late years of Hitler's ascendency in a way beyond the excuse of necessity.

The problem of necessary compromise becomes more complex in inter-state relationships, where it is not in the same sense as for nationals incumbent 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 the 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 of dabbling with the Reich as a method of containing Com-
munism, and again of harbouring an impartiality which favoured the guilty. 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.6

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. Its greatest and perhaps most religious Instituto Farma-colegico Serono, which onlookers will tell you means "Se Cristo Vedesse" ("If Christ could see")? The Pope is master of capital invested in some of the world's best stock—Rothschilds, Hambros, Credit Suisse, Chase Manhattan, Morgan and so forth—invested sometimes with little regard to the values the Church stands for. He 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". 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, 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 Gendarmeres, 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 who are of course 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 though 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.
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 Bogoisl, 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 unparalleled 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-assured 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, 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.

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, Spring 1971, 19-59). 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 Historians” 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”. 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 perceived 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.

1 Bettsford, 1972, 534 p., 64.
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.
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. 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. 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 possibly 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, named) English kingdom about the middle of the sixth century, and presumably Christian, Irishmen there at about the time of Augustine. 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. 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 second decade of the seventh century. That we have this incidental reference to one such visit strengthens the case for entertaining the possibility that there were others.

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 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. Within south-eastern England a considerable area north and north-west of London remained in British hands until within a generation of 597. It may have included St Albans, 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. If so, when Whereth, King of Essex, was converted by Augustine's mission he already had a Christian shrine within his kingdom. 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. The survival, or possible survival, of Christian Britons under Anglo-Saxon rule does not in itself, contradict Bede's adamantly insistance that the Britons did nothing to convert his countrymen. 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

14 THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL

15

CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

H. Wieruzowski, "Die Zusammensetzung des gallischen und fränkischen Episkopats", Bonner Jahrbucher, cxxvii (1922), 1-83, esp. 14. While it cannot be assumed that monasticism 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) is suggestive of the survival of British churches in the south-east. The survival of Christian Britons under Anglo-Saxon rule does not in itself, contradict Bede's adamantly insistance that the Britons did nothing to convert his countrymen.

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 would suit better a rather earlier date." "Mediev. Archteol.", vli (1959), 57.

The evidence suggests that even in the seventh century there could have been Irish monasteries in England of which our sources say nothing, ante, lxxxvi (1971), 15.


9 H. Wieruzowski, "Die Zusammensetzung des gallischen und fränkischen Episkopats", Bonner Jahrbucher, cxxvii (1922), 1-83, esp. 14. While it cannot be assumed that monasticism 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) is suggestive of the survival of British churches in the south-east. The survival of Christian Britons under Anglo-Saxon rule does not in itself, contradict Bede's adamantly insistance that the Britons did nothing to convert his countrymen.

10 Bede, H.E. II, iv.

11 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.


13 Bede, H.E. I, vii; W. Levison, "St Alban and St Alban's", Antiquity, xv (1941), 509.

14 On the assumption that Hertfordshire was within the kingdom of Essex.


16 cf. K. Hughes, "The Church in Early Irish Society" (1963, 43 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 archaeological 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 teach of one whose dealings with the Lombards must have made him an old hand at coping with barbarian potentialities. 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,
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 Sighbert 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, or kings came to see, their faith as confined to such coarse simplifications.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. Bonifati et Lulli Epistolae (M.G.H. Epistolae Selectae, IX)” ed. M. Tangl (1965), 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.
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.²⁰

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.²¹ His most revealing account of such a baptism is of that of Aethelwulf 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. Aethelwulf was baptised in Mercia “in the presence and at the suggestion of King Wulfhere who, when Aethelwulf 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 Moonware”. 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.²² Furthermore the laws of Ine show that a godfather-godson relationship could be regarded as establishing ties comparable to those of blood.²³ 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.²⁴ 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 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.²⁵

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 bretwæld. However the initial step was taken, some kings may 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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

²⁰ H.E. III, vii; III, xii; III, xiii.
²¹ H.E. III, xiii; IV, xiii.
²³ Ine, c, 76. (On the compensation payable to a godfather for the killing of a godson, and conversely.)
²⁴ H.E. III, xiii.
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 with 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). 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. He 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. 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." This painful scene can be taken to show "how slow was the progress of Christianity in the more remote districts and in fact everywhere". 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.

We cannot doubt that there were many pagan survivals and that pagan and Christian beliefs and attitudes naturally became very much involved together. 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, which 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. 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." This painful scene can be taken to show "how slow was the progress of Christianity in the more remote districts and in fact everywhere". 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.

We cannot doubt that there were many pagan survivals and that pagan and Christian beliefs and attitudes naturally became very much involved together. 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,
or to the persistence of pagan place-names as evidence for the strength of paganism. But pagan pictures are with us yet (of immense size, and brazenly haunted on hill-sides) 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 archaeology 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. 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.

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 As Dr Mayr-Harting does, "The Coming of Christianity", 64.
52 E.g. the Corne Abbas giant is a pagan figure if ever there was one.
54 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 Archology of North Britain" (1971), Chapter 3.
56 C. H. Riggs, "Criminal Asylum in Anglo-Saxon Law" (University of Florida Monographs, Social Science No. 18, 1963), Chapter 1.
57 "The Coming of Christianity", 257.
58 Hadden and Stubbs, "Councils", 180.
least professes to speak not of intention, but of fact. 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, communal 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. 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. Our only evidence for the size of secular communities comes from cemeteries; 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 of 1,550 calves. 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. 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. 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". He did not press, nor should we, the idea that one of the first duties or inclinations of a convert was to throw away
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. 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 catholico should let his hair grow more barbarorum.

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, between the learning of Bede and the very different learning of Aldhelm, between monasteries where miracles were believed to be regularly performed and others where they hardly occurred. The church contained genuinely holy men of very diverse kinds. It came to include men whose learning was 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 catholico should let his hair grow more barbarorum.

What are we to make of the mental world of one who related the Christian, the classical, and the very barbarorum pagen 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. 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.

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 (1963), "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", has been justly praised and repeated. 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. Now, to complete the series, we have "The 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 thought the knowledge extended very far. We knew about as much as we knew our 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 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.
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, extreme concentration of interest and research on the earliest, Elizabethan, decades would have to give way to a more even spread through 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 spoken of; notably David Mathew's far from inconsiderable "Catholicism in England," but in 1960 this was twenty-five years old, and it was 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", "reecusants", and "reccusancy", 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. L. 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

On this subject it is worth consulting Aveling's admirable review article, "Jesuit History", published in this Journal, LXX.2, June 1966, 165-70.

On the right side of the Archpriest Controversy, lost its acuteness 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 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.

2 On this subject it is worth consulting Aveling's admirable review article, "Jesuit History", published in this Journal, LXX.2, June 1966, 165-70.

established; 1660-1790 a period of “transition” towards a new social con-

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 leisurely 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 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. As 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.

---

INVITATION TO WRITE


Authors are invited to submit their manuscripts to: Dr Daniel F. McGrath, Publisher, Consortium Press, 821 Fifteenth Street NW, Washington, DC, 20005.

---

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 lose 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 blissfulness 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 as 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" and by Newman as "the mighty one"?

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 Trinity; 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 self-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 Dr Pusey's Marriage 35

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

1 R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years 1833-45, 1891
2 J. H. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, 1864.
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 Marla Barker, the youngest child of John Raymond Barker of Fairford Park in Gloucestershire. Little is known about the physical appearance of Marla, beyond the fact that she was reputed to be tall and beautiful, but from her letters of 1827-28 she was clearly extremely vivacious, 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 Marla as "a large, strong, masculine looking, ruddy and athletic person", and a cousin of Marla spoke of her as "better fitted to attack the oppressor than comfort the oppressed". 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 aware 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."8

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 Marla: "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 set for everyone".9 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. 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 recognize the particularly debilitating influence which his father's dominance had exercised on his development.

"I feel myself now," Pusey was to tell Marla 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 "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 bungling, 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 Marla 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'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."17

---

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, 20 October 1827 and 8 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"16 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

"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 stupefy. . . .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-

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.
18 MS copy of letter from E. B. Pusey to M. Barker, 28 November 1827.
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". 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".

