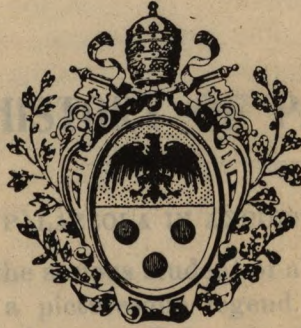


# THE VENERABLE

❀  
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PAST AND PRESENT  
STUDENTS



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ROME

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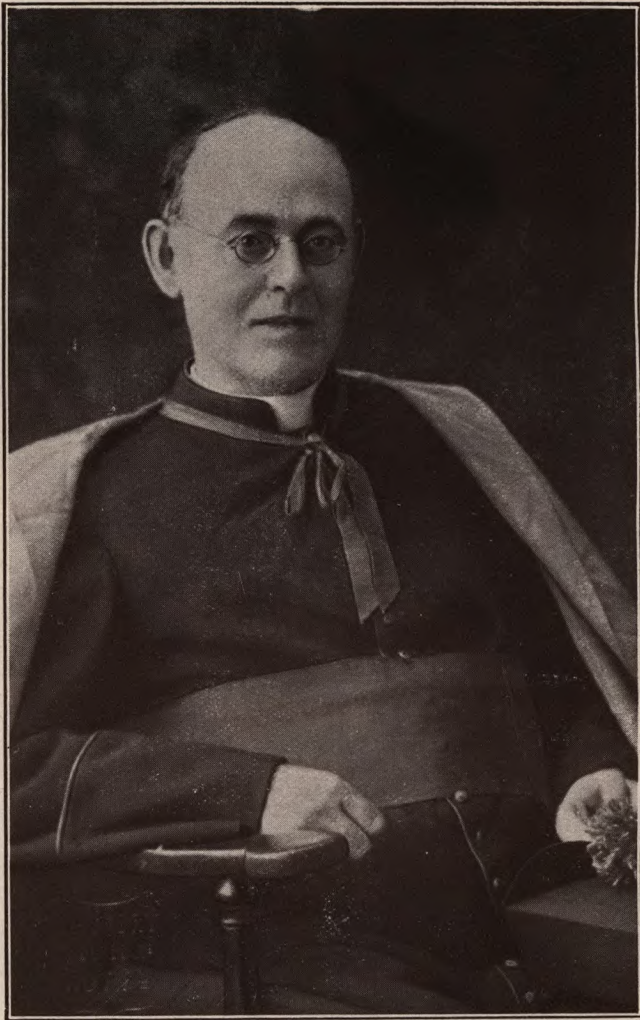
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**RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR HINSLEY D. D.**

**RECTOR.**



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## IMPRIMATUR

✦ JOSEPH PALICA, *Arch. Philipp.*

*Vicesger.*

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ROMA

SCUOLA TIPOGRAFICA SALESIANA

Via Marsala, 42



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## THE HISTORY OF PALAZZOLA

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### I. PALAZZOLA IN ANCIENT TIMES.

The duty of the serious student of antiquity leads him sometimes to destroy a picturesque legend. What could be more delightful than to dream at Palazzola of those far-off days when kings ruled at Alba Longa before Rome was founded, and when Alba was a mighty city, the chief of a confederation whose federal temple crowned the summit of Monte Cavo, as the Alban Mount is now called?

Alba Longa was, according to tradition, founded some three hundred years before Rome by Ascanius or Iulus, the son of Aeneas; but the date is inconsistent with the archaeological evidence; and, indeed, the whole history of the period of the kings in Rome is unknown to us, beyond the fact that there undoubtedly was such a period. Nor is there any evidence apart from legend, that Alba was the mother-city of Rome; we have so far no trace of any civilisation in the Alban Hills older than that which we find in Rome itself. Nor can we accept as in any way historical the records of the wars between Alba and Rome. It is clear only that there existed in the early days of Rome a confederacy of thirty towns, of which Alba was the head. A list of these thirty communities which participated in the sacrifices at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount is given us by Pliny under the name of "populi albenses", but the names of many of them are otherwise unknown to us; while, though the list includes people as distant as the inhabitants of Fidenae, the more powerful communities of Aricia, Lanuvium and Tusculum are omitted from it. The military



power of this league, if it ever had any, was no doubt broken up by the fall of Alba Longa; and Rome succeeded to her position, not of hegemony, but of honorary presidency; for, as heiress of Alba, Rome never, as Mommsen points out, asserted any claims to sovereignty over the Latin communities (1).

There is, then, fortunately, no room for doubt that Alba Longa actually existed. The Latin League, over which we find Rome presiding as its successor, the worships which continued to be carried on after its destruction and which subsisted during the whole period of Roman history, the name which clung to the lake, the mountain, and the surrounding country, all bear testimony which cannot be shaken—even if we take no account of the unanimous tradition of the foundation of Alba, the colonisation of Rome, and the destruction of the metropolis by the colony.

We may proceed, then, to examine the information given us by the ancient authors. Alba Longa is naturally very frequently mentioned; and we are told that it was named Longa from the shape of its ground-plan, so that we have to imagine it as consisting of one long street. The meaning of the name Alba is not so certain. Varro refers it to the white sow which Aeneas saw, others to the colour of the houses or of the rocks on which the city stood (GELL, "Environs of Rome" p. 16). Precise local indications, are, however, conspicuous by their absence. STRABO speaks of it as Ἄλβα ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὄρει διέχοντι τῆς Ρώμης τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ ἡ Ἀρδέα (i.e. 160 stadia: compare STATIUS, SILVAE "Latiis ingessit montibus Alban"); LIVY, as "sub Albano Monte"; but, as HOLSTENIUS (ad Cluverium p. 901 lin. ult.) points out, *Nulla prorsus inter auctores dissentio. Nam Livius intelligit totum illud montis iugum editissimum, quod vulgo Monte Cavo dicitur. Caeteri auctores intelligunt pedem seu tractum inferiorem montis, in cuius dorso porrecto Alba condita fuit.*

The only author who gives more detailed information as to the site is Dionysius 1. 66, ἡνίκα δ' ὀφίζετο (ἡ Ἄλβα), πρὸς ὄρει καὶ λίμνῃ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ μέσον ἐπέχουσα ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἦν ὡσπερ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως

(1) I have dealt with the Alban Hills in general in *Quarterly Review* No. 435 (April 1913), p. 330 sqq., and the foregoing passage is taken from this article.



seek those « plains wonderful to behold, rich with wine and fruit » of which Dionysius speaks?

In the article from which these passages are taken (1) I have proceeded further to reject the other claimants to identification with Alba Longa: (1st.) The modern village of Albano, whose inhabitants were so persuaded of it in the 16th. century, that, as Raphael of Volterra tells us, "etiam supra portam, quae Romam versus emittit, lapidem imponi curaverint, cui sus illa cum XXX porcellis incisa". But it is quite clear that the name *Albanum* signified a villa in the Alban territory, until the time of Constantine, when a city arose on the site of the present town, among the ruins of the camp of the 2nd. Parthian Legion. (2nd.) The hill of Coste Caselle to the north-west of Palazzola, on the edge of the lake, above the rifle range of Marino, which was that favoured by Sir William Gell. But on the hill there are no traces of early walls of any sort, and though prehistoric cemeteries have been found just below it, that will not settle the question as to the position of the inhabited centre to which they, and many others in the neighbourhood of Marino, may have belonged. Far more important cemeteries have, as a fact, been found in the neighbourhood of Castel Gandolfo: and it is the ridge occupied by the modern village, with its single long street of white houses, recalling irresistibly the ancient name, which not only on this, but on other grounds as well, is to be identified with the traditional metropolis of Latium. I need not here dwell on the matter further than to say that the Villa of Clodius which, we know, stood on rising ground above the Via Appia (2), had been built, as the ancient authors tell us, on the site and at the expense of the shrines and the sacred groves of Alba Longa, which had been preserved when the city was destroyed: that the invidious designation of Domitian's Villa in the Villa Barberini as Arx Albana has far more point if we suppose that its remains do occupy part of the very

(1) *Journal of Philology* XXVII (1899) p. 37 sqq.

(2) Professor Lugli identifies it, and probably correctly, with the remains which are still preserved in the Villa of the North American College, of which he gives a plan and an illustrated description (*Bullettino Comunale* 1914, p. 263).



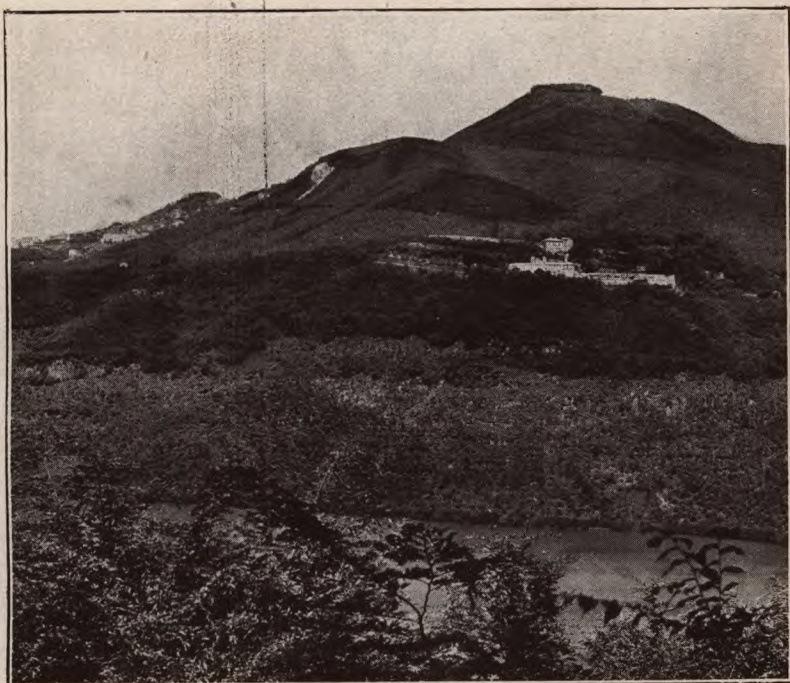
ταῦτα δυσάλωτον αὐτὴν ποιούντα. τό τε γάρ ὄρος ἐν τοῖς πάντο ὄχυρόν τε καὶ ὑψηλόν ἐστιν ἢ τε λίμνη βαθεῖα καὶ μεγάλη..... ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστά ἰδεῖν.

According to this passage the site of Alba Longa must be sought between the Alban Mount (Monte Cavo) and the Alban Lake: and here it has been placed by most topographers, at or near Palazzola. There are, however, strong reasons against this identification. The main argument which is employed in favour of this site besides the statement of Dionysius, is the existence of an escarpment of the rock some 20 or 30 feet high, immediately behind the plateau on which the monastery of Palazzola stands. It is to be noticed, however, that this cutting of the rock is almost too finely executed to be the work of a period so remote. Similarly the caves just to the S. of the monastery, which are pointed to as the quarries from which the materials of Alba Longa were taken, and which were first used as water cisterns, then as prisons, in the Middle Ages as nymphæa, and now once more as quarries, are not a certain indication of the site.

But it is more important to remark, that, while the escarpment of the rock is very prominent upon the lake side—the side, that is, from which an attack, owing to the natural steepness of the sides of the crater, would be almost impossible—the N. and S. ends of this supposed Alba Longa, which, being on comparatively level ground, would require considerable defences, show no signs, either of any cutting in the rock, or of earthworks or of walls.

One is almost tempted to think that those who have adopted Palazzola as the site of Alba Longa have contented themselves with observing the sheer face of the escarpment from the monastery, without troubling to search for traces of fortifications on the sides away from the lake, where fortification would have been needed. Investigation would then have shown them that no such defences exist, and that, instead, a network of ancient roads traverses the space between the lake and the mountain; which space is of considerable extent and slopes gently up towards the roots of Monte Cavo. Anything more unlike a city « ab situ porrectæ in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata » (LIVY I. 3. para. 3.) can hardly be imagined. Where, too, are we to



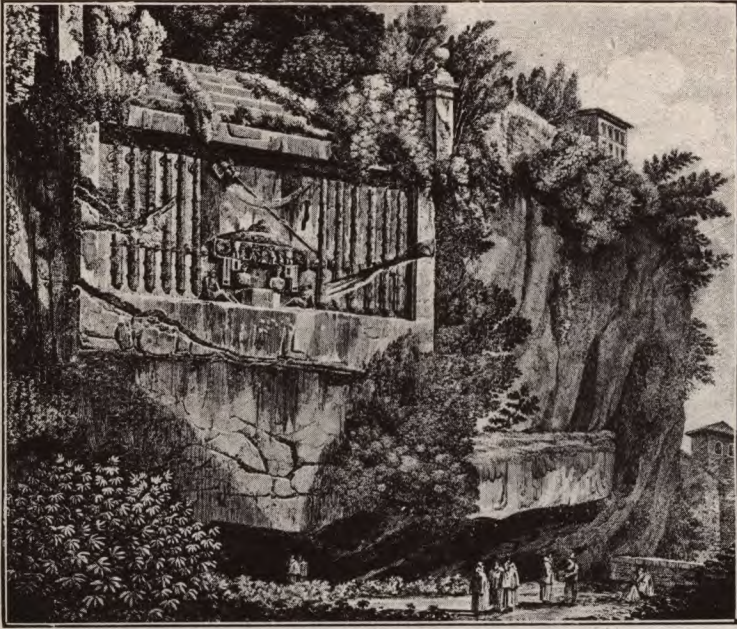


PALAZZOLA, from across the Lake.



CASTEL GANDOLFO.





CONSULAR TOMB  
*(from a woodcut of 1825).*



THE GARDEN.



site of Alba Longa: and finally that the name Albani Longani Bovillenses, which of course argues a close connexion, is invariably used in inscriptions of the *Municipium* of Bovillae on the Via Appia, the site of which is between the Villa of the American College and the Villa Colonna at Le Frattocchie, but on the opposite side of the road.

Having cleared the ground by seeing what Palazzola was not, let us now return to it, and see what facts in regard to it can be ascertained. However disappointing this may be, we shall have to confess, I fear, that we *know* nothing of its history until the time when the rock-cut tomb at the north end of the garden was made. Upon the face of the tufo cliff, which was probably cut back for the construction of the road along the rim of the lake (1), there are sculptured in relief the fasces, the curule chair, the priests' cap, and the staff: and the tomb has therefore with considerable show of reason been believed to be that of Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio Hispalus. He furnishes, as far as we know, the only instance of a man who, being both Pontifex and Consul, died during his tenure of the latter office in 176 B. C. (2). The fasces are noted by Pope Pius II. who is said to have erected the two pillars with balls on the top to mark the tomb, which are mentioned by Vecchi (3). Above these reliefs is a pyramid with seven receding steps cut in the rock. The level from which the pyramid rises is, according to Riccy's and Vecchi's measurements, 6.50 metres wide and 1.95 deep: on the left hand side of one facing the tomb there is a rock-cut corridor 4.87 long, 1.30 wide and 1.97 high, leading to the sepulchral chamber (4), which is 2.60 metres long and 2.26 wide. There is a nichè opposite the entrance and another on the right, intended to carry the sarcophagi. The two, of marble with curved striations, which are shown by Labruzzi in one of his

(1) For another piece of it see *Notizie degli scavi* 1903, p. 288.

(2) See RICCY, *Mausoleo Consolare nel Monte Albano*, with plates; and the fine plate by PIRANESI, in the *Antichità di Albano*, pl. III. ROSSINI, *Contorni di Roma*, Pl. 10,11; GMELIN, *Tivoli ed Albano* 1816, pl. II; also CANINA, *Edifici* VI. pl. 71.

(3) *Collezione di 24 vedute*, No. 15.

(4) This was apparently first discovered in 1629 (HOLSTE, *Epist. ad diversos*. Ed. Boissonade, p. 158).



drawings in my possession, were certainly not found in the tomb (1).

Whatever the date and original object of the road, the cutting of the rock behind the present garden is more extensive than would have been required to permit of its passage, and the construction of a country house here was no doubt a reason why so large a site was required. Our mediaeval documents (2) speak of *cryptae et rupes* and the earliest of all, that of 1050, mentions a *Fundus Grottulae* as bordering on the property of the church of S. Maria de Palatiolis (3). We do not know how far this property went, and the Grottulae may or may not be the caves near the swimming pool outside the back gate of the monastery (4). But the *cryptae* are undoubtedly the arched substructions of the ancient villa, and to these the name S. Maria de Palatiolis alludes. Casimiro tells us (5) that "it is certain that the garden rests on the massive vaults of an ancient building, divided into several chambers, in which towards the end of last century (the 17th.) there were found some inscriptions with the name of the Tarquinii, according to a record which I have

(1) cf. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, XXIII (1903), p. 398. - As Riccy, *op. cit.*, points out, it was a mere supposition of Casimiro's, that one of these sarcophagi, which in his time stood in the friars' garden, had been found in the tomb. It was bought in Riccy's time by the Portuguese Ambassador.

(2) See that of 8th. February 1249, given by CASIMIRO, *Conventi dei Froti Minori*, p. 326.

(3) TOMASSETTI, *Campagna Romana, Antica, Medioevale, e Moderna*, II, p. 163.

(4) These caves have been very much enlarged by subsequent collapse and quarrying. Originally, I think, the rock was here penetrated by narrow passages which served for the storage of water, with shafts (one of which may still be traced) communicating with the level of the meadow above. If they were open on the lower level, it would only have been by means of a pipe. PARKER (*Archaeology of Rome*, vol. 1. Part 2., *The Palatine*, pl. 1, Fig. 2.) gives a drawing of the caves in their present condition and of the shaft, making it widen out in a funnel shape from 0.75 to 2.10 metres in diameter. He represents the shafts of the cistern on the Palatine, wrongly known as the Lupercal, as doing the same thing: but I am not sure if he is right. Another view of the caves is given by GMELIN, *Tivoli ed Albano*, pl. 10.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 323.



read in our archives; at the beginning of the present (the 18th.) there were excavated heads, arms, and torsi of statues, and a small horse in marble, on whose saddlecloth there was an inscription in Greek characters (1). Of all this nothing is left to us but an inscription: Aesopo Caesaris Augusti dispensatori Apsyrtiano Lucilia C(aii) f(ilia) coniugi carissimo et (s)ibi posterisque suis" (2).

This inscription is, however, important. It was the tombstone (one cannot say "is", for it appears to be lost) of a Greek slave, one Aesopus, a storekeeper of the Emperor Augustus, and either the ex-slave or, more probably, the deputy of another Greek, Apsyrtus by name. This inscription has been held by Lugli and others to show that the villa which was situated here belonged to the Emperor Augustus himself, and passed doubtless with other Imperial properties. Probably, as Lugli thinks, it existed even earlier. What little of its walls is now to be seen above ground (I know only a small piece of *opus reticulatum* under the campanile, on the right of the large gateway) might well belong to the end of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire. And the same may be said of the remains which exist under the cloister. These were reached by a doorway under the front supporting wall of the monastery and investigated by Vecchi (3) and two others in 1832. On entering the hole a modern vault was seen, very high, with a hole on the right of it. A long ladder was fetched, and on entering the hole the investigators found that they were walking on an ancient vault for a length of about 9 metres. In this vault there was a hole about 70 centimetres in diameter through which they descended by a rope ladder (and the drawing shows them doing so) to about the

(1) Such a horse, (in bronze, however), is preserved in Florence. Can it be the same? (REINACH, *Répertoire de Statuaire*, II, p. 742, No. 1.).

(2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XIV. 2259. Holste mentions it in his letter of 1629. The dedications to Zeus the Thunderer and to Hephaestus, (both in Greek, the former on a rough altar) published by Kaibel in I. G. XIV. 1118, 1119, were, Lugli thinks, (*Bull. Com.* 1920, p. 25.) found at or near Palazzola. Of the former we are told that it was found "below the Alban Mount", while the latter was found "near Alba Longa".

(3) *Op. cit.* Pl. 14. The door has quite recently been filled up.



level at which they had entered. They found themselves in two vaulted spaces, communicating by a door with a flat arch, which, like the external walls of the monastery, appeared to be mediæval (about 1000 A. D.), being constructed, like them, of small blocks of local stone like bricks. The internal wall was for the most part covered with rough ancient *opus reticulatum*. In the first room there was an opening walled up, which had led to the ancient vaults under the large garden: but they were not able to go further, though they ascertained that it would not be difficult, if the external wall of the monastery were opened, to reach the vaults under the garden.

A brick-stamp, dating from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century after Christ (1), which has been found on the site, must belong to a later restoration of the villa.

But what can be or has been seen in or under the actual building of Palazzola itself is not quite all. Not many yards below the Terrace wall which supports the road, on the way down to the hermitage of S. Angelo, we saw in October 1923, a piece of concrete wall among the bushes. On investigation it proved to be a large open rectangular cistern of Roman times, now long abandoned, of course, some 20 metres long and 8 to 10 wide. A similar one with walls 4 or 5 feet high may be seen on the N. E. side of the postroad, measuring some 26 by 21 metres (2).

On the upper level there are no ruins of the Roman period to be seen, nor is it certain if there were any. The grant by Urban VIII. to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna (3) of the site on which he built his villa states that there are given to him "a house, or some walls, ruined for the most part, and about six rubbia of uncultivated land around them". The Cardinal had already, with the consent of the friars, begun to rebuild the house; and it was granted to him and his heirs for ever, with permission to restore the house, to make a garden, to use "cryptas nonnullas" which were there (whether Roman or not I do not

(1) *C. I. L.* XV. 2336.2.

(2) *Papers cit. infra* p. 396.

(3) CASIMIRO *op. cit.*, p. 344 (dated 7th. August 1629).



know)(1) and to conduct water there, "so long as the friars were not inconvenienced".

The Dane Lukas Holste, who was one of the most learned men of his day, and who, as in so many other cases, was the first to propose the correct site (as I believe it to be) for Alba Longa, believed that at Palazzola was situated ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ οἰκία, ἐς ἣν οἱ ὕπατοι ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, the house in the Alban territory in which the Consuls stay when they take part in the sacred ceremonies (on the Alban Mount). It would, however, have been rather out of the way, as it is by no means on the course of the ancient Via Triumphalis, which led up Monte Cavo. This road, as Professor Lugli has ascertained, led up from Ariccia, crossed the old postroad from Marino to Velletri at the Guardianona, and then began the ascent of Monte Cavo.

The ancient road which ran round the east rim of the extinct crater which forms the lovely lake of Albano, must, after passing the consular tomb, have ascended slightly and turned inland. It soon fell, as the modern path does, into the old postroad from Marino to Velletri (2), which probably follows an ancient line. Lugli indeed (3) marks "Via Antica" immediately after the junction, cutting of a slight bend in the postroad. But the pavement which Rocchi and I saw, and from which Lugli took his marking, seems now to have entirely disappeared: for nothing but mediaeval paving is now visible—in indeed it was this that we took to be of Roman date.

(To be continued).

THOMAS ASHBY.

(1) Probably not, for TOMASSETTI (*op. cit.*, p. 167) notes traces of 13th. century construction (small blocks of peperino) towards the lake.

(2) See *Papers of the British School at Rome*, V. pp. 396-397.

(3) *Bull. Com.* (1914) tav. IX-X. See also his article in *Memorie della Pont. Accad. Romana di Archeologia* I (1923), 258, where a piece of pavement (now no longer to be seen) is mentioned as visible between the Sforza field and the Rocca di Papa road at the Conte di Nemi.

*P.S.* I forgot to mention a drain cut in the rock behind the Kitchen, 45 cm wide, 1.84 high, which goes in for about 30 yards and then stops.



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## O ROME, O MÈRE

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O mother Rome, what tribute shall I bring  
 Of verse to thee, if I should dare to praise  
 The joy of all the earth and all earth's days,  
 Who cannot find a worthy offering?

How shall my heart in utterance have scope  
 Who found so late the way to home and thee?  
 My only pride is this, thy child to be,  
 This all my gladness, this my every hope.

For oft in childhood, oft in youth I pin'd,  
 I knew not wherefore, with myself at strife,  
 Soul-homeless, dreading death, mistrusting life,  
 And wander'd weak in will, perplex'd in mind.

Nor could I share the careless energy  
 Of those around me, who would say "enough  
 To strive, adventure, do, the smooth and rough  
 To take untroubled by futurity";

Nor their contentment who unquestioning  
 Traditions of Elizabeth maintain'd,  
 Heedless of deeds and records that arraign'd  
 The evil daughter of an evil king,

Whose crimes had robbed myself and millions more  
 Long generations of their very home.  
 And yet I shrank in fear, poor fool, from Rome,  
 And my frail bark was wrecked upon the shore



Of Siren isles of doubt, till through the mist  
 On the high seas at length 'twas mine to mark  
 The majesty triumphant of a bark  
 Whose crowning cross each ray of sunlight kiss'd.

I wept for very joy who now at last  
 My mother's waiting home and pardon knew.  
 A boat put forth with loving hands that drew  
 Me ransom'd from the tyranny o'erpast.

O mother Rome, victorious in the *Sign*,  
 O gracious queen and gentle, life to me  
 Anew was given that glad Epiphany (1)  
 When thou didst own me very child of thine.

Daily my heart thou didst enlarge yet more,  
 When to thy holy places thou didst call  
 My willing feet, where nature's glories all  
 Upbear the throne of God's ambassador.

Between the purple mountains and the sea,  
 By water-riven wide sun-flooded plains  
 The keeper of the gate of heaven reigns  
 There at the heart of human history.

Here crowning grace on nature's perfectness  
 Hath grafted more than earthly fairness, here  
 Instinct with holy presences appear  
 Sun, moon and stars, grove, water, wilderness,

Whose memory lights my exile far within  
 The wintry north in lands made desolate  
 Long since by locust-swarms of greed and hate,  
 Where howls the east wind o'er bleak wastes of sin.

Come back and reign, O Rome, once more our queen  
 As when our land was rob'd with chiming towers,  
 And come thou wilt, such love our hope empowers,  
 If prayer can win again what once has been.

(1) 1907.



Two things I ask, O Mother, day by day  
 In love and loyal service still to grow  
 More truly thine, and guided zeal to show  
 Thine other children stray'd the homeward way.

O queen, the nations' crown and bond divine,  
 O'er every people mayst thou reign indeed,  
 And heal the stricken earth at utter need  
 Gather'd in one 'neath the victorious *Sign*.

Rev. H. E. G. ROPE M. A.





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## A VISIT TO HORACE'S FARM

(FROM THE ROMAN DIARY OF THE BISHOP OF CLIFTON).

1888. May 1st. Tuesday. Steamed out of the Station about 6 after a substantial breakfast and after passing Salone where lie the springs of the Trevi Water, Lunghezza and the fetid Aquae Albulae, made a bend to the right beneath Monticelli, and so wheeled up into the hills to Tivoli. Here we snatched a glimpse or two as we sped from tunnel to tunnel, of the pretty *cascatelle* and of the bounding Anio—then moving north-east in a course roughly parallel to the Via Valeria, by Castel Madama and Santo Polo, arrived about 8 at Vicovaro. A picturesque bit awaited us after alighting and just before we entered the village:—the quaint old houses, resting some of them on remains of stout walls composed of blocks of travertine, the bridge, towards which the road descends, discovering traces of old Roman work, and the swift blueish river that just before reaching the bridge sweeps round the foot of a prominence and then flows on in a straight line through its avenue of poplars. We toiled up into the town and saw little different from aught one sees in these mountain-crowning abodes, fair when far off but foul when nigh—dilapidated houses, narrow and dirty little streets, curious women, dirty boys, and sable swine—until we reached the Chapel of St. James built I should say in the fifteenth or perhaps the fourteenth century by an Archbishop of Trani, an Orsini of the Counts of Tagliacozzo. (*Taliacociadae comites, Ursina propago* &c.).

So much I gathered from the inscription surmounting the gorgeous door of this pretty octagonal building, which is in the Italian Gothic style. A goodly number of small statues



grace the façade, some of them the worse for wear and tear. After praying a few moments before the Madonna inside, proceeded up the road which is commanded by the Chapel, until we came to the Parish Church, large and commodious, but bare and needing repairs, and the Bolognetti Palace—no very elegant if an at all imposing mansion. Passing these we wound along the road, I “wiring into” bread and cheese the while, until we came in view of the Convent of San Cosimato which is most picturesquely situated on a precipitous and huge cliff, topped with ilex and cypress, at the base of which rushes the Anio through a narrow gorge. We stood to admire it for a few minutes—Dr. Giles told us it is the spot where, as tradition relates, those wicked monks attempted to poison St. Benedict,—and then advancing along the road, descended by a bypath to look at the falls just under the cliff. Here there is a bridge, modern, but nigh it are remains of an arch or two belonging to an old Roman one. As we remounted to the road, the Drollboy informed us that he had felt a drop or two of rain, and indeed the sky looked threatening in the extreme. However we turned into the Convent Church, in which the dull roar of the waters beneath is ever audible, and then came out to take our observations anew. Rain was now falling pretty fast, and as we stood under trees in front of the little portico, despond sate in every visage, especially when the Rector began to talk of retreating to Vicovaro and dining there. Here was a go! We were at the entrance of the Sabine Vale, opposite was Mandela, the “*rugosus frigore pagus*” (a description now more applicable to the village of Saracenesco perched upon a lofty conical peak); beneath ran the Digentia, which is still quaffed by the folk of Mandela; a walk of under two hours would have brought us to the “*latebrae dulces*” of the Venusian bard:—and we had to turn back! Some more patient waiting however, and the rain began to subside and finally ceased, so that without considerable loss of time we were able to set out again. As we took the turn into the valley I read out to the Rector the description of Judge Lawson’s visit to Horace’s Farm—a description which some six years ago I cut out of the Times, little thinking then that I was one day to tread over the very ground examined by him and his friend. The valley



winds a good deal, and as one advances, narrows considerably. On either side the mountains are stony and by no means thickly wooded. The course of the Licenza, like that of most mountain torrents when they reach the open ground, is marked by a broad whitening tract, formed by the stones it has whirled along and worn smooth in the rainy seasons, and leaves little ground on either side for cultivation—none of the fields being protected by a dam, as was the portion of Horace's domains along which its cold waters ran. At one point where it neared the road, I went down and drank of the stream health to the old poet's shade, and as I walked along beneath Rocca Giovine (nigh which Signor Rosa places the farm) read up that ever pleasing sixth satire of the second Book, "*Hoc erat in votis*". Wherever the exact site of the farm may be, I thought, these are the "*ardui Sabini*": on these broad giants old Flaccus gazed as he trotted up here on his bob-tailed mule; this is the "*rus*" he was wont to yearn after amid the smoke and wealth and roar of Rome. At length a turn to the left shuts off from us the whole of the valley along which we have so far been wending, and we find ourselves in a delightful amphitheatre amidst the hills. Those on the left side retain their stony and somewhat bare character, whilst those on the right are fairly wooded up to their summits and are more pointed and picturesque. They are some of the minor peaks that on this side of it cluster beneath the great Monte Gennaro. At the far end of this retreat ("*angulus iste*") upon a rocky hill stands the village of Licenza, whilst higher up to its left on another hill that forms part of the rugged background is the deserted and dreary looking little hamlet of Civitella. We climbed up to Licenza and eventually succeeded in finding a house where wine was to be got; for knowing how poorly these places are provided with victuals we had carried our dinners with us. The room was small but pleasant after the heat. We sate at two tables, and mine hostess brought in the lush, whilst we unpacked our provender, and a crowd of village urchins watched our operations from the door. The wine was really "*vile Sabinum*", the thinnest stuff mortal ever gulped, and if this was all Flaccus had to offer his luxurious patron, I can fancy the latter vowing in vengeance to set before his entertainer some dish like to



that with which he had already burnt his weak vitals. Our beef, fowl, and "cartwheel" consumed, and the last glass gone round, for in spite of the vileness of the Sabine juice we drank it nobly, we quitted the osteria, descended the hill and crossed the stream again, each one wending then to the spot he listed to enjoy an hour's repose. I immediately made with Clayton for the traditional site of the Villa, a spur running down to the vale from the hill of its right side, above the road, in front of the village of Digentia.

Following a little watercourse born of a fountain higher up, which they point out as the veritable Bandusia, we came to a part of the vineclad slope where fragments of stone and marble told of the existence here at some time of a dwelling house, Horace's or not who shall say? As we potted about, a native addressed us and inquired if we were searching for Horace's villa. The interview resulted in our following him to a vineyard, in the soil of which he disclosed with a pick the remains of a tessellated pavement. He informed us that the pavement extended beneath the whole surface of the vineyard, on which we requested him to dig up at another spot and then at another. We were satisfied that the pavement was not a sham, although he had at first contrived to hit upon that portion of it that was in the best state of preservation. Half a franc remunerated this descendant of the "masculine race of rustic soldiers"; he took it and looked hard at it and at us, but we walked away and lay down on the grass beneath the chestnut shade, with our faces towards the broad bare hills of the left side of the valley. Though I had been up since 3 o'clock I failed to sleep; yet the view and the gentle breeze were delightful, and it will be long before I forget that lounge on the tender grass amid the first flowerets of the springtide,—a lounge which I shall ever call to mind as I read again the lines:

*"O rus, quando ego te adspiciam? quandoque licebit  
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis  
Ducere sollicitae jucunda obliviae vitae"*.

On descending to the road, I found I had lost my return ticket to Rome, and though I clomb up again and roved about the ground I had trodden, no vestige of it appeared. Horace's



shade at its tricks, no doubt! Did his jolly ghost wish to detain me there as a kindred spirit towards whom he felt an attraction, or was he punishing me for not lingering so lovingly now over his pages as I was wont of yore? However that be, I left the ground and began my walk back through the valley, oft gazing back on the scene which I probably shall never look upon again and feeling something of a pang on that account—especially when I arrived at the turn in the road, passing which I seemed to pass away from that “delicious nest” for ever. I walked alone and not over joyous nearly the whole way to where the road abuts on the Via Valeria, opposite Mandela, and long I looked on the castellated mansion on the side of the broad spreading hill and the parish church that peaks its summit.

At Vicovaro, whither the five worthy yeomen of Horace's realm used once to repair in order to sit in council, we tried more lush, but found it little superior to that of Licenza. Ride home was unsatisfactory, as I was very sleepy and could not get a comfortable position. The natives that were with us in the same compartment acted as a restraint upon all merriment and jollity, and one of them smoked a poisonous cigar, out of which he contrived by allowing it to go out and then relighting it to extract the enjoyment of a whole bundle. I hope he may never smoke any better. After alighting in Rome we bowled along the National Way in a “legno” and set foot in the house at about a quarter to ten. At ten we supped and at half past said prayers and retired little loth to our pallets.





## 1654 AND THE FIRES

The College, as it existed in 1654, was still the old building which had served as the Hospice, and which dated, in the form it then had, from the days of Martin V and Engenius IV. It was not till thirty years later that it was replaced under the Protectorate and at the expense of the Cardinal of Norfolk by the present large and commodious edifice. The church of those days was of the same shape as the present one, with a nave and two aisles. It had five altars and two common burial places, besides others for special personages; also a campanile with a clock and three bells (two at least of these bells are still preserved and are used in the College clock). Behind the High Altar hung the famous painting of the Holy Trinity, St. Thomas and St. Edmund, which Durante Alberti had executed about fifty years before, and on the walls were Pomarancio's paintings of the Martyrs, dating from the early eighties of the previous century. In the centre of the nave lay the two founders of the College, Cardinal Allen and Fr. Parsons. The College Library was over the church on the side away from the street, the Refectory (as far as one can gather) practically on the site of the present Refectory. We hear of narrow and inconvenient stairs, and there seems to have been considerable overcrowding, at least according to our modern ideas, since there were regularly at this period between thirty and forty students, and only about ten rooms available for their use. It was, therefore, just as ne-



cessary to rebuild the old College on a larger and more handsome scale as it was to replace Monte Porzio by Palazzola (1).

Actually in 1654 there were about thirty-two students in the College, and eleven superiors, namely, the Rector, Minister, Prefect of Studies, Confessor, Procurator, three Repetitores for the Philosophers and three temporal Coadjutors. The English Provincial of the Society and his Socius also lived here, but paid for their food and clothes. Of the students three or four had seen considerable service in the Royal Army during the Civil War. A few were later to suffer imprisonment for the Faith; one, John Rivers (whose real name was Penketh), was actually to be condemned to death at Lancaster for his priesthood in 1681; he was, however, thwarted of his crown, and, after a long confinement was restored to liberty; he died in 1701. None of the Martyrs was in the College in 1654; the last to dwell here, the two Turners of Leicester, left in April, 1653, to continue their studies at Liège (2).

From a paper of 1668 (which is, I think, sufficiently near the date of which we are treating to be a safe guide) and from the Acts of the Visitation of 1657 one is able to obtain some idea of the general routine of those days. Each room with its three or four occupants, or even five, when funds allowed the College to approach its full complement of fifty, was in charge of a prefect. The books of the room were in common, and the students could be transferred from room to room every six months at the Rector's discretion; whether he often or ever exercised his right does not appear. The students rose, it would

(1) When Cardinal Howard rebuilt the College, a scheme seems to have been on foot to replace the church; and Pozzo, the famous Jesuit who painted the ceiling at St. Ignazio, drew up designs for a new oval church in the baroque style; but this idea was never realized and the old church remained until the French Revolution.

(2) Therefore correct Venerabile, III, p. 217, where Ven. Anthony Turner is said to have left the College in 1651. He took the oath in 1651 and left in 1653. There is also a mistake in the note on the same page, not, however, due to the writer of "Centenaries". The plaque of Aristotle is wrongly said to have been given to Card. Allen by Card. Pole. Really, it was given to Card. Pole by Henry VIII, and later is found in Allen's possession, but how he acquired it is not known.



seem, at twelve, that is, twelve hours after the evening Ave, on holidays at twelve-thirty. Meditation was for half an hour, followed by Mass, at which all communicated on Sundays and Feasts. Rosary was said by twos on the way to morning school. Short visits to the Blessed Sacrament were made after dinner and after schools, and in summer after supper. For half an hour before supper every Saturday the students prayed before the Blessed Sacrament by rooms in turn for the Conversion of England, reciting the seven Penitential Psalms, the Litanies of Our Lady and of the Saints with their appropriate prayers, and a special prayer for England. Besides the great Feasts of the Church the College celebrated in a special way the feasts of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of the Holy Trinity. Also on the Jesuit saints' days, and on certain others, as for instance, the feast of St. Antony, Abbot, relics were exposed for veneration or some particular observance took place. On the great feasts there was a special choir, but on the Sundays of the year the singing was evidently rendered by that dreadful institution, a *coro Romano*, for in the account books the salaries of four singers—bass, tenor, contralto and soprano—are regularly recorded. The organist was also an Italian.

In the matter of study, besides the daily lectures at the Roman College there was a daily repetition at home, the Prefect of studies taking the Theologians, the three Repetitores the different years of Philosophy. On Sundays the Philosophers and on the free week-day the Theologians held a public disputation before the Rector and the Staff. There was a Greek Academy in the house, meeting weekly, and some of the more energetic Theologians studied Hebrew.

There was an hour's recreation after dinner, extended by half-an-hour on holidays, a certain amount of recreation after supper, a daily walk, and on certain days a gita to the vineyard near S. Gregorio, where after dinner, they could play at some form of handball.

Such in brief was the life of the House in and around 1654, the memorable year of the fires. The first outbreak occurred on Sunday, March 8th., about the third hour of the night. The Prefect of Studies records in his official diary that serious consequences were averted because they rang the tocsin, and



a host of neighbours came to their assistance and promptly extinguished it.