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". Pusey splint a great deal of ink reminding his fiancée 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." 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." 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. On the one hand Maria declared her detestation of Wellington, whom she felt was any chance of excitement. 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, but that write I must, and can write about nothing else." 22

Allied to Maria's robust opinions was her Romantic interest in heroes. After reading J. F. Cooper's three-volume 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". 23

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 mostly "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". 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". 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." 24

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.
"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 what-
ever destroys 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. . . ."

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 in-
adequate 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
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 per-
manently away from the paths of self-deprecation, 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 obsessionals.

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
trust in a Supreme Being in temporal concerns goes, so far, I have felt
the beauty of its precepts and the sublimity of its views, and as far as a
certainty, if not of contradiction in Scripture itself, so much more of
its use in calming my mind; but there does appear to me so much un-
apparent, and many, unable to obtain fixed opinions, are in danger
of running on in endless mazes." 38

Having previously met with unbelief in his elder brother and in an
old Etonian friend Julian Hibbert, Pusey clearly regarded Maria's outlook
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."

Not only were there occasions when "everything appears so in-
adequate 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, 3 October 1827.
34 Ibid, 15 May 1828.
36 Ibid, 8 May 1828.
37 MS copy of letter from M. Barker to E. B. Pusey, 2 February 1828.
38 Ibid, 3 October 1827.
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 was his fiancée 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 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."

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." 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.

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 Jeff. 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.

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, 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", but in 1835 he had come seriously to believe it...
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 Liberation of the 1830s, which bore the aspect of a philosophy of material enlightenment; its adherents believing firmly in material progress and abhorring the other-worldly features of Christian teaching.

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. 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 exacted out of 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 Marla, “if it is worth anything must be contrary to the world’s system.”

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.


dr pusey's marriage

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 sauce (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 EUROPÉAN 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 interests, his "Germanophilia" (he had been Vatican representative 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 unprepared 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 1935 Concordat (signed under serious pressure from Berlin), with its promises of freedom for the Church's religious and moral teaching. They were finally swept away by patriotic and nationalistic passions after the War had begun. It was this true belief of the bishops, a few of whom were admittedly time-servers; Hitler's government was for 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 able to pose as the champions of Christianity against a godless, persecuting state; so many of the bishops were moved to issue pastoral letters extolling Hitler's "crusade" against Bolshevism. The Pope, on the other hand, despite his saintries 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 simply 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 dictatorships from 1922, when the Vatican found itself confronting an altogether new world situation following the founding of three great monarchies with their attendant aristocracies. European anti-deradicalism 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, at the Foreign Office from 1928 to 1945. In 1936 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, 276-80).


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 special 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 excomunicating 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 for some essential institutional framework. The best reply I know to the general charges of institutionalism is in Baron von Hugel'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
The 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 host 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 baptized Jews of Holland or the petition from the Polish Cardinal Säpicha, 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 from his investiture. 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 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 Weissäcker, when he was transferred to take Von Bergen's post. 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 nationalism in its primitive form but two historic 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 survive? 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 ascendant. 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 a 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. Pius XII, who made the Concordat with the Papacy in 1929—an agreement which was adhered to by the Italian Republic—was 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 snore 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 Jugoslavia 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 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 Stipanic. At first he welcomed the Croat Government, so fearful was he of the Communist triumph which Catholic Croats 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 Stipanic's attitude to the new Croat state was far from satisfactory. Another German report gave an account of Mgr Stipanic'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 Orthodox 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, Ersatz of Hungary, whose efforts in obedience to Pius XII's appeals to save the Jews were largely 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 historical survey of "The Church in the first half of the twentieth century" in the "Clerical Review", May-June 1973. Part I deals with Action Francaise, 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 subject of this paper is much in vogue these days, when people have become tired of the 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 at experiar 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 with its accent on God as a personal reality communicated to the whole intuiting 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, Monadik 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 World 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 World War, he taught classics to young Jesuits, and after it succeeded the legendary Fr Martin D'Arcy (still alive and well), 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 persists to this day in the minds of many Christians, who have failed to understand that, at bottom, the whole meaning of life is to be found in the ongoing business of finding out the truth about God.

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 everyday 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, which the idea of God has grown up within the Judaic-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 disdaining 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 mankind 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 as ever-present menaces, almost inevitably brought about an attitude of the responsibility of the creature, man, just as the serfs at the base of the feudal pyramid existed primarily to till 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 everyday 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?

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 implicitly 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”. Equally, 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 Guillelguad 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 playwright 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 dehumanize 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 scandalized 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 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.

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 sake; 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 Israelites 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 transcendent quality in that which is loved. Take the obvious example of what we call "falling in love". It is unnecessary 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 explicitly 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 centuries 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, 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 analysts, 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 3½ 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".
Two years ago the Society called its first International conference, to which Easter Week another such conference was held at Newman College, 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, 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. 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 Satge (C of E) and Rev Neville Ward (Methodist). An Old Catholic bishop said Mass in a side chapel. During an afternoon the Society visited Selly 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 their prayer perhaps for the first time. In all of this some of the brethren found time for an afternoon at Stainbrook Abbey quite nearby.

The first evening begin with two presidential addresses, the first from the General Secretary of the British Council of Churches, Bishop Cyril Kenneth Sambury. 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 herSon, 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 Tubingen 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 of modern biblical criticism, but an historical reality. Where then do we begin again? We begin with the Bible in our hands, realising that the force of this meaning is not to be merely illustrated by examples from high and low traditions, but to be ascribed to Mary as a reality and so now. Where then do we begin again? We begin with the Bible in our hands, realising that the force of this meaning is not to be merely illustrated by examples from high and low traditions, but to be ascribed to Mary as a reality and so now.
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 technical 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 in the standard bearers of the faith (Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham and so on) opened the horizon 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 Ephrem—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 began 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 co-operates with the Sanctifier, “she who conceived as a virgin and gave birth as a virgin—a gift that nature cannot 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 fact, 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—indpendently resting on reminiscence, and should be looked at separately. Interpreted in the light of contemporary Jewish custom, Matthew may be saying this: betrothed reminiscence, and should be looked at separately. Interpreted in the light to Joseph, Mary expected to be acquired by act of intercourse, but before woman already pregnant by another. From this the Professor astonished was scrupulous not to transgress the law forbidding penetration of a they actually made physical contact she was detected as "having in the belly" (the phrase covering pregnancy, pseudocyesis or psychologically induced false pregnancy, or wind) at the agency of the Holy Spirit. Joseph 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 with Joseph on the night of nuptials by extra-vaginal conception 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 out 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 example, 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 then have hurried her cousin home to legitimize her child before the future manger, for instance, being a symbol of ritual purification and of the most symbolic. Mary knows intuitively that she will bear the Son of God 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 divisional 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 were 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 case was insufficiently grounded in Scripture taken in its interlocking entirety, and even violated integral parts of it.

Centre of the lectures was that of the Abbé René 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 Columbia 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 wait 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 into her 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 Constantinian 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 canons made their claims for the plenitudens 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). 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, animi.

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."

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".
Vatican Council fathers were asked to countenance her as “in the Church”, translated into Christ high above the communion of saints. When the Second Vatican Council 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 Anuncia 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 premonial 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 Dr 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 Frierdelek, 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 humility in Mary, not a false humility, which gave her understanding of the title theosokos. Since only God’s works in 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 gift, 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 literature 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 ever 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 says the exaggerations of the time which had turned her into a grande dame almost a goddess, 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 does Luther make 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 prophecy of wisdom.” Luther’s later anti-Marian writings were directed not against the Mother of God but against Marlolatriy and against a false doctrine of merit. The grace v merit problem occupied most of the question time, and Rev Professor Eric Macauley gave a remarkable presentation of the Thomist theology of grace.10 It is interesting that we sing in Easter week, 

8 Abbé Laurentin made just such a survey of Marian theology in 1923, 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).
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 make 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 Sion—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 seed to posit the Immaculate Conception—otherwise there would be a need to posit an infinite regression of sinful 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: he spoke of "The Woman clothed in 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 New 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

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 66.7-8 both use the child-bearing imagery in referring to a resurrection, and John 16.29-33 picks up the metaphor: suffering is to be the prelude to joy and literary 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 Quanm hymn IQ3 has "a wonderful mighty counsellor" snatched out of reach of his enemy, and this not by the Church but "by the synagogues 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 ("as fair as the moon, bright as the sun...") does, the moon signifying beauty and the sun power. The number of the stars, 4 x 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 hererin, 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 (12.7) and 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 prophecy 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 historical-topographical lecture on "Mariam 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 femininity, of caring concern, of listening acceptance, which takes the polemick 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...
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 Sciences. Of the eight essays which it contains, several are occasional pieces, and, although they are not less authoritative for that, there is inevitably a certain amount of overlap and repetition of argument among them; sometimes, too, there are discernible changes of tone, from the high theology of Professor Torrance's main themes to the empathy of his "aside"—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 that God's transcendence is not wholly out of relation with creaturely intelligence, that 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". Although Barth's polemics against the analogia entis is not without some justification, there is no more authoritative or preferable statement to be found. 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 or essence in three hypostases. Both tendencies however are orthodox, 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 objectification 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 fictional was in fact the case, or that what we took to be fact was only fiction after all.