The Saturday following the College was again on fire, and two more attempts to burn it were made in the two succeeding months, on what precise dates it is not possible to determine. The last outbreak occurred on Corpus Christi, June 4th. It seems to have been the most serious of all, for we hear that considerable damage was done, without, however, having any clue to its character or extent. This fifth crime roused the authorities to make, at last, a really determined effort to discover the incendiarists. Accordingly, Monsignor the Governor of Rome immediately arrested on suspicion six students and two servants and lodged them in the prison of Torre di Nona, opposite Castel S. Angelo. Threats of torture and death were administered in the hope of extorting a confession or evidence, and, on the other hand, a free pardon was offered to anyone, however guilty, who would inform against his accomplices. But the criminals, whoever they might be, could neither be terrified nor cajoled, and by June 20th. all the prisoners had been released. The Holy Father, Innocent X (Pamphili) had been informed of the events by the Governor, and he ordered the Cardinal Protector, Barberini, to leave no means untried of discovering those guilty, while at the same time furnishing due succour to the College. The Cardinal's protection was doubly necessary, both on account of the anxiety and consternation that existed in the house and the danger that threatened from the hostility of the neighbourhood.

Since both clemency and threats had failed, it was finally resolved to tender a terrible oath to all within the College. The Rector, Fr. Edward Courtney S. J. (Leedes) (1), writes to

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(1) Fr. Edward Courtney S. J. (Leedes) was Rector from 1653 to 1657, and again from 1667 to 1671. His brother Thomas was Vice-Rector from March 1639 to November 1640, and Rector from that time till 1644. They were converts and had been students of the College, Thomas from 1615 to 1618, and Edward from 1618 to 1621. Cf. Foley: Records vi. pp. 273 & 287.

The Minister at this time was Fr. John Manners, who was to succeed Fr. Courtney as Rector in 1657.

The Confessor was Fr. Charles Baines (Calvert), who, when a student (1640-4), had been one of the "Baines" scholars. He died of the plague



Cardinal Barberini: "The Fr. Rector of the English College humbly lays before Your Eminence that in accordance with the ancient Canons, when the authors of crimes that have been committed can not be discovered, one may offer to all in the above College a solemn protestation, in which they swear that they are neither authors of nor in any way privy to these past fires, and that they are willing to disclose the authors and abettors when in any way they shall become known to them; invoking with imprecation the Divine Justice to punish them severely, if they are not speaking the truth without any mental reservation. Adjoined is the formula of such an oath drawn up from the ancient Canons; and we hope that with the help of Divine Justice and Providence it may have the salutary effect either of discovering the truth at present or of supplying a remedy against the future. Therefore we humbly beseech your Eminence to deign to appoint some Ecclesiastical person together with Sig. Paolo Sanitii to take our oaths in legal form. For that we shall remain infinitely obliged to your Eminence. Whom God etc. "

The oath reads:

"I, N. N., standing before this most sacred Image of Jesus Christ crucified Who is to judge me, by these Holy Gospels do swear that to the crime so many times attempted of setting fire to this English College I am in no wise privy; that neither have I committed it myself nor by means of any person subject to me; nor with my knowledge has anyone committed it. If I am deceiving, if I am perjuring myself, if I am taking this oath, not according to what I know in my own mind, or if with any mental reservation, then do Thou, O God, Who knowest and avengest hidden crimes, vent Thy wrath upon me, and, perjured as I am, bid the earth open and devour me. Amen". It would be superstitious to connect a sad event which happened three years later with this oath, but nevertheless it is a

in 1657, caught in nursing Francis Lane (Harcourt), who belonged to the same year as Mason and Stanley, and was, like them, a brilliant student.

The names of the other superiors are not forthcoming, but generally the Repetitores were not English.



strange coincidence that three of the students who took it—Richard Stephens, John Stanley (*vere* Knight), and Francis Mason (*vere* Munday), were drowned off Leghorn, when on their way to the English mission, in September, 1657.

Among the six students who had been lodged in the Torre di Nona was a priest, Fr. Matthew Vere (Hodgson), who had been ordained in the Lateran the previous April. On his release he determined to apply to Cardinal Barberini for six months extension of his stay at the College. The Rector forewarns and forearms the Cardinal: "The subjoined memorial I had composed some time ago to inform Your Eminence of a priest, student of our College, by name Matt. Vere. He was taken to the Torre di Nona with the other students more through his misfortune than through real suspicion of the fire. Being now freed, he is resolved to have recourse to Your Eminence, I believe, to obtain permission to remain another half-year after completing his studies, which will end this coming August or at the beginning of September. Perhaps he will add many other things. I hope that Your Eminence of your goodness will deign to hear me again, and I humbly beg you to consider the reasons adduced in the memorial against his staying after finishing his studies. Now more than ever we ought to rid the College of useless subjects on account of the damages suffered in the last fire. I pray Your Eminence every felicity from God Our Lord.

From the English College, 20th. June, 1654.

Your Eminence's most humble servant in Xt.

EDWARD COURTNEY.

We do not possess the memorial, but the Rector's representations had the required influence with the Cardinal, and Fr. Vere duly left for England on September 13th. Later in the same year he joined the Discalced Carmelites.

The suspected servants were not re-admitted to the College. Concerning them and the fires in general, the Pilgrim Book, under date June 20th., records. "Gabriel Ayat" (elsewhere he is called d'Ayat) "and Pietro Chiesa, after being freed from prison, were given their meals here for five days, although they



were no longer received into the house (1). Whereupon we must note that great expenses were incurred at this time in food and in money paid to keep these and others who had been detained in prison: also on occasion of these fires a considerable amount both of money and of wine and bread was expended among the workmen who assisted in putting them out”.

From the 4th. of June to the 16th. all study had been suspended. After that, normal life was, as far as appearances go, restored: the daily repetitions and the weekly disputations and the *gite* to the Vineyard are duly recorded in the Prefect of Studies' Book. On June 26th. there was a special holiday, which has a bearing on our subject. “There were no Repetitions by favour of the Rev. Fr. Rector on these conditions, that all should be bound to attend the devotions at S. Ignazio in honour of B. Aloysius (2), and should not claim the privilege of a holiday in subsequent years, because this year there seemed to be a special reason, on account of the devotion to the Beatus for the protection of this College against the incendiarists” (3).

It was natural, however, that, although work had been resumed, the anxiety which both superiors and students felt should by no means have been yet allayed; and the following memorial to Cardinal Barberini was under the circumstances to be expected. The date on which it was sent is not given, but it seems to belong to July or perhaps early August.

“Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord.

The students of the English College with lively sentiments of deepest gratitude recognise the goodness of your Eminence

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(1) Foley: Records VI: *Pilgrim Book of the English College*, p. 647, reads: “Although they were received for longer”. But the Latin is quite clear: *Licet amplius non fuerint in domum recepti*.

(2) St. Aloysius was beatified by Gregory XV in 1621, and was canonised by Benedict XIII in 1726.

(3) In late June Fr. John Manners S. J., the Minister, received from a friend of his at Naples, a Mr. Harrington, sympathies expressed in a most odd way: “I send you also many thanks” (for a money transaction) “and with them my condolences with you for youre Riddling fires, which run up and downe youre house like Robbin a Robbin a lines like, and I should be glad to heare you had made some discovery of this fillonious practise that the offenders may be punisht and you made more secure”.



in this affliction of fires so many times maliciously repeated, in which your Eminence was pleased not only to show them the bowels of paternal compassion, but to help them also with opportune measures and remedies. All the more are they sensible of the impious malice and determination of their unseen enemy, in that, after so many destructive attempts, he yet ceases not to devise their ultimate ruin. Of this they are able easily to be certain, since for two continuous months the judge appointed by your Eminence to make diligent inquiry has laboured to no purpose to discover who is guilty; and, what is worse, no hope appears of ever discovering him. Every day the dangers increase: any hour fresh incidents may happen, in which the innocent will assuredly be exposed to the evident risk of prison, tortures and even death, and to the perpetual disgrace of themselves and their relatives. Already some of the most honoured and respected in the house, without guilt or any proof, have undergone the humiliation of being taken by policemen like criminals to the common jail, where they were threatened with torture and death. Therefore, since all, even the most innocent, can expect more rigorous treatment in a new outbreak, and may perhaps be assailed by the fury of the populace themselves, especially those of the district, they humbly betake themselves to your Eminence's kind protection, begging you to grant a general permission to depart, and to provide those who avail themselves of it with sufficient funds for the journey, and some maintenance that they may pursue their studies elsewhere for the benefit of their country to whose conversion they have willingly dedicated themselves: nor do they desire to be free from the obligation they have undertaken. The case is utterly worthy of your Eminence's kind consideration and deepest pity; in you in this distress they trust to find their only refuge and comfort. In this hope they offer you the homage of their constant prayers for your Eminence's prosperity. Whom God, etc."

Cardinal Barberini did not accede to this request, which might have depopulated the College and even terminated its existence; and, however trying and anxious the students may have felt their situation to be, they yet loyally submitted to the Cardinal's ruling. The routine of the College was kept normal. The greater and the lesser acts in theology and philo-



sophy took place, as always, in July and August in the Roman College or in others affiliated to it, and the English College students have a prominent place among the successful candidates. It is interesting to record in this connection that both Mason and Stanley, who were drowned in 1657, defended the whole of philosophy in this very year in the presence of Cardinal Barberini, Mason holding his defension in the College Church. On August 25th. the annual Metaphysicians' Feast for those who were passing from philosophy to theology was celebrated in the Vineyard; twenty outsiders—Professors from the Roman College and others—were present at the dinner. The Scholastic Year closed on September 4th., and the students immediately went to Monte Porzio where they stayed until late in October. Besides two priests,—Fr. Vere, mentioned above, and Fr. Francis Read, a Northumbrian and an old soldier of King Charles' army—who went on the English mission, only two students quitted the College this autumn—John Dormer (Carrington) who left for England, and Cuthbert Kennett who went to Padua to study medicine. Only two entered the College,—Charles Busby, who came in October, and Henry Somerset, of the family of the Earls of Somerset, who was re-admitted in November after having gone back to England two years before; but this paucity of arrivals was not unusual, and does not seem to have any connection with the fires. In fact after the autumn holidays, we hear no more of these mysterious outbreaks, whose origin and object must ever, it appears, remain an unsolved problem.

J. CARTMELL.





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## PETRARCH'S EIGHTY-FIFTH SONNET

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I vo piangendo i miei passati tempi  
 I quai posi in amar cosa mortale,  
 Senza levarmi a volo, avend' io l'ale  
 Per dar forse di me non bassi esempi.

Tu, che vedi i miei mali indegni ed empì,  
 Re del cielo, invisibile, immortale,  
 Soccorri all' alma disviata e frale,  
 E 'l suo difetto di tua grazia adempi:

Si che, s'io vissi in guerra ed in tempesta,  
 Mora in pace ed in porto; e se la stanza  
 Fu vana, almen sia la partita onesta.

A quel poco di viver che m'avanza  
 Ed al morir degni esser tua man presta;  
 Tu sai ben che'n altrui non ho speranza.

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I go my way lamenting bygone days,  
 When I was set on loving things that die,  
 When, having wings, I never thought to fly,  
 Nor leave a name perchance of less dispraise.

Thou who beholdest mine ungodly ways,  
 Immortal King of Heaven, unseen, most high,  
 Fulfil my void with treasure of the sky,  
 And help this wavering soul of mine that strays.



That so, tho' lived I wind-driven, war-distrest,  
 In peace I die, in harbour; and if vain  
 My sojourn, yet my going hence be blest!

Oh! for the little life that may remain,  
 And death, Thy hand its needy succour deign!  
 Elsewhere, Thou knowest well, no hope I rest.

JOHN O'CONNOR.

March 1st 1924.

Lacrimans peracta volvo saepe mecum tempora,  
 Os caducum cum perirem, quin humo me tollerem,  
 Forte pennis editurus haud volatus infimos.

Qui vides, haud visus ulli, Rex perennis caelitem,  
 Perditae delicta vitae, devium me ac debilem  
 Adiuvâ, tuoque inane pectus imple numine.

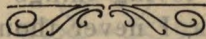
Sic, licet iactatus undis inque pugnâ vixerim,  
 Tutus in quiete portûs summa dem suspiria,  
 Incolaeque haud laude digni digna sit discessio.

Paululum per illud aevi quod terendum me manet,  
 Iamque mortem praestolanti fac tua adsit dextera!  
 Tu vides me habere nusquam spem nisi in Te conditam.

G. AMBR., *Ep. Cliftonien.*

*Idibus Martiis, MCMXXIV.*


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## SALVETE FLORES MARTYRUM

### IV. Blessed Thomas Cottam. S. J.

In recent times,—until the appearance, that is, of Cardinal Gasquet's "History of the Venerable" in 1920,—Blessed Thomas Cottam's claim to be included in the list of College Martyrs seemed wholly forgotten. The Cardinal himself (who acknowledges in the preface that, owing to his having been unable to devote more time to the work, he could make only "a rapid survey of the material existing in the Archives of the Venerable and elsewhere") quotes as his authority for including him but a single martyr-list of comparatively late origin. There is, however, other and stronger evidence, and this, together with a review of our claims to Blessed Laurence Richardson, it will be best to deal with first.

#### (I) *Why not Blessed Laurence Richardson?*

This martyr, whose real name was Johnson, has long figured in the traditional list of our martyrs, and is given as the fourth both in Mgr. Cronin's article on the College in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (Vol. V, p. 472.), and by the person who underlined in red ink the names of College martyrs in our copy of the Brief of Beatification (1886). He is given also in the list quoted by the Cardinal as containing the name of Blessed Thomas Cottam, but from internal evidence this is certainly not earlier than 1738.

The earliest claim to him, on which all subsequent ones have probably been based, is that in the College Annual Letter for 1582, the year of his martyrdom, where we read "Laurence



Richardson, for some time a resident here" (1). Cardinal Gasquet quotes this in his History, and adds that he "was ordained at Douay in 1577, and probably came to Rome between that and 1581, when he is reported as being already in prison in England" (p. 125).

We are reluctantly compelled, however, to submit that this martyr was never at the College, or even in Rome. Keogh (p. 535 n.) points out that Dr. Worthington's *Catalogus Martyrum in Anglia 1614*, denies his coming to Rome, though he had the intention of doing so from devotion. Worthington's exact words are "... Duacum migravit, ubi peracto Philosophiae et S. Theologiae cursu, Sacerdotio initiatus, in patriam redijt. Post annum vero unum et amplius, Rhemos petijt, animo etiam Romam visendi devotionis gratia, sed mutato consilio in Angliam redijt mense Februarij 1580, ibique assidue permansit" (2).

It might be thought that this evidence of 1614 would surely be less trustworthy than that of 1582. Careful consultation of the Douay Diaries, however, would seem to show that Worthington's knowledge was first hand, and his claim to belief, incontestable. For throughout we find his name and Blessed Laurence Johnson's (3) close together. Thus (p. 5.) the former went to Douay early in 1573, the latter, that same year or maybe earlier. Johnson was ordained on March 23rd. 1577, Worthington on April 6th. of the same year (pp. 8, 117, 118); they said their First Masses on the 21st. and 23rd. of April respectively (p. 118). In May that year, when Allen decided that

(1) So Foley VI, p. 86. The original Latin is "Laurentius Richardsonus (sic) qui in hoc Collegio aliquandiu fuerat commoratus"—not "commoratus est" as given in the *Life* by Fr. Keogh, Congr Orat.; (*Lives of the English martyrs*, vol. II, p. 535 n.).

(2) For a transcript of the entry in the *Catalogus* we are indebted to Oscott College, where is preserved one of the only two copies mentioned by Fr. POLLEN S. I. *Cath. Record. Soc.*, V, p. 5.

(3) The martyr is known by his real name all through the Douay Diaries, except that in one place (p. 188) his alias has been added in the margin. As this entry records receiving news of his martyrdom, it appears that he did not assume the alias till he had returned to England. Worthington's *Catalogus* tells us that the name Richardson was taken because he was the son of Richard Johnson ("alias Richardsonus, erat enim Richardi Johnsonii filius").



the divines, especially such as were priests, should deliver exhortations on feast-days, Worthington began the custom on the 1st. of the month, and Johnson followed on the 3rd. (1). The latter was sent into England on July 27th. following (pp. 25, 126); the former on September 9th. of the next year (p. 144)—from Rheims, whither the College had removed in the interval (p. 26). On June 30th., 1579, we find recorded that Blessed Laurence returned from England: "...redijt Rhemos ex Anglia D. Johnsonus presbyter postquam per biennium ad revocandas in Anglia oves perditas laboraverat" (2). The "biennium" in this entry, and the "post annum vero unum et amplius" in Worthington's Catalogus are thus both substantially correct, since he had been away a year and eleven months. Worthington arrived back from England a month later, on July 31st. and set out on pilgrimage to Rome with Allen and others on the 27th. of August. (pp. 154, 155). The only other parties recorded as having gone to Rome between that and the return of Blessed Laurence were on July 20th., and August 21st., each six strong (pp. 154, 155). Blessed Laurence was in neither party, nor yet in Allen's on August 27th. Worthington returned from Rome on December 19th. of the same year (p. 159) (3) and on

(1) Douay Diaries p. 119. The Diary originally recorded that Worthington did so on the 3rd. and Johnson is not mentioned, but the former when Rector later on (1599) — for we presume he would not be able to do it as a student — corrected the entry.

(2) P. 154. This must be Laurence and not Robert Johnson, the other martyr, since the latter left for England at the beginning of April 1576, and so had been over three years away (p. 102). The entry on p. 154 is not in the Index, (nor, under "Johnson" at least, is that on p. 119). This discovery necessitated careful search through the Diary for these years to see whether any other entries were similarly unrecorded, and by comparison of dates also, whether Laurence or Robert was meant when the surname only was given.

(3) Another proof is given here of Worthington's long memory and accuracy. The Douay Diary originally said that he returned with five priests from the College at Rome. This he himself corrected later, extracting the name "Nealus" from the five, changing the five to four, and putting Neill separate. That this was correct is shown by the Annual Letter here for 1579, (Foley VI, p. 68) where the four students are given, and the other two are mentioned as "their two companions Messrs Cornelius Neill and Thomas,



January the 27th. 1580 (1), left for England with "D. Jonsonus" and others (p. 160.). But was this Blessed Laurence, and had he been at Rheims all the last seven months? It would seem so, for there is no record in the Diary of his leaving for England or Rome during that time, and we have the positive statement of Worthington that though he meant to go to Rome, he changed his mind.

The "Jonsonus, presbyter" who came from England on Sept. 28th. 1579, and after Confession and Communion continued his journey to Rome on Oct. 3rd. (p.156) was undoubtedly Blessed Robert Johnson. True, the "Diarium Secundum" (p. 163) recording his return, merely says "Circa hoc tempus (i. e. April 11th. 1580) Roma ad nos venerunt D. Jonsonus presbyter et D. Cottam", but the "Diarium Primum" (p. 27) is more explicit and under date 1580, tells us "D. Robertus Jonsonus presbyter Romam ex Anglia peregrinatus, inde rediens in Angliam revertitur",—viz, on May 2nd (p. 164). And we know from the Life of Campion by Father Parsons, written in 1594, that Blessed Robert was in Rome in 1580 and made the Spiritual Exercises there, having consulted Parsons as to some Jesuit House where he might do so (cf. "Lives of the English Martyrs," p. 476). Parsons and Blessed Edmund Campion and some of the Venerable students left Rome on April 18th. of that year ("College Annual Letter", 1580, Foley VI, p. 69).

While it is quite possible, therefore, not to say probable, that the mistake of the College Annalist was due to a confusion between the two Johnsons, of whom Blessed Robert may very well have stayed here a short time while in Rome, we cannot be absolutely certain, since the Pilgrim Book was not begun under the Jesuits till Dec. 29th. 1580. But at all events, it seems quite certain that our claim to Blessed Laurence can no longer be maintained.

English priests, who were starting on the same errand." That "Thomas" here, is for Thomas Worthington is made clear from the entry in the Douay Diary, just as the Annual Letter shows that the "Martinus" of the Diary is "Martinus Araijs"—Martin Aray.

(1) Here Worthington is at fault, for in the *Catalogus* he says "In Angliam redijt mense Februarij 1580".



(II). *Why Blessed Thomas Cottam?*

That the claim of Blessed Thomas Cottam to a place among the martyred sons of the Venerable was for so long forgotten, may be put down to several causes. In the first place, most writers about the martyrs deal mainly with their sufferings and death, and are not concerned with their places of education. Moreover, Blessed Thomas could hardly have been here more than fifteen days, and was probably here not many more than five. This again was before the College Register was begun under the Jesuits, in which therefore his name does not appear. Nor does the writer of the Annual Letter for 1582 (the year of his martyrdom) appear to have known of his sojourn here, since he does not speak of him as a student (1). Finally, of the two documents which form the staple of our direct evidence, one was not published till 1891, and the other is still unprinted.

That adduced by the Cardinal to prove that Blessed Thomas was here, does not seem evidence strong enough to stand alone. On the one hand, it is somewhat late, and on the other, not too well informed. The paper in question is part *B* of a tripart document, of which *A* is a list of the Cardinal Protectors of

(1) For the year 1582 we have entries under the various months, and then after several entries for the year following, comes the Annual Letter proper. When he came to do the latter, the writer had evidently gathered fuller information, e. g. that Cottam was a novice; but some of it was erroneous. Thus in the Letter he adds that Richardson was here, and gives Shert and Kirby as suffering together on May 30th., whereas in the entry under that month he had attributed them correctly to May 28th. and 30th. respectively.

Another piece of evidence which at first sight would seem to tell against us, is that on one of the old paintings formerly in the College Church, which were executed before the end of March 1583, as we know from a letter of Cardinal Allen's (Letters and Memorials, p. 186), a number of martyrs are mentioned by name as having been here and at Rheims, and then are added without any such distinction, "Thomas Cottamus, Ioannes Paynus, Thomas fordus, Gulielmus lacijs" (*sic*). Of these, however, Paine and Ford were at Douay, Cottam at Douay and Rheims, and Lacey at Rheims and Rome—he made his retreat before Ordination here, and has always been counted as a College martyr. Thus omission to call Cottam a student at Rome does not prove that he was not here. The writer of the Annual Letter as well, seemed unaware that the martyr was at Rheims, for he differentiates him from those mentioned as having been there.



the College from 1559 to 1728; *B*, a list of the College Martyrs down to 1616; and *C*, a list of all persons resident in the house in 1739. All three parts are in the same hand, and seemingly written at the same time, whence we may reasonably assume the whole document to be not earlier than 1739. We say the writer was not too well informed, for though he does indeed give Blessed William Lacey, who was here but is not in the Register, he omits Blessed John Shert, who was also here though not in the Register; and while giving Blessed Thomas Cottam, he gives at the same time Blessed Laurence Richardson, who, as we have seen, was never in Rome. Hence it will be best not to stress this document in any way, but rather to depend on other and surer evidence.

And first of all, we know from the Douay Diary that on Feb. 16th, 1579 Blessed Thomas with eight companions left Rheims (whither the English College had moved in March of the previous year), and set out for Rome. Of the nine, seven were students of the College, all going partly for devotion, partly for study, and the remaining two had been studying Law in the city (1). Now, on April 23rd. of that year, when, the Jesuits having taken charge of the Venerabile, the students then present in the house took the Missionary Oath, among the forty-nine who did so, we find that numbers 41 to 48 inclusive are "Ricardus Barrettus, Guglielmus Hartus, Guglielmus Biscopus, Andreas Gibonus, Christoforus Theulesius, Christoforus Odhosonus, Joannes Boltonus, Robertus Midelmorus" (2) i. e. all those who had left Rheims with Blessed Thomas. The question is, did he who had set out for the same purpose as they did, enter the College with them. Unfortunately, search so far has

(1) p. 150. "Die 16 (Feb. 1579) Romam profecti sunt ex seminario nostro, partim devotionis, partim studiorum causa, Cottam, Bissshop, Hart, Gibonis, Thulase, Hodson, Bolton; ex civitate autem qui juri operam dabant, Mr. Barrett, et Mr Midelmor". The College was then at Rheims, hence Chaloner, Foley, and Gillow, are wrong in saying that Blessed Thomas came to Rome from Douay.

(2) The names are Nos. 31 to 38 in Foley (VI, p. 136-138). A number of entries in the Register are omitted in Foley, but whether by him or by the Royal Historical Manuscript Commission which took the transcripts from our Archives which he used, we cannot say.



failed to discover the lists of students here before the Register was begun, though they were certainly in the Archives in Bishop Gradwell's time, since a paper here in his hand indicates their place in the "Scrittura". In regard to this piece of evidence, therefore, we are thrown back on to what is merely a strong probability. A difficulty next arises as to whether the martyr had time to be here at all, since, whereas his companions may have entered the College any time up to April 29th, he himself entered the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome on April 8th. By dint of careful comparison of the Register here with the Douay Diaries for the period of the residence at Rheims (1578 to 1593), and from subsequent calculations as to the length of time taken for the journey to Rome, especially in the early part of any year, we have come to the conclusion that 46 days was ample (1). Thus we may reasonably say that he was in the College by April 3rd., if not earlier. Further difficulty is thrown in our path by the statement in some books that he entered the *German College*, which would leave him still less time to have been here. Such research as we have been able to make so far, would seem to show that this statement is untrue (2), but since we have positive and direct evidence that he was certainly here, and since we hope to treat of that question more fully later, we may put it on one side for the present.

The next piece of evidence, direct this time, is a list in the Archives with the heading "A Catalogue of all such martyrs as have suffered under K. Henry the 8. and the late Queene his daughter". On the outside the document has been thus endorsed: "Catalogus martirum Anglor. sub Henrico VIII et Elisabetha eius filia. 1603". Inside has been added to the list: "1604. John Sugar & Grissold gentleman"; and outside, in another hand, after the endorsement: "adde R. P. Garnettum, P. Oldcornum, Societatis Iesu, et Robertum Druroeum". These three suffered

(1) Sometimes students were over 50 days before entering the College but reference to the Pilgrim Book shows that they entered as pilgrims within 44, or even 39 days, and so had reached Rome in that space of time.

(2) The strongest argument against it is that the German College itself does not claim him.



in 1608, 1606, and 1607 respectively. It would appear therefore that the document was written not later than 1604, especially as there was plenty of room inside for further entries. In this list the seminary priests are numbered (beginning with Blessed Cuthbert Maine in 1577), and the students of the Rheims and Roman Colleges are differentiated. Numbers 11 and 12 are as follows: "Laurence Johnson, priest, Coll. Rhem.

Thomas Cottam, priest, Soc. Jesu. Coll. Romani". It will be seen that the writer was not misled by the Annual Letter of 1582 in regard to Blessed Laurence Johnson, which fact increases the weight of his authority (1).

But it may be argued that the evidence of a single martyr list even so early as 1604 is not proof positive regarding a five to fifteen days sojourn here in the early part of 1579. Luckily, there is another piece of evidence to hand which is more conclusive. This is a document in the Westminster Archives, Vol. 2, p. 5, printed by Father Pollen S. J. in his *Acts of the English Martyrs* (pp. 280-2). Part of the heading (in Latin) tells us that it is "taken from the account of Mr. Arthur Pitts, priest, who was a prisoner in the Tower at the very time Cottam suffered". Now Arthur Pitts was sent with Leonard Hide from Douay to Rome on August 15th. 1577, two days after Martin Aray, Edward Rishton, Blessed Ralph Sherwin, and William Harrison (2). All of them were still in the College in 1579 and took the Missionary Oath on April 23rd. of that year (3). Pitts did not leave for England till 1581, reaching Rheims on April 19th. and continuing his journey on the 22nd. (4). We have no reason

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(1) It is true that Nos. 13, 16 and 17 are Blesseds William Lacey, Luke Kirby, and John Shert, whereas actually they suffered in inverse order on May 28th. and 30th. and Aug. 22nd. respectively. But the writer is merely giving the martyrs under the year of execution, and makes no positive mistake by apportioning wrong dates.

(2) *Douay Diaries*, pp. 25, 26, 126, 127. These references will correct the Cardinal's History, p. 64.

(3) *College Register*, Nos. 13, 6, 3, 9, 1, and 8. The same in Foley (VI, p. 132), except that he gives Pitts as No. 11. *The Douay Diary* p. 127, records that Mr. Segrave, an Irishman, set out for Rome with Pitts and Hide, but as the statutes of the College would prevent his entering as a student, we are not surprised to find his name absent from the Register.

(4) *Douay Diaries*, p. 178.



for supposing that he was not at the Venerabile all the time he was in Rome. He was certainly here in March 1579 (1). Thus he would have excellent facilities for knowing whether or not Blessed Thomas Cottam had actually been a student here before April 8th. i. e. contemporary with himself. And in the document mentioned he says expressly of Blessed Thomas:—"Being a scholar in the English College at Rome (whither he had been sent from the Seminary of Rheims), he had a desire to be a Jesuit, and to this end entered the Novitiate at St. Andrew's in Rome....". This seems to us quite definite and unimpeachable.

So, while still hoping that the lists of students who were here before April 23rd. 1579, may eventually be found and corroborate the fact, we have, even without them, no hesitation in reasserting the College claim to this martyr. We may therefore now pass on to consider:—

(III). *The life and death of Blessed Thomas Cottam S. J. (2).*

Blessed Thomas Cottam was a Lancashireman, the son of Laurence Cottam of Dilworth and Tarnaker, and his wife, Ann Brewer or Brewwerth of Brindle. The family had been seated at Dilworth for many generations, says Gillow, but the martyr's brother John, who succeeded to the estates, went to reside at Tarnaker. His brother and his wife, as well as other members of the family, appear later on in the Recusant Rolls; but the father and mother were Protestants, little though Lancashire had been affected up to that time by the change in religion. Their son Thomas was born in 1549, and when old enough was sent to Brazenose College, Oxford, where he took his B. A. in March 1568. He was still there in July 1572.

On finishing his studies at the University, he took charge of a free grammar-school in London, becoming known and loved in the city to such an extent that ten years later, when he stood

(1) Letter of Richard Haydock to Dr. Allen. (Tierney's *Dodd*, II, App. ccclviii).

(2) Cf. *Life* by Fr. Keogh., Cong. Orat. and Fr. Pollen S. J. in *Lives of the English Martyrs*, vol. II, pp. 536-565. — Foley, II, pp. 145-177. — GILLOW, *Dict. Biog.*, I, pp. 574-576, and other sources quoted.



beneath the gallows at Tyburn, the officers were specially desirous that he should save his life by recanting, lest his example should draw many to the Faith. While occupying this post, he struck up a friendship with Thomas Pound Esq. of Belmont, a notable confessor for religion, who won him back to the Catholicism of his fathers and to a better life.

Resigning his mastership, the future martyr left the country, and was received into the Church at Douay, apparently before May 1575. Two years later on May 22nd. he entered the English College in that town, and since he received the Subdiaconate and Diaconate in the following August and December respectively, it would seem that some of his studies had been performed before he entered. In January 1578 he set out for England, and in April, during his absence, the college was transferred to Rheims, whither he made his way back from England in the following month, having with him five new students from Oxford.

As he had gone to England on January 22, 1578, so in February 1579, on the 16th. of the month, he began the journey to Rome with eight companions, all of them going partly for devotion and partly for purposes of study. They entered the English College, Rome, early in April, as far as we can judge, but by the 8th. of that month, Blessed Thomas was admitted into the Jesuit novitiate at S. Andrea del Quirinale, where he begged to be sent on the Indian Mission. But the heat of a Roman summer brought on a fever, and the doctors advised his superiors to send him back to his native air, unless some suitable place might be found nearer than England (1). So he was sent to Lyons, where he seems to have arrived in December. Probably his health did not improve, since on April 11th. next year we find him re-admitted to the English College, Rheims, to prepare for his return to England.

(1) When this was mentioned in the course of the trial, Blessed Edmund Campion struck in with, "Indeed the phisicians in Rome do hold for a certainty that, if an Englishman shall fall sick amongst them, there is no better nor scant any other way for his health, than to repair into England there to take his natural air, which agreeth best with his complexion". This fact remains as true today as it was then.



"*M. Cottam*", says the contemporary account (1) "soon after his arrival at Rhemes, being a deacon and a good preacher long before, was made Priest, [at Soissons, in May] and hearing of company that were ready to goe into England, made great hast to goe with them, and earnest shute to have leave, partly for his health, and specially for the great zeal he had to gaine and save soules. He arrived at Dover about the 16th. or 18th. day of June in the yere 1580, in the company of *M. John Hart* and *M. Edward Rishton* two lerned Priests (which both are also condemned) and an other lay man" (2).

Unfortunately for him, however, at Lyons he had fallen in with the infamous spy, Sledd, who had afterwards given a minute account of his person to the English Ambassador at Paris, who had forwarded it to England. Hence in the inn at Dover, where the party was seized and thoroughly searched, Blessed Thomas despite his disguise was recognized, and detained. Then the Mayor of Dover and the searcher to save expense "requested the lay man *M. Cottam's* companion, who named himself *Havard*, to carry him as a prisoner to my *L. Cobhame*, who agreed very easily thereunto. But as sone as they were out of the towne, 'I cannot in conscience, nor will not (quoth *Havard*) being my selfe a Catholike deliver you a Catholike Priest, prisoner to my *L. Cobham*. But we will straight to London, and when you come there shifte you for your self, as I will do for my self'."

It seemed to Cottam and a Catholic friend of his whom he consulted in one of the prisons, that he could not make this escape in conscience, but he was ultimately dissuaded from his purpose of giving himself up, by certain priests and discreet laymen who met and discussed the matter. But shortly afterwards, Ely was in danger of being taken up in his stead, and so informed the other of the turn events had taken, and left him free to do as he would; who at once exclaimed, "Now God be thanked, for I was never quiet in my minde since you let me go. Still it ran in my head that which the porter of St. Andrew's

(1) *Briefe Historie* (Fr. Pollen's Re-print.), p. 84.

(2) This layman, going under the alias of Havard, was the famous Dr. Humphrey Ely.



said unto me" (1). "And so with a merry countenance, he went of himself and all alone, and offered himself prisoner" (2), and "was carried to the Court... from whence (after five daies conference with divers ministers that laboured, but in vaine, to subvert him) he was sent to the Marshalsee for religion, and not for treason, and from thence to the Tower (3), there to be racked, not for to reveile any secret treason as the adversaries pretend full falsly, but tormented because he would not confesse his privat sinnes unto them, as he both confidently and truly affirmed to their faces at his arraignment" (4).

He was among the Catholic prisoners dragged to hear Protestant sermons in the early part of 1581, and proved one of the most troublesome, boldly reproving the preacher; and on one occasion (March 16th.) "seriously admonished" the courtiers and magistrates present "of their duty, which circumstance is thought to have been the means of accelerating his death". He was indicted with Blessed Edmund Campion and the rest on Nov. 14th. for the pretended Rheims and Rome plot, and was tried and condemned with them six days later. "The uniustest verdict that ever I thinke was geven up in that land, whereat alreedy, not onely England, but all the Christian world doth wonder, and all our posteritie shall lament, and be ashamed of the same... *F. Campion* and his happie associats reioyced in God, using divers holy speaches of scriptures to their owne comforts and other mens much edifying; and so were sent backe to their prisons againe, where, being laied up in yrons for the rest of their time, they expected God's mercie and the Queene's pleasure" (5).

Some of them were executed that December, but Blessed Thomas was to linger yet awhile in prison, where some months

(1) Narrative of Arthur Pitts—quoted in the old spelling by Keogh-Pollen, p. 546.

(2) Fr Parson's Life of Campion.

(3) On Dec. 4th. On the 10th. he was put in the Scavenger's Daughter for an hour, the blood flowing freely from his nostrils as a result of the compression.

(4) Briefe Historie, p. 88. He was kept strictly aloof from the other prisoners, but communication was somehow established, and he seems to have said his First Mass in prison, in the cell next to his own.

(5) *Ibid.* pp., 19, 20.



later he was set the Six Articles to answer, but he merely replied that he believed as the Catholic Church taught him. At last on May 29th. 1582, he learnt "that the next daie he should suffer. Whereupon he came to his window, over againste my doore", writes a fellow prisoner (1), "saying with a joy of heart and voice, 'Give God thankes with me, for to-morrow is my day. And now I hope I shall not escape the happy houre, which I have earnestly so long desired'".

He was trailed to Tyburn on the morrow together with BB. Laurence Richardson, William Filby, and Luke Kirby. When the last two had suffered, the others "were put up into the carte, where with cheerefull countenances they signed themselves with the signe of the Crosse", and "M. Cottam turning him about said, *God blesse you all. Our Lord blesse you all*", with a smiling countenance". Several arguments took place between him and the ministers and Sheriff, and the latter, misinterpreting some of his words, and thinking he meant to yield, "commanded that the rope should be loosed from the post, and he removed down from the cart... When the cart was drawn away from Mr. Richardson, Mr. Cottam said, O good Laurence, pray for me: Lord Jesus, receive thy soul; which he repeated several times. All this time Mr. Cottam was with the sheriff and the ministers upon the ground, having the rope still about his neck. I could not well hear what persuasions the sheriff and ministers had with him: but I do conjecture, that what they said was, that if he would renounce his faith he should have his pardon: for I heard him well utter these words: *I will not swerve a jot from my faith for any thing: yea if I had ten thousand lives, I would rather lose them all, than forsake the catholic faith in any point.*—And with that he was lifted into the cart again; and the sheriff said withal, Dispatch him, since he is so stubborn.

"Then he was turned backward to look upon Mr. Richardson, who was then in quartering, which he did, saying, Lord Jesus, have mercy upon them! O Lord, give me grace to endure to the end; Lord, give me constancy to the end. Which saying he uttered almost for all the time that Mr. Richardson was in quartering, saving once that he said, Thy soul, pray

(1) Arthur Pitts.



for me; and at the last he said, O Lord, what a spectacle hast thou made unto me! which he repeated twice or thrice. And then the head of Mr. Richardson was held up by the executioner, who said, as the custom is, God save the queen. To which Mr. Cottam said, I beseech God to save her and bless her; and with all my heart I wish her prosperity as my liege and sovereign queen, and chief governess. The willed him to say, and supreme head in matters ecclesiastical. To whom he answered, *If I would have put in those words, I had been discharged almost two years since.* Then the sheriff said, You are a traitor if you deny that. Mr. Cottam said, No, that is a matter of faith, and unless it be for my conscience and faith, I never offended her majesty. And with that, he looked up to heaven and prayed secretly; then uttered these words, *in te Domine speravi non confundar in aeternum*; in thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confounded for ever. And; *O Domine tu plura pro me passus es, etc.* O Lord, thou hast suffered more for me, three times repeating *plura*, more.

“ Then the sheriff said to him, Yet, Cottam, call for mercy and confess, and no doubt the queen will be merciful unto you. Who answered, my conscience giveth me a clear testimony that I never offended her. Adding, that he wished her as much good as to his own soul; and for all the gold under the cope of heaven, he would not wish that any one hair of her head should perish to do her harm: and that all that he did here suffer, was for saving his soul; desiring Almighty God, for his sweet Son’s sake, that he would vouchsafe to take him to his mercy: saying, that him only he had offended; and desiring God, that if there were anything more unspoken, which were convenient to be spoken, he would now put it into his mind.

And then he prayed, desiring forgiveness of all the world; and saying, that he did from the bottom of his heart forgive all. Adding, that the sins of this realm have deserved infinite punishment, and God’s just indignation; and desiring him, of his mercy, that he would turn his wrath from this people, and call them to repentance, to see and acknowledge their sins. Then he begged all catholics to pray with him; and having said his *pater*, and being in the middle of his *ave*, the cart was driven away. He hanged till he was dead; and being stripped,



he was found to wear within his shirt, a shirt of very coarse canvass, without sleeves, which reached down beneath his middle; which was likely in the nature of a hair-shirt, for the punishment of his body; with which kind of things England is not now acquainted" (1).