Fr Edmund Fortman, S.J., in a weighty volume forming part of a new series of "Theological Resources", makes it his aim to track the historical development of understanding the doctrine of the Trinity. The book begins by defining the term at its terminus—"the Triune God", "Triune God". Before considering the opening essay, Professor Torrance's essay on "The Epistemological Relevance of the Holy Spirit" seems, however, to obfuscate 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 these must be real distinctions between them if we are to have knowledge at all, for knowledge would never arise or would simply cease if there were an outright distinction 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 recreates our forms of thought and speech to the Truth of God." But this is not an answer to the question of thought; 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 Trinity solves it for us, for this is to deny as the cognitive freedom without which we would not be able to distinguish the operation of Holy Spirit from its counterparts. In short, an argument is not "saved" simply by being "inspired".

I say, 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 fictional was in fact the case, or that what we took to be fact was only fiction after all.

James Davie.
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. 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 Word of gospel Christianity. Yet idealism and liberalism were in their turn, and by force of reaction, to produce fresh developments within the positive concern. The present book contains final chapters Fr Fortman discusses Schleiermacher's theology of experience, Hegelian idealism and Ritschlian moralistic liberalism. 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 absolute way of conceiving God is a notion he rejects and he leaves the reader with the reflection 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 book of the 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.

Department of Religious Studies, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.


"What do you think of Christ?" has received much attention from English scholars especially earlier this century. One recalls Gorg's Kenotic theory in his "Reconstruction of Belief", A. V. 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 real as a historical figure, or whether the historical figure was real as a matter of faith in Christ. They were also concerned with the status of the Bible as the record of God's special self-revelation to man. This volume contains a number of papers on the biblical and theological status of the Bible. The papers are mostly from 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.

BRUCE VAWTER BIBLICAL INSPIRATION Hutchinson of London/Westminster of Philadelphia 1972 xi + 196 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 we may be inclining to make the status of the Bible into a hieratic 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.

JOHN BROADHEAD
aspects of the question. Calvin (in his commentaries at least, whatever may be said of his \textit{institutio}) was more flexible than Fr Vawter: he allowed: 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 that the search for 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 sense 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. P. F. BRUCE.

Department of Biblical Criticism & Exegesis,
University of Manchester.

II. THE DIALECTIC OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT


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 contradictions: in the case of contradictions, both cannot be true (though both may be false), but with contradictions, if one is true, then the other must be false. Professor Christian notes that "it is surprising how rarely a doctrine of one religion to contradict a doctrine of another religion explicitly", and this, he says, 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 modal 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-apply-
ging; 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 different referents—then what is said in the one is opposed to what is said in the implication, being recommended, we find that an advocate of the former ("Aim at attaining Nirvana") subordinates responsibility to telology, whilst, for an advocate of the latter ("Reapson 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 that one cannot doubt both. However, he has not argued that the doctrines of Judaism and Buddhism are in fact in opposition; his object has simply been to show what such an 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 primary within some category"—the former to Nirvana in the category of abstract objects and the latter to God in the category of actual existents. In that 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 connections with "course-of-action proposals" and "valuation-proposals" in order to show how beliefs we constitute of the recommen-
dations we make. 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 have the same meaning, they subordinate the same thing: one destination, one experience, one and the same illusion. None the less, "there are plenty of good reasons to look for convergences rather than incompatibilities between religions", Professor Christian concludes, "and the most basic reason would be a commonality of conclusions which 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 DAVIES.


Father Walgrave, a Dutch Dominican currently occupying the chair of fundamental dogma in the theological faculty of Louvain, is already known to English readers through his "Newman the Theologian" (1869), 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 is also true that only in comparatively recent times has the fact of such development become problematic and hence a subject of reflection and concern. "Unfolding Revelation is, accordingly, an account not of the actual development of doctrine itself but of the theories which Newman's is merely one. Moreover he sees his undertaking not simply as an essay itself. The sort of question raised, therefore, is: Why does Christian doctrine have a "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 insatiable, that the word of God really comes to man in the form of human speech—that revelation, as the objective correlate 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, 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, is to be objectively closed at a fixed period of history and at the same time the conditions on which it is open, not only by way of subjective penetration but also by way of objective understanding". Thus the conditions on which an orthodox interpretation of doctrinal development depends are insatiable, for which an answer which is not mere sophistry has to be found.

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 theologians", and not merely strictly speaking, does not develop, but only by interpretation. Thus the bulk of his historical survey consists in a systematic review of doctrinal opinions, first in patristic and medieval 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 well as best thing he does. Brian Tierney, is a major contribution to the current debate over papal infallibility. It originated however on historical research carried out by the author several years before the controversy initiated in 1970 by the Swiss theologian Hans Kling. Tierney's position is remarkably similar to that of Kling, but his book is very different in method and form. The "Infallible?" was a heated polemical work, appealing only in part to historical evidence, much of it incomprehensibly 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.

III. MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT

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 on historical research carried out by the author several years before the controversy initiated in 1970 by the Swiss theologian Hans Kling. Tierney's position is remarkably similar to that of Kling, but his book is very different in method and form. The "Infallible?" was a heated polemical work, appealing only in part to historical evidence, much of it incomprehensibly 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 provides a panoramic view of all the important steps in the development of the doctrine of papal infallibility, both from the point of view of the Church's teaching and from the point of view of the main developments in the history of the Church. The result is a very readable and logical consideration. Infallibility, far from enhancing the sovereign power of the popes, actually limits that sovereignty. Infallible pronouncements (as is explicitly stated in the Vatican I definition) are not "the feeling of things" that were merely a by-product of the development of a "living church", but are "living currents and streams in the flux and reflux of its waters".
speak infallibly. Without the claim of infallibility the pope would have greater freedom to change or abandon statements of his predecessors which be 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 ecclesiastical 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 material expression of the person of the pope, 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 King, Tierney contends that "the Church can err; but this same erring Church has never ceased to preserve and proclaim the gospel of Christ" (p. 271). 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 from the mistakes 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 quarto facs must be settled on the basis of historical evidence. The theologians must direct themselves to the quaestio ueri. 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 at the pulpits of parish churches a "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.

School of Divinity,
St Louis University,

Colin Morris THE DISCOVERY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, 1000-1200 SPCK 1972 188 p £1.90

Another book on the 'Twelfth Century Renaissance'? The period exercises for many scholars and general readers today the same fascination that 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 seat of Hildesheir's poems was recently edited by a British scholar, A. B. Scott, for Teubner). These sources 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), emphasizing "the paradox of a heretical scholasticism which had thrown a humane cultural inheritance"—Christian and classical, is that order, with cross-fertilization between the two. He then reviews in ch. 9 "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 faces 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 study 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 also 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 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 Abelard and many others, in exploring the path of monastic friendship. Cicero may have supplied a starting-point, but how slender for such an architecture! 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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. Since pagan, feudal and monastic love has been dealt with in great detail, and the Christian form of it has been considered, the treatment of love in 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.
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. But is it possible to deal with these slight pieces inconclusively, and one can watch Professor Brooke skirting dangerous problems (Pope St Gregory VII, pp. 87-89, Archbishop St Thomas Becket, pp. 121-129) with an elegant turn of phrase which makes one long to shake him.