BLESSED ENGLISH MARTYRS PRAY FOR US.

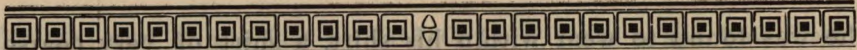
A. CLAYTON.

(1) Challoner.—this part being merely a modernisation of the Briefe Historie, which is a contemporary account.

**Note.** The Martyr seems undoubtedly to have been a Jesuit at his death, but whereas Keogh-Pollen (*op. cit.*, p. 560) maintain that he had never ceased canonically to belong to the Society, Foley (II, p. 148 n.) quotes authorities to show that he was re-admitted while in prison.







## THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND HOW IT SUCCEEDED

For not a few, the failure of Mary the Catholic amply explains every facet of the success of Elizabeth the Protestant. In reality it set her as many problems as it solved. At the most four questions were answered by the reign of her predecessor; that Spain was unpopular on account of her vast empire and yet vaster pretensions; that when Parliament kept Pole waiting at Calais until it had made sure there would be no penance coupled with its absolution, the restoration of church lands was not a matter of practical politics; that religious persecution organised by the church rather than the state, was distasteful to most; that the country needed peace and strong government as badly as in the days when her grandfather ascended the throne. On the other hand Mary bequeathed to her sister a lost war from which to extricate herself without loss of honour; the failure to preserve order in the country did not make it any easier for Elizabeth to do so, rather the reverse, though it would provide the government with considerable *kudos* should she succeed. A debased coinage is no more an asset for one regime than for another and the general prejudice against female sovereigns could only be deepened by the chaos of Mary's last two years (1).

But by far the most difficult problem with which the new queen was confronted was the religious problem. Mary had

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(1) Cf. E. G. KNOX: *Monstrous Regiment of Women*; SANDERS: *History of the Anglican Schism*.



not succeeded in effecting a change of heart among the landed gentry, and it is clear that Elizabeth came to the throne with her mind fully made up to discard not only Rome, but even the sham Catholicism without the Pope that Henry had upheld. In the very first week of her reign, she added to the number of her sister's Council seven exponents of the new ideas, headed by Cecil and Bacon. Before this same first week was out, better informed contemporaries knew which way the cat would jump. "Many of her new councillors and officers are suspected of sectarianism (*de la secte*), and are for the most part of the number of those who served King Edward..... I have heard from someone, who is in a position to know (*qui entend une partie des affaires*), that it is her intention to settle religion as it was eight years before the death of King Henry....." (1).

It is not immediately evident why Elizabeth did not return to the Henrican settlement, as d'Assonleville suggests. There is no evidence to show that the nation desired a restoration of affairs as under Edward. On the contrary, the complete refurnishing of the parish churches, voluntarily carried out all over the country by their congregations during Mary's short reign, proves conclusively that the mass of the population was well satisfied with the ancient Faith. Even to get rid of the Pope was not so easy as in Henry's day. Then one bishop alone had defied the Crown, where now one alone supported it. And it was not only the bench of bishops which opposed the Act of Supremacy, but also the lesser clergy. "The only Convocation during the earlier reformation period, which was evidently elected without any pressure from the Government and was the freely-chosen representative of the clergy of England..... to all appearance unanimously" (2) professed its belief in the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic Church, and especially in that of the Primacy of St. Peter (3). The cardinal factor in the first débâcle is entirely absent in the second.

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(1) *Christophe d'Assonleville to King Philip*: 25 November 1558 (*Chron. Belg.* No. CCXXXVII, I, p. 313).

(2) CHILD. *Church and State under the Tudors*, p. 180.

(3) Cf. WILKINS. *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, IV (1737) pp. 179 et seq.



And apart from the opposition of the clergy, Elizabeth seemed in a very weak position to begin with so contentious a measure. "No one pretends that she was universally beloved in the early years of her reign (1); many Catholics openly cast doubts upon her legitimacy (2), the English Universities looked askance at her for many a year to come (3), and every one was asking who was the heir to the throne" (4). Nevertheless during the three months when Mary lay dying,—if not before—, Elizabeth and Cecil had made up their minds:—they were "dominated by the conviction, doubtless true in those days, that political power could only be guaranteed by religious unity; a truth to which the state of affairs in Germany, France and the Low Countries bore eloquent testimony" (5).

Yet the Queen's position was not so weak as it seemed. From the very outset she had the good fortune to be the embodiment of England's new nationality. Circumstance had it that the next claimant to the throne, Mary Stuart, was the *de jure* sovereign of another country, Scotland, by marriage the queen of yet a second, France; and immediately upon the death of Mary Tudor she made the irreparable mistake of emblazoning on her shield the royal arms of England. No nation with any pride could suffer itself to be thus annexed without any reference to its own wishes. The loyalty displayed to Elizabeth throughout her reign was not originally personal, but she could afford to wait. She knew her life was more important to the nation than her legitimacy, and the Spanish ambassador had reluctantly to admit, "The new Queen thinks as they (her people) do" (6).

(1) Span. Cal. *passim*.

(2) "Los catolicos muy descontentos y tan mal con esta reyna, que publicamente dicen no la tienen por reyna ni por legitima". Bishop Quadra to Philip II. June 6th. 1559. (K. de Lettenhove; I, p. 534).

(3) *Ibid.* II, p. 643. Span. Cal., p. 218. Birt. *Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (London, 1907), chap. VII.

(4) MEYER. *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth* (London, 1916), p. 38.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 50.—It is only fair to state that Meyer is a German Lutheran, who has no idea of what is meant by the Church of Christ.

(6) Span. Cal. (1558-67), p. 4.



Whatever else might have disturbed the face of the country, the strong rule of the first two Tudor monarchs had produced a new generation, emancipated from all the disintegrating tendencies of feudalism. Possessing the lands of the monasteries by favour of the Crown, employed in the central and local administration which grew up with the efficiency of government, this new generation was conscious of but one unity—not the old, Christian unity of Europe, but the new, national unity, whose centre was the throne. The spirit which singed the King of Spain's beard was already articulate in the unpopularity of Mary Tudor's marriage: no nation is so national as a new nation.

This Elizabeth saw. She could make her throne stronger than any other in Christendom by identifying it with the revived national unity, a unity extending to every branch of the country's activity. And deepest of all such activities lies religion. To drive this unity yet deeper then, the nation must have one religion, but a religion of its own making, since any universal discipline, whether Catholic or Protestant, was equally unsuitable from the standpoint of the Queen; and to achieve the required purpose, that religion must stress race rather than revelation.

This is the simple and accepted view of the Elizabethan *Via Media* (1), a view borne out by the history of the actual breach with Rome, which came entirely from the side of England. "Paul IV was ready to acknowledge Elizabeth in due course, after she had observed the formality of notifying her accession officially to him. The discourteous withholding of this customary formality was the first indication that opened the eyes of the Court of Rome" (2). On no less than five separate occasions the Popes endeavoured to send envoys to the Queen before Pius V. finally published his famous bull of excommunication "*Regnans in Excelsis*".

(1) That it was her "birth of a marriage condemned by Rome" that threw her into the arms of the national church (MEYER, p. 15) seems an entirely gratuitous assumption in view of Rome's conciliatory policy for the long period of ten years.

(2) Cf. the despatches of Sir Edward Carne, quoted by Birt. p. 9.



But if the Elizabethan ideal of government was diametrically opposed to the Papal claims, we may yet ask why in the face of a Catholic majority, the new Queen returned to the days of her brother rather than to those of her father, whose settlement had satisfied the national aspirations of the people without sacrificing their spiritual convictions. The difficulty was that the compromise, having being tried once, was unlikely to deceive men again. In 1559 it was to Rome that bishops and clergy declared their allegiance. They were avowed opponents of the first change; to move further towards Protestantism could hardly make them more hostile than they were already. On the other hand a small, but equally zealous and noisy party of rigid Reformers had to be taken into account, especially as they were concentrated near to the centre of affairs (1). As to abolish Papal jurisdiction of necessity drove the Catholics into opposition, so to have gone no further would not have placated the steadily growing party of Protestants, later to capture the Primacy in the person of Grindal. Thirdly experience had taught Cecil that Catholicism without the Pope was impossible: either he would be reinstated and authority within the country be divided between the Crown and the Keys, or Protestantism in some shape or form must be introduced. The one had happened under Mary, the other under Edward: and to Elizabethan autocracy the first alternative was unthinkable. Therefore the second (2).

If it is difficult to give altogether satisfactory reasons for the momentous choice of 1558, it is even more difficult to explain the success of that choice; for success it was and an amazing success. That England was Catholic by preference there

(1) "Add to this that the Londoners hope much for change". Letter of d'Assonleville quoted above. In the first six weeks of the reign there was a gradual spread of Protestantism at the Court and among the officials of the Crown. (K. DE LATTENHOVE I., pp. 338, 339. *Span. Cal.*, pp. 7, 8;). Three hundred of the Marian exiles had returned from Geneva and Frankfort before Christmas 1558.

(2) Cf. Cecil's condemnation of all Catholic ritual in England, even under governmental supervision, as, "being against the law and incompatible with the domestic peace and security of the realm". Letter to Ferdinand, Nov. 3, 1563, as summarised by Meyer. (*Strype*, I, 11, pp. 573 et seqq.).



can be no doubt. As has already been pointed out the most compelling proof of this lies in the returns of the Royal Visitors, who found the churches everywhere and completely restored after the horrors of Edward's reign, even with magnificence. The love for the old ceremonies lasted among the country people. As late as 1569 a document reports that in the diocese of Chichester, men had hidden chalices "hoping for the Mass again" (1). In 1565 the people in every parish in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry were ordered not to "set down the corpse of any dead body where a cross had stood by the wayside, nor to say *De Profundis* there for the dead" (2). The clarion call of the Catholic Revolt in 1569 was the restoration of the Mass. Nor it is only in ecclesiastical matters that we can test the temper of the times. With the restoration of Catholicism under Mary, the doctrine of good works rekindled men's generosity, and despite the troubled outlook education again made progress with the foundation of Trinity and St. John's at Oxford.

Yet despite the faith of the nation as a whole we have also strong evidence that in 1575, the *practising* Catholics of England numbered less than 120,000—less, that is, than 3% of the entire population. This date marks the opening of the great mission period: friends and foes agree in this, that the labours of the heroic priests, especially between 1580 and 1585 produced remarkable results, and that even later during the first Stuart reigns this success was well sustained. But for the year 1585, five years after the arrival of Campion and Parsons, we have the figure of 120,000 (3). If the Mission had proved a success,

(1) Quoted by Kennedy, p. 171.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 173. Even so late as 1571, the Winchester MSS. records that there were still crosses to be demolished in the graveyards.

(3) It is impossible to give anything approaching the full evidence for this, which may be found in Meyer, (pp. 59-73) and also in A. F. Pollard's "*History of England. 1547-1603*, Vol. VI, of *The Political History of England*. (London, 1900) p. 371. The main argument may be summarised. For the year 1670, Edward Holt, the agent of the secular clergy in Rome, calculated 800 priests and 200,000 Catholics to be in England, when the total population of the country reached 5,400,000. In the earlier period 1634-36, Panzani, the Papal agent at the court of Charles I, gave the figure as 150,000,



which no one can doubt, in 1574 when the Douai missionaries commenced their glorious activities, the number must have been even less. Therefore we are faced with this inference: that the collapse of Catholicism in England is to be fixed between the two poles of 1558 and 1575—that the Faith had fallen before the period of rack and rope began.

The first compromises by which this defection came about present similar features to those of Henry's reign. It was a gradual defection, owing to the lack of zeal or of instruction on the part of the clergy, and to the prudence of the Queen and her ministers. At the very outset she showed great restraint in refusing the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, choosing that of *Governor* instead. Nicholas Sanders tells us that the very men, who had protested their allegiance to the Pope, considered this to have no spiritual significance, but to claim obedience merely on civil grounds (1). It is surely significant that when the Oath of Supremacy was exacted from all clergy, out of some 8,000 only two to three were deprived (2). Although confined to prison, the bishops too were treated far more leniently than Mary treated religious prisoners; even the detested Bonner was not condemned to death, though he might well have preferred it. Elizabeth did not believe in making martyrs.

The policy of the administration was one of patience and restraint. They desired the Marian clergy to die out peacefully: they were isolated one from another, they lacked any higher power to draw them together, and once they were gone

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when the population was about 5,250,000. For 1613, Guido Bentivoglio, Nuncio at Brussels, supplied the total of 120,000 to 130,000 among a population of 4,500,000, or rather more. It will be noticed that both Catholicism and the nation are increasing at the rate of 50% for the century 1580 to 1680, the former remaining consistently between 2-3% and 3% of the whole country. The most probable estimate of the population in 1570 is 3,750,000 of which 3% brings us to 112,500. This corresponds with the figure of 120,000 *Converts* given in 1585, which is impossible as the above statistics show, and must therefore be the estimate of *all practising Catholics*. For the reason why they came to be called *Converts* cf. Meyer &c.

(1) SANDERS. *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani* (Rome 1586) p. 369 et seq.

(2) CAMDEN. *Annales*, p. 23, Dom Birt's figures are not accepted by other authorities: v. g. Pollar, Hunt-Poole and J. P. Whitney.



there would be no one to take their place. Thus deprived of all support, they gradually acquired very lax views. This is not surprising, though again lack of zeal can only explain the rapidity with which they drifted into indifference. Many who still said Mass in secret, would attend the Established Communion Service the same day (1). With such a state of affairs, the laity naturally followed the same line of least resistance. In 1562 an appeal was made to Rome that Catholics might attend the services of the reformed Church, and when both the Inquisition and the Council of Trent returned a decided negative, the faithful drew a distinction between being present at and taking part in such services. Some satisfied their consciences by abstaining from communion; others considered even this harmless as long as there "was no inward participation" (2). The laxity of the priests is further illustrated by the fact that they rather encouraged such compromises, granting absolution on the easy condition of abstaining merely from the Anglican communion (3). Things reached such a pitch that when this was definitely condemned by Pius V. in 1567, many required further proof that the new system was really ordered, by the Pope (4). The enforcing of this decree was the great work of the Jesuits in 1580, thirteen years after its promulgation. But when the Spanish Ambassador reminded the English Catholics of the text "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers" and when they saw the Imperial Ambassador going to church with the Queen (5) is it wonderful that they did not regard it as unlawful to do likewise?

(1) Cardinal Allen himself is the authority for this statement.

(2) "Y vyan a los templos de los calvinistas, y oyan sus sermones, y se aminavan con sus impias ceremonias participando del caliz de Señor y de los demonios, y juntando a Christo y Belial, como se hizo en tiempo del rey Eduardo. Con esta flaqueza y pussilanimidad de los catolicos tomaron animo los hereges". PIETRO DE RIBADENEIRA S. J., *Historia Ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (Madrid 1588) p. 257.

(3) Letter of the priests Harding and Sanders to Cardinal Morone. June 11th. 1567. (Louvain. Vat. Arch. Arm. LXIV, t. 28, Fols. 60, 61).

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Spanish Cal. (1558-1567) pp. 389 & 436.



In this first period until 1575 Catholicism suffered virtual extinction because its adherents were deserted both at home and abroad. Abroad; for political complications prevented Rome, the Council, the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France from providing any help. Not one priest was sent into the country, and men were in despair. As an anonymous writer said bitterly in 1570: "Chi havrebbe mai creduto che si fosse tenuto fin qui così conto nella corte di Roma della reductione di questa isola, la quale è stata sempre tanto devota?" (1). At home the situation was equally hopeless. The destruction of the Hierarchy and the general acceptance of the Act of Supremacy caused the disunion of which I have already spoken. Evidently in 1559 men did not foresee this. After the kaleidoscopic changes of the last twelve years, these latest measures seemed no more likely to be permanent than their predecessors (2). "Many persons might provisionally comply with the law, while waiting for a change in the immediate future; and when no such change came about, what began by being provisional would end by becoming permanent" (3).

For this gradual, almost unwitting, lapse of a whole people, cut off from the Shepherd and the Fold, there were also positive reasons, the main one being the vehement desire, fostered by the Reformation, to have the Holy Scriptures in their own native tongue. The priests Harding and Sanders wrote in 1570 that even under Queen Mary, men were so unwilling to give up the translations authorised in the time of Henry VIII., that they clung to them in spite of every act and prohibition (4). The great Douai Version was designed to satisfy this desire, but the New Testament was not finished at Rheims until 1582 and by that date the Faith had fallen.

(1) *Discorso venuto d'Inghilterra del 1570 in Venetia*. Arch. Vat.; Miscell. Arm. 11., t. 84, fol 32.

(2) PETER HEYLYN. *Ecclesia Restaurata &c.* (Cambridge 1849) p. 295.

(3) MEYER p. 30.

(4) ..... "Porro experientia didicimus populum tam aegre a se dimittere haec ipsa biblia, etiam cum catholici iurisdictionem exercebant, ut quo magis ea legum vinculis prohibebantur, eo vehementius a populo retinerentur....." *Lit. Cit.* vide n. 22.



This explanation of Elizabeth's success would seem to be closely analagous to the drift under Henry were it not for one feature, which resembles the iconoclasm of Edward VI. Contrary to general belief, the Elizabethan government from the first made war against every vestige of Catholic worship; a bitter implacable war. Though the clergy were left in peace as much as possible, the Mass was never winked at, whether in public or in secret. In 1560 the whole of England south of Chester and Hull was searched for priests who did not exclusively use the Protestant Prayer Book. Similar drives were made among the north-western parishes of Kent in 1565, throughout the Eastern Counties both in 1560 and in 1561, and extended to the West in 1569 (1). In the actual destruction of altars, statues, shrines and the like, the horrors of Edward's reign were if possible exceeded; so much so that the Government had actually to step in a few years later to save the very chancels. Chasubles were made into players' coats and even the new holy table was treated with such scant respect that "it was moved in and out of the choir at will; hats and dust lay on it more frequently than the Sacrament" (2). This bitter hatred was carried to the incredible length of invading the privacy of men's homes. The diligence of churchwardens was directed to those who in conversation; maintained the Pope's power even the "suspicion of favouring the Pope" became a presentable offence; and questmen spied on their fellows to see whether they said grace in Latin or in English (3).

This spying and iconoclasm are so far removed from the politic methods of Cecil that they must always remain something of a puzzle. His whole aim was to arouse no unnecessary opposition; when he persecuted, it was in money, not in blood, and all his confiscations were to somebody's benefit. But

(1) Lambeth MSS. Rochester MSS. Landowne MSS.

(2) cf. KENNEDY. Chap. VII.

(3) *Ibid.* The only touch of humour in the entire dealing of the Royal Visitors is so typically Tudor that I cannot refrain from quoting it. "Any clergyman who wished to marry was ordered to bring the lady of his choice to the diocesan Bishop and two magistrates for inspection, and only with their sanction could the marriage take place."



in this violent onslaught against the most intimate and private convictions of a people, we have a repetition of the violence, which, under Edward, had aroused the Catholic reaction. Indeed the outrage done to individuals' cherished beliefs was all the stronger, in that nearly everything destroyed by order of the Visitors had been provided within the previous six years. To emphasise this point, as I have done, in support of the country's Catholicity is to render the success of the Elizabethan Settlement more inexplicable than ever. Why was the effect so different from that which followed Edward's activity?

From the several causes, which contributed to this paradoxical result, I will select two of the most important. The situation, in the first place, was by no means identical with that during the reign of the boy King. Under Elizabeth that curious phenomenon of English life, the upper middle class, first comes into prominence. The one ambition of Cecil himself was to discover a venerable pedigree: but try as he might, he could never get beyond his grandfather. These *nouveaux riches*, neither exactly Commoners nor exactly Aristocrats—at least not yet—were the creation of a strong central government. Their conversion under Mary was so hollow as to deceive few besides the Queen herself. Like Elizabeth, their outlook was political, purely and simply. The Administration astutely rewarded such men with the sequestered estates of recusantes, even so infamous an instrument as Topcliffe receiving his quota, and land carried with it such influence then, that Burleigh once accounted for the failure of Mary's religious policy solely on the ground that she did not succeed in restoring the Church lands. And with this local influence went local administration. The Elizabethan Justices of the Peace were all selected from among the newer men, and their whole hearted devotion to the interests of the Throne is one of the truisms of history. It was such as they principally who flourished with the new prosperity of the nation, not the common people at all, and their entire influence was exerted against any symptom of revolt in their own localities. Only in the North, where as yet they were comparatively few, was the Rising of the Catholic Earls possible. Everywhere else they were coming between the people and the old nobility. It is clear that the people themselves disliked the pro-



ceedings of the Royal Visitors. But the rapid changes of the last three reigns must have accustomed them to violence, and however ready they might or might be to take up arms against these changes, the situation made any rising from below almost impossible. Just as the reformed clergy isolated the Marian priests, so the local administrators of the central government divided the Catholic countryside into disconnected and impotent districts.

The second great cause why the Government was able to ride rough shod over many an established conviction was the success with which they fanned the flame of patriotism, and with which they identified their régime in the nation's mind with the national prosperity. After the chaos of so many years "England again enjoyed the blessing she had not known for half a century, ten years of settled government, free from foreign wars and civil bloodshed" (1). To an administration that gave them so much men could forgive more, and it was this which laid the foundations of Elizabeth's subsequent popularity. She revelled in all manifestations of her people's loyalty, but above all she rejoiced to hear a *Vivat Regina* from the lips of a Catholic priest (2). Even the Catholic Exiles grew lyrical over the new-found strength and power of the realm (3).

Catholicism on the other hand, ever since the marriage of Mary Tudor, had become more and more identified with Spain, the inevitable rival of England in any struggle for commerce and empire throughout the world. The skirmishes of the Main must have taken place whether Madrid had acknowledged Pius or Calvin for her Pope. But it is this alliance of their religion with the national enemy, which frustrated all the heroic efforts of the Martyrs to convert their country.

(1) MEYER. p. 72.

(2) Span. Cal., (1568-79) p. 51.

(3) *e. g.* The ballad, *The Blessed Conscience*, especially the stanza beginning "Fayr Englande, nowe ten tymes adieu!".

Anthony Standen, twenty eight years an exile for the Faith, wrote. "An extraordinary longing burned within me once more to see it (England) before I die, and also my serene queen and gracious lady, who rules over it with so much felicity."



The very inauguration of the Mission is in itself a sufficient proof of the success of Elizabeth's clever policy, in which she mingled coercion and restraint. Up to this point she had refrained from blood, but nevertheless she had persecuted, depriving men of their possessions and of their liberty: the patience of her administration was politic, not humanitarian. And just when it seemed upon the verge of complete success, just when the Marian clergy were virtually extinct and the laity grown too lay to offer serious opposition to any religious settlement from above, the Missionaries appeared in the land from Douai and from Rome, on fire with zeal for the Faith of their forefathers. The work of the reign seemed like to be undone. Catholicism again raised its head, and Catholicism was a unity, which as it did not owe its origin to the Crown, neither should it owe its continuance. Where Priest went Informer followed, and behind the Pursuivant stood the Rackmaster and the Hangman. Every weapon must be employed to exterminate all opposition to the iron mould of Tudor Nationalism, and the most dangerous opposition came from these young enthusiasts for martyrdom. Every weapon must be employed and every weapon was employed. Torture and a barbarous death failed to subdue them; rather their blood served to water the seed they had sown. It was in the bitter breath of calumny that Cecil and Walsingham found the simoom to parch the soil of England and turn it for centuries into a barren waste.

(In the third and concluding portion of this article, owing to the importance of the questions involved, we shall give, not merely the current version among non-Catholic historians, but a fuller and more fundamental treatment of the subject, in the light also of theology and canon law).





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## A LETTER OF SUAREZ

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(It is not clear to whom at the English College this letter was written. Evidently not to the Rector, for Suarez sends greetings to him: as a fact there was no Rector of the College at this time, Fr. Alfonso Agazzari having quitted the office a month previously, and Fr. William Holt not being appointed till the following October. The letter is written by an amanuensis and signed by Suarez. The MS. is somewhat damaged by time so that in some few places it is no longer possible to read it. Fr. Vasquez of the letter is of course the famous theologian. Of the two Frs. Robert, mentioned without surname, one would be Fr. Persons, the other perhaps Bellarmine, who in the Douay Diaries is usually termed P. Robertus Italicus. Fr. Robert Bennet was at this time at Donay; the year following he became a Jesuit. He was one of the forty-nine students who took the oath on April 23rd., 1579, and headed the list of fifty who signed the petition for retaining the Fathers of the Society as Rectors of the Venerabile, 1586. He was drowned on the way to Spain in March, 1590. The Vineyard referred to in the letter was probably one outside the Porta del Popolo: it was acquired in 1583 but sold again in 1593, because, since it was so far away from the College, too much precious time was occupied in walking to and from it and several students were made ill by the long walk. The famous Vineyard at S. Gregorio did not come into our possession until a little later.

Suarez was in Rome 1580-1585, in which year he went to Alcalá, whence this letter was written. There is one other letter of his in the College Archives, written in Spanish from Coimbra in 1611 to Fr. Thomas Owen, S. J., who was Prefect of the English Mission and Rector of the Venerabile from 1610 till his death in 1618).

Molto Rdo. Pe. in Chro.  
Pax Chri. Je.

Con l'ordinario passato non scrissi a V. R. per non stancarla e conla mia buona lettera et lingua toscana, et per non trovare quei giorni il frello Marc'Anto. bene per poterlo scrivere come



soglio. Ricevetti pero la sua con l'allegrezza che soglio che e tanto quanto nonli potrei dire, o per dir meglio come V. R. sà, per in quella mi pare come se stessi presente di vedere V. R. et di godere della sua grande charità. il trovarmi io meglio di quello che costì facevo non lo atribuisco già a quello che V. R. dice, anzi mi meraviglio che V. R. a ciò l'attribuischi sapendo che io stimo tanto l'a(morevo)lezza usatami costì et in particolare di V. R. che grande ha da essere quella che non .....ichi ma di gran longa la uguali. mi sono ralegrato molto conle buone nove che ho havuto del P. Vaschez perche spero che giongendo costì dara molto contento a tutti et supplira dove io manchava. specialmente che so andava con animo di servire a V. R. in mio loco, et cosi mi ralegro di quello che V. R. mi scrive cioè che V. R. pensa di trattare con esto lui come con meco et riceverlo in mio loco: ma tutto ciò ha da essere con conditione che io non sia escluso, perche sebene sto lontano lo tengo con l'amore et memoria tanto presente come quel giorno che con piu contento nostro ci siamo trovati nella vigna degl'Inglesi. con le nove de novi martiri d'ingilterra et con intendere il buon termine a che e ridotto il negotio che costì si tratta mi sono ralegrato molto. prego Dio che tutto habbi quel successo che V. R. desidera, di qui non ho cosa niuna di novo che scriverla se non è che dicono che il re stà molto disgustato con ingilterra et risoluto di fare qualche fatto d'importanza. pero V. R. non lo ( ) edì fino in tanto, che lo veghi..... che il Marchese di Sta. Croce con buon numero di gente et galeoni và verso la Isola di Sto. Domenico a vedersi con quel corsario Franco Drack il quale ha fatto grandissimi danni et ha amazzato poco fa più di tre milla huomini et rubbato più di tre milioni per quel che dicono et lasciato fino a tre milla huomini in quell'Isola et andatosene a ingilterra a lasciare i denari et pigliare più gente per tornare a fare più male di quello che fin' a qui ha fatto. qui si fa tutta la diligenza possibile per resisterli. V. R. lo raccomandandi et facci raccomandare al Sigre. accio succeda bene per essere negotio che importa tanto. Mi è rincresciuto molto di non trovarmi a conclusioni cosi principali come sono quelle di che V. R. mi scrive et di non haver potuto fare qualche replica. pero molto più di non essermi trovato il giorno della festa che so V. R. non m'haveria negato qualche poco di tempo per ar-



gomentare et rispondere senza testimonij. al P. Rettore suo compagno della professione mi fara piacere vedendolo raccomandarmeli di tutto cuore. al Ste. (i. e. sacerdote?) Alano et P. Roberto se non si sono partiti mi ralegraro mi raccomandi grandissimamente. l'istesso al P. Roberto prefetto antiquo et al suo successore et al frello Giacomo Casamata et frello Michele sacristano et finalmente aglaltri conosciuti et tutti gl'alunni del collegio et in particolare quando scrivi al P. Roberto Benetto gli mandi le mie raccomandationi come sa che desidero et l'amo. con questo finirò pregando V. R. mi raccomandi come suole al Sre. di Alcala al po di Maggio 1586.

D. V. R.

I(n) (s)egno. servo in Chro;

† FRANCO SUAREZ.

Very Rev. Fr. in Christ.

The Peace of Jesus Christ.

I did not write to Your Reverence by the last courier in order not to weary you with my good letter and the Tuscan tongue, and because Brother Marc'Anton was not well enough at the time to write my usual letter. I received yours with my wonted delight, which is greater than I can express to you; or rather, to explain myself better, it is as though I were present with you and enjoying your great kindness. That my health is better than it was there I do not attribute to the same cause as Your Reverence, indeed I am surprised that you attribute it to the cause you do, since you know how much I value the affection shown me there and particularly by Your Reverence, which is assuredly such as I cannot .....but am far from being able to repay. I rejoice at the good news which I have received of Fr. Vasquez, because I hope that he will give entire satisfaction there and will supply what was wanting in me. Especially as I know that he went with the intention of serving Your Reverence in my place, and so I rejoice at the news Your Reverence gives me that you mean to treat him as myself and receive him in my stead; but that must be on condition that I am not excluded, because though I am far away, you are as vividly present to my love and memory as you were on that



day when to the greater joy of both of us we were together in the vineyard of the English. I greatly rejoice at the news of fresh martyrs in England and of the successful termination of the affairs you have had in hand in Rome. I pray God that all may have the success which Your Reverence desires. I have no news to write you from here except that they say that the King is very angry with England and determined to make an important move

that the Marquis of Sta. Croce with a large force of men and galleons is making for the Island of San Domingo to meet that pirate Francis Drake, who has inflicted enormous damage and recently massacred more than three thousand men and robbed more than three million (so they say), and has left more than three thousand men in the Island, and gone to England to deposit the spoils and bring more men to do greater evil than he has hitherto done. Here they are using all possible diligence to resist him. Do you recommend the matter and have it recommended to the Lord, so that it may succeed, since it is an affair of such importance. I am very sorry that I have not come to such fundamental conclusions as those of which Your Reverence writes and that I have not been able to give an answer. And much more because I was not present on the day of the Feast, for I know that Your Reverence would not have refused me a short time for arguing and replying without evidence. Please give my kindest regards to Fr. Rector, your companion in the Profession, when you see him. I should be delighted if you would recommend me whole-heartedly also to the priest, Allen and to Fr. Robert, if they are not already gone. The same to Fr. Robert, the former Prefect, and to his successor and to Brother Giacomo Casamata and Brother Michele the Sacristan and lastly to all who know me and to all the students of the College and, when you write, to Fr. Robert Bennet in particular my greetings as you know I desire and love him. With this I will end, begging Your Reverence to recommend me to the Lord as you are wont.

From Alcala, May 1st., 1586.



## NOVA ET VETERA

Old Venerable men who have been carried off their feet by the tidal-wave of wireless enthusiasm now sweeping across the world, will no doubt be interested to know that the Gregorian University is the proud possessor of a 3 valve set with a 2 low-frequency amplifier and loud-speaker. It is installed in the laboratory adjoining the science class-room, and is fitted with both indoor and outdoor aerials. A party of us, by kind permission of Fr. Gianfranceschi S. J., the science professor, were able to examine the instrument, and also to listen in on it. Paris is heard quite easily, but London hardly ever, because the University is so badly placed, being low-lying and surrounded by electric wires of all kinds. From other parts of Rome, however, — from Monte Verde, to the left of Pamphili, for instance — London can be heard with ease on a 2-valve set.

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The modernization of Rome has advanced rapidly of late years. New quarters are springing up on all sides. As Dr. Ashby pointed out in one of his lectures, this is a serious mistake. The new city ought to have been built on one side of the old city in the French manner, and thus there would have been avoided the congestion of traffic which now obtains in old Rome. The latest proposal has been an underground railway: but the subsoil of Rome is of such a nature that the cost of the scheme would be far in excess of its utility and profits. The discussion was, however, so far advanced that even the name of the Underground was considered. "Metropolitan" contested with "Urban". But "Urban" seemed to be more suitable, as more befitting the dignity and fame of the Eternal City.



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“ Unless my judgment is very much at fault, ” says a competent critic of to day, “ there has written in English, since the death of R. L. Stevenson, no-one so proficient in the pure art of the essayist as Mr. E. V. Lucas ” (1). High praise, but not wholly unmerited. Mr. Lucas, moreover, excels in other things—in the compiling of anthologies, for example, or in the writing of eminently readable guide-books, or again of quiet yet exceedingly fascinating novels.

With all this in mind, then, it was a great disappointment to read the series of articles by him, which began to appear in the Observer on Jan. 27th of the present year, under the title of “ Rome Revisited ”. They are slight, and not very likely to add to his fame. Most of them, however, being concerned with non-religious topics, call for no comment here. It is otherwise with No. 4 of the series (Feb. 17th.) of which the sub title is “ Churches Great and Small ”. In this, speaking of St. Peter’s, he says that one of the few changes since he was there last (in 1916) is “ that St. Peter’s right foot has been kissed into greater deformity. Although made of endurable brass, the toes have not endured. This strikes me as a great mystery, because if one were to take a photograph of the foot after every kiss—and the kisses are not such passionate affairs either—it is probable that no difference would be distinguishable; and yet the detrition is going on all the while ”.

There is a kind of sceptical sneer about that which makes one wish that Mr. Lucas had never penned it. It may be, of course, that Mr. Lucas meant it as a piece of humorous writing,—as a delicate insinuation that a sacristan and some sandpaper were responsible for the detrition,—but we do not think so. It would seem rather that the writer revisited Rome in a state of mind such that he was prepared to be mystified by anything. We base our surmial on two other extracts from the same article. Speaking of St. Paul’s, he says, “ The position of this immense church is perplexing, for it was built two miles outside the city, ... ” and further on we read, “ Another

(1) *The Essays of Mr. Lucas in Books on the Table* by Edmund Gosse.



and even greater surprise is the fact that San Paolo was once destroyed by fire! But here is a mystery of mysteries which confronts one in almost every church that has ever been burnt; and Rome is full of them. How does one set light to any church? And, even more so, how does one ignite a church without pews? What is inflammable? Stone is not, nor marble, nor bronze, and little else is to be seen ”.

One is loath to accuse Mr. Lucas of being unobservant, or protestant-minded, or or by no means well-read; but such remarks almost lead us to do so. It is surely a simple and adequate explanation of the size of St. Paul's that it is built over the tomb of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. We cannot believe that Mr. Lucas clings still to the old Protestant idea that Catholics belittle St. Paul in order to magnify St. Peter. As for the burning of churches, let us hear Cardinal Wiseman in regard to the catastrophe at St. Paul's. "Like Achilles, these have their one vulnerable point, though its situation is reversed. The open cedar roof, sodden, dry and scorched to cinder, through ages of exposure, under a scanty tiling, to a burning sun, forms an unresisting prey to the destructive wantonness of a single spark. It was the usual story; plumbers had been working on that roof, and had left a pan of coals upon one of the beams" (1).

Mr. Lucas, when in many a Roman church, might have seen just such roofs still in existence today, had he but taken the trouble to raise his eyes.

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A general belief seems to prevail that the tomb in S. Prassede, whose inscription begins:

ALANUS EPISCOPUS SABINIENSIS EC. ROM. CARDINALIS  
NOBILISS. IN BRITONIBUS COETTIVORUM GENTE NATUS...

is of some English Cardinal of the 14th. century. There is in the College Archives a note, on the subject, written by a Mr. Charles MacDonnell, M. R. I. A. in reply to a query from some former Rector or Vice-Rector. Mr. MacDonnell suggests that perhaps the Cardinal's name is Keith (from the "Coettivorum" of the inscription). The Keiths in the 14th. century were Earl Mar-

(1) *The Last four Popes*. 1st. ed. p. 199.



shals of Scotland. He finds the Coat of arms a difficulty. He gives the arms on the tomb, conjecturally coloured, as: Or: 3 bars gules. (Actually there are two small crosses with R between them on the top bar). Those of the Keiths were: Argent, a chief paly of 6 or. and gules. "In support of my conjecture I can say from my own knowledge that the heralds of Scotland from an early period, established very marked differences in the coat armour of different branches of the most illustrious houses of their kingdom; differences much more marked than any that were customary in blazon among the legitimate branches of families in any other country".

We have at last definitely discovered who this Cardinal is. He is Alain, a Breton (hence "in Britonibus"), who was elevated to the Purple by Nicholas V in December, 1448, and who played an important part in ecclesiastical affairs, chiefly in France, in the third quarter of the 15th. century. He died in 1474 (vide Ciaconius: *Vitae Pontificum et Cardinalium*, II., col. 971, 972).

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In the Month for October, 1923, Fr. Thurston has an article on "The First Englishman to make the Spiritual Exercises," which has a particular interest for us, as the Englishman in question, the Rev. John Helyar, was one of Cardinal Pole's intimate friends and was an official of the Hospice from 1538 to 1540. Fr. Thurston gives a sketch of his life from the Dictionary of National Biography. He was born about 1502. He studied at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took his B. A. in 1524 and his M. A. in 1525. He was well versed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and his ripe scholarship attracted the attention of Wolsey. Just before he left England in 1535 we find him Vicar of East Meon and Rector of Warblington in Hampshire. His departure from England was due to his strong opposition to "the horrible and most scandalous crimes and sacrileges of the King (Henry VIII) who relents not in putting to the sword the very best and most virtuously-minded of Bishops, priests and others,"—an allusion no doubt to the execution of Fisher, More and the Carthusians in 1535. Helyar appears to have died in 1541.



Fr. Thurston notes several coincidences between him and Dr. Richard Hilliard or Hilyard (Eliardo of Cardinal Pole's letters, Venetian Calendars), which might lead (indeed it seems to have led) to confusion between the two men. Both were Englishmen and contemporaries; both exiles in Rome. Dr. Hilyard was also connected with the Hospice, in fact for many more years than Helyar, but his name does not appear in the Books until 1543, three years after Helyar's departure. They were both intimate with Cardinal Pole and both held the office of the Pope's Penitentiary. Yet that they were distinct persons is shown, not merely from the fact that their names, no matter how spelt, are never quite the same, but because Helyar was from Hampshire, Hilyard from the North of England.

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On January 24th. occurred the centenary of the death of Cardinal Consalvi, Cardinal Protector of the College. Born in 1756, he received his early education at the Cardinal Duke of York's Seminary at Frascati. Thence he passed to the Academia Ecclesiastica, just founded in Rome by Pius VI. In 1792 he became Cameriere Segreto to the Pope, and successively held various offices in the Roman Congregations, ultimately becoming Auditor of the Rota. In 1800 Pius VII immediately after his election named him pro-Secretary of State, and shortly afterwards made him full Cardinal Secretary, giving him the *Diaconia* of S. Maria ad Martyres (the Pantheon). No Secretary of State ever had so difficult a task to face; for years Consalvi had to match his strength and skill with the man who was making and unmaking the nations of Europe. His continued success in the struggle marks him out as the greatest diplomat of the day. Indeed, Castlereagh admitted that he was the master-mind at the Congress of Vienna.

But the distinguished Cardinal deserves a special mention in these pages for the particular affection which he bore to England and to the English College. The reopening of the College in 1818 was largely his work. He became Cardinal Protector in 1819, and in spite of the press of business which his office as Secretary of State entailed, found abundant time for the College and its interests.