Has the collection any merit then? Yes, it has. His inaugural lecture ("The Elusiveness of the Past", pp. 25-30) makes a plea for the necessity of an amateur approach if scholarship is to conserve its 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 elançons, the suggestions they contain, their useful reference 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. 162-163).

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, he Sharey, the "Clerical marriage paper", based on this work and the paper on "Approaches to Medieval Foray", 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 piety, but also his generosity. He has been one of his father's hostages; he could have been rather more explicit in his transcription 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 1000-1550" (pp. 139-162). Here and above all he speaks in this volume of his happy marriage and the three "professor and 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. 33-37) he starts an approach to the history of Christian marriage in the medieval period: and it is interest in her which has prompted the papers here on Sabatier, the later medieval, and Gregory, on which he confesses, wrongly, thought to be genuine. (He is to be admired not only for his piety, but also his generosity. He has been one of his father's hostages; he could have been rather more explicit in his transcription 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 1000-1550" (pp. 139-162). Here and above all he speaks in this volume of his happy marriage and the three "professor and 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.)

In a work of this kind, which embraces the whole world and the whole history of man, the maps at the end are invaluable. ... 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 manuscripts, which originally came out in ten compendious tomes with two supplementary ones between the years 1934 and 1961. The one volume makes available to millions the Study which has revolutionised the approach to history, if not in Britain—which likes to keep to ancient and medieval traditions—then in most other countries of the world. Numbers of thoughtful people in East and West are earnestly seeking a world-view and find in this healthful and most imaginative, scholarly and penetrating study a rewarding response to their questions.

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 companions have been incorporated, thus rendering his work 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 Static 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 dispensa, 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, it establishes 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 alternatives on these for them to be examined in relation to one another and to draw conclusions; which conclusions are, 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 insisted on 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 one of a great host). But he came to see that Religions were not only cancers, rather they were the supreme flowering of the human spirit. In a sense he 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 for those who, facing the present with anxiety or near despair, look to civilizations to provide a world armed to destroy. 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 disintegration? The authors make some answers 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 anthropologists and archaeologists 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 Church, or more precisely 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 the 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 phenomenon 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. 487-8).

It has been one of the great merits of the Study of History that it demonstrates that God is not a statistical phenomenon among a number, but in great advenity, so that the world's greatest paradox is that the divine purpose is most manifest in the earthy peace and order and but in those supreme moments of challenge in which a supreme response may also be given; and when it is we have either a renewal of the faith and hope of the world's ills. The Study of History has been used to demonstrate 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 Church, or more precisely 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 the 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 phenomenon 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. 487-8).

It has been one of the great merits of the Study of History that it demonstrates that God is not a statistical phenomenon among a number, but in great advenity, 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 a renewal of the faith and hope of the world's ills. The Study of History has been used to demonstrate 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 Church, or more precisely 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 the 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 phenomenon 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. 487-8).

It has been one of the great merits of the Study of History that it demonstrates that God is not a statistical phenomenon among a number, but in great advenity, 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 a renewal of the faith and hope of the world's ills. The Study of History has been used to demonstrate 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 Church, or more precisely 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 the 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 phenomenon 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. 487-8).
religion which moulds and creates a political community cannot be anything seriously, 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 knew, in their turn, that the civil ruler himself derived his authority, not from below but by the prophetic office, from above and not from below. They have Moses and the Prophets, as it was said to Dives in the parable, and his brethren had Moses and the Prophets, as soverign people in place of the sovereign prince, of the vox populi as the vox Dei, 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 prophetic office, from above and not from below. 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 it is wise, against his will, the truth which he concealed that man to need the Lord's strong help 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, meekly, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and not Christ. The New Testament was set 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 before 1660, 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 Englanders because of the Catholic centuries behind all their families. A man who knew nothing of the Catholic Church, who knew nothing of the Catholic centuries behind all his families, 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 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: (1) Finishing up, which means to do your work well. (2) Make it last, Make it last, Make it last, Make it last. And do without.” In the fullness of time a typical New Englishman, 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 disappeared, yet it is in the first years of Elizabeth’s reign that a man, and a counterbalancing part of the Protestant ethic as the duty to create wealth, was the duty to waste or dissipate it.

In its own way, this personal frugality was also a tribute to the primacy of the spiritual.

Douglas Woodruff.

Marcham Priory,
Abingdon, Berks.

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. 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 us to a type of Englishman who did not exist before 1660, 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 Englanders because of the Catholic centuries behind all their families. A man who knew nothing of the Catholic Church, who knew nothing of the Catholic centuries behind all his families, 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 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: (1) Finishing up, which means to do your work well. (2) Make it last, Make it last, Make it last, Make it last. And do without.” In the fullness of time a typical New Englishman, 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 disappeared, yet it is in the first years of Elizabeth’s reign that a man, and a counterbalancing part of the Protestant ethic as the duty to create wealth, was the duty to waste or dissipate it.

In its own way, this personal frugality was also a tribute to the primacy of the spiritual.

Douglas Woodruff.

Marcham Priory,
Abingdon, Berks.

V. POLITICAL SERVICE AND AMBITION
fear surprised, 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 mind, but 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. 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 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. Professor Gash has not explained why these inconsistencies were expressed in language which would have been comprehensible to Pitt. Similarly we seem to have no idea whether General Elections could be matched with 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. Professor Gash has not explained why these inconsistencies were expressed in language which would have been comprehensible to Pitt. 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. Professor Gash has not explained why these inconsistencies were expressed in language which would have been comprehensible to Pitt.

This was the same man who held country house parties where all the guests had watches, with exquisite pleasure, the doomed creature thrashing wildly and uncontrollably; the man who possessed the merciless coldness of a Joseph Chamberlain. He is more like the "Tom, Dick and Harry" of politics as Lord Rosebery called it, and never really satisfied 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 an Establishmentist, but rejected the idea of an Establishment.


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 transgress the historical narrative, it is careful to leave the reader free to speak for itself. His "narrative" begins with the "reefer" 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 so 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, approach—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 judgements of some of the"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 that between 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 nonsense 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-driven his catch-phrase 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 invisible collector of butterflies who thrusts the lethal pin into his victim and then watches, with exquisite pleasure, the doomed creature thrashing wildly and uncontrollably in its agony."
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-Jones 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 she surface is fascinating, and as we skim along it we have the feeling that at any point we are free to side in whatever direction we choose. 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 it makes, 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-Jones 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 psychopathology of the 1970 election—he successfully adopts all the techniques of personality analysis of which 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 grew. But these remained only palliatives to the essential problem, which was remorselessly changing the environment in which the politician has to operate".

For his 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 priority of love (Pope John); the return to the Bible (Vatican II). 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 practice it, but rather to live by love and then to turn to Scripture to verify. For instance that trinity—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 spirituality of Therese is not to work out a system, but rather to turn to God's mercy and to trust in it. As the Abbé Laurentin has emphasized, organizations are not the government and the Church. The genuine spirituality of Therese is not to work out a system, but rather to turn to God's mercy and to trust in it. And it shows that Sister Therese is a saint for today by her faithful and loving acceptance of suffering.

R.E.
VII. SPIRITUAL POETRY


'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 muse 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'.

But not pantheistically; no more than the Bride in St John of the Cross after all (as perhaps she has concluded) are part of the vast complex of nature. 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. Helen Gardner

The pieces in this collection are presented in the preface as poems not verses, though the title page is more modest, 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 its 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 intelligently selected 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 of obligation as "the distinguishing mark separating the religious poem from the poem of metaphysical speculation, religious verse from the lyric", and since "this does not exclude religious poetry with Christian poetry" she may wish 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 precious 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 meanings are out, then why are pieces like T. S. Eliot's "When we have lived" and Milton's "On Time" and Edwin Muir's "The Gardener" 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 'secure'.