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## COLLEGE NOTES

OCTOBER 1923 — MARCH 1924

### UNIVERSITY NOTES.

November 3rd. was Premiation Day but no "prizes" came our way, and despite our one Summa and our Cum-Laude's we sat patiently through the long ceremony in vain. After dinner, in the Common Room the Rector gave the usual toast of the Doctors who, together with a number of Licentiates and Bachelors, not to mention the Vice-Rector and the Spiritual Director, were called upon to reply to the toast.

The Scholastic Year started on November 5th. with High Mass of the Holy Ghost in S. Ignazio sung by the Rector of the University. Before the Mass, the professors gave short lectures; since then they have not looked back at their breathless audiences who are vainly trying to keep up with them.

Aula VI of happy memory, where not a few of the present generation first set foot on the fair fields of Philosophy, is being converted into a Reference Library and a new Aula VI has been built on the floor below. We went to view the room on behalf of *Venerabile* and found it a little more airy, and quite as uncomfortable as any other Hall in the University.

Friday and Saturday Nov. 16th. and 17th., were holidays from the University in honour of the Bl. Cardinal Bellarmine. There was a Triduum in S. Ignazio ending on Sunday with High Mass, at which a number of our students assisted in cotta and biretta.

The week commencing Nov. 19th. was set apart by the Pope for the "Feste Tomistiche" and accordingly all the afternoon schools at the University were abolished, in order that students could attend the special lectures on S. Thomas given in the Cancelleria by the distinguished Theologians from Rome and elsewhere.

On March 16th. the new Library at the University was solemnly opened. A number of eminent guests were present and the Rector,



Fr. Miccinelli S. J., read an address. According to the *Osservatore Romano*, this new Library contains at present some 20,000 volumes, all bearing on Theology, Canon Law and Philosophy, and another 70,000 are to be added in the course of time.

A new organ has been installed in S. Ignazio and was inaugurated on March 25th. by a recital by Prof. Renzi, and some vocal music provided by the "Quartetto Romano".

On Thursday March 20th. Mr. Macmillan of second year Philosophy had the singular honour of being one of the "arguentes" in the Disputations held in the Cancelleria by the Academy of St. Thomas. To Mr. Macmillan also we are indebted for the following account of the proceedings:

"On Thursday March 20th. a Disputation by students of the Gregorian branch of the Academy of St. Thomas took place in the Aula Magna of the Cancelleria. The Thesis defended read thus: *Omnis forma subsistens est unica et illimitata in sua ratione*. Present at the Disputation were Cardinal Billot, Mgr. Talamo, Frs. Lazzarini, Geny, Hugon O.P. and de la Taille (who takes the Gregorian Academy this year).

The Defenders clearly explained and proved their Thesis, and then the two "arguentes" in turn kept up a running and losing fight for three quarters of an hour. After this Fr. Hugon, addressing himself partly to the audience and partly to the "Defenders", gave out in loud and plaintive voice that for himself he was quite unable to understand how God could annihilate the Angel Raphael and recreate a similar nature which should be numerically identical with Raphael primus. Very soon it all developed into a duel between Fr. Hugon and Fr. de la Taille, interrupted for a tiny space, once by Fr. Geny and once by Cardinal Billot both on the side of Fr. de la Taille. Fr. de la Taille tried to get Fr. Hugon first of all to admit that after annihilating Raphael, God could still create a similar nature; but he got no further than trying, for to every one word of his Fr. Hugon had two, which were *Non intelligo*. Gradually the students left their places and crept nearer the arena so as to miss nothing, not even the gesticulations of Fr. Hugon or the disciplined keen thrusts of Fr. de la Taille. But the *Non intelligo* by sheer force of repetition had to prevail, and the two champions sank back in exhaustion! After another member of the Academy had asked some questions Cardinal Billot gave the sign for the closing of the Disputation".

On March 31st. a solemn *Requiem* Mass was sung in S. Ignazio for Fr. Turchi S. J., Professor of Sacred Eloquence at the University, and a well-known Roman preacher.

On the same day the Doctorate Thesis sheets came out.



**ORDINATIONS.**

On Sunday October 28th. in the Church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva at the hands of Archbishop Palica the following students received Orders: The Priesthood: Messrs Bentley, Hampson and Cartmell (Liverpool). The Subdiaconate: Mr. Winham (Southwark).

The first two Minor Orders: Messrs. Wilson, Casartelli, Goodear, Mr H. R. Kelly, Warner, McNulty, Grimshaw, Williamson, Egan and Hemphill.

The new priests celebrated their *Primitiae Missarum* next morning in the College church.

On Friday Nov. 30th. Archbishop Palica conferred the following Minor Orders in the College church: The last two Minor Orders: Messrs. Wilson, Casartelli, Goodear, McNulty, H. R. Kelly, Warner, Grimshaw, Williamson, Egan and Hemphill. The first two Minor Orders: Messrs. MacNarney and Plowman. The Tonsure: Messrs. Atkinson, Maudslay, Cregg, Slevin, Earley, Worsley, Baldwin, Milan, Burrows and Hattersley.

On Sunday, January 20th, the Bishop of Southwark conferred the Diaconate on Mr. Winham in the College church.

On Saturday March 15th. Messrs. Masterson and Griffin received the Subdiaconate from Mgr. Palica in the Lateran Basilica. The following Minor Orders were also conferred on the same occasion viz: Last two Minors, Messrs. Plowman and MacNarney, Ist. Minors: Mr. Clayton. The Tonsure, Mr. Cashman.

**SACRED FUNCTIONS.**

The October Retreat was given by Dom Urban Butler O. S. B. and lasted from October 23rd. to October 28th.

On St. Catherine's day the students assisted at Solemn Benediction at Sta. Caterina della Rota. The Celebrant was Monsignor Palica Vicegerent of Rome.

Dec. 18th., 20th. Quarant Ore devotions in the College Church.

On the evening of Jan. 7th, the students assisted at the Benediction given in S. Andrea della Valle. Mgr. O'Leary, Archbishop of Edmonton, Canada, celebrated. On January 19th. during the annual week of Reparation a number of students took part in the Solemn Benediction given by His Eminence Cardinal Vanuttelli in the Church of S. Maria Reparatrice.

On Friday evening, Feb. 3 a number of students assisted at the first Vespers of the feast of Sta. Maria in Portico in the Church of Sta. Maria



in Campitelli, the titular Church of Cardinal Gasquet, Protector of the College. The Celebrant was Cardinal Fruhwirth O. P.

A few people were enabled, though without tickets, to be present at the Consistory in the Vatican on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Holy Father's Coronation.

On St. Gregory's Day, March 12th., which was not kept as a holiday this year, the College supplied the servers at the High Mass sung by Abbot Lugano, General of the Olivetans in S. Gregorio Magno on the Coelian. In the afternoon the choir sang at Benediction.

### PERSONAL COLUMN.

The following new students entered the College this year.

First Year Theology. Mr. J. E. Rudderham B. A. (Northampton).

First Year Philosophy. Biennists: Messrs. Butterfield (Liverpool), Dinn (Leeds), and Malone (Leeds).

Triennists: Messrs. Coyne (Shrewsbury), Gowland (Hexham), Garvin (Liverpool), Seaston (Salford), Park (Liverpool), Jeffreyes (Southwark), Ibbet (Portsmouth), and Meade (Clifton).

### VISITORS TO THE COLLEGE.

At the Villa. Fr. Emery I. C., sometime Rector of Ratcliffe College, and Fr. Cunningham I. C. spent the afternoon of October 15th. at Palazzola.

We were sorry to hear that Fr. Cunningham, who had for some time been a confessor to the College, was to leave Rome very soon to take up his duties as Spiritual Director at Ratcliffe. Fr. Emery has been appointed Rector of S. Carlo al Corso.

After the visit of the Americans to Palazzola, their Vice-Rector and Spiritual Director, who were quite fascinated by the Sforza Golf links, came over two or three times for a round of Golf. On Oct. 17th. we were honoured by a visit from Mgr. G. Cicognani, who is secretary to the Papal Nuncio at Brussels.

On St. Edward's day the guests of the College were: Dr. Ashby, Dr. Paterson, Vice-Rector of the Scots' College, Fr. Lemieux C. SS. R., Br. Thane, and Mr. Wood. In the evening the feast was celebrated by a cinema show.

Mgr. Cicognani came to the Villa on Oct. 14th. and read a paper on St. Francis of Assisi's Canticle of the Sun.

On Oct. 17th. Fr. Hanifin came to dinner and later in the afternoon Mgr. Brown Vicar General of Southwark diocese and a number of Catholic Association pilgrims visited Palazzola.



**In Rome.** On Sunday Oct. 21st. all the English pilgrims visited the College. On Monday Oct. 22nd. and on two subsequent occasions Mgr. Gonne, Rector of St. Bede's College, Manchester, honoured us with his presence at supper. He was accompanied by Fr. Maspero and Fr. Chronnell on November 1st. Other guests were Fr. P. P. Mackey O. P. (Nov. 24th.), Mgr. Palica (Nov. 26th.) and Mgr. Pisani, Apostolic Delegate to India and Archbishop of Costanza in Scizia.

On Christmas Day the guests at dinner were: Mr. Johnson, and Canon Kelly of Menevia, an old student of the College. The "Salve in Domino" was sung in Canon Kelly's honour and he replied in a short but entertaining speech in which he contrasted the conditions of the College in his day with its present "splendour".

On St. Thomas' Day the guests at dinner were: H. E. Cardinal Gasquet, Sir Theo Russell, Archbishop Palica, Bishop Stanley, Hon. C. Dormer, Mgr. Mann, Fr. P. P. Mackey O. P., Fr. Emery I. C., Fr. Butler O. S. B., Fr. Cotter C. SS. R.

The Bishop of Southwark and Fr. O'Leary stayed in the College from Jan. 10th.-30th.

Jan. 11th. Fr. de la Taille S. J. and Fr. Neyrand S. J. visited the College.

Jan. 13th. Signor Cortese, Reuter's agent in Rome, Mgr. Marchetti Selvagiani, Archbishop of Seleucia and Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

Jan. 14th. Fr. Payne of Mansfield.

Jan. 20th. Mgr. Cicognani, Capt. Guy Elwes.

Jan. 26th. Père Mallon S. J. of Jerusalem.

Jan. 27th. Mgr. Palica.

Fr. Filograssi no doubt will be remembered by old students as one of the most genial lecturers in the University. He is now the Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Rome, and was the guest of the College at dinner (on Feb. 10th.). He came to the Common Room afterwards and addressed the house in his usual breezy style. Fr. Tréboal O. M. I. was also present at dinner.

Feb. 15th. The College had the honour of a very short visit from H. E. Cardinal Bourne who was the guest at dinner. Present were also H. E. Cardinal Gasquet, Mgr. Emard, Archbishop of Ottawa, Archbishop Döntenwill, General of the O. M. I., Bishop Stanley, Mgr. Carton de Wiart, Dom Philip Langdon, O. S. B., Lieut. Col. Rev. Fr. Molony C. F., O. B. E., Senior Chaplain to the Rhine Forces, Col. Warburton, Fr. MacMahon S. J. and Mr. Walman.

Fr. de la Taille (March 23rd.), Fr. Geny S. J. (March 25th.), Fr. Lépicier, General of the Servites (March 25th. & 30th.).



On Saturday March 29th. the Holy Land Pilgrims visited the College where they were received by the Cardinal Protector.

On Sunday March 30th. the guests at dinner were Mgr. Doubleday, Bishop of Brentwood, Bishop Stanley, Mgr. Cicognani, Fr. Jarvis and Fr. MacMahon S. J.

### MISCELLANEA.

The hot water pipes were turned on for the first time on Nov. 22nd. and continued in action, though not without some intervals, till Lent.

On Friday Nov. 23rd. the King and Queen of Spain visited the Spanish Church of Sta. Maria in Monserrato. Permission was given to go out at 2 o'clock and wait for the royal cortège, which was due to arrive at 2-30 p.m. The Roman "detectives" were gathered in great force in the Via Monserrato and blatantly sported their umbrellas and trilbies, the insignia of their office. By their special permission we were allowed to stand in the street itself, the rest of the population being confined to balconies and windows, and the more juvenile section of the community relegated behind a cordon of resplendent Carabinieri in the Piazza della Rota. Their Majesties who arrived promptly about 4 o'clock were greeted with an English cheer which appeared rather futile as the closed car dashed past, but which made a profound impression on our neighbours.

On Sat. Nov. 24th. the Holy Father received in Audience in the Sala delle Beatificazioni a great number of students and other clerics at the end of the Feste Tomistiche. Card. Laurenti read a lengthy address on St. Thomas. The Holy Father made a short reply and gave his blessing to all present.

On Dec. 7th.-10th. the Tiber was in flood. The water was pouring through the hole in the Ponte Sisto for the first time, we hear, since 1914. Considerable inconvenience was experienced on the Island, but fortunately the water did not get much higher than the cellars which are generally used as stables. In the neighbourhood of Ponte Molle and round St. Paul's, where there is no embankment, the river overflowed a considerable area of ground. Messages from higher up the river gave no hopes of an abatement of the flood and the police offices were open all night, apparently to arrest the progress of the flood. However after the 10th. the level of the river fell as rapidly as it had risen.

On Sat. Dec. 22nd. we had the honour of the first College audience for nearly three years. The Pope's address to the students has already appeared at length in certain English Catholic periodicals.



On Feb. 8th. after a great preparatory advertising "boom", a Raffle was held in aid of the Halliday-Sutherland lawsuit expenses, which resulted in a sum of L.3-10-0.

We are very grateful to the Cardinal Protector for his wise order of Feb. 14th. to the effect that birettas are no longer to be worn in the Refectory.

The Rector went for a short holiday to Merano Feb. 19th.: Mar. 4th. and the Spiritual Director paid a flying visit to the Riviera, Feb. 29th.— Mar. 5th.

## CONCERTS.

The Philosophers' Feast on St. Catherine's Day was honoured in the traditional manner by after-dinner speeches from the new students and a concert in the evening.

The Christmas festivities began on Dec. 23rd. when the Common Room was decorated with evergreens and coloured lamps. Midnight Mass was, as usual, celebrated by the Rector. There was a concert in the evening, of which we reproduce the Programme *in extenso*:

### CHRISTMAS CONCERT 1923.

1. The Orpheus Society will sing a *Carol*—whereupon,
2. Mr. JOHN CREGG will emphasize the fact that this has *got to be done*—but
3. Mr. CLAUDE SPENCER will disagree in a *Comic Song*, despite which,
4. The Orpheus Society will sing another *Carol*,
5. To change the subject Mr. DELANY will prove that Christmas isn't all a question of Food (in Latin) when, in sheer obstinacy,
6. The Orpheus Society will return to the charge with a *Gastro-nomic Item* featuring Mr. BURROWS.
7. To which Mr. LEONARD MAUDSLAY will reply without music.
8. Mr. MICHAEL EGAN and Mr. R. L. SMITH will chaunt the praises of Spring,—till
9. the dumbest extract from the *Pantomime* of the year: *The Burglars*.  
 The Burglars: Mr. A. ATKINS  
 Mr. R. DELANY  
 The Policeman: Mr. C. SPENCER.
- when, to break so long a silence,
10. The JAZZ-BAND will prove itself the Great Noise in Syncopation.



After supper the house amused itself with Snapdragon and a Bran-Tub, both of which diversions were inaugurated by the Rector.

Dec. 26th. there was a Whist drive in the evening. The proceeds went to the Little Sisters of the Poor.

Dec. 27th. St. John's Day. The House presented Mgr. Prior with a box of cigars, to-day being his feast. There was a concert in the evening:

**PROGRAMME.**

**ST. JOHN'S DAY, 1923.**

- |                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Palazzolese Orchestra | <i>Pot pourri</i>                 |
| 2. Mr. V. ELWES          | <i>Little Jim</i>                 |
| 3. Mr. W. BURROWS        | <i>Vagabond's Song</i>            |
| 4. Mr. A. CLAYTON        | <i>Lepanto</i>                    |
| 5. Mr. B. WHITESIDE      | <i>Uncle Sambo</i>                |
| 6. Orpheus Society       | <i>Peers' Entrance (Iolanthe)</i> |
| 7. Mr. R. NICHOLSON      | <i>A Brighter Christmas</i>       |
| 8. Sketch:               |                                   |

**DUTCH COURAGE.**

**Dramatis Personae.**

- |                    |                                |              |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Van Vattissdergoot | <i>Mayor of Hobiheck</i>       | J. MASTERSON |
| Van Dassgiossnice  | <i>Council and Corporation</i> | F. GRIMSHAW  |
| Derduce Votluk     | <i>A Vagrant</i>               | H. R. KELLY  |
| Van In             | <i>Police</i>                  | C. SPENCER   |
| Van Out            |                                | G. HIGGINS   |

Dec. 28th. A Cinema show in the evening, the chief film being *Il Sacco di Roma sotto Clemente VII.*

Dec. 29th. St. Thomas' Day, the College Feast. A number of Scots students were our guests this evening at by far the most successful concert of the Season. The great success of Box and Cox in which Messrs Burrows and R. L. Smith took the leading parts, and Mr. V. Elwes was Bouncer, was quite unprecedented in modern times (i. e. since the War).

Dec. 30th. A Fancy Dress Whist-drive in the evening was a new departure. There was a good deal more of the Fancy Dress than of the Whist-drive; nevertheless it was a very enjoyable experiment.



Dec. 31st. The old Year went out very quietly, indeed, with mocassined tread, as it snowed during the night.

1924. Jan. 1st. Programme of New Year's Concert:

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1. <i>Traumerei</i>   | String Quartette |
| 2. <i>Tower Song</i><br>(Yeomen of the Guard)                       | Mr. B. FARMER    |
| 3. <i>Bendigo</i>   | Mr. A. ATKINS    |
| 4. <i>Kindergarten</i>  | Mr. F. GRIMSHAW  |
|   | Mr. A. CLAYTON   |
|   | Mr. J. BRISCOE   |
| 5. <i>Return of Sherlock Holmes</i>                                 | Episode IX       |
| Sherlock Holmes   | Mr. H. WILSON    |
| Watson  | Mr. E. PLOWMAN   |
| Blood-stained Broderick   | Mr. W. SEWELL    |
| 6. <i>The Piave</i>   | The Blind Mice   |
| 7. <i>Night (Gounod)</i>  | Orpheus Society  |
| 8. <i>The Burglars Burlesque</i><br>(Repeat performance by request) |                  |
| 1st. Burglar  | Mr. A. ATKINS    |
| 2nd. Burglar  | Mr. R. DELANY    |
| Policeman   | Mr. J. MASTERSON |

and Orchestra.

Jan. 6th. The Twelfth Night Concert was presented by the Mummies who were ingeniously got up as pierrots.

## PROGRAMME.

- |                               |                           |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Opening Chorus             | Tutti                     |
| 2. We Are Two Proper Men      | Messrs. BURROWS and SMITH |
| 3. Caravan                    | Mr. H. R. KELLY           |
| 4. The Three Chafers          | Tutti                     |
| 5. The Fallen Spa             | Mr. PLOWMAN               |
| 6. The Interfering Parrot     | Tutti                     |
| 7. Minnetonka                 | Mr. McNULTY               |
| 8. Lady Moon                  | Messrs. MILAN & SMITH     |
| 9. Old Dog's Tail             | Mr. BURROWS               |
| 10. Nightmare Song (Iolanthe) | Mr. SMITH                 |
| 11. The Catastrophe           | Tutti                     |
| 12. My Rambling Rose          | Mr. MILAN                 |



followed by

## THE TOFFEE VENDOR'S VENGEANCE

The Bankrupt Toffee Vendor  
His Little Daughter  
First Creditor  
Second Creditor  
Third Creditor

Mr. ELWES  
Mr. J. CREGG  
Mr. L. WARNER  
Mr. J. BARRETT-DAVIS  
Mr. J. RUDDERHAM

SCENE: Piazza Navona within the Octave of Epiphany.

On Jan. 16th. Twenty students, drawn by lot, were allowed to hear Kubelik play at the Augusteo.