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 loved his G. Rostrevor Hamilton will be unaware of. And she has come to terms, triumphantly, with the vexed question of rhyme in modern verse. She herself ould 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 she has been disarmingly frank about her own connections, and 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, evolving as it were the sweet soul of rhyme without its agonising 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 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 expensive volume will have read most of these poems before, they will have made 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 highp..ly priced 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 more reprinting of, for example, "The Dream of the Rood", "A Hymn to God the Father", the "Ode of the Morning of Christ's Nativity" and Herrick's image of "the Furies in a shoal" coming to fright the dying man, and Hopkins' response to the tale of Andromeda. If they had asked Mr Auden to look again at what he took to be religious verse 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. 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 of obligation as "the distinguishing mark separating the religious poem from the poem of metaphysical speculation, religious verse from the lyric", and since "this does not exclude religious poetry with Christian poetry" she may wish 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 precious 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 meanings are out, then why are pieces like T. S. Eliot's "When we have lived" and Milton's "On Time" and Edwin Muir's "The Gardener" 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 'secure'.
undistinguished verse in Dame Helen's selection, and it is perhaps the very pales 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" i., Macneice and David Gascoyne. But, so gradual was the withdrawal of English poet, in this selection, for example, there is a sorry decline from Friar William Herbert's and More, who was generally not, and has never been present in the work of Louis Merton (as he became) has published abundant quotations.

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 experimenting, 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 twofold emphasis of prayer and worthiness of the 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 teachings 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 Christians 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 a monk. "As he found certain peace within himself through his life of prayer, 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. 53). This is the secret behind true contemplation and spiritual day-dreaming. For man in the world Merton only calls for this kind of prayer and does not permit one to opine any planned technique. It is clear that if 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 Trappist, 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 realization from God and not a metaphysical intuition.

GILBERT WHITFIELD, O.S.B.
IX. GENERAL

Walter Zander, ISRAEL AND THE HOLY PLACES OF CHRISTENDOM. Weidenfeld and Nicolson 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 (Ezra 3:2-17) and a Muslim (Sura 9:2), the Church's attitude to her Holy Places, from the ambivalence of the early Fathers and the twice 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 sober, 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 Churches already looks like transforming the Sanctuaries from objects of strife into a meaningful symbol of unity.

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 calendar should have been inserted to indicate the major feasts. But for one who would like to cultivate the habit of regular prayer, it is cheap for the reward.

TIMOTHY WRIGHT, O.S.B.

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 calendar should have been inserted to indicate the major feasts. But for one who would like to cultivate the habit of regular prayer, it is cheap for the reward.

TIMOTHY WRIGHT, O.S.B.

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 calendar should have been inserted to indicate the major feasts. But for one who would like to cultivate the habit of regular prayer, it is cheap for the reward.

TIMOTHY WRIGHT, O.S.B.
OXBRIDGE CHAPLAINCIES


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 canto. 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 Cam-
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 Gravesham 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 Gravesham, near Ashon-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. I, p. 50): "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 union with those architectural decornations over the altar. This was the gift of our revered fellow-townman John Horrocks, Esq, M.P. who gave it in the year 1822."

Yours truly,
BONIFACE HUNT, O.S.B.
42 Barton Road,
Torquay.

NOT DAWSON'S MONK

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 misrepresentation, 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.

Douglas Woodruff writes on Christopher Dawson in the Book Reviews.
THOMAS GRAHAM EGERTON was born in Dublin on 23rd September 1899. He was the younger son of Sir Reginald Egerton, who at that time was Secretary to the Post Office. 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 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 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.

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 position he held till in 1937 he was appointed Warden of the hostel which we opened for young unattached men in Paddington. This was not a 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 as Chatham and later in Australia.

Taking his discharge in Australia, he taught for a time 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 1957. For two years, 1964-66, he was also infirmary officer 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.

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 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 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.

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 position he held till in 1937 he was appointed Warden of the hostel which we opened for young unattached men in Paddington. This was not a 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 as Chatham and later in Australia.

Taking his discharge in Australia, he taught for a time 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 1957. For two years, 1964-66, he was also infirmary officer 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.

FATHER PHILIP EGERTON, O.S.B.
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 (nee 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 Peguy, and thus the fourth Benedictine Juniors’ Conference held at Ampleforth just before Easter. The theme, World Justice and Peace, was one that impinged 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.

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-
them with the hope that a foundation could be made in East Africa. The call has come again: from the Vatican Council declare: “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 (African 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—impoverty 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, 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 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 (coordinated in Britain by Bishop Warlock of Portsmouth). The Secretariat for Dialogue with Unbelievers, headed by Bishop Holland of Salford, with Fr. John Culling as its secretary, is composed of half clerical (including such as the Jesuit Fathers Yarnold and Hobbeshawne) 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 rootlessness 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 disregard 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 consultant 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 priest 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, whereas 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.

Paul LEE is a member of The Bishops' Commission for International Justice and Peace. He began 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, profits, buildings and centres of 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.

**AMPLEFORTH AND THE JUSTICE & PEACE COMMISSION**

Fr Thomas, involved in the "Justice and Peace" scene for some time, has more recently joined his friend 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 Pears, and the last is General Secretary to the Commission (44 Grays Inn Rd., 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 Maronite 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 in 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 ask 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 "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 "consolidation" 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 of the 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 Lew. 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 luncheon.

“"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 resume 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 exercise so we need the Christian virtues, and as we all need human fellowship so we need Christian love. In prayer we remain being before God or resting in the Lord. He said that as we all need air so we need prayer, 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

consolations, times indeed of joylessness which may be most pleasing to God, as was the prayer of Gethsemani. Prayer will never always be sweet; it may be a fearful encounter—for it is the awful 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 presence 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 Wollson, 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 Sephardic 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 Ethiopia, 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 (women 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 committed upon their foreheads, left arms or pinned upon the doorposts 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 Pasover commemoration are the most important. At the first, when all have fasted all 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 Josiah 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 symbolise 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

community notes
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 uner 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-a-vis
his God. Fr Vladimir referred to St Seraphim of Sarov (1759-1833)t, whose
teacher 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 terrnined 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. . . . A service in the abbey church, at which the lecturers read lessons and the Abbot gave a final blessing. Many of those
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,
countrywide and even a surprise concert combined to complete the
experience.

Over thirty nuns were present, superiors and delegates representing
the communities of Castle Cary, Cockbosters, Colwight, 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 impractical, illuminated
familiar monastic ground from the viewpoint of God’s love; even "con-
version 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 impression 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

1 Cf Irina Gorainov, "The Message of Saint Seraphim", Fairacres Pamphlet No. 26
1973 15p (Convent of the Incarnation, Fairacres, Oxford OX4 1TB).
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 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 1969.

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, Argentina and Uruguay. A nucleus of Brazilian candidates for monastic life were trained at Stanbrook, and in 1911 the initial foundation was made at Sao 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, Beia Horizonte, a foundation from Sao 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. Among the first of the things they have set up is 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 Junior 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 unflagging 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, undis-
turbed 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,
found in 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 Mickle-
gate 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 Ambas-

dor, 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 Möllner,
from America, performed an evening of Handel and Bach. A marvellous start to German cultural penetration in
Yorkshire.

A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF RIPON

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.

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. Dob-
son of York University on the foundation years. At that time there was
a certain expectancy, for the Historia Selbienensis 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 37
account rolls and 17 court rolls of the monastic estates, with a few miscel-
naneous pieces including a description of the site and buildings of the
Abbey at the time of the Dissolution, 1549. There are also court rolls and
deeds of the successor estate together with some deeds relating to Rievaulx,
York, 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.
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 Woiseley 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.

Reduction 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. Evre (W 43) has been elected a member of the Grand Council of the Catenian Association.

John Marshall (D 65) has been elected as a Liberal in the Harrogate local elections, the first non-Conservative in Harrogate for over 30 years.
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. Conyn (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 amongst 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, at 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 Dracos’ 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 Lorrman** 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. **Tony O’Brien**’s engagement to Codelia Katherine Wykes-Sneyd was announced in June. **Adam Pearson** is in practice at the Bar in London. **Paul Rietchell** 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:

#### **OXFORD**

- Berry, J. G. H.
- Clark, D. S. M.
- Fraser-Harris, T.
- Foster, A. R. M.
- Gordon Zimmis, S. M.
- Harris, A. D.
- Howard, W.
- Largan, M. C. A.
- McDonough, C. E. J.
- Newsom, P.
- O’Neill, M. A. H.
- Roberts, M.
- Russel, P. J.
- Solly, D. S. P.
- Sparrow, E. C. A.

#### **CAMBRIDGE**

- Birtwistle, M. A. D.
- Cape, P.
- Collins, P. Q. de B.
- Ford, P.
- Hutchinson, M. I. M.
- Leslie, M. C.
- Lukes, H. L.
- Harrison, M.
- Mathew, R. F.
- O’Grady, J. R.
- Pavlow, S. C.
- Rymarzewski, M.
- Thompson, G. V.

#### **OTHER UNIVERSITIES**

- Baxter, P.
- Cassidy, S. L.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classics</td>
<td>New College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>St Bene’t’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>Magdalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>St Catherine’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>New College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>Mansfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>St Edmund Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Merton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (Scholarship)</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Merton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classics</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>Downing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Caius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Languages</td>
<td>Queens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Downing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering (Exhibition)</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Queens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Queens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>Trin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>St Catharine’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CAMBRIDGE
Faulkner, H. E. B.
Hetherington, H. O.
Macdonald, M. J.

Oxford University
Law
Bedford College, London
Liverpool
Edinburgh
Ying's College, London
Manchester
St Andrews
Trinity, Dublin
Imperial College, London
Trinity, Dublin
Sheffield
London School of African & Asian Studies
Newcastle
Manchester
East Anglia
Bristol
Reading

OTHER UNIVERSITIES
Bourke, J. F.
Cape, N. R.
Callow, M. S.
Cart, R. B. V.
Casewell, D. J.
Clough, M. G.
Craven, P. O'K.
Dawson, J. D.
Dugald, P. B.
Evans, P. J.
Fynn, F. A. O.
Frances, R. R. H.
Fraser, S. J. R.
Glaster, T. A.
Golden, P. J. T.
Grace, P.
Graham, R. G.
Guiver, M.
Harrison, C. J.
Hatfield, W. E.
Hooke, R. P. C.
Hubbard, M. P. T.
Kemshall, J. M.
Killick, R. V. St.
Kirby, H. G. S. A.
Leonard, A. J.
Lowe, D. C. H.
Macleay, T. G.
McClenon, L. D.
McKibbin, D. A.
Mcewanny, W. F.
Maclean, J. P.
Marr, T. G.
Morsen, P.
Murphy, R. D. W.
Osborne, B. C.
Picken, J. M.
Quigley, P. B.
Rahm, A. M. J. S.
Richardson, T. A.
Ritchie, M. T.
Rockwell, M. R.

PlACES
Engineering
Mathematics
Mathematics
Woodward Exhibition,

Music

AWARDS

PlACES
EASTER RETREAT

The Easter Retreat weekend for Old Boys and their families and friends has become an annual event now that the School is no longer resident at Easter however early the last exam comes. For the past five years the numbers attending the Retreat have oscillated between 60-110 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 benedictine 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.

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 £2,736, 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, 25 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment of Fund</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Investment at cost per Schedule</td>
<td>20,736</td>
<td>15,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan to Local Authorities</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20,736</strong></td>
<td><strong>18,609</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Assets</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sundry Debtors</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Tax Refund</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Deposit Account</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Current Account</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>746</strong></td>
<td><strong>965</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less: Current Liabilities

| Address Book Provision | 200 |  |
| Subscriptions paid in advance | 377 | 118 |
| Sundry Creditors | 941 | 980 |
| **Total** | **1,518** | **1,088** |

**Net Profit for the year**

£18,946

---

### THE AMPLEFORTH JOURNAL

#### 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.

89 St Paul's Churchyard, London, E.C.4

W. B. Atkinson, Hon. Treasurer.

---

### SCHOLARSHIP AND SPECIAL RESERVE FUND

#### FOR THE YEAR TO 31st MARCH, 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance brought forward 1st April, 1972</td>
<td>16,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions from new life members</td>
<td>938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-gratia from existing life members</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profit on sale of investments</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,784</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balance carried forward 31st March, 1973</strong></td>
<td><strong>£18,390</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

#### REVENUE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Members' Subscriptions:  
  For the current year | 3,516 | 3,066 |
  In arrears | 124 | 216 |
| Income from investments—gross | 2,200 | 1,216 |
| Income Tax recovered—prior year | 0 | 0 |
| **Net Income for the year** | **820** | **820** |
| Disposal—Rule 32:  
  Scholarship and Special Reserve Fund | 820 | 820 |
| **Balance carried forward** | **£847** | **£820** |

---

### OLD AMPLEFORDIAN NEWS

#### SCHOLARSHIP AND SPECIAL RESERVE FUND

#### FOR THE YEAR TO 31st MARCH, 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance brought forward 1st April, 1972</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balance carried forward 31st March, 1973</strong></td>
<td><strong>£814</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Staepoole (C 49), P. A. C. Rietzchel (H 65), P. S. Reid (A 41)

SCHOOL NOTES

SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Head Monitor: H. J. N. Fitzalan-Howard

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. G. Faber


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. P. Groaton (O), R. P. Hubbard (T), S. D. Innes (O), A. J. Linn (T), M. A. Maloney (D), M. C. Marnie (D), A. L. Nelson (D), P. A. N. Noel (T), F. P. A. O'Connor (B), F. T. Richardson (O), A. J. Robertson (W), C. R. S. Salter (C), T. C. FfB. Sligo Young (O), S. P. Smith (E), J. M. Vickers (J), R. C. W. 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 he 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...
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 Yorkshire 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 firm; and, in fact, I suppose, by us. 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, 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 rafters, 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 (as small a 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.

SCHOOL NOTES

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, 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.
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 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.

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 un inventive 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

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 in E Minor) was unbelievably anaemic 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 duo. 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 many 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 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 wiser not to give way to the cruel speed which he chose for the last movement, or let the exciting 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 Gillings 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 unexpectantedness 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 patterning exchanges between those questioning Peter—Bist du nicht seinen Jungen sicher?—to the violently spitting Kreuzigel and the different moods of the pattering exchanges between those questioning Peter—Bist du nicht mocking, Sei gegrasset, lieber Judenkönig for the scribes’ Schreibe nicht. Yet even with his own choir, some degree of feeling a way into the per-
dramatic weight given the music repeated from the soldiers’ ghastly
carrying the necessary force of dramatic meaning, from the cruel delicacy
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 patterning exchanges between those questioning Peter—Bist du nicht
 seinen Jungen sicher?—to the violently spitting Kreuzigel and the different
moods of the pattering exchanges between those questioning Peter—Bist du nicht
mocking, Sei gegrasset, lieber Judenkönig for the scribes’ Schreibe nicht. Yet
even with his own choir, some degree of feeling a way into the per-
formance 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, Zerreißt, mein Herz, 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.
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 Jennings’s study, when either 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, to 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 “Miss 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 Beans 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 down to the scene of the disaster and I was left, very young and callow, and was asked to do the same for (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 100% horse meat! One farmer used to let us have any amount of eggs which were preserved in some connection that went wrong on us on several occasions and smell 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 “flying 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 as we did.

Avisford boys, at Apleyforth.

NOTE: In 1931 a group of four friends left Avisford, P. A. G. Rawlinson and J. S. B. Hunt going to Downside, while R. C. N. Edwards and J. H. F. Hatfield went to Ampleforth. They are now respectively the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Primate of 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

Norton, the Vice-President, was equally calm and relied more on wit than on his colleague, Mr. Roderick Pratt, leading the Government bench, spoke well on occasion, but his speeches were less memorable. The two sides were evenly matched, with no clear advantage to either side.

Mr. Peter McDowell was elected to lead the Opposition bench and he, together with his fellow Observer Mace competitor Mr. Roderick Pratt, leading the Government bench, spoke well on occasion, but his speeches were less memorable. The two sides were evenly matched, with no clear advantage to either side.

Mr. Peter McDowell was elected to lead the Opposition bench and he, together with his fellow Observer Mace competitor Mr. Roderick Pratt, leading the Government bench, spoke well on occasion, but his speeches were less memorable. The two sides were evenly matched, with no clear advantage to either side.
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 creepily-crawly world left some pleasant images riveted on the retina, especially Mrs Termite.

At the first Spring meeting, the Society heard a lecture from Captain Michael Stacpoole, who had been on two tours of ... world. He has since returned to his valuable work . . . and would that others would follow. Thereafter the Society drew a large entry, is under way and should be completed before Exhibition.

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 Morston for the masters.

The fi nal score was 7-3, Norton and McGonigal winning for the School, Fr Justin, Mr Musker, Fr Henry, Mr Heath, Mr Simpson and Mr Morston for the masters.