On Shrove Tuesday there was a Cinema show.

St. Patrick's Concert which was postponed till the evening of March 18th. was chiefly conspicuous for the success of Messrs H. R. Kelly and McNulty in the *Blind Beggars*—in which also appeared, for the first time behind the footlights, Mr. Earley, who sustained an exacting and difficult part without a falter and was most favourably received by a critical audience.

On Friday, March 21st., the Rector granted general permission to go to the Augusteo to hear Perosi's *Risurrezione di Cristo — Oratorio per voci e strumenti*. It is not for the College Diarist to turn musical critic, even were he able, but he can at least record the fact that all who were present at this performance were more than delighted, and that the day marks an epoch in the musical history of the College. One cannot exaggerate the importance of good music and we are assured that these discreet and occasional permissions of the Rector are among the most beneficial restorations (we will not say innovations) which he has introduced.

## GITA.

The usual Shrovetide gita took place on Monday, March 3rd. Unlike last year we were favoured with fine weather and parties went to Orvieto, Tivoli, Soracte, Subiaco, Ostia, Frascati and Civita Castellana.

## GIFTS TO THE COLLEGE.

We are deeply grateful to H. E. the Cardinal Protector for the generous gift of some 40 books to the Library. The larger number of these are useful historical studies. There are also a few novels by modern Catholic writers.

We owe our sincerest thanks to Fr. J. P. Molony C. F. for his handsome donation of L20-0-0.

\* \* \*

## Exchanges.

We gratefully acknowledge the following Exchanges: *Lisbonian*, *Ushaw Magazine*, *Oscotian*, *Stonhurst Magazine*, *Pax*, *The Ratcliffian*, *Donai Magazine*.



## LITERARY SOCIETY

It would require a professional précis writer to give any adequate account in the space which can be allowed me, of the Literary Society's activities. The President, Mr. E. J. Kelly, was detained in England until Christmas. Three meetings took place during his absence, but on his return, his phenomenal energy soon produced a fuller programme than any previous session has ever known — a fact to which the compiler of the minutes can bear eloquent testimony. Eighteen lectures have been delivered up to date (April 4th) and six more are arranged to take place before the end of the month and of the Roman session. This must surely be a record.

According to precedent, the lecturers have not confined themselves to literary subjects, but Messrs. A. Clayton and J. Walsh, both students of the College, have assisted the Society to justify its title by reading papers on Chesterton's Poems and the Trend of Modern Poetry. They proved abundantly, if proof were needed, that students can be fully as interesting and as stimulating as any stranger, however distinguished. It is to be hoped their example may prove efficacious for the future.

Distinguished he is certainly, but it is impossible to class Monsignor Cicognani as a stranger. Nor yet can he be called a student of the College. So here, between the two, seems to be the place to record his fascinating lecture on S. Francis of Assisi, delivered in perfect Italian, which yet contrived to be intelligible to all. Nor was this the only paper in a foreign tongue. Fr. A. Mallon S. J. of the Biblical Institute gave the Society a first hand account of the Tomb of Tutankhamen. He spoke in French, and no one is likely to forget his vividly naïve account of the first entry into the Tomb or of the opening of the Shrine. This lecture proved such a success that the Committee no longer fears to introduce Babel into the Society's meetings. Fr. Mallon's paper was illustrated by lantern



slides. The Rector's purchase of a combined cinema and lantern has proved a great boon to the Society this session, and all thanks are due to him in consequence: as also to Messrs. H. R. Kelly and A. Atkins for wrestling so successfully with the vagaries of Roman current.

Archeology and lantern slides bring us to what was undoubtedly the most important item of the session, a series of illustrated lectures, delivered by the Director of the British School, Dr. Thomas Ashby. Despite the pressure of much other business, he sacrificed eight of his precious Sunday evenings to take us through the history of Rome as revealed in its monuments, from the rise of the Forum as the centre of civic life to Sixtus V and the origin of the modern city. It is impossible to express the pleasure and information members derived from this course; and as for its value, Dr. Ashby's reputation renders any appreciation from us not only superfluous but almost impertinent. The main thread running through these lectures, apart of course from chronology, was the development of town planning. It was even an eye-opener to discover there was any such thing in Papal Rome, or that the twin Corsos are not the necessary, nor even perhaps the natural pivots of the city. Fascinating too were the old maps, showing the Hospice in its later and the College in its earlier days. One cannot but regret the Campanile, which appeared in one, and of course — considering what has taken its place — the venerable Church of the date of Eugenius IV.

Catholicism in general was treated of by two distinguished Frenchmen. Fr. de la Taille S. J. of the Gregorian, painted a wonderfully complete picture of Canada's position in the Catholic world, and Fr. Lépicier, ex General of the Servites and an unrivalled authority on the subject, spoke of the preparations for the Vatican Council in 1870. The perfect English of both these lecturers must have made many a would-be preacher despair.

More difficult to classify — and "miscellaneous" has always something of an insult about it — are the remaining four lectures. Monsignor Gonne, rector of S. Bede's, opened the session with an address on preaching, which in itself was an admirable demonstration of his suggestions put into practice. The Bishop of Brentwood kept the whole house enthralled with his account of the recent Pilgrimage to Palestine, from which his Lordship had just returned. Mr. W. Park, a first year Philosopher, had the courage and public spirit, — not to mention the necessary knowledge — to read a paper on Wireless Telephony, which, if it did require the aid of our only black-board, was anything but a dull orgy of technicalities. Lastly, but the reverse of least, Lient-Colonel, the Rev. J. P. Molony, C. F., O. B. E., presuming



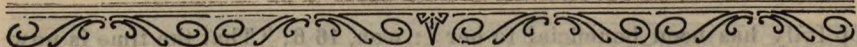
that to be the right order of everything, gave the Society a most enjoyable evening with his War reminiscences. The meeting adjourned when the Rev. Lecturer's imagination had risen to the pitch of describing himself as a ghost.

This is the very brief record of a brilliant session, in which every meeting has proved successful beyond measure. After the above list of well-known names, it would seem impossible to maintain this standard. But the President, like Gilbert in the second act of the Mikado, has excelled himself in promising us Monsignor Mann, Moyes and Gonno, with the Earl of Denbigh. Two other students of the House are also helping to revive a good tradition by their promise to read papers; Mr. W. Burrows on the Boy Scout Movement and Mr. J. Cartmell, Archivist and ex-President of the Society, on the Church of S. Thomas of the English. As the President has achieved all this, the Secretary feels that no sense of modesty need restrain him from pronouncing this session the most successful ever recorded in the Annals of the Society.

R. L. SMITH, *Secretary.*







## The Grant Debating Society

It must first of all be explained that the private Debating Society which was founded in Nov., 1922, was not long content to remain a poor, nameless thing, and in the business meeting at the end of its first session, became the Grant Debating Society, in honour of Bishop Thomas Grant, who was one of the most energetic members of the original private Society of 1840.

The session 1923-24 opened brilliantly. In the first meeting, the motion "That Fascismo would be beneficial in England" was keenly debated. Its supporters made every effort to win, but in spite of their vigorous exertions were defeated by 21 votes to 12. The next debate (Dec. 4th. & 5th.) was even more successful. This was due in great measure to the excellent speeches of the two Leaders. The motion under discussion was "That to stand aloof from Europe and develop inter-Empire trade was the best present policy for England": it was rejected by a majority of one. The Rector, who had attended both these debates, said that they were the best that he had ever heard in any college debating club. A third debate that deserves special notice was on the motion "That the written word will play a larger part in the Conversion of England than the spoken". By restricting the question to the Conversion of England, an otherwise trite subject became of intense interest. The Debate was attended by all the Superiors and continued for three nights. It ended in victory for the Opposition by 20 votes to 13. Only one Debate fell seriously below the Club's high standard, owing to an unhappy choice of subject: "That the abuse of present-day Advertising is greater than its use". The motion was carried by 14 votes to 10.

The other Debates of the session and their results are as follows: "That it would be better to reduce the number of Catholic periodicals and newspapers, and to concentrate on a few": lost, 13-17; "That the Union



of Italy has been beneficial to her": won, 16-6; "That the time is now ripe for a Catholic University in England": lost, 9-19; "That the Greek Civilization is more worthy of admiration than the Modern": lost, 8-13.

The great worry of those in charge of the club is to think of new subjects for debates, and when they give up the effort themselves and put up a notice appealing to the common-room, anyone who has a pencil obliges with all sorts of suggestions, but very few practicable debates are forthcoming.

B. SLEVIN.

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## SPORTS NOTES

After several years of considerable depression in the football atmosphere of the College, prospects in this respect have at last brightened. For the last five or six years we have pilgrimaged to Fortitudo's ground at Christmas time to play the annual Scots match, and every year as inevitably have turned home again with the knowledge of another defeat. This year, however, whether it was that the match was played for the first time on the last day of the year, or whether it was that the snow on the pitch made the Scotsmen dream of their native Highlands instead of realising their danger,—whatever it was—the Venerable team stole the laurels from their brows. Whether Fate specially favoured us in the single goal which won the game, is a moot point, but on the general merits of the play the victory was not undeserved. This being the first time for some years that the victory has been ours in this great international event, prominent members of the team became the victims of public demonstrations of joy in the Common Room that evening.

The second match was with Alba on January 31st. Alba, as champions of the Roman League, hold a position in sporting circles calculated to inspire doubts as to the outcome of an encounter with them, but the College team was buoyed up with confidence after their success against the Scotsmen. Before the match began the Alba team presented a beautiful bouquet of flowers to our Captain. Very soon after the commencement of the game our centre forward scored from a fast shot, but with the aid of the wind our opponents equalised the score. After this first effort Alba seemed to break down, and the College forwards, who played an excellent game, frequently pressed hard upon them. The victory was secured for the College team by a hard shot from the inside right.

The College has still to meet Fortitudo in the field, but it naturally looks forward to this encounter with confidence. The stand-



ard of football in the two matches played so far has been unusually high and the team has deserved both its victories.

Football in Pamphili is in as flourishing a condition as ever, in spite of some gloomy forebodings at the commencement of the year that the game was losing its popularity and would have to give place to counter-attractions.

As regards other sports, Golf naturally has had to subside a little as there are no links in Pamphili. For all that, some of the enthusiasts manage to enjoy a little driving in the mornings when there are few people about; but the conditions are far from ideal.

Several indoor games have also been started and have enjoyed short-lived popularity. Ping-pong was very popular for several weeks, but even that has given place to more staid and academic pastimes such as billiards and chess.

We must conclude these remarks by thanking various benefactors who have so generously provided us with sports outfit, especially one who has provided us with a new football every year for at least five or six years. His kindness is very much appreciated.

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May we, however, make an appeal for generous friends to help in defraying the cost of a new cloth for the Billiard Table? **Donations** will be gratefully acknowledged by **Mr. L. Williamson.**







## OUR BOOK SHELF

**Précis de Théologie Ascétique et Mystique, AD. TANQUEREY (Desclée., Cr. 8°, Lit. 11,50).**

The author tells us that he intends this little book as an outline to be filled in by the study of fuller and profounder works; yet, brief as his work is, he contrives to give us in it, with a due development of important points, an excellent, orderly treatise on the subject. The first part—the doctrinal section—has alone appeared as yet; there is to be another volume dealing with the practical side of spiritual theology. Besides the doctrinal exposition, the volume before us contains an excellent historical summary of the chief schools and writers and two useful appendices,—the first discussing the subject as treated in the Synoptics, St. Paul and St. John, the second a study of temperaments. Altogether, the work deserves a place for its practical utility by the side of Father Tanqueray's other excellent synopses.

**Venial Sin, BISHOP VAUGHAN (Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd, Cr. 8° 3/6).**

In this little book, to which His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet contributes a Preface, Bp. Vaughan collects together the articles which he recently contributed to the Irish Ecclesiastical Record. His aim throughout is to inculcate the gravity of venial sin in itself and in its consequences; and he takes every opportunity of pushing that lesson home. The book should find a wide circle of readers, for His Lordship is immensely popular as a writer, as the success of "Thoughts for all Times", for instance, and "Life after Death" bear witness, and we hope that it will have many readers and many who will take its lessons seriously to heart; for all who earnestly realise what venial sin is and endeavour not to commit it are really making towards perfection. The author gives us in brief and in a clear, straightforward style what theology has to teach about venial sin, the means to be taken to avoid it, and the wisdom of taking our Purgatory here rather than hereafter. He wants to make us realise that the effort to avoid all deliberate sin is well worth while. What must strenuously be combated is indifference to venial sin, the temper of mind which says, "It's only a venial sin". We earnestly hope, therefore, that those, and alas! they are many, to whom this attitude



of mind has become a second nature, will buy this book, and so learn to serve Our Lord with more generosity. J. C.

**Pilgrim Paths in Latin Lands** by DOM. BEDE CAMM 4to., pp. XIV-278, L. 1-10 0 (Macdonald & Evans).

Omitting the objection made and answered by the author that Palestine is not a Latin land, the title of this book is very well chosen. In the introduction the author says: "In the course of my life I have been fortunate enough to visit many holy places, some of which are but little known to the ordinary traveller. I have tried to gather here my memories of a few of these pilgrimages in the hope that my description of them may prove as attractive as did that of the English shrines. But of course I am fully conscious that I am here treading for the most part on well trodden ground". We expect therefore a book which will record impressions rather than give bald accounts of places visited; a book which will interpret rather than describe and which through all its pages will have the stamp of the author's mind and character.

Dom. Bede Camm. has done all this: he says himself in one place, "This does not pretend to be a guidebook". Indeed, throughout, the whole series of papers he has blended incident with place description, history and legend with his own thoughts in a manner which carries the reader away with him along the roads to these shrines, so easily imagined because so well described.

It is very interesting to trace Benedictine thought and feeling through the pages of this book. One only needs to read the account of the early days of Subiaco or Monte Cassino to realise how thoroughly the author is a monk: or to notice how when in St. Peter's on Holy Thursday his first vivid impression was that of the seminarists' plain-chant. The Benedictine simplicity in art, too, is very noticeable in the description of Monte Cassino's new frescoes. "All the artist's skill is concentrated on the expression of the features; the gestures are calm and restrained; a holy peace breathes through the composition; you feel that they are the work of men of prayer—of painters who have deliberately made their art a handmaid to their religion". But it is when we are led to the tomb of the great Founder that we find expressed the author's real depth of feeling. "Let us tarry here for a while before we pass on to visit the other holy places of this sacred mount. 'Bonum est nos hic esse'. This is the Olivet, the Sinai, the Thabor of the monk; the mount of his father's transfiguration, glorification, and ascension".

The descriptions of Italian life, particularly in the paper, "The Madonna di Cannelto" are somewhat enthusiastic and to some readers may sound like those in a book of Fairy tales, but one would only need to be present at a village festa, even such a short distance from Rome as the Alban Hills, to be quite disposed to believe them as they picture these peasants on the great feast. Unless civilisation is working the same havoc with these people's simplicity as it has done with so many others, they are probably the same now as they were then in 1894.

The illustrations are an attraction in themselves. Of the drawings perhaps that of Monte Cassino is disappointing, failing as it does to give the idea of



height, which is such an essential feature of the mountain; the reason lies in the unfortunate position from which the drawing was made. But this is made up for by even the very next in order, the Well in Bramante's Cortile, which brings out the essential features of the flagged courtyard quite excellently.

Perhaps the author's next book will contain more of Mr. Pike's work: illustrations in his style would find a good place in the proposed completion of the studies which Dom. Bede Camm began in "Forgotten Shrines".

F. J. G.

**Summa Iuris Publici Ecclesiastici, ad normam Codicis Iuris Canonici et recentiorum S. Sedis documentorum concinnata.** FELIX M. CAPPELLO S. J. (To be obtained at the Deposito dei Libri, Via del Seminario, Roma 19), pp. 561, Unbound, Lire 16.

This excellent little book, a summary of the *Institutiones Iuris Publici Ecclesiastici* by the same author, covers part of the year's course of Canon Law to be taken by all students of Theology at the Gregorian University. Fr. Cappello, Professor both there and at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, will be well-known to many of our readers through his "De Sacramentis". His purpose in this new book, was, we learn from the Preface, to set forth very briefly and clearly the whole doctrine on the nature and power of the Church, and on the relations between Church and State.

The whole work is divided into three parts. The first (pp. 1-105) gives general ideas on Jus, Societas, Potestas, Delictum and the like. The second (pp. 106-416) treats of the Church as a society, of her powers, of Indifferentism and Tolerance. Then follows a brief historical survey of the relations between Church and State, from the beginning to the days of Boniface VIII., and from that date down to our own times. Finally we have thirty-six pages on Concordats. The third part (pp. 417-549) contains a fuller treatment of Church power, especially in regard to Schools and Seminaries, Sacraments and Sacramentals, Divine Worship, religious institutions and temporal goods. Two chapters are devoted to Church Immunities and the *subject* of Church power.

Such is a bare and incomplete outline of the contents of this admirably concise text-book. The author, as he tells us, has considered it unnecessary to dwell on questions of practice, but has been careful instead to set forth clearly and accurately the principles which contain in themselves the solution of all such questions.

One point in particular must strike the reader of the book—the amazing number of footnotes. There is scarcely a page without at least one, while many have 3, 4, 5 or more. A great number, it is true, are merely references to authorities or to works of adversaries, but others are real notes, amplifying the text—quotations from the Fathers, Papal Encyclicals and standard authors, or historical matter well packed into as brief a compass as possible. Of the latter class we may instance the two notes on pp. 253, 254 treating of the triple Inquisition—Mediaeval, Spanish, and Universal.

It is perhaps worth remarking that on the vexed question as to whether the Church can command acts which are merely internal, the author has



changed his former opinion, and now holds that the affirmative view is truer and in every way preferable, not to say certain. In this he takes up his stand with Ballerini-Palmieri, Lehmkuhl, Noldin and many moderns, against Benedict XIV., Suarez, Wernz, St. Alphonsus and most of the older Scholastics. • The whole question is fully treated on pp. 200-211, where the arguments on both sides are set forth at length, and the attitude of St. Thomas discussed. Among his modern adversaries on this point must be mentioned Fr. Vermeersch S. J., whose arguments are to be found in his *Theologia Moralis*, vol. I. (new ed. 1922), § 254.

The book is rounded off by a six page bibliography and an eleven-page index. Altogether, a work which will repay careful reading. We feel safe in heartily recommending it to our readers. A. C.

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## OBITUARY.

**Rev. Henry Finch (1861-66)** was born of an old Lancashire Catholic family, the Finches of Mawdesley in 1846. He studied at St. Edward's College, Liverpool, at Ushaw, and here at the Venerabile in the old Papal days, and was ordained in Rome, August 15th., 1866. His great work for his diocese (Liverpool) was the establishment of the mission at Wavertree, where he laboured for over thirty years. The last twenty years of his life he spent in retirement, almost wholly at Blundellsands, the name of his house, "Navicella", breathing a memory of Rome. He died at his residence, October 12th., 1923, aged 83. He should always be held in special remembrance in the Venerabile as the founder of "Our Lady's Burse". R. I. P.

**Very Rev. William Canon Gordon (1867-72)**. Born in Ireland in 1843, he made his ecclesiastical studies at St. Edward's, Liverpool, at Ushaw, and at Rome, where he saw the Vatican Council and the entry of the Piedmontese in 1870. He was ordained in Rome, September 21st. 1872. He laboured on various missions in the Archdiocese of Liverpool and for the last twenty-five years of his life was Rector of St. Joseph's, Birkdale. He was appointed to the Diocesan Chapter in 1897, and later became Canon Penitentiary. He died at St. Mary's Home, Newton Heath, November 21st., 1923. R. I. P.

**Very Rev. Michael Canon Delany D. D. (1880-86)** was born in 1861. He was ordained in Rome on December 19th., 1885, the very date on which he died last year. R. I. P.

(We should be very grateful to anyone who would furnish information for this page. As the last notice shows, it is not always possible for us to obtain knowledge of past students in any other way).