The Junior team, organised by Dave Lotto, had a very impressive term, winning all but two matches. They had an easy victory over a weak St Peter's side, followed by a very convincing win against Bootham School, a well-established soccer team.

In the last match of the season they had a well-deserved win over a basically disciplined team from Easingwold Youth Club. The Ampthorpe boys, captained by John Macaulay, must be congratulated for their conduct during this very difficult match.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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, whose entire administrative work must claim most of the credit for raising membership to a record level this year.

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. O'Carroll 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 Kyu:

- M. Campbell (C), N. Cherbanich (H), S. Allan (A), T. McAlindon (D),
- A Cuming (D), E. Beck (A), N. Hadcock (O), E. Beck (A), T. Everard (A),
- N. O'Carron-Fairpatrick (D), M. Webber (B).

The following are now Orange Belts—4th Kyu:

- A. Ashbroke (E), C. Holroyd (A),

The Captain, A. M. Gray, gained a Green Belt—3rd Kyu.

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 25 regular members.

A. M. GRAY, Capt.

(Principal: Mr P. Callaghan)

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, Mr Julius, on an underwater geological 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


The producer of the enterprise, Hon James Sturton, 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 Thames 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 1898 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 Fr Christopher from St John of God Hospital, Scorton, who came over with Dr Irwin to assist him with the demonstrations.

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 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 Towbridge 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 Albertic and was entitled "L. F. Hartley, the Ultimate Between". In his talk Fr Albertic discussed some of the salient 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.

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!'—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 mini masterpiece, Hans von 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.

BERNARDO VARGUEZ.
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 the XV was not sweetmeat and light; the half-back machine did not look well-ordered and there were far too many handling and passing errors. Despite this the XV 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 held 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 the XV were penalised and Mangeot obliged with another try in the same spot out of a Magerot-Hadingley's obvious chagrin. Thereafter it became a procession. The School won every kick and outthought and outplayed the opposition in every department. Gosling, consistently in full possession, scored twice as did Pickin who played a well-judged game throughout, and Alan whose determination and strength was a considerable asset. Mangeri himself, McAlister, Plummer and Davy scored the others. Mangeot indeed improved immeasurably and, though lacking in experience, did all that was required of them.

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 kick enabled Finlow to score in the corner within three minutes. But before long the Newcastle pack seemed to be in the ascendancy and too many mistimed 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, firing 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 pack bow in which Dukkin, made an impressive return which now monopolised the game. The XV began to go 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 setting in well and all in this was a most satisfactory outcome.

v. POCKLINGTON (at Pocklington, 6th February)

One of them. It was an exciting affair as Leeds were on the whole a bigger side, but the School 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
Archbishop Holgate's 0
Bradford 20
Ampleforth 18
Holgate's 4
Ampleforth 20
Ampleforth 14
Newcastle 10
Ampleforth 22
Bradford 14

GROUP B RESULTS:

Leeds 20
Wakefield 24
St Peter's 8
Mont St Mary's 26
Leeds 10
St Peter's 8
Ashville 20
Leeds 16
Final: Ampleforth beat Leeds GS 20-16.

THE WELBECK SEVENS (at Welbeck, 13th 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 too palpably off form that they were never in the game and Welbeck defeated them rather too easily. The Sevens tried hard in the next round without ever being convincing and although they had the misfortune to lose Holgate in the second half when leading 6-0, this was not the only reason why they went down 16-6. Silcoates provided little opposition however and on a disappointing day the School salvaged something and cruised to a comfortable victory.

Results: v. Quaker's Won 18-6
v. Edinburgh Won 20-0
v. Wakefield Won 18-0
v. Newcastle Won 18-0
v. Worthing Won 18-0
v. Kingswood Won 18-0
v. Eltham Won 18-0
v. Monmouth Lost 12-14

THE OPEN TOURNAMENT (at Rosslyn Park, 28th/29th March)

The power of St Cuthbert's with the Cooper twins, the Aisworth 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 were more than a match for them, but at St Aidan's it was St Oswald's who 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 the School's second 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 Dunstan'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.

THE HOUSE SEVENS

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 too palpably off form that they were never in the game and Welbeck defeated them rather too easily. The Sevens tried hard in the next round without ever being convincing and although they had the misfortune to lose Holgate in the second half when leading 6-0, this was not the only reason why they went down 16-6. Silcoates provided little opposition however and on a disappointing day the School salvaged something and cruised to a comfortable victory.

Results: v. Quaker's Won 18-6
v. Edinburgh Won 20-0
v. Wakefield Won 18-0
v. Newcastle Won 18-0
v. Worthing Won 18-0
v. Kingswood Won 18-0
v. Eltham Won 18-0
v. Monmouth Lost 12-14

THE OPEN TOURNAMENT (at Rosslyn Park, 28th/29th March)

The power of St Cuthbert's with the Cooper twins, the Aisworth 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 were more than a match for them, but at St Aidan's it was St Oswald's who 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 the School's second 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 Dunstan'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 to Monmouth and 29-17 to Aspleby gave them the confidence to lose Holgate in the second half. The School team took up where they had left off the previous Tuesday at Welbeck. They were too palpably off form that they were never in the game and Welbeck defeated them rather too easily. The Sevens tried hard in the next round without ever being convincing and although they had the misfortune to lose Holgate in the second half when leading 6-0, this was not the only reason why they went down 16-6. Silcoates provided little opposition however and on a disappointing day the School salvaged something and cruised to a comfortable victory.

Results: v. Belmont Won 18-0
v. King's, Pontefract Lost 8-12
v. Kingswood Won 18-0
v. Monmouth Lost 12-14

THE HOUSE SEVENS

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 too palpably off form that they were never in the game and Welbeck defeated them rather too easily. The Sevens tried hard in the next round without ever being convincing and although they had the misfortune to lose Holgate in the second half when leading 6-0, this was not the only reason why they went down 16-6. Silcoates provided little opposition however and on a disappointing day the School salvaged something and cruised to a comfortable victory.

Results: v. Belmont Won 18-0
v. St John's Lost 6-0
v. Kingswood Won 18-0
v. Monmouth Lost 12-14

THE OPEN TOURNAMENT (at Rosslyn Park, 28th/29th March)

The power of St Cuthbert's with the Cooper twins, the Aisworth 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 were more than a match for them, but at St Aidan's it was St Oswald's who 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 the School's second 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 Dunstan'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.
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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3

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. G. Murphy (the captain), R. F. Plummer and C. A. Graves who came to fill the other two places when we came 4th in the Midland Public Schools meeting at Stamford was achieved in spite of the absence 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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3

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. G. Murphy (the captain), H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple and N. O. Fresson with T. N. Clarke never 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. Homyold-Strickland became available towards the end of the season with our runners fit enough.

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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3

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. G. Murphy (the captain), H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple and N. O. Fresson with T. N. Clarke never 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. Homyold-Strickland became available towards the end of the season with our runners fit enough.

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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3

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. G. Murphy (the captain), H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple and N. O. Fresson with T. N. Clarke never 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. Homyold-Strickland became available towards the end of the season with our runners fit enough.

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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3

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. G. Murphy (the captain), H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple and N. O. Fresson with T. N. Clarke never 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. Homyold-Strickland became available towards the end of the season with our runners fit enough.

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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3

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. G. Murphy (the captain), H. R. Hamilton-Dalrymple and N. O. Fresson with T. N. Clarke never 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. Homyold-Strickland became available towards the end of the season with our runners fit enough.

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. School's York Won 44-0
v. Newcastle Won 42-3
ATHLETICS

THE ATHLETIC MEETING

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS

ATHLETICS
SWIMMING

This term has been a pleasing reward for much hard work by all. The success of both seniors and juniors 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.

Malcolm 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.

ATHLETICS

MATCHES:

COMPETITIONS:

WEATHER PROVINCIAL:
- v. Bootham. Under 15: Won, 4-0.

HOUSE LEAGUE:
- Senior: St Bede's.
- Under 15: St Bede's, St Dunstan's, St Edward's and St John's.

DISCUS TEAM:
- (91.53 metres, St Aidan's 1973)

LONG JUMP TEAM:
- (15.69 metres, St Hugh's 1962)

STAFF:
The success of both senior and junior teams can be attributed to the depth of talent in the club at the moment. Let us hope that they will soon be able to enjoy a good swimming pool at Ampleforth.
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 marksmen.

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 unsung hero to whom Ampleforth owes much. This—apart from four sons and eleven grandsons—was only one of the gifts which he and his will 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.


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, Sp/1 J. C. M. Bailey, Hymen, T. A. Fitzherbert. F. Plummer: This is the first time any cadets in this contingent have achieved this distinction. The bulk of the Army Section worked for the APC BATTLEACH test; they achieved a good standard, but unfortunately in the actual test things went wrongly—partly at least, owing to sitting the entry 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 Workshop. U/O P. G. Scrope, assisted by Cpl J. B. Anderson, S. A. G. Everest and G. G. Rooney, kept the Signals Section working well, although 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. Bresson. Ctte R. 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 First World War, to the Nazi Stormtroopers' HQ at Castle Hill; Phase 2 was the attack on this dangerous 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 paratroopers had to withstand the 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 enhanced 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 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 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 Section, under the leadership of Mr. Gerard Simpson, was well represented and 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.
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 sailing challenging and enjoyable. Despite the protected position of Loch Carron, there 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 across the moorland 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 casualties even though the squalls were so strong that one snapped an aluminium mast. Consequently, the part of Tim Mann in the safety boat, the Whangie, which was not equipped with outboard motor, brought the damaged boat to the ship in a couple of minutes. Despite bad, gusty wind, Barry made a good deal of experience and skill, notably Jonathan Page, Thomas Merton, Thomas Judd and James Campbell, not forgetting Andrew Lim who found out what the centreboard was for. The fig was an ideal boat for these weather as well as being able to cope with the heavier sea and wind and yet as lively as a dinghy, so lively that Crispin Poyser, forgetting that there are no toe-strap 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 Arroch and Crète Dubh was accomplished: the first day’s climb was to Ben Arroch from Morvich and then down to the bothy at the head of Glen Lichd was hiked in almost ideal conditions; there was very good visibility over Alpine-type views (the snow line was at 1000 feet and the peaks in this region are around 3500) but the snows turned to continuous rain on the second day (a stream furded 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 Spurr Ruadh, the Applecross hills, and the very spectacular walk to the Falls of Glencoe.

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 put on for the crew. In the village as well as from the crew of the sail training ship “Captain Scott” which was anchored in Loch Carron from one party of the event, the crew kindly took a party of us all over the ship from 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 Penrice trips under pressure from Nick Miller. The last Penrice trip was planned to Cherry Tree hole but had to be called off because its entrance had been blocked by the owner. The Eshow was replaced by a group of soldiers who settled for Stump Cross caves instead; surely one of the muddiest of all cave systems.

THE VENTURE SCOUTS

The first major event, the Lake District weekend, was based in Borrowdale with half the Unit staying in the school house at Grange while the other half, led by Commander G. R. Weaver, R.N., challenged the Unit to put on an activity for him to see. He was most complimentary about the standards of sailing and seamanship displayed, albeit on a top-rope for reasons of safety, seems established as one of the Unit’s strengths.

The other Whole Holiday weekend was spent camping and climbing at Peak Scar, near Hawes. 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, and Ian is a confirmed leader. The former went on a course during the holidays and rock-climbing, and is now a confirmed leader for his Unit. The latter is a confirmed leader for his Unit. The former went on a course during the holidays and rock-climbing, and is now a confirmed leader for his Unit.

Josh Hartley had reason to feel pleased when he was given the chairmanship of the Combined Venturers. Charles Francis at the end of a very successful term, was replaced by Mark Willburn on the Committee by Nicholas Georgiadis and Martin Holt.

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. Although the ascent was made through cloud and continuous rain; however, the weather cleared sufficiently on the way down to give a fine view; the climbing often provokes the question ‘Why do you do it?’ Answers range from apparent enjoyment 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 Collhury and the five-mile underground 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 Commander Weaver, the new Inspecting Officer. The formal parade was embarrassing for inspected and inspecting alike: however, the rest of the inspection, sailing, capsizing and righting demonstrations, rope-ladder climbing practice and canoeing restored a shattered image. Commander Weaver also came to the camp for two days and took part in most of the camp life from sailing to washing up.

COMBINED CADET FORCE

The annual inspection was carried out this year in the spring term, the only available time for Commander Weaver, the new Inspecting Officer. The formal parade was embarrassing for inspected and inspecting alike: however, the rest of the inspection, sailing, capsizing and righting demonstrations, rope-ladder climbing practice and canoeing restored a shattered image. Commander Weaver also came to the camp for two days and took part in most of the camp life from sailing to washing up.

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 member’s representative on the Committee.

The first major event, the Lake District weekend, was based in Borrowdale with half the Unit staying in the school house at Grange while the other half, led by Commander G. R. Weaver, R.N., challenged the Unit to put on an activity for him to see. He was most complimentary about the standards of sailing and seamanship displayed, albeit on a top-rope for reasons of safety, seems established as one of the Unit’s strengths.

The other Whole Holiday weekend was spent camping and climbing at Peak Scar, near Hawes. 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, and the latter is a confirmed leader for his Unit.

JOSH HARTLEY had reason to feel pleased when he was given the chairmanship of the Combined Venturers. Charles Francis at the end of a very successful term, was replaced by Mark Willburn 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 way beyond the normal incidence of accidents. There was nothing, in fact, to prevent us from getting in a good, Mild 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 hall 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 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 have done remarkably well over the last year or so and we are immensely grateful for all the help we have received.

MUSIC

The musicians in the House had a term to remember. On 11th 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 works in the same term is quite remarkable.

The schola boys also took part in the concert of the Arts and Humanities in the parish church 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 (IH 1969) who was the soloist in Beethoven's fourth piano concerto.

RECREATION

We are, as always, grateful to Fr. Geoffrey for organising our 16 min. 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 Bacholian Singers performed superbly on 4th February whilst our own woodwind 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 in 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 visit 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 ofbadge 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 1-22. 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 35 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. Moir. 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 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, R. C. Rigby and P. 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 to which we are very much disappointed. Now happily recovered, he has arranged for our best shooters to compete for the Godling Cup in the summer term instead.

THE JUNIOR HOUSE 171
THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

This Official for the term were as follows:

Head Captain: H. J. Young.
Captain of Football: R. Q. C. Lovegrove.


Office Men: S. A. C. Griffiths, R. A. Robinson.

Model Room: W. M. Gladstone.


This new arrangement of the chapel has proved a great success. It is a great blessing to have got the focal point of 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. Ainscough, A. J. Fawcett, R. K. B. Millar, J. C. Waterton, J. J. D. Soden-Bird, R. J. Micklethwaite, 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 shoy exhibition and the usual Saturday films. The films were projected by R. K. B. Millar, R. Q. C. Lovegrove and T. C. Dunber, who made a good job of it, and our thanks go to Fr. Geofrey, who has again made an excellent choice of films for us. The play was the Book of Jonah, dramatised by 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 Bootevain, led the enthusiastic crew of sailors and Ninivites. The first concert is reviewed below: in the second Miss Clowes and Mr. Capes gave 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 sledding and skiing. For the skiing the ski-school was excellently organised and the results of 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 Ripon, we were delighted as much as the boys to find snow on the ground and did some shopping in Helmsley.

In recording the highlights of the term should not be forgotten how much of our enjoyment is due to the hard work of our staff. Miss Macdonald produced the usual superb teas 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 Ampthill 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 and then followed a selection of strings, ably supported by the Headmaster making his debut on the cello—surely a splendid tribute to Gilling's music-making. They played a Fugue 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 with 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 and encouragement.

ART

One would need a lively imagination 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 be shown well in the art exhibition at the end of the summer term. C. T. B. Fattorini and S. T. T. Geddes are gifted artists.

The best work was done by C. B. Greenwood, R. A. Buxton, J. C. W. Brodie, G. A. P. Gladstone and E. F. St.J. Murray.

In the first form artistic paintings were produced by S. F. Evans, T. J. Howard, J. H. Johnson, J. G. Waterton, J. W. G. Fraser, H. C. 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 Swiss Buxton, Lowe, who had led 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, Buxton, Bingham, 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. The best glider builder was 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 Dowey 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 Wateron who is exceptionally reliable and skilled 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. Wateron 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 Callaghan 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 Kavill 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.